

LEXICON  
ICONOGRAPHICUM  
MYTHOLOGIAE  
CLASSICAE  
(LIMC)

V

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1

HERAKLES-KENCHRIAS

ET ADDENDA

EPONA, GALATEIA, HELIOS,  
HELIOS (IN PERIPHERIA ORIENTALI),  
HELIOS/USIL

ARTEMIS VERLAG ZÜRICH  
UND MÜNCHEN



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 Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art, Tunis  
 Athanasios C. Ghertsos

**et par le**

J. PAUL GETTY TRUST, Los Angeles, California (USA)

**Comité de rédaction**

JEAN CH. BALTZ, ERNST BERGER, SIR JOHN BOARDMAN, PHILIPPE BRUNEAU,  
 FULVIO CANCIANI, LILLY KAHIL, VASSILIS LAMBRINOUDAKIS, ERIKA SIMON

**Rédaction**

Secrétaire de rédaction: BERTRAND JAEGER (Bâle)  
 Texte: PIERRE MÜLLER (Bâle), CHRISTIAN AUGÉ (Paris)  
 Illustration: RAINER VOLKKOMMER, JEANNETTE BRÖNNIMANN (Bâle)

**Secrétaire général du LIMC**

LILLY KAHIL

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# Préface

Voici le tome V du *LIMC* (*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*). Comme ses prédécesseurs, il se présente avec le même habit vert, la même typographie parfaite et la même qualité des illustrations. Pourtant les années passent; des collaborateurs s'en vont; d'autres arrivent; heureusement le comité de rédaction demeure inchangé, fidèle aux normes qu'il s'est à lui-même fixées. Que l'on ne pense pas pour autant que tout est facile; bien loin de là. Chaque jour apporte son lot de difficultés nouvelles et souvent imprévues. Mais la confiance de la communauté scientifique dans son ensemble nous apporte la confirmation de la valeur de l'entreprise et nous assure la force de poursuivre une action qui chaque jour obtient l'aveu de nouveaux adhérents.

Cette grande publication internationale constitue toujours un exemple de collaboration. Il s'en faut pourtant que les temps soient toujours favorables. Rien n'aurait été possible sans l'apport de la Fondation Getty. Grâce à elle, les lenteurs administratives, les défaillances financières de certains partenaires peuvent être surmontées. Ainsi, nous pouvons aller avec confiance vers l'achèvement de l'œuvre.

Mais, il faut dire, encore une fois, que la publication est avant tout l'œuvre d'une personne qui s'y est dévouée, corps et âme, jour et nuit, d'un continent à l'autre. C'est, assurément, conquête personnelle de Madame Lilly Kahil, ce sera, à n'en pas douter, le grand exploit de sa vie que d'avoir vaincu tous les obstacles pour apporter au monde scientifique la bible iconographique du XXI<sup>ème</sup> siècle.

A ce titre, elle méritera la reconnaissance de tous les savants qui se consacreront à l'étude toujours actuelle de l'antiquité classique et de ses suites. Cette collection apportera témoignage, non seulement d'une science incomparable, mais encore d'une foi, d'une ferveur, que l'on ne peut qu'admirer. Aussi, le Président de la Fondation voudrait ici marquer son admiration et sa gratitude à celle qui est l'âme du *LIMC* et dire que, bien au delà des honneurs académiques et universitaires, Madame Kahil aura la gloire de devenir un nom commun. Le *LIMC*, c'est elle, et je souhaite qu'on puisse bientôt dire «le Kahil» comme on dit «le Bailly» ou «le Roscher». C'est le vœu que forme au terme de son mandat le Président en sachant déjà que le monde entier l'approuve.

JEAN POUILLOUX  
Président du Conseil de la Fondation pour le  
*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*

## Avant-propos

Le *LIMC*, à nouveau, a pu tenir ses promesses puisque le tome V paraît en automne 1990. Nous avons à présent dépassé la moitié de la publication: il est en effet prévu que toutes les rubriques, qui n'ont pas encore été traitées ainsi que les suppléments pourront être intégrés dans les trois derniers volumes. C'est une grande joie pour nous d'avoir pu ainsi tenir nos promesses à l'égard de la communauté internationale qui veut bien continuer à soutenir nos efforts et accorder une aide financière de plus en plus difficile à trouver. Régulièrement cette aide est complétée par les fonds que nous accorde généreusement le John Paul Getty Trust, qui collabore avec notre Fondation depuis 1984, et sans lequel il ne nous serait guère possible de faire progresser notre œuvre selon le programme que nous avons établi. Mais outre cet aspect financier il faut souligner à nouveau l'amplitude de la collaboration scientifique internationale qui s'est encore accrue en 1989 par la participation du Japon dont nous espérons qu'elle enrichira notre trésor documentaire. D'autre part les collaborateurs des divers pays ont continué à nous apporter leur aide avec un dévouement sans faille et une compétence qui ont permis à nos volumes successifs d'atteindre et de garder le haut niveau scientifique dont les comptes rendus parus jusqu'à ce jour témoignent largement.

### I. Organisation internationale

1. Le *Conseil de Fondation*, composé d'un membre de chaque institution qui contribue au Pool financier international, est à l'heure actuelle constitué de la manière suivante:

Algérie	Ministère de la Culture, Alger (depuis 1983): D <sup>r</sup> Fatma Kadra, Directeur de la Promotion du Patrimoine Culturel, Alger
Allemagne (République Fédérale)	Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Heidelberg (depuis 1973): Pr. Tonio Hölscher (Université de Heidelberg)
Australie	Australian Academy for the Humanities, Canberra (depuis 1973): Pr. Alexander Cambitoglou (Université de Sydney)
Autriche	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien (depuis 1976): Pr. Hermann Vetters (Université de Vienne)
Belgique	Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique, Bruxelles (depuis 1973): Pr. Jean Ch. Balty, Chef de département (Antiquité) aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles
Bulgarie	Ministère de l'Education Populaire, Sofia / Comité National de la Culture, Sofia (depuis 1982); Académie Bulgare des Sciences, Sofia (depuis 1984): D <sup>r</sup> Zlatozara Gočeva (Université de Sofia)
Canada	Fédération Canadienne des Etudes Humaines, Ottawa (depuis 1974): Pr. Tran Tam Tinh (Université Laval, Québec)
Egypte	Organisation Egyptienne des Antiquités, Le Caire (depuis 1987): D <sup>r</sup> Youssef el Gheriani, ancien Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Musées et les Antiquités d'Alexandrie, Expert en archéologie pour les Antiquités d'Alexandrie

Espagne	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid (depuis 1974): D <sup>r</sup> Ricardo Olmos Romera (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid)
Etats-Unis d'Amérique	National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, et Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, New Jersey (depuis 1973): Pr. Jocelyn Penny Small (Directeur du LIMC, U.S. Center, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, New Jersey) The J. Paul Getty Trust, Los Angeles, California (depuis 1984): M <sup>me</sup> Linda Pinkerton, Secretary and Trust Counsel, The J. Paul Getty Trust
France	Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris (depuis 1983): Pr. Jean Pouilloux (Université de Lyon, membre de l'Institut); Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris (depuis 1973): Pr. Lilly Kahil (Directeur de recherche titulaire au CNRS; attachée à l'Université de Paris X)
Grande-Bretagne	British Academy, Londres (depuis 1973): Sir John Boardman (Université d'Oxford)
Grèce	Académie d'Athènes, Athènes (depuis 1983) Société Archéologique d'Athènes, Athènes (depuis 1973) et Université d'Athènes, Athènes (depuis 1987): Pr. Vassilis Lambrinoudakis, Président du Comité grec pour le LIMC (Université d'Athènes)
Italie	Unione Accademica Nazionale, Rome (depuis 1973): Pr. Giovannangelo Camporeale (Université de Florence et Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici)
Jordanie	Department of Antiquities, Amman (depuis 1985): D <sup>r</sup> Fawzi Zayadine, Directeur adjoint du Département des Antiquités, Amman
Pologne	Polska Akademia Nauk, Varsovie (depuis 1978): Pr. Marie-Louise Bernhard (Université de Cracovie)
Suisse	Fonds National Suisse de la Recherche Scientifique, Berne (depuis 1973): Pr. Walter Burkert (Université de Zurich)
Tunisie	Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art, Tunis (depuis 1979): D <sup>r</sup> Abdelmegid Ennabli, Conservateur en chef du site de Carthage.

2. Le *Comité scientifique international*, composé d'un à deux membres de chaque pays participant et de représentants d'organisations internationales, est aujourd'hui constitué de la manière suivante:

Algérie	D <sup>r</sup> Fatma Kadra, Directeur de la Promotion du Patrimoine Culturel, Alger et D <sup>r</sup> Nacéra Benseddik, Inspecteur des antiquités classiques à l'Agence Nationale d'Archéologie, Alger
Allemagne (République Fédérale)	Pr. Tonio Hölscher (Université de Heidelberg) et Pr. Erika Simon (Université de Wurzburg)
Australie	Pr. Alexander Cambitoglou (Université de Sydney) et Pr. Arthur Dale Trendall (Université La Trobe, Bundoora)
Autriche	Pr. Hermann Vetters (Université de Vienne; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften) et D <sup>r</sup> Thomas Sengelin, collaborateur scientifique autrichien pour le LIMC (Vienne)

Belgique	Pr. Jean Ch. Balty, Chef de département (Antiquité) aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles
Brésil	D <sup>r</sup> Haiganuch Sarian (Université et Musée de São Paulo)
Bulgarie	D <sup>r</sup> Zlatozara Gočeva, Chargée de cours à l'Institut de Thracologie de l'Académie des Sciences, Sofia, et D <sup>r</sup> Petar Delev, de l'Université de Sofia
Canada	Pr. Tran Tam Tinh (Université Laval, Québec)
Chypre	D <sup>r</sup> Dimitrios Michailidis (Département des Antiquités de Chypre, Musée de Paphos)
Danemark	D <sup>r</sup> Flemming S. Johansen, Directeur de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, Copenhague, et D <sup>r</sup> Birgitte Rafn, Collaboratrice scientifique danoise pour le LIMC (Copenhague)
Egypte	D <sup>r</sup> Youssef El Gheriani, ancien Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Musées et les Antiquités d'Alexandrie, Expert en archéologie pour les Antiquités d'Alexandrie et Pr. Gamal El Din Mokhtar (Université d'Alexandrie, ancien Président de l'Organisation Egyptienne des Antiquités, Expert pour les campagnes internationales auprès de l'Unesco, Président de la Section de l'Héritage culturel et historique au Conseil national de la Culture, des Arts et de la Littérature, Le Caire)
Espagne	D <sup>r</sup> Ricardo Olmos Romera (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid), et D <sup>r</sup> Javier Arce (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid)
Etats-Unis d'Amérique	Pr. Jocelyn Penny Small, Directeur du LIMC, U.S. Center, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, New Jersey, et M <sup>me</sup> Linda Pinkerton, Secretary and Trust Counsel, The J. Paul Getty Trust, Los Angeles
France	Pr. Philippe Bruneau (Université de Paris IV - Sorbonne) et Pr. Lilly Kahil, Directeur de recherche au CNRS, attachée à l'Université de Paris X
Grande-Bretagne	Sir John Boardman (Université d'Oxford)
Grèce	Pr. Vassilis Lambrinoudakis, Président du Comité grec pour le LIMC, Athènes (Université d'Athènes), et D <sup>r</sup> Angelos Delivourias, Directeur du Musée Bénaki, Athènes
Hongrie	Pr. János Szilágyi, Directeur de la Section antique du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Budapest, et D <sup>r</sup> Miklos Szabó (Université de Budapest)
Irlande	D <sup>r</sup> Alan W. Johnston (University College, Londres)
Israël	D <sup>r</sup> Gideon Foerster (Ministry of Education and Culture, Department of Antiquities and Museums, Jérusalem)
Italie	Pr. Giovannangelo Camporeale (Université de Florence) et Pr. Fulvio Canciani (Université de Trieste)
Japon	Pr. Takashi Seki (Université d'Osaka)
Jordanie	D <sup>r</sup> Fawzi Zayadine, Directeur adjoint du Département des Antiquités, Amman
Liban	D <sup>r</sup> Camille Asmar, Directeur du Service des Antiquités, Beyrouth
Maroc	M <sup>me</sup> Naima El Khatib Boujibar, Inspectrice générale des Musées et de l'Archéologie, Casablanca
Pays-Bas	D <sup>r</sup> J. J. V. M. Derksen (Université d'Utrecht)
Pologne	Pr. Marie-Louise Bernhard (Université de Cracovie) et Pr. Michel Gawlikowski (Université de Varsovie)

Portugal	Pr. Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira (Université de Coimbra)
République Démocratique Allemande	D <sup>r</sup> Max Kunze, Directeur des Staatliche Museen zu Berlin et le D <sup>r</sup> Konrad Zimmermann (Dozent à la Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität, Rostock)
Roumanie	D <sup>r</sup> Mihai Barbulescu (Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Cluj Napoca) et D <sup>r</sup> Lucia Marinescu (Musée d'Histoire de la R.S. de Roumanie, Bucarest)
Suisse	Pr. Walter Burkert (Université de Zurich), Pr. Lilly Kahil (Université de Fribourg) et Pr. Ernst Berger, Directeur du Antikenmuseum de Bâle
Syrie	D <sup>r</sup> Adnan Bounni, Directeur du service des fouilles archéologiques, Damas, et M. Bachir Zouhdi, Conservateur en chef, Musée National de Damas
Tchécoslovaquie	D <sup>r</sup> Jan Bažant, Cabinet des Etudes grecques, romaines et latines (Académie tchécoslovaque, Prague), et Pr. Jan Bouzek (Université Charles de Prague)
Tunisie	D <sup>r</sup> Abdelmegid Ennabli, Conservateur en chef du site de Carthage
Turquie	Pr. Ekrem Akurgal (Université d'Ankara) et Pr. Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu (Université d'Ankara)
U.R.S.S.	D <sup>r</sup> Irina Saverkina, Chef du Département des Antiquités du Musée de l'Ermitage, Leningrad, et D <sup>r</sup> Eugen Mavlev, Chef du Département des Antiquités grecques et romaines du Musée de l'Ermitage, Leningrad
Yougoslavie	Pr. Milutin Garašanin (Académie serbe des Sciences et des Arts, Président de la Commission archéologique, Université de Belgrade) et Pr. Vladislav Popović (Académie serbe des Sciences et des Arts, Université de Belgrade)
Organisations internationales:	
UNESCO	D <sup>r</sup> Mounir Bouchenaki, Chef de la Section des Campagnes internationales de Sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel de l'humanité, Paris
AIESEE	Pr. Virgil Cândea (Secrétaire général de l'Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen)

3. Le *Président*: Pr. Jean Pouilloux (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres).

4. Le *Secrétaire général*: Pr. Lilly Kahil.

5. Le *Trésorier de la Fondation*: Pr. Herbert A. Cahn (Bâle et Université de Heidelberg).

6. Le *Comité de rédaction*: les Professeurs Jean Ch. Balty, Ernst Berger, John Boardman, Philippe Bruneau, Fulvio Canciani, Lilly Kahil, Vassilis Lambrinoudakis, et Erika Simon.

7. La *Rédaction centrale*: située à Bâle, Gerbergasse 24, est gérée par le D<sup>r</sup> Bertrand Jaeger, Secrétaire de la Rédaction.

Les autres membres de la Rédaction centrale sont: M<sup>me</sup> Gratia Berger-Doer, D<sup>r</sup> Thomas Ganschow (documentation), M<sup>lle</sup> Sibylle Herkert (philologie), D<sup>r</sup> Pierre Müller (responsable des textes), M<sup>me</sup> Madeleine Page-Gasser puis M<sup>lle</sup> Jeannette Brönnimann (illustration), M<sup>me</sup> Josette Roth (administration), le D<sup>r</sup> Rainer Vollkommer (illustration, numismatique sous la supervision du Pr. H. Cahn).

La Rédaction de Bâle est assistée par deux Rédactions: l'une installée à Heidelberg et Wurzburg (D<sup>r</sup> Ingrid Krauskopf, D<sup>r</sup> Anneliese Kossatz), l'autre à Paris, qui est un Centre d'Information et de Documentation du CNRS (M. Christian Augé, responsable des textes en langue française, D<sup>r</sup> Nicole Blanc, D<sup>r</sup> Françoise Gury, D<sup>r</sup> Antoine Hermay, M<sup>me</sup> Noëlle Icard, D<sup>r</sup> Aliki

Kauffmann, D<sup>r</sup> Pascale Linant de Bellefonds, D<sup>r</sup> Catherine Lochin, M. Gérard Marchand, D<sup>r</sup> Anne Nercessian). D'autre part, le D<sup>r</sup> Odette Toucheffeu (Professeur à l'Université de Nantes) a poursuivi sa collaboration précieuse avec les rédactions de Paris et de Bâle.

La Rédaction de Bâle est financée par le Pool financier international, celle de Heidelberg et Wurzburg par la Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften et la Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, celle de Paris par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, l'Université de Paris X, le Ministère des Affaires Étrangères et le Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale.

Comme par le passé des savants, experts dans divers domaines, nous ont fait bénéficier de leur expérience: pour les textes anciens, le Pr. Walter Burkert (Université de Zurich) et le D<sup>r</sup> Malcolm Davies (Université d'Oxford), pour l'étruscologie, le Pr. Helmut Rix (Université de Fribourg-en-Brisgau) et le D<sup>r</sup> Ingrid Krauskopf (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften), et pour la numismatique, le D<sup>r</sup> Martin J. Price (British Museum), le D<sup>r</sup> I. A. Carradice (British Museum) et le Pr. Herbert A. Cahn (Université de Heidelberg). Qu'ils trouvent ici l'expression de notre reconnaissance la plus sincère. Celle-ci s'adresse également au Séminaire d'Archéologie de l'Université de Bâle (Pr. Rolf Stucky) et à la «Monnaies et Médailles» S.A. (Bâle) qui mettent libéralement à notre disposition les richesses de leurs bibliothèques.

8. *Documentation*: La documentation iconographique répartie dans les divers pays du monde est systématiquement rassemblée, soit par les chercheurs de ces pays, soit par des chargés de mission du CNRS qui collaborent étroitement avec les autorités locales. Les centres de documentation installés dans de nombreux pays s'enrichissent constamment et correspondent régulièrement avec la Rédaction de Paris et la Rédaction centrale de Bâle. Cette documentation est rassemblée à Bâle à la Rédaction centrale.

## II. Patronages d'organisations internationales

Pendant les deux années écoulées depuis la parution du volume IV du *LIMC*, les organismes scientifiques internationaux ont bien voulu poursuivre l'aide financière qu'ils nous accordent. Il est évident que, en raison de la situation économique internationale, cette aide a parfois dû être réduite. Mais l'important pour nous c'est qu'elle continue de nous être apportée, et qu'elle témoigne ainsi de la confiance, j'ose dire sans cesse accrue, dont bénéficie notre entreprise. C'est ainsi que l'Unesco a bien voulu accueillir le *LIMC* parmi ses «organisations non gouvernementales» (ONG), ce qui constitue pour nous une assurance pour la préservation et la permanence du trésor documentaire que nous rassemblons depuis une vingtaine d'années. Parmi les organismes qui ont à nouveau contribué à notre financement, nous avons plaisir à citer et à remercier l'Unesco, Paris, par l'intermédiaire du Conseil international de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines (CIPSH), Paris, et de l'Union Académique Internationale (UAI), Bruxelles. L'Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen (AIESEE), dont le Secrétaire général est à présent le Professeur V. Căndeia (Bucarest), continue à collaborer avec le *LIMC*, qui est aussi patronné par la Commission Internationale de Numismatique (CIN) affiliée au Comité International des Sciences Historiques (CISH).

Comme les autres volumes déjà parus, le tome V a largement bénéficié de l'aide de la communauté scientifique, qui nous est indispensable. Nous tenons à exprimer notre gratitude aux académies, centres de recherche, institutions archéologiques, éphories, surintendances, musées et universités auxquels nous faisons si souvent appel, qu'il s'agisse de renseignements, de photographies ou d'un soutien financier. Je ne saurais assez rendre grâce à ce concours désintéressé et généreux.

Je veux à nouveau redire notre reconnaissance à M. J. d'Ormesson, de l'Académie française, Secrétaire général du CIPSH, au Professeur P. Roberts-Jones, membre de l'Académie, Secrétaire administratif de l'UAI, ainsi qu'aux Professeurs Ch. Delvoye et J. Ch. Balty (Université Libre de Bruxelles et Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire). Le D<sup>r</sup> M. Bouchenaki, Chef de la Section des Campagnes Internationales de Sauvegarde du Patrimoine Culturel de l'Humanité à l'Unesco, ainsi que les diverses délégations auprès de l'Unesco qui veulent bien soutenir nos demandes de subvention, et je mentionne principalement la Délégation grecque qui prend souvent l'initiative, méritent toute notre gratitude.

En France, le Professeur J. Leclant, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, continue à nous apporter son concours scientifique et à nous assurer l'aide morale et financière de l'Académie. Cette année tout particulièrement nous avons bénéficié de ses conseils et de sa présence. Avec lui, les Professeurs P. Demargne, P. Grimal, J. Marcadé, ainsi que d'autres membres de l'Institut n'ont cessé de nous accorder leur soutien efficace et le Professeur F. Chamoux continue à veiller tout particulièrement aux relations entre l'UAI et le LIMC dont il est le représentant. En 1989, M. M. Druon, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie française, a pu nous assurer une donation exceptionnelle. La Direction du C.N.R.S. (Professeurs J. Lautman et A. Tchernia), en dépit d'une situation difficile, a maintenu son concours, et les Ministères de l'Éducation Nationale (M. B. Dormy), par l'intermédiaire de l'Université Lumière Lyon 2, et des Affaires Étrangères (M<sup>me</sup> M.-P. de Cossé-Brissac) ont accordé leur soutien financier.

En Grèce, l'Académie d'Athènes, avec les Professeurs M. Hadzidakis, M. Pallantios, M. Sakellariou, C. Trypanis, A. Vlachos et D. Zakythinos, nous a à nouveau généreusement apporté son assistance financière; et le Conseil de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes (Président le D<sup>r</sup> G. Dontas, Secrétaire général le D<sup>r</sup> V. Petrakos) a doublé sa subvention. L'Université d'Athènes (Recteur M. Stathopoulos), le Musée Bénaki (Directeur D<sup>r</sup> A. Delivorrias), la Fondation Psicha ont continué à nous apporter leur soutien. Le Ministre M<sup>me</sup> M. Mercouri, au nom du Ministère de la Culture, nous a fait une donation exceptionnelle. Comme par le passé, le Service archéologique, les divers éphories et musées ont contribué à la parution de ce nouveau volume en favorisant nos recherches, en nous accordant les autorisations nécessaires pour le rassemblement de la documentation et en nous fournissant quasi gratuitement les illustrations. S. Exc. A. Phrydas, ancien Ambassadeur de Grèce auprès de l'Unesco, n'a cessé au cours de ces deux dernières années encore de nous faire bénéficier de son expérience.

En Italie, à l'occasion des réunions du Conseil de Fondation et du Comité Scientifique international à Rome en mai 1989, réunions qui ont été précédées d'un Colloque sur le thème «Iconographie, Mythologie, Religion», le Comitato per le Scienze storiche, filosofiche e filologiche (CNR), et le Ministero per i Beni Culturali ed Ambientali ont accordé une contribution exceptionnelle à la Fondation pour le LIMC.

En Suisse, le Fonds national suisse de la Recherche scientifique a poursuivi son financement annuel, assurant ainsi à la Rédaction de Bâle la continuité harmonieuse de son travail: comme par le passé, nous tenons à exprimer notre reconnaissance aux Professeurs G. Gaudard (Université de Fribourg), Directeur de la Division des Sciences humaines, et Ch. Bonnet (Université de Genève), rapporteur de l'archéologie, ainsi qu'à M<sup>me</sup> D. Ritter au Secrétariat de la même Division. La Ceramica-Stiftung de Bâle a, cette fois encore, contribué à la publication du nouveau volume par la subvention qu'elle nous accorde généreusement, et nous avons reçu des dons de la Max Geldner-Stiftung, du Vergabungsausschuss de la CIBA-GEIGY, de la Jubiläumsstiftung de la Société de Banque Suisse, de la Fondation Palladion et de M. G. Ortiz. Enfin, le Professeur K. Schefold (Université de Bâle) nous a, comme depuis le début de l'entreprise, conseillés et aidés de bien des manières.

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Je voudrais surtout, en terminant, adresser nos remerciements les plus vifs à tous les membres du Conseil de la Fondation, à ceux du Comité scientifique international, et en particulier à ceux du Comité de Rédaction, ainsi qu'aux membres de la Rédaction centrale de Bâle, des rédactions de Paris, de Heidelberg-Wurzburg, au Centre de documentation d'Athènes (Société archéologique et Comité national grec pour le LIMC), au Centre de documentation de la Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey (Directeur, Pr. J. P. Small, Directeur Assistant, D<sup>r</sup> L. J. Roccas, et les membres du Conseil). Enfin, je redis, au nom de nous tous, notre reconnaissance émue à Jean Pouilloux, de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Président de notre Fondation depuis maintenant cinq ans, sans lequel nous n'aurions pu surmonter les difficultés de toute sorte que nous avons rencontrées; aujourd'hui encore, il suit pas à pas les progrès de notre entreprise, à laquelle il donne le meilleur de lui-même.

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LILLY KAHIL  
Secrétaire général du  
*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*

Lorenzo ABAD CASAL  
Aileen AJOOTIAN  
Christian AUGÉ  
Luis J. BALMASEDA  
Janine BALTY  
Jean Ch. BALTY  
Mihai BĂRBULESCU  
Gerhard BAUCHHENS  
Gratia BERGER-DOER  
Nicole BLANC  
John BOARDMAN  
Stéphanie BOUCHER  
Françoise BRIQUEL-CHATONNET  
Philip BRIZE  
Philippe BRUNEAU  
Maria CACCAMO CALTABIANO  
Herbert A. CAHN  
Fulvio CANCIANI  
Mireille CORBIER  
Francis CROISSANT  
Kenan T. ERIM  
Wassiliki FELTEN  
Tobias FISCHER-HANSEN  
Robert FLEISCHER  
Thomas GANSCHOW  
Michel GAWLIKOWSKI  
Jean-Robert GISLER  
Zlatozara GOČEVA  
Daphné GONDICAS  
Jean-Claude GRENIER  
Antoine HERMARY  
Tonio HÖLSCHER  
Noëlle ICARD-GIANOLIO  
Marie-Odile JENTEL  
Rudolf KÄNEL  
Lilly KAHIL  
Stylianos E. KATAKIS  
Aliko KAUFFMANN-SAMARAS  
Zsolt KISS  
Georgia KOKKOROU-ALEWRAS  
Anneliese KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN  
Hélène KOTSOU  
Ingrid KRAUSKOPF  
Uta KRON  
Eugenio LA ROCCA  
Erich LAUFER  
Annie-France LAURENS  
Marcel LE GLAY  
Pascale LINANT DE BELLEFONDS

# Autoren / Authors / Auteurs / Autori

Catherine LOCHIN  
Ehud Herbert LOEB  
Effie LYGOURI-TOLIA  
Vassiliki MACHAIRA  
Raffaele MAMBELLA  
Ian McPHEE  
Sandra MONTÓN SUBIAS  
Paolo MORENO  
Pierre MÜLLER  
Jennifer NEILS  
Anne NERCESSIAN  
John H. OAKLEY  
Ricardo OLMOS  
Charikleia PAPAGEORGIADOU  
Maria PIPILI  
Rosa PROSKYNITOPOULOU  
François QUEYREL  
Birgitte RAFN  
Petra REICHERT  
Mónica RUIZ BREMÓN  
Vincenzo SALADINO  
Haiganuch SARIAN  
Margot SCHMIDT  
Heinz-Joachim SCHULZKI  
Shirley J. SCHWARZ  
Eleutheria SERBETI  
Alan H. SHAPIRO  
Gérard SIEBERT  
Erika SIMON  
Valerie SMALLWOOD  
Alkestis SPETSIERI-CHOREMI  
Michalis A. TIVERIOS  
Luigi TODISCO  
Odetto TOUCHEFEU-MEYNIER  
Ioannis TOURATSOGLOU  
Christina TRAÏTORAKI  
TRAN TAM TINH  
Francis VIAN  
François VILLARD  
Laurence VILLARD  
Tamara VISSER-CHOITZ  
Doris VOLKKOMMER  
Rainer VOLKKOMMER  
Carina WEISS  
Ernest WILL  
Dyfri WILLIAMS  
Susan WOODFORD  
Nikolaos YALOURIS



## Abkürzungen / Abbreviations / Abréviations / Abbreviazioni

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 Supplement to the List of Abbreviations, vol. I pp. XXXIV-LIII  
 Supplément à la liste des abréviations vol. I pp. XXXIV-LIII  
 Supplemento all'elenco delle abbreviazioni del vol. I pp. XXXIV-LIII

**A. Abkürzungen antiker Texte / Abbreviations of Ancient Texts**  
**Abréviations de textes anciens / Abbreviazioni dei testi antichi**

Für die antiken Autoren sind die Titel griechischer Werke, die nicht in den Abkürzungsverzeichnissen des *LIMC* zu finden sind, nach Liddell/Scott (die *Moralia* Plutarchs nach *Oxford Classical Dictionary*), die Titel lateinischer Werke nach *ThLL* abgekürzt. Für papyrologische Publikationen werden die in Liddell/Scott xliii-xlv und Suppl. x-xi, III. Papyrological publications, verzeichneten Abkürzungen verwendet.

For titles by Greek and Latin authors which do not appear in the List of Abbreviations in *LIMC*, the abbreviations in Liddell/Scott (except for Plutarch, *Moralia* where the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* is used) and *ThLL* are followed. For papyrological publications the abbreviations in Liddell/Scott xliii-xlv and Suppl. x-xi, III. Papyrological publications, are used.

Pour les sources grecques non mentionnées dans les listes d'abréviations du *LIMC*, on se reportera aux abréviations de Liddell/Scott (à l'exception des *Moralia* de Plutarque citées d'après l'*Oxford Classical Dictionary*), pour les sources latines, aux abréviations du *ThLL*.

Les abréviations de publications papyrologiques sont empruntées à Liddell/Scott xliii-xlv et Suppl. x-xi, III. Papyrological publications.

Nelle citazioni le fonti greche non comprese nell'elenco delle abbreviazioni del *LIMC* sono abbreviate secondo Liddell/Scott (i *Moralia* di Plutarco però secondo l'*Oxford Classical Dictionary*); le abbreviazioni delle fonti latine sono invece secondo il *ThLL*. Per le pubblicazioni papirologiche si usano le abbreviazioni elencate in Liddell/Scott xliii-xlv e Suppl. x-xi, III. Papyrological publications.

**SAMMELWERKE**  
**COMPILATIONS**  
**RECUEILS**  
**RACCOLTE**

- Austin CGF Austin, C., Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris reperta (1973)  
 Bernabé PEG Bernabé, A., Poetarum epicorum Graecorum testimonia et fragmenta. Pars I (1987)  
 CIS Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum I-V (1881-1954)  
 Davies EGF Davies, M., Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (1988)  
 Guarducci IC Guarducci, M., Inscriptiones Creticae I-IV (1935-1950)  
 ID Inscriptions de Délos (1926 ss.)  
 IDR Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series I, Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae (1975 ss.)  
 IGLS Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie (1929 ss.)  
 LSCG Sokolowski, F., Lois sacrées des cités grecques (1969)  
 LSCG Suppl. Sokolowski, F., Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément (1962)  
 MAMA Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua (1928 ss.)  
 PCG Kassel, R./Austin, C., Poetae Comici Graeci (1983 ss.)  
 Peek GV Peek, W., Griechische Versinschriften I (1955)  
 PKöln Iff. Papyrologica Coloniensis VII, Kölner Papyri Iff. (1976 ff.)

- |                            |   |                            |  |
|----------------------------|---|----------------------------|--|
| RES                        | Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique I-VII (1908-1937)                       | Corn.                      | Cornutus De natura deorum  |
| Suppl. Hell.               | Lloyd-Jones, H./Parsons, P. J., Supplementum Hellenisticum (1983)         | Dionys. Skyt.              | Dionysios Skytobrachion  |
| TF                         | Klotz, A., Scaenicorum Romanorum Fragmenta I, Tragicorum Fragmenta (1953) | Ephor.                     | Ephoros  |
| Vidman SIRIS               | Vidman, L., Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae (1969) | Eratosth. kat.             | Eratosthenes Katasterismoi   |
|                            |   | Hekat. Abd.                | Hekataios Abderites  |
|                            |   | Hellan.                    | Hellanikos   |
|                            |   | Herodor.                   | Herodoros  |
|                            |   | Lib. narr.                 | Libanios Narrationes   |
|                            |   | Palaiph.                   | Palaiphatos  |
|                            |   | Parth.                     | Parthenios Erotika pathemata   |
|                            |   | Pherekyd.                  | Pherekydes (Athenaios; Syrios)   |
|                            |   | Philoch.                   | Philochoros  |
|                            |   | Stesich.                   | Stesichoros  |
|                            |   | Timai.                     | Timaos   |
|                            |   | Triph.                     | Triphiodoros Iliou halosis   |
| <b>GRIECHISCHE AUTOREN</b> |   |                            |  |
| <b>GREEK AUTHORS</b>       |   |                            |  |
| <b>AUTEURS GRECS</b>       |   |                            |  |
| <b>AUTORI GRECI</b>        |   |                            |  |
| Akus.                      | Akusilaos   | <b>LATEINISCHE AUTOREN</b> |  |
| Alex. Polyh.               | Alexandros Polyhistor   | <b>LATIN AUTHORS</b>       |  |
| Antig.                     | Antigonos Karystios Mirabilia   | <b>AUTEURS LATINS</b>      |  |
| Ant. Lib.                  | Antoninos Liberalis Metamorphoseis  | <b>AUTORI LATINI</b>       |  |
| Apollon. mir.              | Apollonios Mirabilia  | Myth. Vat.                 | Mythographi Vaticani qui vocantur  |
| Asklep. Trag.              | Asclepiades Tragilensis   | Schol. Stat.               | Lactantii Placidi (qui dicitur) commentarii in Statii Achilleida et Thebaida |
| Clem. Al. protr.           | Clemens Alexandrinus Protreptikos   |                            |  |
| - strom.                   | - Stromateis  |                            |  |

**B. Abkürzungen von Zeitschriften und Periodika / Abbreviations of Reviews and Periodicals**  
**Abréviations des revues et périodiques / Abbreviazioni di riviste e periodici**

- |              |  |                |   |
|--------------|--|----------------|---|
| AbhGöttingen | Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse                     | BullNap        | Bullettino Archeologico Napolitano  |
| AION         | Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli. Sezione di archeologia e storia antica | BurlMag        | The Burlington Magazine   |
| AnnFaina     | Annali della Fondazione per il Museo «Claudio Faina»   | BZ             | Byzantinische Zeitschrift   |
| AntAfr       | Antiquités africaines  | ClAnt          | Classical Antiquity   |
| AntW         | Antike Welt  | ContrIstArch   | Contributi dell'Istituto di Archeologia (Pubblicazioni dell'Università del Sacro Cuore [Milano], Contributi ser. III, scienze storiche) |
| ArchLaz      | Archeologia Laziale  | ConvMGrecia    | Atti del ... convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto  |
| AttiCeRDAC   | Atti del Centro ricerche e documentazione sull'antichità classica                              | CronPomp       | Cronache Pompeiane  |
| BollMusCom   | Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma  | CSCA           | California Studies in Classical Antiquity   |
| BullAcBelg   | Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique  | DamMitt        | Damaszener Mitteilungen   |
| BullAIEMA    | Bulletin d'information de l'Association internationale pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique     | DdA            | Dialoghi di archeologia   |
| BullAllenMem | Oberlin College. Dudley Peter Allen Memorial Art Museum. Bulletin                              | DHA            | Dialogues d'histoire ancienne   |
|              |  | EpetAth        | Επιστημονική Έπετηρίς Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών   |
|              |  | EpetThess      | Επιστημονική Έπετηρίς Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης   |
|              |  | From the Coll. | From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek   |

GettyMusJ	The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal	QuadLinc	Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura, Quaderni
GrazBeitr	Grazer Beiträge. Zeitschrift für die klassische Altertumswissenschaft	QuadTic	Quaderni ticinesi. Numismatica e antichità classiche
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum	QuadVen	Quaderni di archeologia del Veneto
JbBadWürtt	Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg	RAE	Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est
JbHamburg	Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen	RAN	Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies	RdA	Rivista di Archeologia
LeipzWBl	Leipziger Winckelmannsblatt	RSL	Rivista di studi liguri
Liber annuus	Studii biblici Franciscani Liber annuus (Jerusalem)	SbLeipzig	Berichte über die Verhandlungen (seit 1963: Sitzungsberichte) der (Königlich) Sächsischen Gesellschaft (seit 1919: Akademie) der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse (1846 ff.)
MeddelNyCarlsbergGlypt	Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek	StadelJb	Stadel-Jahrbuch
MemRodi	Memorie pubblicate a cura dell'istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi	StCl	Studii Clasice
MemTorino	Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche	StRom	Studi Romani
MetrMusJ	Metropolitan Museum Journal	StudMatStorRel	Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni
Muse	Muse, Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia	TrierWPr	Trierer Winckelmannsprogramm
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology	VDI	Vestnik drevnej istorii
ProcAmPhilSoc	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society	WZRostock	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock, gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe
QuadLibia	Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia	ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
		ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

## C. Andere Abkürzungen / Other Abbreviations / Autres Abréviations / Altre abbreviazioni

ABV	Beazley, J. D., Attic Black-figure Vase-painters (1956)	AGRP (Copenhagen)	Christiansen, J./Torben, M. (ed.), Proceedings of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen 1987 (1988)
Add	Burn, L./Glynn, R., Beazley Addenda (1982)	Alfieri, Spina	Alfieri, N., Spina, Museo archeologico nazionale di Ferrara I (1979)
Add <sup>2</sup>	Carpenter, Th. H., et al., Beazley Addenda <sup>2</sup> (1989)	Alföldi, Kontorniat-Medaillons	Alföldi, A. und E., Die Kontorniat-Medaillons (1976)
AGD IV	Schlüter, M./Platz-Horster, G./Zazoff, P., Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen IV, Hannover, Kestner-Museum, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (1975)	Amyx, CVP	Amyx, D.A., Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period I-III (1988)
Agora	The Athenian Agora, Results of Excavations I ff. (1953 ff.)	Apamée	Fouilles d'Apamée de Syrie I ss. (1969 ss.)
AGRP (Amsterdam)	Brijder, H. A. G. (ed.), Ancient Greek and Related Pottery. Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam 12-15 April 1984 (1984)	Apamée Misc.	Fouilles d'Apamée de Syrie, Miscellanea fasc. I ss. (1968 ss.)

ArchHom ARV <sup>2</sup>	Archaeologia Homerica Beazley, J. D., Attic Red-figure Vase-painters <sup>2</sup> (1963)	Boardman/Vollenweider, CatGems Oxford I	Boardman, J./Vollenweider, M.-L., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings I (1978)
Babelon, Achéménides	Babelon, E., Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale: les Perses Achéménides, les satrapes et les dynastes tributaires de leur empire, Chypre et Phénicie (1893)	Borbein, Campanareliefs	Borbein, A. H., Campanareliefs. Typologische und stilkritische Untersuchungen. RM 14. Erg.-H. (1968)
Babelon, Bibl NatCamées	Babelon, E., Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale (1897)	Bordenache, ScultBucarest	Bordenache, G., Sculpture greche e romane del Museo Nazionale di Antichità di Bucarest I (1969)
Babelon, de Luynes	Babelon, J., Catalogue de la collection de Luynes I (1924), II (1925), III (1930), IV (1936)	v. Bothmer, Amasis	v. Bothmer, D., The Amasis Painter and his World (1985)
Babelon, Syrie	Babelon, E., Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale: les rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène (1890)	Brommer, H.	Brommer, F., Herakles. Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur <sup>2</sup> (1972)
Bailey, BMLamps I	Bailey, D. M., A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum I, Greek, Hellenistic, and Early Roman Pottery Lamps (1975)	Brommer, Hephaistos	Brommer, F., Hephaistos. Der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst (1978)
Bailey, BMLamps II	Bailey, D. M., A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum II, Roman Lamps Made in Italy (1980)	Brommer, Herakles II	Brommer, F., Herakles. Die unkanonischen Taten des Helden (1984)
Bailey, BMLamps III	Bailey, D. M., A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum III, Roman Imperial Lamps (1988)	Brommer, Odysseus	Brommer, F., Odysseus. Die Taten und Leiden des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur (1983)
Baratte/Metzger, SarcLouvre	Baratte, F./Metzger, C., Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époques romaine et paléochrétienne (1985)	Brommer, Vulkan	Brommer, F., Der Gott Vulkan auf provincialrömischen Reliefs (1973)
Benson, KorVasen	Benson, J. L., Die Geschichte der korinthischen Vasen (1953)	Brouskari, CatAcr	Brouskari, M. S., The Acropolis Museum. A Descriptive Catalogue (1974)
Berger, Parthe DokMet	Berger, E., Der Parthenon in Basel. Dokumentation zu den Metopen (1986)	Bruneau, Cultes	Bruneau, Ph., Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale (1970)
Berger, SlgLudwig II	Berger, E., et al., Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig II, Terrakotten und Bronzen (1982)	Budischovsky, DiffIsAdriatique	Budischovsky, M.-C., La diffusion des cultes isiaques autour de la mer Adriatique I, Inscriptions et monuments, EPRO 61 (1977)
Berger/Lullies, SlgLudwig I	Berger, E./Lullies, R., et al., Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig I, Frühe Tonsarkophage und Vasen (1979)	Buitron, NewEngland	Buitron, D., Attic Vase Painting in New England Collections (1972)
Besques III, IV	Besques, S., Musée National du Louvre, Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains III (1971-72), IV I (1986)	Burkert, GrRel	Burkert, W., Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche (1977)
Boardman, ARFH II	Boardman, J., Athenian Red Figure Vases, The Classical Period, a handbook (1989)	CCCA	Vermaseren, M. J., Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque, EPRO 50 (1977 ss.)
Boardman, GSAP	Boardman, J., Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period (1978)	CCET	Gočeva, Zl./Oppermann, M., Corpus Cultus Equitis Thracii, EPRO 74 (1979 ss.)
Boardman, GSCP	Boardman, J., Greek Sculpture. The Classical Period (1985)	CerEtr	Martelli, M. (ed.), La ceramica degli Etruschi. La pittura vascolare (1987)
		CesnolaColl	Cesnola, L. P. di, A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York I (1885), II (1894), III (1903)



- Chabouillet, *BiblNatCamées* Chabouillet, A., Catalogue général et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale (1858) Forrer, *Weber*
- Charbonneaux, *SculptLouvre* Charbonneaux, J., La sculpture grecque et romaine au Musée du Louvre (1963) Fränkel, *Namen*
- CIMRM* Vermaseren, M. J., Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae I (1956), II (1960) Froning, *Schmuckreliefs*
- Clarac Clarac, C. O. F. J. B. comte de, Musée de sculpture antique et moderne ou description historique et graphique du Louvre et de toutes ses parties I-VII (1826-1850) Fuchs, *Skulptur*<sup>3</sup>
- CMRED* Tudor, D., Corpus monumentorum religionis Equitum Danuviorum I-II, *EPRO* 13, I-II (1969, 1976) Gâbrici, *Bronzo*
- Comstock/Vermeule, *BronzesBoston* Comstock, M./Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1971) Gaebler, *Makedonia I; II*
- Comstock/Vermeule, *SculptBoston* Comstock, M. B./Vermeule, C., Sculpture in Stone. The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1976) Geißen, *AlexKaisermünzen III*
- Corinth* Corinth, Results of the Excavations Iff. (1932 ff.) Geißen/Weiser, *AlexKaisermünzen IV*
- Courby, *Vases à reliefs* Courby, F., Les vases grecs à reliefs (1922) Getty *Vases I ff.*
- CSE* Corpus speculorum Etruscorum (1981 ss.) Glaspasten *Würzb I*
- Cumont, *MMM* Cumont, F., Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra I (1899), II (1896) Gorbunova
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- EncVirg Ephesos* Enciclopedia Virgiliana Forschungen in Ephesos Iff. (1906 ff.) HDHG (Rouen)
- EVP* Beazley, J. D., Etruscan Vase-painting (1947) Henig, *Corpus*<sup>2</sup>
- ExpSieglin* Expedition E. von Sieglin, Ausgrabungen in Alexandria. I Die Nekropole von Kôm-esch-Schukâfa (1908).

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- IconogrCl* Kahil, L./Augé, C./Linant de Bellefonds, P. (éd.), Iconographie classique et identités régionales, *BCH Suppl.* 14 (1986) *LfrgE*
- IGCH* Thompson, M./Mørkholm, O./Kraay, C. M., An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards (1973) *Lindos*
- ImagesSoc (Lausanne)* Bérard, C./Bron, C./Pomari, A. (éd.), Images et société en Grèce ancienne, Lausanne 1984 (1987) *Lippold, Gemmen*
- Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* Imhoof-Blumer, F., «Fluß- und Meerergötter auf griechischen und römischen Münzen», *RSNum* 23, 1923, 173-421 *Lippold, Kopien*
- Imhoof-Blumer, *GrM* Imhoof-Blumer, F., Griechische Münzen, *AbhMünchen* 18, 1890, 525-798 *Loewy, IGB*
- Imhoof-Blumer, *KIM* Imhoof-Blumer, F., Kleinasiatische Münzen I (1901), II (1902) *MacDonald, Hunter*
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- Jentel, *Gutti* Jentel, M.-O., Les gutti e les askoi à reliefs étrusques et apuliens (1976) *Marshall, BM Jewellery*
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- Koch/Sichter-mann, *RömSark* Koch, G./Sichtermann, H., Römische Sarkophage, *HbArch* (1982) *Mayo, Vases MagnaGraecia*
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- RVAp Trendall, A. D./Cambitoglou, A., The Red-figured Vases of Apulia, I Early and Middle Apulian (1978); II Late Apulian; Indexes (1982)
- RVAp Suppl. 1 Trendall, A. D./Cambitoglou, A., First Supplement to The Red-figured Vases of Apulia (BICS Suppl. 42, 1983)
- RVP Trendall, A. D., The Red-figured Vases of Paestum (1987)
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- SCE The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Iff. (1934 ff.)
- Schefold, *SB III* Schefold, K., Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst (1981)
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Wiegartz,  
KISäulensark

Wrede,  
Consecratio  
Wuilleumier/  
Audin,  
Médaillons

Zazoff, AG

Züchner, Klapp-  
spiegel

Wiegartz, H., Kleinasiatische  
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spiegel, *Jdl* 14. Erg.-H. (1942)

# Abkürzungen von Museumsnamen Abbreviations of Museum Names Abréviations de noms de musées Abbreviazioni di nomi di musei

Adolphseck  
Altenburg  
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson  
Angers, Mus. Pincé  
Ann Arbor, Kelsey Mus.

Antakya, Mus. Hatay  
Basel, Antikenmus.  
Berkeley, Lowie Mus.

Bern, Hist. Mus.  
Boston, MFA  
Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts  
Braunschweig, Mus.  
Brunswick, Bowdoin College  
Bruxelles, Mus. Roy.  
Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler  
Mus. (formerly Fogg)  
Cambridge, Fitz. Mus.  
Capua, Mus. Camp.  
Columbia (Missouri), Univ.

Copenhagen, Glypt.  
Copenhagen, Mus. Thorv.  
Cortona, Mus. Acc. Etr.  
Firenze, Uff.  
Genève, Mus.  
Halle, Univ.

Hamburg, Mus. KG  
Hildesheim, Pel.-Mus.  
Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus.  
Leiden, Rijksmus.  
London, BM  
Lyon, Mus. gallo-rom.  
Madison (Wisc.), Elvehjem  
Mus.

Mainz, RGZM  
Malibu, Getty Mus.  
Melbourne, Nat. Gall.  
Montpellier, Mus. Soc. Arch.  
Moscou, Mus. Poushkine  
München, Antikenslg.  
München, Ägypt. Slg.  
München, Glypt.  
München, Münzslg.  
Narbonne, Mus. Lapidaire  
New York, MMA  
Nijmegen, Rijksmus.  
Oxford, Ashm. Mus.  
Palermo, Mus. Reg.

Adolphseck, Schloß Fasanerie  
Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum  
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum  
Angers, Musée Turpin-de-Crissé dit Musée Pincé  
Ann Arbor (Michigan), University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum of  
Ancient and Medieval Archaeology  
Antakya, Musée Archéologique du Hatay  
Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig  
Berkeley (California), Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of  
California  
Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum  
Boston (Massachusetts), Museum of Fine Arts  
Boulogne-sur-Mer, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie  
Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum  
Brunswick (Maine), Bowdoin College Museum of Art  
Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire  
Cambridge (Massachusetts), Arthur M. Sackler Museum (formerly Fogg Art  
Museum), Harvard University  
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum  
Capua, Museo Provinciale Campano  
Columbia (Missouri), Art Department, University of Missouri, Fine Arts  
Center  
Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg  
Copenhagen, Musée Thorvaldsen  
Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca  
Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi  
Genève, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire  
Halle, Archäologisches Museum Robertinum der Martin-Luther-Universi-  
tät Halle  
Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe  
Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum  
Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum  
Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden  
London, The British Museum  
Lyon, Musée de la Civilisation gallo-romaine  
Madison (Wisconsin), Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-  
Madison  
Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum  
Malibu (California), J. Paul Getty Museum  
Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria  
Montpellier, Musée de la Société Archéologique  
Moscou, Musée d'Etat des Beaux-Arts Poushkine  
München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen  
München, Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst  
München, Glyptothek  
München, Staatliche Münzsammlung  
Narbonne, Musée Lapidaire (Eglise Notre-Dame-de-La-Mourguie)  
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam  
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology  
Palermo, Museo Regionale (già Museo Nazionale)

- Paris, Cab. Méd.  
 Princeton, Univ. Art Mus.  
 Roma, Mus. Cap.  
 Roma, Mus. Naz. Rom.  
 Roma, Pal. Cons.  
 Rouen, Mus. Dép.  
 San Simeon, State Hist. Mon.  
 Sorrento, Mus. Correale  
 Stuttgart, Landesmus.  
 Sydney, Nicholson Mus.  
 Toronto, ROM  
 Trieste, Mus. Civ.  
 Tunis, Bardo  
 Vaticano, Astarita  
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 a) Alone ..... 2604  
 b) With others ..... 2605-2614  
 4. Herakles stands with Kerberos and Athena ..... 2615  
 5. Herakles brings Kerberos to Eurystheus ..... 2616  
 6. Hermes and Kerberos without Herakles ..... 2617  
 7. Herakles and Kerberos; other groups ..... 2618-2620  
 8. Composition unknown  
 9. Uncertain and incorrect identifications ..... 2621-2627  
 ROMAN  
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 11. Herakles stands with chained Kerberos ..... 2631-2638  
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 13. Herakles leads Kerberos ..... 2643-2667  
 14. Other types ..... 2668-2671

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 16. Uncertain identification ..... 2674-2675  
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 GREEK  
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 3. Herakles, Atlas, Hesperides and others ..... 2684-2689  
 4. Herakles alone in the Garden ..... 2690-2699  
 5. Herakles in the Garden with Hesperides ..... 2700-2715  
 6. Herakles in the Garden with Hesperides and others ..... 2716-2729  
 7. Herakles alone with apples ..... 2730-2732  
 8. Herakles in Olympus with the apples  
 9. Uncertain and incorrect ..... 2733-2741  
 ROMAN  
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 4. Herakles fights at Troy ..... 2792  
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 Acheloos  
 Aktorione  
 Aleos  
 Alkestis  
 Alkyoneus  
 Antaios  
 Antigone  
 Arete  
 Auge ..... 2797  
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 Cacus  
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 Peliou Athla ..... 2801-2803  
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 B. *Herakles fights a snake* ..... 2820-2833  
 C. *Herakles fights various other animals*  
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 2. Three winged youths ..... 2838  
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 GREEK CLASSICAL  
 3. Introduction to Zeus  
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 6. Herakles mounts, Athena stands beside ..... 2903-2908  
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 GREEK  
 1. Herakles and Athena alone  
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 c) Herakles and Athena face the same way . . . 3087-3094  
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 ROMAN . . . 3191-3200  
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 GREEK  
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 2. With Dionysos and others . . . 3209-3215  
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 4. Herakles asleep is robbed by satyrs . . . 3230-3238  
 5. Herakles threatens, pursues or captures satyrs . . . 3239-3245  
 ROMAN  
 6. With Dionysos alone or without thiasos . . . 3246-3252  
 7. With Dionysos at feast . . . 3253-3254  
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 9. Thiasos, usually with Dionysos  
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 b) As a, but also attacking woman . . . 3261-3268  
 c) Herakles in lionskin running with torch . . . 3269  
 d) Herakles recumbent, drunken . . . 3270-3271  
 e) Other scenes . . . 3272-3275  
 10. With satyrs/maenads  
 a) Drunken Herakles supported . . . 3276-3284  
 b) As a, but attacking a woman . . . 3285-3286  
 c) Other scenes . . . 3287-3291  
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 J. *Hebe* (A. F. Laurens)  
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 c) On Olympus . . . 3308-3312  
 d) Other scenes . . . 3313  
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 3. Marriage; Herakles and Hebe as a couple  
 a) Marriage . . . 3330-3340  
 b) Herakles and Hebe together . . . 3341-3342  
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 M. *Hermes/Mercury* (J. Boardman)  
 GREEK . . . 3349-3357  
 ROMAN . . . 3358-3368  
 N. *Poseidon* (J. Boardman) . . . 3369-3370  
 O. *Zeus/Jupiter* (J. Boardman)  
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- Concordia . . . 3414  
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 Dioskouroi . . . 3417  
 Eos/Aurora . . . 3418  
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 a) With Eros and other gods  
 b) Eros/Eroses play with or steal Herakles' equipment . . . 3419-3431  
 c) Herakles on one knee; Eros on shoulder . . . 3432-3434  
 d) Herakles with hands tied behind back . . . 3435-3438  
 e) Herakles walking, Eros/Eroses binding his legs . . . 3439-3441  
 f) Herakles and Eros beside altar . . . 3442  
 g) Other scenes . . . 3443-3451  
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 GREEK  
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 ROMAN . . . 3484-3487  
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 a) Herakles with Palaimon . . . 3488-3495  
 b) Herakles carries Palaimon . . . 3496-3497  
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 B. *In Hades* . . . 3515-3520  
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- Ariadne  
 Athena, birth of  
 Medeia  
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#### IV. *Herakles Labours*

Within this section the Labours are generally referred to by Roman numerals, thus:

- I Lion  
 II Hydra  
 III Boar

- IV Deer  
 V Birds  
 VI Augeias  
 VII Bull  
 VIII Horses of Diomedes  
 IX Amazon  
 X Geryon  
 XI Kerberos  
 XII Hesperides

#### A. *Herakles Dodekathlos*

In later literature and art H.'s Labours for → Eurystheus of Argos were «canonised» in content and order. This section is devoted to monuments which display the canon, its variants and its possible origins.

H.'s service to Eurystheus in performing the Labours was attributed to the malignity of Hera. Some episodes demonstrate this service, others appear to have been adapted or borrowed to swell the number without especial regard to Eurystheus, and at all times other deeds of H. could be associated with those more implicitly connected with his service to the king.

LITERARY SOURCES: The word *δωδεκάθλος* does not appear before the Roman period (Liddell/Scott s.v.) and is then applied to the victor, not the series of Labours. Literary evidence of iconographic value relates to the identity, number and order of the Labours performed for Eurystheus.

Dire Labours to be performed for an inferior mortal are mentioned by H. in Hades in Hom. *Od.* 11, 621-622 and Eurystheus is named in *Il.* 8, 363; 15, 639-640; 19, 133. Hera's enmity for H., which lies behind the imposition of the Labours is alluded to in *Il.* 18, 119; 19, 133. Although service to Eurystheus is the theme of several of the Labours this is not always the sole reason for H.'s ordeals. Euripides acknowledges the possible role of Hera's enmity but the Labours are the price H. has to pay for regaining his Argive birthright and their purpose is a civilizing one, cleansing land and sea (*Herc.* 14-22), a point made earlier by Pindar (*N.* 1, 61-63). In Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (73) 4, 12 his twelve-year service and ten Labours (Eurystheus disputed the validity of two) were the price of his immortality, promised by the Pythia. In Hes. *sc.* 89-94, in lines mentioning H.'s *ἀεθλοι*, it is → Iphikles who served Eurystheus. Virgil (*Aen.* 8, 291) has *mille labores* for Eurystheus, and a confused list.

Of the canonic Labours only → Kerberos is mentioned in Homer (*Il.* 8, 362-369; *Od.* 11, 623-626). Hesiod describes several: *theog.* 287-294, Geryon (cf. 979-983); 313-318, the Hydra reared by Hera to fight H.; as is the Lion, 327-332. Peisandros of Rhodes wrote an epic *Herakleia* (Davies *EGF* pp. 131-133), probably in the later 7th cent., and Theocritus' epigram (22) for a statue of him claims that he described «all the Labours that he completed». Peis. is elsewhere mentioned as dealing with the Lion, Hydra, Deer, Birds, Geryon, and, of other adventures, Antaios, centaurs, Troy and perhaps the journey to the

west (cf. Huxley, G. L., *Greek Epic Poetry* [1969] 100-105).

While allusions to individual Labours are not uncommon they are not in extant literature treated as a group until the 5th cent. Pindar is surprisingly reticent about them, referring simply to the many lawless monsters H. would slay on land and sea (N. I, 61-63); but in a poem which seems to have dealt with H. in more detail (Pind. *frag.* 169 Snell/Maehler; see Pavese, C., *HSCP* 72, 1968, 81-83) he is able to number them since he refers, perhaps to Kerberos, as the twelfth (or possibly tenth; we have *ἡεκάτ[η]*). The exact composition and order of the Labours in Panyassis' *Herakleia* are not known (Huxley, *o.c.* 182-186; Matthews, V. J., *Panyassis of Halikarnassos* [1974] 21-26). The chorus in Soph. *Trach.* (1089-1102) mentions I, II, Centaurs, III, XI, XII in one passage, and the chorus in Eur. *Herc.* (359-435) has twelve, but three are outside the later canon, and the Hesperides and Atlas episodes are treated separately (the order is I, Centaurs, IV, VIII, Kyknos, XII, Sea-clearing, XII [Atlas], IX, II, X, XI). The choice of the additional three reinforces Euripides' presentation of the Labours as beneficial to mankind (Bond, *ad loc.*). That twelve are mentioned, whatever the composition, may be significant.

The order of the Labours in these plays is irregular but both have I first, and for the last Eur. has XI, Soph. XII. The next references to the twelve, without specifying the content, are in Theokr. 24, 82; Apoll. Rhod. I, 1317-1318; Euphorion *frag.* 51, 13 Powell; perhaps Kleantes, *SVF* I 115 *frag.* 514; Kall. *frag.* 23, 19-20 Pf. Plautus, whose sources are 4th cent. and later, has I, II, IV, III, V and Antaios in *Persa* 3-4 and knows a 'sixth' (perhaps V or VI) in *Epid.* 179. In a Hellenistic (?) tragedy, H. on Oita reflects on a number of his Labours and exploits (*TGF* II F 653).

The canonic composition and order, as expressed in the table above, appears only in later writers, and has been adopted from them by modern scholars, since it is an order only rarely met on monuments (1730. 1731). It appears thus in Diod. 4, 8-27 (with other episodes) and the *Tabula Albana* (IG XIV 1293; *FGH* 40 F 1c; Sadurska, *Tables* 86-89). There are slight differences in the order in Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (74-126) 5 (exchanging III and IV, V and VI, XI and XII); followed by Tzet. *chil.* 2, 232-410; Hyg. *fab.* 30 (exchanging XI and XII); Q. Smyrn. 6, 200-268 (exchanging VIII and IX, XI and XII); and an incomplete version of the canonic order in Serv. *Aen.* 8, 299.

A different order, but one followed by several monuments (1713-1729) is I-V, IX, VI-VIII, X-XII, found in *Anth. Pal.* 16, 92; *Anth. Lat.* 1, 627 Buecheler/Riese; Auson. *eccl.* 24 Prete (exchanging XI and XII). The canonic order keeps together I-VI, which are the Peloponnesian episodes, taking H. then south (VII), north (VIII), east (IX), west (X), to the Underworld (XI), and to the far west en route to Olympus (XII). The variant order brings Amazons (IX) into a more prominent position at the end of the first half (Robert 432-433, saw here Commodus' interest in the Amazon story but our 1714 may be earlier). In both schemes, as in art, XI and XII may be exchanged.

A meaningless order for all or many of the Labours appears in *Anth. Pal.* 16, 91 (on a monument at Pergamon); 93 (Gow/Page, *The Garland of Philip II* 366 Philip 68); Lucr. 5, 22-36; Sen. *Ag.* 829-866, *Herc. f.* 222-248, *Herc. O.* 16-27; Martialis 9, 101, 4-10.

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## CATALOGUE

### 1. Archaic Greek

Monuments with four or more episodes are listed, in approximate chronological order. There may have been groups of episodes on Corinthian vases: e.g., *Perachora* II no. 2542 pls. 106. 110, which has I, X and Kerkopes, with room for more on the frieze (Middle Corinthian); and there are pairs, e.g. the lost cup, Schefold, *Sagenbilder* fig. 23, with II, XI.

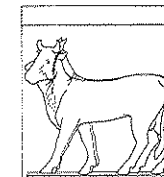
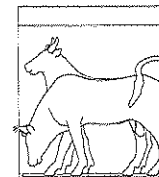
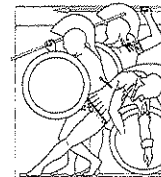
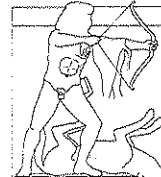
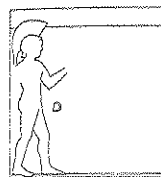
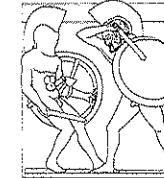
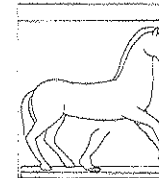
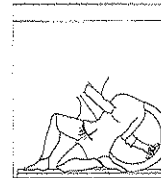
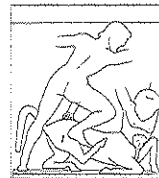
**1697.** Wood, ivory and gold. Chest of Kypselos at Olympia. Lost. - Paus. 5, 17-19; Overbeck, *SQ* no. 256. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - II, X, XII, Atlas, Centaurs; with many other myth figures and groups. The H. scenes are not grouped.

**1698.\*** Limestone metopes on the 'Treasury' of Hera at the R. Silaris, Paestum. Paestum Mus. - Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele II* (1954) and *AttiMGreca* 5, 1964, 83-95; Simon, E., *JdI* 82, 1967, 275-295; Napoli, M., *Civiltà della M. Grecia* (1969) 369-382; Schmidt, M., in *Festschr. F. Brommer* (1977) 265-275; Croissant, F., *BCH* 89, 1965, 390-399; Schefold, *SBII* 223, 261-262, 269. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - I, III, Deianeira (= Deianeira II 9), Nessos, Apollo and tripod, Kerkopes, Pholos and Centaurs, Antaios (?), Giant (= Alkyoneus 35, doubtful), Hera and satyrs (= 3348a). The order is unknown and variously conjectured.

**1699.** Clay metopes on Temple B, Himera. - Adriani, A., *et al.*, *Himera I* (1970) 173. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - A number of Labours are very doubtfully identified in the few small fragments.

**1700.** Bronze plaques on the Temple of Athena Chalkioikos, Sparta, by Gitiadas. Lost. - Paus. 3, 17, 3; Overbeck, *SQ* no. 357. - Later 6th cent. B.C. - 'Many' deeds of H.

**1701.** Throne of Apollo at Amyklai, by Bathykles. Lost. - Paus. 3, 18, 10-16; Overbeck, *SQ* no. 360. - Later 6th cent. B.C. - I, II, VIII, X-XII, Acheloos, Ak-



Herakles 1703

torione, Atlas, Introduction, Kyknos, Nessos, Oreios (centaur), Pholos, Thourios (giant). Paus. does not make clear how closely the scenes may be grouped.

**1702.\*** Volute crater, Attic rf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 77.AE.11 (once part Paris G 166 and Florence PD 507). - *ARV* 186, 51/52: Kleophrades P.; *Add* 188; Greifenhagen, A., *Neue Fragmente des Kleophradesmalers, SbHeidelberg* (1972) pls. 20-25; Frel, J., *GettyMusJ* 4, 1977, 68-69 figs. 9-12. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - In one frieze, II (= Iolaos 23), X, XII; in another, Amazonomachy.

**1703.\*** Marble metopes on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. Delphi Mus. - De La Coste Messelière, P., *FDelphes* IV 4 (1957) and *BCH* 90, 1966, 709 (removing ? Tripod); Boardman, *GSAP* fig. 213; Hoffelner, K., *AM* 103, 1988, 93-103. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - *FDelphes* order is - West (rear): X. North: I, Centaur, VIII?, IV, Atlas?, Kyknos, IX (= Amazones 95). Hoffelner order (as illustrated) is - East: I, Centaur, IV, IX, VIII, Kyknos. West: X.

**1704.** Dedication of Herakleia Pontou at Olympia. Unknown material. Lost. - Paus. 5, 26, 7. - I, II, XI, III. The occasion was a successful invasion of the neighbouring Mariandynoi, so probably Late Archaic. In the territory of the Mariandynoi lay an entrance to Hades whence H. brought Kerberos (cf. *ML* II 1, 1124 s.v. 'Kerberos').

### 2. Classical and Hellenistic Greek

Monuments with, or suspected of having had, eight or more episodes are listed, in approximate chronological order.

**1705.\*\*** Marble metopes on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Olympia Mus.; Paris, Louvre. - Paus. 5, 10, 9 (Overbeck, *SQ* no. 1034) gives the order, accidentally omitting XI; Ashmole, B./Yalouris, N., *Olympia* (1967); Ashmole, B., *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece* (1972) ch. 3; Stucchi, S., *ASAtene* 30-32, 1955, 117-126 (suggests a rearrangement, the original order being different; this is not followed here);

Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 22; Geertman, H., *BullAntBesch* 57, 1982, 70-86; Vollkommer fig. 1. - Completed by 456 B.C. - West end: I, II, V, VII, IV, IX (= Amazones 97). East end: III, VIII, X, XII, XI, VI.

**1706.\*\*** Marble metopes on the Temple of Hephaistos at Athens. - Koch, H., *Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen* (1955) pls. 18-23; Morgan, C., *Hesperia* 31, 1962, 211-219; Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 111. - About 450 B.C. - East facade: I, II, IV, III, VIII, XI, IX (= Amazones 99), X (two metopes), XII. Eight metopes of Theseus scenes on adjacent side metopes and perhaps the inner frieze. Theseus centauromachy at west end.

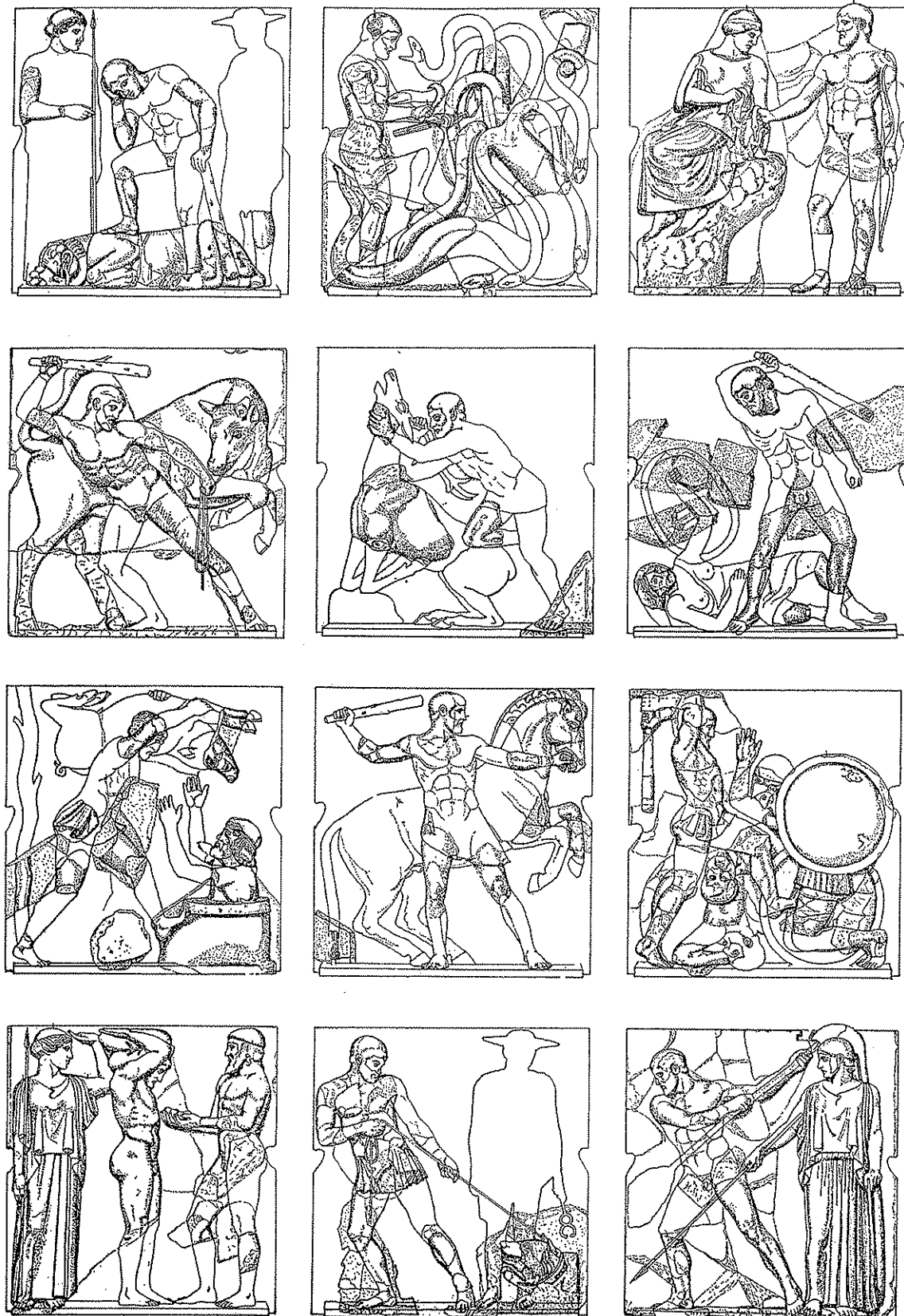
**1707.** Marble column reliefs from the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. London, BM 1220-1221. 1204-1206. 1215. - *BMSculpture* II; Lethaby, W. R., *JHS* 36, 1916, 25-31. - 350-300 B.C. - Identifications are most uncertain and the order unknown. IV, XII, Alkestis (= Alkestis 61), Antaios, Kyknos, Omphale, Triton.

**1708.\*** Marble votive relief. Sunium. From the Herakleion. - Young, J. H., *Hesperia* 10, 1941, 172-175, 186-189. - 4th cent. B.C. (?); Schefold/Jung, *SB* IV 347 n. 302: 'neo-Attic/Roman'. - Incomplete. Side A: Theseus and Minotaur and IV. Side B: H. with Eurystheus in pithos (III). Back (in pairs): VIII and X, Centaur and XII. Front: athlete victor. Apparently a long series of perhaps 24 scenes devoted to H. and Theseus.

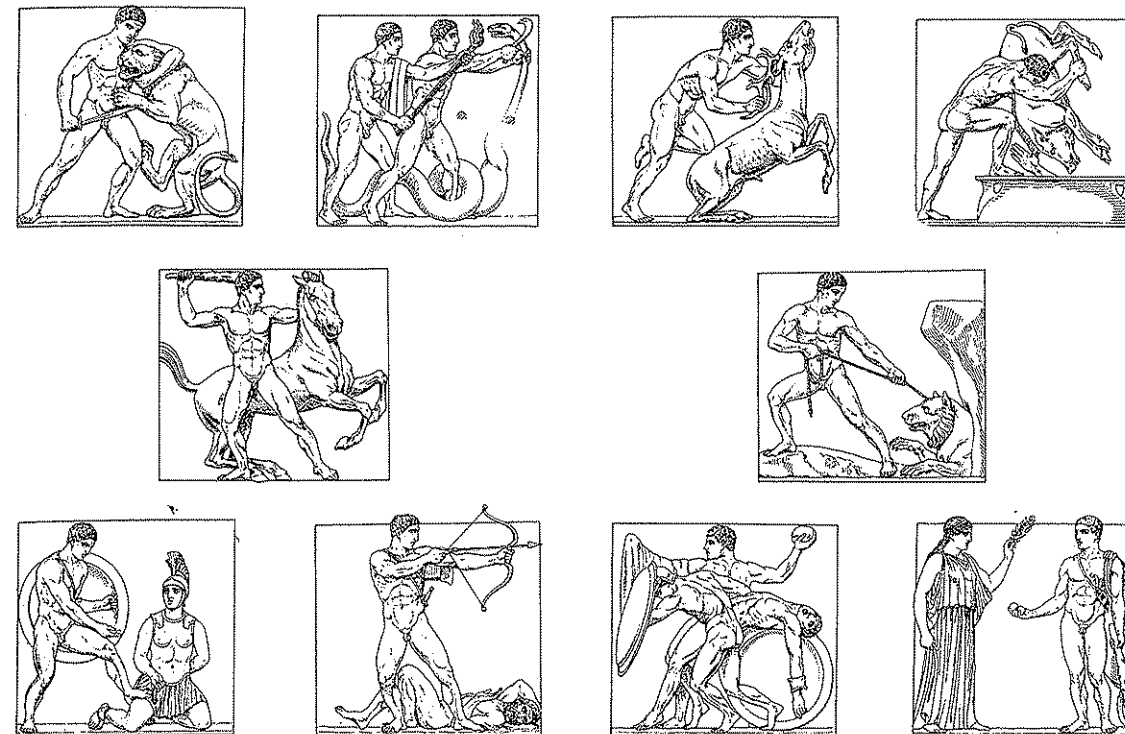
**1709.** Statues by Lysippus at Alyzia. Taken to Rome. Lost. - Strabon 10, 2, 21 p. 459 (Overbeck, *SQ* no. 1477); Loeffler, E., *Marsyas* 6, 1950-53, 8-24; Hausmann 85-86; Borbein, *Campanareliefs* 167-168; Fazio, G. M., *Annali Bari* 19/20, 1976/7, 71-98; Voegtli 46-58; Moreno. - Later 4th cent. B.C. - 'The Labours', number and order unknown.

**1710.** 'Pediments by Praxiteles' in the Temple of Herakles at Thebes. Lost. - Paus. 9, 11, 6 (Overbeck, *SQ* no. 1285). - 4th cent. B.C. - I-IV, VII-XII, Antaios. Order unknown.

**1711.\*** Clay relief bowl. Once Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 3161g. From Anthedon. - Robert, C., *Homörische Becher* (1890) 86-89 fig. e; Hausmann 67; Sinn,



Herakles 1705



Herakles 1706

Becher 104 MB 39 fig. 8, 2. – Mid 2nd cent. B.C. – Inscribed *ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΘΛΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ*. I-IV, XI, VII; another six Labours may have appeared on a companion bowl. Cf. the bowl with X, XII, IX, IV; Athens, NM 12618; Hausmann pls. 65, 2; 66. 67.

### 3. Roman

Monuments with eight or more episodes are listed.

a) **Monuments in which the order of scenes is I-V, IX, VI-VIII, X-XII.** Cf. de Waele 39-42.

#### Mosaic

1713.\* Valence Mus. From near Saint-Paul-lès-Romans. – Lavagne 269-290 figs. 1-12. – A.D. 150-200. – Also Antaios, Centaur.

#### Sarcophagi

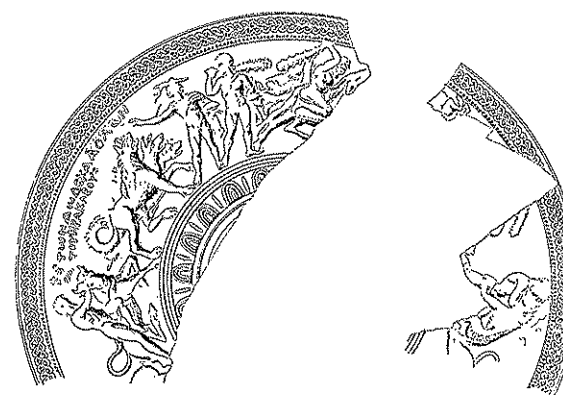
1714.\* Roman. Velletri, Mus. Civ. From Velletri. – Andreae pls. 1-4; Lawrence, M., *AJA* 69, 1965, 207-222 pls. 45-48. 52. 54; Bartoccini figs. 2-4. 11. 14. 15. 25-36. 40; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 189. – Late Hadrianic. – Also = Alkestis 21\*, = Admete 3\*.

1715.\* Roman. Once Rome. – *SarkRel* III 1 no. 101 pl. 28. – A.D. 150-200. – XI is missing.

1716.\* Roman. Mantua, Pal. Ducale and Munich, Glypt. – *SarkRel* III 1 no. 102 pl. 28 and no. 109 pl. 30; Levi, A., *Scult. Pal. Ducale Mantova* (1931) no. 191 pls. 107-109; *Marsyas* 6, 1954, pl. 5, 1; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* no. 22 pls. 48, 1; 51. 53, 1. – A.D. 150-200.

1717.\* Rome, Mus. Naz. 8642. – *SarkRel* III 1 no. 103 pl. 29; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III no. 2359. – Mid 3rd cent. A.D. – X-XII missing.

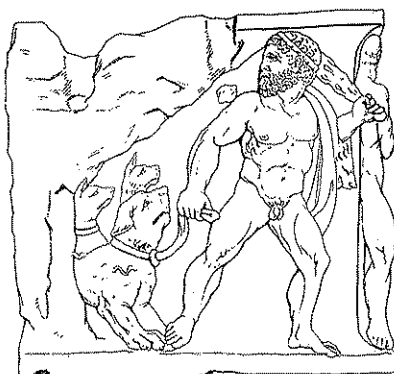
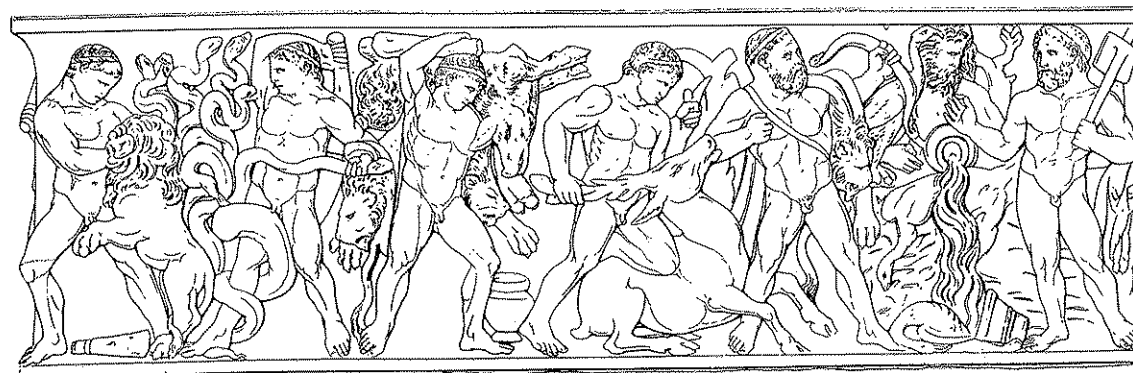
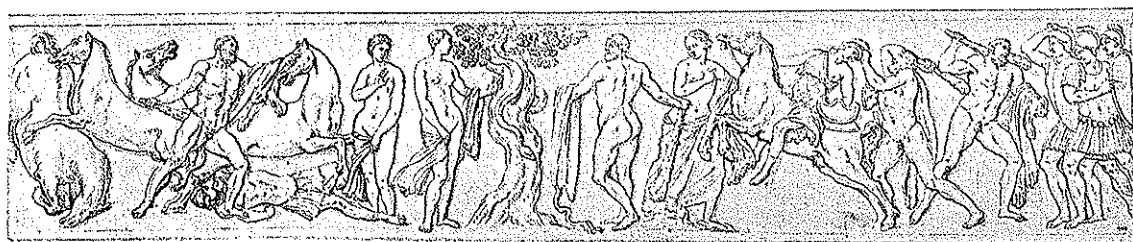
1718.\* Florence, Uff. 145. – *SarkRel* III 1 no. 104 pl. 29; Mansuelli, *ScultUff* no. 248; Sichtermann/



Herakles 1711

1712.\* Marble frieze from the Theatre, Delphi. Delphi Mus. – Lévêque, P., *BCH* 75, 1951, 247-263 pls. 27-29; Sturgeon, M., *AJA* 82, 1978, 226-235; Jacquemin A., *BCH* 109, 1985, 585-587. – 2nd/1st cent. B.C. (Sturgeon; others, mainly 1st cent. B.C./A.D.). – Apparently IX, XII, XI, I, Centaur, Ketos, Antaios (= Antaios I 31), (?), X, VIII, (?), V.





Herakles 1734

## Other reliefs

1735.\* (= Hesperides 17 with bibl.) Marble altar, «Ara Giustiniani», dedicated to H. by P. Decimus Lucius. Vatican (once Lateran 9811). - Helbig<sup>4</sup> I no. 1027; *EA* 2215-2217. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - I-VI, IX, VIII, VII, X-XII. For the front, H. and Athena by an altar, see 3193.

1736.\* Marble base. Rome, Mus. Cap. 205. From Albano. - Stuart-Jones, *SculpMusCap* no. 1 pl. 13; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II no. 1208; Picard, *Manuel IV* 2, 571 fig. 238; *BCH* 75, 1951, 261-262 figs. 7, 8; Bol, P. C., *RM* 77, 1970, 185-188 pls. 78, 79; Jacopi pl. 88. - 1st cent. A.D. - I-VIII, X, IX, XI, XII.

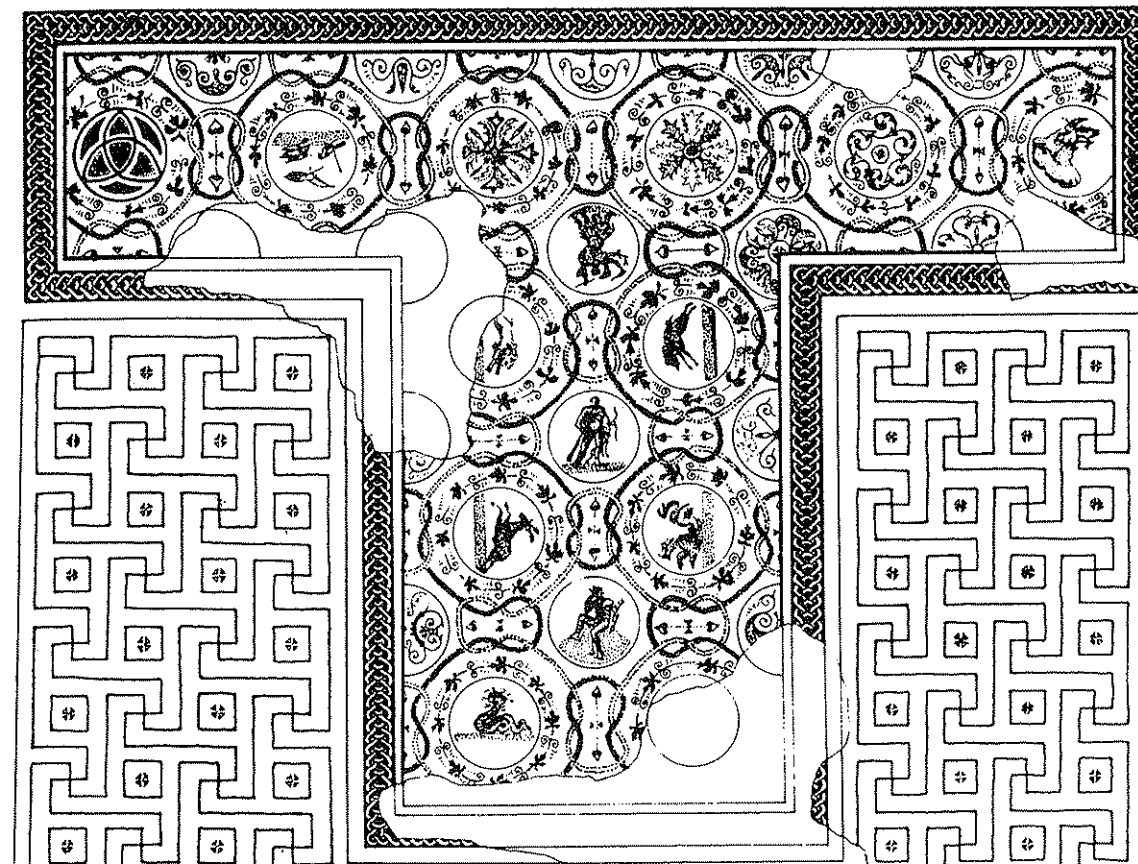
1737. (= Amazones 140\*) Marble relief dedicated by Cassia Priscilla. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6683. From Velletri. - *JdI* 46, 1931, 235 fig. 21; *ML* III 1, 895 fig. 7; *EA* 2 (1959) 404 fig. 577; Andrae 51 pl. 38; Jacopi pl. 91, 2. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - Frieze at top, I-VI. Side panels, left, VIII, VII, IX; right, X, XII, XI. Also Omphale in large central panel. Cf. → Admete 5.

1738. (= 1055) Stone relief. Sofia, Nat. Arch. Mus. - Saxl, F., *Mithras* (1931) pl. 20, 107; Filow, B., *BullSocBulg* 2, 1911, 89 fig. 2. - 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. - Below a reclining H. (= 1055) two friezes: upper - I, II, III, IV, V, (?); lower - (?), VIII, X, VII, (?), (?). A fr. from a similar pair of friezes is Timișoara Mus. 175, from Jupa (Tibiscum); Barbulescu, M., *Acta Mus. Napocensis* 18, 1981, 455-460 fig. 1, with, upper - I, II, III...; lower - XII, X? (or VIII?), XI? ...

d) Monuments on which the order of scenes is irregular, unknown, or irrelevant (on separate items in a group).

## Mosaics

1739. •• Tunis, Bardo Mus. From Acholla, House of M. Asinius Rufus. - *Karthago* 4, 1953, 123-124 fig. 1; Yacoub, M., *Mus. du Bardo* (1970) fig. 132; Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 40, 238; Gozlan figs. 5-9. 11. 13. 15-19; Zwirn, St. R., *BullAIEMA* 10, 1985, 117-120. - A.D. 184-185. - Tondi have figures of the victims



Herakles 1739

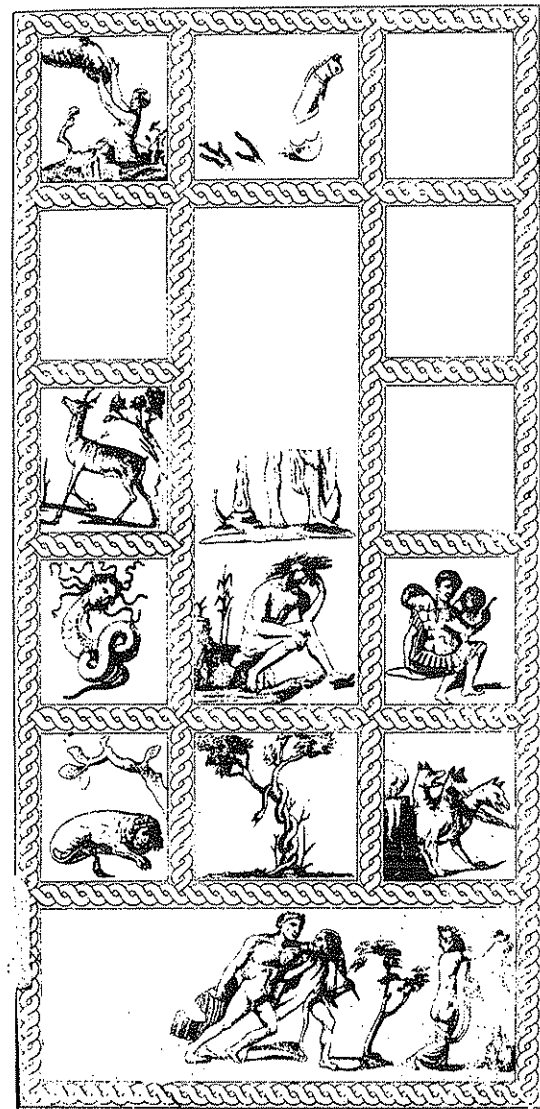


Herakles 1743

of the following Labours – I, IV, II, (?), Ketos (Hesione), III?, V, (?), (?), Prometheus' eagle, X, H. standing, Acheloos (probable order).

**1740.** Volubilis (Morocco), Maison des Travaux d'Hercule. – Thouvenot, E., *PSAM* 6, 1941, 72–81 figs. 4, 5; and 8, 1948, 102 pl. 2; Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 277, 6. – About A.D. 200. – Medallions in no discernible order, with Rape of Ganymede (= Ganymedes 215) and Horai (= Horai/Horae 168). I–III, V–VII, IX, XI, Antaios (= Antaios I 42), Snakes (= 1599).

**1741.** Madrid, Arch. Mus. 2/1943. From Liria, near Valencia. – Lippold 1–17 pl. 1; *AJA* 53, 1949, pl. 24; Brommer, *H.* pl. 31; *ArtBull* 55, 1973, 13 fig. 19; Balil, A., *Archivo de prehist. Levantina* 15, 1978/79, 265–267 pls. 1–8; Jacopi pl. 84. – 3rd cent. A.D. – Arranged in panels around a central panel with H. and Omphale, anticlockwise: I, II, VII, XII, VIII, X, VI, XI, III, IX, IV, V.



Herakles 1742

**1742.** Biscaye cemetery (anc. Cartima). From Cartama, near Malaga. – *AdI* 1862, 288 pl. Q; Balil, A., *Estudios sobre mosaicos romanos V* (1978) (*Studia Arch.* 49, Valladolid); Gozlan figs. 1–14. – 3rd cent. A.D. – Around central panel with a standing H., anticlockwise, victims of the following Labours: I, II, IV, (?), III, IX, (?), (?), X–XII, Acheloos. Below drunken H.

**1743.** Piazza Armerina, Villa Erculia. – Gentili, G. V., *La Villa Erculia di P. A.* (1964) fig. 12 pls. 51–53; Settis, S., *MEFRA* 87, 1975, 965–967 fig. 61. – Early 4th cent. A.D. – Free field composition: I–IV, VII–XII, Sea-monster. Introduction in separate field.

#### Textile

**1744.** Coptic textile. Leningrad, Hermitage 11337. – *EAA* II 811 fig. 1063. – 6th cent. A.D. – Frieze around central medallion: I, XII, III, V, VII, Antaios, XI, VIII, VI, II, IV, IX. X is lacking. A near replica is New York, MMA 89.18.244; Weitzmann, *Spirituality* no. 136.

#### Stone Reliefs

**1745.** Stone relief vase, «Tazza Albani». Rome, Mus. Torlonia 383. – *Mus. Torlonia* no. 383 pl. 95; Curtius, L., *RM* 49, 1934, 280–281 figs. 17–18; Milin, A. L., *Myth. Gallerie* (1848) no. 434 pls. 112, 113. – Augustan. – Scenes and pairs of scenes divided by personifications of places (?). I, XI, VIII, II, IV + V, III, VII + VI, X, XII, Centaur.

**1746.** Marble reliefs from the Theatre, Corinth. Corinth Mus. – Sturgeon, M., *Corinth IX* 2 (1977) 91–114. – Hadrianic. – All Labours may have been shown but the only certainly identifiable are I–III, V, VIII–XI. Order unknown.

**1747.** Marble reliefs. Vatican 431 and 444. From Palestrina. – Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II pl. 80. – 2nd cent. A.D. – Restored into two slabs, the original order not known, but clearly from a single monument. I–VII, XII (XII followed VII).

**1748.** Marble reliefs (incised, with picked background, provincial). Seville, Arch. Mus. From Itálica. – García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (1949) no. 394 pls. 278–279. – 2nd cent. A.D. – Separate slabs; no order. I, III–VI, IX, XI, XII.

**1749.** Stone relief slabs. Toulouse, Mus. St-Raymond 30381. From Chiragan. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* II no. 899; Reinach, *RépRel* 100–102. – About 200 A.D. – Provincial work. Separate slabs. I–X, XII.

**1750.** (= 1054) Marble relief. Sofia, Nat. Arch. Mus. 4710. From Madara. – Filow, *o. c.* 1738, 86 fig. 1; Saxl, *o. c.* 1738, pl. 20, 105; *Gold der Thraker* (1979) no. 493. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – Reclining H. with symbols of his Labours. Behind him a tree with snake (XII). Beside him the Hydra (II), boar (III), a deer (IV?), birds (V), lion (I). In lower frieze, bull (VII) and disc, horses (VIII), bulls and Geryon? (X).

**1751.** Reliefs in the Temple of Hercules at Cadiz. Lost. – Sil. 3, 32–44. – II, I, XI, VIII, III, IV, Antaios, Centaur, Acheloos (= Acheloos 267), Pyre.

**1752.** Marble sarcophagus, Roman. London, BM 2300. – *SarkRel* III 1 no. 120 pl. 33; Smith, *BMSculpture* III no. 2300; Voegtli pl. 16; Lavagne 281 fig. 13. –

A.D. 150–180. – Front: XI, IX, XII, VIII, I. Side: IV, II. Coping: Snakes (= 1603\*), III, VI, V, VII, X, H. and Nike (?) (see Section X, Nike, Commentary).

**1753.** Sundial at Gaza. Lost. – Pröcopius, *ἔκφρασις ἀρολογίου*; Diels, H., *AbhBerlin* 1917, 7 and *Antike Technik* (1924) 219–227. – Marking the hours. I and XII were in the expected positions, it seems.

#### Clay relief bowls

**1754.** All (except X on present evidence) Labours appear to have been represented on pairs of relief bowls represented in various complete examples and fragments, not always in the same order. I cite the two most complete. Discussion in Spitzer, D. C., *Hesperia* 11, 1942, 166–172; Todisco, L., *Annali Bavi* 21, 1978, 51–60. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – a) Once Sieglin Coll. V 192. From Alexandria. – Pagenstecher, R., *ExpSieglin* II 3 (1913) pls. 22, 23; Jacopi, pl. 91, 1. – I, II, III, IV, V, IX, VI. For other fr. of this type see Spitzer, and Todisco, *o. c.*; *ArchDelt* 30, 1975, B pl. 57b (Patras: I, II). – b) Brussels, Mus. Roy. R 524. – *CV4* 3 pl. 1 (139), 2; Spitzer, *o. c.* 170 fig. 7. – IX, VI, VII, VIII, XI, XII.

#### Metal and ivory reliefs

**1755.** Plaster casts of relief roundels. Hildesheim, Pel. Mus. From Memphis. – Ippel, A., *BerlWPr* 1937, 29–37 figs. 18–27 pls. 2, 3; Reinsberg, C., *Studien zur hellenistischen Toreutik* (1980) nos. 72–84 figs. 116–126, 129. – The originals were probably Late Hellenistic; the find is 1st cent. A.D. – The roundels carry various figures and scenes including the following with H. (following Reinsberg's more cautious identifications), possibly meant as a series: I, III–V, VII–IX, XII, Acheloos.

**1756.** Two silver cups. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Pompeii. – Maiuri, A., *Casa di Menandro* (1933) 310–321 nos. 3–4 pls. 25–30. – Augustan. – a) Cup no. 3: I, X, Antaios, IV, IX, II. b) Cup no. 4: III, Pholos, V, XII, VIII, XI.

**1757.** Plaster cast of relief-decorated dish. Trier, Landesmus. 33, 502. – Hausmann 129 n. 393 (d) pl. 68, 1. – The original probably c. A.D. 200 or later. – Encircling a head of Okeanos: I, V, (break for four scenes, presumably VI, IX–XI), XII, IV, VII, III, VIII, II.

**1758.** Bronze vase. Sofia, Nat. Arch. Mus. From Stara Zagora. – *Arkheologia* 3, 1961, 17 fig. 12; *Mus. Nat. Stara Zagora* (1965) no. 44. – 3rd cent. A.D. – Two friezes containing twelve Labours; details and order not published.

**1759.** Ivory relief plaques on throne. Rome, St Peter's. – Romanelli, P. in *La cattedra lignea di S. Pietro in Vaticano* (1971 = *MemPontAcc* 10) 203–216 pls. 44–53; Guarducci, M., *MemLinc* 16, 1972, 263–350; Weitzmann, K., *ArtBull* 55, 1973, 1–37; Fiaccadori, G., *Felix Ravenna* 118.2, 1979, 167–184; Volbach, W. F., *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (1976) no. 260 pl. 115; cf. Nees, L., *JWalt* 46, 1988, 37–54. – Carolingian, 9th cent. A.D. based on 4th cent. models (Weitzmann); dates between the 1st and 11th cent. A.D. have been proposed (see Vol-

bach). – Apparent original order: I–IV, VII, V, VI, Antaios, VIII, XI, Acheloos, XII. With six zodiac-animal panels.

#### Coins

**1760.** AE, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. – *BMC Alexandria* 1043–1056; Bräuer, *passim*; Voegtli, *passim*, pl. 12. – Rev.: I–XII, Antaios (= Antaios I 55a\*), Giantess, Pholos, Syleus.

**1761.** AU aurei, AE, Cologne (?), Postumus. – Bastien, P., *RNum* 1958, 59–78 pls. 4–7; Voegtli 59–64 pl. 15; Schulte, B., *Die Goldprägung der galischen Kaiser von Postumus bis Tetricus* (1983) 41–44, 106–116 nos. 120–153 pls. 10–12. – Rev.: I–XII, Antaios (= Antaios I 55r).

Most of the Labours also appear on coins of Herakleia Pontou (especially under Gordian III and Gallienus) and Perinthos (especially Gordian III): Voegtli, *passim*.

#### COMMENTARY

Before the 5th cent. it is clear that stories of H.'s Labours were commonly grouped, in art (1697–1704) and surely in literature, but the monuments give no indication of any canonic choice, number or order, and they commonly include episodes which, on no score, can be taken as Labours for Eurystheus.

The earliest indication of the numbering of the Labours is in Pindar, and the earliest clear indication of what that number was and its content is on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (1705). Neither the priority nor the originality of either can be properly judged, but at Olympia the number suited and might therefore have been dictated by the architectural setting. The choice of Augeas (VI) as the last of the series was presumably a concession to the local interest of the story. The number and content of what was later the canonic twelve can be readily assigned to the period of Olympia and Pindar. That there were once ten Labours to which Eurystheus added two because H. had assistance over II and VI is a version (as in Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [113] 5, 11) which would not have left its mark in art. At this point the history of the twelve becomes obscure. The Hephaisteion (1706) presents nine, in something close to the later order. On the 4th cent. Temple of H. at Thebes (1710) Antaios substitutes for Augeas but we do not know the order. On a Hellenistic bowl (1711) which has six, only four (I–IV) are in order and its companion bowl must have been equally irregular, while on another (= Athena 57\*) the Boar (III) is declared the «fifth» Labour. In the Augustan period the Tazza Albani (1745) and a pair of silver cups (1756) also confuse the order and add one or two episodes.

Meanwhile in literature Euripides held to twelve, but not the Olympia twelve, and although Hellenistic authors are sure about twelve they do not tell us which.

Reorganisation of the Olympia twelve was perhaps the work of an unknown Hellenistic author, and appears for us first in Diodorus and the Tabula Albana.

But the composition of the twelve seems not to have been well observed in art or literature, and there are often omissions and additions (notably Antaios, Centaurs and H.'s encounter with the snakes in his cradle; less commonly Apotheosis, Alkestis, Hesione, Achei-loos; several others one or twice). The literary order (followed in the numbering of the Labours in modern works) is very rarely strictly observed (1730. 1731). It seems based on the principle of placing the Peloponnesian scenes first, I-VI, then taking H. to south, north, east, west, hell and heaven. The richest sources for the Labours are of the 2nd/3rd cent. A.D., notably sarcophagi (cf. de Waele). Here a deviant order, bringing the Amazon (IX) back to sixth position, is favoured (1713-1729). The scheme is repeated in later literature, where too the last two Labours may be exchanged. But there were always other variants admitted and only I in first position and XI or XII in last seem universally observed, where order is observed at all.

It is generally assumed that Lysippus' group at Alyzia (1709) taken to Rome (perhaps in the later 2nd cent. B.C.) was influential in establishing the iconography and order of the series in Roman art. But we do not know the number, order or even content of the group, and it was made at a time when we cannot distinguish any clear canon. If this was the order I-XII then it had no immediate effect since, in art, we find it only much later (Asiatic sarcophagi 1730. 1731) when the variant order (promoting IX) is also becoming even more popular, and in literature it is attested only in Diodorus and the Tabula Albana, then ignored in favour of the variant. The 2nd cent. A.D. (Hadrian?) seems the time for the inception of the most popular later canon, with its minor variant corresponding to Diodorus and the Tabula. Perhaps the Delphi frieze (1712) could as well be associated with Lysippus, if it was made before the Alyzia group was removed to Rome.

One of the latest displays of the twelve, with only minor variations on the classic Roman schemes, is on the ivory throne reliefs in St. Peter's (1759).

1739. 1742 and 1750 are unusual in describing the Labours by showing the victims, not H.: cf. also the silver cup handle, *BMSilverPlate* no. 191, with victims of I-V, XII. The twelve are sometimes disposed on pairs of objects: Hellenistic and Roman clay bowls (1711. 1754), silver bowls (1756), gold bells (1728). They are sometimes disposed in a disc, like a zodiac, but the argument that they were originally intended to illustrate a zodiac or solar course (Bader, F., *Minos* 18, 1983, 219-256) ignores their chequered early history and uncertain order.

JOHN BOARDMAN

## B. Herakles and the Nemean lion (Labour I)

H. strangled the lion which lived near Nemea, was invulnerable to weapons and had been attacking the inhabitants. He had to bring it to Eurystheus at Mycenae, the king having made himself an underground iron vessel in fear of the beast. In art the lion is slain

by H. and not captured alive. H. thereafter wears its skin.

LITERARY SOURCES: The first account is in Hes. *theog.* 326-332 and the episode is more fully reported in [Theokr.] 25, 201-281; Diod. 4, 11, 3-4; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [74-76] 5, 1 (followed by Pediaimos 1, 1-4). The Labour is otherwise barely noted in literature, generally for some specific aspect.

In Pind. *I.* 6, 47-48 and Bakchyl. 9, 6-9 this is H.'s first Labour and it is usually set at the start of the series. The lion controls the territory of Nemea, and in Hes. *theog.* 331 the mountains Tretos and Apesas; cf. Pind. *I.* 6, 47-48; Soph. *Trach.* 1092; [Theokr.] 25, 181-182; Diod. 4, 11, 3; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [74] 5, 1. It lived in a cave: [Theokr.] 25, 223-224; Verg. *Aen.* 8, 295; and the cave had two openings: Diod. 4, 11, 4; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [75] 5, 1. From this it took its various names: Hyg. *fab.* 30; Nigidius Figulus *lxxxiii* p. 114 Swoboda. In Panyassis (Davies *EGF* F1 = Steph. Byz. s.v. *Βεῦσινα*) the lion was named for the local town Bemina (cf. [Theokr.] 25, 201-203). Later tradition places it nearer Kleonai: Kall. *Hec. frg.* 339 Pf. and *Suppl. Hell.* 254-269; Suda s.v. *Κλεωναί*; Sen. *Herc. f.* 798; Lucanus 4, 612; Martialis 4, 60, 2; 5, 71, 3; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 487; *silv.* 4, 4, 28; 5, 2, 49. (For the lion of Cithaeron see Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (65-66) 4, 9-10 for the Teumessian monster see Stat. *Theb.* 1, 485. Both derive from the Nemean; cf. *RE* Suppl. III 934. 936.)

In Hes. *theog.* [326-327] the lion is the child of Orthos and either → Echidna or → Chimaira (see West *ad loc.*). Hera reared it: Bakchyl. 9, 7-8; Claud. (?) *laus Herculis* 75-77. In Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (74) 5, 1 it is the child of → Typhon; otherwise it was said to have come from heaven: Herodor. (*FGH* 31 F 4), or the moon: Epimenides, Diels *Vorsokr.* 6 3 B 2; Anaxagoras, *ibid.* 59 A 77; Plut. *de fac.* 937f; Schol. Pind. *argumentum c. N.*; Schol. Stat. *Theb.* 2, 58; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀνέσας*. It is the child of the moon goddess in Euphorion (*frg.* 84, 4 Powell); Hyg. *fab.* 30, 2; Sen. *Herc. f.* 83; and was reared by her at Hera's order: Nig. *Fig. l. c.* Ps.-Plut. *fluv.* 18, 4 says that it was conjured from the foam by magic spells by Hera and Selene.

For its savagery and attacks on men see Hes. *theog.* 329; Bakchyl. 9, 6-9; Soph. *Trach.* 1092-1093; [Theokr.] 25, 201-202. It was unusually large: Diod. 4, 11, 3. It was invulnerable to iron weapons: Bakchyl. 13, 50-54; [Theokr.] 25, 230-231; Diod. 4, 11, 3; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (74) 5, 1-3.

H. overcomes the lion without the help of weapons: Hes. *theog.* [332]; Soph. *Trach.* 1094; Hyg. *astr.* 2, 24; Paus. 6, 5, 5. It was strangled: Euphorion (*l. c.*); Eratosth. *kat.* 12; [Theokr.] 25, 266-267; Diod. 4, 11, 4; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (75) 5, 3; Claud. (?) *laus Herculis* 94. Since the lion was invulnerable to metal weapons H. uses his club; in [Theokr.] 25, 255-261 it is knocked senseless with the club; in Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (75) 5, 3 it was driven into the cave with the club and there strangled; in Nigidius Figulus *l. c.* it is smitten by the club. Ptol. Chennos 2, 4 Chatzis has a snake beside H. in the fight, and says that the lion bit off H.'s finger. According to [Theokr.] 25, 272-279 H. skinned the lion with the help of its own claws and thereafter wore

it as a protection: Stesich., Page *PMG* frg. 229; Peisandros, Davies *EGF* F 2; Pind. *I.* 6, 47; Eur. *Herc.* 361-363.

H. brought the dead lion to Molorchos at Kleonai (Kall., *Suppl. Hell.* 254-269; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [74-75] 5, 1-4 for the Molorchos episode) and then went to Mycenae. The frightened Eurystheus hid himself in an underground iron vessel (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [76] 5, 5).

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## CATALOGUE

### GREEK

The list is highly selective: Brommer lists some 700 examples in Attic bf. alone. H. is at the left and naked unless otherwise stated.

### 1. Herakles wrestles with the lion

#### a) Herakles is crouching or on one knee

(i) H.'s l. arm around the lion's neck. The lion's head turned away, one forepaw on H.'s knee and usually the r. forepaw on H.'s r. shoulder. It crosses the front of H.'s body.

H. seizes the lion's foreleg.

Attic bf. vases

1762.\* Cup. Basel market. - *MuM Sonderliste* R (1977) no. 22; Heidelberg P. - About 560 B.C. - Cf. other cup tondi: Berlin F 1753; *ABV* 56, 94; *Add* 15; Greifenhagen, *AK* 2 pl. 25; Brijder, *Siana* I pl. 52c; H. in tunic. Salonica; *ABV* 64, 18; *AA* 1942, 193 fig. 52. Rome, Torlonia; *ABV* 161, 1; Hoppin, *BlackFig* 75; H. with tunic. Madrid 10947; *ABV* 172, 1; *Para* 72; *CVA* 1 pl. 1 (19), 1e; H. with tunic. Palermo; *ABV* 675; *JHS* 52, 1932, pl. 6, 2. Amsterdam 10.000; *AGRP* (Amsterdam) 250 fig. 3. Cup exteriors: Leningrad B 111; Gorbunova no. 19. Tübingen 705; *CVA* 3 pl. 28, 1-4.

1763. Hydria. New York, MMA 74.51.1331.

From Cyprus. - *ABV* 314; Richter/Milne, *Shapes and Names* fig. 76; Schauenburg 2, 103 fig. 26. - 560-550 B.C. - H. wears tunic; two birds in field. Cf. Pyxis, Private Coll.; Schauenburg 2, 90 fig. 16. Lekythos, Basel BS 1921.342; *CVA* 1 pl. 26, 8.

H. grasps his own l. wrist.

1764.\* Cup, Laconian bf. Samos, Mus. (once Rhodes Mus.) K 1189. From Samos. - Stibbe, *LakVas* no. 212 pl. 70, 1. 2: Hunt, P.; Schefold, *SB* II 90 fig. 106; Pipili, *LacIc* 1 fig. 1. - About 540 B.C. - A snake and four birds in the field.

H. seizes the lion's jaw. The lion does not turn its head.

1765.\* Cup, Attic bf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. V. I. 3151. From Aegina. - *ABV* 79; Ergotimos potter: *Add* 22; Schefold, *SB* II 90 fig. 105. - About 560 B.C. - Cf. also the cup tondo, Berlin F 1772.

H. holds his club in the crook of his r. arm.

1766.\* (= 1785. 2734) Cup, Attic bf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. I.G. 4342. From Tarentum. - *ABV* 66, 55; Heidelberg P.; *Para* 27; *CVA* 3 pl. 26 (1569), 3. - 550 B.C. - In tondo.

(ii) H. on one knee, both arms (one on 1771) round the lion's neck, as if preparing to lift it. The lion's head appears below his arm and it claws him.

1767. Cornelian ringstone, New York, MMA 42.11.25. From Catania. Richter, *MetrMusGems* no. 76 pl. 12; Boardman, *GGFR* pl. 528. - About 400 B.C. - Cf. chalcedony scaraboid, Paris, Cab. Méd., with young H., Boardman, *GGFR* pl. 536.

1768. Chalcedony scaraboid. Paris, Louvre. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 12, 26; Lippold, *Gemmen* pl. 36, 2; Boardman, *GGFR* pl. 536. - Late 5th cent. B.C. - Young H. Cf. the impression from Ur, *GGFR* 323 fig. 314.

1769. Clay antefix. Salerno, Mus. Prov. From Salerno. - *AA* 1956, 447-450 fig. 158; *AJA* 61, 1957, 377 pl. 107, figs. 11, 12.

1770. Silver plaque, horse trappings. Sofia, Nat. Arch. Mus. 3559. From Panagurishte. - *Gold der Thraker* (1979) no. 355. - 350-300 B.C. The lion claws H.'s hands with a hind paw. Almost identical, the bronze mirror, Sofia (DAI Rome neg. 5330).

1771.\* Gold relief roundels. Leningrad, Hermitage. From Chertomlyk and Kul Oba. - Artamonov, M., *Treasures from Scythian Tombs* (1969) figs. 103, 218 - 4th cent. B.C.

1772.\* AU 100-litra coins, Syracuse, signed by Euainetos or Kimon, 413-400 B.C. - Kraay/Hirmer, *GrCoins* figs. 127, 129; Vollkommer, R., *Idea* 6, 1987, 14 fig. 8; Vollkommer 5 fig. 7. - Rev. (Obv.: Artemis-Arethousa.)

1773.\* AR diobol or stater, Herakleia (Lucania), about 375 B.C. - Bräuer pl. 2, 4; Kraay/Hirmer,



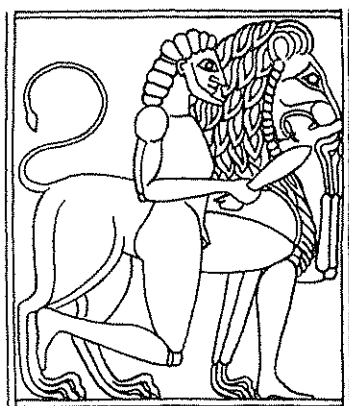
*GrCoins* pl. 88, 255; *NNM* 91, 1940, pl. 1, 7, 8. – Rev.: H. holds a club in his r. hand with only his l. arm round the lion's neck. Obv.: head of Athena. The type recurs on the following issues: a) AR diobol, Taras, 4th–3rd cent. B.C. Ravel, *Vlasto* pls. 39–41 *passim*; *Vollkommer* no. 39. – b) AR diobol, Arpi, 4th–3rd cent. B.C. *Beschreibung der ant. Münzen ... Berlin* III 1 (1894) 181, 9. Obv.: head of Athena. c) EL, Kyzikos. *BMCMysia* 28, 71 pl. 6, 17. Obv.: rev.: incuse square.

1774.\* EL coin, Kyzikos, about 400 B.C. – *BMC Mysia* pl. 6, 18; *Nomisma* 7, 1912, pl. 5, 9; *SNG v. Aulock* 1208. – Obv.: as rev. of 1773 but H. not holding the club. Rev.: incuse square. The type recurs on the following AR issues: a) Taras, diobol, 4th–3rd cent. B.C. Ravel, *Vlasto* pls. 38–42 *passim*; Bräuer pl. 2, 3; *Vollkommer* no. 25. Rev.: obv.: head of Athena. b) Caelia, diobol, 4th–3rd cent. B.C. *BMC Italy* 132, 1. Rev.: obv.: head of Athena. – c) Rubi, diobol, 4th–3rd cent. B.C. *Beschr. ... o. c.* 1773b, 198, 5–9. Rev.: obv.: head of Athena. – d) Naples, diobol or obol, about 340–327 B.C. *SNG Copenhagen* 397. Rev.: obv.: head of Apollo. – e) Metapontum. *NC* 1896, no. 5 pl. 1, 5. Rev.: obv.: head of Zeus Ammon. – f) Mallos, stater, 380–330 B.C. Kraay, *ArCICoins* pl. 59, 1023. Rev.: obv.: head of H. – g) Tarsos, stater *Ibid.* pl. 60, 1041; *SNG Copenhagen* 303. Obv.: rev.: head of Hera.

(iii) Both figures to the r. H.'s l. arm round the lion's neck, his r. hand grasping his own l. wrist. With a weapon on 1775.

1775.\* Cup, Attic bf. Taranto, MN 20.773. From Tarentum. – *ASAtene* 37/38, 1959/60, 218 fig. 194. – 560–550 B.C. – Club in raised r. hand.

1776.\* Bronze shieldband relief. Olympia, Mus. B 1911. From Olympia. – Kunze XIVd 96–97 pl. 39. – Late 7th cent. B.C. – Cf. the later examples on shieldbands: Olympia B 1921, pls. 36, 37; Olympia B 969, pls. 21, 54; and Bari, from Noicattaro, *ibid.* VIc Beil. 2; a club before the group.



Herakles 1776

1777.\* Ivory relief, Laconian (?). Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 1571. – Bol, P.C./Weber, T., *Bildwerke aus Bronze und Bein* (1985) 28–30 no. 17. – About 600 B.C. – H. in tunic, head frontal.

1778. Clay relief. Agrigento, Mus. Reg. From Agrigento. – *AA* 1964, 731 fig. 47. – 580–570 B.C.

#### (iv) Other schemes

1779.\* Hydria fr., Caeretan. Paris, Louvre 10229. – *MonPiot* 41, 1946, 56 fig. 14: Hemelrijk, J. M., *Caeretan Hydriae* (1984) 174 no. 24 pl. 89 b. c. – 520–500 B.C. – The lion on hind legs, H. kneeling before it, from the r. They embrace.

1780. Incised gilt silver rhyton. Leningrad, Hermitage. From Kelermes. – Artamonov, o. c. 1771, pl. 20; *BullAntBesch* 41, 1966, 7 fig. 2a; Boardman, J., *Greeks Overseas*<sup>2</sup> (1980) 261 fig. 304. – Late 6th cent. B.C. – As 1779, but H. in tunic; the lion enormous.

#### b) Herakles is standing

See also the metopes from Silaris ([Dodekathlos] 1968), the Athenian Treasury at Delphi ([Dodekathlos] 1703), the Hephaisteion ([Dodekathlos] 1706\*).

(i) H. faces the lion, seizing its neck in his l. arm. The lion's head is turned away and he claws H. with his hind paw.

H. holds the lion's paw in his r. hand.

1781. Cup, Attic bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 314. From Camirus. – *ABV* 65, 41: Heidelberg P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 17; *CVA* 1 pl. 45 (329), 4. – About 560 B.C. – The lion's head frontal. Men and women watch from either side.

Similar anonymous spectators appear on: Neck amphora, New York, Callimanopoulos Coll.; *ABV* 248, 1; Mommsen, H., *Der Affector* (1975) pl. 132. Amphora, Paris, Louvre F1; *Para* 132, 3; *CVA* 3 pl. 10 (147), 2, 5. Lekythos; *AAA* 10, 1977, 276 fig. 11. Oon, Paris CA 822; *RA* 1899, 8 fig. 6. Pyxis, Gotha V 2380; *ABV* 455, below 2; *CVA* 1 pl. 29, 2 (H. dressed). Cup, Giessen Univ.

1782.\* Dinos, Attic bf. Cleveland, Mus. of Art. 1971.16. From Italy. – *Bull. Cleveland Mus.* 66, 1979, 55 fig. 9: Antimenes P. – About 520 B.C. – H. in short chiton. At l. Iolaos with club and bow; at r. Athena and Hermes. Compare the amphora, Paris, Cab. Méd. 215; *ABV* 327, 2; de Ridder *BiblNatVases* pl. 35, 2–3, with Iolaos and Athena. Cup, Naples 81133; *CVA* 1 pl. 14 (958), 4, with Iolaos (?). For the main group alone cf. neck-amphora, Würzburg L 177; *ABV* 239, 6; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* no. 117 pl. 37. Cup, Naples 81114; *CVA* 1 pl. 29 (973), 1. Skyphos, Athens NM 1150; *Para* 84, 10.

H. joins his hands.

1783.\* Lekythos, Attic bf. Basel, Private. – *Para* 254: Corchiano Group; *MuM Auktion* 22, 1961, no. 136 pl. 40. – 530–520 B.C. – H. wears corselet over short chiton. With Iolaos and Athena. Cf. the pyxis, Malibu, Getty Mus. S.80.AE.322 (Bareiss 433); *Getty-Vases II* (1985) 207 fig. 27; *MuM* 40, 1969, no. 64 pl. 20; H. dressed, with dressed youth at either side.

1784.\* Bronze statuette. Stuttgart, Landesmus. Antikenabt. 3.15. From Italy. – *Ausonia* 10, 1921, 136 no. 6; *JdI Erg.-H.* 13, (1937) 27 no. 28 pl. 15, 61, 62; v. Salis 28 fig. 16. – Late 6th cent. B.C.

H.'s r. hand empty or clenched.

1785. (= 1766. 2734) Cup, Attic bf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. I.G. 4352. – *CVA* 3 pl. 26 (1569), 2, 4. – About 550 B.C. – A: Three dressed figures at l. and r. Cf. the neck-amphora, Munich 1471; *ABV* 137, 60; *CVA* 7 pl. 347, 3.

1786.\* Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 1840. – 510–500 B.C. – H. dressed.

H. plunges a sword into the lion's chest.

1787.\* Column crater, Attic bf. Athens, NM 440. From Thespieae. – *ABV* 124, 19: P. of Louvre F6; Collignon/Couve pl. 32, 789. – 550–540 B.C. – H. dressed; a woman, a man and two warriors to l. and r. Action to l.

1788. Amphora, Attic bf. Los Angeles market. – Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) pl. 168a. – 540–530 B.C. – H. in short chiton, with quiver, flourishes his sword over the rearing lion whose neck he holds, hand in mouth. His l. leg is hooked over the lion's back (cf. 1787).

1789. Lekythos, Attic bf. Brussels, Mus. Roy. R 290. – *CVA* 2 pl. 21 (61), 15b. – About 510 B.C. – H. wears short chiton, sword in r. hand, club in background. The lion places its r. hindpaw on a rock. At l. Athena; at r. Iolaos (?), Hermes (?).

1790.\* Cornelian scarab. Paris, Cab. Méd. de Luyens 257. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 6, 43; Lippold, *Gemmen* pl. 36, 7; Boardman, *AGGems* no. 271 pl. 19. – About 500 B.C. – H. wears lionskin, his l. arm in the lion's jaw, his l. leg over its back (cf. 1785).

H. uses club

1791. AR tetrobol, Kition (?), 350–300 B.C. – *BMCCyprus* 23, 83 pl. 4, 25; Bräuer pl. 2, 8. – Obv.: a small lion. Rev.: lion.

(ii) As (i) but the lion does not turn its head (frontal on 1796).

H. holds the lion's paw in his r. hand.

1792.\* Neck amphora, Attic bf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 1720. From Vulci. – *ABV* 143, 1: Exekias; *Para* 59; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 39; Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 227; Technau, W., *Exekias* (1936) pl. 1; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 97. – About 540 B.C. – At l. Iolaos, at r. Athena. (B = Akamas et Demophon 2\*).

Athena and Iolaos appear also on: Berlin 1717; *ABV* 141, 7; *CVA* 5 pl. 18, 1. New York 67.441; *CVA* 4 pl. 34, 3. London B 234; *ABV* 292, 3; *CVA* 4 pl. 57 (202), 3. Bonn, Univ. 44; *AA* 1935, 427 fig. 14. Würzburg L 257; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 82. Balti-

more, WAG 48. 203. Philadelphia MS 404; *PhilMusJ* 8, 1917, 152 fig. 60. Paris, Louvre Cp 11261; *CVA* 12 pl. 168.

With Hermes instead of Athena: Vatican 439; *ABV* 421, 1; Albizzati, pl. 60.

With Hermes instead of Iolaos: Mississippi 1977.3.62; *ABV* 333, 1; *AJA* 60, 1956, pl. 6, 27. Basel 1921. 337; Haspels, *ABL* 217, 26; *CVA* 1 pl. 55, 1. 4.

With only Athena or Iolaos: Paris F 106; *ABV* 218, 13; *CVA* 4 pl. 35 (201), 10. New York 41.162.212; *CVA* 4 pl. 32, 5.

With no other figures: Naples 81140 (H. 2709); *CVA* 1 pl. 23 (967), 1.

1793.\* Hydria, Attic bf. Auktion, Antikenmus. (once Warwick Castle). – *MuM Auktion* 40, 1969, pl. 21, 66: manner of Antimenes P. – About 520 B.C. – At l. a man, a woman and Iolaos; at r. Athena and Hermes. Cf. Vatican 17761; *ABV* 267, 15; Albizzati fig. 136. Athens, NM Acr. 1629; Graef/Langlotz pl. 84 (also Dionysos, Ares and others; = Aphrodite 1506).

H.'s r. hand is inactive or clenched.

1794.\* Belly amphora. New York, MMA 40.11.20. From Vulci. – *ABV* 317, 1: Group of Brussels R 243; *Para* 138; *CVA* 3 pl. 5, 2 (1 = 1805, same pose but with sword). – About 540 B.C.

1795.\* Neck amphora. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 185. From Vulci. – *ABV* 270, 55: Antimenes P.; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 54. – About 520 B.C. – Iolaos with club at l.; Athena at r.; quiver hangs. Cf. Hannover; *CVA* 1 pl. 11, 2. Madison 1968.142. Paris F 33; *ABV* 141, 3; *CVA* 3 pl. 15 (152), 7. Orvieto; *StEtr* 30, 1962, pl. 10a. Würzburg L 263; *ABV* 142, 6; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 68. Vatican 354; *ABV* 142; Albizzati pl. 46. Munich 1395; *ABV* 305, 24; *CVA* 1 pl. 29, 2. Boulogne 62; *AJA* 61, 1957, 107. Boston 1976.41; *Para* 123, 12; *CVA* 1 pl. 44, 1 (also Hermes).

1796. Hydria, Attic bf. Norwich Castle. – *ABV* 268, 23: Antimenes P.; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 93. – 530–520 B.C. – At l. woman and Iolaos; at r. Athena and Hermes (= Hermes 501a). The lion head is frontal. Cf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 223b; *ABV* 391, 1; *CVA* 1 pl. 42 (326), 7. Gotha 28; *ABV* 277, 22; *CVA* 1 pl. 34. Turin 4100; *ABV* 274, 128; *CVA* 2 pls. 3, 4.

1797.\* Neck amphora. Basel market. – *MuM Auktion* 22, 1961, pl. 44, 138; *Para* 120, 85bis: Antimenes P.; *Festschr. B. Neutsch* (1980) pl. 104. – About 520 B.C. – H. in short chiton. At l. woman; at r. Athena.

1798. Hydria, Attic bf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 305. From Vulci. – *ABV* 310, 101: Swing P.; *Para* 133; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 96; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) pl. 142. – About 520 B.C. – At l. a man and naked youth; at r. two naked youths and a man. Quiver below. Similar unidentified figures on: Munich 2034, and with a seated Athena on San Simeon 9955; *ABV* 453, 3; *AJA* 49, 1945, 471 fig. 4, 3b.

H. links his hands.

1799.\* Bronze shieldband relief. Olympia, Mus.



Herakles 1799

B 1010. From Olympia. - Kunze IIIc pl. 14. - 600-575 B.C.

**1800.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 19 (C 249). From Bologna. - *ABV* 278, 23: manner of Antimenes P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 12; *CVA* 2 pl. 19 (318), 1. 3. - About 520 B.C. - H. in short chiton. At l. Iolaos; at r. Athena. Cf. Paris F 237; *ABV* 283, 7; *CVA* 4 pl. 46 (212). London B 232; *ABV* 270, 57; *CVA* 4 pl. 57 (202), 2a. Boston 1970.69; *CVA* 1 pl. 42.

**1801.** Hydria, Attic bf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 94315. From Campania. - *ABV* 289, 29: Group of Würzburg 199; *CVA* 5 pl. 34 (1898), 2. - About 510 B.C. - At l. a woman and Iolaos; at r. Athena and Hermes. Cf. Karlsruhe B 3048; *CVA* 1 pl. 11, 6.

**1802.** Clay relief cup. Athens, Agora P 19881. - Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* pl. 64, 1; *Agora* XXII pl. 34, 187. - 3rd cent. B.C. - Also **2194. 2696.**

H.'s r. hand in the lion's jaws.

**1803.\*** Oinochoe, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 37. From Etruria. - *ABV* 153, 41: Amasis P.; *Para* 64; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 44; Scheffold, *SB* II 91 fig. 108. - About 540 B.C. - At l. Iolaos; at r. Athena. Cf. Newark 50.277; *ABV* 277, 21. Villa Giulia M 475; Mingazzini pl. 67, 4. Berlin F 1841; *ABV* 320, 6; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 74. Other side of **1810.** With Iolaos and Hermes: Villa Giulia 14216; *ABV* 257, 1; *CVA* 1 pl. 1 (5), 3.

**1804.** (= **1884**) Skyphos, Attic bf. Lund, Univ. 596. - *Para* 84, 9: Ure's Class of Skyphoi A 1; *JdI* 80, 1965, 101 fig. 24. - 520-510 B.C. - H. has lifted the lion across his l. shoulder, head to the front.

H. plunges a sword into the lion's jaws or chest. Cf. also the reverse of **1794.**

**1805.\*** (= **1794**) Belly amphora, Attic bf. New York, MMA 40.11.20. From Vulci. - *CVA* 3, pl. 5, 1. - About 540 B.C. - H. in short chiton.

**1806.** Amphora, Attic bf. Kassel, Staatl. Kunstslg. T 384. From Italy. - *ABV* 137, 57: Group E; *Para* 55; Brommer, *H.* pl. 5; *CVA* 1 pl. 21, 1. - About 540 B.C. - The sword point emerges shortly (cf. **1834**). At l. a man; at r. a warrior.

**1807.\*** Neck amphora. Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. 1960.312. - *ABV* 148: near Exekias; *Para* 62; Buitron, *New England* no. 11. - About 530 B.C. - At l. Iolaos; at r. Athena. Cf. Rouen S 381; *ABV* 686; *HDHG* (Rouen) no. 86. Cambridge (Mass.) 1960.316. Taranto 20.136; *ABV* 134, 12. Brussels R 297; *CVA* 2 pl. 15 (55), 1. Hanover 1962.78; *CVA* 1 pls. 7, 2; 8, 1. With Hermes also on Vatican 355; Albizzati pl. 46. Portland, Oregon 32.829; *AGAI* (Madison) 76-77 fig. 5.

**1808.** (= **3011**) Cup, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 2080. - *ABV* 256, 22: Lysippides P.; *Para* 114; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 67. - About 530 B.C. - H. in short chiton with bow at back. At r. Hermes. Iolaos also on Würzburg L 181; *ABV* 286, 4; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 54.

**1809.\*** Neck amphora, pseudo-Chalcidian bf. Paris, Louvre E 812. From Caere. - Rumpf, *ChalkVas* pl. 215. - About 530 B.C. - H. with sword, hand raised to lion's head. Lion standing, with one foreleg and one rear leg raised. Two youths and two women attend.

H. holds raised club.

**1810.\*** Cup, Attic bf. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. 60 (GR 38.1864). From Vulci. - *ABV* 172: Sakonides; *CVA* 1 pl. 18 (256), 1; Scheffold, *SB* II 92 fig. 109. - 540-530 B.C. - H. in corselet. Cf. Malibu 86.AE.76; *GettyVases* 2, 1985, 208 fig. 29; *CVA* 1 pl. 30, 1.

(iii) H. bends over the lion holding it round the neck and pressing its head to his chest. The lion usually claws H.'s leg.

This is the genesis of the most popular scheme, which persists through the Roman period (section 4), becoming modified in some scholars' view (Künzl, v. Salis; *contra*, Moreno) by Lysippos. It is the scheme adopted for the relief on the base of Poulydamas' dedication at Olympia about 340 B.C. executed by Lysippos (Paus. 6, 5, 1; *Olympia* III 209-211; Moreno, P., *Lisippo* I [1974] 11 fig. 14; Moreno 123 fig. a). In Greek art there are many trivial variants.

H. in profile.

**1811.\*** (= **2350/2535a**) Cup, Attic rf. London, BME 104. From Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1293, 1: P. of London E 105; Vollkommer 4 fig. 5. - About 430 B.C. - I: Young H.; club behind him. The lion not yet upright.

**1812.\*** Bell crater, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81571 (H 2861). From S. Agata dei Goti. - *RVAp* I 6, 4: Sisypheos P.; Trendall, *ESIVP* pl. 17b; Vollkommer 3 fig. 3. - 420-410 B.C. - At l. Athena; at r. a woman. Cf. Vienna 690; *RVAp* I 272, 81 pl. 90, 4, with Athena. Also the fr., Basel, Cahn HC 205; *RVAp* I 167, 19; Vollkommer 5 fig. 8; crowned by Nike.

**1813.** Marble relief fr. Rhodes Mus. - *ArchDelt* 18, 1963, B 323 pl. 374a. - 2nd cent. B.C. - Cf. the Pergamon relief, v. Salis 19 fig. 10 and the group on the Great Altar *ibid.*, 16 fig. 7.

**1814.** Green jasper scarab. Cagliari Mus. From Tharros. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 15, 75 - 4th cent. B.C.

**1815.** Clay mould. Agrigento, Mus. Reg. - *RM* 12, 1897, pl. 11; v. Salis 37 fig. 21. - 4th/3rd cent. B.C. - Cf. the cheekpiece mould, *Hesperia* Suppl. VII 156 no. 102 fig. 68.

**1816.\*** Clay relief cup. New Haven, Yale Univ. 1937.197. From Salonica. - Burke, S. M./Pollitt, J. J., *Greek Vases at Yale* (1975) no. 75. - 250-150 B.C. - Action to l. Cf. Athens, NM 2109; Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* pl. 62, 1. Samos; *ibid.* pl. 63. Antioch IV 1 (1948) fig. 17, 27; *AJA* 45, 1941, 230 pl. 12.

**1817.\*** Clay relief column crater. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 2882. - From South Italy. - Furtwängler, A., *Slg. Sabouroff* (1883-87) I pl. 74, 3; Courby, *Vases à relief* 194-197 fig. 31; Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 86-88 and n. 100. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - With five other Labours (**2047. 2246. 2695**).

**1818.** AR diobol, Taras, 4th cent. B.C. - Ravel, *Vlasto* pls. 39, 1273-1277 (1275, H. at r.). 1287 (H.'s legs straighter); 41, 1388. - Rev.: H. raises his l. knee towards the lion. Obv.: head of Athena. Cf. AR, Paeonia, NC 45, 1875, pl. 1, 2.

**1819.\*** Bronze relief. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. M.I. 7929. - Furtwängler, A., *Slg. Sabouroff* (1883-87) II pl. 148. - 4th cent. B.C. - Club at l.

**1820.** Bronze finger ring. From Sicily. Zurich market. - Steinberg, F., *Ant. Münzen Auktion* 13, 1983, no. 375 pl. 19. - 3rd cent. B.C. - H. is upright. Cf. the impression, Berkeley, Gans Coll., *Festschr. L. Mildenberg* (1984) 268 pl. 41, 10.

H. in three-quarter view.

**1821.** Clay relief roundel. Alexandria, Greco-rom. Mus. From Alexandria. - Pagenstecher, E., *Exp-Sieglin* II, 1, 56 fig. 54; Bieber, *SculptHell*<sup>2</sup> fig. 399. - 3rd/2nd cent. B.C. - Young H. in three-quarter view; club to l.

**1822.\*** Bronze ring bezel. New York, MMA 41.160.493. - Richter, *MetrMusGems* pl. 12, 72. - 4th cent. B.C.

**1823.\*** AR diobol or stater, Herakleia (Lucania), 4th cent. B.C. - *NNM* 91, 1940, pls. 1, 10 - 2, 22; 3, 24 - 5, 48; Kraay/Hirmer, *GrCoins* pl. 89, 256 (lion's hind legs both off ground and clawing H.). 257, 258; Vollkommer 3 fig. 4; *idem*, *Idea* 6, 1987, 15 fig. 9. - Rev.: club and bow at l. (Obv.: head of Athena.) The type recurs in the following issues: a) AR diobol, Taras, 4th/3rd cent. B.C. Ravel, *Vlasto* pls. 38-43 *passim*; Vollkommer no. 14. Rev. - b) AR obol, diobol and stater, Kurion, 430-400 B.C. BMC Cyprus xliii pl. 25, 6-8. Rev.; at r. Athena seated on ship's prow holding aphlaston. (Obv.: H.) - c) AR stater, Mallos, 380-330 B.C. Bräuer pl. 2, 6; BMC Lycaonia, etc. 99, 34; Kraay, *ArClCoins* pl. 59, 1026. Rev. (Obv.: king of Persia.)

**1824.\*** Bronze statuette. New York, MMA 09.221.22. - Richter, *MetrMusBronzes* no. 130. - Hellenistic. - The lion's forelegs hang limp.

H. raises a club in his r. hand.

**1825.\*** Bronze mirror relief. London, BM 1904.7-8.1. From Anaktoron. - Züchner, *Klappspiegel* KS 83 fig. 28; *AJA* 62, 1958, 92 fig. 20. - 400-350 B.C. - Rev.: H. in profile, action to l.

**1826.\*** AR stater, Herakleia (Lucania), 4th cent. B.C. - *NNM* 91, 1940, pl. 2, 23. - Rev.: H. frontal. Obv.: head of Athena. - The type recurs on the following issues: a) AU, Taras, 4th cent. B.C. SNG Copenhagen Italy 834. Rev.; obv.: head of Apollo. - b) AR diobol, Taras, 4th cent. B.C. Ravel, *Vlasto* pls. 41, 1384, 1386; 42, 1413/4, 1420/1. Rev. - c) AR tetradrachmon, Paeonia, Lykkeios (359-340 B.C.). Bräuer pl. 2, 2; NC 45, 1875, pl. 1, 3. Rev.; obv.: head of Apollo.

**1827.** Plaster relief fr. Paris, Louvre MND 2049. From Egypt. - *AJA* 62, 1958, 372 pl. 92, 19. - Cast from original of 4th cent. B.C.

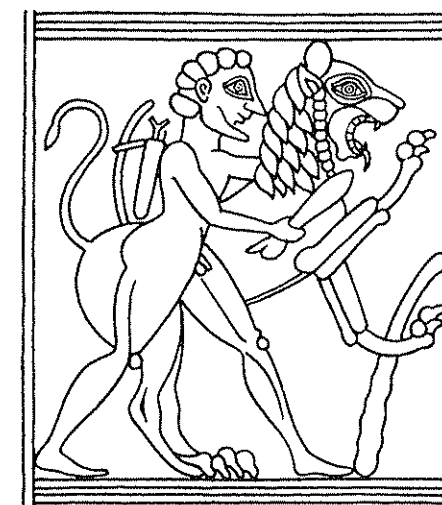
(iv) Wrestling side by side, the lion usually beyond H. and turning its head back. H. holds it by the neck. The lion scratches with a hindpaw and forepaw.

H. links his hands or his r. hand is inactive.

**1828.** (= **2498**) Cup fr., Corinthian bf. Athens, NM. From Perachora. - Amyx, *CVP* 565, 32; *Perachora* II 262 no. 2542 pl. 106; Kunze 96 n. 3. - 600-575 B.C.

**1829.\*** Amphora, Attic bf. Copenhagen, NM 7068. From Thebes. - *ABV* 134, 14: Group E; *CVA* 3 pl. 102 (104), 1b. - About 540 B.C. - To l. Athena; to r. Iolaos. Cf. also Boulogne 420; *ABV* 134, 29. Munich 1382; *ABV* 135, 47; *CVA* 1 pls. 18, 1; 29, 2. Paris, de Larosière; *Para* 56, 56bis; *MuM* Auktion 26, 1963, pl. 34, 105. Richmond 62.17; *Para* 56, 42bis; *MuM* Auktion 22, 1961, pl. 39, 127. Compiègne 982; *Para* 108, 6; *CVA* pl. 3 (101), 2.

**1830.\*** Bronze shieldband relief. Olympia Mus. 1555. - Kunze pl. 60, XXXIIg. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - H. wears quiver; the lion looks forward and does not attack. At the r., club.



Herakles 1830



H.'s r. hand in the lion's jaws.

**1831.\*** Amphora, Attic bf. Chicago, Art Inst. 1978. 114. - *MidwesternColls* no. 31: P. of Berlin 1686. - About 550 B.C. - At l. man and woman; at r. Athena and Hermes.

**1832.\*** Amphora, Attic bf. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 151. From Bologna. - *ABV* 255, 5: Lysippides P.; *Add* 66; *CVA* 5 pls. 95, 96 (1469/70). - About 530 B.C. - At l. Iolaos; at r. Athena.

H. plunges sword into lion's jaws.

**1833.\*** Amphora, Attic bf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 248. - *ABV* 134, 18: Group E; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pls. 80, 84. - About 540 B.C. - At l. Athena; at r. Iolaos. Cf. also London B 160; *ABV* 134, 15; *CVA* 3 pl. 28 (148), 1b. Toronto 919.5.176; *ABV* 134, 11; *CVA* 1 pl. 2, 1. Oxford 1965.135; *ABV* 137, 59; *CVA* 3 pl. 2. Vatican 348; *ABV* 134, 16; Albizzati pl. 44. Brussels R 289; *ABV* 133, 3; *CVA* 2 pl. 16 (56), 4. Würzburg L 247; *ABV* 134, 17; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pls. 67, 84. Munich 1397; *ABV* 134, 20; *CVA* 1 pl. 30, 2. Würzburg L 245; *ABV* 133, 1; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 79. Filling figures on the later, Munich 1385; *ABV* 310; *CVA* 1 pl. 25, 1. Philadelphia MS 4802.

Variants.

**1834.** Amphora, Attic bf. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1965.141. - *ABV* 299, 1: manner of Princeton P.; *Para* 130 (cf. P. of Munich 1379); *CVA* 3 pl. 32, 4 (P. of Berlin 1686?). - About 550 B.C. - H. plunges sword into the lion's shoulder, with the point shortly emerging. At l. Athena; at r. a warrior and man. For the flesh wound cf. 1806.

**1835.\*** Oinochoe, Attic bf. London, BM B 621. From Vulci. - *ABV* 434, 2: P. of London B 620; Jacobsthal, *OrnGrV* pl. 29; *JHS* 25, 1905, 273 fig. 10. - About 510 B.C. - H.'s legs are twisted away from the viewer, his r. hand in the lion's jaws. With Iolaos and Athena. For H.'s pose see also New York X.21.15; Haspels, *ABL* 239, 138; *CVA* 4 pl. 50, 2 (*A* = 1915, Hera sending the lion); and Leningrad B 1302; Gorbunova no. 113; also by the Diosphos P., *ABL* 239, 144; with Iolaos, and on A, Athena and Hermes.

**1836.\*** Kyathos, Attic bf. Basel market. - *MuM* Auktion 34, 1967, pl. 41, 140. - About 490 B.C. - H. and lion run r., heads turned back. H. holds a forepaw.

(v) H. faces the rearing lion; their bodies do not cross. He seizes its neck.

H. holds the lion's l. forepaw.

**1837.** Amphora, Attic bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 206. From Vulci. - *ABV* 109, 27: Lydos; *CVA* 1 pl. 34 (318), 2; Schefold, *SB* II 91 fig. 107. - About 550 B.C. - At l. two youths (one dressed); one man to r. H. wears sword; a cloak over a rock between them. Cf.

the later lekythos, Graz, Univ. G 35; *Festschr. B. Neusch* pls. 66, 67.

**1838.\*** Gold finger ring, Cypriot (?). New York, MMA 74.51.4057. From Curium. - Richter, *MetMusGems* pl. 6, 37; Boardman, J., *BSA* 65, 1970, 13 pl. 4, 26. - About 500 B.C. - H. is tailed, like a satyr, or influenced by eastern groups of Bes with a lion (cf. → Bes [Cypri et in Phoenicia] 17\*).

**1839.\*** Bronze shieldband relief. Olympia Mus. B 972. - Kunze pl. 66, XLIIg. - 575-550 B.C.



Herakles 1839

H. wields club or sword.

**1840.** Lekythos, Attic bf. Bonn, Univ. 539. From Corinth. - *ABV* 455: Blackneck Class; *AA* 1935, 466 fig. 42. - 560-550 B.C. - H. with raised club. The lion's body turned away, looking back at H.

**1841.** *Vacat.*

**1842.** Amphora, East Greek bf. Rhodes Mus. 13339. From Camirus. - *Clara Rhodos* IV 141 fig. 138 pl. 2; *CVA* 1 pls. 1, 3 (430/2); *BSA* 47, 1952, 140. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - Lion to r. H. holds a club and grasps the lion's r. forepaw.

**1843.\*** Stamnos, Attic rf. London, BM 1929.5-13.1. - *ARV* 287, 26: Geras P.; *BMQ* 4, 1929/30, pl. 16b. - About 470 B.C. - H. at r. in chitoniskos holds sword, grasps lion by throat. A tree between them. (*B* = H. and Hydra, 2038).

**1844.** Marble relief shrine of Cybele. Sardis. - Hanfmann, G. M. A./Ramage, N., *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975* (1978) figs. 44, 47. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - H. wears lionskin.

**1845.\*** Carnelian scarab. London, BM 299. From Amathus. - Walters, *BMGems* pl. 6; Boardman, *AG-Gems* pl. 20, 299. - About 500 B.C. - Young H.; uzat eyes in field.

**1846.\*** Bronze shieldband relief. Olympia Mus. B 1654. - Kunze pl. 19, IVg. - 575-550 B.C. - H. stabs lion in belly.

**1847.** Bronze shieldband relief. Olympia Mus. B 1650. - Kunze pls. 52, 53, XXVIIIy. - 550-540 B.C. - The lion not yet pierced.

**1848.\*** Bronze shieldband relief. Athens, NM 6965. From the Acropolis. - *AM* 20, 1895, 476 pl. 14, 4; Payne, *NC* 126 pl. 45, 8. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - H. with raised club.



Herakles 1846

UNCERTAIN

**1849.** Limestone relief from a tomb. London, BM B 286. From Xanthos. - Akurgal, A., *Griechische Reliefs des 6. Jh. aus Lykien* (1941) 20-29 pl. 4, 4. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - Not certainly H.

**1850.\*** Clay relief fr. Athens, NM A 14929. From Sunium. - *ArchEph* 1917, 197 fig. 10; *Hesperia* 10, 1941, 170. 184 no. 1; Kunze 100 Beil. 8, 2. - 625-600 B.C. - H. wears quiver. It is not clear whether he held a sword or the lion's paw.

c) Herakles fights the lion on the ground, his l. arm round its neck. The lion usually scratches H.'s head with a hindpaw. H.'s near leg is often raised from the ground in earlier scenes.

(i) H. links his hands.

**1851.\*** Amphora, Attic rf. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 491. - *ARV* 3, 4: Andokides P.; *Add* 149; *Jdl* 76, 1961, 49 fig. 1; Boardman, *ARFV* fig. 7; *CVA* 3 pl. 2, 1. - The lion scratches H.'s hands.

**1852.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Cleveland, Mus. 1970.16. - *CVA* 1 pl. 13, 1: related to Antimenes P. - About 520 B.C. - Iolaos holds club; bow and quiver hang. Cf. with Iolaos: Munich 1557; *ABV* 290, 3; *CVA* 8 pl. 395, 1. Tarquinia RC 1082; *CVA* 1 pl. 10, 3. Munich 1412; *ABV* 328, 9; *Para* 145; *CVA* 1 pls. 41, 4; 44, 1-2. Basel market; *Jdl* 76, 1961, 53 fig. 5.

**1853.** Hydria, Attic bf. Toledo (Ohio), Mus. 56.70. - *ABV* 268, 26: Antimenes P.; *CVA* 1 pls. 23, 24. - About 520 B.C. - At l. woman and Iolaos; at r. Hermes and Athena. Sword and quiver hang. Cf. Altenburg 222; *ABV* 268, 27; *CVA* 1 pl. 30, 1. Two Athenas on Würzburg H 5169; *CVA* 1 pls. 41, 1; 42, 1-2. Toronto 959.17.212; *CVA* 1 pl. 28, 1.

**1854.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Philadelphia, Univ. MS 1753. From Orvieto. - *MusJ* 8, 1917, 154. - 520-500 B.C. - With Athena; quiver and dress hang. Cf. with Athena, Munich 1414; *ABV* 367, 87; *CVA* 1 pls. 48, 1, 52, 3.

**1855.\*** Amphora, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 215. From Vulci. - *ABV* 336, 10: Rycroft P.; Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 289; *CVA* 3 pl. 27, (164), 4-7. - About 510 B.C. - At l. a rock with eagle on it and club beside it (cave?); at l. a tree.

**1856.** Hydria, Attic rf. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 437. From Italy? - *ARV* 34, 13: Pioneer Group; *MuM* Auktion 14, 1954, pl. 18, 74; *CVA* 3 pl. 14. - The lion scratches H.'s l. arm; tree behind. Cf., with no other figures: Paris F 128; *ARV* 58, 50; *CVA* 10 pl. 3, 4. 6. Leipzig T 3372; *ARV* 89, 23; *Jdl* 78, 1963, 317 fig. 22. Paris G 71; *ARV* 89, 21; *Add* 170; *CVA* 19 pl. 72; Schefold, *SB* II 151/2 fig. 203.

**1857.\*** Cup, Attic rf. Copenhagen, NM Chr. VIII 458. From Vulci. - *ARV* 138, 1: Charops P.; *CVA* 3 pls. 136, 1a-c; 137, 1a-b. - About 500 B.C. - With Athena. Cf., with Iolaos also: Florence 3984; *ARV* 271; *CVA* 2 pl. 58 (642), 1 (Iolaos holds bow). Naples 81326; *ARV* 79, 6; *AM* 92, 1977, pl. 42, 1. Villa Giulia 984; *ARV* 239, 21; *CVA* 2 pl. 15 (54), 1. 3. With Iolaos and Hermes: Bologna DL 8; *ARV* 65, 113; *CVA* 1 pl. 3 (200), 1. Cf. also the Euphronios fr. Paris G 110; *ARV* 14, 3; *Para* 322; Schefold, *SB* II 94 fig. 113.

**1858.** (= Hermes 503\*) Kantharos, Attic rf. Leningrad, Hermitage B 3386. - *ARV* 127, 29: Nikosthenes P.; *Para* 510; Peredolskaya pl. 9, 10. - 510-500 B.C. - At l. one standing and one seated figure; at centre Hermes; at r. Athena and a woman. Cf. Würzburg L 532; *ARV* 587, 54; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 195; with Hermes, Athena, Iolaos and a man.

**1859.\*** Green jasper scarab, Greco-Phoenician. Malibu, Getty Mus. - Boardman, J., *Intaglios and Rings* (1975) no. 115. - About 500 B.C. - H.'s legs are together.

(ii) H. holds the lion's l. hind paw.

**1860.** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Zurich, ETH 7. From Tarquinia. - *ABV* 256, 17: Lysippides P.; *CVA* 1 pls. 12, 1; 15, 4; Schefold, *SB* II 92 fig. 110. - About 520 B.C. - At l. Athena; centre Iolaos; r. a woman. For the same scheme: Rothschild Coll.; *Para* 113, 12; *OeJH* 46, 1961/3, 81. Frankfurt 144; *Para* 116, 44; *Jdl* 80, 1965, 78 figs 1-4. Berlin F 1800; *ABV* 265, 1; *Para* 117; *Jdl* 86, 1971, 82 fig. 4.

**1861.\*** (= Athena 517) Amphora, Attic bf. Brescia, Mus. Civ. From Vulci. - *ABV* 292, 1: Psiak; *Para* 127; *Add* 76; Schefold, *SB* II 93 fig. 112; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pl. 80. - About 510 B.C. - At l. Iolaos; at r. Athena. Dress and quiver hang on tree. Cf. also Paris F 238; *Para* 151, 2; *CVA* 4 pl. 46 (212), 3, 4. New York 63.11.6; *ARV* 1617, 2bis; *Para* 320; *Add* 149; *BullMMA* 24, 1966, figs. 1-5. Charlecote Park; *AJA* 82, 1978, 14 fig. 1. Paris, Cab. Méd. 254; *ABV* 324, 38; *CVA* 1 pl. 58 (444), 3, 8 (both seated). Hermes with Athena on: Tarquinia 675; *CVA* 2 pl. 39 (1138), 3. Orvieto, Faina 74; *ABV* 336, 9; RM 53, 1938, 96 no. 2. Berlin V.I. 3274; *ABV* 675. Malibu 86.AE.114; *CVA* 1 pl. 55, 1. Plain filling figures on Athens, NM 656; *ABV* 560, 521; *BCH* 74, 1950, pl. 8. New Orleans; *SouthernColls* no. 21.

**1862.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Rome, Villa Giulia 858. 859\*. From Falerii. - *ABV* 601, 12. 13: Red-Line P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 10 (14), 1, 2. - About 500 B.C. - With Athena alone. Cf. also Austin (Texas); *CVA* Castle Ashby pl. 22, 5-7.

**1863.\*** Cup, Attic bf. Boston, MFA 60.1172. From Etruria. - *ABV* 214, 40: Segment Class; *Jdl* 76, 1961, 54 fig. 6; *CVA* 2 pl. 106, 4-6. - About 500 B.C. - Tree with dress and quiver in background. With a rock also on Ruvo, Jatta J 1600; *ABV* 528, 32; 535, 10; Sichtermann, *Stgatta* pl. 5, 3.

(iii) H.'s r. hand under the lion's belly.

**1864.** Hydria, Attic bf. London, BM B 318. From Vulci. - *ABV* 277, 9: manner of the Antimenes P.; *CVA* 6 pl. 83 (342), 3. - About 520 B.C. - With Athena. Cf. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. GR 7.1937; *ABV* 607; *CVA* 2 pl. 11, 2.

**1865.** (= 3314) Neck amphora, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1556. From Etruria. - *CVA* 8 pl. 393, 2. - 520-510 B.C. - Lion's paw against H.'s l. leg. Tree with dress and quiver. At r. Hermes. Hermes and Iolaos with seated figures on Naples SA 126; *CVA* 1 pl. 32 (976); l. Athena and Iolaos on Athens, Agora P 24123; *Hesperia* 24, 1955, pl. 29b.

**1866.\*** Hydria, Attic bf. London BM B 306. From Vulci. - *ABV* 365, 68: Leagros Group; *CVA* 6 pl. 77 (336), 3. - About 510 B.C. - At l. Hermes and Athena seated; at r. Iolaos crouching. Cf. Baltimore WAG 48.29; *AJA* 51, 1947, pl. 61 (Hermes replaced by a woman). Athens, Acr. 655; *ABV* 289, 26. With other figures on Würzburg L 315; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 90. Paris F 50; *ABV* 277, 8; *CVA* 6 pl. 67 (406), 2. Once Rome, Basseggio; *ABV* 361, 23; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 183 (= Ares 75).

**1867.** Lekythos, Attic bf. Agrigento, Mus. Reg. - *Adl* 31, 1859, 60. - 500-490 B.C. - At l. Iolaos; in centre Athena; at r. Poseidon.

**1868.\*** Hydria, Attic rf. New York, MMA 21.88.1. From Etruria. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 252, 40; Syleus P.; Richter/Hall no. 27 pl. 24. - 490-480 B.C. - Tree in background.

(iv) H.'s r. hand in the lion's jaws.

**1869.** Oinochoe, Attic bf. Leningrad, Hermitage B 1452. - *ABV* 176, 1: Taleides P.; *Para* 317; Gorbunova no. 20. - 540-530 B.C. - At r. Athena; H.'s weapons in background. Cf. also Orvieto, Faina 2658. Philadelphia Mem. Hall 1899.204; *AJA* 39, 1935, 452 fig. 1a. Philadelphia MS 3497; *Para* 318; with Athena, Iolaos.

**1870.\*** Hydria, Attic rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 50398. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 188, 69: Kleophrades P.; Mingazzini no. 667 pl. 140, 1; Greifenhagen, A., *Neue Fragmente des Kl.-Malers* (1972) pl. 26, 1; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pls. 126, 127. - About 500 B.C. - H.'s l. arm is here passed before the lion's neck, also holding its jaw.

(v) H.'s r. hand inactive.

**1871.** Hydria, Attic rf. Vatican. From Cerveteri. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 247, 2: Gallatin P.; *EAA* III 763 fig. 937. - 490-480 B.C. - Athena seated at l. Cf. the bf. oinochoe, Leiden PC 45; *ABV* 525, 4; *CVA* 3 pls. 108, 109, 1.

(iv) The lion's hind paws inactive.

**1872.** (= Galene I 3\*) Stamnos, Attic rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 2407. From Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 274, 35: Harrow P.; *CVA* 5 pl. 240, 5. 241. - 480-470 B.C. - Young H. seizes the lion around the belly. At the l. Galene; at r. Athena; tree with hanging sword in background. Under handles, club, quiver, bow, dress. Cf. also Detroit; *MidwesternColls* no. 54; with Iolaos; bf. London E 168; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 263, 43; *CVA* 5 pl. 74 (324), 2b; with Athena and Iolaos seated. New York 06.1021.168; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 148, 1; with Hermes and Iolaos.

**1873.** Cup, Attic rf. Florence, Mus. Arch. V 58. From Chiusi. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 413, 24: Dokimasia P.; *RA* 1982, 220 fig. 20. - About 480 B.C. - Young H., hands linked, lion's head frontal. At r. satyr with wineskin. Tree beyond; club at l.; bow and quiver hang.

(vii) Variants

**1874.** Kantharos, Attic rf. Boston, MFA 00.334. From Tarquinia. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 126, 27: Nikosthenes P.; *Para* 333; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 176; Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 320; Caskey/Beazley III pl. 68. - About 510 B.C. - H.'s r. arm round lion's neck, l. holding rear paw; tree beyond. At r. Iolaos with spear; at l. dress; at r. bow and quiver.

**1875.** Hydria, Attic rf. Rouen, Mus. 5382. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 179, 4: near Carpenter P.; *HDHG* (Rouen) no. 87. - About 500 B.C. - H. holds both lion's forepaws on ground.

**1876.\*** Calyx crater fr. Apulian rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 8714. - *RVApI* 194, 16: Ilioupersis P.; Moret, *Ilioupersis* pl. 71, 2; Vollkommer 5 fig. 6. - 380-370 B.C. - Young H. kneels beside lion, arms round its neck, both facing r.; club below; a woman seated at l.

**1877.\*** Marble relief base. Athens, NM 42 and 3579. From Lamptrai. - *AM* 12, 1887, pl. 3, 1; *AM* 66, 1941, pl. 63; Boardman, *GSAP* fig. 261a. - About 500 B.C. - H.'s hands both round the lion's neck; the lion's head frontal. Other sides, 52, 2579.

**1878.\*** Clay relief plaque, fr. Athens, Acr. Mus. 1323. - *AM* 12, 1887, pl. 3, 2; *Hesperia* 8, 1939, 286 fig. 2. - About 500 B.C. - Young H. kneels, stooping forward over the lion which lies on its back, its head up and frontal. He holds its jaw and neck. Cf. Agora T 563, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, 285 fig. 1. Kerameikos T 694, *AA* 1984, 31.

(viii) Uncertain types

**1879.** Amphora fr., Attic bf. Ensérune, Giry Coll. - July, J., *OpuscRom* 8, 1974, 59 pl. 10; Boardman, J., *AJA* 82, 1978, 14 fig. 1. - By Exekias, about 540 B.C. - Iolaos with club; H.'s hands are clenched.

**1880.** Marble relief fr. Athens, Agora Mus. S 1449. - *Agora* XI 36-37 pl. 17; *Hesperia* 20, 1959, pl. 30d-e. - 530-520 B.C. - Part of head and paw.

d) Other moments in the wrestling

(i) Combination of standing/lying schemes.

**1881.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. 654. - *CVA* 1 pl. 14 (1146), 2. - About 520 B.C. - H. kneels stooping over the lion, his l. arm round its neck; his r. hand holds off the lion's l. hindpaw. Dress and quiver hang on tree; at r. Athena, Iolaos crouching with club, Hermes. For H.'s pose see also: Boulogne 63; Rumpf, A., *Sakonides* (1937) pl. 24; the lion standing. Naples SA 148; *ABV* 371, 141; H. with club in r. hand; at l. Hermes, at r. Athena. London B 307; *ABV* 361, 17; *CVA* 6 pl. 76 (335), 4; H. holds lion's belly in r.

**1882.\*** Amphora, Attic bf. Rome, Villa Giulia 50406 (M 472). - *ABV* 291: near P. of Boulogne 441; Mingazzini pl. 65, 1; Schefold, *SB* II 94 fig. 114. - 510-500 B.C. - H. stands stooping over the half-rearing lion his hands at its neck. At l. Iolaos, at r. Athena. Below, a bent sword; weapons and dress hang. For H. cf. Paris F 315; *CVA* 2 pl. 7 (79), 2; the lion ready to spring.

(ii) H. throws the lion.

See also 1804.

**1883.\*** Amphora, Attic rf. London, BM B 193. From Etruria. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 4, 8: Andokides P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 149; *CVA* 3 pl. 1 (166), 1b; *Jdl* 76, 1961, 55 fig. 7; Boardman, *ARFH* fig. 10; Schefold, *SB* II 93 fig. 111. - About 520 B.C. - H. kneels ready to throw the lion onto the ground. At l. Athena, at r. Iolaos with sword and club.

**1884.\*** (= 1804) Skyphos, Attic bf. Lund, Univ. 596. - *Jdl* 80, 1968, 101 fig. 25. - 510-500 B.C. - H. has the lion on his shoulder; sword and quiver in background.

**1885.\*** Rock crystal scaraboid. Paris, Cab. Méd. de Luynes 214. From Tortosa. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 9, 7; Lippold, *Gemmen* pl. 37, 9; Boardman, *GGFR* pl. 295. - About 500 B.C. - H. to l.; club in background. Cf. also the Greco-Phoenician scarabs Madrid 37004, Tunis 675; Boardman, J., in *Praestant Interna, Festschr. U. Hausmann* (1982) 295 pl. 66, 1. 2.

**1886.** Carnelian ringstone. Boston, MFA 27.674. From Cyprus. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 10, 2; Boardman, *AGGems* pl. 17, 254; *idem*, *GGFR* pl. 366. - About 500 B.C. - H. grasps the neck of the lion in the pose usually adopted for the lying wrestle, but the straightened groundline suggests that this is the throw.

(iii) Other wrestling schemes.

**1887.** Gold relief plaque. Once Vienna, Trau Coll. From Tortosa. - *Auktion Fischer Luzern, Nachlaß F. Trau* III (29 Feb. 1955) no. 242 pl. 8. - Hellenistic? - H. kneels to l. apparently holding the lion horizontally across his body.

**1888.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1712\* with bibl.) Marble relief from the Theatre, Delphi. - *AJA* 82, 1978,

228 fig. 2 - 2nd/1st cent. B.C.? - H. stands behind and to the l. of the lion holding it between his legs, both frontal, H.'s arm round its neck (it bites his wrist), H.'s r. leg holding back the lion's r. hind leg.

## 2. Herakles attacks with weapons

### a) Herakles approaches the lion in its cave

**1889.** Lekythos, wg. bf., Attic. Okayama, Kurashiki Mus. - Simon, E., *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum* (1982) no. 32: Athena P. - About 500 B.C. - H. shoulders club looking back at Athena, her helmet and shield before her. Before H. the lion emerges from its cave, a deer in its paws; a tree. Cf. St Louis 677 (WU 3279); *ABV* 522, 5; *AJA* 44, 1940, 200 figs. 11-13; H. holds bow and the deer is dead. Taranto; Haspels, *ABL* 254.4. London market; *ABV* 491, 49: H. kneeling.

**1890.\*** Cup, Attic rf. Künsnacht, Hirschmann Coll. G 19. - *Para* 474, 2: near P. of Heidelberg 209; Christies 23 Feb. 1965 no. 189. - About 430 B.C. - Young H. with club and bow approaches lion in cave.

**1891.\*** (= 2624) Bell crater, Attic rf. Utrecht, Univ. vH 18. From Naples. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1053, 42: Polygnotos Group; *Studies D. M. Robinson* (1951) II 108-109 pl. 35a-b; Vollkommer 3 fig. 2. - 420-410 B.C. - H. in lionskin holding club; a tree; at r. a seated woman, the lion's (?) head below her, as if in a cave. (Beazley - 'Cerberus?') Cf. the Salonica bell crater: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1053, 43; *Epitymbion Ch. Tsountas* (1941) 380-384 fig. 7 pls. 3, 4; H. crouches towards the lion extending a hand; Athena holds her hand over him (= Athena 527).

### UNCERTAIN

**1892.** Neck amphora, Attic rf. Mykonos Mus. 59. From Rheneia. - *EADélos* XXI pl. 23. - Mid 5th cent. B.C. - H.(?) in short chiton shouldering club greeted by a woman (Athena?). At r. a woman seated on a rock (Nemea?) below which appears a lion attacking a stag.

### b) The lion prepares to spring or is on its hind legs

The interpretation of the simple scenes assembled under 1895. 1896 (shoulder) is posed acutely by C. Bérard (o.c. 1895) who points out discrepancies with the usual H. encounter and proposes an imaginary encounter with a lion by ephebes (but one is bearded), «un modèle de courage». Cf. also *idem*, in *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 177-186 and Schnapp, A., *ibid.* 124-125. See Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 130-131 A: e.

**1893.** Cup, Attic bf. Once Rome, Basseggio. - *ABV* 181: Tleson; *Adl* 1859 pl. C 1. - About 550 B.C. - Cf. Nicosia C 667; Gjerstad, E., *Greek ... pottery found in Cyprus* (1977) pl. 38, 2 (cf. 3. 4).

**1894.\*** Amphora, Attic bf. Kiel, Kunsthalle B 507. - Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) pl. 73c. - About 520 B.C. - H. with club in outstretched r. hand; at l. woman, at r. Hermes. Athena and Iolaos on Paris F 46; *CVA* 6 pl. 66 (405), l. Iolaos, Hermes and Athena on Paris, F 47; *ABV* 309, 100; Böhr, o.c. pl. 142a.

**1863.\*** Cup, Attic bf. Boston, MFA 60.1172. From Etruria. - *ABV* 214, 40: Segment Class; *Jdl* 76, 1961, 54 fig. 6; *CVA* 2 pl. 106, 4-6. - About 500 B.C. - Tree with dress and quiver in background. With a rock also on Ruvo, Jatta J 1600; *ABV* 528, 32; 535, 10; Sichtermann, *StgJatta* pl. 5, 3.

(iii) H.'s r. hand under the lion's belly.

**1864.** Hydria, Attic bf. London, BM B 318. From Vulci. - *ABV* 277, 9: manner of the Antimenes P.; *CVA* 6 pl. 83 (342), 3. - About 520 B.C. - With Athena. Cf. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. GR 7.1937; *ABV* 607; *CVA* 2 pl. 11, 2.

**1865.** (= 3314) Neck amphora, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1556. From Etruria. - *CVA* 8 pl. 393, 2. - 520-510 B.C. - Lion's paw against H.'s l. leg. Tree with dress and quiver. At r. Hermes. Hermes and Iolaos with seated figures on Naples SA 126; *CVA* 1 pl. 32 (976); l. Athena and Iolaos on Athens, Agora P 24123; *Hesperia* 24, 1955, pl. 29b.

**1866.\*** Hydria, Attic bf. London BM B 306. From Vulci. - *ABV* 365, 68: Leagros Group; *CVA* 6 pl. 77 (336), 3. - About 510 B.C. - At l. Hermes and Athena seated; at r. Iolaos crouching. Cf. Baltimore WAG 48.29; *AJA* 51, 1947, pl. 61 (Hermes replaced by a woman). Athens, Acr. 655; *ABV* 289, 26. With other figures on Würzburg L 315; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 90. Paris F 50; *ABV* 277, 8; *CVA* 6 pl. 67 (406), 2. Once Rome, Basseggio; *ABV* 361, 23; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 183 (= Ares 75).

**1867.** Lekythos, Attic bf. Agrigento, Mus. Reg. - *AdI* 31, 1859, 60. - 500-490 B.C. - At l. Iolaos; in centre Athena; at r. Poseidon.

**1868.\*** Hydria, Attic rf. New York, MMA 21.88.1. From Etruria. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 252, 40; Syleus P.; Richter/Hall no. 27 pl. 24. - 490-480 B.C. - Tree in background.

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**1870.\*** Hydria, Attic rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 50398. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 188, 69: Kleophrades P.; Mingazzini no. 667 pl. 140, 1; Greifenhagen, A., *Neue Fragmente des Kl.-Malers* (1972) pl. 26, 1; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pls. 126, 127. - About 500 B.C. - H.'s l. arm is here passed before the lion's neck, also holding its jaw.

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(iv) The lion's hind paws inactive.

**1872.** (= Galene I 3\*) Stamnos, Attic rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 2407. From Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 274, 35: Harrow P.; *CVA* 5 pl. 240, 5. 241. - 480-470 B.C. - Young H. seizes the lion around the belly. At the l. Galene; at r. Athena; tree with hanging sword in background. Under handles, club, quiver, bow, dress. Cf. also Detroit; *MidwesternColls* no. 54; with Iolaos; bf. London E 168; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 263, 43; *CVA* 5 pl. 74 (324), 2b; with Athena and Iolaos seated. New York 06.1021.168; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 148, 1; with Hermes and Iolaos.

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(vii) Variants

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(i) Combination of standing/lying schemes.

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(ii) H. throws the lion.

See also 1804.

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228 fig. 2 - 2nd/1st cent. B.C.? - H. stands behind and to the l. of the lion holding it between his legs, both frontal, H.'s arm round its neck (it bites his wrist), H.'s r. leg holding back the lion's r. hind leg.

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**1890.\*** Cup, Attic rf. Künsnacht, Hirschmann Coll. G 19. - *Para* 474, 2: near P. of Heidelberg 209; Christies 23 Feb. 1965 no. 189. - About 430 B.C. - Young H. with club and bow approaches lion in cave.

**1891.\*** (= 2624) Bell crater, Attic rf. Utrecht, Univ. vH 18. From Naples. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1053, 42: Polygnotos Group; *Studies D. M. Robinson* (1951) II 108-109 pl. 35a-b; Vollkommer 3 fig. 2. - 420-410 B.C. - H. in lionskin holding club; a tree; at r. a seated woman, the lion's (?) head below her, as if in a cave. (Beazley - 'Cerberus?') Cf. the Salonica bell crater: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1053, 43; *Epitymbion Ch. Tsountas* (1941) 380-384 fig. 7 pls. 3, 4; H. crouches towards the lion extending a hand; Athena holds her hand over him (= Athena 527).

UNCERTAIN

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**1893.** Cup, Attic bf. Once Rome, Basseggio. - *ABV* 181: Tleson; *AdI* 1859 pl. C 1. - About 550 B.C. - Cf. Nicosia C 667; Gjerstad, E., *Greek ... pottery found in Cyprus* (1977) pl. 38, 2 (cf. 3. 4).

**1894.\*** Amphora, Attic bf. Kiel, Kunsthalle B 507. - Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) pl. 73c. - About 520 B.C. - H. with club in outstretched r. hand; at l. woman, at r. Hermes. Athena and Iolaos on Paris F 46; *CVA* 6 pl. 66 (405), l. Iolaos, Hermes and Athena on Paris, F 47; *ABV* 309, 100; Böhr, o.c. pl. 142a.



**1895.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Palermo, Mus. Reg. 2379. - *Jdl* 80, 1965, 99 fig. 22. - About 520 B.C. - H. wears corselet over chiton, dress over l. arm, club in r. hand. The lion rears up. Cf. Orvieto; *StEtr* 30, 1962, pl. 14a (H. with club and bow). Capesthorpe Hall; *Para* 120, 92; *JHS* 78, 1958 pl. 7; Boardman, *ABFV* fig. 189; H. holds sword. Liverpool; *Para* 120, 93ter; *BurlMag* 1966, 471 fig. 35.

**1896.** Neck amphora, Nikosthenic, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 108. From Cerveteri. - *ABV* 220, 30; Painter N; *CVA* 4 pls. 33-36 (199-202); Bérard, C., *Etudes de Lettres* 1983, 4, 13 fig. 1. - About 520 B.C. - Neck, A: H. runs l. with club, bow before him; B: lion to r. leaping. Shoulder, A: youth with club faces leaping lion, broken amphora below, youth to l. and r.; B: man with club faces lion, two youths to l. and r.

**1897.** Skyphos, Attic bf. Athens, NM 12627. - *JHS* 75, 1955, pl. 7, 2. - About 490 B.C. - H. (?) with cap and cloak, club, crouches. A palm between. The lion crouches. Cf. Heidelberg L 30; *CVA* 4 pl. 173, 4. 5.

**1898.** Skyphos, Attic bf. Mississippi Univ. 77.3.70. - *CVA* Robinson 1 pl. 24 (157), 1. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - «H.» with club and dress; lion leaps. Cf. Frankfurt VF 316; *CVA* 2 pl. 51, 5-6. Cambridge (Mass.) 1959.218; *ABV* 316; *CVA* Robinson 1 pl. 34, 1c. One or more other figures on: Mississippi Univ. 1977.3.71; *ABV* 277, 12; *CVA* Robinson 1 pls. 35, 1a; 36, 2a. Tübingen H 10.1202; *CVA* 3 pl. 6, 2. Syracuse 24672; *Para* 87, 25; *MonAnt* 17, 1906, 286 fig. 209. Villa Giulia 20909. 20911; *MonAnt* 42, 1955, 302 fig. 54. Naples SA 130; *CVA* 1 pl. 45, 3. Paris F 167; *ABV* 614, 4; Pottier, *VasesLouvre* pl. 76. Toronto 1919.575; *CVA* 1 pl. 33, 5-6, between sphinxes.

**1899.** Pebble mosaic. Nicosia. - *ILNAug.* 1979. - 4th cent. B.C. - H. without weapons; his club below.

### c) Other schemes

The lion is held upside down on **1900. 1902. 1903**; H. is poised over the lion on **1901**, kneels on it on **1904c**, beside it on **1904a. b. 1905**, shoots it on **1906**.

**1900.** Hydria, Attic bf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 306. From Vulci. - *ABV* 267, 14; Antimenos P.; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 97. - About 520 B.C. - The lion is upside down. H. holds a hindpaw, attacks with club and treads on its neck. Iolaos with club and bow and woman at l.; Athena and Hermes at r.

**1901.\*** Cup, Attic bf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 8307. - *ABV* 214, 39; Segment Class; *Para* 103; *CVA* 1 pl. 8 (1140), 3; Pierro, E., *Ceramica ionica*... (Mus. Arch. Naz. Tarquinia VI 1984) no. 46 pl. 55. - About 510 B.C. - H. with club is poised over the lion which runs l.

**1902.\*** Lekythos, Attic wg. bf. Athens, Goulandris Coll. Col. 2. - *Para* 218; Edinburgh P.; Benaki Mus., Goulandris Coll. (1978) 288 no. 160; Marangou, L. I., *Ancient Greek Art: Goulandris Coll.* (1985) no. 137. - About 500 B.C. - Young H. holds the lion upside down, beating it with his club. At l. a warrior and Hermes; at r. Athena.

**1903.** (= 21\*) Carnelian scarab. New York,

MMA 25.78.94. - Richter, *MetMusGems* pl. 5, 31; Boardman, *AGGems* pl. 20, 297; *idem*, *GGFR* pl. 343. - About 520 B.C. - Young H. with raised club holds a small lion upside down by its tail; behind him a hare. The group is not uncommon on Greco-Phoenician scarabs and has eastern connotations. See also Richter, *MetMusGems* pl. 4, 22; *AGD* II pl. 34, 145; Boardman, *AGGems* no. 298; *idem*, *Escarabeos de piedra procedentes de Ibiza* (1984) 88 nos. 194-196; Bisi, A. M., *Riv. di Studi Fenici* 8, 1980, 19-42.

**1904.** AR diobols, Taras, mid 4th cent. B.C. - These are individual variants on **1773. 1774.** (Obv.: head of Athena.) a) Ravel, *Vlasto* pl. 40, 1338; Bräuer pl. 2, 3. - Rev.: H. kneels with raised club, the lion crouches over his outstretched l. leg. b) Ravel, *o. c.* pl. 41, 1362-1364. - Rev.: H. collapses to l. with club raised; the lion crouches over his outstretched l. leg. c) Ravel, *o. c.* pls. 38, 1239; 42, 1427/8. 1431-1436. 1441; Bräuer pl. 2, 7. - Rev.: H. with raised club kneels on the lion's back, facing l., the lion's head turned back.

**1905.\*** Bronze statuette. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. VI 2594. - *AA* 1892, 49 fig. 65; Bendinelli 136 no. 9; Langlotz, E., *Frühgriech. Bildhauerschulen* 81 fig. 41a. - About 500 B.C. - Young H. with mantle over shoulder kneels with raised club; of the lion only a forepaw held by H. and a hindpaw scratching his knee.

**1906.** Bronze group by Nikodamos of Mainalon dedicated by Hippotion of Taras at Olympia. Lost. - Paus. 5, 25, 7; *OlBer* 6, 6 (inscription and base of running lion); - Early 4th cent. B.C. - Young naked H. shooting the lion.

### d) Uncertain or wrongly identified

**1907.** Clay tetrapod, Attic Late Geom. Athens, Kerameikos 407. - Schefold, *Sagenbilder* pl. 5a; Brommer, H. pl. 4a; Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen* 81; Carter, J., *BSA* 67 (1972) 45 pl. 10a; *CAH* Plates Vol. III 264, 344. - About 720 B.C. - On two legs, a man with a sword in his r. hand a spear in his l. attacks a rearing lion. On another leg the man carries a quadruped over his shoulders perhaps indicating a saviour of flocks, a motive for the slaying of the Nemean lion.

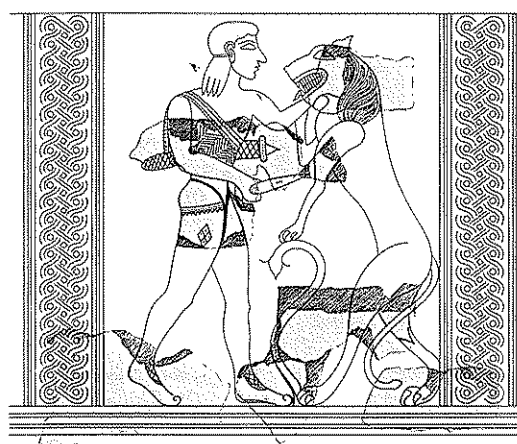
**1908.** Crater fr., Chian Geom. Chios Mus. From Phanai. - *BSA* 35, 1934/5, pl. 35, 33; Coldstream, N. J., in *Chios* (edd. Boardman, J./Vaphopoulou-Richardson, C. E., 1986) 181-186 fig. 1. - Late 8th cent. B.C. - A man with shield and raised spear faces a crouching lion. (Coldstream - Apollo?).

**1909.** Alabastron, Corinthian. Lost. From Syracuse. - Amyx, *CVP* 628; *MLI* 2, 2139; *AM* 12, 1887, 122; Payne, *NC* 126 fig. 44bis; Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen* 88 n. 454. - 640-620 B.C. - Naked man with raised sword (?) faces lion.

**1910.** Aryballos, Corinthian. Moscow, Pushkin Mus. 1. From Tanagra. - Amyx, *CVP* 628; Payne, *NC* no. 842A; *AntK* 14, 1971, pl. 2, 1; Amandry, P./Amyx, D. A., *AntK* 25, 1982, 110 n. 40; Sidorova, N. A., *et al.*, *Antique Painted Pottery* (Pushkin Mus. 1985) no. 8. - 600-575 B.C. - Man with raised club (not stone, as Amandry/Amyx) runs between two lions. Probably not H.

**1911.** Cup, Laconian bf. Athens, NM 20063. From Sorrento. - Stibbe, *LakVas* no. 351; Allard-Piereson P.; Pipili, M., *OJA* 4, 1985, 233-239 figs. 1-4; Rider P.; *eadem*, *LacIc* 2 fig. 2. - 550-540 B.C. - A youth with spear and shield attacks a rearing lion, naked. Contrast the more canonical Laconian treatment on **1764**, and cf. the Laconian cup, Rhodes 10711 (Stibbe no. 190; *CVA* 2 pl. 1; Pipili, *LacIc* 24 fig. 35) where a man has a lion on a leash.

**1912.\*** Relief pithos fr. Naxos Mus. From Naxos. - Simantoni-Bournia pls. 10-12 fig. 9. - Mid 7th cent. B.C. - The neck is restored with a man in short chiton with l. arm raised, r. with a sword directed towards a rearing lion.



Herakles 1912

**1913.** (= 2280) Incised bow fibula, Boeotian. London, BM 3204. From Thebes? - Hampe, *Sagenbilder* no. 100 pl. 1; Brommer, H. pl. 3. - About 700 B.C. - Man with spear attacking lion.

**1914.** Ivory group, Laconian? Athens, NM 15536. From Sparta. - Marangou, E.-L. I., *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien* (1969) 114. 124 no. 60 fig. 87. - 650-625 B.C. - A crouching lion tears a calf. At its flank a small kneeling man plunges a sword into its neck.

### 3. Other scenes with the lion

#### a) Hera sends the lion

**1915.** (= Hera 390, = Iris 70\*) Neck amphora, Attic bf. New York, MMA X.21.15. - *CVA* 4 pl. 50. 1. - 500-490 B.C. - Hera holding torch (or short sceptre) sends Iris with the lion. For B see under **1835**, with the struggle.

#### b) Herakles and the dead lion

**1916.\*** Cup, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 2085 (J. 563). - Gerhard, *AV* pls. 132. 133; Swindler, M. H., *Ancient Painting* (1929) fig. 216. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - H. stoops over the dead lion lying on its back

holding its hindpaws, skinning it. Its tail is tied to a tree.

**1917.\*** Calyx crater, Attic rf. Palermo, Mus. Reg. 13840. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 613, 4; P. of the Woolly Satyrs; Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, 126 pl. 9. - About 450 B.C. - H. seated on rocks at r., frontal, weary, naked, holding his club; below him the dead lion (shown as if sleeping). To the l. Iolaos (?) holding two spears and with H.'s lionskin (*sic*), bow and quiver; and a seated man with sceptre (Eurystheus?).

**1918.** Bell crater, Gnathian. Bari, Montinari Coll. - Moreno 139 fig. e. - 4th cent. B.C. - Young H. approaches an altar from the r., holding a phiale, holding his club and a leg of the dead lion in his l. hand.

**1919.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1705**\*) Marble metope, Temple of Zeus at Olympia. - Ashmole/Yalouris, *o. c.* **1705**, pl. 143. - About 460 B.C. - H. stands with his foot on the dead lion, head in hand; at l. Athena.

**1920.\*** Blue chalcedony scaraboid. London, BM 524. From the Punjab. - Walters, *BMGems* pl. 9; Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 22, 25; Lippold, *Gemmen* pl. 36, 1; Boardman, J., *BurlMag* 1969, 595-596 fig. 36; *idem*, *GGFR* pl. 856; Vollkommer 5 fig. 9. - About 400 B.C. - H. places his foot on the dead lion and stretches his hand l. to a woman approaching with a jug (Nemea?). Above, Eros with wreath; at r. the club. Cf. the sealing from Ur, *GGFR* 235 fig. 278; H. with club with foot on dead lion, belly up.

**1921.\*** AR diobol, Taras, mid-4th cent. B.C. - *BMC* Italy 203, 330; *SNG* Copenhagen 968. - Rev.: young H. seated facing l. on the dead lion, holding club and cup. Obv.: head of Athena.

#### c) Herakles carries the lion

**1922.** Relief cup fr. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. P 490. From Pergamon. - *Pergamon* 1275 fig. 2. - The lion on H.'s l. shoulder. - 2nd cent. B.C. - Cf. the Archaic bronze statuette of a man carrying two lions: Dörig, J., *Art Antique, Suisse Romande* (1975) no. 180.

#### d) Unknown schemes

On the Amyklai throne (= [Dodekathlos] **1701**), Praxiteles' metopes at Thebes (= [Dodekathlos] **1710**), Lysippos' group at Alyzia (= [Dodekathlos] **1709**).

**1923.** Lotuswood group. Lindos, temple of Athena. Lost. - *Lindos* II 1, 168-170 no. 2 (XVII) (the «Lindos Chronicle»). - 6th cent. B.C. - Athena watching H. and the lion. A gift of the Lindians who went to Cyrene.

**1924.** Painting by Panainos on panels of the throne of Zeus in the Temple at Olympia. - Paus. 5, 11, 5; Overbeck, *SQ* no. 696. - 440-430 B.C.

**1925.** Amphora, Attic rf. Mykonos Mus. From Rheneia. - *EADélos* XXI 19 no. 59 pls. 23-25; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 140 «Vor dem Kampf?». - About 450 B.C. - Young H. in chitoniskos shoulders club, with quiver and bag, faced by a woman and a second woman, seated on a rock, beside which a lion attacks a stag. Cf. **1891** and the Salonica vase cited *ibid*.

#### 4. Herakles stands to wrestle with the lion

The type derives from the Greek (section 1 b iii) where there is often more emphasis on H. stooping over the lion (cf. 1 a ii) as if to lift it, a pose echoed here in types 4 c. d. H.'s legs are braced, apart. The main variants are determined by the position of H.'s arms and the lion's head. It is not always possible to identify the exact type on coins.

##### a) Herakles holds the lion in a headlock under his 1. arm

The lion is before him, its head showing at H.'s back; it claws his arms or flank, or the forepaw is limp. This is the usual pose on sarcophagi showing the cycle (Dodekathlos 1714. 1722. 1723. 1725. 1730-1733. 1734 = 1930; and some other reliefs [Dodekathlos] 1747).

1926. Wall painting. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9011. From Herculaneum. - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1124; v. Salis 38 fig. 22; Moreno 113 fig. a. - About A.D. 70. - Weapons at l.

1927. Mosaic, Istanbul, Arch. Mus. 2464. From Edessa.

1928. Textile. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. - Pelekanidis, S., *ArchEph* 1937 (1948) 851-864 fig. 1. - 5th/6th cent. A.D. - H. at r.

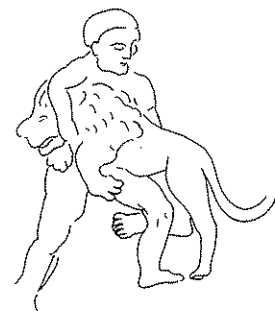
1929.\* Marble sarcophagus relief fr. New York, MMA 18.145.56. - McCann no. 10 figs. 75-76. - A.D. 170-180.

1930. (= [Dodekathlos] 1734\*) Marble sarcophagus relief, Roman. Florence, Uff. 110. - McCann 143 fig. 77.

1931.\* Carnelian intaglio. Copenhagen, Thorv. Mus. 1805. - Fossing, *ThorvGems* no. 868 pl. 11. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - From behind. Cf. the intaglios, Walters, *BMGems* no. 3138 pl. 31; Munich, *AGDI* 2 no. 1252 pl. 131; Henkel, F., *Die röm. Fingerringe der Rheinlande* ... (1913) pl. 76, 178.

1932.\* Clay relief lamps, Roman. - Cf. *Corinth* IV pl. 29, 1171; *Agora* VII pl. 17, 773-775; *Hesperia* 50, 1981, 127 pl. 34, 4; *AJA* 7, 1903, pl. 14, 2 (from Vari); Copenhagen, NM Chr. VIII 910\*; Santel, C. J., *Les lampes ant., Mus. Calvet d'Avignon* (1937) no. 34; Bailey, *BMLamps* III 35 Q 1882 (Cyrenaica).

1933.\* Clay relief bowl, Gallo-Roman. - Bémont, C., in *MythGrRPér* 37-40 fig. 7, 6. - 2nd cent. A.D. - Under r. arm.



Herakles 1933

1934. AE coins, mid-2nd to mid-3rd cent. A.D. - Voegtli, pl. 1e (Alexandria, Julia Domna). 1i. j (Germe, Caracalla, Gordian III). 13a (Perinthos, Ant. Pius). - Rev.

1935.\* Marble statuette. Leningrad, Hermitage A 498. From Florence. - Waldhauer, *Skulpt* I no. 16 pl. 13; v. Salis 24 fig. 12; Künzl pl. 10. - A.D. 50-100. - The lion has both hindlegs on the ground. Cf. the statuettes, Florence, Pal. Corsini; *MonAnt* 14, 1910, 1 213 fig. 14. Cologne; v. Salis, 26 fig. 13. Bucarest; Bordenache, *ScultBucarest* no. 138; *Dacia* 1961, 206 fig. 21. Group at Lambaesis (Algeria). And the relief, Rome, Mus. Cap.; v. Salis 21 fig. 11.

1936.\* Marble statuette. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. Michaelis 38. - Michaelis, *AncM* 551 no. 38; v. Salis 24. - 1st cent. A.D. - H.'s l. foot on the lion's rear paw. At l. a rock with a seated woman (Nemea?). H.'s head is modern.

1937. Marble statuette from table leg. Selçuk, Mus. 1059. From Ephesus. - Bammer, A., et al., *Führer Mus. Selçuk-Ephesos* (1983) 139. - 3rd cent. A.D.

1938.\* Rock crystal statuette fr. Athens, German Inst. From the Acropolis. - *AM* 87, 1972, 289-290 pl. 100, 1-2.

1939. Bronze statuette. Tübingen, Univ. 161. - v. Salis 27 figs. 14-15; *Kunst und Altertum* (Tübingen Univ. 1977) 78 fig. 285. - Cf. the bronze statuettes, New York 09.221.22; McCann, *o.c.* 144, 73 fig. 80. Paris Cab. Méd. 584; Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNat-Bronzes* no. 584. Compiègne; Reinach, *RépStat* V 488, 5, and cf. *ibid.*, II 238, 1.

1940. Bronze statuette. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. From Retine. - *Makedonika* 9, 1969, 190 pl. 97. - Young H.

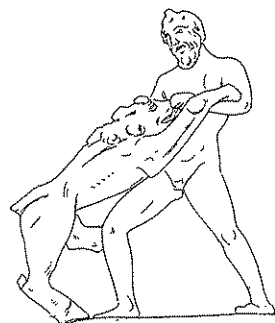
##### Variants

1941. Mosaic. From Madaba (Jordan). - *III Coll. int. mos. ant.* I (1983) 211 fig. 13; *IconogrCl* 419 fig. 12. - 4th/5th cent. A.D. - The lion crosses H.'s body from the l.; H.'s l. hand on its back.

1942. Marble statue fr. Leptis Magna Mus. 12. - Floriani Squarciapino, M., *Scult. del Foro Severiano di L. M.* (1974) 145 pl. 81, 3. - Severan. - Young H.; the lion crosses his body from the l.

1943.\* Statuette. - Reinach, *RépStat* IV 137, 2. - The lion springs from the l. H. appears to try to open its jaws.

1944. AE coin, Tralleis, Sev. Alexander. - Voegtli pl. 2b. - Rev.: H. wears a cloak; the lion is on its haunches.



Herakles 1943

b) As a but the lion's head is looking forward and its body is more to H.'s side or behind him (1949). See also the Leptis relief ([Dodekathlos] 1726) and ivory relief on St Peter's throne ([Dodekathlos] 1759).

1945. Clay relief bowl, Gallo-Roman. - Bémont, *o.c.* 1933, fig. 7, 5. - 2nd cent. A.D.

1946. AE coin, Kios, Macrinus. - Voegtli pl. 1m. - Quiver to l.

1947.\* Bronze statuette. Zurich, Landesmus. From Avenches. - *MusHelv* 12, 1955, pl. 2; v. Salis 5-6 figs. 1-2. - Late 2nd cent. A.D. - Cf. the bronzes: Reinach, *RépStat* V 96, 2. Lebel, P., *Bronzes figurés (Besançon)* (1959) pl. 44, 2.

##### Variants

1948.\* Graffito on stone. Rome, Faustina temple. - v. Salis 31 figs. 18. - H. and lion move r.; H. tries to force the lion's jaws.

1949. Marble fountain group. Isthmia Mus. IS 405. From Isthmia. - *Hesperia* 31, 1962, 18 pl. 9a; Kaposy, B., *Brunnenfiguren der hell. und röm. Zeit* (1969) 26. Cf. the similar fountain figure from Argos, *BCH Suppl.* VI (1980) 157-158 no. 184 fig. 23.

##### c) Herakles at r., arms as before, the lion's head pressed against Herakles' chest.

In several examples the lion is already lifted clear of the ground (cf. the Greek 1823\*). See also the sarcophagus ([Dodekathlos] 1752\*), coins of Postumus, Cologne ([Dodekathlos] 1761\*) and the relief base, Athens, NM 3280.

1950. Gold foil relief (bezel?) signed by Philemon. (Ancient?) Kevin Parvin Memorial Collection. - *The Ancient World* 11, 1985, 31 no. 165 pl. 11. - 1st cent. B.C. - Lion lifted from ground; club on ground. For Philemon, known from a gem in Vienna, see Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* 44; *AGOe* I no. 489.

1951. Mosaic. Vienne Mus. - *II Coll. mos. gr.-rom.* II (1975) 135-145 pl. 50; *Recueil d'Hommage à H. Stern* (1983) 65-71 pls. 180-182. - Centre piece surrounded by figures of athletes.

1952. Marble relief. Rome, Villa Medici. - Cagliano de Azevedo, M., *Le antichità di V. M.* (1951) 65-66 pl. 26, 49; v. Salis 10 fig. 5.

1953.\* Relief on corselet of marble cuirass-statue, fr. Oropos Mus. - Petrakos, V., *To Amphiaro tou Oropou* (1974) 63, fig. 30. - Augustan.

1954.\* Nicolo ringstone. Göttingen, Univ. G 26. - *AGDI* III pl. 31, 40. - 1st cent. B.C. - Cf. *ibid.* pl. 53, 280; Maaskant-Kleibrink, *CatGemsTheHague* pl. 107, 602; Fossing, *ThorvGems* pl. 11, 867.

1955.\* Clay Campana relief. Vatican 14163. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> I no. 835; Borbein, *Campanareliefs* pl. 31; v. Salis 11 fig. 6. - 1st cent. B.C. - Cf. examples in Berlin and London: Rohden/Winnefeld pl. 95, 2. 5.

1956.\* Clay relief vase. Copenhagen, NM ABb 280. - 2nd cent. A.D.

1957.\* AR denarius, Rome, C. Publicius, 80 B.C.

- Crawford, *RRC* no 380/1 pl. 48. - Rev.; obv.: bust of Roma.

1958. AE coins, 2nd to 3rd cent. A.D. - Voegtli pl. 12c (Alexandria, Ant. Pius). 1g (Anchialos, Sept. Severus). 1n (Nikaia, Caracalla). - Rev.

##### d) As c, Herakles at l.

See also the Volubilis and Liria mosaics ([Dodekathlos] 1740. 1741), the Tazza Albani ([Dodekathlos] 1745 = Moreno 127 fig. c), reliefs ([Dodekathlos] 1737. 1738), clay relief bowls ([Dodekathlos] 1754a), silver bowl ([Dodekathlos] 1727), gold bells ([Dodekathlos] 1728), coins of Antoninus Pius ([Dodekathlos] 1760).

1959. Marble relief from altar of H. Tutor. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Capua. - Hermann, W., *Röm. Götteraltäre* (1961) 136-137 fig. 9. - Cf. marble relief from Acharnai, *BCH* 84, 1960, 655 fig. 2; Reggio di Calabria, Mus. Naz. 10571.

1960. Basalt relief. Damascus, Nat. Mus. 11570. From Suweida. - Abdul-Hak, S./A., *Cat. Mus. Damascus* (1951) 59 no. 7 pl. 27, 1; *VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès Int. Arch. Class.* 1963 (1965) 514 pl. 128, 1.

1961.\* Sandstone grave relief. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. C 29. From Durn. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 356. - Late 2nd cent. A.D. - Cf. Vienna 1700; *CSIR Österreich* I 3 (Carnuntum) no. 159 pl. 7.

1962.\* Glass intaglio. New York, MMA 41.160.717. - Richter, *MetrMusGems* no. 412 pl. 51. - 1st cent. A.D./B.C. - The lion's head thrown back.

1963. Nicolo ringstone. Mainz, Mus. - Henkel, *a.O.* 1913, pl. 78, 343.

1964.\* Clay relief bowl. Mainz, RGZM O.39676. From N. Africa. - Weitzmann, *Spirituality* no. 140. - 4th/5th cent. A.D. - Tree to l., weapons below. Cf. Madrid, *BullAntBesch* 44, 1969, 35 fig. 40; relief bowl from Alexandria, 1754a. Gallo-Roman relief bowl, Bémont, *o.c.* 1933, fig. 7, 1-4.

1965.\* Clay lamp relief. Mainz, RGZM O.34547. - Menzel, *AntLampenRGZM* no. 541 fig. 47, 7.

1966. (= [Dodekathlos] 1755 with bibl.) Plaster relief cast from metal. Hildesheim Mus. From Memphis. - Voegtli pl. 8b. - Original of 1st cent. B.C.? - Landscape of trees and rocks; young H.; club at l.; top l. a woman watching from behind rocks (Nemea?).

1967.\* Silver plate relief. Paris, Cab. Méd. 2879. From Constantinople. - Weitzmann, *Spirituality* no. 139. - 6th cent. A.D. - Young H.; vase on pedestal to l.; tree to r.; weapons below.

1968. Bronze à-jour appliqué relief. Once Fouquet Coll. - Perdrizet, P., *Bronzes grecs ... Fouquet* (1911) pl. 14, 4. - 3rd/4th cent. A.D. - Quiver, bow and club to l.; tree to r.

1969. AE coins, 2nd to 3rd cent. A.D. - Voegtli pls. 1c. d. 8a. 12a. b (Alexandria, Ant. Pius). 1f (Alinda, Sept. Severus). 1h (Argos, Julia Domna). 1k (Hadrianopolis, Geta). 14a (Herakleia Pontou, Sept. Severus). 11 (Kasai, Maximinus). 2a (Perinthos, Galienus). - Rev.

## ROMAN

## 4. Herakles stands to wrestle with the lion

The type derives from the Greek (section 1 b iii) where there is often more emphasis on H. stooping over the lion (cf. 1 a ii) as if to lift it, a pose echoed here in types 4 c. d. H.'s legs are braced, apart. The main variants are determined by the position of H.'s arms and the lion's head. It is not always possible to identify the exact type on coins.

## a) Herakles holds the lion in a headlock under his l. arm

The lion is before him, its head showing at H.'s back; it claws his arms or flank, or the forepaw is limp. This is the usual pose on sarcophagi showing the cycle (Dodekathlos 1714. 1722. 1723. 1725. 1730-1733. 1734 = 1930; and some other reliefs [Dodekathlos] 1747).

1926. Wall painting. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9011. From Herculaneum. - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1124; v. Salis 38 fig. 22; Moreno 113 fig. a. - About A.D. 70. - Weapons at l.

1927. Mosaic, Istanbul, Arch. Mus. 2464. From Edessa.

1928. Textile. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. - Pelekanidis, S., *ArchEph* 1937 (1948) 851-864 fig. 1. - 5th/6th cent. A.D. - H. at r.

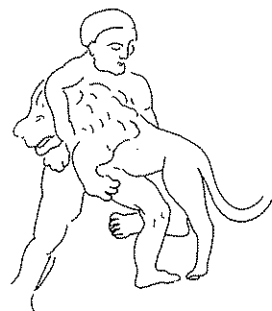
1929.\* Marble sarcophagus relief fr. New York, MMA 18.145.56. - McCann no. 10 figs. 75-76. - A.D. 170-180.

1930. (= [Dodekathlos] 1734\*) Marble sarcophagus relief, Roman. Florence, Uff. 110. - McCann 143 fig. 77.

1931.\* Carnelian intaglio. Copenhagen, Thorv. Mus. 1805. - Fossing, *ThorvGems* no. 868 pl. 11. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - From behind. Cf. the intaglios, Walters, *BMGems* no. 3138 pl. 31; Munich, *AGDI* 2 no. 1252 pl. 131; Henkel, F., *Die röm. Fingerringe der Rheinlande* ... (1913) pl. 76, 178.

1932.\* Clay relief lamps, Roman. - Cf. *Corinth* IV pl. 29, 1171; *Agora* VII pl. 17, 773-775; *Hesperia* 50, 1981, 127 pl. 34, 4; *AJA* 7, 1903, pl. 14, 2 (from Vari); Copenhagen, NM Chr. VIII 910\*; Santel, C. J., *Les lampes ant.*, Mus. Calvet d'Avignon (1937) no. 34; Bailey, *BMLamps* III 35 Q 1882 (Cyrenaica).

1933.\* Clay relief bowl, Gallo-Roman. - Bémont, C., in *MythGrRPér* 37-40 fig. 7, 6. - 2nd cent. A.D. - Under r. arm.



Herakles 1933

1934. AE coins, mid-2nd to mid-3rd cent. A.D. - Voegtli, pl. 1e (Alexandria, Julia Domna). 1i. j (Germe, Caracalla, Gordian III). 13a (Perinthos, Ant. Pius). - Rev.

1935.\* Marble statuette. Leningrad, Hermitage A 498. From Florence. - Waldhauer, *Skulpt* I no. 16 pl. 13; v. Salis 24 fig. 12; Künzl pl. 10. - A.D. 50-100. - The lion has both hindlegs on the ground. Cf. the statuettes, Florence, Pal. Corsini; *MonAnt* 14, 1910, 1213 fig. 14. Cologne; v. Salis, 26 fig. 13. Bucarest; Bordeneche, *ScultBucarest* no. 138; *Dacia* 1961, 206 fig. 21. Group at Lambaesis (Algeria). And the relief, Rome, Mus. Cap.; v. Salis 21 fig. 11.

1936.\* Marble statuette. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. Michaelis 38. - Michaelis, *AntM* 551 no. 38; v. Salis 24. - 1st cent. A.D. - H.'s l. foot on the lion's rear paw. At l. a rock with a seated woman (Nemea?). H.'s head is modern.

1937. Marble statuette from table leg. Selçuk, Mus. 1059. From Ephesus. - Bammmer, A., et al., *Führer Mus. Selçuk-Ephesos* (1983) 139. - 3rd cent. A.D.

1938.\* Rock crystal statuette fr. Athens, German Inst. From the Acropolis. - *AM* 87, 1972, 289-290 pl. 100, 1-2.

1939. Bronze statuette. Tübingen, Univ. 161. - v. Salis 27 figs. 14-15; *Kunst und Altertum* (Tübingen Univ. 1977) 78 fig. 285. - Cf. the bronze statuettes, New York 09.221.22; McCann, *o.c.* 144, 73 fig. 80. Paris Cab. Méd. 584; Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNat-Bronzes* no. 584. Compiègne; Reinach, *RépStat* V 488, 5, and cf. *ibid.*, II 238, 1.

1940. Bronze statuette. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. From Retine. - *Makedonika* 9, 1969, 190 pl. 97. - Young H.

## Variants

1941. Mosaic. From Madaba (Jordan). - *III Coll. int. mos. ant.* I (1983) 211 fig. 13; *IconogrCl* 419 fig. 12. - 4th/5th cent. A.D. - The lion crosses H.'s body from the l.; H.'s l. hand on its back.

1942. Marble statue fr. Leptis Magna Mus. 12. - Floriani Squarciapino, M., *Scult. del Foro Severiano di L. M.* (1974) 145 pl. 81, 3. - Severan. - Young H.; the lion crosses his body from the l.

1943.\* Statuette. - Reinach, *RépStat* IV 137, 2. - The lion springs from the l. H. appears to try to open its jaws.

1944. AE coin, Tralleis, Sev. Alexander. - Voegtli pl. 2b. - Rev.: H. wears a cloak; the lion is on its haunches.



Herakles 1943

b) As a but the lion's head is looking forward and its body is more to H.'s side or behind him (1949). See also the Leptis relief ([Dodekathlos] 1726) and ivory relief on St Peter's throne ([Dodekathlos] 1759).

1945. Clay relief bowl, Gallo-Roman. - Bémont, *o.c.* 1933, fig. 7, 5. - 2nd cent. A.D.

1946. AE coin, Kios, Macrinus. - Voegtli pl. 1m. - Quiver to l.

1947.\* Bronze statuette. Zurich, Landesmus. From Avenches. - *MusHelv* 12, 1955, pl. 2; v. Salis 5-6 figs. 1-2. - Late 2nd cent. A.D. - Cf. the bronzes: Reinach, *RépStat* V 96, 2. Lebel, P., *Bronzes figurés (Besançon)* (1959) pl. 44, 2.

## Variants

1948.\* Graffito on stone. Rome, Faustina temple. - v. Salis 31 figs. 18. - H. and lion move r.; H. tries to force the lion's jaws.

1949. Marble fountain group. Isthmia Mus. IS 405. From Isthmia. - *Hesperia* 31, 1962, 18 pl. 9a; Kaposy, B., *Brunnenfiguren der hell. und röm. Zeit* (1969) 26. Cf. the similar fountain figure from Argos, *BCH Suppl.* VI (1980) 157-158 no. 184 fig. 23.

## c) Herakles at r., arms as before, the lion's head pressed against Herakles' chest.

In several examples the lion is already lifted clear of the ground (cf. the Greek 1823\*). See also the sarcophagus ([Dodekathlos] 1752\*), coins of Postumus, Cologne ([Dodekathlos] 1761\*) and the relief base, Athens, NM 3280.

1950. Gold foil relief (bezel?) signed by Philemon. (Ancient?) Kevin Parvin Memorial Collection. - *The Ancient World* 11, 1985, 31 no. 165 pl. 11. - 1st cent. B.C. - Lion lifted from ground; club on ground. For Philemon, known from a gem in Vienna, see Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* 44; *AGOe* I no. 489.

1951. Mosaic. Vienne Mus. - *II Coll. mos. gr.-rom.* II (1975) 135-145 pl. 50; *Recueil d'Homage à H. Stern* (1983) 65-71 pls. 180-182. - Centre piece surrounded by figures of athletes.

1952. Marble relief. Rome, Villa Medici. - Cagliano de Azevedo, M., *Le antichità di V. M.* (1951) 65-66 pl. 26, 49; v. Salis 10 fig. 5.

1953.\* Relief on corselet of marble cuirass-statue, fr. Oropos Mus. - Petrakos, V., *To Amphiaro tou Oropou* (1974) 63, fig. 30. - Augustan.

1954.\* Nicolo ringstone. Göttingen, Univ. G 26. - *AGDI* III pl. 31, 40. - 1st cent. B.C. - Cf. *ibid.* pl. 53, 280; Maaskant-Kleibrink, *CatGemsTheHague* pl. 107, 602; Fossing, *ThorvGems* pl. 11, 867.

1955.\* Clay Campana relief. Vatican 14163. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> I no. 835; Borbein, *Campanareliefs* pl. 31; v. Salis 11 fig. 6. - 1st cent. B.C. - Cf. examples in Berlin and London: Rohden/Winnfeld pl. 95, 2. 5.

1956.\* Clay relief vase. Copenhagen, NM ABb 280. - 2nd cent. A.D.

1957.\* AR denarius, Rome, C. Pobliscus, 80 B.C.

- Crawford, *RRC* no 380/1 pl. 48. - Rev.; obv.: bust of Roma.

1958. AE coins, 2nd to 3rd cent. A.D. - Voegtli pl. 12c (Alexandria, Ant. Pius). 1g (Anchialos, Sept. Severus). 1n (Nikaia, Caracalla). - Rev.

## d) As c, Herakles at l.

See also the Volubilis and Liria mosaics ([Dodekathlos] 1740. 1741), the Tazza Albani ([Dodekathlos] 1745 = Moreno 127 fig. c), reliefs ([Dodekathlos] 1737. 1738), clay relief bowls ([Dodekathlos] 1754a), silver bowl ([Dodekathlos] 1727), gold bells ([Dodekathlos] 1728), coins of Antoninus Pius ([Dodekathlos] 1760).

1959. Marble relief from altar of H. Tutor. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Capua. - Hermann, W., *Röm. Götteraltäre* (1961) 136-137 fig. 9. - Cf. marble relief from Acharnai, *BCH* 84, 1960, 655 fig. 2; Reggio di Calabria, Mus. Naz. 10571.

1960. Basalt relief. Damascus, Nat. Mus. 11570. From Suweida. - Abdul-Hak, S./A., *Cat. Mus. Damascus* (1951) 59 no. 7 pl. 27, 1; *VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès Int. Arch. Class.* 1963 (1965) 514 pl. 128, 1.

1961.\* Sandstone grave relief. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. C 29. From Durrn. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 356. - Late 2nd cent. A.D. - Cf. Vienna I 700; *CSIR Österreich* I 3 (Carnuntum) no. 159 pl. 7.

1962.\* Glass intaglio. New York, MMA 41.160.717. - Richter, *MetMusGems* no. 412 pl. 51. - 1st cent. A.D./B.C. - The lion's head thrown back.

1963. Nicolo ringstone. Mainz, Mus. - Henkel, *a.O.* 1913, pl. 78, 343.

1964.\* Clay relief bowl. Mainz, RGZM O.39676. From N. Africa. - Weitzmann, *Spirituality* no. 140. - 4th/5th cent. A.D. - Tree to l., weapons below. Cf. Madrid, *BullAntBesch* 44, 1969, 35 fig. 40; relief bowl from Alexandria, 1754a. Gallo-Roman relief bowl, Bémont, *o.c.* 1933, fig. 7, 1-4.

1965.\* Clay lamp relief. Mainz, RGZM O.34547. - Menzel, *AntLampenRGZM* no. 541 fig. 47, 7.

1966. (= [Dodekathlos] 1755 with bibl.) Plaster relief cast from metal. Hildesheim Mus. From Memphis. - Voegtli pl. 8b. - Original of 1st cent. B.C.? - Landscape of trees and rocks; young H.; club at l.; top l. a woman watching from behind rocks (Nemea?).

1967.\* Silver plate relief. Paris, Cab. Méd. 2879. From Constantinople. - Weitzmann, *Spirituality* no. 139. - 6th cent. A.D. - Young H.; vase on pedestal to l.; tree to r.; weapons below.

1968. Bronze à-jour appliqué relief. Once Fouquet Coll. - Perdrizet, P., *Bronzes grecs ... Fouquet* (1911) pl. 14, 4. - 3rd/4th cent. A.D. - Quiver, bow and club to l.; tree to r.

1969. AE coins, 2nd to 3rd cent. A.D. - Voegtli pls. 1c. d. 8a. 12a. b (Alexandria, Ant. Pius). 1f (Alinda, Sept. Severus). 1h (Argos, Julia Domna). 1k (Hadrianopolis, Geta). 14a (Herakleia Pontou, Sept. Severus). 11 (Kasai, Maximinus). 2a (Perinthos, Gallienus). - Rev.



## 5. Herakles kneels to wrestle with the lion

Cf. the Greek Section I a ii.

1970.\* AE coins. a) Koinon Bithynias, Vespasian. – Voegtli pl. 2d; *SNG v. Aulock* 273. – b)\* Herakleia Pontou, Trajan. – *RecGén* I 2, 360, 91–92 pl. 58, 9; Voegtli pl. 2e. – Rev.

## 6. Herakles fights the lion on the ground.

Cf. the Greek Section I c.

1971.\* Marble sarcophagus relief, Greek. Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva. – *SarkRel* III 1, 121 no. 98 pl. 27; *StudMisc* 24, 1978, pl. 9; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* pl. 422; v. Salis 15 fig. 8. – 150–200 A.D. – Young H.; tree and club to l.

## 7. Herakles fights with weapons

Cf. Section 5.

1972. Marble relief. Brauron Mus. S 24. From Sunium.

1973. Glass intaglio. London, BM. – Walters, *BMGems* no. 3801. – H. with sword.

1974. Ivory relief. Baltimore, WAG 71.11. – Weitzmann, K., *ArtBull* 55, 1973, 5 fig. 5a; Randall, R. H., *Masterpieces of Ivory* (1985) no. 84. – H. wrestles lion, holding club. Companion relief = 1596.

1975. AE coin, Blaundos, Caracalla. – Voegtli pl. 2c. – Rev.: H. wields his club. Also coins of Blaundos minted for Marcus Aurelius, Sept. Severus, Maximinus and Treb. Gallus: Voegtli 15.

1976.\* Bronze statuette. Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. 16571. From Rome. – Menzel, H., *Führer* (1969) no. 25. – H. wrestles lion, holding club. Cf. the Seville relief ([Dodekathlos] 1748).

## 8. Herakles holds the dead lion by a hindleg

He is commonly wreathed as victor. This is a common scheme on cycle sarcophagi [Dodekathlos] 1715\*–1721\* (cf. Moreno figs. 2. 6. 8. 10. 13. 26 = 1977) and appears on the relief [Dodekathlos] 1736\*. The dead lion is shown alone under a tree on the Cartama mosaic ([Dodekathlos] 1742\*\*\*, and cf. 1743\*, Piazza Armerina).

1977.\* Marble statuette. Vatican. – Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II no. 134 pl. 33/4; *ArchCl* 24, 1972, pl. 81, 3; Moreno fig. 17. – 2nd cent. A.D.

1978. (= [Dodekathlos] 1724\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus relief, Roman. Rome, Mus. Naz. 154592. – Tree at l. with quiver hanging.

## 9. Other types

1979. (= [Dodekathlos] 1746) Marble relief. Corinth Theatre. – *Corinth* IX 2 pl. 72. – Restored as H. with raised club confronting lion. Exact type not identifiable.

1980. Glass intaglios. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 4183. 4184. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 31. – 1st cent. B.C. – H. carries the dead lion on his shoulders.

1981. Glass intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 4185. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no. 4185. – The dead lion hangs on a tree.

1982.\* Sardonyx ringstone. Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IX B 661. – *AGOe* I pl. 46, 266. – 1st cent. B.C. – H. kneels on the back of the lion dragging open its jaws; tree to r.

1983. Intaglio. Once Ramsay Coll. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 10, 8; Horster, U., *Statuen auf Gemmen* (1970) 32–33 pl. 6, 4. – Young H. stands frontal shouldering club, leaning on a pillar to r. The lion stands beside him.

1984. Clay relief lamp. London, BM. – Walters, *BMLamps* no. 832; Bailey, *BMLamps* II 35 Q 1021 fig. 31 pl. 31. – 40–90 A.D. – H. holding club confronts the lion in its cave.

1985. (= [Dodekathlos] 1756\*) Silver relief cup from Pompeii. – Maiuri, A., *Casa di Menandro* pl. 25. – Young H. carries the lion on his shoulder.

1986. AE coin, Pautalia, Sept. Severus. – Voegtli pl. 10. – Rev.: H. virtually seated, his r. arm stretched back, his l. on the lion's neck, crouching before his lap.

1987.\* AE coin, Germe, Elagabalus. – Voegtli pl. 2f. – Young H. with club holds the lion which seems to be running away, by a hind leg. Apparently a distortion of the scheme of type 8.

1988.\* Clay statuette. Cologne, Röm.-Germ. Mus. 51.1. – *Römer am Rhein* (1967) E 154. – 2nd cent. A.D. – H. stands calmly with his arm around the lion's neck, at his l. Cf. the bronze statuette, Zinserling, P., *Slg. ant. Kleinkunst... Univ. Jena* (1981) no. 32, where young H. holds his club on the ground in his r. hand.

1989. Silver statuette. Once Nelidow Coll. From Amaseia. – Pollak, L., *Slg. Nelidow* pl. 19, 518. – The lion strides l.; H. kneels on its back pulling on the lion's jaws.

## COMMENTARY

## GREEK

This Labour is the commonest of all mythological scenes in antiquity, most of the representations being in Attic vase-painting. The earliest certain scenes are of the last quarter of the 7th cent., in two different schemes. One, on a Peloponnesian shield band (1776) has H. attacking from the side without weapons, in this agreeing with the early literary sources, and this will be the dominant scheme. The second, on a Attic clay relief (1850) has H. facing the lion and stabbing it in the belly with a sword. The relief does not allow us to guess about its antecedents and it is unlikely that this is the origin of later Attic vase scenes where H. holds the lion's paw (1837); it more probably derives from anonymous lion-fights with a sword such as 1912 (cf. Kunze 100), and even earlier lion-fights with weapons (cf. Fittschen 81–84, e. f), in which case Attica did not in the 7th cent. create a new scheme (and at any rate it had no succession there). The Peloponnesian scheme of the wrestling is accepted by Attic vase painters from the second quarter of the 6th cent. so it is unlikely that the 8th cent. fight on 1907 has any myth-

ological identity. Similar early scenes in other parts of Greece also have no following (1908. 1909. 1912. 1913). 1914, with the lion at its prey, is unique.

The Peloponnesian wrestling scheme certainly sets the model for all Greece at least by the second quarter of the 6th cent. Variants call identification into question: thus, the Laconian cup with the weapon-fight (1911), since Laconian painters know the wrestling scheme (1764). Scenes like 1910 have also to be excluded – a club-fighter between lions rather than a lion-fight. There are some genuine variants, however, such as Attic scenes from the mid-6th cent. on, where H. wrestles but also uses a sword. They do not derive from early sword-fights, since these are lacking in the first half of the 6th cent., nor from any literary source. They are influenced rather by the schemes of other Labours, as are those in which H. wrestles but also holds his club.

## 1. The wrestling scheme

The basic division is between scenes in which H. stands and in which he wrestles on the ground, but there is also a third smaller group in which he *kneels* or *crouches*, and this includes the earliest and the most widely spread examples. Wrestling beside the lion, both to r. and with the lion's forepaws raised (1776. 1778), appears at the end of the 7th cent. in the Peloponnese and survives outside Attica in the first quarter of the 6th. In Attica it appears just before mid-cent., as soon as the subject is admitted in any form. It suits the composition of tondi and may sometimes allow H. his usual weapons: the club on 1775. At the same time, and also favoured for tondi, there appears a second scheme with H. in *Knielauf*, also met once outside Attica (1764) with H. facing the lion. H. is usually at the l., holds the lion's neck and forepaw, while it turns its head and scratches at H.'s knee and shoulder (1762). Variants link H.'s hands (1764) or give him a club (1766), and in a commoner one the lion's head is not turned and we see H.'s r. hand in its jaws.

The appearance of this scheme when other vase shapes offer the standing fight suggest that this is simply a variant of the standing fight, designed for its suitability in a tondo (Schauenburg 2, 102). This seems true despite the fact that the scheme can be translated on to the exterior of cups (as 1762) and to other vases (1763) where the field does not determine the composition. Lesser artists cling to the scheme to the end of the century. Two late archaic scenes are, however, novel (1779. 1780) in having H. at the r., and for the size of the lion (esp. on 1780) and his grip – both hands round the neck. 1779 is a Caeretan hydria and 1780 from south Russia, so the scheme may be an east Greek invention, never adopted in the mainland.

All these schemes are essentially Archaic and do not lead in form or content to the Classical scheme (1767–1774) where H. kneels bending over the lion to strangle it. The popularity of this scheme from the end of the 5th cent. was again encouraged by the round fields employed for it, outside Greece proper, on intaglios (1767. 1768), coins (1772. 1773), mirrors and the like (1769–1771). H. is usually on one

knee, without weapons (but for a club on some coins, 1773), facing the lion and clasping it to his chest, in three-quarter view with the lion in profile. These scenes take up the basic form of the Classical standing fights, and from their sources it can be seen that the type evolved as a variant of the standing fight in the work of western Greek gem- or die-engravers. The homeland ignored it and it is rare in the east (coins, 1773c. 1774f. g).

The *standing fight* evolves readily from the kneeling: the sequence with hero and lion becoming more upright is seen on the shield bands (1776, ending with 1830). A major type is seen in the early 6th cent. Peloponnese, also on vases (1828): naked H. moves r. seizing the lion, also to the r., its forepaw raised. A second type appears on another shield band at the same time (1799): H. faces the lion and they wrestle chest to chest, H. holding the neck and foreleg, the lion scratching H.'s arm. This seems related to the closed arm-grip of the earliest, specifically Peloponnesian wrestling scheme. Both schemes were taken up on Attic vases by mid-cent. (1781. 1831) with a preference for the facing fight. Two versions are seen: with the lion's head turned (1781–1790) or not (1792–1810), the latter corresponding to the kneeling variant, 1765. In Attica H.'s arm position varies a great deal: usually his r. hand holds the lion's forepaw (1781. 1782. 1792. 1793) – an Attic trait which persists to the end of the cent.; but he may stab the lion's neck with a sword (1787–1790. 1805–1808), or, in the last quarter cent., have his r. hand unoccupied or clenched (1785. 1786. 1794–1798); or, in the same years, link hands in the Peloponnesian scheme (1783. 1784. 1800. 1801), also adopted for the only Archaic free-standing group (1784).

Special variants in the second version (the lion's head not turned) are: H. dragging open the lion's jaws – between 540 and 510 (1803. 1804); or using the club (1810). Both versions recur in simple versions of the Classical and Hellenistic periods (1791. 1802). Wrestling from the side is less common, no doubt because the overlapping confuses the two figures. Amphorae typical of the floruit for this scheme in 560–530 add the Attic motif of grasping the jaws (1831. 1832), but most are just after the mid-cent., on Group E vases, with the Peloponnesian arm-grip (1829) or the Attic variants (unoccupied r. hand or use of sword, 1833).

H. is naked or in short chiton and the group is seldom unaccompanied (e.g., 1794). Athena and Iolaos usually attend (e.g., 1783. 1792. 1800. 1803. 1807. 1829. 1832); less often Hermes (1782. 1789. 1796. 1808. 1830) or other usually anonymous figures (1781. 1785. 1787. 1793. 1796. 1798. 1831. 1834). None participate.

Deviations from the basic schemes are seldom: H. stabs the lion (1806. 1834); 1835 relaxes the scheme of the fight from the side, leaving only the neck-grip; 1836 combines frontal and side fight with H. turning his back. Such scenes may be influenced by the more ambitious postures seen on red figure vases.

The new style of standing wrestling seems to reactivate the sword-fight, with H. stabbing the lion in the chest, as in 7th cent. Attic art (1850). This emerges in the second quarter of the 6th cent. on a shield band (1846). The basic difference is that in the sword fight the upper bodies do not cross and are linked only by the grasping arm (1837-1848). Other variants of the wrestling gradually impose themselves and render the sword fight superfluous: on 1847 H. holds a sword and seizes the lion by the throat; on 1840. 1843. 1848 the club replaces the sword; on 1837-1839 there are no weapons and H. seizes the paws; 1842 combines motifs with H. in the scheme of the sword fight but holding a club and the lion's paw.

In East Greece the wrestling seems unknown and the sword fight preferred (cf. Kunze 100); only attributes identify H. (lacking in the uncertain 1849). H. is usually at the r. (1842-1844. 1849; cf. 1778. 1779).

The sword fight lingers in the east, as in Attica, to the end of the cent. but is unimportant in the mainland. The commoner wrestling from the side lasts no longer. Only the wrestling from the front seems to have had something to offer the new space-conscious compositions of the 5th cent. The old type recurs in the mid-5th cent. on [Dodekathlos] 1706 (Hephais-teion) but in the last quarter of the century a new scheme emerges which persists through the Hellenistic period (1810-1827). The Archaic crossing bodies and single hand grip are replaced by the figure of H. bending over the lion and pressing its head to his chest. The lion usually fights back, scratching H.'s leg; its head is normally visible under H.'s r. arm and its forepaw scratches his arm (1812. 1815. 1822-1825). The scheme is seen once in the homeland at the end of the century (1811), then commonly in east and west, especially Magna Graecia with a series of variants: coins, with the lion's hindlegs off the ground scratching H.'s thighs (1823); in the 4th cent. the old motif of the use of the club (1825-1827) sometimes with H. fighting from r. to l.; and less common variants are: the lionpaws falling limp (1812. 1824) or slight changes in H.'s pose (1818).

All these 5th and 4th cent. scenes are in two-dimensional art and the simpler versions have the figures in profile (1811-1819. 1825) but usually they follow the mode of the day and are given in three-quarter view which emphasises the strangling. This suits three-dimensional renderings and the scheme is usually taken to be that of Lysippus' lost group in Alyzia (Dodekathlos 1709), which was taken to Rome. This is supported by the Poulydamas base at Olympia (Paus. 6, 5, 1; *Olympia* III 209-211; Moreno, P., *Lisippo* I fig. 14) and later derivatives (v. Salis 38; Loeffler, E., *Marsyas* 6, 1950-53, 11 ff.; contra Moreno 141, and see below). The basic type serves the whole Hellenistic period, the prevailing style or medium or personal preference determining variants on the three-quarter view (1816. 1818. 1823. 1824). The turned lion's head on 1824 is an isolated variant, not a throw-back to the Archaic.

In the homeland the Labour had no great significance outside the Dodekathlon but this is not true

elsewhere, especially in south Italy where similar, old-fashioned fighting schemes enjoyed a long popularity.

*Wrestling on the ground* was an invention of Attica in the third quarter of the 6th cent. and it supplemented the dominant Peloponnesian invention of the standing fight. Exekias was perhaps the inventor (Boardman 14) and other painters soon followed his lead (1869) until it became the most popular scheme for red figure artists. H. is naked, fighting from the l. (reversed on 1874) kneeling on one or two knees or pressing both feet against the ground (Marwitz 78-79) as he seizes the lion's neck in his l. arm and the lion lifts a hindleg to H.'s head. This is the basic scheme which has three variants (mainly between 520 and 500): H. links hands (1851-1859); seizes the l. hindpaw with his r. hand (1860-1863); has his r. hand beneath the lion's belly (1864-1868). Less common variants are: dragging open the lion's jaws (1869, about 540) and later with the Kleophrades P. (1870); r. hand unoccupied (1871, about 500); the lion's hindlegs inactive (1872. 1873, after 500). 1875 is unique with H. holding both forepaws.

Attending figures again do not intervene; they may be better integrated in the group (1854. 1858. 1860) though they are usually at either side. Athena and Iolaos are usually present (1857. 1861. 1862), sometimes Hermes and the nymph Nemea (1853. 1858. 1860; → Hermes 500-504). Attendants increase in number especially where the field is a long frieze, as on hydria shoulders or crater lips (1853. 1861 [Cab. Méd. 254]. 1866), and may be seated (1866). Landscape elements are important (1854. 1861. 1863), trees or branches which fill the central upper space and serve to carry H.'s clothes and useless weapons. Rocks probably indicate the lion's cave (1855. 1863 [Jatta 1600]) but the type barely outlasts the 6th cent. except in the work of a few painters (1871. 1873) and disappears in the second quarter of the 5th cent. Paus. 5, 11, 4 does not tell us whether Panainos used the scheme on the probably long shallow friezes of the side screens to the Zeus at Olympia (1924; cf. v. Salis 15). The ground-fight recurs once in south Italy (1876) but in a variant unknown in Attica, fighting side by side, from l. to r.

Apart from vases the scheme appears seldom in relief, with variants: on 1878 the lion lies on its back and tries to fight off H. with its l. forepaw while H. drags open its jaws and the lion's head is frontal (as it is on 1877 with the variant of the linked hands). 1880 may or may not be a lying fight.

Other varieties of the wrestling may be observed. There are very rare late Archaic combinations of the standing and lying scheme: on 1881 H. kneels stooping over the cowering lion and on 1882 he stands stooping over the half-rearing lion. The bent sword on the ground refers to the lion's invulnerability to weapons.

The dominance of the standing or lying schemes is shown by the failure of any other type to rival them in frequency; e.g., the very few (1883-1886) scenes with the lion on H.'s shoulder. On 1884 and 1885 he

has raised the beast, on 1883 and 1886 he throws it to the ground. This complicated composition has a short life, from about 520 to 500. Not surprisingly, it appears in the work of the Andokides Painter (1883), a pioneer of such involved schemes in rf. It is an open question whether this demonstrates his dependence on major painting (cf. Schauenburg 2, 104).

There are other isolated variants of the wrestling: on the theatre frieze at Delphi (1888) both stand frontally, the lion between H.'s legs; on 1887 the kneeling H. holds the lion horizontally before him.

## 2. The fight with weapons

Beside the wrestling schemes especially favoured in late Archaic bf. new schemes of the fight, using weapons (especially the club) develop, but in far fewer numbers. As other established iconographical schemes begin to lose favour at this time, this does not imply some new version of the story: the club is mentioned first much later ([Theokr.] 25, 255, though cf. Peisandros, Davies EGF F 1 = FGvH 16 F 4). It is more probably a reaction to the new freedom offered by the relaxing of Archaic formulae.

Two new schemes appear. In one H. pursues the cornered lion into his cave, in the presence of Athena, Hermes or Iolaos. All examples are from the Athena P.'s workshop (1889), where the scheme must have been invented. Later, in the second half of the 5th cent. similar scenes appear in which landscape elements are important though the moment of action has changed (1890. 1891) and attention is concentrated on H. and his companions, while the lion is a shadowy accessory (1891) or its identity may even be doubted (1892).

More commonly the weapon is used in the facing fight, a scheme starting in the mid 6th cent. (1893) but most favoured in the last quarter of the century (1894-1898) which it hardly survives (except outside the homeland: 1899). There are variants: H. stands to attack the lion which springs or runs at him (1893. 1894. 1896), H. attacks the rearing lion with club or sword (1895); they crouch before each other (1897). This scheme of the fight with weapons, with the figures separated, is the least distinctive. It was not invented for this episode but appears in many other late archaic schemes for a fight. It often remains uncertain whether it refers to H. and the lion, especially when there are iconographical irregularities. H. is sometimes young and in the pose of a fight with weapons but weaponless. On the same vase (1896) a certain H. (bearded, club, bow) may appear with an anonymous bearded or young lion-fighter (Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 3 130 Ae; Bérard, C., *Etudes de Lettres* 1984, 413).

There are other isolated scenes: the round field of 1903 places H. hovering over the running lion; on 1900. 1902. 1903 H. holds the lion upside down to club it; the pose of the lion on 1905 is not clear; and in Hippotion's dedication (1906) it seems that H. was shooting at it.

A very few Greek scenes ignore the fight itself. On 1915 Hera sends Iris with the lion to Nemea; on 1916 H. skins the dead beast; on 1918 he drags the dead lion

to an altar; on 1921 he sits on it; on 1922 he carries it on his shoulders (like the Erymanthian boar). None of these schemes has successors. Only the Olympia metope (1919) with the completed Labour and H. with his foot on the dead lion, might have influenced 4th cent. scaraboids (1920), and more remotely the calyx crater 1917 where he sits above the dead lion. These exceptional scenes simply emphasise how dominant was the fighting scheme, especially the standing frontal type, which was surely also the scheme for the monuments now known only from texts (Dodekathlos 1701. 1709. 1710). The failure of the post-Archaic artists to develop any radical new scheme for the fight must have contributed to its relatively slighter popularity in Classical and later periods.

## ROMAN

The standing facing fight remains the most popular and in the Roman period depends mainly on the Classical scheme with H. upright, pressing the lion's head to his chest (type 1 b iii). There are two main types, mainly dependent on differing media - two- or three-dimensional. One is developed in the mid 1st cent. A.D. (1926. 1935) and persists throughout the Roman period (1926-1929). All examples in the round are of this type (1935-1940) and the groups on Dodekathlos sarcophagi (1939. 1940; Dodekathlos 1714. 1722. 1723. 1725. 1731-1733; an exception Dodekathlos 1752). H. is usually bearded, moving l. but looking r., with the lion in a headlock. It usually scratches H.'s r. arm with its l. forepaw (but inactive on 1929. 1930) and his l. (1926. 1934) or r. leg (1935: relief, v. Salis 21 fig. 11) with the l. hindpaw. Sometimes the hindlegs are off the ground (1935: Lenin-grad, Florence, Cologne; Dodekathlos 1723. 1731).

Von Salis (38) has suggested that this was the type of the Lysippan group at Alyzia (1709, cf. Loeffler, *o. c.* 1709, 11-13) for its similarity to the Poulydamas base (Moreno 123 fig. a) and the fact that it is used for works in the round and on sarcophagus reliefs (and the Herculeum frieze, 1926), where the series of Labours are thought to depend on the Lysippan group. The suggestion is plausible (*contra* Moreno 141) and Lysippus is thought to have used other established Dodekathlon schemes for Alyzia. But these reflections do not allow a detailed reconstruction of the original group; the formula is of its period (Künzl 75) and heavily imposed in translation to other media like reliefs and painting. And there are slight variants: on 1941-1943 the lion leaps on H. obliquely from the l.; on 1941 H. lays his l. hand on the lion's back; on 1943 he drags open its jaws, with his r. hand beneath its neck; on 1944 the lion is not upright.

On 1945-1949 there are greater variations. H.'s pose is much the same but the lion leaps more from the side (1945-1948) or behind (1949), with its hindpart hidden behind H. H. grasps its head in the Archaic manner (1945-1947. 1949) thus turning it to the front (on the modest 1948 dragging open its jaws). These scenes are most popular in the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. but appear also later (1947) and are especially suitable for fountain figures (1949).



The second variety of the standing fight (1951-1969) has them in profile, H. bending over the lion, both hands round its neck pressing the head against his chest; its head then appears beneath his arm in profile or slightly frontal. The lion again fights back with forepaws (or they are inactive: 1961. 1964. 1965. 1967) and hind (1952. 1955. 1958). Sometimes H. lifts it from the ground (1954. 1956. 1963. 1964. 1969; Dodekathlos 1752; relief, Athens NM 3280). This is a version for reliefs, perhaps determined by the medium, like the Hellenistic relief scenes (cf. the lion-fighter of the Pergamum frieze: v. Salis 13 fig. 7). The basic scheme begins in the Augustan period (1952. Dodekathlos 1745) and persists through late antiquity and beyond (1967). There are two types, with H. fighting from r. to l. (1951-1958), and the reverse, no doubt influenced by the facing fight (1954. 1966) with H. turning more, from l. to r. (1959-1969). Sometimes the lion throws back its head (1962). These are simply variants on the basic scheme and do not derive from different prototypes (*contra* v. Salis 8).

Other schemes for the fight are rare. The facing fight with H. kneeling, which was used for round compositions, appears on some coins (1970). The lying fight is ignored: apart from 1971 which presents other problems – an Attic sarcophagus which harks back to a purely late Archaic scheme.

The fight with weapons is also rare. 1974 and 1976 combine the wrestling with the fight with club, as had some Greek scenes. 1973-1975 divide the figures who fight facing or from the side: all are late Imperial.

Where Greek art concentrated on the fight itself, Roman art introduces a scheme for the victorious H. with the dead lion. He stands frontal holding the lion upside down, by head or tail, club in raised r. hand (1977. 1978). This appears in the round and on sarcophagi. Moreno sees in this the Lysippan scheme at Alyzia, with the Gnathian 4th cent. vase (1918) providing the link. But it has yet to be established that there was a Greek tradition for this scheme since the few examples which are roughly related (1900. 1902. 1903. 1918) have a different narrative intent, and there is such a long gap between 1918 and the Roman scenes that any association of them with Alyzia must be doubtful. They seem wholly innovative.

There remain a few unconventional scenes, somewhat removed from the standard schemes. 1988 is based on the standing fight but has no action; 1984 recalls the late Archaic scenes at the cave (cf. 1979); 1986 is a variant of the round Greek composition with H. kneeling, but the lion is inactive; 1987 is a variant of the triumphant H. but with the lion alive. Others borrow schemes from other Labours: the lion, like the boar, on H.'s shoulders on 1981. 1985; or H. kneeling on its back and drawing back its head, like the deer's on 1982. 1989.

As in other Labours, the Roman iconographic range is relatively limited but it did contribute one radical new scheme in the triumphant H. with the dead lion.

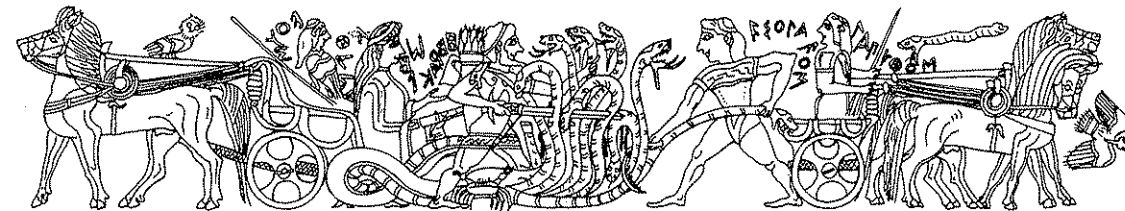
WASSILIKI FELTEN

### C. Herakles and the Lernaean Hydra (Labour II)

Eurystheus ordered H. to slay the Hydra, a many-headed monster in the marsh of Lerna. H. may be assisted by Iolaos, who attacks the Hydra with harpe/sword or burns the severed necks, so that no other heads can grow.

LITERARY SOURCES: The first mention of the Labour is in Hes. *theog.* [313-318]. H., assisted by Iolaos and advised by Athena, slays with a sword the evil-minded Hydra, the third child of Typhon and Echidna (also Hyg. *fab.* 30, 3), brought up by Hera, who bore a grudge against him. The Hydra is described as: *nine-headed* (Alk. *fig.* 443 Voigt; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [77] 5, 2; Hyg. *l.c.*; Suda *s.v.* Ὑδρα; Serv. *Aen.* 6, 575; 7, 658); *fifty-headed* (Simonides, Page *PMG* *fig.* 569; Palaiph. 38 Festa; Verg. *Aen.* 6, 576; Myth. *Vat.* II 163); *hundred-headed* (Eur. *Herc.* 1188; *Phoen.* 1135; Diod. 4, 11, 5; Verg. *Aen.* 7, 658; Sil. 2, 158; Sen. *Herc. O.* 1534-1535); *three-headed* (Serv. *Aen.* 6, 575); *many-headed* (Eur. *Herc.* 419-420. 1274; Verg. *Aen.* 8, 300; Q. Smyrn. 6, 212; Anth. *Pal.* 16, 92, 2; cf. *POxy* 2454, 25?). According to Paus. 2, 37, 4 the Hydra had originally only one head, the many-headed Hydra being the invention of the epic poet Peisandros (late 7th cent. B.C.; Panyassis *l.c.*) to make the monster appear more horrible.

«Apollodorus» gives a detailed description of the Hydra Labour (*bibl.* 2 [77-80] 5, 2) following mainly Diodorus (4, 11, 5), who relates the story briefly. According to Apollodorus the Hydra's den was on a hill by the spring Amymone in the swamp of Lerna (Paus. 2, 37, 4 under a plane tree; 5, 17, 11). From there she went into the plain to ravage the cattle and the country. H., on a chariot driven by Iolaos, came to Lerna and shooting at the Hydra forced it to emerge (Verg. *Aen.* 6, 803). H. cut the Hydra-heads but with no result, because where one head was cut off, two grew (Eur. *Herc.* 1274-1275; Nonn. *Dion.* 25, 198; Diod. 4, 11, 5; Palaiph. 38 Festa); according to Serv. *Aen.* 6, 287 three heads grew (cf. *Ov. her.* 9, 95-96; Lucanus 4, 635; Sen. *Ag.* 835-836; Martialis 9, 101, 9); according to the Suda *s.v.* Ὑδραν τέθειεν many heads grew. Then H. thought of sealing the wounds with fire. This was done by Iolaos (Eur. *Herc.* 421; *Ion* 194-198; Diod. 4, 11, 6; *Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1137; Q. Smyrn. 6, 215-219; *Schol. Stat. Theb.* 2, 377; Suda *l.c.*). A crab sent by Hera hindered H. by biting his leg (Panyassis, Davies *EGFF* 3; cf. *Schol. Arat. phain.* 147; Hyg. *astr.* 2, 23, 1; Hellan. *FGH* 4 F 103). H. trod on the crab to get rid of it, and later it joined the Zodiac (Panyassis *l.c.*; *Schol. Arat. phain.* 147; Ps.-Eratosth. *kat.* 11; Hyg. *astr.* 2, 23, 1; Sen. *Herc. O.* 67). H. buried the middle immortal head under a huge stone in the road to Elaeus. He dipped his arrows in the poisonous Hydra-gall (Soph. *Trach.* 714-718; Eur. *Herc.* 1187-1188; Diod. 4, 11, 6; Serv. *Aen.* 6, 287; Hyg. *fab.* 30, 3; Paus. 2, 37, 4). H. was wounded by the poison of Hydra and was cured in Phoenicia (→ Belos). After that he built there a town named Ake. Eurystheus, however, did not accept this task as one of the ten Labours of Herakles because he had been helped



Herakles 1991

by Iolaos. Palaiph. 38 Festa (Tzetz. *chil.* 2, 237-264) interprets the Hydra Labour as a metaphor of a historical event at a town called Hydra with a king named Lernos and a warrior Karkinos. Another realistic interpretation connects this Labour with the draining of the swamp of Lerna (Serv. *Aen.* 6, 287; *Schol. Stat. Theb.* 1, 384).

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### CATALOGUE

#### GREEK

For H. fighting a single snake, and with a dog-like monster with a woman's head, both sometimes identified as the Hydra, see 2820-2837.

#### 1. Herakles with the Hydra, Iolaos, Athena (except 1993) and sometimes other figures.

##### Corinthian vases

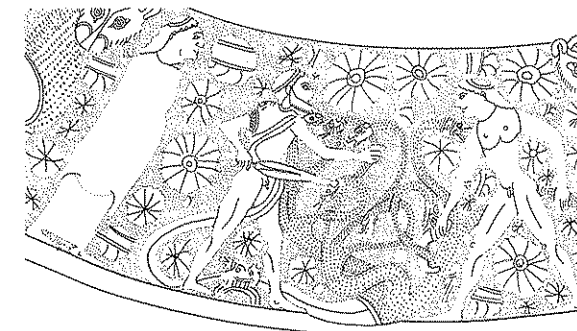
1990. (= Athena II\*) Kotyle. Lost. – Amyx, *CVP* 185, 2; Pholoe P.; Payne, *NC* 128 fig. 45; Schefold, *Sagenbilder* fig. 23; Amandry/Amyx 102-103. 104 n. 9 no. 5 fig. 1, 5. – 600-590 B.C. – Doric column, two horses at tree, chariot, Athena, Iolaos, Hydra with ten heads, two of which hang down, H. to r. (naked, crab between his legs) cutting with the harpe a head, which bites him on the shoulder, and a woman. (Amandry/Amyx suggest that the only published picture could be reversed, in which case H. should be at the l.).

1991. • Aryballos. Once Breslau. From Aegina. – Amyx, *CVP* 557, 6; Payne, *NC* no. 481; Brommer, *H.* fig. 4; Amandry/Amyx 102 no. 4 fig. 1, 4; Lorber, *In-schriften* no. 17. – 600-595 B.C. – Biga with siren (EOYΣ), Athena holding jug, H. (short chiton, crab between his legs) cutting with sword two Hydra-necks, holding another with the l., Iolaos with harpe, quadriga with driver, a loose Hydra head. Athena, H., Iolaos and driver Lapythos are named.

1992. • Aryballos. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 425. – Amyx, *CVP* 180-181 pl. 67, 2; Schefold, *SB* II 268 fig. 360; *CVA* I pl. 11, 10-11; Amandry/Amyx fig. 3, 6 pl. 19. – About 590 B.C. – Biga at r. end of picture. Athena with aryballos. H. naked, with quiver, wields sword; Iolaos with harpe.

1993. • Cup. Paris, Louvre CA 2511, L 64. – Amyx, *CVP* 204, 4; Gorgoneion Group; Payne, *NC* no. 994; Amandry/Amyx no. 8 fig. 2, 8; Maffre 84 fig. 1 a. – 590-585 B.C. – Quadriga in front view, H. (short chiton) thrusts his sword into two Hydra necks, the tail coiled round his body. At the other side Iolaos attacks and another man leaves to r.

1994. • Olpe. – Rome, Leric Foundation MA 121/3. From Cerveteri. – Amyx, *CVP* 208, 44; Dodwell P.; Amandry/Amyx no. 7 figs. 1, 7; 4; 5 pl. 18, 1. – 590-585 B.C. – From l. to r.: woman (Athena) standing, H. (naked) cuts a Hydra-head with sword; crab between his legs; Iolaos with harpe. Hydra's tail round H.'s body.



Herakles 1994

1995. • Cup. Jena, Univ. 137. From Etruria. – Amyx, *CVP* 204, 2; Gorgoneion Group; Payne, *NC* no. 987; Brommer, *H.* pl. 9; Amandry/Amyx no. 9 fig. 2, 9. – 585-575 B.C. – Biga, Athena, H. (naked,

bow/quiver at the back) thrusts his sword in a Hydra-neck, holding with the l. another. An arrow has pierced three other necks; Iolaos with harpe; a rider.

Cf. also Athens, NM; *Perachora* II no. 2481 pl. 102; Amandry/Amyx fig. 2, 12. Paris CA 3004; Amyx, CVP 190, 4; Samos P.; Lorber, *Inchriften* no. 37 pl. 9; Amandry/Amyx fig. 2, 13; Maffre 84 fig. 2; H. with club; Athena with jug; no crab. Palermo NI 1708; Amyx, CVP 198, 1; related to Cavalcade P.; Amandry/Amyx fig. 2, 10; H. with corselet. Bonn 697.82; Amyx, CVP 678 n. 4; Amandry/Amyx fig. 2, 11. Athens, NM; Amyx, CVP 60; Amandry/Amyx fig. 1, 1. Corinth C-71-321; Amandry/Amyx fig. 1, 2 pl. 18.

#### Attic bf. vases

**1996.** Neck amphora. Lost. - *ABV* 97, 25; Tyrrhenian, Castellani P.; Gerhard, *AV* II pls. 95-96. - 565-550 B.C. - From l. to r.: Iolaos armed on a chariot, Athena armed holding a hydria, H. (quiver) thrusting his sword in Hydra's body, a head of which bites him on l. arm. Cf. Rome, Villa Giulia 74989 (-Hera 455), Schauenburg, K., in *Stele* (Studies N. Kondoleon, 1980) pl. 31.

**1997.\*** Neck amphora. Frankfurt, Univ. 136 - *Para* 39; Tyrrhenian, Kyllenos P.; Schauenburg, in *Stele*, o. c. **1996**, 97 n. 21 pl. 32b. - About 570 B.C. - Woman with bow, quadriga with Iolaos mounted, woman (Athena) with oinochoe and flowers or spikes, H. (short chiton, lionskin) fighting Hydra with sword. Cf. by the same painter, Paris Cp 10505; *Para* 39; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 27; Schauenburg 169 figs. 8, 9; Maffre 85 fig. 4; no Iolaos.

**1998.\*** Neck amphora. Paris, Louvre E 851. From Cerveteri. - *ABV* 97, 24; Tyrrhenian, Prometheus P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 26; CVA I pls. 5 (35), 5; 7 (37), 4; Carpenter, T. H., *OJA* 3, 1984, 51; Maffre 85 fig. 3. - 565-550 B.C. - Biga with woman holding the reins, Hermes, Athena with spear and branches, H. (short chiton, lionskin, sword at waist) running to attack Hydra, Iolaos with torch.

**1999.** (= Hermes 505) Hydria. Lyon, Mus. Beaux-Arts E 406a. From Vulci. - *ABV* 268, 29; Antimenes P.; *Recueil Ch. Dugas* (1960) pl. 38; Maffre 88 fig. 8. - 520-510 B.C. - On shoulder: armed Athena, H. (short chiton, lionskin, quiver, sword at waist) with harpe in the r. hand, holding a neck with the l., Iolaos attacking Hydra, Hermes to the r. looking back.

**2000.** Amphora. Boulogne-sur-Seine, Private. - *Para* 111, 37 bis; *Affecter*; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 62; Schauenburg 168 figs. 4-7; Mommsen, H., *Der Affecter* (1975) no. 99 pl. 110; Maffre 88 fig. 7. - About 530 B.C. - Armed Athena, H. (short chiton, lionskin, sword at waist, bow/quiver, crab between legs) with harpe in the r. hand, holding a Hydra-neck with the l.; Iolaos with harpe.

**2001.** Lebes, fr. Lipari Mus. - *BollArte* 1965, 205 fig. 18; *ArchRepts* 1966/67 46 fig. 28. - About 520 B.C. - Quadriga with mounted man, hoplite behind it, woman, H. (short chiton, lionskin, sword at waist) with bent legs, attacks Hydra with harpe, Iolaos, horses of a chariot with mounted man to the l., woman, hoplite.

**2002.** Lekythos, wg. Agrigento, Mus. Reg. - Haspels, *ABL* 254, 2; manner of the Theseus P.; *ABV* 521; *MarbWPr* 1949, pl. 1, 2. - About 500 B.C. - H. attacks Hydra with harpe or sword (missing) raised over his head, his club lies between H.'s legs; Iolaos with torches, Athena armed to l.; crab between H.'s legs.

**2003.\*** Neck amphora. Paris, Louvre F 386. - Schauenburg 173 figs. 17, 18; Flacelière, R./Devambiez, P., *Héraclès* (1966) pl. 5; Diosphos P.; Maffre 88 fig. 9. - 500-490 B.C. - A: H. with harpe treading on Hydra's tail. B: Iolaos shooting, Athena armed hurrying to help H., crab.

**2004.\*** Lekythos, wg. Paris, Louvre CA 598 - Haspels, *ABL* 233, 19; Diosphos P.; Boardman, *ABFV* fig. 270; *HDHG* (Rouen) no. 91; Maffre 90 fig. 11; - 500-490 B.C. - Athena armed hurries to help H. (lionskin) who attacks Hydra with harpe. Iolaos wields a torch, a fire behind him. Crab between H.'s legs. Cf. by the same painter, Copenhagen NM III 946; *ABL* 234, 52; CVA 3 pl. 112, 2.

**2005.** Lekythos, wg. San Francisco, Fine Arts Mus. 1924.2 - *ABV* 538, 5; Haimon P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 133; CVA I pl. 13, 2. - 500-480 B.C. - Iolaos, H. (quiver at the back) attacking Hydra with club raised, Athena seated to r. At either side a tree. Cf. by the same painter, Bonn Univ. 358; *ABL* 241, 13; *MarbWPr* 1949, pl. 1, 1.

**2006.\*** Lekythos, wg. Paris, Louvre CA 2218. - Haspels *ABL* 245, 80; Haimon P.; Schauenburg 170 figs. 10-12; Maffre 91 fig. 12. - 500-480 B.C. - Armed Athena, H. (short chiton, lionskin) attacks Hydra with the harpe. Beyond the Hydra a woman (the local nymph Lerna?) tries to stop Iolaos.

#### Eretrian bf. vase

**2007.\*** Lebes. Athena, NM 12075. - Boardman, J., *BSA* 47, 1952, pls. 10, 11; Carpenter, T. H., *OJA* 3, 1984, 52 fig. 6. - About 550 B.C. - Hermes, Athena with branch, H. (short chiton, lionskin, quiver, greaves) fights Hydra with sword holding a Hydra-neck with the l. hand; Iolaos as hoplite; three women wrapped in himation to l.

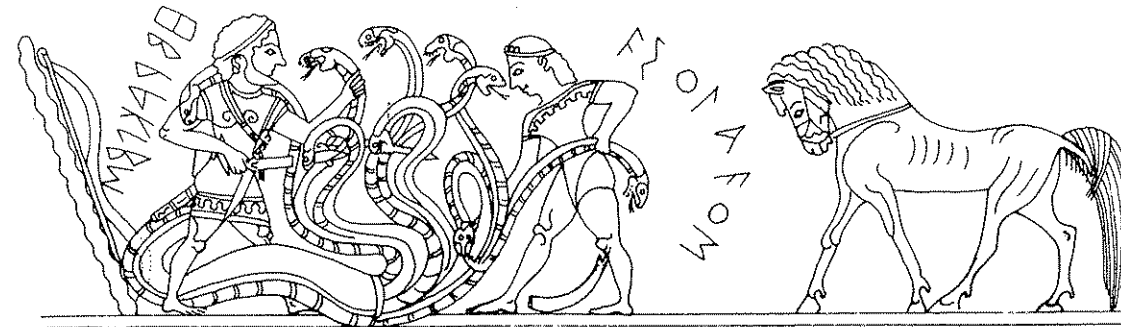
#### Attic rf. vases

**2008.\*** Cup, fr. Athens, Agora P 7899 - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 455, 12; Ashby P. - Late Archaic. - Athena armed to r., H. attacking Hydra and part of a figure with chiton and himation, probably Iolaos.

**2009.\*** Oinochoe. Leningrad, Hermitage B 4257 - Schefold, *KV* 22 pl. 5a; Schefold, *UKV* no. 234; Brommer, H. pl. 10b. - 370-360 B.C. - Young H., naked, brandishes club over his head against the Hydra, holding a neck; Iolaos with torches burns the necks. Beside H. a seated woman with sceptre (the local nymph → Lerna?).

#### Apulian rf. vase

**2010.** Volute crater. Policoro Mus. From Herakleia. - Neutsch, B., *Arch. Forschungen in Lukanien* II (1967) pl. 18. - 370-350 B.C. - Young H. naked attacks Hydra with club; Iolaos with torch and sword. Bottom l. temple or fountain house and a woman (Lerna or priestess?). At r. satyr and Athena, seated.



Herakles 2011

## 2. Herakles, the Hydra and Iolaos alone

H. with harpe unless otherwise stated.

#### Corinthian vase

**2011.\*** Aryballos. Athens, Kanellopoulos Mus. 392. - Amyx, CVP 164, 3; near Boar-Hunt P.; Brommer, F., *AAA* 1972, 459 figs. 10-13; Lejeune, M./Amandry, P., *BCH* 97, 1973, 189-195 figs. 1, 2; Amandry/Amyx no. 3 fig. 1, 3. - About 600 B.C. - H. (short chiton, quiver at his back, club and bow behind H. in the field) thrusts his sword into the Hydra's body, holding with the l. hand a neck; Iolaos with harpe, horse to l. Both heroes are named.

#### Attic bf. vases

**2012.\*** Belly amphora. Trieste, Mus. Civ. S 454. - CVA I pl. 2 (1910), 3. - 550-525 B.C. - Iolaos with sword.

**2013.\*** Neck amphora. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. 1748. - *ABV* 308, 64; Swing P.; *Para* 133; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) pl. 156a. - 540-520 B.C. - H. with sword; Iolaos (naked) with harpe. Similar on the dinos, Tübingen; CVA 3 pl. 10, 3. Cup fr. Kiel, Private; Schauenburg, 3 fig. 1.

**2014.** Neck amphora. Rome, Fond. Lerici. From Cerveteri. - *Para* 157, 11 bis; Michigan P.; Moretti, M., *Tomba Martini-Marescotti* (1966) with fig. - 520-500 B.C. - H. holding two Hydra necks, bitten in the thigh; Iolaos with torch.

**2015.\*** Neck amphora. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1854. - CVA 5 pls. 34, 3; 37; Leagros group; Schauenburg, 173 fig. 19. - 500-490 B.C. - H. wearing only lionskin; crab between his legs; Iolaos with helmet and torch.

#### Laconian bf. vases

**2015a)** (= Iolaos 27\*) Cup fr. Samos Mus. K 176. From Samos. - Stibbe, *LakVas* no. 206a pl. 68, 3; Pili, *LacV* 3 fig. 5; Hunt P. - About 550 B.C. - Iolaos is named.

#### Caeretan vase

**2016.\*** Hydria. Malibu, Getty Mus. 83.AE.346. Once London, Seilern Coll. - Hemelrijk, J. M., *Caeretan Hydriae* (1984) no. 23 pls. 88-90; Eagle P.; Maffre 86 fig. 5. - 520-510 B.C. - H. (short chiton, corselet, greaves) at r. brandishing club against Hydra, holding a neck with the l. hand. From the r. Iolaos

(corselet, greaves) cuts a neck with the harpe, fire under his legs.

#### Attic rf. vases

**2017.** Amphora. Cologny, Fond. M. Bodmer. - Dörig, *Art antique, Suisse Romande* no. 204; «Kleophrades P.»; Maffre 89 fig. 10. - About 500 B.C. - H. (lionskin, quiver at waist); Iolaos (helmet, corselet, greaves) with torches. Cf. the Kleophrades P. volute crater in Malibu ([Dodekathlos] 1702); only Hydra and Iolaos preserved.

**2018.** (= Hermes 506) Stamnos. Palermo, Mus. Reg. V 763 (275). From Chiusi. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 251, 34; Sytleus P.; CVA I pl. 31 (688), 4; Boardman, *ARFVI* fig. 198. - About 490 B.C. - Club before H. (lionskin); a Hydra-head bites his thigh; Iolaos (helmet, corselet) with torches.

#### Bronze fibulae

**2019.\*** London, BM 3205. From Boeotia. - Hampe, *Sagenbilder* no. 101 pl. 2; Schefold, *Sagenbilder* pl. 6a; Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen* 147 SB 28. - About 700 B.C. - H. wearing only a belt, with sword, grasps all six Hydra-heads. His upper-body is not preserved. By his l. leg, crab. Beneath H. a small figure with harpe, probably Iolaos. Fish and birds in the field.

**2020.** (= 2205 [A]) Philadelphia Univ. 75-35-1. - Brommer, H. 14, fig. 3; Hampe, *Sagenbilder* no. 135 pl. 8; Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen* 148 SB 29. - 700-675 B.C. - B: H. (naked, belt, conical helmet) holds a Hydra-neck and sword. Crab between his legs. Iolaos cuts a Hydra-head with harpe. Similar: Heidelberg Univ. Schweitzer, B., *Herakles* (1922) 163 fig. 34; Hampe, *Sagenbilder* no. 72.

#### Reliefs

**2021.\*** Poros pediment. Athens, Acr. Mus. 1. - Brouskari, *CatAcr* 29 figs. 15-17; Boardman, *GSAP* fig. 196; Schefold, *Sagenbilder* pl. 54, 4. - 560-550 B.C. - At the centre H. in short chiton and corselet, scabbard, brandishes club, l. arm outstretched towards Hydra. Behind H. Iolaos mounting a chariot. At the l., before the chariot, crab.

**2022.** Metope (?) of the Temple of Apollo, Delphi. Lost. - Eur. *Ion* 190-200; Immerwahr, H. R., *BCH* 80, 1956, 285; Müller, G., *Hermes* 103, 1975, 29. - Late Archaic. - H. slaying Hydra with golden harpe, Iolaos with torch.

2023. (= [Dodekathlos] 1706\*\* with bibl.) Marble metope of the Temple of Hephaistos, Athens. - Koch, *o. c.* 1706, pl. 18. - Both move r., apparently naked, against the Hydra which coils its tail around the forward figure's leg.

2024. Clay arula. Lucifero Coll. From Croton. - v. Duhn, F., *NotSc* 1897, 348 fig. 4; Amandry no. 26. - 550-525 B.C. - H. naked, striding to l., sword in r. hand, l. arm extended (from which hangs lionskin or a piece of cloth) towards the Hydra at the centre. Crab between H.'s legs. Iolaos with harpe on other side of Hydra.

2025.\* Bronze tripod leg fr. Olympia Mus. B 5800. - *BCH* 90, 1966, 817 pl. 12, 1; Fittschen, *Sagen-darstellungen* 148 SB 32; Schauenburg, K., *AA* 1971, 167 n. 37. - 625-600 B.C. - Hydra flanked by two men. A Hydra neck coiled round the leg of the man at the l.; another bites the knee of the man at the r. who wears a short chiton and scabbard. A harpe can be seen on another Hydra neck. Compare the fr. shield-band relief, Olympia B 1913; Kunze, *Schildbänder* pl. 65, 59.

2026. Bronze conical seal. Chios Mus. From Kato Phana. - *BSA* 35, 1934/5, 151 pl. 31, 39; Fittschen, *Sagen-darstellungen* 147 SB 27. - About 700 B.C. - Snake between two men. Uncertain if Hydra.

2027. Gold plaque. Izmir Mus. From Phokaia. - Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 131 n. 418. - 3rd cent. B.C.? - H.(?), Iolaos (?) holding snake body and sickle or torch; the Hydra abbreviated (?).

### 3. Herakles, the Hydra and another deity or figure

2028. Cup, Attic bf. London Market. - Sotheby 5 March 1962 no. 87; Schauenburg, in *Stele*, *o. c.* 1996, 97 n. 21. - About 530 B.C. - Seated Zeus with Herakles and Hydra. *Non vidi*. Perhaps not in a single scene.

2029. Cup, Attic bf. Berlin, Staatl. F 1801. - *ABV* 230, 1; Brommer, *H.* pl. 10a; Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 250. - About 550 B.C. - A, B: H. in chiton and lionskin, fights Hydra with harpe holding a neck. Beyond is a woman: Athena, or Lerna (Scheffold, *SB* II 96).

2030.\* Skyphos, Attic bf. Athens, NM 416 (CC 792). From Thebes. - Brommer I, pl. 2; Ure, A. D., *JHS* 75, 1955, pl. 6, 1-3; Krokotos Group. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - A: Athena, armed, to r.; Hydra coiled round a tree; H. from r. with chiton, lionskin, quiver, brandishes the club, holding a Hydra neck with the l. hand. B: as A but H. throwing stones (Ure) or holding sweets (Brommer).

2031. (= [Dodekathlos] 1697) Wood, ivory, gold. Chest of Kypselos. Olympia. Lost. - Paus. 5, 17, 11. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - Athena stands beside H. who shoots at the Hydra. Iolaos in a chariot is adjacent, not, perhaps, racing (as Paus.) but awaiting H.

### 4. Herakles alone (and incomplete scenes)

*Vases (not rf.)*

2032. Polychrome fr., Sicilian (?). Syracuse, Prefettura. - Pelegatti, P., *ASAtene* 60, 1982, 144 fig. 30

pl. 2, 2. - 7th cent. B.C. - Three serpent heads; a male head facing them; between, a snake body or weapon.

2032a) Kantharos fr., Attic bf. Alexandria, Greco-Rom. Mus. 9383 and 17206. From Naukratis. - Venit pl. 26. - 570-560 B.C. - H. with lionskin on outstretched l. arm attacks Hydra to r.

2033.\* Cup, Attic bf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81126 (H 2761). - *ABV* 262, 47: manner of Lysippos P.; *CVA* 3 pls. 23, 3; 24, 1 (967/8). - 530-510 B.C. - H. (chiton, lionskin, scabbard) striding to r. holds a Hydra neck and raises a sword.

2034. Lekythos, Attic, bf. wg. Baltimore, WAG 48.227. - *ABV* 499, 33: Class of Athens 581; *The Greek Tradition* (WAG 1939) 56 no. 4; *AJA* 58, 1954, 63. - About 500 B.C. - H. with harpe, treading on Hydra's tail.

Cf. also the Attic bf. frs.: Mykonos KZ 1134; *AA* 1971, 171 fig. 14. Thasos A 7. 341, *Et. Thasiennes* VII (1960) pls. 34, 70; 38, 117.

2035. Cups, Laconian bf. Fragments only are preserved: a) Once Leipzig; *BSA* 34, 1933/4, pl. 34b; Stibbe, *LakVas* no. 157; Pipili, *LacLc* 3 fig. 3. - b) Oxford G. 133.4; *BSA* 34, 1933/34, pl. 34c; Stibbe, *o. c.* no. 162, pl. 50, 1; Pipili, *o. c.* 3 fig. 4. - c) Samos; Stibbe, *o. c.* no. 158a. b pl. 49, 5; 7; Pipili, *o. c.* 3 no. 4.

*Attic rf. vases*

2036. Neck amphora. Leningrad, Hermitage B 2351 (B 610). - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 18, 2: manner of Euphronios; *Para* 509; Peredolskaja no. 18 pl. 16; Scheffold, *SB* II figs. 117, 118. - 520-500 B.C. - A: H. to r. wearing lionskin, quiver, shoots at Hydra shown on side B. coiled around a tree-trunk. Club before H. on the field. Of the same date are the fr.: Athens, NM Acr. 450; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 66, 134; Graef/Langlotz II pl. 38. - Rome, Villa Giulia 50388; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 65, 114. Orvieto; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 133, 16; *NotSc* 1925, 152 fig. 19. Munich 8703; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1582, 1.

2037.\* Cup. Athens, NM Acr. 325 - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 460, 20; Makron; Karusu, S., *AM* 98, 1983, 58-64 pls. 19, 3; 22, 1. - About 480 B.C. - H. in short chiton and lionskin, bends forward to cut with the harpe a Hydra head, holding a neck with the l. hand. Behind H. club and crab. By the same painter the fragments Acr. 358, pl. 27; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 477, 291.

2038.\* Stamnos. London, BM 1929.5-13.1. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 287, 26; Geras P.; *BMQ* 4, 1929/30, pl. 16a. - About 470 B.C. - B: H. (short chiton and lionskin on l. arm) with club raised holding bow. A: H. and lion (= 1843).

2039. Cup. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Nola. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1524, 12; Group YZ (iii). - 4th cent. B.C. - H. with lionskin, holding a Hydra-neck brandishes his club against the Hydra coiled round his r. foot.

*Stone reliefs*

See also the relief from Sunion ([Dodekathlos] 1708).

2040. (= [Dodekathlos] 1705\*\* with bibl.) Marble metope. Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Olympia Mus. - Ashmole/Yalouris, *o. c.* 1705, pl. 152. - About 460 B.C. - H., naked, attacks the Hydra coiled

round a tree with the harpe in his r. and a torch in l. hand.

2041. Marble votive relief. Athens, NM 3617. From Lerna. - Karousou, S., *Cat. Sculpt.* pl. 35. - 3rd cent. B.C. - H. naked, lionskin on l. arm, treading on the Hydra's tail; crab by his r. leg.

2042.\* Marble metope fr. Ioannina Mus. 4612. From Dodona. - Dakaris, S. I., *Dodona* (1971) pl. 17, 1. - 3rd cent. B.C. - Naked H.

2043.\* Frieze. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. P 398. From Pergamon. - v. Salis, A., *Der Altar von Pergamon* (1919) 91 fig. 15; Amandry 300 no. 74; *BCH* 75, 1951, 254 fig. 3. - 250 B.C. - H. seen from the back; seven-headed Hydra with tail coiled round H.'s r. leg.

2044. Marble votive relief. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 210. - Scheffold, *Meisterwerke* 280 no. 390; *EAAIV* 91 fig. 118; Borbein, *Campanareliefs* 171 n. 906-907. - 1st cent. B.C. - H. to l. (naked, lionskin on l. arm) treads with bent r. knee Hydra's body, bending backwards.

*Engraved Gems*

2045.\* Cornelian scarab. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 147. - *AGD* II pl. 22, 80. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - H. in lionskin with raised club, kneeling, behind him tree with bird.

2046. Garnet ringstone (in gold ring of Roman date). London, BM 603. - Walters, *BMGems* pl. 10; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* no. 230. - 4th/3rd cent. B.C. - H. naked, Hydra's tail coiled around l. leg, a neck round his body. Cf. the onyx, Braunschweig, *AGD* III pl. 4, 23; 1st cent. B.C.

*Clay reliefs (H. with club)*

See also [Dodekathlos] 1711.

2047.\* (= 1817, = 2246, = 2695) Column crater. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2882. From South Italy. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - H. (lionskin on l. arm); eleven-headed Hydra; five other Labours.

2048.\* Cup. Olympia Mus. Tc 1829. - Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* pl. 59, 2. - 3rd/2nd cent. B.C. - H. naked, lionskin on l. arm; crab between legs. Cf. Hausmann, *o. c.* pl. 58, 1.

2049. Kantharos, Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 911. From Laodicea by Lykos. - Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 252; Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* pl. 59, 3. - 2nd cent. B.C. - Hydra coiled round l. leg.

2050. Black amphora with applied reliefs. Rethymnon Mus. P 733. - Hellenistic. - H. naked treads on Hydra's tail; r. arm extended backwards. Similar: Chania Mus. P 1260.

2051.\* Cup tondo, Calene. Paris, Louvre MND 2049 (H 263). - Pagenstecher, *Calen* no. 11 fig. 10; *CVA* 15 pl. 28 (1016), 2. - 250/180 B.C. - H. naked; Hydra's tail coiled round r. leg. Similar: Calene gutti; cf. Jentel, *Gutti* 245 type 47a-c.

*Metal reliefs*

2052. (= 2697\*) Bronze shieldband fr. Once Berlin, Staatl. Mus. - v. Massow, W., *AM* 41, 1916, 44 fig. 8; Kunze, *Schildbänder* 102. - Late Archaic. - Only Hydra l. is preserved.

2053.\* Gold cruciform pectoral. Patras Mus. - Papapostolou, J., *ArchDelt* 32, 1977, 281-341 pls. 103, 104; *ArchRepts* 1983/4, Cover. - 2nd cent. B.C. - H. naked, brandishes torch (?) or club (?) against Hydra coiled round his r. leg. The lionskin (not himation, as Papapostolou, *o. c.* 304) hangs from H.'s l. arm. Tree behind H.

*Ivory relief*

2054.\* Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1923.880. From Sparta. - Dawkins, R. M., *Artemis Orthia* (1929) 212 pl. 103, 1; Marangou, L., *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien* (1969) no. 31 figs. 46, 47. - Late 7th cent. B.C. - H. wearing short chiton and helmet fights the Hydra with sword, holding a Hydra neck; another above H.'s head, a second behind his l. leg.



Herakles 2054

*Coins*

2055.\* AR stater, Phaistos, late 4th/early 3rd cent. B.C. - *BMC* Crete 62, 11-12 pl. 15, 6, 8; Kraay/Hirmer, *GrCoins* pl. 167, 552; Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* pl. 59, 4; Le Rider, G., *Monnaies crétoises* (1966) pls. 4, 10-13; 23, 11, 23; Vollkommer 6 fig. 10. - Obv.: young H. in three quarter back view, with club, treading on the Hydra's tail. Sometimes bearded, frontal, or with crab, Hydra coil around leg, bow and quiver in field. Rev.: bull.

### 5. Type unknown

See [Dodekathlos] 1701 (Amyklai throne), works by Praxiteles and Lysippos ([Dodekathlos] 1709, 1710)

2056. Statue by Polykleitos. Lost. - Cic. *de or.* 2, 70 (Overbeck, *SQ* no. 945). - 5th cent. B.C.



2057. Iron group by Tisagoras. Delphi. Lost. – Paus. 10, 18, 6 (Overbeck, SQ no. 2082). – Hellenistic (?).

#### ROMAN

In Roman art only H. and the Hydra are shown (exceptions are 2063, 2069, cf. 2068). The Hydra may be represented in the traditional form (not further described here) or as a female bust and head with limbs and hair ending in snakes. H. is almost always naked, with a club, holding the Hydra by a neck or hair. The Hydra's tail is often coiled around his leg.

#### Painting

2058.\* On marble. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Herkulaneum, Casa della Gemma. – Mielsch, H., *RM* 86, 1979, 243 pl. 55. – Neronian. – H. (lionskin on l. arm) fights Hydra coiled round a tree as on Archaic representations (cf. 2030, 2036). Bow (?) behind H. on the ground and crab. Perhaps after a Greek original of the 4th cent. B.C.

2059. Wall painting. Rome, Catacomb in Via Latina. – Strong, D., *Roman Art* (1976) 125, 161 fig. 172. – 4th cent. A.D.

#### Textile

See [Dodekathlos] 1744.

2060. (= 2251) Prague, Art and Crafts Mus. 1239/1240. – Kybalova, L., *Coptic Textiles* (1967) no. 96. – 6th/7th cent. A.D. – Hydra with woman's head.

#### Mosaics

See [Dodekathlos] 1739\*, 1742\*, 1743\* – Hydra with woman's head; [Dodekathlos] 1740, 1741\*.

2061.\* Trier, Landesmus. – *InvMos* I 2 no. 1212. – A.D. 367–383. – Parlasca, K., *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (1959) 59 pl. 56, 1. – Hydra with woman's head.

#### Stone reliefs

See also [Dodekathlos] 1726\* (Hydra with woman's head); [Dodekathlos] 1735\*–1737, 1747\*.

2062. (= [Dodekathlos] 1745\*) Marble relief vase, Tazza Albani. Rome, Mus. Torlonia 383. – H. kneels with r. leg on Hydra's tail coiled round his l. leg.

2063. (= [Dodekathlos] 1746) Marble relief fr. from the Theatre, Corinth. Corinth Mus. – *Corinth* IX 2, pl. 73. – Hadrianic. – Composition not clear: H. with sickle in the l. and torch in the r. hand; behind him Iolaos?

2064. (= [Dodekathlos] 1714\*) Marble sarcophagus relief, Roman. Velletri, Mus. Civ. From Velletri. – H. treading on Hydra's tail, coiled round H.'s l. leg. Hydra with woman's head from which many snake-heads grow. The subject is common on sarcophagi; see *SarkRel* III 1, 117–118. For examples where the Hydra has a woman's head see [Dodekathlos] 1715–1717, 1719–1721, 1730; on [Dodekathlos] 1718 it has two snake arms and four snakes in hair; on *SarkRel* III 1 no. 118 the body ends in two snake heads; on *ibid.* no. 119 there are two snakes in the hair, like Medusa. The Hy-

dra is «normal» on [Dodekathlos] 1722\*, 1723\*, 1734\*, 1752\*, with five to nine heads. H. is usually at the l. (except [Dodekathlos] 1720\*, 1721\*, 1724\*, 1730\*, 1734\*) and is young on [Dodekathlos] 1716\*, 1721\*, 1724\*, 1734\*. H. also holds a bow on [Dodekathlos] 1725\* and *SarkRel* III 1 no. 128.

2065. Marble slab of a frieze. Athens, NM 4484. From Liosia. – *AJA* 64, 1960, 269. – Only three Hydra necks are preserved.

2066.\* Column-base. Metz, Mus. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* V no. 4286. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – H. in front view, treading on the Hydra's body; a neck bites H.'s back.

2067. Part of an archivolt. Lost. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* V no. 4150. – 2nd/3rd cent. – H. kneeling on a rock.

2068. Altars. Poitiers Mus. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* II nos. 1408, 1410. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – For other provincial reliefs see Espérandieu, *Recueil* II 899 (with Iolaos seated); III 2244; IV 3212 (= Herakles [in periphery occ.] 39); XI 7754, 7755; Toynbee, J. M. C., *Latomus* 36, 1977, 368–370.

2069.\* (= Herakles [in periphery occ.] 64) Corbridge Mus. From Corbridge, Northumberland. – Haverfield, F., *AA* 1913, 297 fig. 17; Toynbee, *o.c.* 2068, 369 X. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – At the l. woman (Athena?) smaller than H.

2070. Marble base. Athens, NM 3280. – H. in back view with lionskin over l. arm.

#### Stucco relief

2071. From the Mausoleum of S. Vito, Pozzuoli, Via Campana. Lost. – Paoli, *Avanzi delle antichità esistenti a Baja, Pozzuoli* pl. 37; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 184 A4.

#### Engraved gems

The Hydra is always «normal».

2072.\* Glass intaglio. Munich, Staatl. Münzslg. – *AGDI* 2 no. 1258. – Republican.

2073.\* Glass intaglio. Copenhagen, NM 188. – 1st cent. B.C. – H. (wind-blown lionskin) in frontal view and bending backwards, fights Hydra with a knife (?) instead of club, raised over his head.

2074.\* Carnelian intaglio. Copenhagen, Thorv. Mus. I 806. – Fossing, *ThorvGems* no. 869, pl. 11. – H. with bent knees and upper body bent backwards, lionskin on l. arm.

2075.\* Glass intaglio. Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. VII 147. – *AGOe* II no. 978 pl. 59. – 2nd cent. A.D. – See also Berlin FG 3085, 4186–4188, 6484; Marshall, *BMFingerRings* no. 1186; Walters, *BMGems* nos. 1869, 3142; Richter, *EngrGemsRom* no. 274 (Cab. Méd.); Mainz, RGZM o.12692; Philadelphia Univ., Somerville, M., *Engraved Gems* (1889) pl. 72, 912.

#### Ivory relief

See [Dodekathlos] 1759 (St. Peter's Throne, Rome).

#### Clay reliefs

See also [Dodekathlos] 1754a.

2076.\* Campana plaque. Vatican 14160. – *EAA* IV 90 fig. 117; Borbein, *Campanareliefs* 168–172 pl. 31, 2. – 1st cent. B.C. – H. wearing lionskin, sword, kneeling on the Hydra's body. Similar type: Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Misc. 2431; Borbein, *Campanareliefs* 168–172 pl. 32, 1.

2077. Vase fr., Rheims Mus. – Déchelette, J., *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine* (1904) I 216; Grenier, A., *REA* 42, 1940, 636 fig. 1. – H. naked, with helmet and shield in the l. attacks the three-headed Hydra.

2078. (= Herakles [in periphery occ.] 38\*) Mould of a relief bowl. St. Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. – Déchelette, *o.c.* 2077, II 75 no. 458. – A.D. 75–110. – H. naked, in front view with club and lionskin in the l. hand, holds in the r. a severed woman's head. Two snake-heads seem to hang down from it.

2079. (= Herakles [in periphery occ.] 37) Medallion from a relief vase, Once Chaumartin Coll. From St. Colombe. – Willeumier/Audin no. 90; signed by Latinus. – Mid 1st cent. A.D. – Hydra is represented with woman's head.

2080.\* Cup fr. Copenhagen, NM 13694. From Martres-de-Veyre. – A.D. 70–160. – H., naked, lionskin on l. arm, holds with the l. the Hydra from whose neck grow small snake-heads. Cf. Roman relief bowls from Corinth ([Dodekathlos] 1754).

2081. Lamp. Once Benaki Coll., Alexandria. – Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 89 pl. 59, 1. – 1st cent. A.D. – H. (bearded, naked) attacks Hydra with raised club, a snake-neck coiled round his r. leg. Cf. Loeschcke, S., *Lampen aus Vindonissa* (1919) no. 394 pl. 7.

2082.\* Lamp. Ancona, Mus. Naz. PR 85. – Capitano, M., *NotSc* 1974, 262 fig. 151. – 1st cent. A.D. – H. naked, in front view, fights Hydra coiled round a tree, with raised club, holding a bow, lionskin on l. arm.

2083.\* Lamp. Cambridge, Fitzw. Mus. Gr. 151891. – Late 1st cent./early 2nd cent. A.D. – Cf. Munich; Christ, W., *Führer durch das Antiquarium* (1901) 45 no. 280. Walters, *BM Lamps* no. 1221 pl. 35; *Agora* VII 118 pl. 23 f. g. – 3rd/4th cent. A.D.

#### Metal reliefs

See [Dodekathlos] 1727 (silver bowl rim). 1728 (gold bells). 1757 (plaster cast). 1758 (bronze vase).

2084. Bronze plaque with copper and silver inlay. Princeton, Univ. 71–35. From Egypt (?). – *MetrMus-Bull* 35, 1977, 29 fig. 25; Weitzmann, *Spirituality* no. 137. – 4th cent. A.D. – H. wearing the lionskin, kneeling to l. on Hydra's body with club raised, holding a Hydra neck.

#### Coins

See also [Dodekathlos] 1761 (Postumus, Cologne). The subject appears on coins of Argos and the Greek east in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D., see Voegtli 20–23 for details. H. is usually young and at the r. Examples of the two Hydra types are listed here.

2085. AE, Prusias, Lucius Verus. – Voegtli pl. 2n. – Rev. A column at r.

2086.\* AE, Tarsus, Caracalla. – Voegtli pl. 2q. –

Rev.: H. strides towards the Hydra from the r., not holding it.

2087.\* AE, Perinthos, Septimius Severus. – Voegtli pls. 2s, 13b; Schönert, E., *Die Münzprägung von Perinthos* (1965) 182–183, 520 pl. 30, 520. – Rev.: Hydra with female forepart.

2088. AE Medallion, Maximian, A.D. 293–296. – Gnecci, *Medaglioni* II pl. 126, 5. – Rev.; inscr. *HERCULI DEBELLATORI*. Also AU aurei, Siscia, Ticinum, Rome, Bastien, P./Metzger C., *Le trésor de Beauvains* (1977) nos. 31, 32, 163–169, 203–205.

#### Statuary

2089. Marble statuette. Once Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. – Bianchi-Bandinelli, R., *Polideto* pl. 10, 55/56; Exner, H. R., *MusHelv* 8, 1951, 186 fig. 1. – Imperial. – Naked torso, r. leg advanced, lionskin hanging from l. arm. In l. hand H. holds Hydra's neck ending in a female head with snakes in hair, lying on H.'s shoulder. R. arm lost. After a Classical model, perhaps by Polykleitos (Bandinelli) or after a Hellenistic original (Exner).

2090.\* Marble group fr., under life-size. Lambaesis Mus. From the Roman baths, Lambaesis. – Mander-scheid, H., *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen* (1981) 15, 33 no. 490 pl. 48. – H. wearing only the lionskin, kneeling on a rock to l. with raised r. arm; Hydra's tail coiled round H.'s r. leg (the group belongs to a series representing the Labours).

2091.\* Bronze statuette. Boston, MFA 08.32g. – Amelung, W., *OeJh* 12, 1909, 183 fig. 92; Comstock/Vermeule, *Bronzes Boston* no. 108. – Grotesque figure of H. as an old man, naked, raising the club against his phallos ending in seven snake-heads. – Cf. the bronze statuette, Boston, MFA 08.32e. – Comstock/Vermeule, *o.c.* no. 146. – H. as a dwarf wearing fillet with floral ornaments.

#### Incorrect identification

2092. Marble group. Rome, Mus. Cap. – Stuart-Jones, *SculptMusCap* 134–135; *EAA* III 380; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II no. 1930; Howard, S., in *Festschr. U. Middeldorff* (1968) 403–405; Moreno 146 fig. 23, 150. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – Only the torso and head of H. are preserved. The torch in the r. hand as well as Hydra round H.'s l. leg are later additions to the group which probably represented H. and the stag.

#### Hydra as victim

The monster is shown as victim alone on [Dodekathlos] 1739, 1742, 1750 and Walters, *BMSilver-Plate* no. 191.

#### COMMENTARY

The Hydra Labour is one of the earliest mythological representations in Greek art, possibly inspired by the much earlier representations of an analogous subject in the east (Brommer, *H.* 12, with n. 10; Bisi, A., *Mél. Carthage* 1964/5, 21–42). It is already depicted on the so-called Boeotian fibulae of the end of the 8th/beginning of the 7th cent. B.C. (2019, 2020).



There H. and Iolaos fight a Hydra, represented as a huge, many-headed snake. The crab, sent by Hera, appears between H.'s legs. The next representations are to be found in the last quarter of the 7th cent. B.C. (2025, 2054) at a time when the series of Corinthian vase-paintings begins. On these vases Athena is often also represented standing beside H. (1990–1992, 1994, 1995). A second woman (1990, = Hera according to Amandry/Amyx 111) or other persons (1991, 1993, 1995) also occur; and the horse/horses (1990, 2011) or the chariot/chariots (1990–1993, 1995; sometimes with driver, 1991), also the crab (1990, 1991, 1994); birds, sirens, lizards, which appear in some pictures, are probably filling ornaments (Amandry/Amyx 112). These persons may also be shown in the representations in Attic bf. where H. is usually shown fighting the monster alone (2032a [frr.], 2033) or helped only by Iolaos (2012–2015). On Early Corinthian vases the scene was also sometimes reduced to heroes and Hydra (2011). On Attic vases Hermes also may be shown (1998, 1999; cf. 2007, Eretrian bf.), once the local Nymph Lerna (?) on 2006, a demon (2000) or perhaps Zeus (2028). On Tyrrhenian amphorae Iolaos, instead of attacking the monster, is shown arriving on a chariot (1996, 1997) or horse (1998); a scene probably influenced by the Archaic poros pediment on the Athenian Acropolis (2021).

In the Archaic period the Hydra Labour was also represented on Laconian black-figure cups, of which only fragments are preserved (2035) and a Sicilian polychrome fr. (2032). The one representation on an Eretrian vase (2007) seems to follow the Attic scheme, while on a Caeretan hydria (2016) H. is shown using his club. This motif occurs for the first time on a Corinthian vase (Paris CA 3004, see 1995); later, on the poros pediment on the Acropolis (2021) and on a gem (2045) of the mid-6th cent. B.C.

From the 5th cent. B.C. on the representation in rf. vase-painting is confined to H. alone with the monster (2036–2039), once on either side of the vase (2036). Iolaos is rarely present (2009, 2017, 2018) or the nymph Lerna (2009; cf. 2006).

From the mid-6th cent. B.C. on the Labour appears regularly as part of the Dodekathlon. In Classical and Hellenistic art the Labour may also be represented on its own: on architectural reliefs (2042), on votive-reliefs (2041, 2044), gold (2053), gems (2046), and on coins of Phaistos (2055) showing H. fighting the monster alone (except for 2023 where Iolaos is represented as well). Details of the marble statuary groups by Polykleitos (2056) and Lysippos (Dodekathlos 1709) or the iron one by Tisagoras (2057) are not known; some suggestions, however, have been made (cf. Voegtli 22, 49; Moreno). In the Roman period, as well as the traditional type of the Hydra, there appears for the first time the representation of it with a female bust/head with limbs/hair ending in snakes: (cf. Robert, *SarkRel* III 1, 117–118; Jacopi, I., *ArchCl* 24, 1972, 292–295). This motif has been assumed to derive from the Polykleitan statue (2056). The anthropomorphic representation would accord with

the general tendency of the time for humanisation of monsters (cf. Floren, J., *Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion* [1977] 177–190). Others suggest an unknown Hellenistic model for the same type or Lysippos (cf. Moreno).

In the Roman period H. is regularly shown fighting the Hydra alone (exceptions 2063, 2069, cf. 2068) with the club raised over his head as part of the cycle of Labours. The Labour also appears on its own: in painting (2058) with a tree recalling Greek prototypes; on architectural reliefs (2066, 2067); on altars or other stone reliefs (2069–2071); on clay relief vases (2077–2080); on gems (2072–2075); lamps (2081–2083); metal utensils and coins, especially of the East Greek cities (2085–2088). On coins it may appear as a symbol of Imperial authority, defeating the snakes of conspiracy (Vermeule, C. C., *Numismatic Studies* 5, 1, 1983, 17). In the Roman period also a caricature is invented in statuettes showing H. as an old man or dwarf with phallos ending in Hydra-heads (2091).

*H.'s appearance.* Until the end of the 6th cent. B.C. H. is usually represented bearded wearing long or short hair sometimes bound with a fillet. At first he is shown naked (2019, 2020), but later either naked or dressed. He is shown striding towards the Hydra, sometimes running (1997, 1998, 2045). In Attic vase-painting H. is always shown dressed in a short chiton, often wearing the lionskin over it, once wearing a himation over his shoulders (Bonn 358, see 2005). Sometimes H. wears a corselet (Palermo NI 1708, see 1995, 2021), as well as greaves (2007, 2016), also a helmet 2020, 2054. From the 5th cent. B.C. to the end of the Roman period H. is shown naked, sporadically wearing the lionskin, once with helmet and shield (2077). In the Archaic period the motif of the lionskin hanging from H.'s outstretched l. arm appears for the first time (2024); it is shown once in Attic vase-painting (2038) and is adopted in the coins of Phaistos in the 4th cent. B.C. (2055). This becomes very common in Hellenistic and Roman representations.

*H.'s weapons.* In early representations as well as in Corinthian vase-painting H. attacks with the sword (cf. Hes. *theog.* 313–318), exceptionally with the harpe (1990) or the club (Paris CA 3004, see 1995). On the chest of Kypselos H. was represented shooting at the Hydra (2031) (cf. Apollod. *bibl.* 2, [78] 5, 2 and 2036). In Attic vase-painting H. regularly uses the harpe, sometimes the sword; at the end of the Archaic period the club also (2005, 2030, 2038, 2039; cf. 2021, 2045), once the bow (2036), stones (2030). Alone on 2040 he holds a torch. From the end of the 5th cent. B.C. on H. is shown attacking with the club raised while holding the Hydra with the l. hand. Exceptionally H. later uses the knife (2073?) or the sword (2088). Very often H.'s other weapons are shown in the field beside him; sometimes H. is shown holding bow/arrows in the l. hand (2038, 2082; [Dodekathlos] 1725, 1739, 1747).

*The Hydra.* The number of the Hydra heads varies greatly; to the 5th cent. B.C. it is usually shown with

nine, then with seven heads. However, there are many exceptions: 2019 (six heads); 1990, 2029 (ten); 2947 (eleven); [Dodekathlos] 1722 (five); 2077 (three); cf. Amandry 311; Robert, *SarkRel* III 1, 117–118. The Hydra's tail is very often coiled round H.'s advanced leg, even round H.'s body (Palermo NI 1708, see 1995; 1993, 1994). Sometimes the Hydra is shown coiled round a tree (2030, 2036, 2040, 2058, 2082). It may be shown biting H. (Palermo NI 1708, Paris CA 3004, see 1995; 1990, 1996, 2014, 2018, 2025, 2066); in that case the crab is regularly not present. H. is often treading on the Hydra's tail, or kneeling on it (2013, 2044, 2045, 2062, 2076), once on a rock (2090).

In the Roman period when the Hydra is represented with a female bust/head H. is shown in the traditional scheme holding it by the neck with his l. hand. Exceptions: 2089 with the head lying on H.'s shoulder; Dodekathlos 1754 with H. holding the cut head; the coin, Voegtli pl. 2r (Alexandria, Ant. Pius) with it supplicating H. for mercy.

*Athena.* In Corinthian vase-painting Athena is often represented holding a vase (1992 and Paris CA 3004, see 1995) either with refreshment for the hero after completing his task (Amyx, D. A., in Moon (ed.), *AGAI* 48) or to collect the poisonous Hydra blood (Boardman, J., *OJA* 1, 1982, 237–238; Carpenter, T. H., *OJA* 3, 1983, 51). In Archaic Attic vase-painting Athena is almost always shown armed, sometimes even running to the fight (2012–2014, 2030). On Tyrrhenian amphorae she is shown holding a vase (1996) (probably under Corinthian influence), a wreath (Paris C 10506, see 1997), branches (1998). Twice she is represented seated (2005).

*Iolaos.* In Archaic art, when not mounted on a chariot/horse as on Tyrrhenian amphorae and the Acropolis pediment (1996–1998, 2021), Iolaos is shown attacking with the harpe, once with the bow (2003); also with the spear (1998). From the end of the 6th cent. B.C. on he is represented holding torches (2002, 2004, 2008, 2009, 2014, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2023). In Archaic Attic vase-painting he is often shown as a hoplite (1996, 2002, 2003, cf. 2007).

*Landscape* is sometimes alluded to by trees (1009, 2005, 2045, 2053, 2068) or with birds and fishes (1995, 2019). The fire set by Iolaos to burn the Hydra stumps (2004, 2016) is rarely represented, as is a column suggesting a building (1990, 2085).

Generally it may be remarked that the representations of the Labour through the various periods of Greek and Roman art illustrate eclectically all the literary evidence about the task; while persons (Lerna, Hera, Hermes, others) or other details (landscape, architecture, Athena involved in the fight) are added, freely invented to enrich the picture.

G. KOKKOROU-ALEWRAS

#### D. Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar (Labour III)

H. has to capture alive the wild, violent boar that lives on Mt. Erymanthos, and bring it alive to Eurys-

theus at Mycenae. When he delivers the monster the king hides himself in fear in a pitthos.

*LITERARY SOURCES:* The earliest references to the Labour appear in a *frag.* of Hekataios (*FGrH* I F 6) and in Soph. *Trach.* 1097 (date unknown). Later literature adds details but is inconsistent in placing it in the series. Diod. 4, 12, 1–2 with the fullest account, names the boar's home on Mt. Erymanthos, Lampeia; he stresses that it must be caught alive, as do Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (83) 5, 4, 1 (followed by Pediasimos 4, 10) and Q. Smyrn. 6, 220–222; but Hyg. *fab.* 30, 4 says the boar was killed. In Diod. (*l. c.*) the capture is the result of a carefully planned attack; in Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (87) 5, 4, 8 it was driven out of the undergrowth by noise and caught in the snow (also Pediasimos 4, 11); and Polyainos 1, 3, 2, with a similar story, adds cunning and stone-throwing. It was brought to Mycenae (Herodotus, *FGrH* 3 I F 24; Diod. 4, 12, 2; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [87] 5, 4, 8) and Diod. adds that Eurystheus hid himself in a vessel in fear when he saw H. approach with the boar on his shoulder. Other sources add little: Schol. Stat. *Theb.* 4, 298; Claud. (?) *laus Herculis* 103–117; Tzetz. *chil.* 2, 268; *Tabula Albana*, *FGrH* 40 F 1c. From Martialis 9, 101, 6 H. seems to wear the boarskin as well as the lionskin; and in Dracontius *Romul.* 2, 96 Hylas is dressed in it. Its tusks were shown in the temple of Apollo at Cumae: Paus. 8, 24, 5.

*BIBLIOGRAPHY:* Amandry, P., *BCH* 66/67, 1942/3, 150–156; Beckel, G., *Götterbeistand in der Überlieferung gr. Heldensagen* (1961) 56; Benton, S., *JHS* 57, 1937, 38–43; Bräuer, R., *ZNum* 28, 1910, 35–112; Brommer, F., *Herakles* (1979) 18–19; *idem*, *Vasenlisten* 3 47–54; *idem*, *Denkmälerlisten* 1 40–44; Furtwängler, A., *ML* 2 (1886–90) 2199, 2223, 2245 s. v. «Herakles»; Gruppe, O., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 1044–1046; s. v. «Herakles»; Kunze, *Schildbänder* 104–106; Luce, S. B., *AJA* 28, 1924, 296–325; Moreno, P., *MEFRA* 96, 1984, 143–147; Robert, *SarkRel* III 1 (1897) 118; Schefold, *SB* II 96–100; Voegtli, *Hel-denepen* 23–25; Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele* II 196–203.

#### CATALOGUE

H. wears a short chiton, lionskin and sword unless otherwise stated. The catalogue is selective, especially of Attic vases.

#### GREEK

##### 1. Herakles overpowers the boar

###### a) Wrestling head-on

H. is naked, his weapons hanging in the background. His club is usually in his hand. The boar collapses onto its forelegs, with its rump usually in the air. Common in late Attic bf.

2093. Lekythos, Attic bf. Baltimore, Robinson Coll. From Attica. – *ABV* 547, 238: Haimon P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 38, 1. – Late 6th cent. B.C. – Similar are the wg. lekythos, Dresden ZV 1822; *AA* 1971, 17 fig. 13. Bf. skyphos, Thera Mus., *Ergon* 1968, 96 fig. 109a.

2094.\* Concave pyxis, Attic bf. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2034. From Crete or Athens. – *ABV* 556, 442

bis: Haimon Group; Brommer, *Herakles* pl. 13a. - Late 6th cent. B.C.

**2095.\*** Lekythos, Attic bf. Stuttgart, Landesmus. 4.96 (KAS 89). - *Para* 277; Class of Athens 581; *CVA* 1 pl. 21, 3-5. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - Amazons ride at either side. This is the scheme of *ABV* 546-547, 229-239; and Agora P 2716, *ABV* 550, 313; Volos Mus. K 2959. 2962, from Krannon; Omaha (Nebraska), Joslyn Art. Mus. 1948.118.1, *CVA* 1 pl. 22, 2-3, where the boar is lifted.

#### b) Wrestling from the side

**2096.** Clay relief bowl. Athens. - *ArchRepts* 1981/2 10 fig. 11. - 3rd/2nd cent. B.C. - H. to the l., naked, with cloak over r. shoulder.

#### c) Herakles attacks the boar from the front, with weapons

*Attic bf. vases*

**2097.** Neck amphora. Naples, Mus. Naz. H 2705. - *CVA* 1 pl. 11 (955), 3. - About 520 B.C. - H. in chiton holds club in r. hand.

**2098.\*** Neck amphora. Madrid, Arch. Mus. 10915. - *ABV* 602, 25; Red-Line P.; *CVA* 1 pls. 20 (38), 1b; 21 (39), 1a; Bérard, C., in *ICG* (Rouen) 113-115 fig. 1. - About 510 B.C. - H. fights with sword, wears loin cloth. (B. is scheme a, H. beardless; *ibid.*, fig. 2.)

**2099.\*** Hydria. Brauron Mus. From Brauron. - *BCH* 96, 1972, 619 pl. 77. - About 510 B.C. - H. naked, with cloak over l. shoulder, lies in wait for the boar, club in r. hand.

**2100.\*** (= 2342) Mastoid cup. Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (formerly Fogg) 1927.141. - *ABV* 559, 492; Haimon Group; *CVA* 1 pl. 11. - About 500 B.C. - H. naked with cloak over l. arm, strikes with the sword in his r. hand. At r. a dressed man (Iolaos?).

#### d) Herakles attacks the boar from the rear or side, with weapons

**2101.** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 236. - *CVA* 4 pl. 46 (212); Pottier, *Vases Louvre* pl. 80. - About 510 B.C. - H. runs beside the boar and strikes with club in r. hand. With the l. he grasps its mane. To l. Athena; to r. Hermes.

**2102.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Cambridge (Mass.); Sackler Mus. 60.314. - *Para* 169, 4bis: Acheiloos P.; *AJA* 60, 1976, pl. 7, 33, 35a. - About 510 B.C. - H. runs behind the boar, club in raised r. hand, grasping its mane in the l. To r. Hermes stretching his l. hand over the boar.

#### 2. Herakles trundles the boar to deliver it

##### a) Herakles moves r. usually with quiver and bow, holding the boar by its hind legs.

Athena attends, sometimes Hermes and Iolaos; not Eurystheus.

**2103.\*** (= Athena 513) Oinochoe, Attic bf. London, BM B 492. From Vulci. - *ABV* 256, 19; Lysip-

pides P.; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 166; *JdI* 76, 1961, 67; Schefold, *SB* II fig. 119. - About 510 B.C. - At r. Athena with r. hand outstretched. She appears also on: Bf. neck amphora, Cambridge G 57; *CVA* 1 pls. 16, 4; 17, 4. Bf. neck amphora, Munich 1560; *ABV* 327, 5; *Add* 89. Bf. cup, Athens NM 644; *ABV* 560, 522. Bf. neck amphora, London market (once Bloch, Basel); *Para* 120, 54bis; *Add* 70; Sotheby 13.7.1981, 241 (with Hermes).

**2104.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Tarquinia, Mus. 680. From Tarquinia. - *ABV* 283, 2; *Para* 124, 2bis: Group of Toronto 305; *CVA* 2 pl. 30 (1179), 1. - About 510 B.C. - At l. Athena, at r. Hermes. Athena and Iolaos appear on: Bf. olpe, Bologna 64; *CVA* 2 pl. 38, 3. Bf. neck amphora, Würzburg 182; *ABV* 327, 4; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 54 (H. holds boar by rump).

##### b) Herakles holds the boar by hind legs or belly. Eurystheus flies for his pithos or is already in it.

**2105.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 21965. From Gela. - *ABV* 375, 218; Leagros Group; *Para* 163; *MonAnt* 17, 1907, pl. 8; Schefold, *SB* II fig. 120. - About 510 B.C. - A: H. in tunic; sword, quiver and lionskin in field. B: Athena (?) with sceptre; Eurystheus in chlamys with cloak over shoulders jumps into pithos.

**2106.** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Würzburg, Wagner Mus. 203. From Vulci. - *ABV* 328, 6; Long-Nose P.; *Add* 89; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 43. - About 510 B.C. - Athena at r. turns her head to H. Cf. Athena and Iolaos on the restored bf. amphora, Paris, Louvre F 213; *ABV* 369, 110; *CVA* 3 pl. 26 (163), 4.

#### 3. Herakles drives the boar to Eurystheus

**2107.** Cup, Attic bf. Capua, Mus. Camp 196. From Capua. - *ABV* 713, 198ter: Leafless Group; *CVA* 2 pl. 10, 7. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. moves r. with club, bow and quiver, driving the boar before him. Athena runs before, then Eurystheus, naked but for loin cloth, club in hand. Before him the pithos and a rock.

#### 4. Herakles carries the boar on his shoulder

**2108.\*** Siana cup. Attic bf. Once Basel, Erlenmeyer Coll. - *Para* 27, 58bis: Heidelberg P.; *MuM* Auktion 51, 1975, no. 120 pl. 24. - About 560 B.C. - The boar's head to rear.

**2109.** Lip cup, Attic bf. Heidelberg, Univ. S 27. - *CVA* 1 pl. 44, 6. - About 550 B.C.

**2110.\*** Marble relief. Athens, NM 43. From Athens. - Benton 41 fig. 3; Berger, E., *Das Basler Arztrelief* (1970) 104 fig. 125; 107; Froning, *Schmuckreliefs* 52 n. 18; Beschi, L., in *Kanon, Festschr. E. Berger, AntK* 15. Beih. (1988) 143-145 pl. 41, 2. - About 520 B.C. - H. with sword, bow and lionskin, carries boar on l. shoulder, head to rear.

**2111.\*** Bronze statuette. Mainz, RGZM O.28574. - *MZ* 31, 1936, pl. 2, 1. - About 460 B.C.

**2112.** (= Athena 57\* with bibl.) Clay relief bowl. Paris, Louvre CA 551. - *AJA* 41, 1937, 92 fig. 4; *CVA* 15 pls. 5 (977), 1; 7 (979), 3; Sinn, *Becher* MB 38. - About 170-160 B.C. - H. kneeling, with club in r. hand.

#### 5. Herakles delivers the boar to Eurystheus

##### a) Herakles approaches the pithos holding the boar, head down.

The pithos is partly sunk in the ground and in it appears the bearded Eurystheus with hands raised.

**2113.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1698\* with bibl.) Limestone metope from the Silaris Heraion, Paestum, Mus. Naz. Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele* pls. 72, 73. - About 550 B.C.

**2114.** Cup, Laconian bf. Once Kavalla (lost). - *AA* 1937, 157 fig. 17; *ArchEph* 1938, 123 fig. 12; Stibbe, *LakVas* 137, 283, 261; Pipili, *LacL* 3-4. - 550-540 B.C. - H. with corselet (?).

**2115.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. London, BM B 213. From Vulci. - *ABV* 143, 1; Group E: P. of London B 213; *CVA* 4 pl. 50 (195), 2b. - 540-530 B.C.

**2116.** Amphora, Attic bf. Vatican 345. - Albizzati pl. 43. - 530-520 B.C. - H. naked, a woman at either side.

**2117.** (= Hermes 508a) Neck amphora, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1562. - *CVA* 8 pl. 376, 1. - About 520 B.C. - H. in corselet. Hermes and Athena to l., Iolaos (named) with spears to r. H.'s club leans against the pithos rim.

**2118.** Iron shieldband. Olympia Mus. E 161. From Olympia. - *OlympBer* 2, 1937, 89 pls. 32, 33; Kunze, *Schildbänder* 36 XXXVIIIa, 104; Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele* II 202 fig. 48. - About 530 B.C. - H. is naked.

**2119.** Clay plaque. Agrigento, Mus. Reg. From Agrigento. - *NotSc* 1930, 101-102 pl. 4; Marconi, P., *Agrigento, Top. ed Arte* (1929) fig. 134; Benton 43; Amandry 152; Kunze, *Schildbänder* 105. - About 525 B.C. - H. in short chiton.

**2120.\*** Bronze relief frs. (two from a single group). Delphi Mus. 6792. 1871. From Delphi. - Amandry pl. 8; Rolley, C., *Mus. de Delphes, Bronzes* fig. 57. - About 500 B.C. - (a) H. naked, his foot on a rising (?); (b) a whole pithos.

**2121.\*** Marble metope. Heraklion Mus. 363. From Knossos. - Benton pl. 3. - 450-440 B.C. - H. naked, lionskin over l. shoulder, club in l. hand.

##### b) As a but Herakles sets his foot on the pithos shoulder or rim, or on a rock beside it (2132).

H. appears about to drop the boar into the pithos. Attendant figures, usually including Athena.

*Attic bf. vases*

**2122.\*** Amphora. London, BM B 162. From Vulci. - *ABV* 306, 29; Swing P.; *CVA* 3 pl. 28 (148), 2a; Böhr, *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) no. 20 pl. 23a. - About 530 B.C. - H. is naked; to r. Athena, to l. a man speaking to a youth. (B = Iolaos 49.)

**2123.** Neck amphora. Luzern market. - *Para* 120, 52bis: Antimenes P.; *ArsAntiqua* 2, 1960, no. 140 pl. 56. - About 520 B.C. - H. with quiver and bow; to l. Iolaos with club, sword and bow, to r. Athena. Iolaos and Athena appear also on: Neck amphora, Villa Giulia 15537; *ABV* 269, 47; *CVA* 1 pl. 3 (7), 1. Neck amphora fr., Heidelberg S 180; *ABV* 692; *CVA* 1 pl. 34, 4. Neck amphora, New York 06.1021.88; *ABV* 282, 1; *CVA* 4 pl. 26. Neck amphora, Tarquinia 1503; *Para* 145, 5bis; *CVA* 1 pl. 10, 1-2. Amphora, London BM B 161 (= Athena 518\*). Univ. Mississippi 1977.3.63; *AJA* 60, 1956, pl. 8, 36, 40. Copenhagen NM 3858; *ABV* 290, 1; *CVA* 3 pl. 107, 2.

**2124.\*** Neck amphora. Naples, Mus. Naz. SA 186. - *ABV* 270, 51: Antimenes P.; Benton 84 no. 28 fig. 20. - 520-510 B.C. - H. in tunic, club below at l., at l. Athena, at r. a woman. The woman may be Eurystheus' mother (Kalliphobe?) or wife or daughter Admete. She appears also on: Neck amphora, Brussels R 291; *ABV* 270, 52; *Add* 70; *CVA* 1 pl. 8 (21), 1b. Neck amphora, New York, 41.162.190; *ABV* 287, 1; *CVA* 4 pl. 27. Column crater, Villa Giulia 814; *CVA* 2 pl. 15 (52), 3. Baltimore WAG 48.253. Munich 1561 (= Admete 2\*). Malibu 86.AE.83; *CVA* 1 pl. 33, 4. The accompanying woman is Artemis (named) on the neck amphora, Madrid 10914; *ABV* 336, 18; *CVA* 1 pls. 17 (35), 1; 18 (36), 1.

**2125.** Neck amphora. Paris, Louvre F 202. From Vulci. - *ABV* 274, 119: Antimenes P.; *Add* 71; *CVA* 4 pl. 39 (205), 4; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* pl. 78. - About 510 B.C. - At l. Iolaos with club; at r. Hermes.

**2126.** (= Hermes 508b\*) Neck amphora. Paris, Louvre F 59. - *ABV* 259, 15; manner of Lysippides P.; *CVA* 4 pl. 30 (196), 8; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* pl. 67; Schefold, *SB* II fig. 121. - About 510 B.C. - At r. Athena and Hermes. Hermes and a woman appear also on the neck amphora, Warsaw 198042; *Para* 126, 1 bis; *CVA* 1 pls. 15, 16.

**2127.** Calyx crater. Leningrad, Hermitage 1522 (240a). - *ABV* 284, 10; near Group of Toronto 305; *AntK* 7. Beih. pl. 24, 4; Gorbunova no. 52. - About 510 B.C. - H. with quiver; at l. Iolaos with club and a woman behind him; at r. Athena, Hermes and a woman. Dionysos attends also on the hydria, Detroit 1964.148; *Para* 164, 11bis.

**2128.\*** Cup. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 457. - *AntK* 7. Beih. 40 pls. 21-23; *CVA* 1 pl. 36, 5. - 520-510 B.C. - At r. Athena, the club upright in front of her.

*Attic rf. vases*

**2129.** Cup. Paris, Louvre G 17. - *ARV* 62, 83; Olotos; *Para* 327; *CVA* 10 pls. 5-6; Schefold, *SB* II fig. 122. - 520-510 B.C. - H. naked carries the boar with its head to rear. At l. Athena; at r. Kalliphobe (named, not known from lit. sources), mother of Eurystheus, and behind her Sthenelos, his father, also named.

**2130.** Cup. London, BME 44. From Vulci. - *ARV* 318, 2: Onesimos; *Para* 358; *Add* 214; *FR* pl. 23; *AM* 77, 1962 Beil. 37. - 490-480 B.C. - From l. to r., H. naked with sword and wearing lionskin, carries the boar with its head to rear. Bow and quiver on a tree.

Behind the pithos a woman and man (Kalliphoë and Sthenelos?).

**2131.\*** Column crater. Palermo, Mus. Reg. 2083 (V 786). From Selinus. - CVA I pl. 40. - About 480 B.C. - H. naked, with lionskin.

**2132.** Cup. Ostwestfalen, D. J. Collection. - Fischer, S., *Boreas* 8, 1985, pl. 20, 2; *Gr. Vasen aus Westfäl. Sammlungen* (ed. B. Korzus, 1984) no. 92; Jena P. - About 400 B.C. - Young H. naked, club behind him, carries the boar head-first to a pithos, placing his l. foot on a rock beside it. No Eurystheus visible.

#### Reliefs

**2133.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1705\*\* with bibl.) Marble metope from temple of Zeus, Olympia. - Ashmole/Yalouris, o.c. 1705, fig. 174. - 460-450 B.C.

**2134.** (= Dodekathlos] 1706\*\* with bibl.) Marble metope from Hephaisteion, Athens. - 445 B.C. - Koch, o.c. 1706, 118-119 pl. 19, IV. - 445 B.C.

On 2135 and 2136 it is not clear whether the scheme is a or b:

**2135.** Clay metope fr. Athens, NM. From Kalydon. - Dyggve, E., *Das Laphrion* (1948) 160-161, 2, A, a pls. 19, 20. - About 600 B.C. - H.(?) carries the boar. The man's head and centre part of the boar are preserved.

**2136.** Bronze shield band. Olympia Mus. B 1685. From Olympia. - Kunze, *Schildbänder VIII* 105-106 pl. 24. - About 560 B.C. - Only the hind legs of the boar and perhaps part of a foreleg and one of Eurystheus' arms.

#### UNCERTAIN

**2137.** Bronze statue. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. From Tarsus. - Devambez, P., *Grands bronzes du Mus. de Stamboul* (1937) pls. 8-12; Ridgway, B. S., *Fifth Cent. Style* (1981) 243 figs. 156-159. - Roman copy of an original of 460-450 B.C. - Torso and head of a naked youth with raised bent arm. In the l. hand part of an animal tail, on the l. shoulder traces of animal feet (?). The r. arm was also raised, to judge from the shoulder.

**2138.** Neck amphora, Campanian rf. Marseille, Mus. Borély, 2869. - LCS I 667, 5: Owl-Pillar Group; Benton 67 no. 5; *ArchEph* 1974, pl. 47a. - 3rd quarter of 5th cent. B.C. - A young traveller, before him a bearded head rising from a pithos.

#### 6. Unknown scheme (literary sources only)

**2139.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1710) Metope on the Temple of Herakles at Thebes. - 4th cent. B.C.

**2140.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1709) Statue by Lysippus at Alyzia. - Late 4th cent. B.C.

#### ROMAN

#### 7. Herakles carries the boar on his l. shoulder.

H. naked but for the lionskin on his l. shoulder, carries the boar feet-up.

**2141.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1756\*) Silver relief bowl. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Pompeii. - Augustan.

**2142.** Prase intaglio. Aquileia, Mus. Naz. 26320. From Aquileia. - Sena Chiesa, *GA* no. 477 pl. 24. - 1st cent. A.D.

**2143.\*** Marble relief. New York, MMA 13.60. - Richter, *CatSculpture* pl. 23d no. 24. - Copy of Greek original (?) - H. with club in r. hand runs to l.

**2144.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1730\*) Marble sarcophagus, Asiatic. Rome, Mus. Torlonia 420. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. - H. holds club in lowered r. hand. Cf. also [Dodekathlos] 1713; and the sarcophagus fr., Sotheby, 10 Dec. 1984, no. 278, where H. is seen from behind.

**2145.** Marble relief fr. Cluj, Mus. 168. From Sarmizegetusa. - Alicu, D., et al., *Figured Monuments from S.* (1979) 75-76 no. 36 pl. 9b. - 3rd cent. A.D. - Fr. with upper part of H., frontal, holding the small boar before him. With other Labours - Lion, Kerberos (?), Bull, Hesperides (?), Hydra.

**2146.** AE coins, rev. a)\* Herakleia Pontou, Septimius Severus. - *RecGén* I 2, 362, 107-107bis pl. 58, 20; Voegtli pl. 3a. - b) Herakleia Pontou, Caracalla. - *RecGén* I 2, 366, 132; Voegtli pl. 14 d. - c) Herakleia Pontou, Maximinus Thrax. - *RecGén* I 2, 374, 193 pl. 61, 4; Bräuer pl. 2, 18. - d) Kallatis, Severus Alexander. - Voegtli pl. 3b. - e) Nikaia, Marcus Aurelius. - *RecGén* I 3, 419, 160 pl. 70, 25; Voegtli pl. 3c. - f) Tomis, Elagabalus. - Voegtli pl. 3e. - H. runs l.

**2147.\*** Rock crystal statuette. Baltimore, WAG 42.208. - *JWalt* 2, 1939, 113-117 figs. 1-3, 5; *GettyMusJ* 10, 1982, 151 fig. 9. - 4th/5th cent. A.D.

**2148.\*** Marble statuette. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 81. - Bol, C., *Bildwerke aus Stein und Stuck; Katalog, Antike Bildwerke I* (1983) 193 fig. 59, 1-2. - 1st/2nd cent. A.D. - Parts of H.'s legs and r. arm missing, with parts of the boar's head, and legs. The creature has been reworked but the identification is clear from the short tail and hind legs. It lies on its side on H.'s shoulder. Cf. the Vatican group, Helbig<sup>4</sup> I no. 111.

#### 8. Herakles brings the boar on his left shoulder to Eurystheus

a) As 7, Herakles approaching the pithos where Eurystheus has hidden, usually raising his hands

Cf. Greek section 5.

**2149.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1737, = Admete 5, = Amazones 140\*) Marble relief. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6683. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - H. has club in r. hand. A woman (?) in the pithos.

**2150.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1714\*, = Admete 3\*) Marble sarcophagus, Roman. Velletri, Mus. Civ. From Velletri. - Late Hadrianic. - A woman in the pithos.

**2151.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1718\*) Marble sarcophagus, Roman. Florence, Uff. 145. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. - H.'s club between his legs. Cf. also [Dodekathlos] 1716, 1717, 1719-1722.

**2152.** Marble sarcophagus, Roman. Vatican, Belvedere. - *SarkRel* III 1 no. 129 pl. 39. - 3rd cent. A.D.

**2153.\*** AE coins, rev. a)\* Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. - Voegtli pl. 12 f. - b) Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. - Voegtli pl. 3 f. - c) Perinthos, Septimius Severus. - Bräuer pl. 2, 17; Schönerf., o.c. 2087, 183, 521 pl. 30. - The boar feet-down. - d) Perinthos, Geta. - Schönerf., o.c. 2087, 212-213, 661 pl. 40; Voegtli pl. 13c.

**2154.** Carnelian intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 7572. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 46, 6. - 1st cent. A.D.

**2155.\*** Marble relief. Constantza, Arch. Mus. 5450. From Tomis. - Canarache, V., *Arch. Mus. von Konstanza* (1969) 68, fig.; Froning, *Schmuckreliefs* 42-43 n. 59. - 1st cent. A.D.

**2156.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1741\*) Mosaic. Madrid, Arch. Mus. From Liria. - 3rd cent. A.D.

**2157.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1727) Silver cup relief. Athens, NM Br. 7484. - 3rd/4th cent. A.D.

**2158.** Marble relief. Venice, S. Mark's. - *MetMusStud* 4, 1933, 230 fig. 4; *BCH* 66/67, 1942/3, 153; Deichmann, F. W., *Ravenna, Gesch. und Mon.* (1969) 78. - Late antique.

#### b) As a but Herakles has his foot on the pithos rim

**2159.\*** Painting. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9006. From Herculaneum, Basilica. - Reinach, *RépPeint* 192, 5; 112. *BerlWPr* 48 n. 57, 67. - Flavian. - H. with club in raised r. hand.

**2160.\*** Marble coffer relief. Izmir, Basmahane.

#### c) As a but Eurystheus out of sight in the pithos

**2161.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1715\*) Marble sarcophagus, Roman. Once Rome. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. - H.'s club between his legs.

**2162.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1752\*) Marble sarcophagus, Roman. London, BM 2300. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. - H.'s club in raised r. hand. Cf. [Dodekathlos] 1723.

**2163.\*** (= 2226b) Mosaic. Paros. - *Ergon* 1963, 145 fig. 157; *BCH* 88, 1964, 809 figs. 3-4; 812 figs. 6-8; *Prakt* 1967 pl. 219. - About 400 A.D. - H. with club in r. hand.

#### 9. Various

**2164.** (= 3509\*) Clay lamp. London, BM Q 921. - A.D. 30-70. - H. naked, holds lionskin in l. hand, club in r. resting on a small boar by his r. leg; Mercury and Fortuna.

**2165.\*** Clay lamp. Dresden, Staatl. Kunsts. ZV 653. - *AA* 1889, 167 fig. - 1st cent. A.D. - H. naked, with cloak on l. shoulder, holds club in l. hand, a stone in raised r., with which to drive the boar from its cave.

**2166.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1746) Marble relief. Corinth Mus. From Corinth, theatre. - Hadrianic. - H. facing l. naked, leans on his club in his r. hand and looks at the sleeping boar.

**2167.** Carnelian intaglio. Once Tyszkiewicz Coll. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 43, 37. - 1st cent. B.C. - H. naked in three-quarter back view, club in r. hand, before him the dead boar and lionskin.

**2168.** AE coin, Sebastopolis-Herakleopolis, Julia

Domna. - *RecGén* I 1, 143, 11; Voegtli pl. 3d; Bräuer pl. 2, 20. - Rev.: H. naked carries the boar in his two hands before him.

**2169.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1743\*) Mosaic. Piazza Armerina, Villa Erculia. - Early 4th cent. A.D. - No H.; the boar is stuck head-first in the pithos.

**2170.** (= 530\*) Silver group. Augst, Römermus. 83.17139 - 2nd cent. A.D. - H. stands beside small boar (the Erymanthian?).

#### 10. Allusion to the Labour

Roman copyists may add a dead boar to statues of H., an attribute or allusion to the Labour.

**2171.** AE quadrans, Rome, 217-215 B.C. - Crawford, *RRC* no. 39/2 pl. 7. - Obv.: Head of H. wearing boarskin. (The boar's tusks were in Cumae: Paus. 8, 24, 5). Obv.: bull charging.

**2172.** AE medallion, Rome, Commodus, A.D. 192. - Gnechchi, *Medaglioni* II 55, 33-34 pl. 80, 5-6; Kent/Hirmer, *RömMünzpl.* XV, 369; Toynbee, J. M. C., *Roman Medallions* (1986<sup>2</sup>) 74.132.220 pl. 43, 3. - Rev.: H./Commodus, crowned, in three quarter back view (cf. 2167) holds quiver and bow in l. hand, club in r. He stands between rocks on which are displayed a lionskin and a boarskin.

**2173.** Nicolo intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 8240. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 59. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - H. stands frontal, club on ground, beside a rock on which appears the forepart of a boar, and over which sits a small male figure («Berggott?» - Furtwängler). Cf. also a relief from the Aphrodisias Sebasteion (unpublished).

#### COMMENTARY

Unexpectedly, the principal theme in the Archaic period is not the fight with the boar but its carrying-off, alive, an important element in the literary sources also. The earliest scenes are not Attic (2135, 2136) but their fragmentary state means that we cannot tell exactly which scheme they represent, only that H. is carrying the boar on his l. shoulder belly-up (2135) or legs-up (2136), but not whether this was part of a bigger composition. Just before the mid century two schemes crystallise. In one H. carries the boar on his l. shoulder, head to rear (2108, 2110) or forward (2109, 2112), legs up. This is seen first on an Attic cup of about 560 (2108) then in the mid 6th century (2109) and remains popular throughout the Archaic period though less popular than the second scheme. The latter is the most characteristic with H. bringing the boar on his shoulder to Eurystheus who has hidden in fear in a pithos, first mentioned in literature in Diod. 4, 12, 2 and presumably the same vessel, a bronze vase, which other sources say he prepared against H.'s return with the Nemean lion (see Lit. Sources to H. and Lion). Most scenes of this type belong to one of two successive variants: on 2113-2121 H. approaches the pithos in which Eurystheus is hiding, on 2122-2134 he sets



his foot on the pithos ready to drop the boar in. The type appears fully first in the Peloponnese by the mid 6th cent. (2114, 2118, 2136) where it may have been devised (Kunze, *Schildbänder* 104–106). It also appears early elsewhere in Greece (2135) and in the west (2113). In Attica it appears first about 530 (2115, 2116) and is never quite forgotten (2120, 2121) elsewhere, but about the end of the third quarter of the 6th cent. Attic vases adopt the second variant, which is the more dramatic. A few examples just before 500 have the boar's head to the rear (2129, 2130; New York 41.162.190, *ABV* 287, 1, *Add*<sup>2</sup> 75; Madrid 10914; *ABV* 336, 18). The Attic scenes are usually enhanced by other figures: seldom Athena alone (2128), and she is usually with Iolaos (2123), Hermes (2126; cf. →Hermes 507, 508), Artemis (Madrid 10914 *ABV* 336, 18), Dionysos (Detroit 1964.148, *Para* 164, 11bis) or figures such as Eurystheus' mother (2124, 2129, 2130) or father (2129, 2130). Less commonly Hermes alone appears with one of the figures named (2125); there are rarely mere bystanders (2122, 2127). That gods attend tells against a humorous interpretation of the scheme (Brommer, *Herakles* 19; contra, Herrmann, H. V., *Olympia* [1967] 27–28). This is the standard type for Attic vases for the rest of the 6th cent. and on a few late Archaic rf. vases (2129, 2131).

The end of the 6th cent. sees a loosening of the standard formula and admixture of other schemes, none long-lived. So, H. may trundle the boar on its forelegs, usually in Athena's presence (2102, 2103), or with Iolaos and Hermes (Würzburg 182, *ABV* 327, 4). The image seems related to that used for animal offerings (Deubner, L., *Att. Feste* [1932] 44 pl. 2; Wegner, M., in *Aparchai, Studi P. E. Arias* [1982] 201 type 1; cf. also 1410). The association with animal offering recalls other Attic scenes with H. (1332\*). On 2105 the scheme is combined with a fleeing Eurystheus and empty pithos, but on 2106 there is the empty pithos alone, which recalls the Pholos episode with the wine pithos, while on 2107, where Eurystheus again appears, the rock beyond the empty vases again recalls the setting of Pholos. The fighting schemes of other Labours are also borrowed, with attack with weapons from the front (2097–2100), behind (2102) or side (2101). Wrestling is especially popular in the Haimon Group (2093–2095); the weapon is usually the club (2095) and on this vase there is a further reminiscence of another H. episode in the Amazons at either side (Bothmer, *Amazons* 106). The Classical period brings no novelty and of the Olympia metopes 2133 is the only one that exactly observes the Archaic scheme (Herrmann, *o. c.* 144). The few examples, singletons or in a series, use one or other of the basic Archaic types (2111, 2121, 2132, 2134). Nor does the Hellenistic bring anything basically new, but prefers H. alone with the boar (2112). Unusual types appear on relief vases whence, perhaps encouraged by the mould-technique, alien schemes are adopted for the Labour: thus on 2096 where the identity is based on the other H. Labours on the same vase. Confrontations with a boar with weapons are characteristic of scenes involving Meleager or Theseus and these types,

even where anonymous, can probably always be ignored in considering H. and the boar. It is also possible for a boar-hunter to adopt a Heraklean pose, without being identified necessarily as H. Compare, for example, the H. with the Hydra on the guttus, Louvre H 263 (*CVA* 15 pl. 28 [1016], 12) with the boar hunter on Louvre MR 609 (*ibid.* pl. 28, 3).

The two basic Greek types remain popular in Roman art. One group has H. carrying the boar feet-up (on its side, 2148), the hero usually with a club (2141–2145); another has Eurystheus in his pithos (2149–2158). The narrative connection between the two is often lost, however (though on 2159 H. has his foot on the pithos in the old manner) and generally the appearance is of a poorly interrelated set-piece. It is not surprising that in some scenes Eurystheus is no longer visible in his pithos (2161, 2162) or that he might be replaced by a woman, his mother, wife or daughter (2150, cf. 2149 and →Admete 3–5). 2166 seems novel, where the boar appears sleeping, and 2169 where we have only the boar with its head stuck in the pithos; but these are exceptional and isolated. Other arts, perhaps more readily influenced by literature or the stage, abandon traditional schemes and show new aspects of the story: on 2165 H. drives the boar from its cave; on 2168 he carries it before him; on 2167 it lies at his feet; on 2164 Mercury and Fortuna attend and the boar at H.'s feet defines the Labour. The boar-skin as dress is implied in 2171, 2172, as in Martial. In general, however, the role of the Labour in Roman art is mainly confined to its appearances in the Dodekathalon.

WASSILIKI FELTEN

#### E. Herakles and the Kerynitian Deer (Labour IV)

H. has to capture the deer with the golden antlers, sacred to Artemis, and bring it to Eurystheus at Mycenae.

LITERARY SOURCES: A central feature of the literary record is the long pursuit of the deer before its capture. Pindar (*O.* 3, 25–32) following Peisandros (Davies *EGFF* 4) has H. follow the deer to Isthia. In Eur. *Herc.* 378 he kills it. The later record deals with the adventure as one of the Labours and generally agrees that the deer was brought live to Mycenae: Diod. 4, 13, 1; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (81–82) 5, 3; Hyg. *fab.* 30, 5. The capture was effected with nets (Diod.) or after a hunt (Pind.) to which Diod. adds that the beast was either asleep or exhausted. In Apollod. he follows the deer for a whole year and wounds it before capturing it, incurring thereby the wrath of Apollo and Artemis, which he appeases since he was acting under orders from Eurystheus. The deer is dedicated to Artemis in all sources from Pindar on (where Taygete dedicates it): Pherekyd. (*FGrH* 3 F 71); Q. Smyrn. 6, 225–226; Tzetz. *chil.* 2, 265–267; in Eur. *Herc.* 377–379 he dedicates it to Artemis after killing it.

Most sources agree on the unnatural feature that the deer (called *δορκάς* in Eur. *Herc.* 376 but otherwise *ἐλαφος*), though female, had antlers, and gold at that: Pind. *O.* 3, 29; Eur. *TGF*<sup>2</sup> *fig.* 740, 2; Peisandros *l. c.*;

Pherekyd. *l. c.*; Diod. *l. c.*; Apollod. *l. c.*; Q. Smyrn. *l. c.*; Tzetz. *l. c.* Eur. *Herc.* 375 calls it *χρυσόκάρανον*. Hyg. *l. c.* is the exception in making it male. Eur. *Herc.* 376 and the *Tabula Albana* (*FGrH* 401 F 1c) say it was dappled. There are few other details about the deer. Eur. *TGF*<sup>2</sup> *fig.* 740, 3 says the Labour was dangerous and in *Herc.* 377 that the deer had laid waste fields; and too Q. Smyrn. 6, 226, who adds that it had a fiery breath. Its speed is remarked by Diod. *l. c.*, Q. Smyrn. 6, 223 and Serv. *Aen.* 6, 802.

The home of the deer and setting for the capture are variously named. Pind. *O.* 3, 26 has the capture in Isthia and the lands of the Hyperboreans but in the course of time the Peloponnese becomes the setting for the Labour. In Eur. *Herc.* 378 H. dedicates the dead deer at Oinoe in the Peloponnese. In Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (81) 5, 3 the deer was in the temple of Artemis at Oinoe and H. follows it to Mount Artemision and the river Ladon. In Hyg. *l. c.* it lives in Arcadia and Sen. *Ag.* 831 calls it *cerva Parrhasis*, i. e., Arcadian. The epithet Kerynitian appears first in Apollod. *l. c.* followed by Herakleitos *all.* 33 p. 49, 6 Oelmann and Serv. *Aen.* 6, 802. This must indicate its origin, either the Achaean town Keryneia or a mountain of the same name (Kall. *h.* 3, 109) where there lived a deer sacred to Artemis which was then identified as the one fought by H. (cf. Gruppe 1037; Bölte, F., *RE* XI 1, 347; Schefold, *SB* II 101).

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#### CATALOGUE

H. wears a short chiton, lionskin, quiver and bow, with sword, unless otherwise stated. The catalogue is selective, especially of Attic vases.

#### GREEK

##### 1. Struggle over the deer

See also →Apollon 1045–1053, →Artemis 1314–1317, and discussion.

##### a) Herakles and Apollo face each other and fight over the deer

2174. (= Apollon 1045, = Artemis 1315\* with

bibl.) Plate, Attic bf. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1934.333. From Attica. – *ABV* 115, 4; manner of Lydos; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 32. – About 560 B. C. – Deer with no antlers; behind it a woman in long dress who seems to mediate between the contestants, who draw their bows.

2175.\* Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Vatican 390. – Albizzati 1, fig. 2; Albizzati no. 390 figs. 113–115. – 510–500 B. C. – H. faces l. with club in r. hand holding the antler-less deer by its hind legs. Apollo tries to take it from him; behind him Artemis with bow. Behind H. Athena.

##### b) Herakles and Apollo face the same way

2176. Amphora, Attic bf. Once Basseggio. – *NotSc* 1919, 21 fig. 6; Apostolaki fig. 7; Kenner 48; Robert, *Hermeneutik* fig. 210. – About 520 B. C. – H. moves r. with club in raised l. hand, holding the antler-less deer by the hind leg while Apollo tries to take it from him, pursuing him. Behind Apollo, Artemis; at r. Athena.

2177.\* (= Artemis 1316) Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 199. – *ABV* 287, 5; group of Würzburg 199; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 75; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* no. 199 pl. 55; Kenner, 48; Brommer 3 pl. 15b; Bruns, G., *Die Jägerin Artemis* (1929) 33 pl. 2, 6; Albizzati fig. 6. – About 510 B. C. – Apollo moves r. trying to take the antlered deer from H. who carries it on his back. At r. Athena, at l. Artemis.

2178.\* (= Apollon 1049 with bibl.) Amphora, Attic bf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 3871. – *ABV* 383, 2; Acheloos P.; *Para* 168; Albizzati 1, fig. 8. – 510–500 B. C. – Naked H. moves r., lionskin over head and shoulder, club in l. hand, with the r. he seizes the foreleg of the antler-less deer which Apollo tries to seize from him. At the r. Hermes running. Cf. the oinochoe fr. Heidelberg Univ. 260; *CVA* 1 pl. 40, 4.

2179. Amphora, Attic rf. Vienna, Univ. 631a. From Orvieto. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 54, 3; Oltos; *CVA* pls. 7, 8; Kenner 41 fig. 20; Albizzati fig. 5. – About 500 B. C. – H. moves l. holding the antler-less deer under his l. arm, club in his raised r. hand. Behind him Apollo, with bow, tries to take the deer. At l. Athena, at r. Artemis.

2180. Kyathos, Attic bf. Leiden, Rijksmus. PC 42. From Vulci. – *CVA* 2 pl. 66, 1–4. – 500–490 B. C. – H. runs r. with club in raised l. hand and deer in r., antler-less, which Apollo tries to take from him. At r. and l. a seated man and a winged figure; at extreme l. Hermes and part of a figure at extreme r. Cf. also the bf. kyathos, Rome, Villa Giulia (*Para* 314; Caylus P.; *ArchCl* 19, 1967, pl. 98, 1) with a Dionysos at either side.

##### 2. Herakles catches the deer

##### a) Running

(i) H. runs behind or beside the deer taking its antler, or occasionally muzzle.

2181.\* Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Cerveteri, Mus. From Cerveteri. – Schauenburg pl. 4 fig. 9; Timiades



P. (v. Bothmer). – About 560 B.C. – H. runs to l. beside the deer, his l. arm round its neck, its antler in his r. Before him Aphrodite enthroned, then Hermes and Ares mounted (all named; the deer *elaphos*); behind him Artemis and Apollo (named) and a seated woman (Leto?).

**2182.** Cup, Attic bf. Kiel, Private. – Schauenburg, pl. 1 fig. 1. – About 550 B.C. – H. runs r. naked, beside the deer holding its antler in his r. hand pulling its head back, and holding its r. foreleg in his l. hand.

**2183.** (= Athena 511\*) Neck-amphora, Attic bf. London, BM B 231. From Vulci. – *ABV* 139, 10: near Group E; *CVA* 4 pl. 57 (202) 1a; Hampe 43 fig. 20; Apostolaki 332 fig. 4; Brommer 3, pl. 15a. – About 530 B.C. – H. strides r. beside the deer breaking off its antler. At l. Athena with sword, at r. Artemis with bow.

**2184.\*** Amphora, Attic bf. Toledo 1958.69. – *Para* 168, 2bis: Acheloos, P.; *Add* 101; *CVA* 1 pl. 14; *Mid-western Colls* no. 73 pl. 4; *BSA* 77, 1982, pl. 8. – About 510 B.C. – H. strides r. beside the deer (on A behind it, on B in front) and holds its antlers in both hands. At r. Athena, running. Tree and club stand at the centre on A, at the l. on B.

Cf. also bf. skyphos fr., Thasos, Limenas 1117; *ABL* 250, 20: Theseus P.; *Et. Thasiennes* VII 35, 75; and the bf. lekythos, Eretria Mus.; *AAA* 1981, 33 fig. 3.

**2185.** Pelike fr., Attic rf. Basel, Cahn Coll. HC 190. – *Para* 347, 73bis: Eucharides P.; Brommer 1 pl. 27, 4-5. – 480-470 B.C. – H. naked, with quiver and club in lowered r. hand, holds the antler-less deer by the muzzle.

(ii) As (i) but identification uncertain.

**2186.** (= Apollon 1046\*) Amphora, Attic bf. London, BM B 169. From Vulci. – *ABV* 306, 37: Swing P.; *CVA* 3 pl. 31 (151), 3b; Apostolaki 333 fig. 3; Parke/Boardman 280; *Jdl* 85, 1970, 37 fig. 4; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmalen* (1982) 40 no. 45 pl. 47. – About 530 B.C. – Youth in short chiton with bow (H.? Apollo?) holds the antler. At l. a man; at r. a youth and man.

**2187.** Amphora, Attic bf. New York, Rockefeller Coll. – *ABV* 306, 40: Swing P.; *Para* 132; Böhr, o.c. **2186**, no. 46 pl. 48; *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 122 fig. 1. – 530-520 B.C. – Man in short chiton with spear in r. hand (H.?) holds the antler with his l. hand. To r. Hermes.

## b) Fighting

(i) Without weapons. H. naked, usually kneels to the r. with his l. knee on the fallen deer, holding its antlers or ears in both hands, or less often holding antler and muzzle.

**2188.** Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Rome, Ant. For. From Rome. – *ABV* 517, 2; *MemLinc* 15, 1905, 263 fig. 105. – Early 5th cent. B.C. – Held by the ears.

**2189.\*** Cup, Attic rf. Paris, Louvre G 263. – *ARV* 2 341, 89: Antiphon P.; Brommer 3, pl. 17; *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 123 fig. 3. – About 480 B.C. – Sword and

club in background. At the r. a youth with bow and arrow (Apollo? Iolaos?). The deer held by one antler, as to break it.

**2190.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1705\*\* with bibl.) Marble metope from temple of Zeus, Olympia. – Ashmole/Yalouris, o.c. 1705, 182 pl. 172. – 460-450 B.C. – H. to the l. holds the deer by antler and muzzle.

**2191.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1706\*\* with bibl.) Marble metope from temple of Hephaistos, Athens. – Koch, o.c. 1706, pl. 19. – About 445 B.C. – H. to the r. holds the deer by antler and muzzle.

**2192.** Gold or gilt statue described in *Anth. Pal.* 16, 96. H. has his knee on the deer's flank and holds its antlers; the beast gasps, with lolling tongue. Sometimes associated with Lysippus; cf. Moreno, P., *Lisippo* (1974) 172-173.

**2193.\*** Gold relief rhyton. Plovdiv, Arch. Mus. From Panaguriste. – *AntK* 3, 1960, 17-18 fig. 5; *Gold der Thraker* (Ausstellungskat. 1979) no. 365. – Late 4th.-early 3rd cent. B.C. – H. to the l. The deer held by the antlers.

**2194.\*** (= 2696) Clay relief cup. Athens, Agora P 19881. From Athens. – Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 95 pl. 64, 2; *Agora XXI* no. 187 pl. 35, 1. – 225-175 B.C. – The deer held by the antlers. Cf. the relief cup, Athens, NM 12618; Hausmann, o.c. 96 pl. 65, 2, and the fr., *Agora XXI* no. 281.

**2195.** Relief guttus. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1206. – Pagenstecher, *Calen* 97 fig. 44 no. 189b. – 250-180 B.C. – The deer held by the antlers. Also Villa Giulia 50567, Jentel, *Gutti* fig. 128.

(ii) With weapons. H. holds a club in his r., the deer's neck, muzzle or antler in his l. hand.

**2196.** (= Apollon 1051\* with bibl.) Oinochoe, Attic rf. Agrigento, Mus. Reg. V 1568. – Lezzi-Hafter pl. 30; Eretria P. – About 430 B.C. – The antler-less deer held by the neck. To l. Artemis, to r. Apollo, both with bows. Cf. also the rf. pelike, Leningrad; Scheffold, *UKV* no. 504.

**2197.\*** (= Apollon 1053, = Artemis 1317) Calyx crater, Attic rf. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 303. – *ARV* 2 1184, 6: Kadmos P.; *CVA* 4 pl. 83 (1237), 2; Lezzi-Hafter 87-88; *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 123 fig. 4; Vollkommer 7 fig. 11. – About 420 B.C. – The antler-less deer held by the muzzle. At the l. Athena and a youth in travelling dress, at the r. Artemis. Delphi is indicated by a temple facade where bow and quiver hang, tripod, altar and palm.

**2198.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1708\* with bibl.) Marble votive relief. From Sunium. – *Hesperia* 10, 1941, 172-175, 186-189 figs. 5-7; Brommer 3, 58; Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 86; Voegtli 28. – 4th cent. B.C.

**2199.** Relief plate fr. Paris, Louvre H 264 (Camp. 3139). – Pagenstecher, *Calen* 29 no. 12; *CVA* 15 pl. 28 (1016), 1. – 220-175 B.C.

(iii) Scheme as (i) and (ii) but uncertain whether H. holds antler or club.

**2200.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1703\*) Marble metope

from Athenian Treasury at Delphi. – Early 5th cent. B.C.

## c) Herakles and Athena with deer

**2201.** (= 3082) Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. GR 28.1864 (49). From Vulci. – *ABV* 316, 1: Class of Cambridge 49; *CVA* 1 pl. 11 (249), 1b. – About 520 B.C. – H. with club in hand stands facing Athena. Behind H. antlered deer. Cf. the bf. neck-amphora, Louvre F 272; *ABV* 383, 6: Leagros Group.

**2202.\*** Amphora, Attic bf. London, BM B 198. From Vulci. – *ABV* 283, 12: Group of Toronto 305; *CVA* 3 pl. 39 (159), 1a. – About 510 B.C. – H. with club and bow in hands faces Athena. Beside Athena antler-less deer. Cock-columns at either side.

## d) Herakles attacks the deer with weapons, from the front

**2203.\*** Mastos, Attic wg. Munich, Antikenslg. 2003. – Haspels, *ABL* 105: near Sappho and Diosphos P.; Kenner 47; Scheffold, *SBII* 102 fig. 124; Brommer 3, pl. 13b; *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 122 fig. 2. – Late 6th cent. B.C. – Naked H. with club in r. hand holds the deer by a foreleg. On side B he pursues it.

## e) Various

**2204.** (= 2700\*, = Hesperides 6 with bibl.) Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 421. – Apostolaki 331 fig. 3; Robert, *Hermeneutik* fig. 211; Meuli pl. 38; *HDHG* (Rouen) no. 98b. – 520-510 B.C. – H. to the l. with club followed by antlered deer. Behind him two women (Hesperides?) and an apple tree.

## f) Uncertain

(i) Possibly hunting scenes.

**2205.** (= 2020 [B]) Bronze fibula. Philadelphia, Univ. 75-35-1. – Hampe pl. 8; Brommer 3, fig. 6; Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen* 62 J 8. – 700-675 B.C. – A: A helmeted man holds a suckling deer by an antler and attacks it with a spear in his l. hand.

**2206.** Askos, Italo-geometric. New York, Schimmel Coll. – Brommer 2, fig. 2; Camporeale, G., *La caccia in Etruria* (1984) pl. 2b; Canciani, F., in *CerEtr* 246-248 no. 11 fig. – Early 7th cent. B.C. – A hunter with spear attacks a deer. Between them an ornament or net (?) to which the animal is driven. Canciani doubts the identification.

**2207.** Glass intaglio. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 126. From Cyprus. – *AGD* II no. 129 pl. 31. – 600-575 B.C. – An archer shoots at a collapsing deer with antlers and wings.

**2208.** Relief pillar. Sparta, Mus. From Slavochori. – *AM* 29, 1904, pl. 2; Tod, M.N./Wace A.J.B., *Cat. Sparta Mus.* (1906) no. 655 fig. 54; Langlotz, E., *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* (1927) pl. 86a; *idem*, *Stud. zur nordostgr. Kunst* (1975) 169. – Early 5th cent. B.C. – A man with long hair, naked but for chlamys, chases a deer (or hare?), spear (?) in r. hand.

(ii) Fragmentary or of unassignable type.

**2209.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1707) Marble column relief from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. London, BM. – Smith, *BM Sculpture* II no. 1204 pl. 13. – 350-300 B.C. – Part of a deer and a woman who seems to hold its antler.

**2210.** Clay relief vase fr. Volos, Mus. From Pherae. – *AAA* 13, 1980, 263 fig. 2. – Late 3rd/early 2nd cent. B.C. – Naked man to l. seizes antlers of a large beast.

## g) Unknown scheme (literary sources)

**2211.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1710) Pediment by Praxiteles in the temple of H. at Thebes. Lost. – Paus. 9, 11, 6. – 4th cent. B.C.

**2212.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1709) Statue group by Lysippus at Alyzia, taken to Rome. Lost. – Strabon 10, 2, 21 p. 459. See above, 2192. – Late 4th cent. B.C.

## ROMAN

## 3. Herakles fights the deer

### a) Without weapons

H. usually to the r. naked with his knee on the fallen deer, holding its antlers in both hands (sometimes holding the antler and dragging the deer's head back). Cf. above, 2 b i.

**2213.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1756\*) Silver relief cup. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Pompeii. – Maiuri, o.c. 1756, pl. 26 – Augustan.

**2214.\*** Glass intaglio. Munich, Münzslg. – *AGD* I, 2 no. 1254 pl. 131. – 1st cent. A.D.

**2215.\*** Bronze group. Palermo, Mus. Reg. – Studniczka, F., *Artemis und Iphigeneia* (1926) 126 fig. 94; v. Salis, A., 112. *BerlWPr* (1956) 8 fig. 3; Bieber, *Sculpt-Hell* 2 36 fig. 78; Arnold, D., *Jdl Erg.-H.* 25 (1969) 242 pl. 31a; Künzl 140 fig. 20. – 1st cent. A.D.

**2216.\*** Bronze group. Wiesbaden Mus. L 59/23. – *Latomus* 58, 1962, 1387 pl. 277; *Römer am Rhein* (Ausstellungskat. Köln 1967) 219 C 92 pl. 62. – 1st cent. A.D. – The deer lacking.

**2217.** Marble group. Once Campana Coll. – *Adl* 16, 1844, 175; *MonInst* IV pl. 8; Reinach, *RépStat* I 476, 6; Johnson, F.P., *Lysippos* (1968) 191 n. 3; Künzl 142 n. 9. – Early imperial. – The same scheme appears in the marble fr., Rome, Mus. Cap. (*RM* 9, 1894, 334; Stuart Jones, *SculptMusCap* pl. 22, 61; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II no. 1230) and the bronze, Paris, Cab. Méd. (Babelon, E., *Choix, Coll. Caylus* [1928] no. 12 pl. 8; H. to l.).

**2218.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1736\* with bibl.) Marble base. Rome, Mus. Cap. 205. From Albano. – *RM* 77, 1970, pl. 78, 2. – 1st cent. A.D.

**2219.\*** Marble relief. London, BM 2207. – *BrBr* no. 569/570 fig. 3; Künzl 141 n. 5; *RM* 77, 1970, pl. 77. – 1st cent. A.D.

**2220.\*** Marble relief. Dresden, Staatl. Kunstslg. ZV 474 (44). – Studniczka, F., *Artemis und Iphigeneia* (1926) 130 fig. 96; Künzl 141 n. 5. – 1st/2nd cent.

A. D. - H. to l. seizes an antler with one hand and with the other pulls the head of the deer back.

2221. (= [Dodekathlos] 1737) Marble relief. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6683. - Mid 2nd cent. A. D.

2222. (= 1604) Relief pillar. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. 2272 (M 493). From Aphrodisias. - Mendel, *Sculpt II* no. 493; *Jdl* 47, 1932, 206 fig. 3. - Mid 2nd cent. A. D.

2223. Sarcophagi. a) Roman (= [Dodekathlos] 1714\*) Velletri, Mus. Civ. From Velletri. - Late Hadrianic. - b) (= [Dodekathlos] 1732\*) Antalya Mus. 1004. From Perge. - Mid 2nd cent. A. D. - H. to l. - c) Roman (= [Dodekathlos] 1734\*) Florence, Uff. 110. - 150-200 A. D. - d) Asiatic (= [Dodekathlos] 1730\*) Rome, Mus. Torlonia 420. - 200-250 A. D. - e) (= [Dodekathlos] 1731) Rome, Villa Borghese. - 3rd cent. A. D.

2224. Clay lamp. From Kenchreai, inv. 400. - Williams, H., *Kenchreai V* (1981) no. 138 pl. 6 (Roman workshop). - 100-150 A. D. - Cf. also the signed lamp from the same workshop, Mainz, RGZM (Menzel, *AntLampenRGZM* 38 no. 175 fig. 31, 3); and four examples referred to by Williams, *o. c.* on no. 138.

2225. AE coins, rev. a) (= [Dodekathlos] 1760 with bibl.) Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. - Voegtli pls. 3h, 12g. - b) Anchialos, Gordian III. - Voegtli pl. 3j. - H. to l. - c) Kotiaion, Sev. Alexander. - Voegtli pl. 3k. - d) Perinthos, Caracalla. - Voegtli, pls. 3d, 31. - e) Side, Philip II. - Voegtli pl. 3m.

2226.\* Mosaics. a) (= [Dodekathlos] 1741\*) Madrid, Arch. Mus. From Liria. - 3rd cent. A. D. - b)\* (= 2163) Paros Mus. - *Praktika* 1963, 144 fig. 2; Künzl 141; *Ergon* 1963, 141 figs. 154, 158; *BCH* 88, 1964, 812 fig. 6; 814 fig. 8. - Late 3rd/early 4th cent. A. D.

2227.\* Coptic textile. Athens, Benaki Mus. 7146 (212). From Alexandria. - Apostolaki 325-337 figs. 1-2. - 2nd/3rd cent. A. D. - H. to l. naked with lionskin (?) at neck; the deer with antlers to l. head turned back. In front a woman (Artemis?) emerging from an omphalos with a snake around it; she seizes the deer by the neck. At the l. a naked man with mantle over l. arm runs l. with raised r. arm (Apollo?).

2228.\* (= 2256) Clay vase. Athens, Agora P 17877. - *Hesperia* 17, 1948, 183 pl. 64. - 3rd cent. A. D.

2229.\* Marble relief. Ravenna, Mus. Naz. - Deichmann, F. W., *Ravenna, Geschichte und Monumente* (1969) 78. 91. 124 fig. 130; Buschor, E., *Bronzekanne aus Samos* (1944) 19 fig. 1; *EAA VI* 636 fig. 737. - Mid 6th cent. A. D.

2230. Bronze jug. Munich, Antikenslg. From Samos. - Buschor, *o. c.* 2229, pl. 2. - 8th cent. A. D.

#### b) With weapons. Herakles attacks with club; otherwise as a

2231. (= 2298\*) Marble relief. Copenhagen, Glypt. inv. 840. - *Billedtavler* (1907) pl. 19 no. 270. - Early imperial. - H. to l. with lionskin at neck. With 2253. 2298.

2232. AE coins, rev. a) Amorion, Caracalla. -

SNG v. Aulock 3417; Voegtli pl. 3p. - b) Tomis. Elagabalus. - Voegtli pl. 3q.

2233.\* Lead token, Palmyrene. - *RTP* no. 1032 pl. 46.

#### 4. Herakles captures the deer

##### a) Herakles naked, standing or running beside the deer, holding an antler in one hand

2234.\* Bronze group. Geneva, Private. From Asia Minor. - Dörig, J., *Art ant., Suisse Romande* (1975) no. 376. - 1st cent. A. D. - H. runs l. beside the deer, club in lowered l. hand.

2235. AE coin, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. - Voegtli pls. 3n, 12h. - Rev.: H. to l. beside the deer, club in l. hand.

2236. (= [Dodekathlos] 1728\* with bibl.) Gold bell. London, BM 3008. - *BMJewellery* fig. 96. - 200-250 A. D. - H. runs r. beside the deer which is collapsing, holding an antler; club in l. hand.

2237.\* Sardonyx intaglio. Hanover, Kestner Mus. 612. - *AGD IV* no. 1547, pl. 207. - 3rd/4th cent. A. D. - H. with lionskin at back holding club (?) in l. hand.

##### b) Herakles naked, runs r. beside the deer holding its antler in one hand, his club in the other

2238.\* AE coins, Herakleia Pontou, rev. a)\* Sept. Severus. - *RecGén I* 2, 363, 111 pl. 59, 1; Voegtli pl. 30. - b) Maximinus. - *RecGén I* 2, 374, 194 pl. 61, 5; Voegtli pl. 14c.

#### 5. Herakles shoots the deer

2239.\* Glass cameo fr. Boston, MFA 13.212. - Vermeule, C. C., *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art* (1963) 236 fig. 283; v. Saldern, A., *Ancient Glass in the Fine Arts Mus.* (1968) fig. 24. - Early Imperial. - H. naked, to r., with lionskin over head, shoots at the antlered deer leaping before him.

#### 6. Various

2240.\* Marble oscillum. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6636. From Pompeii. - 97. *BerlWPr* (1937) 47 fig. 30; *RM* 88, 1981, 277 no. 74 pl. 112; Corswandt, D., *Oscilla* (1982) 88 no. 67. - 50-79 A. D. - H. to r., naked with lionskin on shoulder, stands with his r. hand on his club, a branch in his l. hand. Beside him a deer.

2240a) (= [Dodekathlos] 1743\*) Mosaic. Piazza Armerina. - 4th cent. A. D. - H. is missing.

#### COMMENTARY

Attic vases provide the main basis for the iconography of the scene in Greek art. Non-Attic versions range from the 7th to 5th cent. (2205-2208) but they

are neither uniform nor do they follow the Attic models; rather, they borrow common hunting scenes for the story. The identification of such scenes is much disputed (Hampe 42-44; Brommer 3, 21, and 2, 479-481; *contra*, Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen* 62; cf. also Brein, F., *Der Hirsch in der gr. Frühzeit* [1969] 150-154) since the hero is not clearly characterised, and the fabulous feature of the female beast with antlers, which is specified for the Kerynitian deer also in literature, can appear also in generic hunt-scenes (cf. the Eretria gold band: Vienna Kunsthst. Mus. M 124; Ohly, D., *Gr. Goldbleche des 8. Jh. vor Chr.* [1969] pl. 13, 2). These scenes therefore play a minor role in study of the subject.

The first mythical scenes which can be associated with the subject (Kenner 47; Beckel 53) show H. disputing possession of a roe, less often a hind, with Apollo (2174-2180). Such scenes probably also appear outside Attica (Kunze, *Schildbänder* 126) but the state of the material involved renders identification uncertain, and we have to rely upon the Attic vase scenes, from 560 on. Two schemes emerge, both current to the end of the century. In the older the deer stands between H. and Apollo (2174, 2175); in the latter which gains popularity in the last quarter of the century, both move in the same direction, H. with the deer under his arm and Apollo trying to take it from him (2176-2180). Athena and Artemis generally support H. and Apollo (2175-2177, 2179), and sometimes Hermes is present (2178, 2180). The identity of the woman on 2174, with no attributes, is uncertain, but in other scenes Artemis takes no part in the action and stands behind her brother, so this is likely to be Athena (Beckel, 53; *contra*, Brommer 3, 23, and → Artemis 1315). Irrelevant figures appear on 2180. In literature Artemis owns the deer but on the vases it is Apollo that fights for it (see also discussion in LIMC II p. 308). Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (82) 5, 3 comes closest in having H. confront both deities (cf. Albizzati 7). Moreover on the scenes (2174-2176, 2178-2180) the deer has no antlers while literature is clear that it had a golden horn, while the scheme is borrowed from a different story, that of the struggle over the tripod. The difference between the literary and artistic treatment of the event has led some to posit a different, lost literary version of the story (Pfuhl, *MuZi* 322; Brommer 3, 23; *contra* Beckel 53, who warns against over-emphasising the differences). Others divorce the episode from that for the Kerynitian deer and assume a story related to that about the tripod (Parke/Boardman; Boardman, *ABFH* 224), the deer (of whatever sex) and tripod being interchangeable objects of dispute (cf. also Schefold, *SB II* 100).

It must not, at any rate, be overlooked, that at the time of these scenes there begin (about 560) in Attica indisputable scenes of the Labour with H. capturing the antlered deer without the use of weapons, as is usually described in literary sources (except Apollod. *l. c.*), and the creature is no longer a mere attribute of the quarrel between god and hero. The development is one observed in other Labours, H. becoming more closely involved with his quarry alone - here the deer.

In the Archaic period there are two successive schemes. The earlier, which runs to soon after 500, has H. moving in the same direction as the deer and seizing its antler. The early scenes are dramatic (2181, 2182) with H. running beside the deer, seizing its antler with one hand and with the other, like a wrestler, taking it by the neck (2181) or foreleg (2182). The compact scheme may be in part dictated by the restricted field (Schauenburg, 2183) but is in keeping with the close body-contact of other H. fights.

The later scenes (2183-2185) are more tame with H. striding beside the deer and holding its antler. White paint shows that this is golden (2183). 2185 is more vigorous with H. pulling back the deer's head by its muzzle, but the deer is antler-less. This feature appears in both schemes (2188, 2196, cf. also 2202) and shows that art is not following literature (cf. Lezzi-Hafter 87). Similarly, the deer may be shown male (2191, 2204). The role of the gods also deviates from literary sources. Artemis (2181, 2183) appears as often as her brother (2181, 2185), and Athena plays her usual role in H. Labours (2183, 2184). Hermes appears on 2187. The exceptional number of other gods attending 2181 reflects the unusual treatment of myth narrative in this class of vases (Tyrrhenian). Otherwise there are few attendant figures except in the work of the Swing P. (2186; for another view of these figures, Apostolaki 333), but on the vase there is no certainty that H. is involved since the man is beardless. One might think of Apollo, who shares some of H.'s characteristics (quiver, short dress), and a transference of roles with Apollo pursuing the Delphic deer (cf. Parke/Boardman). Yet when the painter uses the same scheme on 2187 the bearded figure behind the deer is surely H., despite lack of attributes (Böhr, *o. c.* 2186, 40), and we are probably dealing with the painter's well-known readiness to deviate from traditional schemes (*ibid.* n. 390).

In the late Archaic period the old scheme is re-worked, and the new scheme appears first on the Athenian Treasury (2200). Some details are not clear (pose of H.; antlers) but later examples of the new tradition define the type: H. usually naked, to the r., kneeling on the back of the collapsing deer pulling at its antlers (2189-2195; its ears on 2188). This scheme makes clear that the beast is captured by the hero's strength alone.

Scenes of H. and Athena standing quietly with a deer (2201, 2202) are to be distinguished from those where the deer is a mere attribute (as *ABV* 279, 47; 338, 1; cf. *ML I* 2, 2189 s. v. «Herakles»; and a filling figure on vases such as Malibu 86.AE.75; *Para* 111, 14 bis; *Add* 61; Mommsen, H., *Der Affekter* [1975] pl. 87). They seem rather to belong with scenes where H. displays his quarry to the gods (*contra* Schauenburg, K., *Jdl* 94, 1979, 61).

A very few late Archaic scenes borrow or confuse other schemes. On 2203 the attack is from the front. On 2204 there is conflation with the Hesperides (cf. *ML I* 2, 2200; Robert, *Hermeneutik* 274; Brein, *o. c.* 58). In the Classical period the second Archaic scheme is generally observed. The overpowering of the beast

is the main theme and on the metopes at Olympia and Athens (2190, 2191) the only deviation is that H. pulls the beast's head up, its antler down. In another new variant of the scheme H. uses weapons, beating the deer with his club while he holds it by antler, muzzle or neck (2196-2199).

On rf. vases the traditional group is enhanced by other figures. On the Late Archaic cup 2189 a figure with bow and arrow could be Iolaos holding H.'s weapons or Apollo. For the latter speaks his appearance on other vases (2185, 2196, 2197) where, however, he is accompanied by Artemis, a figure as important as her brother on Classical vases (though not in literature, as we have seen). Athena, however, loses her leading role; she appears once, on 2197, with Apollo and Artemis and a youth. This vase adds an altar and palm tree, localising the event in Delphi, it may be. It suggests the existence of a Delphic deer (Orlandini, P., *Cronache* [1964] 20; Giglioli, G. Q., *NotSc* 1919, 23). But the artist, the Kadmos P., is fond of giving his scenes a Delphic setting (cf. Lezzi-Hafter 88). In general the Classical scenes with H. using weapons come closest to the version in Apollodorus where he wounds the deer and meets Apollo and Artemis. In the Classical period the episode can be shown within (2190, 2191) and apart from (2189, 2196, 2197) the cycle of Labours but from the 4th cent. on it is securely associated with them. If the epigram in the *Anth. Pal.* (2192) refers to the group from Lysippos' series at Alyzia (2211), then this is also true of the model for the most famous plastic scheme of the event, and remains authoritative in its two variants (2193-2195 without club, 2199 with club). There are few deviations: 2209 and 2210, from the late 4th and the 2nd cent., do not have the overpowering of the animal, but are fragmentary and uncertain, but they do appear in the context of the Labours and both show a mighty deer.

In the Roman period the scenes on sarcophagi (2223) form the closest group and the overpowering motif remains dominant to late antiquity (2213-2230). H. is naked, usually to the r. (but see 2220). He usually has his l. knee on the fallen deer (the r. on 2223a) and pulls its antlers down with both hands. There are variants here too, also met in the Greek series: on 2220, as at Olympia (2190) he pulls an antler down with one hand and with the other lifts its head; and he may use his club (2231-2233) as on Attic rf. vases.

In Roman art the deer has horns and may even be shown male. Thus the fine bronze group in Palermo (2215) which had been long thought a true copy of Lysippos' work at Alyzia (v. Salis, *o.c.* 2215, 8 n. 4; Bieber, *SculptHell* 36; Arnold *o.c.* 2215, 237 n. 812, 242). However, Lysippan features in the group are weak (Johnson, F., *Lysippos* [1927] 191) and its familiar scheme finds its place easily in Roman art, so the association cannot be upheld (cf. Künzl, 147). A unique version appears on 2227, where the main group is added to by other figures which can hardly be other than Artemis and Apollo, heavily influenced in their iconography by the origin of the work in Egypt.

A few minor works from the east show H. capturing the deer (2234-2238). These are unusual in that H. demonstrates his domination by holding an antler but makes no use of the club in his other hand (except perhaps on 2238). H. appears in different poses, catching it on the run (2234) or standing beside it (2235). We do not know whether these scenes derive from major sculpture, emphasising the capture of the deer, as on Attic bf. (thus G. Ortiz on 2234). 2239 is wholly novel, with H. shooting the deer and 2240 is peaceful, with H. standing beside the deer. The Piazza Armerina mosaics (2241) often display unusual schemes for H. Despite the few works of minor art the representations of the Labour in the Roman period are securely associated with the main cycle of the Labours.

WASSILIKI FELTEN

## F. Herakles and the Stymphalian Birds (Labour V)

H. has to clear Lake Stymphalus of birds, which he does either by frightening the birds off or by killing them.

LITERARY SOURCES: Peisandros of Kameiros (Davies *EGFF* 5), Pherekydes (*FGH* 3 F 72), Diod. (4, 13, 2) and Apoll. Rhod. (2, 1052-1057) say that H. drove the birds away by making a terrible din. Apollod. (*bibl.* 2 [93] 5, 6) says that the rattle he used was made by Hephaistos and given to him by Athena, but Hellan. (*FGH* 4 F 104b) credits H. with devising it himself. Apollod. (*l.c.*), Strabon (8, 6, 8 p. 371) and Tzetz. (*chil.* 2, 291-292) say that H. used the noise to flush the birds so that when they fluttered into the air he could shoot them with arrows. The birds were reputed to be man-eating (Peis. *l.c.*; Paus. 8, 22, 4) or to shoot their feathers out like arrows (Hyg. *fab.* 30, 6; Serv. *Aen.* 8, 299). No ornithological identification of the birds will be attempted here.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bräuer, R., *ZfN* 28, 1910, 61-64; Brommer, H. 25-27; Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 207-208; Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* I 165-167; Furtwängler, A., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2200-2201, 2224-2225 s.v. «Herakles»; Gruppe, O., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 1041-1044 s.v. «Herakles»; Loeffler, E., *Marsyas* 6, 1950-53, 16-17; Moreno, P., *MEFRA* 96, 1984, 153-157; Robert, *Heldensage* 452-453; Schauenburg, K., *MededRome* 41, 1979, 21-27; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 28-30; Vollkommer 7-8.

## CATALOGUE

### I. Herakles standing, wearing lionskin, using a sling against numerous birds

#### a) Herakles alone

2241. \* Amphora, Attic bf. London, BM B 163. From Vulci. - *ABV* 134, 28: Group E; *Para* 55; *Add* 36; *CVA* 3 pl. 29 (149), 1a. c; Schefold, *SB* II 102 fig. 126. - 550-540 B.C. - Cf., also from Group E: Munich 8701; *ABV* 136, 52; *MJBK* 34, 1952/53, 336 fig. 2. And the fr., *Cyrene* III pl. 4, 12.

2242. Amphora, Attic bf. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-

Arts 420. - *ABV* 134, 29: Group E. - 550-540 B.C. - Similar to 2241.

#### b) with Iolaos

2243. \* Lekythos, Attic wg. bf. Palermo, Mus. Reg. From Selinus. - *ArchRepts* 1966/67, 40 fig. 19a; *EAA* Suppl. (1970) 705 fig. 712. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. wearing lionskin, fights to r.; Iolaos, wearing helmet and sword, cloak over extended arm, fights to the l.

2244. Amphora, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 387. - Haspels, *ABL* 238, 132: Diosphos P.; *HDHG* (Rouen) no. 90. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - A: H. with lionskin over his arm fights to the r. B: Iolaos, as on (2243), fighting to the l. Cf. also 2276.

### 2. Herakles alone, kneeling, shooting at birds with bow

#### a) wearing lionskin

2245. \* Lekythos, Attic bf. Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 1841. - *ABV* 522: Athena P.; Haspels, *ABL* 256, 53; Brommer, *H.* fig. 7. - 500-480 B.C. - H.'s club leans against a bush to the r.; further r. birds flutter.

2246. (= 1817\*) Clay relief column crater. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2882. From S. Italy. - Furtwängler, A., *Die Slg. Sabouroff* (1883-87) I pl. 74, 3; Courby, *Vases à relief* 195 fig. 31. - Late 5th/early 4th cent. B.C. - With five other Labours (1817, 2047, 2695).

2247. Glass intaglio. London, BM. - Walters, *BMGems* no. 3143. - 1st cent. B.C.

2248. Carnelian ringstone. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1764. - Richter, *EnglGemsRom* no. 272. - 1st cent. B.C. - Cf. Zazoff, P., *Jagddarstellungen* (1970) pl. 22, 38 (Copenhagen, NM 532).

2249. (= [Dodekathlos] 1759\*) Ivory relief plaque on St. Peter's throne, Rome. - H. kneels to the l., turning to shoot up to the r.; two birds falling.

#### b) without lionskin (possibly another subject)

2250. Green jasper scarab, Greco-Phoenician. Cagliari Mus. From Tharros. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 15, 76. - 5th cent. B.C. - A naked youth kneels to shoot; bird on r. border. Perhaps not H.

### 3. Herakles alone, standing frontal, shooting an arrow upward, usually with lionskin over his arm

The fragmentary relief at Corinth ([Dodekathlos] 1746) probably goes here.

#### a) facing r., two or three birds to r., falling

See also the Volubilis and Liria mosaics ([Dodekathlos] 1740, 1741) and the reliefs ([Dodekathlos] 1726, 1748, 1752).

2251. (= 2060) Coptic textile. Prague, Arts & Crafts Mus. 1239/1240. - Kybalova, L., *Coptic Textiles* (1967) 144 figs. 96, 97. - 6th/7th cent. A.D.

2252. (= [Dodekathlos] 1756\*) Silver relief cup.

Naples, Mus. Naz. From Pompeii. - Maiuri, *o.c.* 1756, cup no. 4 pl. 29; Moreno 154 fig. 30. - Augustan.

2253. (= 2298\*) Marble statue base. Copenhagen, Glypt. inv. 840. - *Billedtavler* (1907) pl. 19 no. 270. - Early imperial. - With 2231, 2298.

2254. \* (= [Dodekathlos] 1755 with bibl.) Plaster cast of relief roundel. Hildesheim, Röm.-Pel. Mus. 2955. From Memphis. - Voegtli pl. 9a; Reinsberg, *o.c.* 1755, fig. 123. - The originals were probably Late Hellenistic.

2255. (= [Dodekathlos] 1729 with bibl.) AE coin, Hadrianopolis, Gordian III (A.D. 238-244). - Bräuer pl. 5, 20; Voegtli pl. 1a. b.

2256. \* (= 2228) Relief oinochoros. Athens, Agora P 17877. - From Athens. - *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pl. 64. - 3rd cent. A.D. - H. wears lionskin over his head. Similar to the relief bowls, [Dodekathlos] 1754a.

#### b) facing r., birds inconspicuous, on the ground or absent

See also the sarcophagi ([Dodekathlos] 1715-1718, 1720-1725, 1730-1732, 1734), relief ([Dodekathlos] 1747), metal reliefs ([Dodekathlos] 1727, 1728), textile ([Dodekathlos] 1727, 1728).

2257. \* AE coins, rev. a) \* Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. - *BMC* Alexandria no. 1048; Voegtli pl. 4a. - b) Nikaia, Caracalla. - *RecGen* I 3, 454, 445 pl. 78, 27; Voegtli pl. 4d. - c) Konana, Gallienus. - v. Aulock, H., *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens* II (1979) 105, 861-875 pl. 22; *BMC* Lycia 214, 6 pl. 34, 15; Voegtli pl. 4c.

#### c) facing l., twisting round to shoot r.

2258. AE coins, rev. a) Perinthos, Caracalla. - Schönert, *o.c.* 2087, 201, 611 pl. 36; Voegtli pl. 4e. - b) Tarsos, Gordian III. - *InvWadd* 4670 pl. 12, 12; Voegtli pl. 4f. - c) Herakleia Pontou, Maximinus. - *NC* 1964, 159, 1 pl. 10, 1.

#### d) facing l., frontal, shooting l.

See the relief, [Dodekathlos] 1737.

#### e) Herakles inactive

2259. (= [Dodekathlos] 1749) Stone relief slab. Toulouse Mus. From Chiragan. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* II 899; provincial work. - About 200 A.D. - H. standing fully frontal; to the r. two birds falling in front of a tree. H. wears quiver, but does not seem related to the birds.

### 4. Herakles alone, standing (back view) turning to the l., shooting an arrow to l., usually with a lionskin over his arm; apparently type 3a and b seen from the back.

See also the Roman reliefs [Dodekathlos] 1714, 1736, 1745, 1757 and *SarkRel* III 1 nos. 128, 129 (cf. [Dodekathlos] 1731).

2260. (= [Dodekathlos] 1712\* with bibl.) Marble frieze from the Theatre, Delphi. - *AJA* 82, 1978, 232 fig. 7. - 2nd/1st cent. B.C.?



2261. (= 2290\*, = Admete 4) Marble relief. Vatican (formerly Lateran). - Andreae, B., *Studien zur röm. Grabkunst* (1963) pl. 39. - With H. and hind, and 2290.

### 5. Herakles alone, standing, holding a bird by the neck

2262. Skyphos, Boeotian bf. Athens, Kanellopoulos Mus. 548. - Maffre, J.-J., *BCH* 99, 1975, 429-430 fig. 7. - About 550 B.C. - B: Man grasps a bird to the r. by the neck and threatens it with an upraised club. Another bird to the l. A: Birds flank a man who wields a club and rushes to the r., menacing the bird standing to the r. The birds are about as large as the man and the images may represent pygmies and cranes.

2262a. (= [Dodekathlos] 1713\*) Roman mosaic. Valence Mus. From near Saint-Paul-lès-Romans. - Lavagne, H., *RA* 1979, 273-275. 283 fig. 5. - H. grasps a bird to the r. and threatens it with an upraised club. Two other birds lie dead behind him, their heads to the l.

2263.\* Glass intaglio. London, BM. - Walters, *BMGems* no. 3156. - 1st cent. B.C. - Man grasps a bird by the neck to the r. and threatens it with an upraised club; another bird to the l.

2264.\* Glass intaglio. Munich, Münzslg. - *AGD* I, 2 no. 1253 pl. 131. - 2nd/1st cent. B.C. - H., standing facing r., bow in r. hand, bird in l. hand held in front of him, lionskin over his head.

### 6. Herakles with Athena

2265. (= [Dodekathlos] 1705\*\* with bibl., = Athena 529b\*) Marble metope on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Olympia Mus. - Paus. 5, 10, 9; Ashmole, B./Yalouris, N., *Olympia* (1967) pl. 153. - Completed by 456 B.C. - H. standing at the r. holding his bow in one hand, with the other offering a bird (or birds) to Athena, seated on rocks at l.

2266.\* (= 2839, where the identity is doubted) Bell krater, Apulian rf. Kiel, Kunsthalle B 537. - *RVAp* I 73, 61a: close to Adolphseck P.; Schauenburg 21-27 pl. 9, 1; Trendall, *RFSIS* fig. 111; Vollkommer 8 fig. 12. - 380-360 B.C. - H. stands at l. with foot raised on a rock, shooting an arrow at an unusual bird at the r. Athena seated at the r., above the bird.

### 7. Herakles with Eurystheus (?)

2267. Clay relief lamp. London, BM 972. - Bailey, *BMLamps* II Q 1322, 334 pl. 72. - 2nd cent. A.D. - H. facing r. shooting upward. To the r. a tree and r. of it, a bird. L. of H., seated male figure (Eurystheus?), with another bird flying over his head. A third bird lies between H.'s legs.

### 8. Birds as victims (without Herakles, except 2269, 2271)

See also [Dodekathlos] 1739, 1755.

2268. Ceiling of Temple of Artemis, Stymphalus. Lost. - Paus 8, 22, 7: «Near the roof of the Temple [of Stymphalian Artemis] have been carved, among other things, the Stymphalian birds. Now it was difficult to discern clearly whether the carving was in wood or in gypsum...».

2269.\* AR triobol and obol, Stymphalos, 431-370 B.C. - *BMC Peloponnese* 199, 1-5 pl. 37, 1-3. - Obv.: head of H. Rev.: head of crested bird.

2270. Handle of a trulla, silver plate. London, BM. - Walters, *BMSilverPlate* 50 no. 191 fig. 51. - 2nd cent. A.D. - Two birds; one on either side of the handle beside the attachment, with five other victims of labours.

2271. Coptic textile. Paris, Louvre D 44 (X 4121). - du Bourguet, P., *Cat. des étoffes coptes* I (1964) 136 D 44. - 6th/7th cent. A.D. - H. moving r., club in l. hand, r. hand raised, a large bird shown horizontally (flying or dead?) beyond him.

### 9. Uncertain

#### a) Certainly Herakles, but not necessarily related to the Stymphalian birds

2272.\* Bronze chariot attachment. Athens, NM. - v. Mercklin, E., *JdI* 48, 1933, 159 fig. 84. - Roman. - H. wearing lionskin over his head, shooting an arrow to r. (as Type 3).

2273.\* Bronze statuette. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H 5185. - Menzel, H., *JbRGZM* 22, 1975, pl. 40, 4. - Roman. - H. wearing a lionskin over his head, shooting an arrow to the r. (as Type 3).

2274. Marble statuette, Vatican (formerly Lateran). - Loeffler pl. 8, 2. - Roman. - H. with a lionskin over his extended l. arm, striding to r., possibly shooting an arrow to r. (as Type 3).

#### b) Bird or birds present, but the man unlikely or uncertain to be Herakles

2275. Jug, Attic geometric. Copenhagen, Glypt. 3153. - Brommer, *H.* 25 pl. 18; Schefold, *Sagenbilder* fig. 5b; Carter, J., *BSA* 67, 1972, 52; Fittschen, *Sagen-darstellungen* 64-65; Twele, J.R.A., *AJA* 81, 1977, 103-107. - 750-700 B.C. - At the far l. a man holds a bird by the neck, while other birds proceed to the r. Brommer, Schefold and Twele consider this to be a mythological scene; Carter and Fittschen doubt it.

2276. Lekythos, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg 1842 (J 1111). - *ABV* 455; Haspels, *ABL* 195, 8 pl. 9; Blackneck Class; Brommer, *H.* pl. 19. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - Man at l. with club in one hand, holding bird by the neck in the other; small figure at the r. uses a sling or a club (looks like a pygmy fighting a crane rather than Iolaos).

2277. Skyphos, Boeotian bf., Cabirion style. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 582. - *CVA Scheurleer* I pl. 3 (22), 2. - 4th cent. B.C. - Man pursuing a bird, its feet tethered, with a stick or flail.

2278. Vase, probably rf. (shape and fabric unknown). - Tischbein, W., *Coll. of Engravings... Hamilton* (1791-95) II 18. - Man wearing an animal skin, probably a lionskin, flanked by birds as tall as he is (cf.

2262) moves to r. to attack a bird (weapon lost); a third bird at far r., facing away.

2279. Wall painting. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9007. From Herculaneum. - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1126; Reinach, *RépPeint* 191, 3. - 1st cent. A.D. - Man running r., dress across one arm, shooting an arrow to r. at two birds above, one bird fallen beside a reclining man at the r. (Stymphalos?)

2280. (= 1913) Bronze fibula, Boeotian. London, BM 3204. - Brommer, *H.* 25 pl. 3. - Late 8th cent. B.C. - Two figures side by side, each holding a bird by the neck in the l. hand. The larger at the l. may also be holding a bird in the other hand. Other birds in the field. Fittschen, *Sagen-darstellungen* 64-65, nn. 339-345, believes that the figures are women and cites others who doubt that this representation is related to H. and the Stymphalian birds.

2281. AE coins, Lamia (Thessaly), 300-190 B.C. - *BMCThessaly* 23, 12 pl. 4, 3; Rogers, E., *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly* (1932) 126, 387/388 figs. 200/201. - Rev.: as Type 2 b. (Obv.: head of nymph.) On Rogers no. 387 the figure turns to shoot r. Rogers argues that this is Philoktetes (cf. Voegtli 29).

2282. AE coin, Maliensis (Lamia), 400-344 B.C. - *BMCThessaly* 35, 3 pl. 7, 6; Rogers, *o.c.* 2281, 125 no. 384 fig. 197. - Rev.: as Type 3 b. Possibly not H. but Philoktetes. (Obv.: head of Athena.)

2283. Bronze statuette, London, BM 1304. - Hellenistic. - Man holding a bird on his outstretched l. arm, which is wrapped in drapery. The other arm is raised as if to strike, but not necessarily to strike the bird.

### COMMENTARY

If the geometric jug (2275) and the fibula (2280) showing a man or two men throttling birds are intended to illustrate the story of H. and the Stymphalian birds, these are among the earliest representations of the Labours in art.

The theme can be identified with certainty only from the mid 6th cent. B.C. when three very similar amphorae (2241, 2242) were painted showing H. using a sling to attack a colourful mass of fluttering birds. 2243 and 2244 still show H. using a sling in the early 5th cent., helped by Iolaos.

H. is first shown using a bow, his preferred weapon for this labour in literature and all later art, on (2245). He is there shown kneeling, a position favoured in representations of this labour on gems (2247, 2248, 2250).

The quiet scene of H. standing beside a seated Athena after the completion of the labour, on the metope at Olympia (2265), is extraordinary and unexpected. Athena appears again, seated, in the Apulian krater in Kiel (2266), but the composition there is very different and H. is actively shooting a bird.

Praxiteles did not include this labour in his decoration of the pediment of the Temple in Thebes (Paus. 9, 11, 6; [Dodekathlos] 1710), but it is possible that Lysippos created a statue showing H. shooting the Stym-

phalian birds for Alyzia ([Dodekathlos] 1709). Loeffler (followed by Moreno) has argued that his creation may have been the inspiration for our type 3. If type 3 is a reflection of the front view of Lysippos' creation and type 4 of the back view, this had an enormous influence on later renderings of the theme in many media.

No extant representations show H. merely driving the birds away (as suggested in some literary versions of the story); he is always attacking them. Q. Smyrn. (6, 227-231) seems to be describing the most prevalent type of representation «Nearby were the loathesome Stymphalian birds. Some, hit by arrows, were breathing out their lives in the dust, others still interested in getting away, were swooping through the grey sky. Angry Herakles was shooting one arrow after another at them...».

If a H. is not identified by his lionskin and/or his club, it is possible that Philoktetes is intended (2279, 2281, 2282). Some confusion with pygmies fighting cranes is also possible (2262, 2276, 2278).

SUSAN WOODFORD

### G. Herakles and the Augeian stables (Labour VI)

H. is obliged to clean the filthy stables of King Augeias of Elis.

LITERARY SOURCES: Pind. (O. 10, 28-30) contains the earliest extant reference to H.'s service to Augeias. It is but an allusion and, unfortunately, very vague. Pindar does not specify, as do later authors, that H. had to perform the labour without the help of any other man (Diod. 4, 13, 3) and within the space of a single day (Diod. l.c.; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [88] 5; 5; Hyg. *fab.* 30, 7) nor what means he used, nor even the exact nature of the task itself.

Most later authors explain that H. cleverly diverted one or more of the nearby rivers to run through and thus purge the unwholesome stables (Apollod. l.c.; Q. Smyrn. 6, 234-235; Hyg. l.c.; Diod. l.c.; Paus. 5, 1, 10; Tzet. *chil.* 2, 281-286). Even when the use of a river is not mentioned (Kall. *fig.* 77 Pf.; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 172-173) no author suggests that H. actually shovelled out the dung himself. Diod. (l.c.) explains that to have done so would have incurred disgrace, and that H. devised his ingenious engineering stratagem in order to foil Eurystheus' intended insult. Augeias refused to pay H. the price that had originally been agreed, according to Paus. (5, 1, 10) because H. had used cunning rather than toil, according to Apollod. l.c. because H. had been under constraint to perform the labour for Eurystheus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Boyce, A. A., *ANSMN* 4, 1950, 73-77 (Perinthos coins); Bräuer, R., *ZfN* 28, 1910, 67-69; Brommer, *H.* 28-29; *Denkmälerlisten* I 33-34; Furtwängler, A., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2229 s.v. «Herakles»; Gruppe, O., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 1048-1051 s.v. «Herakles»; Gozlan, S., *RA* 1979, 49-51, 65-66; Moreno, F., *MEFRA* 96, 1984, 159-161; Robert, *Heldensage* 453-456; Squarciapino, M. F., *ArchCl* 10, 1958, 106-111; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 44-45.



## CATALOGUE

## 1. Herakles alone striking a mound to release water which flows into a wide-mouthed container (a pail or basket)

## a) Herakles facing r.

See also the Roman relief bowl ([Dodekathlos] 1754a), silver relief cup ([Dodekathlos] 1727) and ivory plaque on St. Peter's throne ([Dodekathlos] 1759).

2284. (= [Dodekathlos] 1741\*) Mosaic. Madrid, Arch. Mus. From Liria. - Brommer, *H.* pl. 31. - 3rd cent. A.D. - H. lifts a three-pronged instrument (rake?) to strike at a mound from which water is already gushing into a container. See also fr. mosaic from Ostia, Squarciapino 106-111 pl. 35, 1, which seems to be roughly the same type, though different in detail (e.g. position of H., the container and the arms of H., club and quiver, to 2284).

2285. (= [Dodekathlos] 1748) Marble relief (incised, provincial). Seville, Arch. Mus. From Italica. - García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (1949) 279 E. - 2nd cent. A.D. - H. hitting at rockface; water trickles out into a container at the bottom; bow and quiver behind to l.

2286.\* Marble sarcophagus relief fr. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6755. - *SarkRel* III 1 no. 122 pl. 33. - 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. - H. strikes rockface vigorously with a pick to release water which gushes into a container. (Probably part of a cycle, as the Labour of the birds appears to be represented to the l.)

2287. AE coin, Perinthos, Gallienus. - Voegtli pl. 7m; Boyce 73; Schönert, *o.c.* 2087, 266, 903 pl. 56. - Rev.: H. raises a two-pronged tool in both hands to strike at a heap of refuse or rocks; container at his feet to r. Movement is very restrained (almost standing).

## b) Herakles facing l.

See also the Roman sarcophagus ([Dodekathlos] 1752\*) and relief ([Dodekathlos] 1737).

2288. (= [Dodekathlos] 1740 with bibl.) Mosaic. Volubilis. - Thouvenot, E., *Volubilis* (1949) pl. 6. - About 200 A.D. - H. with implement raised above his head to strike rockface (?) to l.

2289. (= [Dodekathlos] 1714\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus, Roman. Velletri, Mus. Civ. From Velletri. - *AJA* 69, 1965, 207-222 pl. 52 fig. 25. - Late Hadrianic. - H. raises implement to strike to l.; container at his feet to l.

2290.\* (= Admete 4) Relief. Vatican (formerly Lateran). - Andrae, *o.c.* 2261, pl. 39. - Roman. - H. raises an axe (?) to strike l. A tree to l.; no rockface, no container, but Stymphalian birds to l. suggest the cycle. With 2261.

2291. (= [Dodekathlos] 1761\* with bibl.) AR denarius, Cologne, Postumus. - *RNum* 1958, pl. 5, 24; Bräuer pl. 4, 3. - Rev.: H. about to strike vigorously to l., container (?) at his feet. *HERC PISAE*O. A similar AE coin of Marcus Aurelius (Alexandria): *ZPE* 50, 1983, pl. 17, 5.

## 2. Herakles facing r. leaning forward and working to r., arms lowered, with a vessel tipped to r. at his feet

2292. (= [Dodekathlos] 1745\* with bibl.) Stone relief vase, «Tazza Albani». Rome, Mus. Torlonia 383. - *Mus. Torlonia* no. 383 pl. 95. - Augustan. - H. holds vessel on the ground tipped to r. to catch the water; river god (?) to r. presides over the flow.

2293. (= [Dodekathlos] 1725\* with bibl.) Asiatic sarcophagus. Konya Mus. 1002. - Boysal, *o.c.* 1725, pl. 47. - Early 3rd cent. A.D. - H. uses implement to direct water (?) into vessel tipped to the r. at his feet.

## 3. Herakles standing frontally with an implement over his shoulder and a container by his feet

a) movement slightly to r., head turned back to l. Basically the same type with only minor modifications on Roman sarcophagi, [Dodekathlos] 1715\* - 1717\*. 1720\*. 1721\* (Moreno 129 fig. 3; 160 fig. 38). 1722\*, mid to late 2nd cent. A.D.

b) as a but l. arm is lowered, r. arm raised with fist clenched as H. looks back, presumably threatening Augeias (because of his refusal to pay?).

2294. (= [Dodekathlos] 1718\* with bibl.) Sarcophagus. Florence, Uff. 145. - *SarkRel* III 1 no. 104 pl. 29. - About 200 A.D. - Vessel between H.'s legs. Cf. the sarcophagus in Paris (= [Dodekathlos] 1719) where H.'s fist is raised more prominently.

c) Herakles frontal, but head and body gently turned to l.; implement over l. shoulder

2295. (= [Dodekathlos] 1734\* with bibl.) Sarcophagus, Roman. - Florence, Uff. 110. From Rome. - *SarkRel* III 1 no. 113 pl. 31. - About 150 A.D. - Water flows from an urn beneath H.'s hand (presided over by a river god) into a container at the bottom l.

d) as c but turning to r.; implement held in lowered r. hand

2296. (= [Dodekathlos] 1730\* with bibl.) Sarcophagus, Asiatic. Rome, Mus. Torlonia 420. - *SarkRel* III 1 no. 126 pls. 35-37. - A.D. 150-200.

## 4. Herakles standing with one foot raised (like the Lysippan Poseidon)

2297. (= [Dodekathlos] 1747\*) Marble relief. Vatican 444. From Palestrina. - Amelung *SkulptVat-Mus* II pl. 80. - 2nd cent. A.D. - H. faces r.

2298.\* Marble statue base. Copenhagen, Glypt. inv. 840. - *Billedtavler* (1907) no. 270 pl. 19. - Early imperial. - With 2231. 2253 (birds, deer).

2299. (= [Dodekathlos] 1749 with bibl.) Stone relief. Toulouse Mus. From Chiragan. - Reinach, *Rép-Rel* I 100, 3. - About A.D. 200. - H. faces l., his fur-

ther foot resting on a container that looks like a basket, a pick in his hand.

## 5. Herakles seated

See also 927-949 and discussion there on the Lysippan type (here, 2300). On the mosaics from Cartama and Acholla ([Dodekathlos] 1742. 1739) the type is borrowed for Acheloo, it seems; see Gozlan, *S.*, *RA* 1979, 55-59.

2300. (= *LIMC* IV p. 773, with bibl. and discussion). Statue by Lysippos (presumably the one from Tarentum taken to Rome, then Constantinople) described by Niketas (Overbeck, *SQ* no. 1472) as seated on a basket over his lionskin, dejected, head on hand, elbow on knee.

2301. (= [Dodekathlos] 1736\*) Marble base. Rome, Mus. Cap. 205. From Albano. - 1st cent. A.D. - H. facing r., l. arm and l. leg bent; he is seated on a container (that looks like an inverted pail) on which he has placed his lionskin.

## 6. With Athena

2302. (= [Dodekathlos] 1705\*\* with bibl.) Marble metope on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Olympia Mus. - Ashmole/Yalouris, *o.c.* 1705, pls. 202-211. - Completed by 456 B.C. - H. facing l. wielding an implement to shovel or lever (thus Ashmole); Athena's spear, held parallel to the implement, gives moral support or a practical indication (or both).

## 7. Other scenes

2303. (= [Dodekathlos] 1728\*) Gold bell. London, BM Jew. 3008/9. From Tarsus. - A.D. 200-250. - H. stands facing r. holding an implement in his lowered r. hand; a container beneath the implement.

2304.\* AE coin, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. - Voegtli pls. 7k, 12r; Bräuer pl. 4, 1. - Rev.: H. advancing r. his arms extended; lionskin on shoulders, club slung on l. side; before him a rocky fountain with a lion's head spout from which water flows. Before it, a rake. H. is washing after the labour, identified by the rake.

2305.\* AE coin, Herakleia Pontou, Geta. - Voegtli pl. 7 l. - Rev.: H. striding to r. with a long rake in his hands which he is wielding like a spear. Cf. Herakleia Pontou, Gallienus; Voegtli pl. 14 o.

## COMMENTARY

The least popular of all H.'s Labours, the only one which involved no worthy adversary nor even a hint of danger, the cleansing of the Augeian stables was seldom represented. This local Elian myth, which stands apart from all the other deeds of the hero, may have been inspired by some Mycenaean engineering feat

(Baker, J. M., *AJA* 78, 1974, 149). It probably became part of the canonical cycle simply because it appeared among the metopes decorating the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (Brommer, *H.* 62), but it never really captured the imagination of the general run of artists.

The Olympia metope (2302) is the earliest extant representation and is as difficult to interpret as the earliest extant literary reference (Pind. *O.* 10, 28-30). It is no longer clear whether H. is sweeping (to clear manure), shovelling (either to remove the dung or re-channel the river) or levering (a procedure that could only be related to diverting rivers). This representation seems not to have had any influence on later ones.

Lysippos, in the 4th cent. B.C., appears to have been the only major artist to represent this Labour (2300; Overbeck, *SQ* nos. 1468-1472). Characteristically he chose to show the weary H., seated on a basket. The nature of the activity that wearied the hero remains ambiguous. The basket may have been used to remove the manure or to carry earth away in order to divert a river or rivers. The Lysippan image seems to have inspired some of the earliest extant representations from the Roman period (2301). No Hellenistic representations have been preserved.

The Augustan «Tazza Farnese» (2292) is the earliest extant monument to show H. making use of a receptacle of the kind that later becomes characteristic. It is usually shaped like a basket or a pail (though it can sometimes be more rounded). It is often decorated with linear patterns that suggest basket-work, even when it seems to be employed as a container for water.

From the 2nd cent. A.D. on, artists portraying the cycle on sarcophagi, in mosaic or in other media generally relied on an attribute (a basket or pail and/or some implement - fork, hoe, rake, pick or spade) to identify the Labour. Graphic prototypes were scarce. The Lysippan type (Type 5) was used early, but only rarely.

Most artists chose to show H. actively at work (Type 1), pick in hand, with some sort of receptacle on the ground (a representation that suggests river-routing); sometimes water is caught in the container (as if H. had carried the water of the river from one place to another instead of diverting the entire flow - or perhaps this was the only way artists found to represent the diverting of a river). Twice H. appears to be threatening (an imagined) Augeias with upraised fist (2294). Augeias' failure to pay the hero led to the war which was often of more interest (especially in literature) than the Labour. Other artists just show H. standing with a container and/or an implement, this being considered sufficient to identify the Labour.

The lack of any coherent imagery for this Labour is striking.

SUSAN WOODFORD

## H. Herakles and the Cretan bull (Labour VII)

H. has to capture and bring to → Eurystheus the Cretan bull.

LITERARY SOURCES: Most sources have the bull caught by H., taken to Mycenae and then set free:

Diod. 4, 13, 4 (H. taken to Greece on its back); Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (94-95) 5, 7; Hyg. *fab.* 30, 8; Sen. *Ag.* 833-834; Paus. 1, 27, 10; *Tabula Albana*, *FGrH* 40 F 1c; Auson. *eccl.* 24 Prete; *Schol. Stat. Theb.* 5, 431; Serv. *Aen.* 8, 294; *Anth. Pal.* 16, 92, 8; Nonn. *Dion.* 25, 227-229; *Anth. Lat.* 627, 8 Buecheler/Riese; Myth. *Vat.* 147; II 120; Tzetz. *chil.* 2, 293-298; Pediasimos 7. A different tradition has H. kill the bull: Verg. *Aen.* 8, 294-295; *Anth. Pal.* 6, 115; 16, 93; Claud. (?) *laus Herculis* 118-137.

Akusilaos, our earliest source (*FGrH* 2 F 29) identifies the bull as that which brought → Europe (I) to Zeus in Crete. In Diod. 4, 77 the bull is of Minos' herd, and in Apollod., Tzetz. and Pediasimos (*l.c.*) it emerges from the Cretan sea at Poseidon's order. In Claud. (?) *laus Herculis* 118-137, it has a celestial origin. It was identified with the bull loved by → Pasiphae and with the Marathonian bull (Diod. *l.c.* and 4, 59, 6; Apollod. *l.c.*; Hyg. *fab.* 30, 8; 38, 7; Ov. *met.* 7, 433-434; Paus., *Schol. Stat.*, Serv., Myth. *Vat.*, Tzetz., Pedias., *l.c.*). Its exceptional ferocity is recorded, either natural – shaking the walls of the cities of Crete with its bellows (Claud. *rapt. Pros.* 2, *praef.* 33-34), or breathing fire and scorching the fields (Q. Smyrn. 6, 236-240; *Anth. Pal.* 16, 92; Serv., Claud. [?] *l.c.*), or killing those it encountered in Greece, like → Androgeos, son of Minos (Paus. *l.c.*). Some describe it as handsome (Diod. 4, 77, 2; Apollod., Serv., Pedias. *l.c.*), white in colour (*Schol. Stat.*, Myth. *Vat. l.c.*) or enormous (*Tabula Albana*). According to Diod. 4, 13, 4 and Apollod., Pedias. *l.c.*, Minos encouraged H.'s attack.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Borbein, *Campanareliefs*, Bräuer, R., *ZfN* 28, 1910, 69-74; Brommer, H. 30-32, 54; *idem*, *Denkmälerlisten* I 156-160; *idem*, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 194-204; Evans, A. J., *JHS* 41, 1921, 257-259; Furtwängler, A., *ML* I 1 (1886-90) 2201. 2225. 2243 s.v. «Herakles»; Gruppe, O., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 1051-1053 s.v. «Herakles»; Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 64-99; Herter, H. L., *RE* Suppl. XIII (1973) 1084-1085 s.v. «Theseus»; Nilsson, M. P., *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (1932) 169-170, 216-217; Rizzo, G. E., *Intermezzo* (1939) 49, 62-67; Robert, *Heldensage*<sup>4</sup> 456-458; Schefold, *SB* II 103-104; Schnapp, A., in *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 126-127; Schoo, J., *Hercules' Labors, Fact or Fiction?* (1969) 6-8, 39-44; Schweitzer, B., *Herakles* (1922) 133-184; Shefton, B. B., *Hesperia* 31, 1962, 330-368; Todisco, L., *Annali Bari* 18, 1975, 31-56 (= Todisco 1); *idem*, *Annali Bari* 23, 1980, 15-86 (= Todisco 2); van der Valk, M., *REG* 71, 1958, 156; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 30-33; Vollkommer 8-10; *idem*, *BCH* 111, 1987, 147-155 (= Vollkommer 2).

## CATALOGUE

### GREEK

The catalogue is arranged in broad iconographical types with the main variants represented. The list is extremely selective in the area of Attic bf. Brommer lists over 250 examples in *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 194-203, many of them repetitive, especially on later bf. lekythoi. On a number of the bf. scenes also the possibility of confusion with → Theseus and the Marathonian bull cannot be resolved.

### 1. Herakles attacks the bull with weapons

#### a) with a sword

**2306.\*** Hydria, Attic bf. Berlin (DDR), Univ. D 715 (F 1898). From Vulci. – Late 6th cent. B.C. – H. prepares to plunge his sword in the neck of the bull kneeling before him. Bow and quiver hang. H. is watched by Athena, Hermes and a woman, all seated. Cf. the bf. skyphos, Brussels, Mus. Roy. A 1983; Haspels, *ABL* 85 n. 1; *CVA* 3 pl. 25 (119), 2a; this may not be ancient.

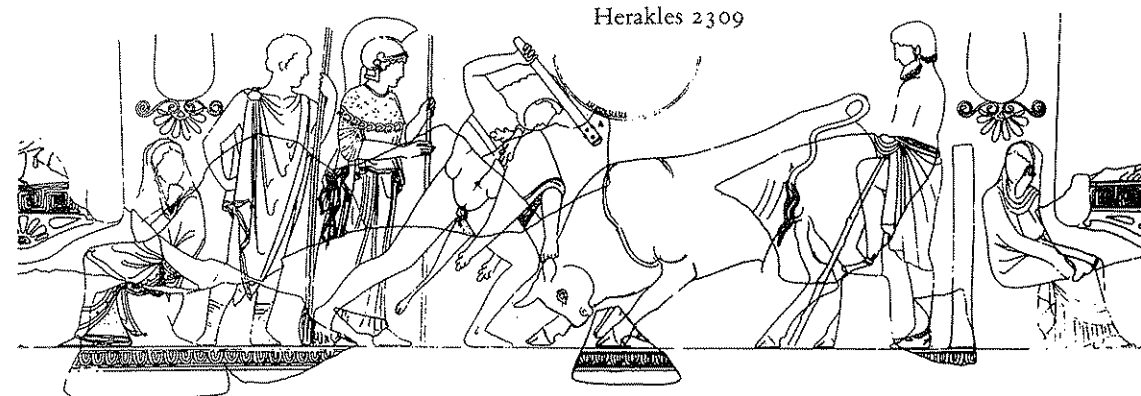
#### b) with a stone

**2307.\*** Lekythos, Attic bf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81275 (H 2446). – Early 5th cent. B.C. – H. in short chiton, wears sword, holds bull's muzzle in r. hand, prepares to throw a stone in his l. hand.

#### c) with a club

**2308.\*** Column crater, Italiote bf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 2137. – Dubois-Maisonneuve, M., *Introd. à l'étude des vases antiques* (1817) pl. 34; Neugebauer, *Führer Berlin* II 35. – Early 5th cent. B.C. – H. faces the bull and holds one horn.

**2309.\*** Louterion, Attic rf. Athens, Agora P 12641. From the Agora. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1043; near the Curti and Peleus Ps.; *Para* 444; Shefton pl. 105a-d; Vollkommer 2, 148 fig. 2. – About 440 B.C. – H. with lionskin over l. shoulder, l. hand on bull's lowered neck. Behind him Athena and a youth (Iolaos?); beyond the bull a woman; behind it a man (Minos?); palm tree (?).



Herakles 2309

**2310.\*** (= Athena 460, = Europe I 218\*) Calyx crater, Attic rf. Adolphseck 77. From Sicily? – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1346, 1; Cecrops P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 368; Brommer, H. pl. 22; *CVA* 1 pls. 46-48 (524-526); Hausmann pl. 54; Vollkommer 10 fig. 14; *idem* 2, 154 fig. 5. – Late 5th cent. B.C. – H. with quiver and lionskin over l. arm threatens the bull which charges him. He is crowned by a small Nike. Apollo and Athena, seated, watch, and Nike, and a veiled woman (Europe?). Palm and olive trees.

**2311.\*** Calyx crater, Attic rf. Leningrad, Hermitage B 2680. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1337, 5; near the Pronomos P.; Hausmann pl. 55; Vollkommer 9 fig. 13; *idem* 2, 151-152 fig. 49. – About 400 B.C. – H. in chlamys, holds lowered club and bow before charging bull. Watched by Athena with two Nikai, Hermes, a wreathed man leaning on a stick and a seated woman (Minos and Pasiphae?). Olive tree.

**2312.** Marble relief. Sunium. – *Hesperia* 10, 1941, 171 fig. 3. – About 400 B.C. – Young H. with lionskin over l. arm threatens the charging bull. Palm and olive trees.

**2313.** Marble relief. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. From Pergamon. – *AM* 24, 1899, 163-164 no. 11; cf. *Pergamon* VII no. 398. – 2nd cent. B.C. – H. with lionskin over l. arm, the bull beyond him, in opposite direction. Watched by seated woman.

**2314.** Clay mould. Agrigento, Mus. Reg. From Agrigento. – *RM* 12, 1897, pl. 11. – Late 4th cent. B.C. – Bull (head indistinct) crouches to l. Behind it H. swings club across his body, lionskin on l. arm. Cf. Isler, H. P., *Acheloos* (1970) 25.

**2315.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1711\*) Clay relief bowl. Once Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 3161g. From Anthedon. – H. (probably holding club) kneels on bull's flank holding one horn.

**2316.\*** AR didrachms, Selinus, mid 5th cent. B.C. – Bräuer pl. 3, 12; Hausmann pl. 50, 1; Kraay/Hirmer, *GrCoins* pl. 67, 187; Vollkommer 11 fig. 15. – Obv.: Young H. on near side of bull, holds one horn. Rev.: river-god Hypsas (→ Hypsas I with bibl.).

### 2. Herakles restrains the running bull

There is the possibility of confusion here with H. leading a bull to sacrifice; see 1334.

**2317.\*** Cup, Laconian bf. New York, MMA 59.15. – Stibbe, *LakVas* no. 300 pl. 104, 1; Rider P.; Pipili, *LacIc* 4 fig. 6. – 550-540 B.C. – H. approaches the bull from the r., holding it round its neck. Cf. Paris, Louvre, E 666 (Pipili, *o.c.* 5 fig. 7) where H. is on the far side of the bull, and moving r.; and two other examples by the Rider P. (Market and Kiel B 515; *ibid.* nos. 9, 10).

**2318.\*** Cup, Attic, rf. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 488. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 172, 4; Delos P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 184; Schefold *SB* II 103 fig. 127; *CVA* 2 pl. 9, 2. – 520-510 B.C. – Naked young H. (name inscribed) runs after the bull which he has tied by a horn.

**2319.\*** Lekythos, Attic bf. Palermo, Mus. Reg. 1894 (G. E. 1896, 2). – *ABV* 385, 30; Acheloos P.;

Haspels, *ABL* pl. 15, 4. – About 510 B.C. – H., fully dressed, runs on the far side of the bull. Watched by Athena and a woman with sceptre, both seated.

**2320.** (= Hermes 510) Oinochoe, Attic bf. Once Suippes, Bourgeois-Thierry. – *ABV* 385, 29; Acheloos P.; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 98, 3-4. – About 510 B.C. – H., fully dressed, beyond the bull, holds a horn and puts one hand to its muzzle. Hermes in front.

**2321.** Cup, Attic bf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81129 (H 2773). From Etruria. – *CVA* 1 pl. 30 (974), 1-3. – About 510 B.C. – A: H. beyond the bull, holds its horns. B: = 2326.

**2322.** (= Hermes 493a) Hydria, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 299. – *ABV* 362, 29; Leagros Group, Painter A; *CVA* 9 pl. 72 (411), 1; Schefold, *SB* II 103 fig. 128. – Late 6th cent. B.C. – Young H., wearing quiver and sword, behind the bull, holding it beneath the belly. At l. Athena and Hermes; H. and boar.

**2323.\*** Hydria, Attic bf. London, BM B 309. From Vulci. – *ABV* 364, 56; Leagros Group; *CVA* 6 pl. 81 (340), 2. – Late 6th cent. B.C. – H., fully dressed, on near side of bull, holds one horn and has r. hand on its flank. Club before. Hermes, Athena, Iolaos and a woman watch, all seated.

**2324.\*** Skyphos, Attic bf. Olympia Mus. BE 634. From Frankonisi. – *ABV* 521; Theseus P. or near; Hausmann pl. 49, 1. – About 500 B.C. – A: H. on near side of bull holds a horn and a foreleg; Athena. B: = 2348. For the pose cf. New York 1906.1021.59; *CVA* 4 pl. 46 (774), 13 (*ABV* 605, 5).

**2325.** Kyathos, Attic bf. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. GR 8.1927. – *ABV* 613, 42; Group of Vatican G 57; *CVA* 1 pl. 21 (259), 2. – About 500 B.C. – H. beyond the bull, holds horns.

### 3. Herakles captures and ties up the bull

#### a) The bull kneels before him

**2326.** (= 2321) B: H. ties a rear leg.

**2327.** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Turin, Mus. Ant. 4106. From Vulci. – *CVA* 2 pl. 6 (1790), 1-2. – 520-510 B.C. – B: H. kneels on bull's neck and ties three legs. Club, bow, quiver hang. A: = 2337.

**2328.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1583. From Vulci. – *CVA* 8 pls. 407, 2; 409, 2. – 520-510 B.C. – H. ties rear legs. Bow and quiver hang.

**2329.\*** Amphora, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1407. From Vulci. – *ABV* 290; cf. Group of Würzburg 199; *CVA* 1 pl. 37, 2; Brommer, H. pl. 21a. – About 510 B.C. – H. wears sword, ties muzzle and left legs. Iolaos with sword and club, another club against his leg. Bow and quiver hang.

**2330.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. New York, MMA 41.162.193. From Vulci. – *CVA* 4 pl. 35, 5-8. – 520-510 B.C. – A and B: H. fully dressed but no lionskin, ties bull's hind leg (foreleg on B) and genitals. Dress in tree.

**2331.\*** Volute crater, Attic bf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. 20335. From Taranto. – *ABV* 195, 4; Golvol Group;

*AttimGrecia* 8, 1967, pl. 15. - Late 6th cent. B. C. - H. holds horn and ties hind leg. Four women run away.

**2332.** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Mississippi Univ. 1977.3.61, once Baltimore, Robinson. From Caere. - *AJA* 60, 1956, pl. 4, 20. - Late 6th cent. B. C. - H. wears sword. Hermes.

**2333.** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (formerly Fogg) 52.132. - *CVA* pl. 8, 1. - Late 6th cent. B. C. - A: H. ties horn, muzzle and leg. B: H. ties foreleg and two hindlegs. On A and B club at side, bow and quiver hang.

**2334.\*** Hydria, Attic bf. Leningrad, Hermitage B 5571. - *AA* 1930, 27-29 figs. 7-8. - About 500 B. C. - H. with chiton and sword, ties muzzle and foreleg. Bow and quiver hang. Club behind.

**2335.** Oinochoe, Attic bf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 16341. From Spina. - *CVA* 2 pl. 10 (2135), 1. - About 400 B. C. - H. ties left legs. Bow and quiver hang.

**2336.\*** Oinochoe, Attic bf. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 73. From Bologna. - *ABV* 527, 28: Athena P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 36 (335), 5. - Early 5th cent. B. C. - H. with sword ties legs. Club, bow, quiver, dress, behind.

#### b) Other poses

**2337.** (= **2327**) A: H. fully dressed, behind bull, holds a horn and its tied foreleg.

**2338.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1705\*\*** with bibl.) Marble metope. Paris, Louvre and Olympia Mus. From temple of Zeus, Olympia. - Ashmole/Yalouris, *o.c.* **1705**, pls. 162-168. - About 460 B. C. - H. and bull's body cross. H. holds club and tied muzzle.

**2339.** Clay relief bowl. Athens market. - Hausmann, pls. 47, 2; 58, 2. - 2nd cent. B. C. - H. wears lionskin, walks l. on near side of small bull, holds tied muzzle and raised club.

#### 4. Herakles wrestles with the bull

##### a) The bull kneels before him

In the poorer late bf. versions it is likely that the tying motif (as type 3a) is intended or copied, but not detailed.

**2340.\*** Neck amphora, Attic bf. London, BM B 277. From Vulci. - *ABV* 343, 8 Michigan P.; *Add* 94; *CVA* 4 pl. 70 (215), 1. - Late 6th cent. B. C. - H. wears sword, kneels on bull's neck, holds bull's flanks. Dress, club, bow and quiver at either side.

**2341.\*** Lekythos, Attic bf. Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8.35. - Haspels, *ABL* 247, 1: Pholos Group; *CVA* 1 pl. 27, 3. - About 500 B. C. - As the last. Three Iolaoses with clubs.

**2342.\*** (= **2100**) Mastoid cup, Attic bf. Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (formerly Fogg) 1927.141. - *ABV* 559, 492: manner of Haimon P.; *CVA* pl. 11, 1a. - Early 5th cent. B. C. - H. stoops to hold the bull's neck and horn, at arms' length. Dress, club, bow and quiver behind him.

**2343.** Mastoid cup, Attic bf. Capua, Mus. Camp. 162. - *CVA* 2 pl. 12 (1075), 1-3. - About 480 B. C. - A and B: young H., with Iolaos and a woman seated on a stool.

#### b) Herakles wrestles the bull on the ground

**2344.** Skyphos, Attic bf. Piraeus Mus. - Hausmann 75 pl. 48. - About 500 B. C. - H. kneels before the bull (stoops on B) pulling it onto its knees.

**2345.\*** Kantharos, Attic rf. Boston, MFA 00.334. From Tarquinia. - *ARV* 2 126, 27: Nikosthenes P.; *Add* 176; *RM* 5, 1890, pl. 12; Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 320. - About 500 B. C. - Young H., from the r., presses down bull's head with his r. hand, his l. stretched along its back. Bow and quiver behind H. Cf. the volute crater, Padula; *ARV* 2 1699; *Apollo* (Salerno) 3/4, 1963/64, 4 fig. 1.

**2346.\*** Volute crater, Apulian rf. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta J 1097. From Ruvo. - *RVAp* 1 417, 16: Lycurgus P.; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* pls. 120, 122. - About 350 B. C. - H. from the r., kneels before the bull holding it down by its horns. Athena seated, Iolaos with club and quiver, woman seated with Eros.

**2347.\*** Nestoris, Lucanian rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 3145. From S. Italy. - *LCS* 165, 921 pl. 72, 2: Primato P. - About 350 B. C. - Young H. from the l., as the last. Club and lionskin on ground. Athena and Nike with fillet.

#### c) In other poses

**2348.** (= **2324**) B: H. on near side of bull, both to r. He holds it down by a horn and foreleg. Athena.

**2349.\*** Cup, Attic bf. Reading Univ. 26.VII.2. From Greece. - *ABV* 562, 557: manner of Haimon P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 9 (536), 7a. - Early 5th cent. B. C. - H. stands before the bull, his knee to its head, holding its neck. Dress, club and quiver at either side.

**2350.\*** (= **1811/2535a**) Cup, Attic rf. London, BM E 104. From Vulci. - *ARV* 2 1293, 1: P. of London E 105; Shefton 346; Vollkommer 4 fig. 5; *idem* 2, 151 fig. 3. - About 430 B. C. - Young H. stands holding both horns, forcing the head back and up. Behind it an old man (Minos?) and Iolaos with club and lionskin.

**2351.** Calyx crater, Attic rf. London market. - Sotheby's, 13/14 July 1987, no. 441 ill. - About 400 B. C. - H. and bull as **2350**, H. crowned by small Nike. To r. Athena, Apollo. Zeus (?); to l. a woman (Hera or Europe).

**2352.** Calyx crater, Attic rf. Caromb, H. Metzger Coll. - *MuM* Auktion 56, 1980, no. 108: manner of Kleophon P.; Vollkommer 148 fig. 1. - About 420 B. C. - H. and the bull as **2350**. **2351** but H.'s back is to the bull, its head on his shoulder, as if he is about to throw it. A small Nike over the bull. Watched by Athena, an old man, a woman (Minos and Pasiphae?) and, to r., Iolaos and a satyr (above the handle). Club on ground. The lifting of the bull recalls the sacrifice motif.

#### 5. Other scenes and uncertain

See [Dodekathlos] **1709** (Lysippus at Alyzia), **1710** (Praxiteles, Temple of H. at Thebes).

**2353.** Aryballos, Protocorinthian. Basel, Cahn Coll. HC 1109. - *MuM* Sonderliste D (1960) no. 1. -

About 670 B. C. - In an animal frieze (including a lion) a naked man with a spear confronts a bull.

**2354.** Aryballos fr., Protocorinthian. Tegea Mus. From Tegea. - *BCH* 45, 1921, 420-421 fig. 51, 429 (Dugas: Theseus); *Gnomon* 1954, 445 (Dunbabin: perhaps H.). - Mid 7th cent. B. C. - Man faces bull.

**2355.** Cup frs., Attic rf. Adria, Mus. Civ. BC 20/69. From Adria. - *ARV* 2 341, 87 (as H.): Antiphon P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 6 (1254), 8b; Hausmann n. 280 (as Theseus). - About 480 B. C. - Legs of a man with club placing one foot on head of kneeling bull.

**2356.** (= **14\*** with bibl.) Faience vases. - Late 6th cent. B. C. - H. head in lionskin addorsed to bull's head.

#### ROMAN

The principles of selection and division are as for the Greek, presenting a sequence of each main type and its variants, chronological within each medium, representing the full range in date and source. H. is naked unless otherwise stated.

#### 6. Herakles carries the bull, its back over his shoulder, head hanging before him (except **2362**).

**2357.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1736\*** with bibl.) Rome, Mus. Cap. 205. From Albano. - *RM* 77, 1970, pl. 79, 1. - 1st cent. A. D.

**2358.** Carnelian ringstone. London, BM 1867. - Walters, *BMGems* no. 1867. - 1st cent. B. C. - Young H., lionskin over shoulders.

**2359.** Carnelian ringstone. Boston, MFA. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 50, 22; Lippold, *Gemmen* pl. 39, 1. - 1st cent. B. C. - As the last.

**2360.** Aquamarine ringstone, signed by Anteros. Chatsworth, Devonshire Coll. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 49, 13; Lippold, *Gemmen* pl. 35, 4; Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* pls. 38, 1. 3; 40, 1. - 1st cent. B. C. - As the last.

Comparable are Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* nos. 4189-4192; *AGD* I 3 no. 3106; *AGD* III Göttingen nos. 278, 279; *AGD* IV nos. 923, 924; Fossing, *Thorv-Gems* no. 871; London nos. 3140, 3141; *GlaspastenWurzb* no. 382. Some such figures may not be H.; see Boardman, J., *Engraved Gems* (1968) 34-35 on no. 48.

**2361.** Relief glass beaker. Corning Mus. of Glass 68.1.9. From Kyzikos. - Harden, D. B., *Glass of the Caesars* (1987) 163-164 no. 85. - About A. D. 100. - Between pillars; the other three spaces occupied by Hermes and two women. Possibly not H.

**2362.** Clay figure. Once Cairo, Fouquet Coll. From Benha. - Perdrizet, P., *Les terres-cuites gr. de la Coll. Fouquet* (1921) no. 267 pl. 71. - 1st cent. B. C./A. D. - Young H. holds bull across both shoulders, frontal with both hands.

**2363.\*** Bronze statuette. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. VI 367. - v. Sacken, E., *Die ant. Br. des K.K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes in Wien* I (1871) 97 pl. 38, 1;

Gschwantler, G., *Guss + Form* (1986) no. 196 fig. 260. - 1st cent. B. C.

#### 7. Herakles leads the bull

**2364.\*** AE coin, Sardis, Caracalla, Philip I. - *BMC* Lydia 263, 164; 272, 198 pl. 27, 7; Voegtli pl. 4p. - Rev.: H. walks r. holding his club upright and leading a small humped bull. Hanfmann, G. M. A./Ramage, N. H., *Sculpture from Sardis: the finds through 1975* (1978) 84 n. 37, mention Hellenistic relief ware from Sardis with this motif.

#### 8. Herakles attacks the bull with his club

a) Both move in the same direction, to right (**2365**, **2367-2371**) or left (**2366**, **2372**, **2373**).

**2365.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1726\***) Marble pilaster relief. Leptis Magna Basilica. - Floriani Squarciapino, *o.c.* **1726**, pl. 51, 3-4. - Severan. - H. holds club upright, holds one horn.

**2366.\*** Stucco relief. Ostia, Isola Sacra, Tomb 95. - Calza, G., *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (1940) 108-110 fig. 43; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 161 K 89. - Trajanic. - Movement to l. H. with lionskin. Poorly preserved. With other labours (**2454**, **2654**, **2775**).

**2367.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1757\***) Plaster relief. Trier, Landesmus. - Hausmann pl. 68, 1. - Original of c. 200 A. D. - H. with lionskin, brandishes club, holds horn.

**2368.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1728\***) Gold bell. London, BM 3009. From Tarsus. - 3rd cent. A. D. - H. holds club upright; bull is half-kneeling.

**2369.** AE coin, Anemurion, Caracalla. - Bräuer, pl. 3, 13; Voegtli pl. 4g. - Rev.: The bull is leaping; bow between H.'s legs. Cf. Macedonia, Gordian III (Gaebler, *Makedonia* II pl. 5, 1).

**2370.\*** AE coin, Herakleia Pontou, Gordian III. - SNG v. Aulock 424; Voegtli pl. 4h. - Rev.: H. with lionskin over l. arm; the bull is tiny, walking, looking round at him.

**2371.\*** Coptic stone relief. Brooklyn Mus. 61.128. - *Brooklyn Mus. Ann.* 2-3, 1960-62, 70-72, fig. - 4th cent. A. D. - The bull is leaping.

**2372.\*** Clay lamp. Corinth Mus. From Corinth. - Hausmann pl. 68, 2. - 2nd cent. A. D. - H. with lionskin on l. arm holds the bull's muzzle, is seen from the back. Movement to l. Bull leaps.

**2373.** Marble sarcophagus fr. Afyon Mus. From Apamea. - *MAMA* 6, 1939, no. 413 pl. 73; Wiegartz, *KlSäulensark* 143. - 155-160 A. D. - H. with lionskin over l. arm holds bull by a horn. Movement to l. Bull leaps.

#### b) Herakles kneels on the bull's back

**2374.** Marble oscillum. Once Welz and Heyl Colls. From Naples. - Langlotz, E., *Sammlung ant. Kunst ... Freiherrn Max von Heyl* III (1930) pl. 10 no. 7. - 1st cent. B. C. - Movement to r. H. with lionskin



worn on head and back kneels on the bull's back with club raised, holding a rope fastened to bull's horn. Bull leaps.

**2375.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1732\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. Antalya Mus. A 928. From Perge. - Wiegartz, *KISäulensark* pl. 29a; Ferrari, *o. c.* 1725, pl. 3, 6. - 150-155 A.D. - Movement to l. H. with lionskin on l. arm kneels on the bull's back with club raised. The bull reclines. Similar on the sarcophagi [Dodekathlos] 1730. 1731 (holding a horn). 1733.

**2376.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1725\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. Konya Mus. 1002. From Pappa Tiberiopolis. - Ferrari, *o. c.* 1725, pl. 21. - 250 A.D. - Movement to l. As the last, H. holding back the bull's head.

**2377.** Clay relief bowl fr. Rome, Mus. Naz. - DAI Rom neg. 6796. - 1st cent. B.C. - Movement to r.

### c) Herakles and bull move in opposite directions

**2378.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1713\*) Mosaic. Valence Mus. From Saint-Paul-lès-Romans. - Lavagne, H., *RA* 1979, 276 fig. 7. - 170-180 A.D. - H. with lionskin at back, holds bull's horn.

**2379.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1745\* with bibl.) Marble «Tazza Albani». Rome, Mus. Torlonia 383. - Millin, A. L., *Mythologische Gallerie* (1848) pl. 113. - Augustan.

**2380.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1722\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. Once Hever Castle. From Rome. - *SarkRel* III 1 no. 112 pl. 31. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - H. with lionskin on l. shoulder, holds bull's horn.

**2381.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1747\*) Marble relief. Vatican 431. From Palestrina. - 2nd cent. A.D. - H. with tainia, bow and quiver at back, holds bull's horn. A woman watches from above. Very much restored.

**2382.\*** Bronze corselet (pteryx) relief. Athens, NM Kar 90. - From Dodona. - Carapanos, C., *Dodone et ses ruines* (1878) 34, 7 pl. 16, 4; Hausmann pl. 53, 1. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - H. with l. hand on bull's back; the bull leaps strongly away from him.

**2383.\*** Bronze statuette attachment to a chariot. Athens, NM Kar 785. From Nikomedia. - v. Mercklin, E., *Jdl* 48, 1933, 156. 174-175 fig. 85. - 3rd-4th cent. A.D. - H. with lionskin at back and r. side, tied on chest, holds club upright, and the small bull by a horn, tucked under his l. arm.

### 9. Herakles attacks without weapons

a) Herakles seizes the bull by its horns, both facing r. (except 2389), and kneeling on it on 2384.

#### Stone reliefs

**2384.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1740 with bibl.) Mosaic. Volubilis, Maison des Travaux d'Hercule. - Thouvenot, E., *PSAM* 1948, pl. 2. - About 200 A.D. - H. with lionskin, kneels on bull's back holding its horns.

**2385.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1735\*) Marble «Ara Giustiniani». Vatican. - 1st cent. A.D. - H. holds horns of bull leaping to r.

**2386.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1714\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. Velletri, Mus. Civ. From Velletri. - *RivIstArch* 7, 1958, 152 fig. 31. - Late Hadrianic. - H. wears lionskin on head and back. Bull leaps.

**2387.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1737 with bibl.) Marble relief (ded. Cassia Priscilla). Naples, Mus. Naz. 6683. From Velletri. - Andreae, B., *Stud. zur röm. Grabkunst* (1963) pl. 38. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - H. holds one horn.

**2388.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1734\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. Florence, Uff. 110. From Rome. - *SarkRel* III 1 no. 113 pl. 31. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - H. with lionskin on l. shoulder, holds one horn. Very similar are the sarcophagi [Dodekathlos] 1716. 1718. 1721. 1723. 1752 and *SarkRel* III 1 no. 110 pl. 30 (Rome, Villa Albani).

#### Other reliefs

**2389.\*** Clay relief (Campana). Vatican, Mus. Greg. 14477. From Rome. - Borbein 172-175 pl. 31, 3; Helbig<sup>1</sup> I no. 835. - 1st cent. A.D. - Movement to l. H. with tainia, holds both horns. For other examples, Borbein 157-161.

**2390.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1754b\* with bibl.) Clay relief vase. Brussels, Mus. Roy. R 524. From near Cumae (?). - *CVA* 3 pl. 1 (139), 2a-d. - 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. - H. turns his back, holds both horns. His club below him, his bow and quiver above. Other examples see 1754.

**2391.** Clay relief bowl (base medallions). Switzerland, Private. - *Kunst der Antike aus Privatbesitz Bern-Biel-Solothurn* (1967) 75-76 nos. 203 pl. 28. - 3rd cent. A.D. - H.'s club below, and tree at either side. A Roman-Egyptian type; see *ibid.* for examples from Alexandria, and Breccia, E., *BullAlex* 40, 1909, 301 fig. 60.

**2392.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1761\* with bibl.) AU aureus, Cologne (?), Postumus, AD 268. - *RNum* 1958, pl. 5, 27; Voegtli pl. 15f. - Rev.: H. with lionskin at his back holds both horns. *HERCVLI CRET-ENSI*. Cf. the medallions of Postumus (Dressel, H., *Die röm. Medaillone* [1973] no. 160 pl. 19, 1) and Sept. Severus (Schönert, *o. c.* 2087, pl. 30, 524).

b) Herakles seizes the bull by a horn and by its muzzle, both facing right (except 2395. 2400. 2403a-c), and one hand raised to it, over his head, on 2403f. g.

#### Mosaic and textile

**2393.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1741\* with bibl.) Mosaic. Madrid, Arch. Mus. From Liria. - *Jdl* 37, 1922, pl. 1; Balil, A., *Archivo preh. Levantina* 15, 1978/79, pl. 4. - Early 3rd cent. A.D. - H. with lionskin at his back. Club on the ground.

**2394.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1744\*) Coptic textile. Leningrad, Hermitage W 11337. - 6th cent. A.D. - Young H.

#### Reliefs

**2395.\*** Clay relief bowl (base medallion). Alexan-

dria, Greco-Rom. Mus. 17001. - Breccia, *o. c.* 2391, 301 fig. 61. - 3rd cent. A.D.

**2396.** Sandstone relief fr. Darmstadt, Mus. II A. 2. From Lorsch forest. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 152-153 no. 231. - Upper part of H. and head of bull only.

**2397.** (= 2433, = 2525\*) Marble sarcophagus. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Prof. (formerly Lateran 9803). From Rome, via Latina, tomb of Pancratii. - *SarkRel* III 1 no. 111 pl. 30; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* pl. 54; Helbig<sup>1</sup> I no. 1026. - 235-240 A.D. - H. with lionskin. Similar are the sarcophagi [Dodekathlos] 1715. 1717. 1720.

**2398.\*** Glass ringstone. Munich, Münzslg. A 530. From Italy. - *AGDI* 2 no. 1422 pl. 140 (as Theseus and Minotaur). - 1st cent. B.C. - The bull leaps. Club before.

**2399.** Carnelian ringstone. London, BM old cat. 1300. From Greece. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 35, 29; Lippold, *Gemmen* pl. 39, 11. - 1st cent. B.C. - H. with lionskin flying back from shoulders.

**2400.\*** (= [Dodekathlos] 1755 with bibl.) Plaster cast. Hildesheim, Pel. Mus. 1532 (2956). From Memphis. - Todisco 1, fig. 2; Voegtli pl. 10b; Reinsberg, *o. c.* 1755, no. 74 fig. 120. - Movement to l. Lionskin and club in field behind H.

**2401.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1727 with bibl.) Silver relief cup. Athens, NM Br 7484. - *AM* 39, 1914, pl. 9; Rosenberg, *o. c.* 1727, 40 fig. 31. - 3rd-4th cent. A.D. - H. with lionskin on back. Club in field.

**2402.** Bronze relief bowl. Munich, Antikenslg. From Samos. - Buschor, E., *Bronzekanne aus Samos* (1944) pl. 3. - 6th cent. A.D. - Young H., with cloak.

#### Coins

**2403.** AE, rev. a) Copia, L. Munatius Plancus, 43 B.C. - Giard, J. B., *Le monnayage de l'atelier de Lyon* (1982) pl. 2, 1. - Movement to l. Club in field. - b) Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. - Voegtli pls. 41. 10a (= 12j; club and skin in field); *BMC* Alexandria no. 1050 pl. 6 (movement to l.). - c) Nikopolis, Septimius Severus. - Pick, B., *Die ant. Münzen von Dacien und Moesien* (1898) no. 1309 pl. 17, 24. - Movement to l. - d) Herakleia Pontou, Macrinus. - *SNG* v. Aulock 6953 pl. 239. - e) Tomis, Elagabalus. - Pick, *o. c.* pl. 17, 25. - Club on ground. - f) (= [Dodekathlos] 1729) AE, Hadrianopolis, Gordian III. - H. with hand raised to horn. - g) Hadrianopolis, Anchialos, Gordian III; and Deultum, Tranquillina. - Voegtli pl. 4k. 1; Bräuer pl. 3, 14; Strack, M. L., *Die ant. Münzen von Thrakien* (1912) pl. 8, 4; Jurukova, J., *Die Münzprägung von Deultum* (1973) pl. 24, 401. - As the last. - h) Herakleia Pontou, Gordian III. - *RecGén* I 2, 378, 222 pl. 62, 4; Voegtli pl. 4m; *SNG* v. Aulock 425. 6961. 6962. - Club in exergue. - i) Herakleia Pontou, Gallienus. - *SNG* v. Aulock 451. - As the last; H. with lionskin.

#### Statuary

**2404.\*** Ivory statuette. London, BM 1959.4-15.3. - Birchall, A./Corbett, P. E. C., *Greek Gods and Heroes*

(1974) fig. 27. - 2nd cent. A.D. - H. with lionskin at back; bull with tree-trunk support.

c) Herakles and bull move in opposite directions, H. seizing the bull's horn and muzzle.

**2405.** AE coin, Alexandria, Commodus. - Voegtli pl. 4j. - Rev.; club on ground. Bodies crossing.

**2406.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1759\* with bibl.) Ivory relief plaque. Rome, St. Peter's (throne). - Romanelli, *o. c.* 1759, pl. 47, 2. - H. with lionskin. Bull's tail and foreleg wrapped round H.'s legs.

d) the bull is squatting upright, H. seizing horn and muzzle.

**2407.** Clay sealing. From Palmyra (?) - *IconogrCl* 385 fig. 10. - Early Imperial. - H. kneels at r. before the bull, arms round its neck pulling its head to his chest. The bull raises a hind leg to H.'s knee. The pose is borrowed from H. with the lion.

**2408.\*** AE contorniate, 4th cent. A.D. - Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons* no. 374 pl. 156, 5-8. - Rev.: H. attacks from the r. The bull is upright, sitting frontally, its head pulled towards H.'s chest. Obv.: bust of Trajan.

**2409.\*** AE contorniate, 4th cent. A.D. - Alföldi, *o. c.* no. 282 pl. 119, 3-7. - Rev.: movement to l. The bull is sitting up, in profile, sitting back on its haunches. Obv.: bust of Trajan.

### 10. The bull alone

Cf. also [Dodekathlos] 1739 and 1742 where the bull was almost certainly shown on its own, but is now missing.

**2410.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1743\* with bibl.) Mosaic. Piazza Armerina. - Gentili, *o. c.* 1743, fig. 12. - Early 4th cent. A.D. - Bull plunges to r., head turned away.

### 11. Uncertain

**2411.** Series of statues, reliefs and coins showing H. standing or seated, with his club resting on a bull's head. 1st-3rd cent. A.D. - Todisco, L., *ArchCl* 31, 1979, 141-157 pls. 49-58 for discussion and bibl.; and cf. Marchetti, D., *NotSc* 1889, 243-244 fig. a (seated H. from Rome, tufa statue). Coins - Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* I 158-160 nos. 1. 6. 7. 16. 26. 27. 31. 38. 39. 41. 42. Cf. also 297. 355. 735. 941.

**2412.** Stone reliefs. From Dura-Europos. - Downey, S. H., *Dura*, Final Rept. III, I 1 pls. 13-15. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. - H. standing or moving holding a bull's head in one hand and, sometimes, a club in the other.

**2413.** AE contorniate, 4th cent. A.D. - Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons* no. 409 pl. 172, 1-2. - Rev.: Young man with quiver, beyond bull, holding it by horn and muzzle. Obv.: bust of Caracalla.



## COMMENTARY

## GREEK

In Minoan/Mycenaean art the capture of bulls, with ropes or nets, or by wrestling with them, was represented in a quite different manner. Evans compares the scenes with H. or Theseus and the bull. Dunbabin had wondered whether 2354 might be the earliest H. with the bull, but the possibility of a Theseus must be admitted, as too with 2314 (or Acheloos) and 2317 (or bulls of Geryon). It is not possible to say which story was first current (Hausmann 69-70 n. 269; Herter). The first possible scenes are Laconian (2317), followed after about 520 by the certain Attic, including few (2306) in which the bull is killed. This is Akusilaos' version, a minor but perhaps early tradition (Robert 458). Generally it is the tying or wrestling that is shown, Types 3 and 4, where there are schemes which seem influenced by scenes of H. with the Lion (on the ground, as Type 4 b) or with the Boar. Some vases carry two scenes of the story (2321 + 2326. 2324 + 2348. 2327 + 2337. 2330. 2333. 2343). The variants in these versions are often difficult to distinguish from scenes of Theseus with the bull, which may begin earlier. Theseus is generally beardless, long-haired, and may use the club, but not quiver, bow or lionskin (Hausmann 69; Shefton 367-368); but see 2318 where a young beardless H. is named. The popularity of Theseus in 5th cent. Athens, inspired politically, probably accounts for the decline in versions of the H. episode (Hausmann 69-73; cf. Boardman, J., *JHS* 95, 1975, 1-12). The previously separate stories can also become confused in the literary record (Herter, *l.c.*).

A new sculptural scheme is devised in the Peloponnese, on the Olympia metope (2338) owing nothing to Types 2 and 3, as previously shown. It has few immediate successors, but cf. the Theseus (or H.) and bull on Paris G 526 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1454, 16) which has been related to Pausias' picture of the sacrifice of a bull (Plin. *nat.* 35, 126; Hausmann 81-82 pl. 57, 1) and our 2313. This is the period of the Selinuntine coins (2316) on which the scene resembles the Theseus and bull of the Hephaisteion (where there is no H. and bull), which might itself depend on a lost post-Persian war group on the Acropolis (Paus. 1, 27, 9; Hausmann 73-77). After the mid 5th cent. Attic vases present H. facing the bull, 2309-2311. Now too we see a probable Minos (2309. 2311. 2350. 2351), who is recorded as having an interest in the fight. Of the watching women a Europa is identified on 2310 and → Krete (or → Pasiphae) may be among the others (Shefton 336; cf. 2306. 2309. 2313. 2319. 2323. 2343). Four women run on 2331, like Nereids from H. and Nereus or Triton. The occasional trees, particularly the palm (2309. 2310. 2312) may set the scene (Shefton 345). Athena is commonly present; sometimes Iolaos to hold weapons (three of him on 2341!); and more rarely Hermes.

For the Praxitelean group at Thebes ([Dodekathlos] 1710) we might look to the relief bowl from Boeotia, 2315. For the Lysippan at Alyzia ([Dodekathlos]

1709), taken to Rome, it is probably the type with H. taking the bull by horn and muzzle that is involved, a late Hellenistic type most probably, reflected in a rich Roman series, Type 9 b. Another Lysippan work, Krateros' dedication at Delphi (Moreno, P., *Lisippo I* [1974] 33-36; Picard, *Manuel IV* 2, 742-745 figs. 314-315) may lead us to 2314. A sculptural type may also lie behind the figures of H. carrying the bull, another late Hellenistic creation well represented in the Roman Type 6, which derives from the scheme of H. carrying the Erymanthian boar to display to Eurystheus.

## ROMAN

Eclecticism characterises Roman scenes of H. and the bull, as it does many of the other Labours, whether it is shown on its own, or with other Labours, on works where the interweaving of different iconographic elements from different prototypes produces from time to time new and original versions. It has been held that the carrying of the bull (Loeffler, E., *Marsyas* 6, 1950-53, 15) attested in Republican and late Imperial times (Type 6), derives from the traditional treatment of H. with the boar. But the Roman period knows two versions of the naked H. in this scene: young, holding the beast with his arms bent before his chest (2358-2360) and young (2362) or mature and bearded (2357. 2363) lifting it on his shoulders. Type 7 follows the scheme for Kerberos dragged from Hades (Fazia, G. M., *Annali Bari* 19/20, 1976/77, 81-82 figs. 4-6). Types 7, 8 and 9 in fact derive from the Archaic pursuit schemes (Borbein 173) and the type introduced by the Olympia Master with the bodies of H. and beast crossing (2338). But to these two basic schemes are added a series of adaptations which, while unconsciously respecting Greek models, indicate a deliberate search for novelty: in the many versions of the struggle H. is given a great variety of disparate ways of capturing and defeating the beast while the creature itself is shown in the same boringly repetitive gallop. The variants are defined by H.'s attributes and the way he uses his hands, almost always at the bull's side, and almost always either facing the same way as the bull, or frontal, turning the other way. In type 8 he attacks with his club to the r. or l., kneeling on its back (2374-2376), or facing in the opposite direction to the bull (2378-2383). H. brandishing his club while holding the bull's horn is already known in Italiot pottery (2308) and on the coins of Selinus (2316). Distinctions can be drawn between action to the r. (2365. 2369. 2371) or the l. (2366. 2373), or in the position of the hero's club, carried as attribute (2365. 2368) or raised to strike (2367. 2369. 2373); the hero naked, bare-headed and usually bearded, with the usual attributes. To these is added the lamp 2372 with the detail of H. holding the bull's muzzle, and the pteryx 2382 which recalls Olympia (2338), as well as 2378. 2381. 2383. On these last, as on the pteryx with the bodies crossing, the muzzle gesture is avoided. The tying of the bull is exceptional in Roman art, but appears on the Augustan vase 2379 in a group recalling Olympia but the pose of the bull following

different models (cf. 2310. 2311; Hausmann pl. 57, 1), and the oscillum 2374 which recalls the Selinuntine coins (2316) and Berlin cup (2315). Detail of the tiny bull on the coin 2370 is not matched but the general scheme goes with 2367-2369. 2373. H. kneeling on the bull seems a speciality of Asiatic sarcophagi of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (2375. 2376), a variant of the type of H. with the deer which appears on the same monuments (Cultrera, G., *MemLinc* 14, 1910, 249; Loeffler, *o.c.* 20-21); as well as on the columniated sarcophagi even closer parallels are found earlier on Attic vases (2196) and other Greek and Roman works.

In type 9 H. does not use the club but seizes one or both horns (a), a horn and muzzle moving in the same (b) or the opposite direction (c) to the bull, and in (d) the bull is seated before him. There are connexions and variants within this scheme. On 2384-2386. 2388-2392 H. holds both horns, on 2366. 2387 only one. There is even closer correspondence between the Roman reliefs 2385-2388 and the provincial coinage 2392 in the movement to r. (unlike 2366. 2389) for a period from the 1st to the middle of the 3rd cent. and the variant on cup 2390 seems a speciality of Corinthian workshops. Artists sought other variants in details, such as having H.'s head bare or wearing the lionskin, a distinction already observed on Attic vases (cf. 2319-2325). The motif of H. holding the bull by horn and muzzle (Type 9 b. c) is widespread, in Rome especially on the sarcophagi with continuous friezes, as in the provinces east and west. H. is generally quite naked, bearded and bare-headed (except 2406), but the lionskin may be knotted on his chest or hanging from his shoulders. The motif was already familiar on Attic vases (cf. 2320) and was probably developed in the round by Lysippus at Alyzia (= [Dodekathlos] 1709 and Commentary). The scenes can be divided according to the direction of movement, to the l. (2400. 2403a-c) from Republican to early 3rd cent., to the r. (2393-2398. 2401. 2402. 2403d-2407) from Antonine to the 9th cent. Some sarcophagi are closely linked by the motif of H.'s fingers gripping the bull's nostrils, as on the relief 2397 and the coins 2403a-c which certainly depend on a plastic prototype, probably Alexandrian (cf. Ippel, A., *BerlWPr* 97, 1937, 38-47; Hausmann 85-86; Todisco 1, 44). Particularly close are the ivory statuette 2404 and the coin 2405, also from Alexandria, in the crossing of the bodies, the scheme of the Olympia metope (2338), perpetuated, as we have seen, in other versions in Rome and throughout the provinces (2377-2383). Again, for the statuette and the coins we may suppose a model in the round, such as the scheme described for a bronze group in the anonymous epigram, *Anth. Pal.* 16, 105 (cf. Todisco 2, 20 n. 13, 60-61), possibly inspired by a type for Theseus with the bull (Borbein 174-175). The iconography of the contorniates 2408. 2409 is certainly related to the scheme whereby the hero restrains the bull by one horn and muzzle, but the artists have adapted it so that the struggle is virtually body to body and the beast is not galloping but sitting (2408) or on its haunches (2409) resisting H.'s attempt to throw it to the ground. The bull is rarely shown on

its own, as victim of one of H.'s Labours (Type 10). At Piazza Armerina the type (2410) must derive from the zodiacal bull, which is common on such monuments and sometimes associated with apotheoses of heroes or Herculean emperors (Gundel, G. H., *EAA VII* [1966] s.v. «Zodiaco» 1279-1281. 1285 figs. 1409. 1414), a type also adopted by North African mosaicists whose repertory is closely linked to that of the Sicilian villa (Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 196-212 figs. 155-157. 162).

Finally, there are the monuments of Type 11 found in Italy and the east from the 1st to 3rd cents. One cannot exclude the possibility that the bull's head refers to the Labour (Furtwängler 2243; Downey, *o.c.* 2412, 49-51), though on 2411 it is better understood as symbol of the beast commonly sacrificed to H. in the Roman period. On the contorniates 2413 the hero takes the bull's horn and muzzle, but in a manner quite different from those of Type 9, and they are placed here because the hero is inadequately characterised and through the lack of detailed parallels with the main series of scenes.

LUIGI TODISCO

# I. Herakles and the horses of Diomedes (Labour VIII)

H. has to bring to → Eurystheus the man-eating horses of the Thracian king Diomedes. He captures or kills them; feeds Diomedes to his horses, or kills him; feeds Diomedes' groom to his horses; loses his favourite → Abderos to the horses.

LITERARY SOURCES: Pindar is the earliest source (frg. 169, 9-46 Snell/Maehler; cf. Lloyd-Jones, H., *HSCP* 76, 1972, 50-53) where the groom is fed to the horses, which H. drives away. Eur. *Alc.* 481-506 and *Herc.* 380-388 dwells on their bloody stalls and fire-breathing; H. brings the horses to Eurystheus. Fullest accounts are in Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (96-97) 5, 8 where H. kills Diomedes and drives off the horses; followed by Tzet. *chil.* 2, 299-308; and Diod. 4, 15, 3 where H. feeds Diomedes to the horses. Both horses and Diomedes are killed in Hyg. *fab.* 30, 9 (where the horses are named - Podargos, Lampon, Xanthos, Dinos) and Q. Smyrn. 6, 245-248. Diomedes is eaten in Sen. *Ag.* 842-847. The horses were maddened by drinking the waters of the river Kossinitis (Ail. *nat.* 15, 25); were released to Olympus where they were killed by beasts (Apollod. and Tzet. *l.c.*); dedicated to Hera and bred from until the time of Alexander (Diod. 4, 15, 4); given by H. to his son Chromis (Stat. *Theb.* 6, 346-349). Diomedes, the «Thracian», son of Ares and king of the Bistones (Apollod. *l.c.*; Eur. *Alc.* 498), built a temple for his father Ares roofed with skulls (Bakchyl. *dith.* 20); compare → Kyknos (I). See also → Abderos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bräuer, R., *ZfN* 28, 1910, 74-77; Brommer, H. 33-34; *idem*, *Vasenlisten* 186-187; *idem*, *Denkmälerlisten I* 145-146; Furtwängler, A., *ML I* 2 (1886-1890) 2202. 2225-2226. 2243 s.v. «Herakles»; Gruppe, O., *RE Suppl.* III (1918) 1053-1055 s.v. «Herakles»; Kurtz, D. C., *JHS* 95,

1975, 171-172; Robert, *Heldensage* 1458-462; Robert, *Sark-Rel III* 1, 119; Scheffold, *SB II* 104-105; v. Sybel, L., *ML I* 1 (1884-86) 1022-1023 s.v. «Diomedes»; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 33-35; Vollkommer 11-12.

## CATALOGUE

H. is naked except for his lionskin, unless otherwise stated.

## GREEK

## 1. Herakles with raised club beside a horse or horses, holding one

**2414.\*** Cup, Attic bf. Leningrad, Hermitage B 9270. - *ABV* 294, 22: Psiax; *Para* 128; *Add* 77; Kurtz, pl. 18a-b; Scheffold 105 fig. 130. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - H. on the near side, seen from the back, wearing lionskin and tunic, sword, holds the horse's neck. A head and arm hang from the horse's mouth.

**2415.** Cup frs., Attic rf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 1 B 32 and Rome, Villa Giulia. - *ARV* 58, 47: Olto; *CVA* Florence 1 pl. 1 B 32; Beazley, *CF* 8 pl. Y, 3; Kurtz pl. 18d. - 520-510 B.C. - H. on the near side, seen from the back, holding the horse's muzzle. An arm hangs from the horse's mouth. On B a man in himation - «Diomedes hastening up to protest» (Beazley in *CF*). Cf. the rf. cup frs., Vienna IV 4404 (*CVA* 2 pl. 99, 1; Beazley, *CF* 8); and the rf. cup, Tischbein II pl. 19.

**2416.\*** Lekythos, Attic bf. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 14569. - Haspels, *ABL* 222, 22 pl. 30, 1; Marathon P.; *ABV* 487; *Add* 122; Brommer, *H.*, pl. 19b; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 257. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. from the far side, holds the neck of one of four winged horses.

**2417.** Skyphos fr., Attic rf. Basel, Cahn Coll. HC 484. - Slehoferova, V., *AK* 29, 1986, 86-88 pl. 15, 5; Vollkommer 12 fig. 16. - 450-430 B.C. - H. holds the horse by its forelock.

## 2. Herakles attacks with club one horse from the side, holding it by the reins

**2418.** Situla, S. Italian rf. Once de Ridder Coll. From Nemours. - *RA* 36, 1900, 294-296. - 4th cent. B.C. - H. naked seen from the back.

**2419.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1705\*\* with bibl.) Marble metope from temple of Zeus, Olympia. Olympia Mus. and Paris, Louvre. - Ashmole/Yalouris, o.c. 1705, pl. 179. - About 460 B.C. - H. frontal, naked. Probably similar were [Dodekathlos] 1703 (Athenian Treasury, Delphi) and 1706 (Hephaisteion, Athens).

**2420.** Cornelian scarab. Boston, MFA 27.674. - Beazley, J. D., *Lewes House Gems* (1921) no. 21 pls. 2, 9; Boardman, *AGGems* no. 268 pl. 18; Richter, *EngGemsGE* no. 135. - About 500 B.C. - H. walks beside horse, club lowered, quiver hangs.

**2421.\*** Red jasper ringstone. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 384. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 24, 1; *AGD II* no. 307 pl. 59. - 3rd cent. B.C. («S. Italian» - *AGD*). - H. naked, frontal.

**2422.\*** AR diobol, Taras. 4th cent. B.C. - Ravel, *Vlasto* pl. 43, 1445-1451; *SNG Oxford* 526. - Rev.: H. frontal, naked. Obv.: head of Athena.

## 3. Herakles between two or more rearing horses

**2423.\*** Oinochoe, Apulian rf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. 8910 (5110). - *RVAp II* 874, 78; Baltimore P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 8 (736), 2; Moret, *Ilioupersis* pl. 87; Vollkommer 12 fig. 17. - 330-310 B.C. - Young H. frontal. A pelta on the ground (Thracian item). Similar, by the same hand, on the volute crater, Private, *RM* 93, 1986, pl. 46, 2-3 - watched by Apollo, Athena, Iris, Zeus, Hermes in upper register.

**2424.** Scarab. Tarquinia Mus. - Boardman, *AGGems* no. 80. - About 500 B.C. - Possibly Etruscan. The horses are winged.

**2425.\*\*** Clay relief bowls and mould. a)\* Athens, Agora P 23225; Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* pl. 62, 2; *Agora XXII* no. 188 pls. 37, 79. b) Athens, Agora P 404; *Hesperia* Suppl. X no. 120 pl. 50. c)\* Delos

Mus.; Courby, *Vases à reliefs* 383 fig. 78, 25; *Delos XXXI* pl. 125, 3311 + 3313. d) Mould. Athens, NM; *ArchEph* 1979 pl. 46, 6. - About 200 B.C. - H. naked. Two other horses in background, a wheel and a man on the ground.

## 4. Herakles with a rearing horse before him

**2426.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1708\* with bibl.) Marble relief from Sunium. - *Hesperia* 10, 1941, 173 fig. 5B. - 4th cent. B.C.

**2427.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1712\* with bibl.) Marble frieze from the Theatre, Delphi. Delphi Mus. - *BCH* 75, 1951, pl. 28 below; *Jdl* 40, 1925, 195 fig. 8. - 2nd/1st cent. B.C. - As the last, but H. draws away from the horse. To the right H. strikes down a figure, fully dressed, on his knees and raising one hand to him (Diomedes?).

## 5. Herakles and Diomedes

See also 2415 (possibly). 2425. 2427.

**2428.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1701) Throne of Apollo at Amyklai. Lost. - Paus. 3, 18, 12. - Later 6th cent. B.C. - «H. punishing the Thracian Diomedes».

**2429.** Clay relief bowl. From Pherae. - Kakaboyiannis, E., *AAA* 1980, 266 fig. 4. - 3rd/2nd cent. B.C. - At l. break forepart of two horses, above *HIPAKAHE*; at r. a raised spear and shield (?), above *ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ* inscribed. Uncertain scheme. Cf. fr. of another bowl, *ibid.* fig. 5 with *ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ* inscribed over the head of a man in a Thracian cap.

**2430.** *Vacat.*

## 6. Other scenes and uncertain

See [Dodekathlos] 1709 (Lysippus at Alyzia). 1710 (Praxiteles, temple of H., Thebes).

**2431.** Cup, Attic rf. Altenburg 232. From Nola. - *ARV* 1270, 14; Codrus P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 70, 3-6. - About 430 B.C. - H. with bow and club drives two horses. Much restored.

## ROMAN

## 7. Herakles attacks one horse (sometimes with others shown as in Type 8) from the side

Cf. Type 2. Common from mid-2nd cent. A.D. on. Cf. also H. seen from behind on sarcophagi, [Dodekathlos] 1715. 1716. 1717; seen from the front, [Dodekathlos] 1725 (sarcophagus). 1728 (gold bell). 1737 (votive relief). 1744 (Coptic textile); and *SarkRel III* 1 no. 118 pl. 32 (Rome, Villa Wolkonsky). H. seen from the side on [Dodekathlos] 1754b (relief bowl). 1757 (metal relief). 1759 (St Peter's throne) and the following.

**2432.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1713\*) Mosaic. Valence Mus. From Saint-Paul-lès-Romans. - *RA* 1979, 277 fig. 8. - A.D. 150-200. - H. frontal clubs one of two rearing horses; two others on the ground.

**2433.** (= 2397, = 2525\*) Marble sarcophagus fr. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Prof. 9803 (ex Lateran). - *SarkRel III* 1 no. 111 pl. 30; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* pl. 54; Helbig<sup>4</sup> 1 no. 1026. - About A.D. 230. - Naked H. twisting to the r. clubs one of two standing horses; two others on the ground. (Between Labours VII and X. XI; so order as [Dodekathlos] 1715-1725.)

**2434.** Ringstone, yellow glass. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. FG 6237. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 42. - 1st cent. B.C. - H. naked to l. with raised club (missing), a rearing horse and two wheels.

**2435.\*** AE coins, rev. a) Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. - Voegtli pls. 5d. 121. - H. to l. attacks two horses. - b)\* Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. - Voegtli pls. 5c. 12m. - H. to the r. with two horses; Diomedes prone. - c) Bosphoros, Sauromates III. - Bräuer pl. 3, 16. - H. to r. with one horse, arm round neck (cf. [Dodekathlos] 1725). - d) Nikaia, Caracalla. - Voegtli pl. 5f. - As the last but two horses and holding reins. - e) (= [Dodekathlos] 1729 with bibl.) Hadrianopolis, Gordian III. - Voegtli pls. 1a. b. 19g. - One horse. - f) (= [Dodekathlos] 1761\* with bibl.) AU aureus, Cologne (?), Postumus. - Voegtli pl. 15g. - H. to r. with horse. *HERCVLI THRACIO*.

## 8. Herakles usually frontal, attacks one of a group of four horses; normally two rear at either side of him, one is falling, one fallen.

Cf. Type 3. Examples are Augustan and later. Cf. also [Dodekathlos] 1713. 1722. 1723. 1752 (sarcophagi). 1745 (Tazza Albani). 1727 (silver cup rim).

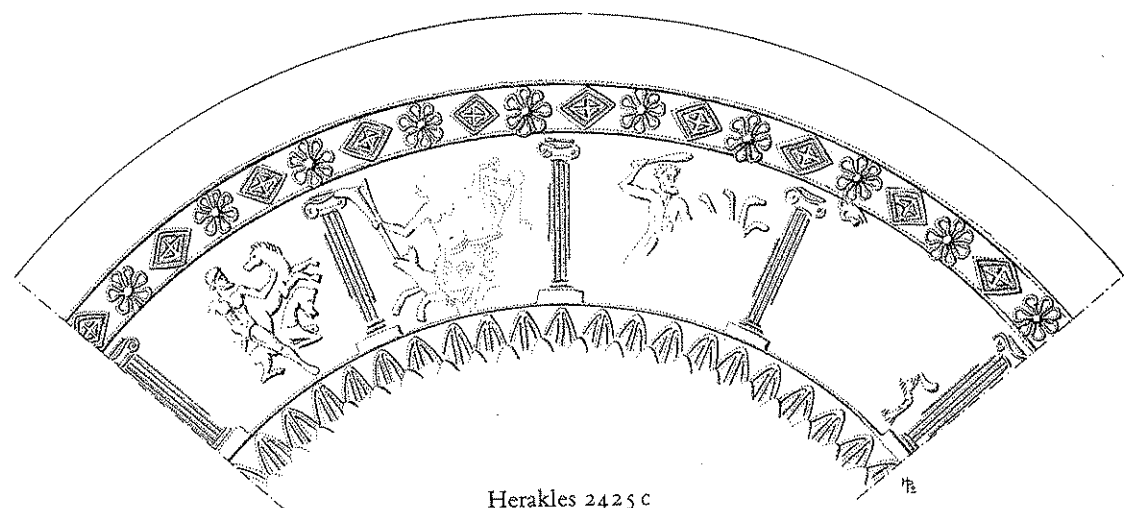
**2436.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1741\* with bibl.) Mosaic. Madrid, Arch. Mus. From Liria. - *Jdl* 37, 1922, pl. 1; Balil, o.c. 1741, pl. 5. - 3rd cent. A.D. - H. restrains one rearing horse, its body turned from him. Two horses on the ground.

**2437.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1734\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. Florence, Uff. 110. From Rome. - *SarkRel III* 1 no. 113 pl. 31. - Mid-2nd cent. A.D. - H. amid three rearing horses, with one tumbling at the l., inverted. At H.'s feet a recumbent corseleted figure.

**2438.** Glass ringstone. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. FG 4201. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 31. - 1st cent. B.C. - H. leads four horses by reins to l., club raised, dead figure on ground. Behind H. a basis with two relief figures.

**2439.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1756\*) Silver relief cup. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Pompeii. - Maiuri, o.c. 1756, 317 fig. 124 pls. 29-30. - Augustan. - H. in profile to r. attacks a rearing horse, another behind him and to the r. one rears and another falls over the collapsing body of a naked youth.

**2440.** Marble group (under lifesize). Lambaesis Mus. From Lambaesis «Palais du Legat». - Mandercheid, H., *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen* (1981) 124 no. 493 pl. 48. - Late 2nd cent. A.D. - Part of H. and fallen horse only. With groups of Labours I-III. V. IX. Cf. also *ibid.* no. 495 (another, unpublished group).



Herakles 2425c

# 9. Herakles before one or two rearing horses. Cf. Type 4.

**2441.\*** AE coins, rev. **a)\*** Herakleia Pontou, Caracalla. — *RecGen* I 2, 366, 135 pl. 59, 19; SNG v. Aulock 6942; Voegtli pl. 5e. — H. faces one horse. — **b)** Herakleia Pontou, Gallienus. — Voegtli pl. 14i. — As the last. — **c)** Nikaia, Severus Alexander. — *RecGen* I 3, 474, 595 pl. 87, 22. Voegtli pl. 5g. — H. faces two horses. — **d)** Bosporos, Sauromates III. — Buratschkow, P., *Obschii katalog monet* (1884) pl. 30, 238. — As the last.

# 10. Herakles with Diomedes

Usually H. frontal holds the kneeling king by the hair. The horses in the background. Diomedes may be on one knee, in oriental dress **2442–2444** (exceptionally armed on **2445**); or kneeling frontal, armed (**2446**); seated on the ground (**2447**). **2448–2450** are variants in which he is not held by the hair. He is also seen prone on **2435b**. **2437**.

**2442.** Marble sarcophagus lid. Sofia, Nat. Arch. Mus. From Landschane. — *AA* 1912, 569–570 fig. 10; Ferri, S., *Arte romana sul Danubio* (1933) 369 fig. 498. — 3rd cent. A.D. — In the background r. a structure (mangers) and two figures holding up a cloth over which they watch the attack (grooms?).

Similar pose for main group, but with horses, on the sarcophagi, [Dodekathlos] **1719**. **1720**. **1726** (Leptis Magna pilaster); and the relief, Vatican (formerly Lateran), Benndorf, O./Schöne, R., *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateranensischen Museums* (1867) no. 505.

**2443.\*** Glass intaglio. Adolphseck. From Ostia. — Neugebauer, K. A., *Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz* (1938) no. 246 pl. 96. — With four horses, two wheels.

**2444.\*** AE coins, rev. **a)\*** Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. — Voegtli pls. 5a. 12k. — With two horses. — **b)** Hadrianopolis, Commodus. — Voegtli pl. 5b. — With four horses, a wheel.

**2445.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1730\*** with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. Rome, Mus. Torlonia 420. — *SarkRel* III 1 no. 126 pls. 35. 36. — A.D. 200–250. — Diomedes is armed, with helmet and shield. In the background one horse head, at a manger.

**2446.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1733\*** with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. London, BM 2301. From Athens. — *SarkRel* III 1 no. 131 pl. 39. — Mid-2nd cent. A.D. — Diomedes kneels frontal, fully armed. In the background two horses feed at a manger. Similar are the sarcophagi, [Dodekathlos] **1731** (without horses). **1732**.

**2447.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1736\*** with bibl.) Marble base. Rome, Mus. Cap. 205. From Albano. — Stuart-Jones, *SculptMusCap* no. 1 pl. 13; *RM* 77, 1970, pl. 79, 1. — 1st cent. A.D. — H. seen from behind, facing l., Diomedes on the ground seated in oriental dress. H. is in a similar pose on [Dodekathlos] **1749** (relief, Toulouse).

**2448.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1743\***) Mosaic. Piazza Armerina. — Gentili, o.c. **1743**, pl. 51 fig. 12; Settis,

o.c. **1743**, 965–967 fig. 61. — Early 4th cent. A.D. — Diomedes in oriental dress fallen from one of two horses, running free. Adjacent are three other horsemen, pierced by arrows.

**2449.\*** Marble group. Vatican 137. From Ostia. — Amelung, *SculptVatMus* II no. 137 pl. 34; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I no. 109 (under no. 96); Palma, B., *RendPontAcc* 51/52, 1978/80, 141–145 figs. 4–6. — Antonine. — H. raises his club over the crouching Diomedes, in oriental dress. Two horses, with groups of Labours III. X. XI.

**2450.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1755** with bibl.) Plaster cast of metal relief. Hildesheim, Pel.-Mus. 2963. From Memphis. — Reinsberg, o.c. **1755**, no. 78 fig. 126. — After late Hellenistic original. — Frr.; much of H. with raised club and part of prone Diomedes beside H.'s foot.

# 11. Uncertain and wrongly identified

For the relationship of Roman scenes of the Labour with representations of the Winds see Turcan, R., in *IconogrCl* 119–126, and below, **2454**.

**2451.** Painting. Rome, Via Latina Catacomb Room N. — Ferrua, A., *Le pitture della nuova catacomba di Via Latina* (1960) 78 pl. 76, 1. — 4th cent. A.D. — H. stands near the prostrate body of a man, naked but for loincloth, holding him by a hand. Bow and quiver at one side. Possibly not Diomedes.

**2452.** Mosaic. Ostia Mus. 144. From Ostia, Isola Sacra. — Calza, o.c. **2366**, 179–180. — Trajanic. — A youth rushing towards a central figure (missing) beside a horse.

**2453.** Marble sarcophagus. Liverpool, Merseyside County Mus. (once Ince Blundell Hall). — *SarkRel* III 3 no. 332 pl. 108; Ashmole, B., *Ancient Marbles at Ince* (1929) nos. 264. 265 pl. 47; Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* I 144 (as H.). — A.D. 150–200. — Two reliefs, from sarcophagus ends. A figure with club and chlamys (one bearded, one not) restraining a horse. Taken by Robert and Ashmole as wind gods (the main subject is Phaethon); cf. Turcan, o.c. *supra*.

**2454.** (= **2366\***) Stucco relief. Ostia, Isola Sacra Tomb 95. — Calza, o.c. **2366**, 109 fig. 43; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 161. — Trajanic. — Part of relief with a leaping horse and perhaps H. In a series with Labours VII. IX–XII (**2366**. **2654**. **2775**)

# COMMENTARY

In Greek art H.'s preoccupation is with the horses, which are only twice unnaturally winged (**2416**. **2424**), and reduced to one (except on **2424**) until 4th cent. Apulian (**2423**) where the scheme may be dictated by the «master of animals» scheme adopted for Apulian Odysseus with the horses of Rhesos (so Moret 189–190) and the same old motif may have in-

spired the earlier **2424**. Two to four horses do not otherwise appear until about 200 B.C. (**2425**) and where H. drives horses (**2432**, cf. **2430**) they must remain uncertainly identified. At first (late Archaic) he holds the horse (**2414–2416**) which is shown man-eating only on **2414** and **2415** (but see → Abderos I–4, ringstones which may show Diomedes being consumed). This feature shows that H. with one horse is of this Labour: Robert had suggested H. with the horse Arion (*Heldensage*<sup>4</sup> 2, 436–437) for these, including the Olympia metope (**2419**). The scheme with H. beside one horse is the established Classical one (**2418–2422**), the horse rearing before him later (**2426**. **2427**).

Diomedes appears only in the advanced Hellenistic period (the suggested Diomedes on **2415** is improbable), on **2425** prostrate (if not the groom) and on the Delphi frieze (**2427**), kneeling in oriental dress. This novelty is underlined by the juxtaposition of the separate scene of H. with a horse. (The H. and Diomedes alleged on the Amyklai Throne, **2428**, is surely a misidentification; too early for the motif. Paus. 5, 10, 9 also mentions Diomedes on the Olympia metope [**2419**] and he is not there.)

In Roman art H. normally attacks directly one of four horses, the others rearing behind him or already fallen. A single or pair of horses rearing before him is a motif for coins (**2441**). That they are a chariot team is indicated by the wheels on **2425** (Greek, Hellenistic). **2443**. **2444b**. [Dodekathlos] **1723**. **1745**. The Greek scheme of H. standing before one horse (**2434**. **2435c**. **e**) or between rearing horses (**2436**. **2437**. **2439**; [Dodekathlos] **1713**. **1722**. **1723**. **1727**. **1745**. **1752**) is a regular element in the group. A horse or horses are quietly feeding or observing on **2445**. **2446**. Two figures watch surreptitiously on **2442**. The collapsing naked youth on **2439** could be Abderos, if so uniquely in these scenes with H. and the horses (perhaps cf. → Herakles/Hercle **236**). The Piazza Armerina mosaic (**2448**) may also be unique in showing the Bistones horsemen defeated by H. (as Apollod. *bibl.* 2, [97] 5, 8). The horses alone appear on the relief, [Dodekathlos] **1752**.

The subject was never very popular, and most scenes appear in series of the Labours and not as individual subjects. This accounts for some lack of originality in treatment. The Greek scheme, with a single horse, was certainly strongly influenced by the commoner representation of H. with the bull. The only innovations thereafter are the showing of a full team of horses, a painter's concept, perhaps, but still based on the «H. with a single horse» group, and the introduction of Diomedes. The way this appears at Delphi (**2427**) as a separate group from that of H. with the horse suggests a new source of inspiration.

Possibly this was Lysippus' group for Alyzia in nearby Acarnania ([Dodekathlos] **1709**) taken to Rome, there to encourage many more representations of H. with Diomedes, with or without horses. These were added either in the alternative scheme of a rearing-collapsing team, or as onlookers in a narrative role.

JOHN BOARDMAN

# K. Herakles and the Amazons (Labour IX)

H. is required to fetch the belt of the Amazon queen Hippolyte for Eurystheus' daughter → Admete. His expedition against the Amazons was with an army in which various other heroes participated. The belt episode becomes the core of the labour, especially after the Amazonomachy theme is centred on Theseus in the 5th cent. B.C. See → Amazones I–167. **777–783** for Catalogue and discussion, which are summarised here, with token illustrations.

LITERARY SOURCES: There are repeated indications that H.'s attack on the Amazons was a major expedition in which other heroes took part: Theseus (see below, Section V, B), Peleus (Pind. *frg.* 172 Snell-Maehler; *Schol.* Pind. *N.* 3, 64b), Telamon (Pind. *N.* 3, 36–39 and Davies *EGFp.* 161 F 7), Iolaos (Pind. *N.* 3, 36–39; Eur. *Heraclidae* 215–217); Sthenelos (Apoll. Rhod. 2, 911–914); Argonauts generally (Hellan., *FGrH* 4 F 106), and for the general heroic following, Eur. *Herc.* 408–418; Iust. 2, 4 (cf. Schauenburg 4 n. 1).

The goal was the Amazon capital at Themiskyra (Eur. *Herc.* l. c.; Paus. 1, 2, 1; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [101–102] 5, 9, 7–8; Diod. 4, 16; Tzetz. *chil.* 2, 309–321) where the fighting took place. Pindar (*frg.* 172) mentions the quest for «Amazons' belts» and Epicharmus' play *Ἡρακλῆς ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν ζωστήρα* (CGFI *frg.* 76–77) refers also. It becomes the central issue of the labour (Eur. *Herc.* 413–415; Apollod. l. c.; Diod. l. c.; Apoll. Rhod. 2, 778–779. 966–969; Arr. *an.* 7, 13, 5; and so understood, not necessarily correctly, by Paus. on works he describes, 5, 10, 9 and 5, 25, 11). The belt was golden (Eur. l. c.; Davies *EGFp.* 161). It was «Ares' belt» to be delivered to Eurystheus' daughter Admete (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [98–99] 5, 9; Tzetz. l. c.). In our earliest source, Ibykos (Page *PMG frg.* 299) the belt belongs to Oiolyke; in «others» (*ibid.*) to Deilyke. Later it is taken to belong to the Amazon queen Hippolyte, whom H. kills (*ibid.*) or to Melanippe, who surrenders it as ransom (Diod. l. c. cf. Iust. 2, 4), or was given to H. by Hippolyte to ransom her sister Melanippe, daughter of Ares (Apoll. Rhod. 2, 966–969; cf. Iust. 2, 4). In an epic (Davies *EGFp.* 161 F 7) Melanippe is killed by Telamon. In Q. Smyrn. 6, 240–245 H. pulls Hippolyte from her horse by her hair, a motif he derives from art. H. dedicated an awning of peploi from the Amazons at Delphi (Eur. *Ion* 1143–1145) and the belt was displayed in the Argive Heraion (Eur. *Herc.* 416–418).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: With the general bibliography for Amazones (*LIMC* I p. 587) see especially: Boardman, J., in *The Eye of Greece* (Studies M. Robertson, 1982) 1–28; Bothmer, *Amazons*; Furtwängler, A., *MLI* 2 (1886–90) 2202–2203. 2226. 2243–2244 s.v. «Herakles»; Gruppe, O., *RE Suppl.* III (1918) 1055–1061 s.v. «Herakles»; Robert, *Heldensage*<sup>4</sup> 462–465. 558–561; Schauenburg, K., *Philologus* 104, 1960, 6–13 (on the belt); Schefold, *SBII* 105–113; Vollkommer 12–14.

# CATALOGUE

References to *LIMC* I «Amazones» are simply prefaced by «A.» for catalogue numbers.



### I. Herakles attacks Amazons on foot

In the Archaic period H. is commonly accompanied by other heroes and several Amazons are shown, but H. alone with one or more Amazons is the most frequent scheme. There are isolated examples on Corinthian (H. with Iolaos, the leading opponent Andromeda), Laconian, Chalcidian and Thasian vases (A. 1-4. 60) and hundreds on Attic bf. and rf. (A. 5-59. 61-87). H. uses spear or sword, later a club, and his opponent is usually running away or collapsing. Where named she is almost always Andromache, once Antimache (A. 19) and twice Kydoime (A. 63. 64); Hippolyte is elsewhere in the battle on A. 67\*. For other Amazon names see list in LIMCI p. 653. On A. 12\* the walls and gate of Themiskyra are shown. There are relief metopes with the subject at Delphi and Selinus (A. 95 = [Dodekathlos] 1703; A. 96).

In the 5th/4th cent. there are far fewer scenes involving other Greeks: Attic vases, A. 88 (against Hippolyte), 89\*; throne of Zeus at Olympia, 98; Delphi metopes, 100\*; Tarentum relief, 103\*; and duels are commoner (Olympia metopes, 97. 99; bronzes, 105\*. 107\*. 108). In the Hellenistic period the duel is normal (clay and metal reliefs, 109. 110; stone relief, 115\* = [Dodekathlos] 1712; A. 116).

On Roman sarcophagi H. may trample the prostrate Amazon taking her belt (LIMCI p. 595 types III. IV; Robert, types a. b; A. 128\*-137\*; [Dodekathlos] 1713-1719. 1721-1724. 1752 and 1720 where she lies on a collapsed horse); or he holds the small kneeling Amazon by her hair (LIMCI p. 595 type II, Robert, type c; A. 123\*; [Dodekathlos] 1731). Other Roman examples of the former type (trampling) are: A. 116 (? = [Dodekathlos] 1746). A. 118 (also held by hair, and a horse beyond). 142 (= [Dodekathlos] 1736). 156\* (= [Dodekathlos] 1728). 159\* (with horse). 160\* (with horse; hair not held). 161a\* (with horse). 163\*. 164 (= [Dodekathlos] 1761) and of the latter type (kneeling, held by hair) are 165\* (? = [Dodekathlos] 1729). [Dodekathlos] 1713 (with horse). Other attacks on foot are: A. 140\* (= [Dodekathlos] 1737; seized by hair, standing). 141. 146 (two dead Amazons). 149. 150\* (Amazon kneels). 155\* (Amazon collapses; other Greeks). Cf. A. 120\* (three Amazons retreat).

2455.\* (= A. 5) Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 5564. From Tarquinia. - ABV 84, 1: Camtar P.; Bothmer pl. 2, 1. - 570-550 B.C. - Iphito kills a Greek; H. kills Andromache; Telamon kills Glauke. H. with sword, lionskin over tunic.

2456.\* Cup, Attic bf. Würzburg, Wagner Mus. L 452. - ABV 63, 6: Heidelberg P.; Add<sup>2</sup> 17; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 126. - About 560 B.C. - H. with spear attacks a falling Amazon, seizing her helmet crest. A = Achilles 35\*.

2457.\* Oinochoe, Attic bf. London, BM B 496. From Vulci. - ABV 432, 6: Guide-Line Class; Bothmer pl. 33, 3. - 525-500 B.C. - H. with club attacks a falling Amazon. A Greek at either side.

2458.\* (= A. 101 with bibl.) Marble frieze. London, BM 541. From the Temple of Apollo at Bassai. -

Bothmer 215 pl. 88; Hofkes-Brukker, Ch./Mallwitz, A., *Der Bassai-Fries* (1975) 80-81 fig. - About 400 B.C. - The slab at the centre of the principal short side. Crossing composition of young H., lionskin over his l. arm, raising his club against an Amazon. At either side Amazon riders, victorious and stricken. Once thought an Athenian Amazonomachy (see discussion in Bothmer).

2459.\* (= A. 102 with bibl.) Marble frieze. London, BM 1008. From the Mausoleum, Halicarnassus. - Ashmole, B., *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece* (1972) 174-177 fig. 202. - Mid 4th cent. B.C. - H., with lionskin, raises his club against an Amazon on her knees before him, seizing her hair. The adjacent slab (1010) may show Theseus with a mounted Amazon (Ashmole, *o. c.* 200 n. 88 and *JHS* 89, 1969, 22-23 pl. 1). The rest of the fights is of Amazons mounted and on foot, with Greeks.

### 2. Herakles attacks an Amazon or Amazons with or on horses

Paus. (5, 25, 11) saw a group by Aristokles at Olympia, apparently early 5th cent. B.C. since the dedicator was of Zankle (not «Messene»), but this would be far earlier than any other such scene with H. and is unlikely to have shown the removal of the belt, as Paus. also alleges. The motif appears certainly first about 400 B.C. following the pattern of the 5th cent. Theseus Amazonomachies, at Bassai and then in the Mausoleum (A. 101\*. 102\*), on South Italian vases (90\*-93\*), bronzes (106) and in the Hellenistic period at Magnesia (104\*). It is far commoner in Roman art.

The motif of the Amazon dragged by her hair from her horse appears in earlier Amazonomachies (as A. 92c\*) but H. is himself the attacker at Magnesia (A. 104f\*) and often thereafter. There are several examples on sarcophagi (LIMCI p. 595 type I; Robert, types c. d; A. 122\*. 124-127\*; [Dodekathlos] 1730. 1732-1734). On other Roman works: A. 111\* (= [Dodekathlos] 1741). 113 (= [Dodekathlos] 1740). 139 (= [Dodekathlos] 1735). 143 (= [Dodekathlos] 1748). 144 (with other fighting groups). 151. 152 (= [Dodekathlos] 1756). 158. 161\*. 162\*. 166 (held by helmet). 167\*. [Dodekathlos] 1744 (?). The motif inspired the description in Q. Smyrn. 6, 240-245. Other attacks on a mounted Amazon: A. 119\* (= [Dodekathlos] 1749). 121\* (= [Dodekathlos] 1726). 145 (= [Dodekathlos] 1755). 147. 157 (= [Dodekathlos] 1760; Amazon prostrate on horse). And for an Amazon fallen from her horse or dismounted: A. 153 (= [Dodekathlos] 1727). 148 (= [Dodekathlos] 1754b).

2460. Marble relief on base fr. Tivoli, Hadrian Villa Mus. - 2nd cent. A.D. - H. with raised club drags an Amazon by her hair backwards off her collapsing horse.

### 3. Herakles and the Amazon's belt

On a Laconian cup of about 570 (= A. 2\*; Pipili, *LacLc* 4-7 fig. 9) H. (?) is thought to be seizing a fleeing Amazon by her belt, and on an Attic vase of about 500 (= A. 70\*; Boardman 7 n. 22) H. holds a belt (?) over a collapsing Amazon. Paus. (5, 25, 11) says that the early 5th cent. group at Olympia (see above, Section 2) showed the taking of the belt, but the Amazon was mounted and he is probably stating the stock theme rather than describing the group. This is certainly true of his description of the H. and Amazon group on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (5, 10, 9). South Italian vases show the belt being handed over (A. 777-781; → Eros 913b; cf. Schauenburg), but on none of them is an Amazon named. The missing belt on the Berlin/Lansdowne/Sciara Amazon type, replaced by a broken rein, may refer (A. 603\*; Boardman, J., *AJA* 84, 1980, 181-182; Harrison, E., in *The Eye of Greece* [Studies M. Robertson, 1982] 86). See also LIMCI pp. 649-650.

2461.\* (= A. 780) Bell crater, Campanian rf. Manchester Univ. IVE 30. - LCS 415, 359: Manchester P. - 340-320 B.C. - Young H., crowned, with lionskin and leaning on his club, receives the belt from an Amazon in oriental dress. Beside her a horse; behind H. a youth (Iolaos ?).

In Roman art H. is seen removing the belt from the prostrate Amazon on sarcophagi: see above, Section 1.

### 4. Other scenes

See A. 782\* (= 2807), with Antiope and Rhodope in an unexplained scene; and A. 783\*, confronting an Amazon peacefully, and holding a statuette of Kybele (?).

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### L. Herakles and Geryon (Labour X)

H. is required by Eurystheus to steal the cattle of → Geryoneus. He travels to the extremity of the known world in the far west, crosses Okeanos in the bowl of Helios to the island Erytheia, kills the herdsman → Eurytion (II), the two-headed dog Orthros and Geryon himself, and drives the herd to Tiryns. In time various *parerga* were grouped around this core of the story: → Antaios, → Bousiris, → Nereus, → Cacus, → Eryx, Pholos (→ Kentauroi).

LITERARY SOURCES: On the figure and home of Geryon see → Geryoneus.

The Labour is first mentioned in Hes. *theog.* 287-292, and already in this early source is undertaken at the behest of Eurystheus. The most important elements of the story - the setting on Erytheia in Okeanos, the fight with the dog, the herdsman and three-bodied warrior and driving off the cattle - appear already in this short account, which presupposes

the existence of a fuller, even though oral, tradition of H.'s Labours in Eurystheus' service.

Of the later writers of epic Peisandros, who first assembled the complete Labours and made a decisive contribution to their canonic form, as later did Panyassis, must have dealt with the Geryon Labour in detail. Only one episode is preserved in Peisandros (Davies *EGFF* 6), where H. receives the bowl of Helios, to travel over Okeanos to Geryon's island, from Okeanos himself, while in Panyassis (Davies *EGFF* 7A) he receives it from Nereus.

Also in the early 6th cent. (cf. West, M. L., *CIQ* 65, 1971, 302-314) Stesichoros devoted the first whole poem to the Labour, probably the fullest literary treatment of the story (Page *PMG* frg. 181-186, *SLG* S 7-87; reconstructed in Page 138-154). It was recounted on epic scale and associated with a whole series of other H. adventures: wrestling → Nereus, who probably told H. the way to Erytheia (on this, Brize 1, 66-77; Davies, M., *CIQ* 82, 1988, 277-290); the encounter with → Helios in whose golden bowl he travelled (Page *PMG* frg. 185), his reception by the centaur Pholos on his journey home (*PMG* frg. 181). Stesich. first placed Geryon's island in the area of Tartessos, in south Spain (*PMG* frg. 184). In conversation with his mother Kallirrhoe and an unidentified man (Menoites?; see below, on Apollodoros) Geryon is presented as a noble hero (*SLG* S 9-13). He is armed as a hoplite, with corselet and helmet (*SLG* S 15), while H. is armed with lionskin, club and bow (*PMG* frg. 229). In contradiction to the heroic tradition H. attacks from ambush (*SLG* S 15) and kills one of Geryon's bodies with an arrow through the forehead, and the other two probably with his club (*SLG* S 15. 16). On Olympus Athena supports her protégé against Poseidon (*SLG* S 14).

Stesichoros' humane rendering of Geryon influences Pindar's reflexion on the story. Pindar, promoting the aristocratic ethic, justifies H.'s violence by his divine descent and sees at work in it a divine design for the world (frg. 169 Snell-Maehler). But he cannot deny sympathy and admiration for Geryon (frg. 81 Snell-Maehler).

The slight references do not permit a reconstruction of the treatment of the story in Attic drama. Only the titles and few fragments are preserved of Nikomachos of Alexandria's tragedy *Geryones* (*TrGF* I 27 F 3) and Ephippos' comedy of the same title (4th cent.; *PCG* V frg. 3-5). Aeschylus summarises the important elements of the myth in a few lines of the *Heraclidae* (*TrGF* III F 74). Other allusions testify to the popularity of the story in Classical Athens (Aischyl. *Ag.* 870; Eur. *Herc.* 423; Aristoph. *Ach.* 1082).

From the early 5th cent. Athenians could turn to prose, handbook summaries which sought to combine different versions of myths. Fragments of the mythographer Pherekydes have H. attacking Helios with his bow, and receiving from him the golden bowl. En route H. also attacked Okeanos for letting the waves run too high (*FGrH* 3 F 18a). He follows Stesich. in placing Erytheia at Gadeira (Cadiz) (F 18b), and this remains the standard version thereafter (Hdt. 4, 8;



Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [106] 5, 10; Paus. 1, 35, 8; *contra* He-  
kat., *FGH* 1 F 26).

The Labour was incorporated into stories of early  
Greek colonisation in the west, and served as *aition* for  
the foundation of cities and cults. Timaios of Tauro-  
menion played a major role here, often cited by Diod-  
orus Siculus. Diod. rationalises H.'s journey (4,  
17-24) into a military expedition against the three  
mighty sons of Chrysaor, king of Iberia, who each  
commanded a great army and were beaten in succes-  
sion by H. (4, 18, 2). The theft of the cattle remains the  
motive in this version. The outward journey through  
north Africa and the return through the lands of the  
Celts, Ligurians, Italians and Sicilians, were described  
in detail and associated with other adventures: An-  
taios, Bousiris, the erection of the columns at the  
Straits of Gibraltar (oldest sources: Pind. *N.* 3, 21;  
Hdt. 2, 33), Eryx, Lakinius, Kroton. At Agyrion in Si-  
cily H. founded a cult for Geryon and Iolaos (Diod. 4,  
24, 3-4).

The account in Apollodorus (*bibl.* 2 [106-112] 5,  
10) is also influenced by Hellenistic historiography of  
the Greek west and includes the erection of the col-  
umns and exploits in Libya, Liguria and Sicily; but  
the author seems to follow older sources for the events  
on Erytheia (*cf.* Brize 1, 31-32): threatening Helios  
with the bow; camp on Mt. Abas; Menoites' warning  
to Geryon; H.'s attack with arrows.

There is no comprehensive account in Latin litera-  
ture and the story is only mentioned as an accepted  
one of the canonic Labours (e.g., Lucr. 5, 28; Hyg. *fab.*  
30, 11, who suggests that H. laid low the three-bodied  
Geryon with a single arrow). But, unlike the Greek  
tradition, Geryon commonly appears as an under-  
world demon in Italy (Verg. *Aen.* 6, 289; Hor. *c.* 2, 14,  
7-9; → Geryoneus). The already rich local accounts of  
H.'s return through Italy in the Greek tradition gave  
Roman authors the opportunity to incorporate in it the  
local tale of → Cacus' theft of cattle, H.'s visit to Rome  
and his meeting with → Euandros, and so to integrate  
Greek myth into early Roman history (Liv. 1, 7, 3-15;  
Verg. *Aen.* 8, 190-275; Prop. 4, 9, 1-20; Ov. *fast.* 1,  
543-586; *cf.* Diod. 4, 21, 1-3; Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1, 39).

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akles»; Page, D. L., *JHS* 93, 1973, 138-154; Robert, *Heldensage* 4  
465-483; Robertson, M., *CIQ* 63, 1969, 207-221; Schefold,  
SB II 113-120, SB III 160-162; Weicker, G., *RE* VII 1 (1910)  
1286-1296 s. v. «Geryoneus»; Vollkommer 14-15.

## CATALOGUE

A complete list is attempted except for Attic bf.  
vases and Roman sarcophagi from which a selection is  
made. If not otherwise stated H. wears chiton and li-  
onskin.

## 1. Herakles fights Geryon

### GREEK

#### a) Distant fight; Herakles shoots at Geryon with bow and arrows

##### Vases

**2462.** (= Geryoneus 11\* with *bibl.*) Pyxis, Proto-  
corinthian. London, BM A 487 (65.7-20.17). From  
Phaleron. - Mid-7th cent. B. C. - H. still without li-  
onskin; the herd at the r., no Orthros (*cf.* Brize 1, n.  
281).

**2463.\*** (= Geryoneus 13 with *bibl.*, = Eurytion  
II 2\*) Hydria, Attic bf. Rome, Villa Giulia 50683 (M  
430). From Cerveteri. - *ABV* 108, 14: Lydos; *Add* 2  
30. - 560-550 B. C. - H. with lionskin, its head be-  
tween his legs; one head of Geryon falls back, struck  
in the eye; Eurytion on the ground between them.

**2464.\*** (= Geryoneus 16\* with *bibl.*, = Eury-  
tion II 47, = Athena 512\*) Neck amphora, Chalci-  
dian bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 202. From Vulci. - Rumpf,  
*ChalkVas* pl. 6; Brize 1 pl. 3, 1. - 540-530 B. C. - H.  
(named) strides forward; Geryon and Eurytion are  
both struck by arrows; Orthros lies dead on his back  
between H. and Geryon; at l. Athena, at r. chariot and  
herd.

**2465.** (= Eurytion II 31) Psykter-amphora fr. At-  
tic bf. Sibari, Mus. From Francavilla. - Maaskant-  
Kleibrink, M., *AttMGracia* 11/12, 1970/71, 75-78  
pl. 29a. 30: near Group E; Brize 1, 46. 136 no. 29. -  
540-530 B. C. - H. with sword at side; Eurytion  
struck by arrow; Geryon not preserved; beside H. a  
bird flying to r.

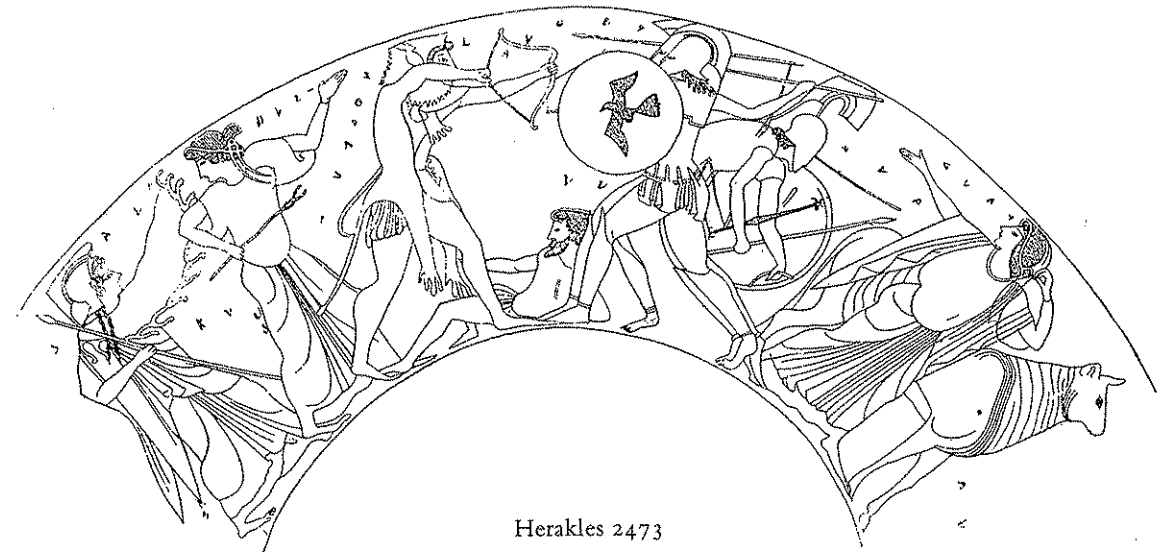
**2466.** Neck amphora, Attic bf. New York, Private.  
- *Para* 57, 58ter: Group E; Cahn, H. A. in *Masterpieces  
of Greek Vase Painting*, A. Emmerich Gallery, New York  
(1964) no. 13 fig.; Schefold, SB II figs. 144. 155;  
Brize 1, 46. 136 no. 33. - 540-530 B. C. - A: H. with  
sword at side; B: Geryon, one body is struck and turns  
away. Flying bird under each handle.

**2467.** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Paris, Cab. Méd.  
223. - *ABV* 308, 77: Swing P.; Brize 1, 46. 136 no.  
30; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) 38. 94 no. 101  
pl. 103. - 540-530 B. C. - A: H. and Athena; B: Ger-  
yon and Orthros, struck by two arrows; one Geryon  
body leans forward, one turns away, only the central  
one is upright. Similar: Brize 1, 136 no. 31.

**2468.\*** (= Eurytion II 25\*) Hydria, Attic bf. Mu-  
nich, Antikenslg. 1719 WAF (J 407). From Vulci. -  
*ABV* 361, 13: Leagros Group; *Add* 2 95; Beazley, *Dev.*  
82-83 pl. 40, 2; Brize 1, 138 no. 44. - 510-500 B. C.  
- H. naked, lionskin over head and l. arm; Eurytion at  
centre, Athena at l.

**2469.** Eye cup, Attic bf. Rome, Villa Giulia 1225.  
From Civita Castellana. - *CVA* 3 pl. 29 (113), 4. 5;  
Brize 1, 138 no. 45. - End of 6th cent. B. C. - Between  
the eyes: A: H. shoots kneeling, beyond him Athena  
attacking; B: Geryon, one body struck and falling  
back. Nonsense names in field.

**2470.\*** Lekythos, Attic bf. Delos Mus. 547 (B  
6.129). From the Heraion. - *ABV* 379, 274: Leagros  
Group; *Para* 168, 1; *EADélos* X no. 547 pls. 39, 2; 69;



Herakles 2473

Brize 1, 138 no. 47. - End of 6th cent. B. C. - One of  
Geryon's bodies leans to the side, one to the back; in  
the centre Orthros; at l. Hermes with H.'s club; at r. a  
woman stands with hand to head, mourning (Kallir-  
rhoe?). Nonsense names.

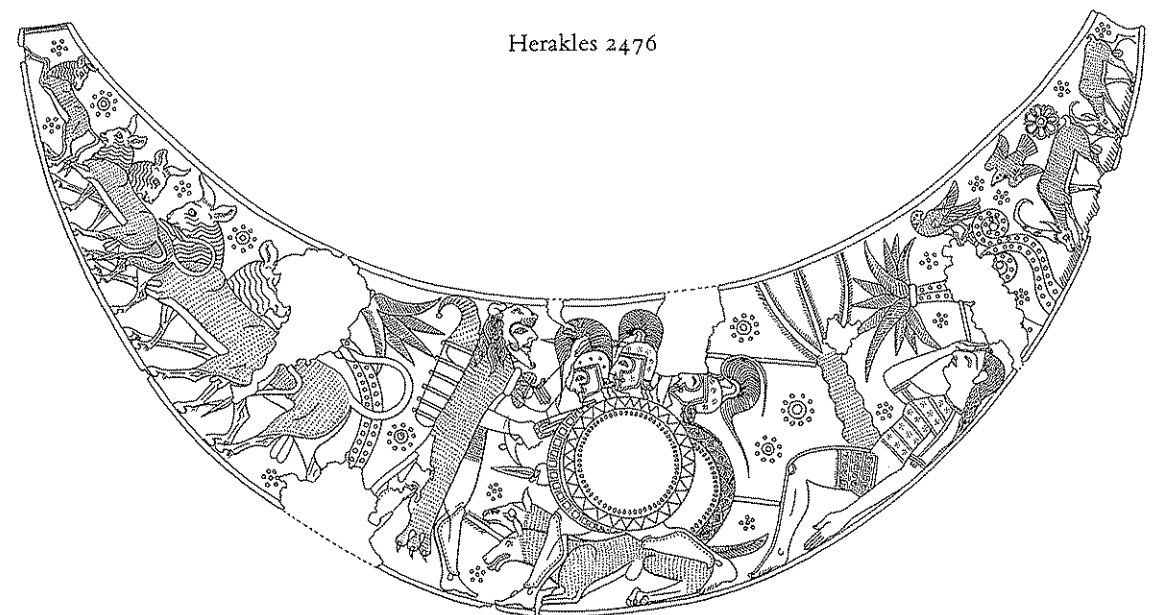
**2471.\*** Cup, Attic bf. London, BM B 442. From  
Kameiros. - Smith, C., *JHS* 5, 1884, 182 no. 3; Brize  
1, 138 no. 46. - Early 5th cent. B. C. - A: H. stretches  
forward, naked, at l. behind him Eurytion on the  
ground; Geryon as on 2469; at centre Orthros lies  
dead on his back; B: the herd.

**2472.\*** (= Eurytion II 48) Lekythos, Attic bf.  
London, BM 95.10-29.1. From Greece. - *ABV* 572,  
1: close to Pholos P.; Walters, H. B., *JHS* 18, 1898,  
298-299 fig. 7; Brize 1, 47-48. 138 no. 48 pl. 5. -  
Early 5th cent. B. C. - H. kneels in ambush behind a  
rock and shoots at Geryon who attacks from the l.; one  
body is struck in the head and falls forward; at l. be-

hind him Orthros (only one head) seated, apparently  
unharmd; farther l. Eurytion standing, and Athena.

**2473.\*** (= Eurytion II 29, = Iris I 149) Cup, At-  
tic rf. Lost, once Noel des Vergers Coll. 137. From  
Vulci. - *ARV* 2 62, 84: Oltos; Noel des Vergers, A.,  
*L'Etrurie et les Etrusques* (1862-64) III 31 pl. 38; Klein,  
W., *Euphronios* (1886) 60 B; 80-81 fig. (drawing);  
Robertson 214. 218; Brize 1, 46-47. 61-62. 139 no.  
52 pl. 4, 1. - About 520 B. C. - One Geryon body  
struck in the eye and turned away; in the centre Eury-  
tion on the ground; at l. behind H. Iris (?) and Athena;  
at r. behind Geryon a fleeing, frightened woman (Kal-  
lirrhoe?) and a bull. Nonsense names.

**2474.\*** Hadra hydria (added colour). Munich, An-  
tikenslg. N. I. 6024. From Alexandria? - Di Vita, A.,  
*BollArte* 41, 1956, 99-101 fig. 5; Brize 1, 140 no. 61.  
- Late 4th/early 3rd cent. B. C. - H. naked with lion-  
skin (?) flying behind his back; Geryon's body partly



Herakles 2476

destroyed, only the front and part of the second body preserved; in the centre Orthros; at l. behind H. a bull.

#### Architectural sculpture

**2475.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1706\* with bibl., = Eurytion II 19) Marble metope on the Hephaisteion, Athens. - Sauer, B., *Das sog. Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck* (1899) 176-178 pl. 6; Koch, o.c. 1706, 120-121 pls. 16, 21, 22 fig. 115; Morgan, o.c. 1706, 210-219; Brize 1, 48, 133 no. 3. - 450-440 B.C. - On two metopes: east metope 8, H. naked stands over the body of Eurytion; east metope 9, Geryon also naked (!), his forward body crouched behind his shield; the middle one falls stricken back; the rear one holds out a cloth or skin in the l. hand to protect himself and aims a stone at H. with his r. hand.

#### b) Close fight

(i) H. seizes the helmet crest of the nearest body and stabs Geryon with his sword

##### Bronze reliefs

**2476.\*** (= Geryoneus 8\*, = Eurytion II 1) Horse's pectoral. Samos, Vathy Mus. B 2518. From the Heraion. - Brize 2, 53-89 pls. 15-20 Beil. 2. - 625-600 B.C. - The earliest surviving complete representation and the earliest with H. wearing his lionskin over his head. H. with quiver and greaves; one of Geryon's bodies struck in the forehead by an arrow; both Orthros (centre) and Eurytion (at r. behind Geryon) also struck by arrows; at l. the herd.

**2477.** (= Geryoneus 9\* with bibl.) Shield-band. Delphi, Mus. 4479. From Delphi. - 575-550 B.C. - H. in chiton, without lionskin; one Geryon body struck and falling back.

**2478.\*** Shield-band. Olympia, Mus. B 1975. From Olympia. - Kunze, *Schildbänder* 17 Xa; 107 pl. 30; Brize 1, 42, 134 no. 7. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - H. with lionskin; Geryon as on 2477.



Herakles 2478

#### Vase

**2479.\*** (= Geryoneus 15 with bibl.) Belly amphora, Chalcidian bf. London, BM B 155. From Cerveteri. - 540-530 B.C. - H. with chiton, corselet, quiver, without lionskin, Athena behind him; Geryon collapsing, one upper body forward, one behind. All figures named.

(ii) H. holds the sword in his r. hand ready to strike, his l. arm stretched behind Geryon's shield but not seizing the helmet crest.

##### Attic bf. vases

**2480.** (= Eurytion II 18\*) Belly amphora. London, BM B 194. From Vulci. - *ABV* 136, 56: Group E; *CVA* 3 pl. 37 (157), 1; Clement 5 f pl. 4a-c; Brize 1, 44-45, 135 no. 18. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - H. with quiver; one Geryon body turned back; at centre Eurytion (bleeding from the neck) and Orthros (one-headed).

**2481.\*** Neck amphora. Heidelberg, Univ. S 178. From Italy. - *ABV* 147, 1: manner of Exekias; *CVA* 1 pl. 36, 1-4; Neutsch, B., in Herbig, R., *Ganymed* (1949) 29-41 figs. 1-14; Brize 1, 45-46, 136 no. 34. - All three Geryon bodies upright; no other figures.

**2482.** Neck amphora. Vienna, Private. Probably from South Italy. - Jobst, W., in *Pro Arte Antiqua* (Festschr. H. Kenner) II (1985) 191-193 pl. 1: Canoe potter, near Leagros Group. - 510-500 B.C. - Geryon as on 2480; Eurytion at centre.

The same type on → Eurytion II 11. 35. 46\*.

(iii) as (ii) but H. with club, not sword

##### Attic bf. vases

**2483.\*** (= Eurytion II 37) Belly amphora. Christchurch (N.Z.), Univ., Logie Coll. 42/57. - *Para* 55, 7bis: Group E; Trendall, A. D., *Greek Vases in the Logie Coll.* (1971) no. 25 pls. 16a, 17a, b; *CVA* N. Z. 1 pl. 6, 1. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - H. naked; Geryon as on 2480; Eurytion in the centre.

**2484.\*** (= Eurytion II 12\*) Belly amphora. New York MMA 56.171.11 (once San Simeon, Hearst 9932). - *ABV* 133, 2: Group E; *Para* 54; *CVA* 3 pl. 15, 2; Brize 1, 135 no. 20. - About 540 B.C. - Geryon as on 2480; at centre Eurytion and Orthros.

The same type on → Eurytion II 10\*. 21.

##### Variant:

**2485.** Lekythos. Palermo, Mus. Reg. From Selinus. - *ABV* 491, 57: Class of Athens 581; Gábrici, E., *MonAnt* 32, 1927, 339-340 pl. 93, 2. 2a; Brize 1, 138 no. 50. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. holds club upright in r. hand and stretches his l. towards Geryon but not touching his shield; one Geryon body turns and falls back; at l. Athena, at r. a woman moves away.

(iv) H. swings his sword over his head, his l. arm behind Geryon's shield, as in (ii) and (iii)

##### Attic bf. vases

**2486.\*** (= Geryoneus 14 with bibl., = Eurytion II 3\*) Belly amphora. Paris, Louvre F 53. From Vulci. - Brize 1, 44, 61, 134-135 no. 14 pl. 2, 2. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - H. with quiver, one body of Geryon

turned away as on 2480, hit in the head by an arrow as is the first head; at the centre Eurytion, his neck pierced through by an arrow from behind. All figures named.

**2487.\*** (= Eurytion II 5\*) Belly amphora. Munich, Antikenslg. 1379 WAF (J 81). From Vulci. - *ABV* 303, 1 above: near P. of Berlin 1686; *CVA* 1 pl. 13, 1, 2; Brize 1, 35 no. 21. - 550-540 B.C. - Geryon as on 2480; at centre Eurytion, at l. Athena, at r. a youth moves away. Nonsense names.

**2488.** Eye cup fr. London, BM B 426. From Nola. - *ABV* 256, 20: Lysippides P.; *Para* 114; *Add* 67; *CVA* 2 pl. 21 and p. 8 fig.; Brize 1, 61-62, 137 no. 35. - 530-520 B.C. - Between eyes: l. Athena, at r. Orthros beneath Geryon's legs; between the contestants a woman in long dress (Kallirrhoe?) entreats Athena with outstretched hand.

**2489.\*** (= Eurytion II 41\*) Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8.3851. From Italy. - *ABV* 283, 11: circle of Antimenes P.; *CVA* 1 pls. 20, 1; 21, 1a; Brize 1, 61, 137 no. 40. - 525-500 B.C. - H. seizes one of Geryon's heads, covered by his shield, and pulls it towards him; at l. Athena, at r. a standing woman (Kallirrhoe?); at centre Eurytion.

**2490.** (= Eurytion II 32\*) Hydria. London, BM B 310. From Vulci. - *ABV* 361, 12: Leagros Group; *CVA* 6 pl. 78, 3; Beazley, *Dev* pl. 39, 3. - End of 6th cent. B.C. - H. seizes Geryon's nearest head by the helmet crest (as in type b [i]); at l. Athena and Hermes; between the contestants Eurytion.

**2491.** Stamnos. Once Basle market. - Isler-Kerényi, C., *Stamnoi* (1977) 24-28 with fig.; Brize 1, 138 no. 43; *MuM* Auktion 70, 1989, no. 200 pl. 39. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - H. with quiver; a stricken body of Geryon falls back; at the centre Orthros; at l. a bearded man with staff moves away (Menoites?).

The same type on → Eurytion II 4. 14. 15\*. 16. 27. 39; also Brize 1, 135-138 nos. 25, 28, 49.

(v) as (iv) but H. with club, not sword

##### Attic bf. vases

**2492.\*** (= Eurytion II 20\*) Belly amphora. Vatican G 39. From Vulci. - *ABV* 312, 3: P. of Vatican 365; Beazley/Magi, *RaccGuglielmi* 1 no. 39 pl. 14; Brize 1, 135 no. 15. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - H. with quiver, seizes Geryon's nearest head which bends forward disappearing behind his shield; both other bodies upright. Eurytion at centre on ground; at l. Athena, at r. a man wearing a skin and holding a stick moves away (Menoites?).

**2493.** (= Eurytion II 34\*) Belly amphora. Vatican 16441. - *ABV* 138, 1: near Group E; Albizzati no. 347 pl. 43; Brize 1, 135 no. 16. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - Geryon as on 2480; Eurytion at centre; at l. Athena; at r. at edge Orthros with snake tail, unwounded.

**2494.** (= Eurytion II 23\*) Belly amphora. Würzburg, Wagner. Mus. L 246. From Vulci. - *ABV* 296, 8: P. of Berlin 1686; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 66; Brize 1, 135 no. 19. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - Geryon as on 2480; Eurytion at centre; at l. Hermes; at r. a naked bearded man moves away, holding a club or knobbed stick (Menoites?).

**2495.** Neck amphora. Once Rome Market. - Gerhard, *AV* pl. 104; Brize 1, 61, 137 no. 36. - 530-520 B.C. - H. with quiver; all three bodies of Geryon upright; between them stands Athena facing r. looking back at H.; behind is Eurytion; at r. a standing woman (Kallirrhoe?).

**2496.** (= Eurytion II 42) Neck amphora. New York, Callimachopoulos (once Castle Ashby). - *ABV* 329, 5: Madrid P.; *CVA* Castle Ashby pls. 9, 1; 10, 1, 2; Brize 1, 137 no. 39. - 520-510 B.C. - H. with sword at side; Geryon is unusual with the centre body wholly covered by the rear body, not yet struck; the farther body falls back wounded; Eurytion at centre.

**2497.** Neck amphora. Once Northwick Park. - *ABV* 400 below: Troilos P.; Christies 21 June 1965 no. 323 pl. 22. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. naked; quiver and bow at his side; one body of Geryon falls forward wounded.

The same type on → Eurytion II 6\*. 26\*. 28\*. 43\*; also Brize 1, 135-137 nos. 17, 32, 39.

#### c) Other and fragmentary scenes not classifiable with (a) or (b)

##### Vases

**2498.** Cup fr., Middle Corinthian. Athens, NM. From Perachora. - Amyx, *CVP* 565, 32; Dunbabin, T. J., *Perachora* II (1962) 262 no. 2542 pls. 106, 110; Brize 1, 41-42, 134 no. 10. - 600-575 B.C. - Frieze with several H. scenes (Geryon, Lion = 1828, Kerkopes). Geryon as on 2477. 2478; H. not preserved.

**2499.\*** (= Eurytion II 40) Plate fr., Attic bf. Athens, NM Acr. 2424. From the Acropolis. - *ABV* 111, 52: Lydos; Callipolitis-Feytmans, D., *Les plats attiques à figures noires* (1974) 316 no. 13 pl. 22; Brize 1, 137 no. 37. - About 525 B.C. - Only the legs of H. and Geryon preserved in front of Orthros, on the ground beneath Geryon, and Eurytion (beneath H.); cf. Brize 1, 137 n.).

**2500.\*** (= Eurytion II 45\*) Neck amphora, Nikosthenic. Paris, Louvre F 115. From Etruria. - *ABV* 319, 4: Class of Cab. Méd. 218; *Para* 140; *CVA* 4 pl. 37 (203), 10; Brize 1, 137 no. 42. - 525-500 B.C. - H. with spear and shield; Eurytion on ground; at l. Athena.

**2501.\*** (= Eurytion II 44, = Gorgo, Gorgones 173) Cup, Attic rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 8704 (2620 WAF, J 337). From Vulci. - *ARV* 16, 17: Euphronios (signed); *Para* 379; *Add* 153; Lullies, R./Hirmer, M., *Griechische Vasen der reifarchaischen Zeit* (1953) pls. 14-16; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pls. 108, 109; Brize 1, 47, 60-62, 139 no. 54 pl. 4, 2. - About 510 B.C. - A: H. with club as type b (v) holds also in outstretched l. hand a bow and two arrows; one head of Geryon struck in the eye by an arrow, falls back; Orthros with snake tail lies between them on its back, an arrow in the belly; at l. of H. Athena, Iolaos and Eurytion, bleeding from his l. thigh; at r. of Geryon a woman with gesture of distraction (Kallirrhoe?). All figures except the woman named. B: bulls herded by four warriors.

**2502.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1702\*) Volute crater. Attic rf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 77.AE.11. - *ARV* 186, 51:

Kleophrades P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 188; Greifenhagen, *o.c.* 1702, 24-41 pl. 24; Frel, *o.c.* 1702, 63-70 figs. 11. 12; Brize 1, 47. 140 no. 56. - Early 5th cent. B. C. - Several H. scenes on the crater neck (Hydra; Hesperides; Atlas). H. naked, lionskin over head and outstretched l. arm, holds club in lowered r. hand; beneath him Orthros dead; between H. and Geryon lies Eurytion, struck in the belly by an arrow. Of Geryon only the forward l. foot and spear tip preserved.

2503.\* (= Geryoneus 17) Oinochoe. Lucanian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 82286 (H 1924) - LCS 148, 836 pl. 70, 4. 5: P. of Naples 1959; Brize 1, 140 no. 60. - 350-325 B. C. - H. fights from r. to l., naked, lionskin over outstretched r. arm, club raised in l. hand; behind him Athena and Hermes; for Geryon see → Geryoneus 17.

2504.\* (= Geryoneus 18) Volute crater. Apulian rf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 3258. - *RVAp* II 533: near the Underworld P.; Gerhard, *ApVb* 11-16 pl. 10; Brize 1, 140 no. 59; Vollkommer 15 fig. 21. - 330-310 B. C. - H. naked, lionskin hanging over back and l. arm, swings his club over and behind his head (see → Geryoneus 18). At l. Athena; r. Hermes, in the centre a Nike flies to H. with wreath and fillet.

#### Reliefs

2505. (= [Dodekathlos] 1697) Chest of Kypselos. Olympia. Lost. - Paus. 5, 19, 1. - Mid 6th cent. B. C.

2506. (= [Dodekathlos] 1703\* with bibl.) = Eurytion II 52) Marble west metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. - De La Coste-Messelière, *FDelphes* IV 4 (1957) 141-153 pls. 66-73; Brize 1, 48. 133 no. 1 with bibl. - Late 6th cent. B. C. (Langlotz) to after 490 B. C. (De La Coste-Messelière). - Over the 6 metopes of the west side: no. 26, l. foot of H. and Orthros; no. 27, Geryon, one body falling, struck by an arrow below the r. shoulder; nos. 23-25: bulls. The pertinence of no. 28 (warrior, Iolaos?) and no. 30 (no relief preserved) is not proved.

2507. (= [Dodekathlos] 1705\*\* with bibl.) Marble metope of Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Paris, Louvre and Olympia, Mus. - Treu, G., *Olympia* III (1897) 170-173 pl. 40, 9 figs. 201-204; Ashmole/Yalouris, *o.c.* 1705, pls. 180-185; Brize 1, 48. 133 no. 2; Geertman, *o.c.* 1705, 84-86. - Completed by 456 B. C. - H. with chiton, without lionskin, holds up his club to strike the foremost body of Geryon, fallen on one knee, holding up a hand in supplication; the second body, already struck, hangs down headfirst; the position of the third body is not clear (cf. Geertman).

2508. (= [Dodekathlos] 1708\*) Marble relief fr. Sounion. From the Herakleion. - Young, *o.c.* 1708, 172-174. 186-189 figs. 5. 7. 13. - 4th cent. B. C. (?) - Part broken away with the head and weapons of H. missing. H. naked, lionskin over l. arm, swinging his club over his head as on type b (iv. v).

2509. AE coins, unknown mint, 4th/3rd cent. B. C. (?) - a) Once Paris, Grivaud de la Vincelle. - De Witte, J., *RevNum* 1844, 342-343 pl. 8, 11; *idem*, *Nouv. Annales de l'Inst. arch.* 2, 1838, 128-129 pl. C; Bräuer 80 type 4; Brize 1, 142 no. 74. - b) London, BM (once Woodhouse Coll.); information from M. J.

Price. - Obv.: H. naked to r., lionskin over outstretched l. arm, club over head as in type b (v). Rev.: Geryon to r.; one body with three heads, six arms, six legs.

2510. (= [Dodekathlos] under 1711) Relief cup, Boeotian. Athens, NM 12618. - Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 96-97 n. 416 pl. 67, 1; Brize 1, 134 no. 8. - 2nd cent. B. C. - H. fights from r. to l., lionskin over outstretched l. arm, club raised.

2511. (= [Dodekathlos] 1712\* with bibl.) Marble frieze. Delphi. Mus. 2081 + 2544. From the Theatre. - Lévêque, P., *BCH* 75, 1951, 257-258 pl. 28 (frs. 5. 6) - 1st cent. B. C. (?) - H. naked, lionskin over l. arm, r. arm and weapon missing (probably as type b [iv. v]); Geryon naked, pose as on 2475.

Uncertain representations: see Brize 1, 139-140 nos. 53. 55. 57.

#### Cypriot sculpture

2512. (= Eurytion II 49\*) Limestone relief. New York, MMA 74.51.2853. From Golgoi. - Myres, J. L., *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* (1914) 234-235 no. 1368; Brize 1, 49. 142 no. 72 pl. 8, 3 with bibl.; Tatton-Brown, V., *RDAC* 1984, 170-171 pl. 33, 1. - 500-475 B. C. - In two registers: below, Eurytion and the herd; above, Orthros (three-headed) struck by an arrow. H. at the l. on a larger scale, naked, with lionskin, swinging club over head, as type b (v), his upper body, head and l. arm destroyed but he probably held a bow as on 2501. R. edge of relief broken where possibly Geryon stood, at the same size as H.

#### ROMAN

d) Geryon an equal adversary to Herakles, or even larger, three-bodied. H. with lionskin, club over head

2513. (= [Dodekathlos] 1735\* with bibl.) Marble altar (Ara Giustiniani). Vatican (formerly Lateran 9811). - *EA* 2216. - 1st cent. A. D. - H. naked fighting from r. to l.

2514. (= [Dodekathlos] 1726\* with bibl.) Marble relief. Leptis Magna, Basilica, pilaster 2, east side. - Squarciapino, *o.c.* 1726, 99-100 pl. 51, 2. - Severan. - H. naked, holds lionskin on l. arm like shield.

e) Geryon an equal adversary to Herakles, the same size, three-bodied

(i) H. naked, club over head and holding out lionskin over l. arm.

2515. (= [Dodekathlos] 1734\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus lid fr. Vatican. - *SarkRel* III 1 no. 113 pl. 31. - About A. D. 150. - Similar: Rome, Torlonia Mus. 422 (= [Dodekathlos] 1723).

2516. (= [Dodekathlos] 1761\* with bibl.) Bi coin, Cologne (?), Postumus, A. D. 267-268. - Bastien, P., *RNum* 1, 1958, 67 pls. 6 no. 45; 7 no. 46; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 59-64 pl. 151.

2517. (= [Dodekathlos] 1752\*) Marble sarcophagus lid. London, BM 2300. - A. D. 150-180. - As

2515. 2516, with one Geryon-body distinguished from the other two by its greater size.

(ii) as (i) but a helmet crest seized

2518. (= [Dodekathlos] 1737 with bibl.) Marble votive relief of Cassia Priscilla. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6683. From Velletri. - Andrae, B., *Studien zur röm. Grabkunst*, *RM Erg.-H.* 9 (1963) pl. 38. - Mid 2nd cent. A. D.

(iii) as (i) but Geryon one-bodied with three heads

2519. (= [Dodekathlos] 1714\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. Velletri, Mus. Civ. From Velletri. - Bartoccini, R., *RivIstArch* 7, 1958, 154-155 fig. 33; Andrae, *o.c.* 2518, 50-51 pls. 4. 21; Lawrence, M., *AJA* 69, 1965, 215 with n. 54 pl. 54, 32. - Late Hadrianic.

2520. (= [Dodekathlos] 1741\*, = Geryoneus 23) Floor mosaic. Madrid, Arch. Mus. From Liria (Valencia). - 3rd cent. A. D.

(iv) H. swings his club behind, farther from Geryon who is three-bodied

2521. (= [Dodekathlos] 1756\*) Silver relief skyphos. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Pompeii. - Maiuri, *o.c.* 1756, 312-313 fig. 121 pl. 25. - Augustan. - H. naked fights from r. to l., bow in outstretched l. hand; lionskin hanging from l. arm.

2522. (= [Dodekathlos] 1745\* with bibl.) Relief marble vase (Tazza Albani). Rome, Torlonia Mus. 383. - Millin, *o.c.* 1745, no. 434 pl. 113 (drawing). - Augustan. - H. naked as on 2521 but without bow.

#### f) Geryon collapses under Herakles' club

(i) Geryon three-bodied

2523. (= [Dodekathlos] 1716\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. Mantua, Pal. Ducale and Munich, Glypt. - *SarkRel* III 1 no. 102 pl. 28; Levi, *o.c.* 1716, no. 191 pls. 107. 109; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* no. 22 pls. 48, 1; 51, 1. - Antonine. - H. naked, strikes the central still upright body of Geryon; the other, smaller bodies, collapse head first.

2524. (= [Dodekathlos] 1719\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. Paris, Louvre 292. - *SarkRel* III 1 no. 105 pl. 29. - A. D. 150-200. - H. naked (head restored, probably originally bearded). The middle Geryon body upright with cloak over corselet; the other bodies (not smaller as on 2523) lie already on the ground.

2525.\* (= 2397, = 2433) Marble sarcophagus fr. Vatican (formerly Lateran 9803). From Rome, via Latina, tomb of Pancratii. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> I no. 1026; *SarkRel* III 1 no. 111 pl. 30. - A. D. 225-250. - H. naked, bearded, club in lowered r. hand, lionskin or dress over l. shoulder; fallen forward on the ground between his legs one of Geryon's bodies; on the adjacent small side the two other bodies in the same pose.

(ii) Geryon one-bodied with three heads

2526. (= [Dodekathlos] 1749) Stone relief. Toulouse, Mus. From Chiragan. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* II

no. 899; Reinach, *RépRel* II 101, 4. - About A. D. 200. - H. naked, fights from r. to l., swings his (lost) club in his r. hand and holds with his l. the helmet of the middle, normal-sized head of Geryon, fallen to his knees; the other two smaller heads lean stricken on their shoulders.

g) Geryon struck to his knees by Herakles' club, his body somewhat smaller than Herakles', one-bodied with three heads

2527. (= [Dodekathlos] 1730\*) Marble sarcophagus. Asiatic. Rome, Torlonia Mus. 420. - About A. D. 165-170. - H. naked, bearded, with signs of age, holds club in raised r. hand and seizes in his lowered l. hand the middle head of Geryon, fallen on his l. knee. Geryon is middle, unarmed. At. r. background, head of a bull.

Similar are the sarcophagi: London, BM 2301 (= [Dodekathlos] 1733), Antalya A 928 (= [Dodekathlos] 1732): H. with lionskin, Geryon armed as usual, above r. two bull-heads.

#### h) Geryon dwarfed beside Herakles

2528. (= Geryoneus 20\* with bibl.) Marble group. Vatican. From Ostia. - Antonine. - Geryon one-bodied with three heads; H. naked, club in r. hand ready to strike while he holds a bull by the horn in his l. hand.

2529. (= [Dodekathlos] 1736\* with bibl.) Marble relief base. Rome, Mus. Cap. 205. From Albano. - Bol, *o.c.* 1736, 185-188 pl. 79, 1. - 1st cent. A. D. - H. naked, bearded, lionskin over l. arm; club held as on 2507; Geryon three-bodied.

2530. Wall painting, Roman villa at Zliten (Libya). - Aurigemma, S., *L'Italia in Africa* I 2 (1962) 75-76 pls. 65. 66. - 1st cent. A. D. - H. naked without lionskin, swings club in r. hand, seizes with his l. the middle head of three-bodied Geryon by the hair (poorly preserved).

2531.\* AE coins, Blaundos (Lydia). a) Autonomos, A. D. 160-180. *SNG* v. Aulock 2922 pl. 93; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 37-39 pl. 6a. b) Septimius Severus (A. D. 193-211). Voegtli, *o.c.* 37. c) Caracalla, A. D. 211-217. *BMC* Lydia 55, 83 pl. 6, 3; Bräuer 78-80 type 3 pl. 4, 6; Voegtli, *o.c.* 37-39 pl. 6b. d) Philippus Arabs (A. D. 244-249). *BMC* Lydia 55, 84. - Rev.: H. naked, l. foot on a recumbent bull, swings his club in his r. hand and holds one of one-bodied Geryon's heads.

#### i) Uncertain identification

2532. (= [Dodekathlos] 1746) Marble relief fr. Corinth Mus. From the Theatre. - Sturgeon, M., *Corinth* IX 2 (1977) 101-102. 111-112 slab 12 pls. 80. 81. - Hadrianic. - The identification of H. on frs. H 12. 13 must remain uncertain; his arming with shield and spear is not attested in this Labour except on 2500.

k) Scenes of the Labours where Geryon, fighting or collapsing, is seen alone, without H.: see [Dodekathlos] 1739. 1742. 1743 = Geryoneus 21\*. 22\*. 24.



## 2. Herakles with the herd of Geryon

### GREEK

**2533.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1701) Reliefs (?) on the «throne» of Apollo at Amyklai. Lost. – Paus. 3, 18, 13.

**2534.** Neck amphora, Attic bf. Once Rome Market. – Gerhard, *AV* III 78–79 pls. 105, 106; Brize 1, 140 no. 63. – Late 6th cent. B. C. – H. naked, with lionskin, club in r. hand and sword; three bulls to r.

**2535.\*** Oinochoe, Attic bf. Boulogne, Mus. 476. From Vulci. – *ABV* 377, 245; Leagros Group; *Para* 163; Pfuhl, *Muz* III fig. 282; Brize 1, 140 no. 65. – Late 6th cent. B. C. – H. naked with lionskin, club and sword, seated on a rock against which his quiver leans; at l. and r. a cow suckling a calf; the scene flanked by trees with two birds in them. Similar: Brize 1, 140 no. 64 (*ABV* 376, 234) and cf. 1451.

**2535a)\*** (= 1811/2350) Cup, Attic rf. London, BME 104. From Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1293, 1: P. of London E 105; Vollkommer 2 no. 18; 14–15 fig. 5. – About 430–410 B. C. – H. with club and lionskin, drives three bulls to r.

**2535b)** (= 2508) Marble relief fr. Sounion, from the Herakleion. – Side B, lower register: H., club in r. hand, drives three bulls before him.

**2535c)\*** Marble votive relief fr. Heidelberg, Univ. 26/80. From Kyzikos? – Tagalidou, E., *Weihreliefs an Herakles* (Diss. Heidelberg, forthcoming). – Hellenistic. – H. naked, lionskin in l. hand, rests his club, in his r., on the skull of a bull on the ground. At either side two small bulls. Lower part of an upper register with the feet of other bulls.

### ROMAN

**2536.** Carnelian gem. Once Vannutelli Coll. – *Impronte Gemmarie dell'Istituto*, Centuria VI no. 24; *BdI* 1839, 109 no. 24; Bayet, J. *Herclé* (1926) 99 n. 5; Brize 1, 143 no. 79. – 2nd half of 1st cent. B. C. (E. Zwielerlein-Diehl). – H. naked, with lionskin, drives a bull to the l. with raised club. At r. border a rock (cave entrance?).

**2536a)** (= 2652) Marble sarcophagus. Sevastopol (Chersonesos), Hist. Arch. Mus. 3/35678. From Chersonesos. – Sokolov, G., *Antique Art on the Northern Black Sea Coast* (1974) no. 181 fig. on p. 167. – 2nd cent. A. D. – H. naked with lionskin, unarmed, pulls Kerberos beside him (2652) towards the Hesperides tree (cf. 2746); at l. behind him, three bulls.

**2537.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1727 with bibl.) Rim of medallion of a silver plate, inlaid in gold, electrum and niello. Athens, NM Br. 7484. – Matthies, G., *AM* 39, 1914, 104–129, esp. 116 pls. 8–10; Weitzmann, K., *ArtBull* 55, 1973, 9 n. 30. – 2nd cent. A. D. (Matthies); 3rd/4th cent. A. D. (Weitzmann). – H. to r. naked, with lionskin (weapons destroyed; club?) holds a bull by its horn; behind it another bull.

**2538.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1760\*) AE coin, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius (A. D. 138–161). – Bräuer 78–80 type 2 pl. 4, 4; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 38–40 pls. 6c, 12, o. – Rev.: H. to l., club and lionskin in l. hand, holds one of two running bulls by the horn; Eurytion on the ground.

**2539.\*** AE medallion, Prusias (Bithynia), Lucius Verus (AD 161–169). – *MuM* Vente 10, 1951, 11 no. 121 pl. 5; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 38–39 pl. 6f. – Rev.: H. naked to l. swings club in r. hand to drive the herd (two bulls); at l. a tree (Hesperid?). Similar: *BMC* Bithynia 146, 53 pl. 31, 1; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* pl. 6d (Macrinus).

**2540.** AE medallion, Perinthos, Septimius Severus, A. D. 196–211. – Schönert, o. c. 2087, 525 pl. 30; Bräuer 77–80 type 1, pl. 4, 5; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 38–39. – Rev.: H. naked to l., lionskin over l. shoulder, swings club in r. hand and drives two bulls running l. Similar: Voegtli, *Heldenepen* pl. 6e (Geta); Schönert, o. c. pls. 44, 713 (Elagabalus); 56, 900 (Gallienus).

**2541.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1728\* with bibl.) Gold bell. London, BM Jew. 3009. From Tarsos. – A. D. 200–250. – H. naked to r. leads a bull by its horn; above it the head of another.

### UNCERTAIN

These are usually identified as H. and the Cretan bull

**2542.** (= 3092) Neck amphora, Attic bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 219. From Capua? – *ABV* 509, 120: Diosphos P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 127; *ABL* 238, 120; *CVA* 2 pl. 76 (462), 3; Brize 1, 141 no. 66. – Early 5th cent. B. C. – H. to r. with lionskin, club and bow; behind him Athena and a bull.

**2543.** AR tetrobol, Cyprus (Golgoi?), late 6th cent. B. C. (?). – *BMC* Cyprus xlv pl. 25, 10; Six, J. P., *NC* 1897, 206 no. 2 pl. 9, 10; Babelon, *Traité* II 1, 611 no. 960 pl. 27, 8. – Obv.: H. naked to r. holds bow in outstretched l. hand, swings club in r.; tree at background. Rev.: a bull to r., laurel branch over it.

**2544.** AE coin, Sardis, Caracalla, AD 211–217. – *BMC* Lydia 263, 164 pl. 27, 7; Bräuer 79–81 (H. and herd of Geryon); Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 32–33 pl. 4p (H. and Cretan bull). – Rev.: H. naked to r., club in l. hand, pulls along behind him a bull by its horn. Similar: *BMC* Lydia 272, 198 (Philippus I).

## 3. Herakles and Helios

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Haspels, *ABL* 120–124; Lacroix, L., *Etudes d'archéologie numismatique* (1974) 92–94; Jacopi, G., *Boll-Arte* 30, 1936, 39–44; Brize 1, 30–34, 51–52, 63.

### a) Herakles meets Helios

Attic bf. vases

**2545.\*** (= Helios 95) Lekythos. Athens, NM 513. From Eretria. – *ABV* 380, 290; Leagros Group; *ABL* 120, 1; 122 pl. 17, 1; Daybreak P.; Savignoni, L., *JHS* 19, 1899, 265–269 pl. 9; Brize 1, 51–52, 63, 145 no. 1. – 510–500 B. C. – Helios' chariot frontal, rising from Okeanos; Helios turns his head to the l. where H. squats on the shore (chiton, lionskin, quiver and bow on back, club in l. hand, r. hand raised).

**2546.\*** (= Helios 98) Skyphos. Taranto. Mus. Naz. 7029. From Tarentum. – *ABV* 518, 21; Theseus P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 129; *ABL* 120, 2; *CVA* 2 pl. 10 (876), 1, 2;



Herakles 2545

Jacopi 43–44 figs. 10, 11; Lacroix 93 n. 10 pl. 23; Brize 1, 51–52, 63, 145 no. 2 pl. 10, 1. – 500–475 B. C. – A: as 2545, reversed. B: Helios the same, H. climbs the steep shore and turns his head back to Helios.

**2547.** (= 1341 with bibl., = 2623, = Astra 3\*, = Eos 1, = Helios 105\* with bibl.) Lekythos. New York, MMA 41.162.29 (once Gallatin). From Attica. – *ABV* 507, 702; Sappho P.; *ABL* 120, 3, 123–124, 226, 6 pl. 32, 1; *CVA* Gallatin pl. 44 (392); Lacroix 94 pl. 12, 2; Brize 1, 51–52, 63, 145 no. 3. – 500–475 B. C. – Helios rises in his chariot from Okeanos, above him at either side Nyx and Eos in chariots. H. sits to the r. of this on a hill (lionskin, quiver and bow on back) and is busy with a sacrifice. All figures named.

**2548.** (= Helios 96\*) Lekythos. Cambridge, Fitzw. Mus. GR 78.1864 (G 100). From Athens. – *ABL* 120, 7, 123; *CVA* 1 pl. 22, 11; v. Stackelberg, O. M., *Die Gräber der Hellenen* (1837) pl. 15, 6; *ML* I 2, 1995 fig.; 1997, 2014; Lacroix 94 pl. 24; Brize 1, 52, 63, 145 no. 4 pl. 10, 2. – 500–475 B. C. – H. in lionskin strides with club in r. hand and bow in outstretched l. towards Helios (rising as on 2545–2547); at r. Athena.

**2549.** (= Helios 97\*) Lekythos. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1934.371. – Haspels, *ABL* 120, 8, 123; Schauenburg, K., *Helios* (1955) fig. 23; Brize 1, 145 no. 5. – 500–475 B. C. – As 2548 but H. without bow.

### b) Herakles in the bowl of Helios

Attic vases

**2550.\*** Olpe, bf. Boston, MFA 03.783. From S. Italy. – *ABV* 378, 252; Leagros Group; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 100; *ABL* 59–60, 121–122 pl. 17, 3; Daybreak P.; Hartwig, P., *RM* 17, 1902, 107–109 pl. 5; Brize 1, 51, 63, 145 no. 6. – 510–500 B. C. – H. with chiton, lionskin, bow and quiver at back, club in lowered r. hand, the l. raised.

**2551.** Cup, rf. Rhodes Mus. From Ialysos. – *ARV*<sup>1</sup> 118a: related to the Pitthos P. (not in *ARV*<sup>2</sup>); *ABL* 121; Jacopi 39–41 figs. 1, 2; Brize 1, 51, 63, 145 no. 7. – About 500 B. C. – I: H. naked, bow in l. hand.

**2552.\*** Cup, rf. Vatican 16563. From Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 449, 2: manner of Douris; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 242; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 109; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I no. 946 (Sichtermann); Brize 1, 51, 63, 145 no. 8. – 490–480 B. C. – I: H. in profile to r. concealed up to his chest in the large vessel, with lionskin, bow in l. hand, club in r.

## COMMENTARY

The theft of Geryon's cattle is one of the most commonly represented of H.'s Labours in ancient art. Some 130 scenes are known, of which over 70 are in Attic bf. Its popularity is only in part explained by the challenge it presented the artist to portray a three-bodied creature. Even the popular literary account by Stesichoros, which proved a recurrent source for details, served only as an inspiration for the representation of the story. More important was the affinity of Geryon with Hades, who also owned a vast herd and a multi-headed hound. The journey to Geryon was a journey to the other world, a courageous conquest of death rewarded by possession of the herd. Burkert (83–96) has remarked on the great antiquity of the cult acts inherent in the story. The theft and driving home the herd may have served as *aitia* for the meat-feasts enjoyed by associations of worshippers of H. in Athens, Thasos and elsewhere from the 6th cent. on. Local cult traditions in Cyprus and Sicily and association with many foundation stories of western colonies may explain the wider popularity outside the Greek homeland.

In accord with the Archaic principle of choosing the climax of a story for depiction most scenes show the fight between H. and Geryon. Only with the Late Archaic do scenes preceding (H. and Helios) or after (H. with cattle) the fight begin to appear.

### 1. Herakles fighting Geryon

The earliest extant scene appears in Corinth little after the first literary reference. While Hesiod's lines



present a pregnant summary of a story which must have been more fully developed in the oral tradition, the Protocorinthian pyxis (2462) offers an experimental stage in the search for a satisfactory iconographic formula for the three-bodied monster (→ Geryoneus 11, with commentary). The cattle at the r. guarantee the identification since H. still lacks his characteristic attributes. He draws his bow at Geryon, as in the opening of the literary account.

The next phase, the close fight, appears first on the bronze plaque from Samos (2476) already in the scheme which would become familiar in the second half of the 6th cent. in Athens: H. seizes one of Geryon's helmet crests, pulls it towards him and drives his sword into the neck while another head falls back mortally wounded by an arrow. The two consecutive phases of the fight are combined in a way which sets the pattern for future scenes. Since the new scheme appears in Corinthian scenes of the first half of the 6th cent. (2477, 2478, 2498) we must, in the light of our lacunose evidence, reckon with the probability that Corinth originated the scheme. The general character of the whole narrative, however, is Ionian. It is the first to introduce Eurytion and the hound Orthros, as well as the characterisation of the protagonists: Geryon with two legs only (→ Geryoneus 15, 16\*, with commentary) and H. in lionskin. The lionskin is probably first shown on a Late Protocorinthian alabasteron (Brize 1 pl. 1, 1) but is exceptional in most representations of the Greek mainland until the 2nd quarter of the 6th cent., while in the few Ionian scenes with H. of the latest 7th and early 6th cent. (57\*, 1690\*; see Final Commentary, below) the skin also covers the hero's body while its head hangs to one side. On the Samian plaque H. for the first time wears the head as a helmet, a highly influential motif. The suggestion that the scheme was first devised in the east (cf. Kunze, *Schildbänder* 95 n. 1) – probably after eastern models (cf. Madhloom, T. A., *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* [1970] 80 pl. 53, 1, 2) – seems supported by the Samian find.

The Ionian artist characterised H. as a violent fellow not only by the lionskin but by defining his features, with the gross lips and nose and long beard, setting him off from his opponents, Eurytion and Geryon. The new physiognomy and dress represents a new conception of the hero in art – a change expressed also in the first full literary treatment of the story, by Stesichoros (on the chronological relation with Stesichoros see Brize 2, 86–89).

The popularity of the story in Corinth is shown by the way it repeatedly appears beside other myths and especially other deeds of H.: the Middle Corinthian cup fr. (2498), shieldbands (2477, 2478), the Chest of Kypselos (2505). All keep to the iconographic formula established in the Samos bronze (2476), with the third head of Geryon falling back, but, unlike the Ionian figures, the Corinthian Geryon has six legs (as Paus. attests also for the Chest of Kypselos). The Corinthian formula is observed throughout Attic art. In Corinth we miss Eurytion and Orthros, certainly through the restrictions of the size of the available field. Only

from the mid-6th cent. does H. wear the lionskin in the manner first shown on the Samian plaque.

Attic painters take the six-leg scheme for Geryon from Corinth and, from the start, give H. a lionskin. On the earliest scene, the hydria by Lydos (2463), H. has the skin slung round his hips with the head hanging, a scheme seldom seen later (e.g. Swing P., *ABV* 308, 71); the E Group painters first show him wearing the lion head in the canonical manner. Lydos also takes an intermediate position in the iconography of the myth, choosing the distant fight despite the narrow field at his disposal. Since the distant fight required more room it is later reserved for friezes (2464, 2473) or either side of the same vase (2466, 2467, 2469). Lydos follows Corinth with one Geryon head struck by an arrow and falling back, and obviously understands the motif since the arrow is clearly lodged in the eye.

In the mid century the E Group painters devise four related iconographic types to deal with the problem of the restricted field of belly amphorae, types which remain current through the century and are often imitated (2480–2491). It is the close fight, with H.'s l. arm behind Geryon's shield, probably to pull closer the nearest body, while his r. hand holds club or sword aloft, or lowered, ready to strike. One of the earliest and finest of this group is the amphora signed by Exekias as potter (2486), important for the carefully inscribed names, unique on Attic bf. vases of this series, and in details which, as on the Samian bronze (2476), reflect the earlier phase of the fight. Two of Geryon's heads and Eurytion, on the ground between the contestants, have been struck by arrows; H. does not carry his bow but does wear his quiver at his back. The movement of the three-bodied figure corresponds with the plight of each body: the front one sinks forward, almost completely hidden by the shield; the rear one turns the upper body and loses touch with his brothers. The scheme is repeated on a whole series of Attic bf. vases (e.g. 2480, 2487, 2489, 2493, 2494) though not always with the details of wounding diagnostic for the type. H.'s quiver is often omitted and the complicated anatomy of Geryon may be misunderstood. The clear design is often spoilt by false incisions at neck or shoulder outline (2480, 2484, 2493) or crossed helmet crests (2480, 2484). There is a liking for variety of choice in attendant figures, in dress and weapons: Orthros beside Eurytion (2480, 2484, 2493); gods (Athena: 2487, 2492, 2493; Hermes: 2494; Athena and Hermes: 2490); a fleeing youth with a club (2487, 2491, 2492, 2494) who is presumably either a second herdsman, not recorded in the texts, or Menoites (cf. Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [108] 5, 10). These variations in the repertoire are a feature of the vase-painter's art, as we can judge from the series by a single painter (Clement 4–5).

About 530 the E Group promotes new types. The fragment 2465 shows H. again with his bow and, at the r. break, a hand with a spear held upright over Eurytion's head can only be Geryon's. This is unlike all other schemes and is a complete innovation. Other artists attempting to fit so many figures and bodies

into a narrow field create complicated, overlapping compositions. Earliest of this type is the Lydos plate fr. (2499). The tendency continues especially in Late Archaic (2488, 2495) when artists are inclined to include as many attendant figures as possible.

Non-Attic scenes appear about the same time as the first Attic. The two Chalcidian (2464, 2479) are distinguished from the Attic and Corinthian by the form of Geryon, with only two legs, and are in the Ionian tradition (see above, on 2476). Geryon's great wings are exceptional, not seen again in art (cf. Commentary on → Geryoneus 15, 16\*) – a painterly detail, used also in Stesichoros' *Geryoneis*, to demonstrate the fabulous character of the monster. The earlier scene (2479) shows the close fight in the conventional scheme, with H. in corselet without lionskin; the later (2464) is one of the most explicit and individual. H. stoops slightly to stalk his opponent, already struck by an arrow, without diminishing the force of his attack. Eurytion has been struck to the ground by an arrow in his back, face down, twisting in his death throes. Orthros lies dead on his back, bleeding from a gaping wound in his belly (as 2499, 2501, 2506). The scene is closed by Athena and the herd, realistically portrayed, hitherto seen so graphically only on the Samos plaque (2476). The chariot on the back of the vase carries a frontal, helmeted charioteer (Iolaos?), the only figure not named, and is not a traditional element in this composition. Local tradition, Ionian example and perhaps knowledge of the *Geryoneis* of Stesichoros, a resident of the Chalcidian colonies, may have contributed to the scene.

Knowledge of the story may have reached Etruria at this time via the Chalcidian colonies in the west. A bf. crater (→ Geryoneus 19 = Herakles/Hercle 245) has the herd beside the fight and in the same frieze a centaur with kantharos (cf. Brize 1 pl. 9, 2) – Pholos? The visit to Pholos was part of Stesichoros' *Geryoneis* (Page *PMG* fig. 181). When the Greek story was adopted the identification of Greek Geryon with an Italian deity, originally not associated with H., must have played an important role (see Commentary to → Geryoneus 5\*, 7\*, 25\*).

In Attica of the last quarter of the 6th cent. there is a tendency to include more figures. The woman who appears calm (2489, 2495) or with a gesture of horror (2470, 2501) behind Geryon, who flees terrified (2473, 2485) and once runs between the contestants (2488), is never named, even on Euphronios' cup (2501) where all other figures are inscribed. Nevertheless the implicit narrative of the finer rf. scenes (2473, 2501) demands an identification. One suggestion has been that she is the local nymph Erytheia, who is variously described in sources as a Hesperid (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [114] 5, 11; Hes. *fig.* 360 Merkelbach/West), as mother of Eurytion (Hellan., *FGH* 4 F 110) or as daughter of Geryon (Paus. 10, 17, 5). Attendant local nymphs do not certainly appear before the 5th cent., while mourning mothers of heroes are an iconographic feature of Archaic art, so we should see here Kallirrhoe, mother of Geryon (Robertson 215; Brize 1, 61–2). In Stesich. (Page *SLG* S 12, 13)

Kallirrhoe seeks to dissuade her son from the confrontation, just before the fight.

In one scene a woman with *kerykeion* (2473) approaches the fight and turns to Athena who seems to greet her with outstretched l. hand. Though she is wingless this must be Iris (Robertson 214; Brize 1, 62). She is not mentioned in the extant lines of Stesichoros but an occasion for her dispatch may have been the discussion between Poseidon and Athena (Page *SLG* S 14). This and other details suggest that the attempt of the early rf. scenes to give the fullest account of the story must relate closely to the inspiration of literary sources. The arrows in Geryon's eye or head appear, as they did on the Samos plaque (2476), the Lydos hydria (2463), the amphora signed by Exekias (2486). On Euphronios' cup Orthros lies dead, shot in the belly, as on the Chalcidian amphora (2464) and Lydos plate (2499). The lively rendering of the herd also distinguishes several of these scenes (2476, 2464, 2501). It is no coincidence that other episodes of the story begin to appear at this time – H. and Helios (2545) and H. in the bowl (2550) – see below.

There is no more detailed and exact scene than Euphronios' (2501). The artist uses both sides of the cup to create one long frieze, allowing the presence of the protagonists, Athena, Kallirrhoe, the herd, as well as Iolaos and other armed companions of H. who are driving the cattle even before the fight is over. Only Diod. (4, 17–24) mentions companions, making the Labour a military expedition. Euphronios also breaks with tradition in the composition: H. holds bow and two arrows in his l. hand, and raises his club in his r. for the coup de grâce. This is the first plausible coordination of the two weapons that characterise the fight.

A late bf. lekythos reflects another element in the literary tradition (2472): H. kneels behind a rock in ambush and draws his bow at Geryon. There are good grounds for detecting the ambush motif in Stesich. (Page *SLG* S 15 col. 18: *λάθραι πολεμῆσιν*; cf. Page 154). But the standing Eurytion and the normal dog facing up to H. do not correspond. Moreover, the direction of action is changed, r. to l., and the stricken body of Geryon falls forward, not back.

The Attic series ends with the Kleophrades P.'s cycle (2502). H. runs past Eurytion, shot in the belly, and attacks Geryon with his club. H. is naked but for his lionskin, wrapped round his outstretched l. arm.

The Cyprus relief (2512) probably decorated the base of a colossal statue of H. (cf. Myres, J. L., *Handbook of the Cesnola Coll.* [1914] no. 1360). Other statuettes of Geryon alone, some also from Golgoi (→ Geryoneus 2\*–4\*) attest knowledge of the story in Cyprus from the end of the 7th cent., probably associated with a cult of H. While the representation of H. may derive from Greek models such as 2501, the two-register composition, the satyr-like features of Eurytion (→ Eurytion II 49\*) and the dog's three heads, perhaps influenced by Kerberos, find no parallel in Greek art. The herd occupies an unusually large area.

The Labour first appears in architectural sculpture in a H. cycle on the Athenian treasury at Delphi (2506), but marked out by having all six western me-

topes devoted to it. At least three metopes were occupied by the cattle while the main fight occupies two: one with H. over dead Orthros, probably as on 2501; the other filled with Geryon whose three bodies are carved in different planes in a distinctive composition of movement. A hole below the r. shoulder of the body in the near plane, falling back, attests one of H.'s arrows. The herd is relatively spaciouly accommodated in the three metopes in contrast with the crowded fighting scenes of the east metopes. The Geryon adventure was H.'s «western Labour» par excellence, deliberately answering his eastern Amazonomachy (Gauer, W., in *Forschungen und Funde, Festschr. B. Neutsch* [1980] 127–136) but there were certainly other reasons for its exceptional role here. G. Lippold (*JdI* 67, 1952, 88–89) suggested a political allusion to Chalcis and Athens' victory in 506. With the Geryon labour aitiologically related to so many western foundation stories and with Delphi's role in colonial foundations, the choice of this theme for a building at Delphi was highly suitable. Moreover, scenes of H. with cattle were popular at this time (2533–2535), perhaps a reflection of the growing popularity of H. cults which were characterised by meat-feasts.

On the Olympia metopes the Labour, as the others, occupies just one metope (2507). The designer succeeded in creating a new composition for the three collapsing bodies. H. raises high his club to strike and steps on his opponent's knee, a new motif that expresses for the first time the effort and strain of the hero who usually defeats his opponents so easily. On the Hephaisteion the scene again occupies two metopes (2475) and offers room for the distant fight with the bow. For the first time both are naked, hereafter regular for H. (cf. 2474. 2503. 2504. 2508. 2509. 2511) but exceptional for Geryon in Greek art (cf. 2511).

The story seldom appears in Greek art after the mid-5th cent. After 2475 there is no example in architectural sculpture except for 2511, and 2502 is the last known rf. version. In cycles (2508) and on the solitary Greek coin (2509) the types derive from the conventional Late Archaic. The many variations in Hellenistic art (2474. 2510) may derive from lost works of major art, perhaps painting. This is especially true of the wholly new schemes on South Italian vases (2503. 2504) which seem especially to introduce local and Etrusco-Italic elements in Geryon's iconography (see → Geryoneus 17\*. 18).

In Roman art, except for 2530, the story appears exclusively in cycles, especially on sarcophagi and in mosaics (→ Geryoneus 21\*–24). In the early empire there seem to be several different conceptions, deriving from different traditions. The «classic» Greek type is attested throughout the empire, with H. naked but for the lionskin, club raised, fighting a three-bodied, armoured opponent of the same size (2513. 2515–2518. 2521–2522); among these the silver cup from Pompeii is a prime example for its quality (2521). This especially shows the bow in H.'s out-

stretched l. hand, a detail whose narrative significance would not have been lost on the informed viewer. By contrast, most Roman scenes show the opponent reduced in size to a mere comic cypher (2527–2531). This feature stresses the decorative function of many monuments (e.g. 2528). In the Italic tradition Geryon (→ Geryoneus 5\*. 6\*. 17\*. 25\*) has only one body with three heads (2528. 2531), a variant also in scenes where the sizes are the same (2519. 2526).

On a group of Roman sarcophagi of the second half of the 2nd cent. A.D. (2523–2525) the fight occupies the r. corner so that Geryon's body sometimes overlaps onto the short side. The three examples differ from each other in composition and the form of Geryon and on one (2524) the movement of the bodies is so diverse that it seems to defy any plausible anatomical unity. Of all the Roman examples this group represents a total break with the iconographical tradition and other solutions. This is true also for some mosaics (→ Geryoneus 22\*. 24) where the fighting group is dispersed and the death of Geryon represented in totally new compositions.

## 2. Herakles and the cattle of Geryon

Representations of H. alone with the cattle are far fewer than the fight but they establish, from the late Archaic period on (2533–2534), a second type for the Labour which can complement the fight in cycles (2525a) or replace it (2533. 2536. 2537. 2541). That the essential association with the fight with Geryon is still observed in the Roman period is shown by the coin 2538, where Eurytion lies dead among the cattle. Where H. is with only one bull there may be doubt about whether Geryon's herd is intended (2542–2544).

There must have been a basic connection between the first examples of this scheme and those in which the herd is associated with the fight, perhaps through the growing popularity and specific character of H. cult (see above on 2506). At about the same time there are vase scenes with H. resting between cows and their suckling calves in a rocky setting (2535). The bucolic trait may relate to H.'s role as protector of herdsmen and herds (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9, 72. 316; Dion Chrys. 1, 61 R). A small Hellenistic votive relief (2535c) is related, where the cattle, set in pairs and on several registers, surround the naked hero. So it is no coincidence that on the Attic victor's relief (2508 = 2535b), probably from a H. sanctuary, the scene with the cattle complements, though in a separate field, the fight with Geryon.

On a Roman sarcophagus (2536a) where the otherworldly events are combined in a telling composition which symbolizes the hero's triumph over the powers of death, two bulls substitute for the Geryon episode though the figure of H. is not immediately associated with them. The realistic rendering of the bulls and the Hesperides tree rather evoke an association with the richness and plenty which the hero might enjoy when he has achieved immortality and

which represent a promise of the other world for mortal believers.

In the Augustan period H. with the cattle carries a supplementary narrative meaning (since the return through Italy is integrated into the early history of Rome. A gem (2536) illustrates an episode of the encounter with Cacus, related several times in contemporary Roman poetry: H. drives his herd from Cacus' cave, located on the slopes of the Palatine (see above, Lit. Sources). It is uncertain whether the incised frieze on a Campanian bronze dinos (→ Cacus 5 = Herakles/Hercl 276) is also to be associated with the story. At any rate these scenes demonstrate the popularity of the story of H.'s return from Erytheia through Italy, a story which provided the *aition* for several city and cult foundations in the western Mediterranean.

## 3. Herakles and Helios

Representations of H.'s encounter with Helios and his voyage in the golden bowl over Okeanos must be included here because the great majority of literary sources explicitly associate the episode with the Geryon Labour (Stesich., Page *PMG* fig. 185; Aischyl. *Herakleidae*, *TrGF* III F 74; Pherekyd., *FGrH* 3 F 18a; Panyassis, Davies *EGFF* 7A; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [107] 5, 10). Only in a second phase it seems to have been transferred by Pherekyd. (*FGrH* 3 F 16. 17; whence Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [113] 5, 11; cf. Brize 1, 78–80) to the journey to the Hesperides where already in Mimnermos (West *IEG* fig. 12) the starting point for Helios' nightly journey had been located.

Although the episode exemplifies the hero's intrepidity and lends a special character to his journey to the other world, it was represented relatively late and seldom. The eight extant vase scenes are all of the short period c. 510–450 B.C. The lekythos 2548 most probably alludes to literary accounts of H. threatening Helios with his bow (Pherekyd., *FGrH* 3 F 18a). H. strides towards Helios, club lowered, bow in his outstretched hand, with loose string. It is not then an exact illustration of Pherekydes' story. The presence of Athena at the right reminds us that this unprecedented deed also called for divine support (cf. Stesich., Page *SLG* S 14). The lekythos 2549 records the same attack on Helios but the bow is missing. Two other scenes (2545. 2546) show the meeting of god and hero on the shores of Okeanos. 2545 and A of 2546 show the same scene in virtually the same manner: Helios' chariot plunges into Okeanos and the god turns his head to H. who crouches on the shore and raises his r. hand as if to speak. Since his l. hand holds his club (and clearly raised on 2545) his words could be threatening too. Side B on 2546 repeats the chariot of Helios but H. turns away from it and climbs the steep cliff, looking back at him.

The Theseus P. seems to have shown two successive moments of the same event on the front and back of the same vase. The observation that the shore on side B is steeper than that on side A leads to the conclusion that it is not the same shore. We can surmise

that on A H. is asking Helios' help to cross Okeanos and on B, as a consequence, he is landing on Erytheia, where he spent the night on Mount Abas according to Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (108) 5, 10. This mountain may also appear on the lekythos 2547: H. is sacrificing at an altar on high ground, perhaps a mountain top. Helios' chariot rises from Okeanos, while Eos and Nyx disappear. H.'s sacrifice is surely to Helios, who was commonly worshipped at sunrise on mountain tops, out of gratitude for his help (cf. Brize 1, 63).

It is most striking that Helios' chariot is never on these vases shown in the mythical bowl, although in this context it might be expected, and it is the case in other scenes where H. is missing (cf. the lekythos Boston, MFA 93.99, *ABL* 120, 4 pl. 23, 1; the amphora Vienna 815, *ibid.* 120, 5; Schauenburg, K., *Helios* [1955] fig. 22). In these scenes the shape of the legendary vehicle differs from the vessels (lebes, dinos) with clearly offset rim, in which H. travels on vases 2550–2552.

Each of these three scenes carries a distinctive statement of the theme. In the earlier two (2550. 2551) the dangers of the journey seem to be emphasized since the hero can hardly be accommodated in the relatively small vase and on 2550 his legs hang over the edge of the cramped vessel, dancing on the waves. In the small rf. tondo of 2551 the nakedness of the hero (without even the lionskin) crouching anxiously in the vessel accentuates his unprotected resource against the force of the elements, the bow in his hands his only weapon. Quite different is the later scene in the superb tondo 2552. Here H. is covered up to his chest in the massive vessel, designed not for him but for Helios with his chariot. The hero crosses Okeanos the more secure, gazing towards his goal, the great club on his shoulder, confident in his strength and in divine protection.

The vase scenes thus agree well with the literary tradition about the means of H.'s journey to the island of Geryon, though it must be remarked that the scenes themselves offer no explicit reference to the purpose of the journey. In the Late Archaic period this episode, like that of H. with the herd, probably acquired an independent status, based on the one hand on H.'s rash challenge to a god, on the other on his journey to the other world.

PHILIP BRIZE

## M. Herakles and Kerberos (Labour XI)

H. has to bring Kerberos, guard dog of the Underworld, alive to Eurystheus.

LITERARY SOURCES: This labour is already known to Homer: H. is sent by Eurystheus to the Underworld to bring back the hound of Hades and requires Athena's help to escape the waters of the Styx (*Il.* 8, 362–369). *Od.* 11, 623–626 stresses the difficulty of the labour, adding that H. was escorted by Hermes and Athena when he brought the dog up from Hades. → Kerberos is called only the «dog of Hades», being first named and described, as fifty-headed, in

Hes. *theog.* 310-312 in a passage unconnected with H. Athena's intervention in the labour is not mentioned elsewhere; Hermes' presence is noted by Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (123) 5, 12 (cf. Pediasimos 12) only when H. meets the ghost of Medusa (→ Gorgo, Gorgones) on his way to find Kerberos. Homer gives no other information about the capture of Kerberos (*Il.* 5, 395-397 tells how H. wounded Hades at Pylos; cf. Panyassis, Davies *EGF* F 6). The *Schol. Hom. Il.* 5, 395-397 Erbse combines the wounding of Hades with the capture of Kerberos in an otherwise unknown version where H. subdues the beast by using stones as missiles, and when opposed by Pluto, shoots the god with his bow.

Most of the surviving fragments of 6th and early 5th cent. B.C. works which mention H. and/or Kerberos either deal with H.'s other encounters in the Underworld (the ghost of → Meleagros; Pind *frag.* 249a Snell/Machler; Bakchyl. 5, 56-175; → Theseus and → Peirithoos; Panyassis, Davies *EGF* F 9. Cf. Euphorion *frag.* 51 Powell and Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [124-125] 5, 12 where H. rolls the stone off Askalaphos and, according to Apollod., wrestles with → Menoites after killing one of the cattle of Hades) or are too short to reveal the content of the poem (title *Kerberos* by Stesich., Page *PMG frag.* 206; «Kerberos ... hundred-headed», Pind. *dith.* 2 *frag.* 249b Snell/Machler). The fragment of a lyric poem attributed to Pindar (*frag.* 346 Snell/Machler; Lloyd-Jones, H., *Maia* NS 3, 19, 1967, 206-229) may have included, in an account of H.'s katabasis, his initiation by → Eumolpos at Eleusis.

Euripides gives the first coherent account: H. descends through the chasm at Tainaron (*Herc.* 23-24. A cave at Tainaron was identified; see Pearson, A. C., *The Fragments of Sophocles* [1917] I, 167-168; other adherents to the claim of Tainaron: Sen. *Herc. f.* 663-664; Apollod. *l.c.*; cf. the rationalization by Hekataios [*FCrH* 1 F 27] who said Kerberos was a poisonous snake, living on Tainaron, which H. brought to Eurystheus. A claim was also made for the Acherusian Chersonese as the place of H.'s descent: Xen. *an.* 6, 2, 2). Eur. *Herc.* 610-619 specifies that H. subdued Kerberos (three-headed, as in Soph. *Trach.* 1098 and most later writers, but triple-bodied in Eur. *Herc.* 24) with a struggle; that he was not given Kerberos by Persephone, but that he was fortunate to have seen the rites of the initiates. The connection between H.'s initiation and the capture of Kerberos is made, with variations, by Aristoph. *Ranae* 465-469, where H. throttles Kerberos (cf. Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [216] 5, 12), drives the monster out of Hades, and is then (as Dionysos/H.) promised a warm reception from Persephone (*Ranae* 503-518; see Lloyd-Jones, *o.c.* 218-221); by Diod. 4, 25, 1 and 26, 1, where in order to succeed in this labour, H. goes to Athens for initiation by Mousaios, is then welcomed like a brother by Persephone in Hades and given Kerberos enchained; by Apollod. *l.c.*, where H., having been initiated by Eumolpos at Eleusis, asks Pluto for Kerberos, and is ordered to take the hound without using weapons (cf. *Schol. Hom. Il.* 5, 395-397 Erbse; Tzetz. *chil.* 2, 389-405; Pediasimos *l.c.*), which he does by gripping Kerberos in a

stranglehold, although bitten by the beast's snake-headed tail (cf. Kall. *frag.* 515 Pf.).

In Eur. *Herc.* 619, H. delays his departure from Hades in order to rescue Theseus (cf. Eur. *Peirithous*, *TGF*<sup>2</sup> p. 546-547; cf. Page, D. L., *Greek Literary Papyri: Poetry* [1942] 120-125; Kritias *Peirithous*, *TrGF* 1 43 F 1; Sen. *Herc. f.* 806; Apollod. *l.c.*; Tzetz. *l.c.*; Diod. 4, 26, 1 says that by favour of Persephone, Peirithoos was also rescued; Myth. Vat. I 57 gives the purpose of H.'s descent as the rescue of Theseus, whose safety H. ensured by removing Kerberos; see below, section XI) In Eur. *Herc.* 615, H. leaves Kerberos at Demeter's grove in Hermione (cf. Paus. 2, 35, 10: behind the sanctuary of Chthonia there was a chasm whence H. was said to have led Kerberos up from Hades) before seeing Eurystheus and later asks Theseus to help him take Kerberos to Argos (Eur. *Herc.* 1386-1387). Others claim that H. brought Kerberos up at Troezen (Apollod. *l.c.*; Paus. 2, 31, 2) or on Mt. Laphystios in Boiotia (Paus. 9, 34, 5). Diod. 4, 26, 1 says only that H. exhibited Kerberos to men; Apollod. *l.c.* asserts that after H. showed Kerberos to Eurystheus, he returned the monster to Hades (cf. Tzetz. *l.c.*).

Some later authors emphasize the ferocity of Kerberos, and H.'s struggle to overcome and lead away the monster. Euphorion (*frag.* 51 Powell) tells how Kerberos terrified women and children with his flashing eyes when H. led the beast into the world. In Ov. *met.* 7, 408-415, Kerberos is dragged up in chains, fighting and turning away from the light (cf. Sen. *Ag.* 859-862; *Herc. f.* 813-827); from the drops of Kerberos' saliva grew the plant Aconitum, by which Theseus was later poisoned (see Robert, *Heldensage*<sup>4</sup> 487). The fight with Kerberos (a savage, baying monster, mane bristling with vipers and snake-tail hissing) is violent in Sen. *Herc. f.* 782-827: using his lionskin as a shield (cf. Apollod. *l.c.*; *Schol. Hom. Il.* 5, 395-397), H. beats Kerberos into submission with his club (cf. Q. Smyrn. 6, 265-268), and leads the tamed beast away, with the consent, given in fear, of Pluto and Proserpina. In a muddled passage by Nonnus Abbas (Westermann, A., *Mythographi Graeci* [1843] 375 no. 38), H. kills Kerberos when he goes with Peirithoos (rather than Theseus) to seize Persephone. According to Myth. Vat. I 92; II 154 H. rescues → Alcestis when he goes to Hades for Kerberos.

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## CATALOGUE

### GREEK

In archaic representations, H. is usually fully dressed; in later art, he is usually naked, holding his club, sometimes carrying his lionskin. In Attic vase painting, Kerberos usually has two canine heads (one head: 2570. 2576), a mane down his necks and back, and a snake-headed tail; in other art, archaic and later, he usually has three heads (one head: 2553. 2591. 2621; two heads: 2579). See → Kerberos.

### 1. The capture of Kerberos

#### a) Herakles threatens Hades: Kerberos runs away *Corinthian Vase*

2553. (= Athena 11\*, = Hades 136, = Hermes 511) Kotyle. Lost. From Argos. - Amyx, *CVP* 185, 2: Pholoe P.; Payne, *NC* 127, fig. 45c; Brommer, *H.* pl. 24b. - About 590-580 B.C. - H. (naked, quiver on back, bow in r. hand) striding l., raising a stone (?) at Hades, who flees l.; confronting H., goddess (identified as Athena by Payne, *o.c.* 130; Beckel 43; Boardman 7, Demargne, → Athena 11; as Persephone by Schefold, *SBII* 120; Schmidt, M., in *Festschr. F. Brommer* [1977] 271-272) standing in front of throne; following H., Hermes; on r. Kerberos (one head, snakes rising from body and head) fleeing r.; on far r. a column.

#### b) Herakles confronts Kerberos *Attic Vases*

The usual scheme has H. standing on the l. facing the palace of Hades represented by a column or portico on the r. Kerberos stands (or sits) in or in front of the portico facing H. On the far r., Persephone (absent on 2554 and 2559) stands in the portico looking l. Hades is present on 2558-2559. 2561. 2567. Athena and Hermes are variables. On 2554-2555 and 2560 H. crouches in front of Kerberos; elsewhere he stands or takes a step forward.

2554.\* Amphora, rf. Paris, Louvre F 204. From Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 4, 11: Andokides P.; Arias/Shefton/Hirmer pls. 88. XXIX; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 162; Schefold, *SBII* 121-122 fig. 152; Simon/Hirmer, *Va-*

sen pls. 90. XXXI. - About 525-510 B.C. - H. crouching with chain lowered in l. hand, reaching out with r. to stroke Kerberos who emerges from portico; on l., Athena; between H. and Kerberos a tree and H.'s club resting at angle. For H. and Athena without Persephone, cf. Munich, *Antikenslg.* 1615B (J, 1206); Athena beside Kerberos.

2555. (= Hermes 512) Amphora, bf. Moscow, Hist. Mus. 70. From Tarquinia. - *ABV* 255, 8: Lysippides P.; Boardman pl. 2a; *idem*, *ABFH* pl. 163; Marwitz, H., *Oefh* 46, 1963, 88 fig. 47. - About 525-510 B.C. - H. and Kerberos similar to 2554; in portico, Persephone walking l., both arms outstretched over Kerberos; on l., Hermes bending over H.

2556.\* Hydria, bf. Boston, MFA 28.46. - *ABV* 261, 38: manner of Lysippides P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 79; Boardman pl. 2b. - About 520-510 B.C. - H. standing; Kerberos outside portico, sniffing H.'s hand; beside Kerberos, Hermes walking r., looking back; on r., Persephone; on l., Athena. Cf. Naples, Mus. Naz. SA 267; *Para* 138, 4; *CVA* 1 pl. 4, 3; Persephone absent. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81102 (H 3378); *ABV* 477, 9; *CVA* 1 pl. 34, 3.

2557.\* Neck-amphora, bf. Starnberg, Purrmann. - *Para* 141, 5: Medea Group; Boardman pl. 4a; Felten fig. 5. - About 520-510 B.C. - Similar to 2556; Kerberos and Persephone sitting. Hermes holds kerykeion, not Kerberos (as Schauenburg, *Jdl* 76, 1961, 62). For Kerberos sitting, cf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 1880; *CVA* 5 pl. 44, 3 and 4.

2558. (= Hades 138, = Hermes 514) Neck-amphora, bf. St. Louis, Washington Univ. 39:1921 (WV 3274) (668). From Orbetello. - *ABV* 328, 7: Long Nose P.; Mylonas, G., *AJA* 44, 1940, 196-199 figs. 8. 9. - About 520-510 B.C. - H. on l. behind Hermes, who quiets submissive Kerberos; beside Kerberos, Hades walking r., looking back; on r., Persephone. No palace.

2559. (= Hades 143) Hydria, bf. Amiens 3057.225.47a. - *ABV* 384, 25: Acheloos, P.; Boardman, pl. 3a; *HDHG* (Rouen) 245 fig. 100 b. - About 515-510 B.C. - H. with l. hand raised to lips, club and chain in r.; between H. and snarling Kerberos, Athena; Hermes moving l. beside Kerberos, trying to control him; Hades approaching from r., with sceptre raised above head in anger (cf. 2567. 2570). Between Athena and Kerberos, a tree. No palace.

2560.\* Neck-amphora, bf. Rome, Villa Giulia 48329. From Cervetri. - *ABV* 370, 132: Leagros Group, recalls the Acheloos P.; Ricci, G., *MonAnt* 42, 1955, 1024 fig. 263. - About 520-500 B.C. - Between H. (half-crouching) and Kerberos, Athena, looking back at H.; Hermes beside Kerberos, treating with Persephone.

2561. (= Hades 137\*) Amphora, bf. Vatican 372. From Cervetri. - *ABV* 368, 107: Leagros Group; Boardman pl. 2c; Felten fig. 4; Schefold, *SBII* fig. 153. - About 520-510 B.C. - H. with club (no chain) lowered in r. hand, making a restraining gesture with l., either at Kerberos or at Hades, who stands beside Kerberos, making a similar gesture at Persephone, seated in portico; on l., Athena.



**2562.\*** Pelike, bf. Boulogne, Mus. 412. - *ABV* 376, 220: Leagros Group, Antiope Group I; v. Bothmer, D., *JHS* 71, 1951, 42 no. 2 pl. 21b. - About 510-500 B.C. - Damaged. H., club on shoulder, chain lowered in r. hand, looking across Kerberos at Persephone (in portico beside Kerberos with her arm outstretched over his heads); beside Kerberos, large snake emerging from palace; on l., Athena seated. For snake, cf. **2563**. **2565**.

**2563.** Neck-amphora frs., bf. Leipzig, Univ. T 4485. - *CVA* 2 pl. 13, 1. 2: Leagros Group. - About 500 B.C. - H. with chain lowered, no club; Hermes beside Kerberos in portico with Persephone; large snake as on **2562**. **2565**. Cf. Paris, Louvre F 241; *ABV* 383, 5; *CVA* 5, pl. 47, 6; Persephone absent.

**2564.** (= Hermes **516**) Amphora, rf. Paestum, Mus. Naz. From Paestum. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 220, 2: Nikoxenos P.; Sestieri, P. C., *RivIstArch* NS 2, 1953, 5-14 figs. 5. 9; Sourvinou-Inwood 30 fig. 1. - About 510-490 B.C. - H., with raised club, cautiously approaching Kerberos while Hermes crouches to put chains on; in portico beside Kerberos, Persephone running r., looking back, l. hand raised in alarm; on l., Athena holding helmet.

**2565.** Hydria, bf. Capesthorpe, Bromley-Davenport. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 232, 2: Eucharides P.; Charlton, J. M. T., *JHS* 78, 1958, 20 pl. 9. - About 500-480 B.C. - H. holding chain in both hands; Hermes between H. and Kerberos, looking at H., and gesturing towards Persephone; large snake as on **2562** and **2563**. A near mirror image, without the snake, is on a lost bf. neck-amphora, once in Naples (Gargiulo, R., *Coll. Nat. Mus.* [1872] IV pl. 30): H. approaches from r.; Persephone stands on l.

**2566.** Neck-amphora, bf. Market 1937. - *Vente Charpentier* (4 juin 1937) pl. 10 no. 33. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - H., club on r. shoulder, l. arm outstretched, striding towards Kerberos, who stands in portico, raising paw in resistance; beside Kerberos, Persephone running r., looking back at H.; on l., Hermes.

**2567.** Amphora fr., bf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 86.AE.87.1-3. - *GettyVases* 2 (1985) 202 fig. 22; *CVA* 1 pl. 39, 1. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - H. lost; beside column, hindquarters of Kerberos; on l. of column, shoulder and raised hand of Hermes (cf. **2565**); on r. of column, Hades facing l., holding staff in l. hand, and a stone (?) raised in r.

**2568.\*** Oinochoe, bf. Hamburg, Mus. KG 1899.98. From Boeotia. - *ABV* 528, 33: Athena P. or workshop, IV; *CVA* 1 pl. 28, 5. 6. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. with chain in both hands about to slip it under Kerberos' head; Hermes beside Kerberos (foreparts only). Branches in field. Cf. bf. cup frs.; Basel, H. Cahn HC 804.808; Hermes (three fingers and slanting staff) probably on l., as on **2555**.

#### Gem

**2569.\*** Rock crystal scarab, East Greek. London, M. Hay Coll. - About 500 B.C. - H., with sword (?) raised in r. hand, approaching Kerberos (three heads, canine) from l., apparently holding him with l. hand.

#### c) Herakles and Kerberos confronted by Hades (?)

##### Attic Vase

**2570.** (= Hades **144**) Cup, rf. Altenburg 233. From Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 137, 1: Aktorione P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 67, 2 (a recently-added fr. shows Athena's and Kerberos' heads); Fazio 77-78. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - A: Kerberos (one head) standing between columns of central portico, facing bearded man in himation (Hades?) who approaches aggressively from l., reaching out as if to take hold of Kerberos; on r., H. (club on shoulder) facing l., holding loop of chain (?) over Kerberos' back; beside Kerberos, Athena in portico looking and gesturing at H.; on far r., woman (Persephone?). (B = **2811**.)

#### d) Herakles and Kerberos pulling in opposite directions

##### Apulian rf. vases

H. and Kerberos are part of a larger Underworld scene presided over by Hades and Persephone (cf. **2620**).

**2571.\*** (= Danaides **8**, = Erinys **11**, = Hades **130**) Volute-krater. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. B 4. - *RVAp* I 431, 81 pl. 160, 1: Follower of Lycurgus P.; Trendall, *RFSIS* fig. 151; *CVA* 2 pls. 62-63, 64, 1-3. - 350-325 B.C. - In lower zone, young H. (naked, bow on shoulder) looking r., brandishing club in r. hand, trying to pull Kerberos (three-headed, with snake-headed tail attacking H.'s leg), who pulls r., around to l.; on l., Hermes; on r., Erinys; below, the river Styx. Above on r., beside palace of Hades and Persephone, two youths, probably Theseus and Peirithoos. Cf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 80854 (SA 11) (= Erinys **9\***, = Hades **135**); *RVAp* I 424, 54; Schauenburg, K., *JdI* 73, 1958, 66 fig. 11; Vollkommer 16 fig. 22. Naples 81666 (H 3222) (= Hades **127**); *RVAp* I 431, 82 pl. 160, 2. Munich 3297 (J. 849) (= Hades **132\***); *RVAp* II 533, 282 pl. 194. Amphora, Taranto 76.010 (= Danaides **11**, = Hades **133**); *RVAp* II 763, 293 pl. 284, 1; H. and Kerberos in upper zone.

**2572.** (= Danaides **10**, = Dike **8**, = Erinys **10**, = Hades **154\***) Volute krater. Naples, Mus. Naz. SA 709. - *RVAp* II 533, 284 pl. 196: Underworld P. - 350-325 B.C. - Similar to **2571**. H. (lionskin on l. arm) looking towards Hermes; on far l. youth with sword on belt stepping l., looking back (Theseus?).

##### Stone relief

**2573.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1712\*** with bibl.) Marble frieze from the Theatre, Delphi. Delphi Mus. - Sturgeon, M., *AJA* 82, 1978, 228 fig. 2. - 2nd/1st cent. B.C. (Sturgeon; others mainly 1st cent. B.C./A.D.). - Of H., only l. leg overlapping Kerberos' body preserved; Kerberos standing, body facing r., all three heads looking back at H., who was probably pulling to l.

#### e) Other

##### Vases

**2574.** Fr., Attic bf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. From Satyrion. - *ConvMGrecia*, 16, 1977 pl. 99 top. - Late 6th

cent. B.C. - Kerberos chained at l. behind two seated figures (Hades and Persephone?) approached by H.

**2575.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1711\***) Clay relief bowl. Once Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 3161g. From Anthedon. - Mid 2nd cent. B.C. - Hermes between large, three-headed Kerberos on l. and frontal H. (naked, lionskin on l. arm, club raised in r. hand; looking l.) on r.

#### 2. Herakles leads Kerberos

H. strides forward, looking back as he pulls Kerberos after him. On **2596** he walks beside Kerberos. Usually H. goes r., holding his club in his l. hand and the chain or leash in his r. When H. goes l., he holds his club in his r. hand, the chain in his l.

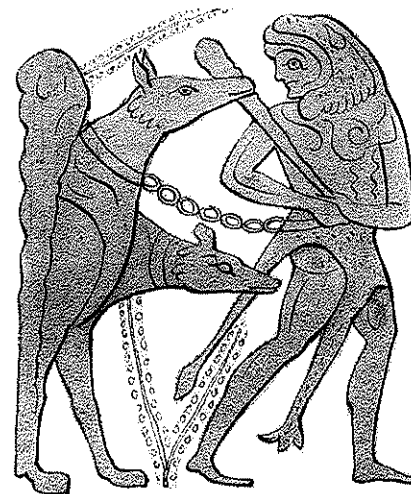
#### a) Alone

##### Attic Vases

**2576.\*** Cup, bf. Zürich, Univ. 3844. - Brijder, H., *Siana Cups* II (forthcoming): Red-black P.; *Arete* Liste 20, no. 15. - About 560 B.C. - H. and small, single-headed Kerberos walking l.

**2577.\*** Lekythos, Six technique. Athens, Kerameikos 1516. From Kerameikos, grave H TR 17. - About 510-500 B.C. - H. and Kerberos running r.

**2578.\*** Olpe (?), bf. Lost. - Dublin, Trinity College TCD MS 2031/79/3; Jenkins, I., *Cat. of Adam Buck's Drawings of Greek Vases* (1989) 71: 83 (ii). - 500-475 B.C. - Foreparts of Kerberos emerging from cave on l.



Herakles 2578

##### Reliefs

**2579.\*** (= **52**. **1877**) Stone statue base. Athens, NM 42+3579. From Lamptrai. - Wrede, W., *AM* 66, 1941, 160-165 pl. 64; Boardman, J., *GSAP* fig. 261b. - About 500 B.C. - H. (naked, club in r. hand) leaning hard to r., pulling firmly-braced Kerberos (two heads, snake tail).

**2580.** (= [Dodekathlos] **1706\***) Marble metope on the Temple of Hephaistos at Athens. - About 450 B.C. - Mostly lost; probably similar to **2591**, with H. pulling Kerberos to l. out of cave in bottom r. corner.

#### b) With either Athena or Hermes, or both

Hermes is present on all but **2589**. Athena is present on all but **2583**. **2586**. **2591**; she may be the goddess (also identified as Persephone) on **2582**. A bearded male appears on **2582**; a youth on **2585**. H. and Kerberos go r. on all but **2586**. **2590**. **2591**.

##### Attic Vases

**2581.\*** Neck-amphora, bf. Edinburgh, Nat. Mus. 1881.44.27. - *ABV* 312, 4: P. of Vatican 365; Gerhard, *AVII* pl. 129; Beazley, J. D., *BSA* 32, 1931/32, pl. 4. - About 540-530 B.C. - H. (no club) in Knie-lauf, with leash in r. hand (?); large, fierce Kerberos, both heads facing H. at eye level, with Athena beside him; on r., Hermes walking towards Kerberos.

**2582.** Neck-amphora, bf. Hamburg, Mus. KG 1984.439. - Hornbostel, W., *Kat. Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern* (1980) no. 52: P. of Vatican 365; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) pls. 187-189; *JbHamburg* 4, 1985, 103-104. - 540-530 B.C. - H. (no club) with leash in l. hand; Kerberos, rearing up, biting H.'s r. arm; on r., bearded man (short chiton, chlamys) running r., looking back (Hornbostel 83 suggests Hades); beside Kerberos, a goddess (Hornbostel: Persephone; or Athena, as on **2581**. **2584**); on l., Hermes.

**2583.** (= Hermes **521**) Plate, rf. Boston, MFA 01.8025. From Chiusi. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 163, 6: Paseas; Caskey/Beazley I pl. 1; Hanfmann, G. M. A., *AJA* 61, 1957, pl. 28, 7; Boardman, pl. 1c; Boardman, *ARFHI* fig. 16. - About 520-510 B.C. - Young H., with bow above head; between H. and Kerberos (foreparts only), Hermes running r. Cf. Würzburg L 472; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 137; Brommer, H. pl. 27a; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 141; Hermes follows Kerberos.

**2584.\*** (= Hermes **519a**) Neck-amphora, bf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 976. From Tarquinia. - *ABV* 269, 45: Antimenes P.; *CVA* 1, pl. 13, 3. - About 520-510 B.C. - H. (back view; no lionskin); Athena beside Kerberos; on r., Hermes walking r. Cf. Lost bf. neck-amphora; *ABV* 370, 131; Inghirami, F., *Pitture di vasi etruschi*<sup>2</sup> (1852) pl. 40; Hermes on r., crouching.

**2585.** Amphora, bf. Once Roman market. - *ABV* 279, 49: manner of the Antimenes P.; Gerhard, *AVII* pl. 130; Roux, G., in *Mélanges Ch. Picard* II (1948) 899 fig. 2. - About 520-510 B.C. - Similar to **2584**; H. with club in r. hand, leash not shown; on l., youth (Iolaos?) with bow and quiver.

**2586.\*** (= Hermes **520**) Cup, rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. V.I. 3232. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 117, 2: Epidromos P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 63. - About 510-500 B.C. - Hermes and H. running l.; Kerberos with snakes (one biting H. on ankle) rising from paws.

**2587.** Neck-amphora, bf. Los Angeles, County Mus. 50.8.19. - *ABV* 479, 4; Edinburgh P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 111. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - Young H. (loin cloth; no club), tugging on leash with both hands; Athena be-



side Kerberos; Hermes on l. Other late 6th cent./early 5th cent. B.C. bf. examples with Athena beside Kerberos, Hermes following: Paris, Louvre A481; CVA 4 pls. 29, 4; 30, 1; Norton (Mass.), Wheaton College, Watson Gallery; Olson, R. J. M., *Watson Gallery Notes* 3, 1 (Spring 1983) front cover. Würzburg L 203; ABV 328, 6; Langlotz, *KatWüzb* pl. 43. New York, MMA 1906.1021.78; CVA 4 pl. 37.4. Oxford, Loan 284; Spink, *Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1923) fig. 57. London, BM 1923.4-20.1; Haspels, *ABL* 217, 30. Malibu 79.AE.21; *Getty Vases* 2 (1985) 222 fig. 23.

**2588.\*** Cup, bf. Basel, Antikenmus. 1921.349. - CVA 1 pl. 51, 2. 4. 5: Leafless Group. - About 500 B.C. - H. and Kerberos in centre with Hermes on r., Athena seated on l.; on far r., Dionysos; on far l., second Hermes. Side B, Athena absent.

**2589.** Tripod pyxis, bf. Athens, NM 476 (CC. 838). From Athens. - Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 94, 8 (no. given as 1269). - Early 5th cent. B.C. - Athena walking beside Kerberos.

**2590.** (= Hermes 522) Hydria frs., rf. Boston, MFA 03.838, 1973.575 and joining fr. on loan to MFA. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 209, 162; Berlin P.; *Para* 343; Caskey/Beazley III 15 no. 122, Suppl. pl. 18, 2. - About 500 B.C. - H. leading Kerberos to l. (fr. 1973.575 shows neck of second head, lowered); Athena on l., facing them; Hermes (mostly lost) walking beside Kerberos, looking back r. (cf. 2602. 2603).

#### Stone relief

**2591.** (= [Dodekathlos] 1705\* with bibl., = Hermes 523) Marble metope from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Olympia Mus. - Ashmole, B./Yalouris, *o.c.* 1705, 28-29 pl. 198; Felten 21-22. - About 460 B.C. - H. (no lionskin) using both hands (chain lost) to pull Kerberos (one head) from cave in bottom r. corner; between H. and Kerberos, frontal r. leg, presumably of Hermes.

#### c) With one or both underworld gods (or at entrance to Hades) in addition to Hermes and sometimes Athena

Persephone is present on all but 2597-2599. Hades is present on 2593-2594. 2596-2598; the entrance to the Underworld is indicated by a column (2594. 2601. 2603) or a portico (2597. 2599. 2602); on 2599, the portico is shown without the Underworld gods. Hermes is always present; Athena is present on all but 2596. 2598. 2601. 2603. The scenes where H. goes l. are closely related, forming a distinct iconographic group.

#### (i) moving right

##### Attic Vases

**2592.\*** (= 1405, = Demeter 387 with bibl.) Amphora fr., bf. Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz. 4001. From Locri. - ABV 147, 6: manner of Exekias: close to Exekias; *Para* 61; *Add* 41; Boardman pl. 1a. - About 540 B.C. - On neck: H. (legs, part of lionskin preserved) running, followed by Kerberos (forelegs, nose of one head); beside Kerberos, man's leg (Hermes?); preceding H., Athena walking r., man with bow and

club (Iolaos?) standing facing female figure (hand preserved) on r. (Persephone? Cf. 2594).

**2593.** (= Hades 140\*) Hydria, bf. Toledo (Ohio) 50.261. From Vulci. - CVA 1 pl. 22, 2: Karithaios P.; *Midwestern Colls* no. 48. - About 530-520 B.C. - H. running; on r., Athena to l.; Hermes following Kerberos, leaving Persephone and Hades on l. Cf. Paris, Louvre Camp. 10676 (-Hades 141, = Hermes 519b).

**2594.** (= Hades 146\*) Hydria, bf. Würzburg L 308. From Vulci. - ABV 267, 19: Antimenes P.; Langlotz, *KatWüzb* pls. 93, 95; Simon, *FührerWüzb* 115. - About 520-510 B.C. - H. and Kerberos as on 2593, with Hermes preceding them; on r., Athena to l.; far r., Hades seated on folding stool, facing l.; following Kerberos, youth with spear walking r. (Iolaos?); on l., Persephone running r.; far l., a column.

**2595.\*** Hydria, bf. Lyons E 406b. From Etruria (Vulci?). - ABV 280, 3: related to the Antimenes P. III; Dugas, C., *Studies D. M. Robinson* II (1953) 57-58 pl. 17a; *Recueil Ch. Dugas* (1960) 149 pl. 39. - About 520-510 B.C. - H., Kerberos and Hermes as on 2594, with Athena following; on r., Persephone to l.; on far l., bearded man (boots and chlamys) to r. (*Recueil Dugas* 149: Hades).

**2596.\*** (= Hades 142) Neck-amphora, bf. Brussels, Mus. Roy. R 300. From Cerveteri? - ABV 288, 9: Group of Würzburg 199; CVA 3 pl. 23, 2. - About 520-500 B.C. - H. (back view) with club lowered, walking beside Kerberos, looking back at Persephone and Hades standing on l.; on r., Hermes walking r. For H. beside Kerberos, cf. bf. fr., Thessaloniki; *Olynthus* XIII (1950) 70 pl. 28, 4.

**2597.** (= Hades 147\*) Neck-amphora, bf. New York, MMA 41.162.178 - ABV 509, 155: Diosphos P.; CVA Metr. Mus. 4 pl. 50, 5. 6. - About 500-490 B.C. - H. leading Kerberos (who bites at leash and tail of lionskin) out of portico on l. where Hades sits watching. B: Athena (r.) and Hermes (l.) walking r., looking back.

**2598.** (= Hades 145\*) Skyphos fr., bf. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 2604. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. (r. leg, tail of lionskin preserved) running r.; on r., foot of Hermes (?) walking r.; on l., Hades walking r. beside Kerberos' hindquarters, arm extended over him. B: similar.

#### (ii) moving left

##### Attic vases

**2599.** (= Hermes 515b\*) Hydria, bf. Toledo (Ohio) 69.371. - ABV 360, 11: Leagros Group, Painter S; *Para* 161; CVA 1 pls. 25, 2; 26, 1; Sourvinou-Inwood pl. 6, 1. - About 520-500 B.C. - H., looking back, leading Kerberos (foreparts only) out of portico on r.; in front of H., Hermes, on one knee, reaching towards Kerberos; on l., Athena, and foreparts of team, facing r. Cf. Paris, Louvre CA 2992 (-Hermes 515c), Persephone on r.; Hermes standing.

**2600.\*** Hydria, bf. Leningrad, Hermitage 2067 (ex Basseggio). - ABV 364, 59: Leagros Group; *Para* 162; Boardman pl. 3b; Gorbunova 116 no. 84: Painter S. - About 520-500 B.C. - Young H. (naked),

Kerberos, Hermes (crouching), Athena as on 2599; on r., Persephone running l., beside Kerberos' hindquarters; on l. of Athena, departure scene (chariot to l., old man seated, woman). No palace.

**2601.** (= Hermes 515a) Neck-amphora, bf. Boulogne, Mus. 68. - ABV 385, 2: manner of Acheloos P.; Pottier, E., *Album archéologique des musées de province* (1890/91) pl. 18, 1. - About 520-500 B.C. - Fragmentary. H. with Kerberos on slack chain, turning to wave at Persephone (beside Kerberos outside palace) on r.; between H. and Kerberos, Hermes (arms mostly lost) facing Kerberos, possibly encouraging him or fixing the chain. On r., column.

**2602.** (= Hermes 517) Amphora, rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 2306 (J 406). From Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 225, 1: P. of Munich 2306; CVA 4 pl. 183; Sourvinou-Inwood pl. 6, 2. - About 500 B.C. - H., Kerberos, Hermes (crouching), Athena as on 2600; on r., Persephone in portico, r. arm extended over Kerberos.

**2603.\*** Amphora, bf. London, BM 1893.7-12.11. - ABV 397, 28: Eucharides P.; *Para* 174, 28; CVA 3 pl. 34, 3; Peschlow-Bindokat, A., *JdI* 87, 1972, 75 fig. 2. - Late 6th/early 5th cent. B.C. - Similar to 2601. Hermes walking l. beside Kerberos; Persephone in palace. Cf. Winchester Coll.; *Class. Ant. from Priv. Coll.* (Sotheby's 1986) pl. 4, 17; Athena on l.

### 3. Herakles drives Kerberos

On Attic vases H. drives Kerberos ahead of him to the r., holding his club in his r. hand, the chain or leash in his l. (on 2607-2608. 2610. 2612, Kerberos is not chained); on 2605, H. and Kerberos go l. H. always looks in the direction of movement.

#### a) Alone

##### Attic Vase

**2604.\*** Neck-amphora, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1493 (J 153). From Vulci. - ABV 316, 7: Bucci P.; CVA 7 pls. 355, 2; 356, 1; 362, 4; Brommer, H. pl. 27b. - About 530-525 B.C. - H. with club above head; Kerberos standing with one head looking back. (B = Amyetoi 2\*.)

#### b) With others

Hermes is present on all except 2613. Athena is present on 2608. 2611. 2612. 2614; Persephone, on 2608. 2614; a goddess who may be either Athena or Persephone, on 2606 and 2613. Athena, Persephone and Hades may be present on 2607. A youth and a bearded man appear on 2613.

##### Laconian Vase

**2605.** (= Hermes 518) Cup, bf. Once London, Erskine. - Stibbe, *LakVas* pls. 72, 73: Hunt P.; Scheffold, *SB II* 120 fig. 149; Pipili, *LacIc* fig. 8. - About 560-550 B.C. - Huge, three-headed Kerberos (snakes on body and heads as well as tail), filling field, walking l., preceded by Hermes and followed by H. (chain in both hands, club in l.), both cut off by tondo frame. Above Kerberos, eagle flying l.

#### Attic Vases

**2606.** Cup, bf. Lost. Once Deepdene, Hope Coll. - ABV 184-185; cf. Xenokles P.; *Para* 76; Raoul-Rochette, *Monuments inédits d'antiquité figurée* (1833) pl. 49; Felten fig. 1. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - H. (fillet, animal skin) with club on r. shoulder; Kerberos large, with snakes on heads, body, paws, tail; on r., Hermes walking r., looking back; on l., goddess standing, holding wreath (identified as Athena by Felten 12; as Persephone by Peschlow-Bindokat, *o.c.* 2603, 145).

**2607.** (= 3386 [A], = Hades 139) Amphora fr., bf. Orvieto, Mus. Faina 78. From Orvieto. - ABV 144, 9: Exekias; Technau, W., *Exekias* (1936) 20 pls. 11-12; Scheffold, *SB II* fig. 151; Shapiro, H. A., in Moon (ed.), *AGAI* 93-94 fig. 6. 8b. - About 545-530 B.C. - B: H. (naked, panther's skin; scabbard, no club), Kerberos (heads lost; no chain) and Hermes as on 2606, approaching goddess facing them on r.; on far side of Kerberos, man in himation (Hades?) and two women facing r.; behind H., woman standing to r.; far l., bearded man in petasos and chlamys walking r. Scheffold 121-123 interprets the scene as the initiation of H. at Eleusis.

**2608.** Amphora, bf. Baltimore, Walter's Art Gall. 48.16. - ABV 140, 1: near Group E, IV; Hill, D. K., *GBA*, series 6, 24, Sept. 1943, 183-185 figs. 1, 2. - About 540-530 B.C. - H. (naked, chlamys on l. arm, sword (?) in r. hand), quiet Kerberos (no chain), Hermes, as on 2606; beside Kerberos, woman (Athena?) looking at H.; on l., woman (Persephone?).

**2609.\*** Neck-amphora, bf. Paris, Louvre F 228. - ABV 269, 46: Antimenes P.; CVA 5 pl. 43, 1. - About 530-510 B.C. - H. walking beside Kerberos' flank; Hermes standing on l.; on r., a tree.

**2610.** (= Hermes 513) Olpe, bf. Worcester (Mass.) 1935.59. - *Para* 193, 2: Honolulu Class; Schauenburg, K., *o.c.* 2557, 63 figs. 18, 19; Buitron, *New England* 57 no. 23. - About 530-500 B.C. - H. (club raised over head) holding Kerberos (snakes rising from heads and two paws; no chain) by snake tail; on r., Hermes running r., grasping snake on Kerberos' head, and holding a collar (?) lowered in l. hand.

**2611.** Amphora, bf. Texas, McCoy Coll.; once Castle Ashby 19. - CVA Castle Ashby pl. 20; Christie's 2 July 1980 no. 82. - About 530-520 B.C. - H. (no lionskin; club raised over head), Kerberos, Hermes as on 2606; Athena standing beside Kerberos. Cf. Fiesole, Coll. Constantini; CVA 1 pls. 17, 1. 3; 18, 1. 2. Gotha 31; CVA 1 pl. 33, 1. Tarquinia RC 7368; ABV 323, 19. Vatican, Mus. Greg. 42; Beazley/Magi, *Racc.Guglielmi* I pl. 15, 42; Athena and Hermes reversed.

**2612.** Neck-amphora, bf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 86.AE.80. - *Para* 166, 131bis: Leagros Group; *Getty Vases* 2 (1985) 201 fig. 21a; CVA 1 pl. 33, 2. *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, Köln (1968) A 27. - About 520-500 B.C. - Young H. (naked, sword on belt) beside Kerberos' hind legs, with club lowered in r. hand, l. hand clenched in front of chest; angry Kerberos (no chain) baying at Hermes facing him on r.; Athena beside Kerberos, looking at H.

**2613.\*** Amphora, bf. Paris, Louvre F 34. - CVA 3

pls. 14, 7; 17, 1; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* 91 pl. 66; Roux, G., *o. c.* 2585, 896-904 fig. 1. - Third quarter 6th cent. B.C. (Roux). - On l., youth in chlamys, holding leash; beside Kerberos, woman in peplos facing r.; on r., bearded man in chlamys running r., looking back.

2614.\* Column-krater, bf. Paris, Louvre Camp. 12281. - CVA 12 pl. 181. - About 520 B.C. - As 2611, with Persephone standing in portico on l.; on r., a column. Hermes holds a small object, perhaps a charm, over Kerberos' heads.

#### 4. Herakles stands with Kerberos and Athena

2615. Oinochoe, Apulian rf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. T 24 (inv. 140601). From Rutigliano. - *RVAp* I 434, 11b: P. of the Berlin Dancing Girl; Schauenburg, K., *RM* 91, 1984/2, 383. - About 430 B.C. - On r., young H. (naked, lionskin knotted at neck, club in l. hand), frontal with l. foot on rock, holding leash in r. hand, with three-headed Kerberos sitting facing l.; on l., Athena.

#### 5. Herakles brings Kerberos to Eurystheus

2616.\* Hydria, Caeretan bf. Paris, Louvre E 701. - CVA 9 pls. 8-9 (616-617); Arias/Shefton/Hirmer pls. 78. XXVII; Hemelrijk, J. M., *Caeretan Hydriae* (1984) pls. 32, 33; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pl. XX; Scheffold *SB* II 121 fig. 150. - About 530-520 B.C. - H. (club raised in r. hand, leash in l.) walking l. beside fierce three-headed Kerberos (snakes on necks, snouts, front paws), approaching Eurystheus who hides in giant pithos. Almost identical is Villa Giulia 50649; Mingaz-zini, *CollCastellani* pl. 38; Hemelrijk, *o. c.* pls. 54, 55; Busiris P.

#### 6. Hermes and Kerberos without Herakles

2617. (= Hermes 525) Oinochoe, Attic bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 269 (inv. 4789). From Vulci. - *ABV* 535, 20: P. of Vatican G. 49; CVA 2 pl. 65, 8. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - Hermes on r., facing Kerberos, holding leash in l. hand; beside Kerberos, column with raven perched on top to r. Other examples are listed in Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 95, 12-16. Cf. → Hermes 524-526.

#### 7. Herakles and Kerberos: other groups

##### Reliefs

2618. Limestone fr. Taranto, Mus. Naz. inv. 72. From the arsenal, Taranto. - Bernabò Brea, L., *RivIst-Arch* NS 1, 1952, 210 fig. 194; 239 n. 43; Carter, J. C., *The Sculpture of Taras* (1975) 60 no. 130. - About 320-300 B.C. - H. (only legs preserved) frontal with Kerberos (three rather leonine heads) collared and chained on l.; rocky entrance to cave on r. Cf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. inv. 170; Bernabò Brea, *o. c.* 211 fig. 195;

Carter, *o. c.* 46 no. 34; with paw of lionskin, traces of club on r., chain crossing H.'s leg.

2619. Stone relief. Thebes, Mus. 461. From Kaparelli. - Karouzos, Chr., *Μουσείον Θήβας* (1934) 27 no. 47; Körte, G., *AM* 3, 1878, 402 no. 181; Pappadakis, N. G., *ArchDelt* 2, 1916, 249 fig. 7; Schachter, A., *Cults of Boiotia*, 2. *Herakles to Poseidon* (1986) 11. 31. 34. - 4th cent. B.C. - H. (lionskin over l. arm) frontal, with weight on r. leg, looking l., resting r. hand on club; on l. a dog (one head) facing l. (?). Pappadakis: H. Charops.

2620. (= Danaides 22\*, = Hermes 592) Lime-stone fr. Munich, Glypt. 494. From Taranto. - Klumbach, H., *Tarentiner Grabkunst* (1937) no. 42 pl. A; Bernabò Brea, *o. c.* 2618, 63-67 fig. 44; Carter, *o. c.* 2618, 45-46 pl. 10a-c; Scheffold, *SB* III 262 fig. 375. - About 325-280 B.C. - Underworld scene (Persephone and Hades sitting on l., far l., Danaids): Hermes running r. towards H. (r. knee, part of lionskin visible on r. edge of fr.) who may have been pulling Kerberos after him (cf. 2571-2572).

#### 8. Composition unknown

Architectural sculpture at Amyklai (= [Dodekathlos] 1701), and Thebes (Praxiteles; = [Dodekathlos] 1710); Lysippos at Alyzia (= [Dodekathlos] 1709); dedication of Herakleia Pontou at Olympia (= [Dodekathlos] 1704).

#### 9. Uncertain and incorrect identifications

##### Vases

2621. Relief pithos fr., Cretan. Heraklion, Mus. From Embaros. - Dawkins, R. M., *BSA* 20, 1913/14, pl. 5d; Dunbabin, T. J., *BSA* 47, 1952, 157; Schäfer, J., *Studien zu den griechischen Reliefpithoi des 8.-6. Jh. v. Chr.* (1957) 36. - About 590-570 B.C. - H. (only l. arm preserved) leading Kerberos (single leonine head, open-mouthed snake over back) to r. Identification, suggested by Dunbabin, taken as certain by Schäfer.

2622. Cup frs., Attic rf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 77.AE.94. - *GettyVases* 2 (1985) 202 figs. 24a-b; Frel, J., *Painting on Vases in Ancient Greece* (1979) no. 6: Ol-tos. - About 515 B.C. - H. (head, shoulders, upper arms) facing r. with l. arm outstretched to r.; Hermes (head, upper torso, r. arm; l. arm, mostly lost, apparently outstretched) probably following H. on l.

2623. (= 1341 with bibl., = 2547, = Astra 3\*, = Helios 105\* with bibl.) Lekythos, Attic bf. New York, MMA 41.162.29. - Haspels, *ABL* 120-124, 226, 6 pl. 32, 1; Sappho P.; Pinney, G. F./Ridgway, B. S., *JHS* 101, 1981, 141-144, pl. 3. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. sacrificing at altar; below, in cave, a dog (?) looking up, snarling. Pinney/Ridgway suggest that the animal is Kerberos and that H. is sacrificing prior to undertaking the Labour. Cf. 2553, 2570, 2576, 2591, 2621 for single-headed Kerberos.

2624. (= 1891\* with bibl.) Bell-krater, Attic rf. Utrecht, Univ. vH 18. From Naples. - *ARV* 1053, 42: Polygnotos Group. - Beazley and Karouzou, S.,

*JHS* 92, 1972, 69-70, suggest that the dog emerging from a cave may be Kerberos, and Karouzou that the seated goddess may be Hekate.

##### Statues

2625. Marble frs. Athens, Acr. Mus. 638 and 431. From the Acropolis. - Payne, H./Mackworth-Young, G., *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (1936) no. 638 pl. 96, 3; no. 431 pl. 124, 4; Schrader, H., *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (1939) 290 nos. 414, 415. - About 510-500 B.C. - No. 638: statuette torso of H.; no. 431: small plinth with feet of man and four animal paws. Against identification as H. and Kerberos, see Boardman 7 n. 22.

2626. Marble fr. Athens. From Athens (near theatre of Dionysos). - Hartwig, P., *Jdl* 8, 1893, 164 n. 9; Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* I 92, 2. - «Torso of Kerberos» is phallos-beast published by Buschor, E., *AM* 53, 1928, 96-108, Beil. 29, 30 (see Boardman 7 n. 22).

2627. «Argive votive monument by Antiphanes» commemorating the founding of Messene, at Delphi. Lost. - Paus. 10, 10, 5; Pomtow, *RE* Suppl. IV (1924) 1229-1233 s.v. «Delphi». - 370-369 B.C. - Kerberos is not mentioned by Pausanias, but on one of the blocks identified as the base of this monument, there are traces of human feet and animal paws (cf. Fazio 85-86).

##### ROMAN

H. usually has his lionskin on his l. arm or shoulder, less often on his head (2631, 2638, 2649, 2652, 2661-2662, 2667), and holds his club in his l. hand. Kerberos usually has three canine heads, sometimes with the central one larger (leonine on 2640, 2642, 2656, 2666) than the other two. H. and Kerberos are alone except on 2639 (Hermes or Theseus), 2643 (Hermes, ianitor orci?), 2648 (unidentified figure), 2650 (ianitor orci), 2653 (bearded man), and when associated with other myths (2672-2673; see → Alkestis 20 [= 16\*], 24\*, 28\*).

#### 10. Herakles fights Kerberos

##### Gems

2628.\* Sardonyx cameo. Signed by Dioskourides. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 11062. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 52, 5; *EAA* III 131 fig. 159; Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* (1966) pl. 61, 3-4; Fazio fig. 1; Lemburg-Ruppelt, E., *RM* 91, 1984 (1), 89-113 pl. 45, 1. - Mid. 1st cent. B.C. - H. facing r., clamping Kerberos' heads (only two visible) between his legs, pulling rope tight; Kerberos with leonine body and paws, snake-headed tail. Lionskin on rock on l., club on ground on r. For other examples, cf. Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* I 94, 4-9; 95, 16, 19, 22, 30. Add yellow paste intaglio, Dorchester Mus., Dorset; from Dorset; Henig, M., *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* 93, 1972, 183-186 fig. 1; 1st cent. A.D.

2629. *Vacat.*

##### Coin

2630. AE, Saitta, Gordion III (A.D. 238-244). - Voegtli 40-41 pl. 6m. - Rev.: H. striding l., raising large stone above head; Kerberos (only two heads visible) sitting on l. Club and lionskin in field on r.

#### 11. Herakles stands with chained Kerberos

Usually H. faces front, with his club in his l. hand and the leash in his r., while Kerberos sits or stands on the l. (in cave on 2634-2635). This is the type shown on [Dodekathlos] 1728 (gold bell), probably on 1733 (sarcophagus; H. damaged), and 1756 (silver cup).

##### Stone reliefs

2631. (= [Dodekathlos] 1726\* with bibl.) Leptis Magna, Basilica, marble pilaster (2) at east. - Floriani Squarciapino, *o. c.* 1726, 100 pl. 51, 2. - Severan. - H. (lionskin on head) with club upright on l. shoulder; Kerberos (large central head) frontal.

2632.\* (= 2830 with bibl.) Relief base. Alzey Mus. From Alzey. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* XI no. 7754. - Provincial work. H. (lionskin knotted at neck) with club on r. shoulder, leash in l. hand; Kerberos standing behind H.'s legs, facing r.

2633.\* (= 2830 with bibl.) Relief base. Alzey Mus. From Alzey. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* XI no. 7755. - Provincial work. H. (lionskin knotted at neck) with club on l. arm; Kerberos frontal.

##### Sarcophagus

2634. (= [Dodekathlos] 1724\*) Roman. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 154592. From near the via Cassia. - Jacopi 284, 289-290, 304-306 pl. 80, 2. - Late 2nd cent. A.D. - H. (no lionskin) with club on l. arm; Kerberos in mouth of cave, with body facing l.

##### Gem

2635. Red jasper. London, BM Gem 1042. - Walters, *BMGems* pl. 15 no. 1042. - Italic. - H. in profile facing r., resting r. hand on lowered club; Kerberos' heads shown as if emerging from cave on l.

##### Stone statues

2636. Marble. Rome, Mus. Torlonia 36. - Visconti, P. E., *Cat. del Mus. Torlonia* (1883) pl. 9 no. 36; Loeffler, E., *Marsyas* 6, 1950-53, 22 n. 104; Fazio 85. - H. (lionskin knotted at neck) restored holding apples in r. hand; Kerberos totally restored. Extent of other restorations unclear. Cf. Mus. Torlonia 242; Visconti, *o. c.* no. 242 pl. 61; Loeffler, *l. c.*; H. with lionskin on head; traces of chain, paws of Kerberos preserved.

2637.\* «Italian» marble. Narbonne, Mus. Lap. 833-295-1. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IX no. 6892. - 1st cent. A.D. (Espérandieu). - Damaged. H. (naked; head lost) resting r. hand on lowered club (draped with mantle), with Kerberos crouching behind him.

2638.\* Coarse stone. Augst, Römermus. 1924.128. From Augst. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* X no. 7292; Laur-Belart, R., in *VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès Int. Arch. Class.*, 1963 (1965) pl. 10, 3. - End of 2nd cent. A.D.

(Espérandieu). – Young H. (lionskin on head) with club shown in relief beside l. leg; Kerberos fragmentary.

## 12. Herakles and Kerberos pulling in opposite directions

H. as in section 13 below, moving r., with Kerberos on the l. This is the type shown on [Dodekathlos] 1727 (silver relief cup rim) and 1759 (ivory relief plaque), both with Kerberos sitting.

### Stone reliefs

2639. (= [Dodekathlos] 1745\*) Stone vase, «Tazza Albani». Rome, Mus. Torlonia 383. – Said to be Augustan. – Restored. On far side of Kerberos, naked youth wearing petasos (Hermes? Visconti: The-seus?) walking r., looking back.

2640. • Marble sarcophagus, Attic. Athens, NM 1182. From Thespieae. – *SarkRel* III 1 no. 99a pl. 27; Jamot, P., *BCH* 18, 1894, 212 fig. 2; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 392. – A.D. 150–175 (Sichtermann). – Fr. Kerberos with central lion's head. Cf. Solin (Dalmatia), Sv. Kajo; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 322 pl. 344; on l., overhanging cave or tree; adjacent panel on r. has H. with Alkestis.



Herakles 2640

### Lamps

2641. Corinthian, signed in tabella by Kallistos. Corfu Mus. From Corfu (Kassopi). – *BCH* 96, 1972, 682–683 fig. 232. – Early 3rd cent. A.D. – H. (bow on r. shoulder, club on l.) pulling Kerberos on chain held in both hands; Kerberos looking back, baying, with his snake-headed tail curling between H.'s legs. Another Corinthian example: Alexandria 29329; blank tabella. Cypriot, similar, include: London, BM 1982.3–2.38; *BMLamps* III Q 2563. Cyprus, Nicosia D 2524 and D 2531; Oziol, T., *Salamine de Chypre* VII. *Les lampes de Musée de Chypre* (1977) 214 nos. 633–634 pl. 35. Stockholm, Cyp. Coll. Acc. 831; Vessberg, O., *OpuscAthen* I, 1953, 117, 126 pl. 3. 15.

### Coin

2642. (= [Dodekathlos] 1760\*). AE, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius, A.D. 146/147. – Geissen, *AlexKai-*

*sermünzen* II no. 1544; Bräuer 84, Type 2; Dattari pl. 15 no. 2608; Voegtli 40 pl. 12 p. – Kerberos with central lion's head. Mouth of cave on l. (cf. 2656).

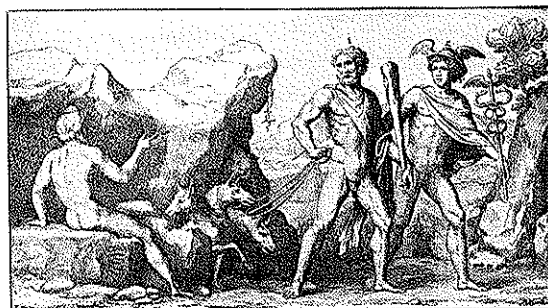
## 13. Herakles leads Kerberos

### a) moving right

The usual scheme shows H., with lionskin and club on l. shoulder or arm, leash in r. hand, stepping towards r. with his l. leg advanced and flexed, r. leg straight, pulling Kerberos after him and looking back l. Kerberos stands or sits on the l. (in mouth of cave: 2643. 2650. 2655–2656; in doorway: 2648–2649). This is the type shown on [Dodekathlos] 1725. 1730 (sarcophagi); 1737 (relief).

### Wall painting

2643. • (= Alkestis 25, = Ianitor Orci 2) Rome, Tomb of the Nasonii on the Via Flaminia. – Andreae, B., *Studien zur röm. Grabkunst* (RM Erg.-H. 9, 1963) 102. 124 pl. 57; Fink, J., *MdI* 6, 1953, 65. – A.D. 150–175 (Simon, → Alkestis 25: A.D. 160–170). – Original in poor condition; according to Andreae 102 enough survives to verify for the most part the drawing by P. S. Bartoli (17th cent.). H. with lionskin knotted at neck; Kerberos stepping out of cave set in craggy landscape; on l., naked figure seen from back, seated on rock (Andreae 102: ianitor orci; Fink 65: Hekate); on r. Hermes walking r., looking back. Cf. (= Alkestis 35) Wall painting from a grave in Tyre, Beirut, Nat. Mus.; Fink 65 n. 41 pl. 24; H. and Kerberos with other residents of Underworld.



Herakles 2643

### Mosaic

2644. (= [Dodekathlos] 1740) Volubilis (Morocco), Maison des Travaux d'Hercule. – About A.D. 200. – H. with r. leg advanced. Details unclear.

### Stone reliefs

2645. (= [Dodekathlos] 1735\*) Marble altar. «Ara Giustiniani» dedicated to H. by P. Decimus Lucrion. Vatican (once Lateran 9811). – 1st cent. B.C./A.D. – H. (lionskin tied at neck) with r. leg advanced; Kerberos with large central head.

2646. • Marble altar dedicated to Hercules by C. Ulpius Fronto. Rome, Mus. Cap., inv. 1962. – Stuart Jones, *SculptMusCap* 346 no. 6A pl. 89; Reinach, *Rép-*

*Rel* III 215, 3; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II no. 1425. – A.D. 81. – Large Kerberos overlapping H. (no lionskin).

2647. (= [Dodekathlos] 1736\* with bibl.) Marble base. Rome, Mus. Cap. 205. From Albano. – Bol, P. C., *RM* 77, 1970, 185–188 pl. 79, 2. – 1st cent. A.D. – H. looking r., head down.

### Marble Sarcophagi

2648. (= [Dodekathlos] 1714\* with bibl.) Roman. Velletri, Mus. Civ. From Velletri. – Andreae, o.c. 2643, pls. 4, 22; Lawrence, M., *AJA* 69, 1965, 215–216 pl. 54 fig. 33; Bartoccini, R., *RivIstArch* NS 7, 1958, 155–157 figs. 34, 35. – Late Hadrianic. – H. pulling Kerberos (large central head; frontal, with legs braced) on short leash through doorway. H. differs from usual type: r. leg flexed, body turned slightly to l. Behind the half-open door, just visible above Kerberos, blurred figure peering through curtains (Bartoccini, o.c. 155: Theseus, Peirithoos, or Askalaphos; Lawrence 216 n. 55: Hades or Thanatos).

2649. • Roman. Rome, Pal. Cons. 1394. From Rome, Piazzale del Verano. – Mustilli pl. 58, 234; Andreae, in Helbig<sup>4</sup> II no. 1737; Lawrence, o.c. 2648, 216 n. 59, pl. 54 fig. 34; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 243 fig. 290; Fazio fig. 4. – Late 2nd cent. A.D. (Andreae: about A.D. 180). – Strigil sarc.: H. and Kerberos in central panel. H. (lionskin on head) leading Kerberos on wide strap through doorway.

2650. (= [Dodekathlos] 1752\*, = Ianitor Orci 3) Roman. London, BM 2300. – A.D. 150–180. – Kerberos in cave, with ianitor orci in overhanging rock above. The labour is placed on far l. of long side. The ianitor orci does not appear on the other sarcophagi. Cf. [Dodekathlos] 1720–1721. 1723. 1734. Possibly similar was the lost sarcophagus, once in Constantinople, *SarkRel* III 1 no. 123.

2651. (= [Dodekathlos] 1732\*) Asiatic. Antalya Mus. A 928 (1004). From Perge. – A.D. 150–200. – Differs from usual type: H. (lionskin on l. arm; lower arms lost), wearing wreath (?), looking r., r. leg flexed; Kerberos standing in profile to r. behind H.'s legs, with heads visible on r.

2652. (= 2536a) Asiatic. Sevastopol, Cherson. Hist. Arch. Mus. 3/35678. From Chersonesos. – Late 2nd cent. A.D. – Fragment. H. with lionskin on head.

### Gem

2653. Red jasper. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 6855. – Furtwängler, *AG* II 222 pl. 46, 12. – H. with lionskin tied at neck; Kerberos (snake-headed tail) small; on r., bearded man in armour (Furtwängler: perhaps Commodus) looking l., holding a barbarian by the hair. Above l., sun; above r., crescent moon; below, in centre, eagle with wreath.

### Other reliefs

2654. Stucco. Ostia, Isola Sacra Tomb 95. – Calza, o.c. 2366, 109 fig. 43. – Trajanic. – Damaged. With other labours (2366. 2454. 2775).

2655. (= [Dodekathlos] 1754b\* with bibl.) Clay bowl. Brussels, Mus. Roy. R 524. – Spitzer, D. C., *Hesperia* 11, 1942, 170 fig. 7. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. –

Kerberos standing, biting H. on leg. Above Kerberos, mouth of cave and tree.

### Coins

2656. • AE, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius, A.D. 142/143. – Bräuer 84 Type 2; Dattari pl. 15 no. 2607; Voegtli pl. 6g. – Rev.: mouth of cave on l. Kerberos (central lion's head) sitting outside cave. Cf. 2642 and AE, Kallatis, Philip I; Pick, B., *Die ant. Münzen von Dacien und Moesien* I 1 no. 354 pl. 17, 27; Mouchmoff, N. A., *Anticrit Moneti* (1912) 348 pl. 11, 19; Bräuer 84 Type 1c; Voegtli 40; Kerberos (canine heads) in cave.

2657. AE, Perinthos (Thrace), Geta (A.D. 211–212). – Bräuer 82 Type 1a; Schönert, o.c. 2087, 214, 666; Voegtli pl. 6, l. – Rev.: tree on l. Cf. AE, Perinthos, Gordian III; Bräuer 83 pl. 4, 8, Type 1a; Schönert, o.c. 257, 857 pl. 54; Voegtli pl. 13k.

2658. • AE, Herakleia Pontou, Gordian III (A.D. 238–244). – Bräuer 84 Type 1b; *RecGén* I 2, 378, 218 pl. 62, 1; Voegtli pl. 14m. – Rev.: tree on l., statue of goddess on r. Cf. AE, Herakleia Pontou, autonomous, *RecGén* 356, 70 pl. 57, 11; Bräuer 84 Type 1b; Voegtli pl. 6k; obv. H. Ktistes.

2659. AE, Herakleia Pontou, Gordian III. *RecGén* I 2, 378, 219 pl. 62, 2; Voegtli 40. – Rev.: no landscape elements. Kerberos with hindquarters cut off by the edge of the coin, used to suggest mouth of cave. Cf. AE, Herakleia Pontou, Philip II; *SNG* v. Aulock 445; Voegtli p. 40. AE, Herakleia Pontou, Gallienus; *SNG* v. Aulock 452. 453; Voegtli pl. 6j; in exergue, bow. AE, Germe, Gordian III; Bräuer 83, Type 1; *SNG* v. Aulock 1123; Voegtli pl. 6i. AE, Saitta, autonomous, 3rd cent. A.D.; *SNG* v. Aulock 3090; Voegtli 40; obv. Tyche.

2660. (= [Dodekathlos] 1761\* with bibl.) AU aureus, Cologne (?), Postumus (A.D. 258–268). – Voegtli pl. 15j. – Rev.: as 2659. Cf. AU, Siscia, Probus, A.D. 278; *RIC* V 2, 79, 588. AU, Treveri, Maximianus Herculeus, A.D. 302–303; *RIC* VI 1, 169, 48.

### Statues

2661. • Marble statue. Copenhagen, Glypt. 2462. Acquired in Rome. – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 200–201 no. 270a; Loeffler, o.c. 2636, pl. 9 (with restorations removed); Fazio fig. 6. – 2nd cent. A.D. (Poulsen). – H. (lionskin on head) with tree stump support beside l. leg; Kerberos totally restored, sitting behind H.'s r. leg. Cf. Marble bust of statuette of Herakles; Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. inv. n. 823; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III no. 2431; Candilio, D., in *MusNazRom, Le sculpture* I 2, 352–353 no. 52 fig. IV, 52; possibly Hadrianic (Candilio); H. looking l., with lionskin on head. See Moreno 168.

2662. • Marble statue. Vatican inv. 488. From Ostia. – Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II no. 213 pl. 34; Reinach, *RépStat* I 471, 800; Loeffler, o.c. 2636, pl. 8, 3; Fazio fig. 5; Palma, B., *RendPontAcc* 51/52, 1978/79, 1979/80, 145–156 figs. 10, 12. – 2nd cent. A.D.? – Similar to 2661; Kerberos totally restored.

### b) moving left

Most of these are nearly mirror images of the pre-



ceding group. H. leans towards the l., putting weight on his r. leg; raising his club in his r. hand, he looks back r. at Kerberos, pulling on the leash or chain with his l. hand while Kerberos sits or stands in mouth of cave on the r. This is the type shown on [Dodekathlos] 1716 (sarcophagus). 1741 (mosaic). 1744 (textile). On 2663 H. is shown in back view.

#### Stone reliefs

2663.\* Funeral monument. Trier, Landesmus. 256. From Trier (Moselbrücke G 6). - Espérandieu, *Recueil VI* no. 4928. - Provincial work. H. (back view; no club) pulling large Kerberos on chain out of cave with arched doorway entrance.

2664.\* Sandstone votive shrine. Mainz, Mittelrhein. Landesmus. S 162. From the castle, Mainz. - Espérandieu, *Recueil VII* no. 5779; Oelmann, F., in *Festschr. A. Oxé* (1938) 183-191 pl. 20. - Provincial work. No lionskin. Cf. Speyer Mus.; Espérandieu, *Recueil V* no. 4484; fragment from unknown monument.

#### Metal relief

2665. Bronze appliqué ring for situla. Paris, Louvre. - Charbonneaux, J., *Rev. des Arts* 7, 1957, 26-27 fig. 2. - Possibly from time of Postumus, A. D. 258-267 (Charbonneaux). - Kerberos with large central head. No cave. On r., H.'s bow and arrows beside tree of Hesperides.

#### Coins

2666. AE, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius, A. D. 141/142. Bräuer 84, Type 2 pl. 4, 9; Voegtli 40 pl. 6h. - Rev. Poor condition. Kerberos with central lion's head. Details unclear. Cf. AE, Herakleia Pontou, Septimius Severus; Voegtli pl. 14n (details unclear).

2667. AE, Sebastopolis-Herakleopolis (Pontos), Caracalla, A. D. 211-217. - Bräuer 83, Type 1; Voegtli 40; Imhoof-Blumer, *GrM* 581 no. 68 pl. 5, 4; *RecGén* 144, 15 pl. 15, 3. - Rev.: H. (lionskin on head) with club lowered.

#### 14. Other types

##### Mosaic

2668. (= [Dodekathlos] 1743\* with bibl.) Piazza Armerina, Villa Erculia. - Carandini, C./Ricci, A./de Vos, M., *Filosofiana, The Villa of Piazza Armerina* (1982) 314 pl. 50, 116. - Early 4th cent. A. D. - Fragmentary. Kerberos without H.; youth (Carandini/Ricci/de Vos: Theseus) wearing boots, running and looking r.; Kerberos emerging from cave on l.; part of chain preserved below break. Cf. [Dodekathlos] 1742; Kerberos alone.

##### Reliefs

2669.\* Stone stele fr. Bad Homburg, Mus. From Stockstadt. - Espérandieu, *Germanie Compl.* (1931) 189 no. 304. - Provincial work. Damaged; lower half of stele lost. On l., H. (chest mostly restored; lionskin on l. arm) raising club like a sword in r. hand above

head, confronting Kerberos (only heads and shoulders, facing l., preserved), apparently holding him with l.

##### Gems

2670. Brown glass. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. FG 4200. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no. 4200 pl. 31. - 1st cent. B. C./A. D. (Furtwängler). - Young H. riding Kerberos. Cf. Silver ring; Berlin, Furtwängler, *o. c.* no. 967 pl. 12; H. riding (?) Kerberos. Details unclear.

2671. Brown glass ringstone. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 4193. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no. 4193 pl. 31. - 1st cent. B. C./A. D. (Furtwängler). - H. with Kerberos beside him. Details unclear: according to Furtwängler, H. (lionskin on head, club in r. hand) is trying to pull Kerberos around to l.

#### 15. Herakles and Kerberos associated with other myths

##### a) Alkestis

See → Alkestis 20 (= 16\*). 24\*. 28\*; and cf. above 2640 (Solin, Sv. Kajo). 2643 (= Alkestis 25. 35), where H. and Alkestis are shown apart from H. and Kerberos.

##### b) Rape of Persephone

2672. (= Hades/Pluto 19\* with further refs.) Marble sarcophagus, Roman. Rome, Mus. Cap. 249. - *SarkRel* III 3 no. 392 pl. 125; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 57 no. 61 pl. 148; Schefold, *SB* III fig. 377. - A. D. 220-230 (Schefold); A. D. 220-240 (Sichtermann/Koch). - At far r. of scene, H. (wrapped in mantle, club on l. arm) moving r., looking back; Kerberos' heads (large central head) visible between H.'s legs; on l. of H., Nike, then Hermes.

##### c) Other

2673. Marble sarcophagus, Roman. Lost, once Vatican garden. - *SarkRel* II no. 140 pl. 52: drawings in Pighianus (fig. 140'), Berolinensis (fig. 140'') and by Pozzo (fig. 140''', omitting Kerberos). - H. and Kerberos apparently similar to 2650, included between Odysseus and the Sirens on l. and Danaids on r. in a scene showing introduction of dead man into Underworld.

#### 16. Uncertain identification

2674. Marble Altar. Vatican, Belvedere. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II 296 no. 102r pl. 28. - Animal (mostly lost - Kerberos?) sitting in deep hole. Other labours: Boar, Hind, Snakes.

2675. Clay sealing. Palermo, Mus. Reg. From Selinus. - *NotSc* 1883 pl. 8, 4. - Man bending to l. over single-headed dog (?); details unclear.

#### COMMENTARY

The earliest representations of the labour occur at the beginning of the 6th cent. B. C. On a Corinthian

cup (2553) H. is shown in the Underworld, armed with his bow and followed by Hermes, threatening Hades with a stone. The god and his dog (single-headed with snakes springing from his body) flee in opposite directions. The goddess standing in front of Hades' throne, preventing the attack, may be Persephone or possibly Athena, given the early date of the vase and the Homeric passages referring to Athena's and Hermes' participation in the labour (*Il.* 8, 362-369; *Od.* 11, 623-626). Although there is a suggestion of violence in some later Underworld scenes (2559. 2566. 2567. 2570), this is the only preserved illustration where H. threatens Hades himself. A Cretan relief pithos (2621) of about the same date shows a single-headed beast, with a snake's head over its back, being led to the r., but too little of the fragment is preserved for a secure interpretation as H. and Kerberos.

In the middle of the 6th cent. B. C. illustrations of H. leading or driving Kerberos begin to appear on vases. The subject is almost certainly recognizable on an Attic bf. cup of about 560-550 B. C. (2576) where H. leads a small single-headed creature on a stout chain. A contemporary Laconian cup (2605) shows H. driving a triple-headed Kerberos ahead of him, with Hermes preceding them, and the same scene appears on a slightly later Attic bf. cup (2606), where, as usual in archaic Attic art, Kerberos has two heads. Both these artists emphasize the size and ferocity of Kerberos, who has writhing snakes on his body and a dangerous snake-headed tail. The club and chain are conspicuous. The Attic artist has added a female spectator who may be either Athena or Persephone. The confident presentation on 2605-2606 suggests that the composition was already familiar, perhaps originally derived from Egyptian and Near Eastern tribute-bringing scenes (see Vermeule, E. T., in *Festschr. F. Brommer* [1977] 298).

On a bf. amphora by Exekias, dated about 545-530 B. C. (2607), H. (without club or chain), Kerberos and Hermes are shown as on 2606, but here they are accompanied by three women and two men (all without attributes), and approach a goddess facing them on the r. Taken together with the obverse of the vase, where H. sits beside Zeus in Olympus, the Kerberos scene has been thought to show H.'s earlier triumph over death, his initiation at Eleusis (see Schefold, *SB* II 122-123). There is some support for this interpretation from another fragmentary amphora from the same workshop (2592) where on the neck H., preceded by Athena and Iolaos (?), leads Kerberos towards a goddess on the r., while on the body of the vase H. stands with Athena beside the chariot of Demeter in a gathering of deities which includes Triptolemos and Ploutodotas.

Straightforward scenes with H. leading Kerberos become very popular on Attic vases, especially bf., in the last quarter of the 6th cent. B. C. The basic type seen already on 2576, where H. strides along, looking back at Kerberos and brandishing his club, is retained although the direction of movement is usually to the r. The chain is often replaced by a simple leash (2581) or

sometimes omitted (2585). The scene usually includes Hermes, whose position varies, and very often Athena, who normally stands statuelike beside Kerberos (2581. 2587). The most-repeated composition shows H. on the r., Kerberos in the middle with Athena beside him forming the central axis, and Hermes following on the l. (2587). Some of the rf. painters show a certain independence: on 2583 H. has a bow instead of his club; on 2586, H. and Hermes flee to the l. before a savage Kerberos. The additional male (youth with a bow on 2585, with a spear on 2594; bearded man in chlamys on 2582. 2595, with a bow on 2592) who appears in some of the bf. scenes may sometimes be Iolaos, but cannot be securely identified.

The driving type is less common, preserved only on bf. vases. It is generally similar in its essentials to 2606, often with the addition of Athena beside Kerberos (2611), as in the leading scenes. The goddess standing on the l. appears again on 2608 (without attributes); on a late 6th cent. B. C. vase (2614), she is clearly identifiable as Persephone standing in her portico, watching the others depart. Variations are minor. On 2608, H. has a sword rather than his club. The chain is sometimes omitted, whether Kerberos is docile (2608) or angry (2612); on 2610 H. holds him by the tail. Hermes may follow H., as on 2609. On a late 6th cent. amphora (2613) the anonymity of the figures, including H., has led to conflicting interpretations.

The nature of H.'s task is variously portrayed. Some painters, especially the earlier ones, emphasize the hazards of transporting a dangerous beast (2581-2582. 2586. 2605). In some scenes H.'s attitude remains aggressive despite Kerberos' amenable behavior (2584. 2608). A few artists suggest the difficulty of dragging a large, unwilling animal, as on the Lamprai base (2579) where the shape of the block dictates H.'s posture and makes a particularly convincing image. On a bf. neck-amphora (2587) H.'s usual running stride is converted to express leverage as he uses both hands to pull Kerberos.

Although the journey scenes mostly take place in an unspecified context, on a number of bf. vases the presence of one or both of the Underworld gods helps establish the location of the scene. Persephone and Hades stand on the l., while the standard H. and Kerberos group (the leading type except on 2614) is shown proceeding to the r., escorted by Hermes and Athena (2593. 2596. 2597, where Hades sits without Persephone, while Athena and Hermes hurry along on side B; 2614, where Persephone is alone in the portico). Persephone and Hades are separated to flank the scene on 2594. An unusual variant (2596) shows H. walking beside Kerberos, directing him with his club, but looking back at Persephone and Hades (a rare instance when H. looks away from Kerberos). The palace of Hades is occasionally indicated on the l. by a portico (2597) or a column (2594). A bf. vase from the first quarter of the 5th cent. B. C. (2578), shows H. leading Kerberos from a cave on the l., a motif probably inspired by the familiar image on vases of this pe-



riod of other animals emerging from caves (e.g. the Lion, 1889-1891).

In the last quarter of the 6th cent. B. C., Attic vase painters take an interest in a new aspect of the story, the capture of Kerberos. Two closely-related amphorae (2554-2555) dated about 525-510 B. C., show H. outside the palace of Hades crouching before Kerberos who emerges from the portico on the r. With his club laid aside and the chain lowered in his l. hand, H. reaches out cautiously to stroke the hound which he clearly means to take by persuasion rather than force. On 2554 Athena stands on the l., making an encouraging gesture, but not actively intervening; the Underworld gods are not shown. On 2555, Hermes, replacing Athena on the l., bends supportively over H., while Persephone walks beside Kerberos, with both arms outstretched over him (perhaps a gesture of conveyance).

In other examples of this scene, H. is usually shown standing rather than crouching (on 2560, where he half-crouches, Athena stands between him and Kerberos, with a consequent loss of dramatic tension), often holding both club and chain in his r. hand, while quieting Kerberos with his l. 2566 gives an exceptional picture of H. striding aggressively towards the palace with shouldered club. A few bf. vases show H. slipping the chain under one of Kerberos' heads (2568). Usually tractable, but sometimes hostile (2559, 2561), Kerberos stands or sits (2557) outside or inside the palace. Athena and Hermes together or separately accompany H. Athena usually stands on the l. Hermes most often stands or walks beside Kerberos, sometimes helping to control him (2559) or negotiating with Persephone (2560). Occasionally he comes between H. and Kerberos, pacifying the hound on 2558 (perhaps with the use of a charm: see Brommer, *H.* 45; cf. 2614) and crouching to chain him on 2564. Of the Underworld gods, Persephone is most often present, usually as a spectator in her portico on the r. She sometimes appears to give her blessing to the deed (2556, 2558, 2562 where H. seems to ask her permission). Rarely, she runs off in alarm (2564, 2566). Hades' attitude seems more variable. On 2558 and 2561 he is agreeable to the undertaking; on 2559, 2567 and 2570 he tries to oppose it. The portico is almost always shown. A tree representing the grove of Persephone appears on 2554-2555 and 2559. The large, bearded snake beside Kerberos on 2562-2563 and 2565 may emphasize his chthonic associations.

The composition of these scenes is generally consistent despite variations in the mood, details, and placement of the figures, but occasionally the subject is treated differently. A rf. cup (2570) shows H. and a single-headed Kerberos both facing the palace on the l., from which an irate man, presumably Hades, rushes forth while his consort waits within. On a fragmentary bf. vase (2574) H. approaches two deities seated on the l. (Persephone and Hades?), behind whose throne Kerberos stands chained.

Both in conception and in composition, the illustrations of H. approaching Kerberos in the Underworld represent a significant break with the traditional

depiction of the labour. No trace of a major visual source which might have inspired them directly has survived. It has been suggested that both they and the earlier bf. vases, 2592 and 2607, reflect the tradition set forth in a lost 6th cent. B. C. poem which dealt with H.'s katabasis and probably his initiation at Eleusis (see Boardman 9). The subject is found only on archaic Attic vases.

The influence of the new iconography is evident on a group of Attic vases showing H. abducting Kerberos from the Underworld. The portico remains on the r., usually with Persephone in it, and Kerberos, now chained, emerging from it as H. leads him off to the l.; on 2599-2600 and 2602 Athena stands on the l., and Hermes crouches as if still coaxing the hound (cf. 2564) although it is now captured (see Sourvinou-Inwood 30-35). Most of these works come from the Leagros Group which was also responsible for some of the liveliest pre-capture scenes (2559-2563). The type also appears on a rf. vase of about 500 B. C. (2602), and probably on 2590, a fr. hydria by the Berlin Painter of which the r. side of the scene is unfortunately lost.

In the 2nd quarter of the 5th cent. B. C. the labour peters out from the repertory of the Attic vase painters. A few late bf. works introduce subjects which may be related. Hermes with Kerberos in the Underworld could be interpreted as the return of the hound to its masters (2617). An early 5th cent. B. C. lekythos (2623) shows H. sacrificing above a cave inhabited by a single-headed creature whose identity as Kerberos has been suggested (cf. 2624, a mid-5th cent. B. C. rf. vase where H. approaches an animal, usually identified as the Nemean lion, emerging from a cave).

Outside mainland Greece, few illustrations of the labour have been preserved from the archaic period. Two Caeretan hydriai of 530-520 B. C. (2616) depict the delivery of Kerberos to Eurystheus with a humorous twist: Eurystheus tries to hide in a giant pithos (inspired by H.'s delivery of the Erymanthian Boar; see 2105-2107, 2113-2134) as H. and the monster approach him. The subject is not found elsewhere, but the triple-headed Kerberos recalls the earlier Laconian (2605). An East Greek gem (2569) of about 500 B. C. shows a simple confrontation scene, as H. raises a sword (?) against Kerberos (again three-headed).

In Greek art, by far the greatest number of representations of H. and Kerberos are on Attic bf. vases, but the labour clearly had a place in the art of the Peloponnese (see 2553, 2605 and [Dodekathlos] 1701, the throne at Amyklai, where the brief description by Paus. 3, 18, 13 suggests that H. was leading or driving Kerberos), though very little has survived. About 460 B. C. when Kerberos appears with the other labours on the metopes from the temple of Zeus at Olympia (2591), H. is shown, without his club or lionskin, pulling the hound (single-headed) from a cave in the lower r. corner. The image may be seen as a development both in realism and in symbolism from the archaic type with H. and Kerberos on the same level (2578, 2599). Hermes, the usual guide for Underworld trips, takes his place between H. who stands in

the upper world and Kerberos who comes from the lower (see Felten 21). A decade or so later on the metope from the Hephaisteion in Athens (2580), the same image is used, but without Hērmes.

An Apulian rf. oinochoe of about 430 B. C. (2615) shows H. standing at rest with Kerberos beside him. The hero faces front with his club on his l. arm, while Athena stands on the l. and the podgy three-headed hound sits between them. This is the last example of Athena in the labour. This non-narrative type is probably not an isolated occurrence (cf. an Etruscan rf. stemless cup, Leipzig T 3601, of about the same period).

The standing type appears also on a few 4th cent. B. C. reliefs. An example from Kaparelli in Boiotia (2619), where the dog is single-headed, may be connected with the cult of H. Charops at Thespieae (see Schachter, A., *Cults of Boiotia, II Herakles to Poseidon* [1986] 11. 31, 34. Paus. 9, 34, 5 notes the tradition that H. ascended from the Underworld with Kerberos on Mt. Laphystion in Boiotia). Two fr. reliefs, dated about 320-280 B. C., from the necropolis at Taranto (2618) show H. standing facing front: on one, Kerberos is preserved, three-headed and chained, on the l., with the rocky entrance to the Underworld on the r.; on the other, traces of H.'s lionskin and his lowered club are visible on the r. These Tarentine reliefs indicate that already by the end of the 4th cent. B. C. the Kerberos labour, with its connotations of immortality, was associated with funerary monuments.

In the 3rd quarter of the 4th cent. B. C. a new type appears on a group of Apulian rf. vases (2571, 2572): H. and Kerberos are shown pulling in opposite directions, creating a composition of tension and balance. H. is young, with or without his lionskin, with his bow on his shoulder, brandishing his club at Kerberos (three-headed with a biting snake-headed tail) who strains towards the r., while on the l. Hermes shows the way out of the Underworld. On these vases H. and Kerberos are present in the context of a larger Underworld scene, presided over by Hades and Persephone, and populated by other characteristic residents, including an Erinys, Orpheus, the Danaids, and possibly Theseus and Peirithoos. These Apulian Underworld scenes vary in detail and selection of personnel, but the overall similarity is such that a pictorial prototype, perhaps a wall-painting, seems likely (see *RVAp* I 430). On a slightly later fr. Tarentine relief (2620) showing an Underworld scene, the group of H. and Kerberos is thought to have resembled the type on the Apulian vases. A fr. relief from the theatre at Delphi (2573), dated between the 2nd cent. B. C. and the 1st cent. A. D. may also use this type, but in the context of H.'s other labours.

The literary sources explicitly associate the freeing of Theseus with the Kerberos labour (see Eur. *Herc.* 610-619; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [124] 5, 12), but the Underworld scenes on Apulian vases are among the few preserved illustrations of the labour which may include Theseus. He is possibly the youth with belted sword who precedes the group of Hermes, H., and Kerberos on 2572. On 2571, the connection with H. is remote, as the two youths who may well be Theseus and Peiri-

thoos appear in the upper zone of the composition, while H. and Kerberos occupy the lower zone.

H. and Kerberos were almost certainly included in the series of labours by Lysippos at Alyzia ([Dodekathlos] 1709). Although it is not known how the group was portrayed, many scholars believe that it must have been the source of inspiration for the predominant Roman type, which shows H. in movement to the r., looking back, with the captured Kerberos on the l. (see Fazio 89).

After the early 3rd cent. B. C., illustrations of the labour are scarce until the Roman period. An apparently unique image of H. watching Hermes ward off a ferocious three-headed Kerberos, which is included with other labours on a 2nd cent. B. C. clay relief bowl (2575), harks back to earlier times when Hermes still had a role in the story.

In Roman art, the labour is usually found in the context of other labours. The image of H. leading Kerberos which was popular on archaic Attic vases regains its appeal, becoming by far the most common type. In the Roman version, H. is usually portrayed with his lionskin and club on his l. shoulder or arm, moving r. (or, less often, to the l.) and looking back as he draws the reluctant hound after him on a short leash or chain (2650, 2656). Minor modifications show H. wearing his lionskin on his head (2649, 2652, 2661-2662), looking outwards (2646, 2661-2662) or r. (2647) instead of back, stepping forward with his r. leg rather than his l. (2644-2645). Deviations from the established type are rare (cf. 2648, 2651, 2663). Kerberos (usually three-headed, sometimes with two appendage-like small heads attached either side of a large central head, as on 2648; see → Kerberos) is often represented with braced forelegs in the mouth of his cave (2650, 2656, 2664 and [Dodekathlos] 1723, 1734, 1737, 1741). On 2655 he has emerged from his cave and bites H. Sometimes the group is compressed, with the cave omitted and Kerberos overlapping H. (2645, 2649 and probably the statues 2661-2662, where, however, Kerberos is lost). In this emblematic type, the dragging motif is suppressed and Kerberos is often reduced to the status of an attribute (cf. [Dodekathlos] 1730). Occasionally subsidiary figures are introduced: Hermes as escort on 2643 and probably on 2639; the ianitor orci in the rocks on 2650 and possibly on 2643; a youth who may be Theseus on 2668; a shadowy figure in the doorway on 2648.

A significant variation shows H. as on 2650, but with Kerberos pulling in the opposite direction (2639-2642). The dynamic composition is reminiscent of the group on the 4th cent. B. C. Apulian vases (2571-2572), except that in the Roman examples H. moves to the r. with shouldered club.

The only other common type, also with Tarentine antecedents (cf. 2618), is H. standing with Kerberos. There seems to be no predominant image. H. is usually frontal, sometimes with his club lowered (2637), sometimes with it shouldered (2631); he wears his lionskin on his head, on his shoulder, or knotted around his neck. Kerberos, though usually on

the l. (in his cave on 2634-2635 and [Dodekathlos] 1728), is sometimes shown behind H.'s legs (2632-2637).

Many works indicate the location of the labour at the entrance to the Underworld. The image of Kerberos emerging from his cave is well-established by the last half of the 2nd cent. A.D. (cf. the wall painting 2643, the Dodekathlos sarcophagi 2650 and [Dodekathlos] 1723, 1734, the relief [Dodekathlos] 1737, and the coins of Alexandria 2656); it is used even when H. stands at rest (2634-2635), and when the labours are represented by H.'s adversaries alone (2668). The cave is sometimes supplemented by a tree (2655), sometimes replaced by one (2657-2658). Two sarcophagi show H. apprehensively leading Kerberos out of a doorway representing the Gate of Hades (2648-2649).

With its implications of immortality, the labour also has a place apart from the other labours, appearing in isolation, as on the central panel of the strigil sarcophagus 2649, and in scenes pertaining to death and the Underworld. Thus H. is seen leading a diminished Kerberos on a sarcophagus illustrating the Rape of Persephone (2672) and on another sarcophagus in a scene showing the introduction of a dead man into the Underworld (2673). The association with Alkestis is shown both by the juxtaposition of the Kerberos labour with scenes showing H. rescuing Alkestis (2640, Solin, Sv. Kajo; 2643 [= Alkestis 35]), and by the passive presence of Kerberos when H. stands with Alkestis (→ Alkestis 20 [= 16\*], 24\*, 28\*).

Outside the mainstream iconography of the labour, on small-scale or provincial works which are not associated with other labours, there is a certain interest in the violent confrontation with Kerberos. A 1st cent. B.C./A.D. gem of which there are many examples (2628) shows H., with his club and lionskin laid aside, clamping Kerberos' heads between his thighs. On a coin from Saitta from the time of Gordian III (2630), H. raises a stone against Kerberos. A provincial German stele (2669), may show H. confronting Kerberos with raised club. A different method of dealing with Kerberos is shown on 2670, where H. rides him.

VALERIE SMALLWOOD

## N. Herakles and the Hesperides (Labour XII)

H. was ordered by Eurystheus to obtain the apples of the Hesperides. Representations in Greek and Roman art follow the literary sources in being divided into two main schemata: (a) Atlas obtains the apples while H. takes his place supporting the heavens; (b) H. himself obtains the apples from the tree after killing the guardian snake, Ladon.

LITERARY SOURCES: The earliest and most detailed account is by Pherekydes (FGH 3 F 16, 17) in the 1st half of the 5th cent. B.C., which is also the date of Panyassis who alludes to it (Matthews, V. J., *P. of Halikarnassos* [1974] 68-71; Davies EGF F 10<sup>b</sup>). Pherekyd. is followed by Apollod. (bibl. 2 [113-121] 5, 11) and briefly by Hyg. astr. 2, 3; Eratosth. kat. 3;

Serv. Aen. 4, 484; Myth. Vat. I 38, 106; II 161; Peditasimos 11.

According to Pherekyd. Ge's wedding present to Hera was golden apples or an apple tree with golden fruit (cf. Asklepiades of Mendes, FGH 617 F 1; Serv. l. c.; Myth. Vat. I 38; the apples were sacred to Aphrodite). The tree was planted by Hera in the garden of the gods, which was variously located: near Atlas (Pherekyd., FGH 3 F 16b; Eratosth. l. c.; Peditasimos l. c.; Myth. Vat. I 106; Schol. Germ. Caes. p. 117 Breysig); beyond Okeanos (Hes. theog. 215); at the ends of the world (Soph. Trach. 1100; Eur. Hipp. 742-751); in the land of the Aithiopes (Mimnermos, West IEG fig. 12, 7-10; Verg. Aen. 4, 480-482); in remotest Africa (Serv. l. c.); in Libya (Agatharchides, GGMI 115-116, 7; Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1398-1399; Serv. Aen. 4, 483; cf. Ps.-Skylax peripl. 108; Plin. nat. 5, 3-4 and 5, 31: note the find place of our 2714, 2721, 2722 [Cyrene], and 2747 [Leptis Magna], on which see Brommer, JdI 57, 1942, 118; idem, H. 50; Metzger 208-209; Stucchi, S., QuadLibya 8, 1976, 19-73); in the land of the Hyperboreans (Apollod. l. c.; Tzetz. chil. 2, 357, 377-378). From the series of Labours which Pherekyd. describes he places the garden in the north (Robert, Heldensage 490; Sittig 1246-1247). Atlas was also thought to have lived in Phrygia (Herodot., FGH 31 F 13). See also on → Atlas.

In the Hesperides garden lived a great snake: hundred-headed (Pherekyd. l. c.); son of Typhon and Echidna (Pherekyd; Hyg. fab. praef. 39), or of Phorkys and Keto (Hes. theog. 333-335), or of Ge (Peisandros, FGH 16 F 8 = Davies EGF p. 134 F dub. 3). It was called Ladon (Apollod. Rhod. 4, 1396); it had a tawny back (Eur. Herc. 397), and never slept (Serv. Aen. 4, 484; Myth. Vat. I 38, 106; II 161; Schol. Germ. Caes. p. 118 Breysig [= Davies EGF Panyassis F 10<sup>b</sup>; Solinus 24, 2, 4; Lucanus 9, 363; Sen. Herc. f. 531-532). The snake guarded the golden apples (Ov. met. 4, 646-647) after they had been stolen by the Hesperides (Pherekyd., FGH 3, F 16b; Serv. l. c.; Myth. Vat. I 106; II 161), or by Aphrodite for Hippomenes (Hes. choiai fig. 76 Merkelbach/West; Schol. Theokr. 3, 40; Serv. Aen. 3, 113; Myth. Vat. I 39). Aphrodite had picked three apples (Serv. l. c.; Myth. Vat. I 39). According to other sources the Hesperides themselves guarded the apples (Hes. theog. 215-216).

On the descent, names and number of the Hesperides, → Hesperides.

Pherekyd. (l. c.) tells how H., advised by the nymphs, daughters of Zeus and Themis, wrestled with Nereus forcing him to reveal where the apples were kept. He goes to Tartessos, hence to Libya where he kills → Antaios, then Memphis near the Nile where he kills → Bousiris; thence via Thebes to Libya and by sea on Helios' golden bowl (but see Jacoby ad loc.) to liberate Prometheus (in the Caucasus; Apollod. bibl. 2 [119-121] 5, 11). Prometheus advises him not to take the apples himself but to ask Atlas to do so for him. H. accordingly takes Atlas' place supporting the heavens, and Atlas returns with three apples (Apollod. l. c.) but will not take on the burden again and declares that he will take the apples to Eurystheus himself. H. pretends

to agree and asks Atlas to take his place for a moment while he puts a cushion on his head, but he then runs off with the apples to Eurystheus at Mycenae. According to Apollod. (l. c.) Eurystheus gave them back to H. as a present, and H. in his turn gave them to Athena. H.'s trick with Atlas is the subject of a satyr-play of unknown date: Pap. Bodmer XXVIII, MusHelv 33, 1976, 1-23; TrGF II adesp. F 655.

At the end of his account Apollod. goes on to tell the other version of the Labour in which H. kills the snake and takes the apples. This is also old, cited in Soph. Trach. 1099-1100 and Eur. Herc. 394-399 (cf. Panyassis, Davies EGF F 10; Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1400-1401, 1433-1435; Eratosth. kat. 3, 4 p. 60-65 Robert; Hyg. astr. 2, 3, 1; Schol. Germ. Caes. p. 117 Breysig; Sen. Herc. f. 530-532; Lucanus 9, 363-366; Solinus 24, 4; Serv. Aen. 4, 246, 484; Myth. Vat. I 38, 106; II 161; III 13, 5; Schol. Stat. Theb. 2, 280; Anekd. Par. 2, 381). Later the Hesperides were turned into a poplar, an elm and a willow, to help the Argonauts (Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1427-1431).

Diod. (4, 27, 1-5) explains H.'s visit to Atlas and the land of the Hesperides not by the apples, but by Atlas' introduction of H. to Astrology (cf. Herodot., FGH 31 F 13), as a reward for freeing his seven daughters (Hesperides or Atlantides, excelling in beauty and wisdom) from robbers who had seized them for Bousiris, who was also killed by H.

Philostr. (im. 2, 20) has a contest of strength between H. and Atlas, and not the Labour. Diod. l. c. (cf. Serv. Aen. 4, 484; Myth. Vat. I 39; II 161) also offers a logical explanation by which the apples (μῆλα) are taken for sheep (μῆλα) of golden colour.

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## CATALOGUE

### GREEK

#### 1. Herakles with Atlas

Attic bf. vases

2676. (= Atlas 2\* with bibl.) Cup. Bern, Private Coll. From Cerveteri. - Jucker 191-199 pls. 53-54; Scheffold, *SB* II 124; Gelzer, Th., *MusHelv* 36, 1979, 170-176 fig. 2; signed by Nearchos. - About 560 B.C. - Atlas supports the heavens on his head; H. (li-

onskin, quiver) runs r. looking back, probably carrying the apples (missing). Inscr. ATAA[Σ] HOΔE, HEP]AKAE MEΛAΦEPEE.

2677. (= Astra 91, = Atlas 7\* with bibl.) Lekythos, wg. Athens, NM 1132 (CC 957). - Haspels, *ABL* 256, 50 pl. 47, 3; Athena P.; *ABV* 522; *Para* 260; *Add* 130; Boardman, *ABFV* fig. 252. - About 480 B.C. - H. (chiton, lionskin), club and quiver/bow in field before him, supports heavens on hands and head. Atlas brings him the apples.

### Reliefs

2678. (= [Dodekathlos] 1697, = Atlas 5) Chest of Kypselos. Olympia. Lost. - Paus. 5, 18, 4. - Mid 6th cent. B.C. - Atlas supports heavens, holding apples; H. threatens him with sword. Inscr. «This is Atlas holding heaven, but he will give up the apples».

2679. (= [Dodekathlos] 1701) Throne of Apollo at Amyklai, by Bathykses. Lost. - Paus. 3, 18, 10. - Later 6th cent. B.C. - Atlas (= Atlas 23) represented but no details about context.

## 2. Herakles, Atlas, Athena

2680. (= [Dodekathlos] 1702\* with bibl., = Atlas 8\* with bibl.) Volute crater, Attic rf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 77.AE.11. - *ARV* 186, 51: Kleophrades P.; *Add* 188; *GettyMusJ* 4, 1977, 64-69 fig. 10. - About 490 B.C. - Athena seated; H. with quiver, lionskin over head and on l. arm, club in l. hand, reaches out to the tree with Ladon (at least three heads) coiled around it; at r. Atlas supporting the heavens.

2681. (= Hesperides 72a) Pointed amphora, Attic rf. Germany, private. - Cahn, H. A., in *AGRP* (Copenhagen) 107-116 figs. 1-7; Copenhagen P. - About 475 B.C. - A: Apple tree with coiled snake, → Okeanos to l., → Strymon to r., both seated on blocks; men and women attend (one woman named Amanaos). B: H. seated beneath apple tree, looking round to a woman facing Nilos (→ Neilos). Athena holding the apples stands before H. and stretches out her hand to him. Behind her another man (→ Atlas?) seated before a third tree, with a woman before him.

2682. (= Atlas 3\* with bibl., = Athena 525) Shieldband relief, bronze. Basel, Antikenmus. From Sicily? - Scheffold, *SB* II 123 fig. 154; Kunze, E., in *Berger/Lullies, SigLudwig* II (1982) 241-247 figs. 9, 12, 13. - About 540 B.C. - At l. Atlas supporting heavens. At r. H. (chiton, lionskin, bow, quiver, sword, club with snake-head terminal) holds apples, moving away but looking back. Before him Athena gesticulating. Replica: Olympia B 4836 (Kunze 241, 244).

2683. (= [Dodekathlos] 1705\*\* with bibl., = Atlas 9\*, = Athena 529c) Marble metope from the temple of Zeus, Olympia. Olympia Mus. - Ashmole/Yalouris, o. c. 1705, pl. 188. - About 460 B.C. - H., naked, supports heavens on hands and shoulders, on which a cushion. Behind him Athena raises her hand to help bear the weight. In front Atlas presents the apples.

### 3. Herakles, Atlas, Hesperides and others

2684. (= Atlas 10 with bibl., = Hesperides 65 with bibl.) Painted screens by the throne of Zeus in the temple at Olympia, by Panainos. Lost. - Paus. 5, 11, 5-6. - 440-430 B.C. - Apparently two scenes: (a) Atlas supporting heavens and earth with H., beside him ready to take his place; (b) two Hesperides bringing apples.

#### S. Italian rf. vases

2685. (= Atlas 13\* with bibl., = Hesperides 54) Amphora, Campanian. London, BM F 148 - LCS 667, 1: Owl-pillar group; Gerhard pl. 20, 4; Brommer 119, 2; Schauenburg, K., *AntK* 5, 1962, pl. 17, 4; *idem*, *AA* 1989, 31 with n. 50; Vollkommer 19 fig. 25. - Mid 5th cent. B.C. - H. naked, lionskin on head, supports heavens (half sphere with crescent and stars). At r. goddess (Athena, Hera, or Gaia; cf. 2688a). At l. Atlas approaches tree with two snakes on it. Beyond tree standing Hesperid with hand stretched to snake.

2686. (= Atlas 12\* with bibl., = Astra 74; = Hesperides 56\*) Volute crater, Apulian («Archemoros vase»). Naples, Mus. Naz. 81934 (H 3255). From Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 496, 42b: Darius P.; Schauenburg, K., *AntK* 5, 1962, 55-59 pl. 17, 3; Vollkommer 18 fig. 23. - About 350 B.C. - Atlas at centre supports heavens, looking at H. (lionskin) leaning on his club. Behind H. Athena seated looking back to H., small Nike between them. Above her Phosphoros mounted. Beyond Atlas Helios on diphros to l. Beneath Atlas the tree with Ladon and seven Hesperides.

2687.\* Bell crater, Apulian. Once Caputi and Moretti Colls. - Trendall, *Phlyax Vases* 38, 45 pl. 2; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* II, 13. - About 380 B.C. - Young H. frontal, naked, lionskin at back, supports the heavens. At l. satyr with his bow and quiver, at r. another with his club.

2688. (= Astra 56, = Atlas 19\* with bibl., = Hesperides 57) Amphora, fr., panathenaic shape, Apulian. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 3245. From Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 499, 56: very close to Darius P.; Gerhard pl. 19. - About 330 B.C. - Above: Selene, Atlas seated as king with sceptre greeting H. (naked, lionskin, baldric), leaning on his club. At r. Hermes addresses Maia or Gaia (? cf. 2688a). All names inscribed. Below: the tree with Ladon to whom a Hesperid offers a phiale; seated Hesperid to r. with lyre to whom Eros flies with fillet and crown.

2688a) (= Hesperides 58\*) Volute crater, Apulian. Market, New York. - Schauenburg, K., *AA* 1989, 23-32 fig. 1: Underworld P. - 330-310 B.C. - Below: Atlas (named) enthroned at centre with head turned l. to young naked H. (quiver, lionskin on l. arm, club in r. hand, l. foot on rock). Hermes behind him at l. Gaia (named) stands before Atlas and seated Hesperid beneath the tree with coiled snake. Above, Peitho and Aphrodite (named) stand l. of Selene in chariot moving r. where young Pan and Athena stand.

2689. (= Atlas 6 with bibl., = Hesperides 64) Sculpture group of cedar wood in Treasury of Epidam-

nians at Olympia, by Theokles. Lost. - Paus. 5, 17, 2; 6, 19, 8 (= Overbeck, *SQ* nos. 328, 325); Schefold, *SB* II 123. - 550-525 B.C. - Atlas supports heavens. H. by the tree and five Hesperides (taken later to the Heraion by the Eleians, where they were seen by Paus.).

### 4. Herakles alone in the Garden

2690. Skyphos, Corinthian bf. fr. Megara Hyblaea. - *Megara Hyblaea* II 17 pl. 22. - Mid 7th cent. B.C. - Branches of an apple tree (?) at r. and stretched hand with bow at l.

#### Attic bf. vases

2691. Lekythos. Mainz, Brommer Coll. - *ABV* 499, 34: class of Athens 581 (ii); Brommer 108 figs. 4-6; Schefold, *SB* II 124 fig. 155. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. (lionskin, quiver), club raised over head, picks apples from the tree; Ladon attacks H.

2692.\* Lekythos. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. V.I. 3261. - Haspels, *ABL* 198, 2 pl. 18, 1: Cactus P.; *ABV* 472; *Para* 212; Brommer, *H.* 48 pl. 28b; Boardman, *ABFV* fig. 233. - About 500 B.C. - H. (chiton, lionskin, quiver/bow), club in r. hand, strides away from the tree looking back at the two-headed Ladon.

#### Attic rf. vase

2692a)\* Cup. Bochum, Univ. - Kunisch, N., in *Kanon, Festschr. E. Berger* (1988) 305-309 pl. 87. - About 470 B.C. - I: Naked H. frontal, arms bent at waist supporting on bowed head and back the heavens with crescent moon and stars. He bends l. looking at a stool bearing cushion and clothes. The indication of undressing and the presence of the cushion, which alludes to H.'s trick played on Atlas, identify the figure as H. not Atlas.

#### Reliefs

2693. (= [Dodekathlos] 1708\* with bibl.) Marble votive relief. Sunium. - Young, J. H., *Hesperia* 10, 1941, 172-175. 186-189 fig. 5. - 4th cent. B.C.?; see 1708. - H. to r., (naked, lionskin, club on l. shoulder) picks an apple from the tree, with Ladon.

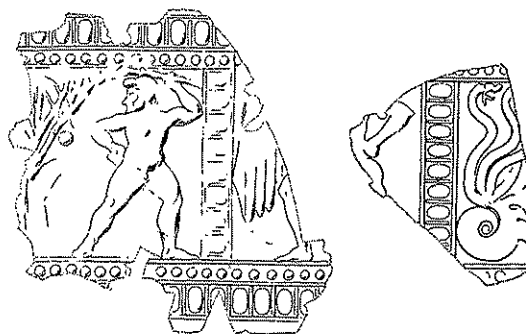
2694.\* Marble relief. Mariemont B 159. From Asia Minor (Nisyros?). - Faider-Feytmans, G., *Les Ant. de Mariemont* (1952) 84-85 G 50 pl. 30; Lévêque, P./Donnay, G., *L'art grec du Mus. de M.* (1967) no. 106; Borbein, *Campanareliefs* 170 n. 896. - 2nd cent. B.C. (Lévêque); Roman (Borbein). - H., naked, lionskin on l. arm, kneels on branch of the tree to break it (pose adopted from his Labour with the deer - Lévêque); below, his club; Ladon hangs dead on the tree.

2695.\* (= 1817, = 2047, = 2246) Clay column crater. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2882. From S. Italy. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - H. (lionskin) club in raised r. hand, apple (?) in outstretched l. hand, ready to attack Ladon on the tree. With five other Labours.

2696. (= 2194) Clay relief bowl, fr. Athens, Agora P 19881. - Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 90-91 pl. 64, 3; *Agora* XXII no. 187 pl. 34. - Hellenistic. - The

tree with Ladon at l. H. (lionskin) beside it with bent head, picking the apples (possibly supporting heavens). Cf. *Agora Mus.*, from Phnyx: *Hesperia* Suppl. X (1956) 92 pl. 35, 2.

2697.\* (= 2052) Bronze relief fr. Once Berlin, Staatl. Mus. - *AA* 1894, 117-118 fig. 12; *AM* 41, 1916, 44 fig. 8; Schefold, *SB* II 124 n. 302. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - H. naked walks r. with club raised, probably holding an apple, looking back at the tree.



Herakles 2697

2698.\* Silver ring. London, BM 72.6-4.104. - Marshall, *BM FingerRings* no. 1087 pl. 27; Richter, *EnglGemsGE* no. 231 (as gold); Boardman, *GGFR* pl. 780. - 4th cent. B.C. - H. naked, lionskin over arm, club in r. hand, before the tree with Ladon.

2699.\* AR stater, Phaistos, 322-300 B.C. - *BMC* Crete 62, 8-9 pl. 15, 4; Le Rider, G., *Monnaies crétoises* (1966) 22, 25-30 pls. 4, 1-5; 21, 20-21. - Obv.: H. stands frontal, naked with bow, lionskin, and r. hand on club. At l. a snake rears up; at r. the tree. Rev.: bull. Other coins of Phaistos (see 2826) with H. attacking a snake, may be related.

### 5. Herakles in the Garden with Hesperides

The alabastron, Nauplion 136 (Brommer 114 figs. 8-10; *idem*, *H.* 49. 66. 82 pl. 29) is almost certainly a forgery (Beazley ap. Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 72, 2; v. Bothmer, D., *AJA* 61, 1957, 106).

2700.\* (= 2204 with bibl., = Hesperides 6 with bibl.) Amphora, Attic bf. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 421. - Schauenburg, K., *MededRome* 41, 1979, 12. 232 fig. 18. - About 510 B.C. - H. (chiton, lionskin, sword), club in r. hand, walks l. with head turned back to a deer, tree (no snake) and two women. The latter are certainly Hesperides. Brommer thinks of a misunderstanding of the myth rather than a conflation of the myths of the apples and the deer (Brommer 107). Schauenburg takes it for H. leaving the Garden, the deer being irrelevant.

#### Attic rf. vases

2701. (= Hesperides 7\* with bibl.) Hydria. Champagne (Ill.), Krannert Art Mus. 70-8-4. - *Midwestern Colls* no. 100: Syracuse P. - 470-460 B.C. - H. (chiton, lionskin) with raised club, holding apples, hurries

l. looking back to three Hesperides, one of them holding a branch of the tree (with Ladon).

2702. (= Hesperides 28\*) Cup fr. Jena Univ. 392. From Athens. - *ARV* 1512, 20: Jena P. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - Part of H. at l. and Hesperid at r. of tree, with Ladon.

2703.\* (= Hesperides 31 with bibl.) Pelike. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 3505. - Schefold, *UKV* no. 355: workshop of Hippolytos P.; *CVA Scheurleer* 1 pl. 1 (36), 3. - 360-350 B.C. - H. (naked, wreathed, quiver, club in l.), seated on lionskin on rock, head to r. Eros leans on H.'s shoulder pointing to a Hesperid standing at l. Another picks apples from the tree (with Ladon) behind H.; behind her a Hesperid seated to r. with head turned.

#### South Italian rf. vases

2704. (= Hesperides 37) Pelike, Lucanian. Once Morchini Coll. (Naples), then Turin; lost. - *LCS* 172, 986: Primato P.; Gerhard pl. 21, 1. - 350-325 B.C. - Tree with Ladon, to whom a Hesperid offers a phiale while offering branches to H. at the l. H. naked, with lionskin, standing frontal on a basis like a statue, r. hand on club, bow in l. hand.

2705. (= Hesperides 61) Hydria, Campanian. Naples, Mus. Naz. 82294 (H 2852). - *LCS* 429, 487: Danaid P.; Schauenburg 479 fig. 18. - About 325 B.C. - H. to r., foot on rock, naked but for cloak on l. shoulder, spear, apple in l. hand, picks another from the tree. A Hesperid beyond offers a phiale to Ladon.

#### Reliefs

2706. (= [Dodekathlos] 1706\* with bibl., = Hesperides 83 with bibl.) Marble metope on the temple of Hephaistos, Athens. - Koch, *o. c.* 1706, pls. 22, 2; 23; Morgan, *o. c.* 1706, 212; Thompson, H. A. T., *AJA* 66, 1962, 340-341. - About 450 B.C. - Naked H. with apples in r. hand standing frontal. His head was probably turned to a standing woman at the l. with l. hand raised (a Hesperid, or Athena, which would be a novel version with presentation to the goddess).

2707.\* (= Hedone 1 with bibl., = Hesperides 25 with bibl.) Marble «Three-figure» reliefs, copies of an original of about 420 B.C. in Athens, belonging to a choregic monument (Götze, Fuchs) or the parapet of the Altar of the Twelve Gods (Thompson, H. A., *Hesperia* 21, 1952, 60-82). a)\* Rome, Villa Albani 1008 (100); Helbig<sup>4</sup> III no. 3247; b)\* Leningrad, Hermitage A 641, fr. c)\* New York, MMA 22.139.21, Richter, *MetMusSculpt* no. 61. - Amelung, W., *BerlWPr* 80, 1923; Götze 91-99; Fuchs in Helbig, *l. c.* - The original appears to have shown young H. seated on his lionskin on a rock, holding his club upright on the ground, foot raised, holding his quiver by his legs. Before him a Hesperid holding a branch, hand to chin. Behind him a Hesperid (or Hera: Götze 94-95) holding apples in the overfall of her peplos. The tree in a is a copyist's addition (Götze). Schefold takes the relief (similar on Kerch vases) to be copied from a painting; Götze, *vice versa* (*RM* 53, 1938, 230-231 n. 1).

2708. (= [Dodekathlos] 1712\* with bibl., = Hesperides 9) Marble frieze from the theatre, Delphi.



Delphi Mus. 5432 + 1798. - BCH 74, 1950, 224-232 pl. 34 figs. 1. 6; AJA 82, 1978, 227 fig. 1. - 2nd/1st cent. B. C.? - Poorly preserved. At l. H. naked with hand raised (to pick apples?). At r. a woman running r. with arm raised and head turned to H.

2709.\* (= Hesperides 43) Clay relief dish. Olympia Mus. T 199. From Olympia. - Hausmann, U., *OlympBer* X (1981) 209-211 fig. 77. - 3rd cent. B. C. - Tree with Ladon at l.; Hesperid with r. hand on tree turns to H. (naked, lionskin) leaning on his club, l. hand at waist.

2710. (= [Dodekathlos] under 1711, = Hesperides 44) Clay cup. Athens, NM 12618. - Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 96-97 n. 416 pl. 67, 2; Sinn, *Becher* 104 MB 40 pl. 15, 3; Hausmann, *o. c.* 2709, 223 fig. 83. - 2nd cent. B. C.? - Ladon on tree being held back by a Hesperid holding a branch. Before her H. naked, leaning on club, lionskin at back.

2711. (= Hesperides 42) Clay amphora, black, with relief appliqués, Alexandrian (?). Athens, NM 2143. - Moreno 173 fig. g. - 3rd cent. B. C. - On separate plaques: H. naked, lionskin on l. arm, r. hand on club; three women, wreaths in r. hands (Hesperides?).

2712. (= Hesperides 45\*) Bronze mirror, Corinthian? Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 8637. - Züchner, *Klappspiegel* K 143 fig. 42. - About 300 B. C. - H. naked (quiver, cloak on l. arm, l. hand on club) seated on rock to r. before the tree with Ladon. At l. a Hesperid picks apples and another, seated, touches Ladon. - See also → Hesperides 46.

2713.\* (= Hesperides 10) Garnet intaglio in gold ring. Naples, Mus. Naz. 25132. From Pompeii, Casa del Fauno. - Breglia, L., *Cat. Oreficerie* (1941) 67 no. 518 pl. 29, 3; Siviero, R., *Gli ori e le ambre* (1954) no. 349 pls. 218b, 219. colour 211. - 2nd/1st cent. B. C. - H. naked at r., lionskin on r. arm, with bow and club, faces the tree with Ladon. Three small Hesperides run away.

2714.\* (= Hesperides 24 with bibl.) AR tetradrachm, Cyrene, about 500 B. C. - BMC Cyrenaica xxii. xxxiv pl. 2, 19; Brommer 120 fig. 13; Chamoux, F., *Cyrene sous la monarchie des Battiades* (1953) 280; Kraay/Hirmer, *GrCoins* pl. 213, 784; Voegtli 43; Todisco, L., *Annali Bari* 23, 1980, 168-169 fig. 3. - Rev.: at l. a Hesperid stands with hands out to Ladon on the tree. At r. H. naked, lionskin on head and back, l. hand on club. Obv.: silphium.

#### Statuary

2715. (= Hesperides 23) Marble group. Schloß Wörlitz. - EA II 385; Amelung, W., *RM* 20, 1905, 214-216. - Roman copy of Hellenistic (Pergamene) original. - At centre H., lionskin on l. arm, l. hand on club resting on tree stump. At l. traces of a kneeling woman. At r. two more women, the first raising her arm to H. All the women at reduced scale and much restored. The number of women suggests the Hesperides (Amelung). Variants are: a) Tazoult, Mus. S 81; Cagnat, R., *Mus. de Lambèse* (1895) 50 pl. 4, 6; man beside tree with quiver, woman crouching to r. with hand stretched to l.; b) Vatican; Amelung, *SkulptVat-Mus* I 830 pl. 92; leg of man, lionskin and bow,

woman with r. hand and head raised, tree with snake. Cf. also the group on the Corsini sarcophagus, 2779.

#### 6. Herakles in the Garden with Hesperides and others

##### Attic vases

2716. (= Hermes 543) Lekythos, bf. Gela, Mus. Arch. 125B. - Haspels, *ABL* 218, 46; Edinburgh P.; *ABV* 476; *Para* 217; *CVA* 3 pl. 17 (2394), 3-4; 18 (2395), 3-4; Schefold, *SBII* 124. - About 500 B. C. - Hermes at l. H. (chiton, lionskin, quiver, club on ground) with basket in l. hand bends towards the tree (with Ladon). Beyond, a warrior (Iolaos?).

2717.\* (= Akamas et Demophon 26, = Antiochos 4, = Argonautai 23, = Arniope 1, = Chrysis II 1, = Dioskouroi 201 with refs. [upper scene], = Hesperides 26, = Hippothoon 19 with bibl., = Hygieia 1, = Iolaos 38) Hydria, rf. London, BM E 224. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1313, 5; Meidias P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 361; *CVA* 6 pl. 91 (366); Arias/Shefton/Hirmer pl. 214; Burn, L., *The Meidias Painter* (1987) 15-25 pls. 1-3; Vollkommer 19 fig. 26. - About 410 B. C. - On either side of tree with Ladon: at l. Chrysothemis and Asteropos standing, Hygieia seated, Klytios standing; at r. Lipara standing with apple, young H. (naked, sword) seated to l. on lionskin on rock, club upright, l. hand on ground, Iolaos with chlamys and spear. All figures named. The peaceful standing/seated heroes in the same zone on the other side of the vase (Helera, Medeia, Arniope, Philoktetes, Akamas, Hippothoon, Antiochos, Klymenos, Oineus, Demophon, Chrysis - all named) may also belong to the picture of the garden as a representation of the Elysian fields (Kron, *Phylenheroen* 166-167 with bibl.). For a different view of the representation of H. in the garden of the Hesperides on this vase, as part of the Argonaut story, Walters, *CVA l. c.*; and Kron, *o. c.* 167 with n. 799.

2718. (= Hesperides 27) Lekanis, rf. Athens, NM 14507. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1690: manner of Meidias P. - About 410 B. C. - Lid. Two Hesperides at either side of tree, the nearest picking apples; Iolaos with spear behind H. (naked, lionskin on head, bow, club on l. shoulder) facing Athena.

2719.\* (= Hesperides 78 with bibl.) Bell crater, rf. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 8229. - *Griekse, Etr. en Rom. Kunst* (1976) fig. 43. - Early 4th cent. B. C. - Young H., leaning on club, wreathed, receives branch with apples from a seated Hesperid; Eros overhead crowns him. At l. a seated Hesperid and Hermes. At r. a seated man beside an open box.

2720. (= Fluvii 23 with bibl., = Hesperides 29\*) Pelike, rf. New York, MMA 08.258.20. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1472, 1; Pasithea P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 381; Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 27, 2; Richter/Hall no. 166 pl. 163; Boardman, *ARFH* II fig. 378. - 400-375 B. C. - At l. Okeanos (to indicate place; Götze 97), Hesperid, three with Ladon; before the tree Pasithea seated, turning to young H. at r., naked, leaning on club, talking to her. All figures named.

2721. (= Hesperides 30\*) Pelike, rf. New Haven, Yale Univ. 1913.138. From Dernah (Cyrenaica). -

Schefold, *UKV* no. 543: workshop of Hippolytos P.; Götze 95 fig. 6; Burke, S. M./Pollitt, J. J., *Greek Vases at Yale* (1975) no. 65. - About 375 B. C. - Before tree with Ladon H. seated (naked, cloak on arm, leaning on club, r. arm on thigh) to l. with head turned to a seated Hesperid. Small Eros leans on H.'s shoulder, another flies over Hesperid. At l. a Hesperid picks apples; at r. a woman (Hera - Götze) and seated Pan.

2722.\* (= Hesperides 32) Hydria, rf. London, BM E 227. From Cyrenaica. - Schefold, *KV* pl. 7a; *idem*, *UKV* no. 170; Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 27, 1; *CVA* 6 pl. 93 (368), 2. - About 360 B. C. - Young H. naked, seated to r. on cloak on rock, r. hand on club, l. on thigh, turns to standing Hesperid offering him an object. Seated youth and Hesperid behind her; small Eros at H.'s back offers two apples. Above r., Aphrodite (?) seated to l., Hesperid behind her, below, a youth hurrying. Both youths are rather Atlas' sons (Metzger, following Picard) than Iolaos twice (Schauenburg 480 n. 70).

2723. (= Hesperides 33\*, = Iolaos 39\*) Hydria, rf. New York, MMA 24.97.5 - Schefold, *KV* pl. 11, *idem*, *UKV* no. 190 fig. 35, 40; Hesperides P.; Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 27, 4; Richter/Hall no. 171 pl. 166. - About 350 B. C. - At l. Pan, youth, seated Hesperid and crater; young H. (naked, crowned) leaning on club, cloak over r. arm, quiver behind in field; tree with Ladon; two Hesperides to r. with heads turned to H., on of them seated with Nike above flying with crown to H.; seated satyr and omphalos.

2724. (= Hesperides 35) Calyx crater, rf. Leipzig, Univ. T 3549. - *Para* 493, 8bis: L. C. group; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 380; Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, 131 n. 125 pl. 12, 1; Paul, E., *Gr. Vasenmalerei* (1983) pl. 26. - About 350 B. C. - Above: at l. Pan seated approached by Eros with crown, seated Hesperid to l. turns back to pick apple from tree at centre; on the tree an Eros gathers apples, behind him a small column and a Hesperid. Before the tree H. (naked, crowned, himation, r. hand on club) to r., a seated Hesperid to r., head turned to H. Behind H. panther and stooping satyr (the panther for Dionysos on the reverse).

2725.\* (= Hesperides 34 with further refs.) Calyx crater, rf. Paris, Petit Palais 327. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1457, 8: L. C. group; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 380; Schefold, *UKV* no. 260 fig. 73; Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 27, 3; *CVA* pl. 24, 1. 2. 4. 6; 25, 1-4; Boardman, *ARFH* II fig. 420. - 330-320 B. C. - At l. Pan with thyrsos, standing Hesperid, tree; young H. (naked, lionskin) seated at l. of tree on cloak on rock, r. hand on club, turns head to Hesperid picking apples, as does an Eros over H.'s head. To r. satyr with pedom and seated Hesperid. Above, to r. of tree, upper part of a goddess with two torches (Artemis?).

##### South Italian rf. vases

Also → Hesperides 38a. 41.

2726.\* (= Hesperides 39 with bibl.) Lekythos, Apulian. Naples, Mus. Naz. H 2893. - Gerhard pl. 20. - 350-330 B. C. - At l. Iolaos leans on staff, seated Hesperid offers phiale to Ladon on tree, dog or cat springs up at tree, seated Hesperid to r. offering a

branch of apples to young H. (quiver, lionskin on l. arm, leaning on club).

2727. (= Hesperides 38\*) Volute crater, Apulian. London market. - *RVAp* II 458, 7a: Gioia del Colle P.; Sotheby, 10 July 1979, no. 342 fig. and 15 July 1980, no. 185; Schauenburg 476 n. 50. - About 340 B. C. - At l. satyr, young H. (naked, crowned) leans on club, tree with Ladon, Hesperid offers a phiale to the snake, seated Hesperid to l.

2728. (= Hesperides 40) Kalathos, Apulian. Ascona market (Galleria Casa Serodine). - *RVAp Suppl.* 1, 126, 874a pl. 23, 6; Ascoli Satriano P.; Schauenburg 469-470 figs. 13-15; Trendall, *RFSIS* fig. 228. - 340-320 B. C. - Young H. (crowned, chiton, lionskin, bow and club) stands to r. before a pillar facing a standing Hesperid. Behind her the tree with Ladon. Above H. Pan to r. offering fillet to seated Hesperid.

2729. (= Hesperides 36\* with bibl.) Lekythos, Paestan. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81847 (H 2873). - *RVP* 86, 135; 99-100 pl. 57: signed by Asteas; Vollkommer 68 fig. 87. - About 320 B. C. - Tree with Ladon, three Hesperides at l., one seated and offering a phiale to the snake, and one picking apples, at the r. Young H. (naked, lionskin, quiver), l. hand on bow and club, two apples in r. hand, a standing Hesperid behind him. Above, protomes of Pan or satyr with pedom, Hera (?), Hermes and woman, all facing the tree. All figures named. At l. of tree inscr. *ΨΕΠΠΕΙΑΣ*.

#### 7. Herakles alone with apples

This is a common subject in sculpture and on coins; see 271\*. 276. 278\*. 285\*. 304. 317\*. 342\*. 350. 358. 372\*. 374\*. 383. 404-421 *passim*. 435\*. 445. 473-537 *passim*. 541. 545\*. 550. 620. 623-625\*. 638\*. 682. 729. 872\*. 984\*-991. 1052. 1226\*-1245\* *passim*; and cf. the Archaic scarab 50, and 55\*. 61\*.

2730.\* Amphora, Attic bf. Vatican, Guglielmi Coll. From Vulci. - *ABV* 383, 4; Acheloos P.; Beazley, *Dev* 86 pl. 42; Schefold, *SBII* 124 n. 305. - 510-500 B. C. - H. with lionskin, quiver/bow, club in r. hand, apples in extended l. hand, running r. with head turned back, over rocky landscape.

2731. (= 61\* with bibl.) Cup, Attic rf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 2271. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 111; Schefold, *SBII* 124 n. 304. - 510-500 B. C. - H. runs to l. looking back with raised club, apples in l. hand.

2732. (= Helios/Usil 15\* with bibl.) Gold ring. Aléria, Mus. Carcopino 62/186. From Casabianda cemetery. - *Gallia* 22, 1964, 609 fig. 55. - 4th cent. B. C. - H., frontal, head to l., holding an apple in each hand, in a floral setting. Perhaps not H. The Etruscan sungod is suggested in Cristofani, M., et al., *Gli Etruschi: una nuova immagine* (1984) 156 top.

#### 8. Herakles in Olympus with the apples

See 2875, an Introduction to Olympus scene on an Attic rf. vase, where H. holds the apples; about 470 B. C.



## 9. Uncertain and incorrect

See 2820-2833 for H. fighting a single snake in scenes which are sometimes taken for H. with Ladon, but with no further details of the Labour this is improbable.

2733.\* (= Hesperides 85) Skyphos fr., Attic bf. Athens, Agora AP 840. - De Coursey Fales Jr., *AJA* 67, 1963, 211 [Kleitias]. - About 560 B.C. - Skirt of a woman (Athena or Hesperid?), feet of H. (lionskin) and of a man (dead Ladon? between them), a building at r. Interpreted as the triumph of H. over Ladon.

2734. (= 1766/1785, = Hesperides 70 with bibl.) Cup, Attic bf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. I.G. 4342. - *ABV* 66, 55; Heidelberg P.; *CVA* 3 pl. 26 (1569), 1; 27 (1570), 1-2. - About 550 B.C. - At l. a fountain house, two women, a palm tree, another tree and a man (himation, chiton; H.? - Drago in *CVA*) bending towards it with raised hand, a column. No attributes of H. visible so inadmissible.

2735. (= 2823\* with bibl., = Hesperides 71) Hydria, Attic bf. Boulogne, Mus. 406. From Vulci. - *ABV* 332, 21; Priam P.; *Add* 90. - 520-510 B.C. - H. attacks a snake in a fountain house where a woman draws water. At l. Athena and chariot. Beazley and Schefold (*SB* II 124) think of a variant of the Hesperides Labour, Schauenburg (in *Stele* [Studies N. Kontoleon, 1980] 100 pl. 13), a lost myth, Boardman (*RA* 1972, 67-68) a contemporary allusion.

2736. Oinochoe (chous), Attic rf. London, BM E 539. From Capua. - *ARV* 2 776, 2: group of Berlin 2415; *Add* 288; Brommer, *H.* 49 n. 56 fig. 9; Brommer 113 fig. 7; *idem*, *Satyrspiele* 73, 92; van Hoorn, G., *Choes and Anthesteria* (1957) no. 642 fig. 145. - 470-460 B.C. - The story translated for a satyr play? A satyr fights with a club a snake coiled round a tree from which hang choes.

2737. (= Hesperides 80) Calyx crater, Attic rf. London, BM 1907.7-15.2. - *JHS* 41, 1921, 137-138 pl. 7, V3. - Late 5th cent. B.C. - Woman at either side of fruit tree, an Eros flying before each of them, another woman at l. addresses a young naked man (H.?) seated on cloak on rock. Beneath the tree Eros attacking a goose (?), a standing youth (Iolaos?). Possible, but no attributes of H. shown.

2738. (= Hesperides 81 with bibl.) Lebes gamikos, Lucanian rf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 3196. - *LCS* 72, 366 pl. 33, 9: Minniti group. - 410-390 B.C. - Man in chiton, boots, with kalathos in l. hand, flowers in r. at l. of a tree by which are two women. No attributes of H. shown.

2739. (= Hesperides 62\* with bibl.) Hydria, Paestan rf. Lisbon, Duke of Palmella. - *RVP* 258, 1022: Boston Orestes P.; Schauenburg, K., *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums* (1960) 88-89 pl. 35, 2; Schauenburg 476 n. 50. - 400-350 B.C. - Hesperides gather apples from the tree with snake watched by a man in chlamys and pilos, with spear, identified as -Perseus (who stole the apples) by Schauenburg.

2740. Calyx crater, Campanian rf. Stockholm, Nat. Mus. 11. - *LCS* 198, 5 pl. 79, 1-2: Chequer P. -

410-380 B.C. - Young H. seated on lionskin, r. hand on club, offered a basket by a woman at the l. At r. youth leaning on staff. No clear indication that apples are offered and no tree.

2740a. Oinochoe, S. Italian rf. Milan, Coll. H. A. 171. - Schauenburg, K., *AA* 1989, 27 n. 22; Jatta, G., *Vasi italo-greci del signore Caputi di Ruvo* (1877) 123 ff. pl. 8. - Young H. (or Theseus?) naked, with himation on l. arm, club in r. hand, and apple (?) in the l., standing to r. where there is Nike with wreath and branch.

2741. Athens, Hephaisteion east pediment. The reconstruction of the pediment by Thompson as depicting H. introduced to Olympus, beside the Hesperides tree, is no longer accepted since the attributed fragments are in Pentelic, not Parian marble. Thompson, H. A. T., *AJA* 66, 1962, 344-345; Delivourias, A., *Attische Giebelskulpturen* (1974) 21-23.

## ROMAN

## 10. Herakles alone in the Garden

On 2748. 2758. 2759. 2761. 2762. 2764-2766. 2768 he is attacking the snake Ladon.

2742. Wall painting, Villa Oplontis, caldarium. - De Franciscis, A., *Die pompeianischen Wandmalereien von Oplontis* (1975) pl. 30. - 1st cent. A.D. - In rocky landscape with trees and bushes H. (naked, crowned, cloak on l. shoulder, club on l. shoulder) approaches the tree. On rock at r. two apples.

2743. Wall painting, Rome, via Latina catacomb. - Ferrua, A., *Le pitture della nuova catacomba di via Latina* (1960) pl. 81, 1. - 4th cent. A.D. - H. frontal, r. hand on club, lionskin over l. arm. At l. tree with Ladon.

2744. (= [Dodekathlos] 1744\*) Textile, Coptic. Leningrad, Hermitage 11337. - 6th cent. A.D. - H. naked, lionskin on shoulder, club in raised r. hand, frontal at r. of tree with dead Ladon, neck pierced by arrow. Similar, New York, MMA 89.18.244 (Weitzmann, *Spirituality* no. 136).

## Stone reliefs

2745. (= [Dodekathlos] 1714\*) Marble sarcophagus. Velletri, Mus. Civ. - 2nd cent. A.D. - H. frontal at r., lionskin on l. arm, club in l. hand, picks apples from the tree with Ladon.

Similar is Rome, Torlonia 420 (= [Dodekathlos] 1730); on many other sarcophagi the scene is generally poorly preserved.

2746. (= [Dodekathlos] 1724\*) Rome, Mus. Naz. 154592. From near Via Cassia. - Late 2nd cent. A.D. - Left small side. H. as in 2745, club on r. shoulder, l. hand on pick-axe, beside tree with Ladon. Similar, Sebastopol, Chersonesus Hist.-Arch. Mus. 3/35678; Sokolov, G., *Antique Art on the Northern Black Sea Coast* (1974) 167 no. 181; Koch/Sichter-mann, *RömSark* 559.

2747. (= [Dodekathlos] 1726\*) Marble pilaster. Leptis Magna Basilica. - Severan. - H. frontal, lionskin at neck, apple in l. hand, picks apples from the tree. Club and quiver/bow in field.

2748. (= [Dodekathlos] 1737, = Amazones 140\*) Marble relief dedicated by Cassia Priscilla. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6683. From Velletri. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - H. naked strides to l. with club raised. Tree with dead Ladon.

2749. (= [Dodekathlos] 1747\*) Marble reliefs. Vatican 431. 444. From Palestrina. - 2nd cent. A.D. - H. naked, lionskin on l. arm, club in l. hand, stretches hand to tree, to pick apples rather than attack the snake, as the relief has been restored.

2750. (= [Dodekathlos] 1748) Marble reliefs. Seville, Arch. Mus. From Itálica. - 2nd cent. A.D. - Young H., club on l. shoulder, almost frontal, stretches r. arm to tree with Ladon.

2751. (= [Dodekathlos] 1736\*) Marble base. Rome, Mus. Cap. 205. From Albano. - 1st cent. A.D. - H., lionskin on l. shoulder, almost frontal, picks apples from tree, with Ladon, behind him.

2752.\* Base relief. Périgueux, Mus. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 1285; Toynbee, J. M. C., *Latomus* 36, 1977, 376 viii. - Tree with snake at l. H. as on 2751, without lionskin, striding r. with head turned to tree, r. arm stretched out to pick apples. Cf. also statue bases, Alzey Mus. (= 2830, Toynbee, *o.c.* 376 v. vi), 3rd cent. A.D.

2753.\* Base relief. Bedford Mus. From Whitley Castle (Northumberland). - Piggott, S., *Antiquity* 12, 1938, 325 pl. 3; Toynbee, *o.c.* 2752, 376 ix. - H. naked holding club diagonally across chest. Tree at l. with Ladon. Provincial. Cf. Bonn, from Koblenz; Espérandieu, *Recueil* VIII 205 no. 6195; Toynbee, *o.c.* 375 iii; two standing figures at r. perhaps from other scene.

## Gems

2754. Glass intaglio. Naples, Mus. Naz. 118725. From Pompeii. - Pannuti, *CatGlittNapoli* I no. 135. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - H. naked to r. with club in r. hand, picks apples from the tree, with Ladon. Cf. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. Dfa 583, sard.

2755. Amethyst intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 7573. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 56. - H. with lionskin on l. arm, l. hand on club, offers a skyphos (?) to Ladon on the tree.

2756.\* Glass intaglio. Copenhagen, Thorv. Mus. I 810. - Fossing, *ThorvGems* no. 873. - H. with hand on club before tree with snake. Cf. Aquileia, Sena Chiesa, GA no. 482, with small column behind.

2757.\* Glass intaglio. Munich, Münzslg. - AGDI 2 no. 1257. - Republican. - H. with club and lionskin in l. hand stands before altar with apples (?) on it; beyond it the tree with Ladon. Cf. Fossing, *ThorvGems* no. 874; Berlin FG 4171.

## Clay reliefs

2758. (= [Dodekathlos] 1754b\*) Skyphos. Brussels, Mus. Roy. R 524. - 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. - H. naked (quiver, lionskin on l. arm, bow in l. hand) with club raised moving r., to attack Ladon on the tree. Plants at either side. Cf. Corinth CP 1638. 1860; *Hesperia* 11, 1942, 169 figs. 5-6; unpublished, Patras Mus.

2759.\* Cup fr. Copenhagen, Mus. Nat. 13693. - Stanfield, J. A./Simpson, G., *Central Gaulish Pottery* (1958) pl. 88, 1. - 1st/2nd cent. A.D. - H. with lionskin stretches r. hand to tree. Cf. St-Germain-en-Laye 31690; Déchelette, J., *Vases... Gaule rom.* (1904) 265 no. 55. Cf. *ibid.* nos. 468 (H. holds snake and raises club). 469 (snake dead); 266 no. 56 (Vienna).

2760.\* Vase medallion fr. Lyon, Mus. gallo-rom. - Wuilleumier/Audin, *Médailles* 29 no. 11; signed by Felix. - 1st cent. A.D. - H. with quiver, lionskin and club in l. hand, near the tree. Cf. *ibid.* no. 369, H. naked, picking apples from tree.



Herakles 2760

2761. Lamp. Alexandria, Benachi Coll. From Asia Minor. - Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 124-125 n. 321 pl. 53, 2. - 1st cent. A.D. - H. naked, lionskin on back, strides l. with head turned back, holding snake with l. hand, club raised in r. At r. the tree. The composition related to that of the Olympia metope with H. and the bull (2338; Hausmann, *o.c.*). Similar: Sassari, Mus. Sanna 22.525 (DAI Rom 66.2157); *Agora* VII nos. 100. 101 pl. 4, with refs.; Walters, *BMLamps* no. 655 pl. 22, and no. 1377 fig. 319; Leeds Mus., from Lanuvium (snake coiled round H.'s leg); Birmingham 20768; Loeschcke, S., *Lampen aus Vindonissa* (1919) no. 71 pl. 7, with parallels.

## Metal reliefs

2762. (= [Dodekathlos] 1756\*) Silver cup. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Pompeii. - Augustan. - H. with lionskin on back moves l. with club raised against Ladon on tree, grasping the tree with his l. hand.

2763. (= [Dodekathlos] 1728\*) Gold bell. London, BM Jewellery 3008/9. - A.D. 200-250. - H. picks apples from tree, with Ladon.

2764. (= [Dodekathlos] 1727\*) Silver cup rim. Athens, NM Br 7484. - 3rd/4th cent. A.D. - H. picks apples, raising club against Ladon on the tree.

## Coins

2765.\* AE, Pergamon, Geta. - Voegtli pl. 7a. - Rev.: H. with lionskin on l. arm strides l. raising club against Ladon on tree.

2766. (= [Dodekathlos] 1760\* with bibl.) AE, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius. - Voegtli pls. 7b. 12q. - Rev.: as 2765, but club in l. hand. Cf. AE Sebastopolis, Julia Domna; Voegtli 42.

2767.\* AE medallion, Perinthos, Gordian III. – Voegtli pl. 7e; Schönert, *o. c.* 2087, 257, 858 pl. 54. – Rev.: H. as 2765, r. hand on club, apples in l., frontal, head turned to tree with dead Ladon at r. Similar AE: Perinthos, Nero, Elagabalus; Alinda, Sept. Severus; Amorion, Caracalla; Kotiaëion, Caracalla; Tarsos, Gordian III; Temenothyrai, Sev. Alexander; Tomis, Elagabalus. For these see Voegtli 42 pls. 7c–g. The H. type goes back to the 5th cent. B.C. (431–446; Voegtli 44). H. stands to the r. but AE, Pautalia, Sept. Severus (Voegtli pl. 7h) has him to the l. Cf. also [Dodekathlos] 1729.

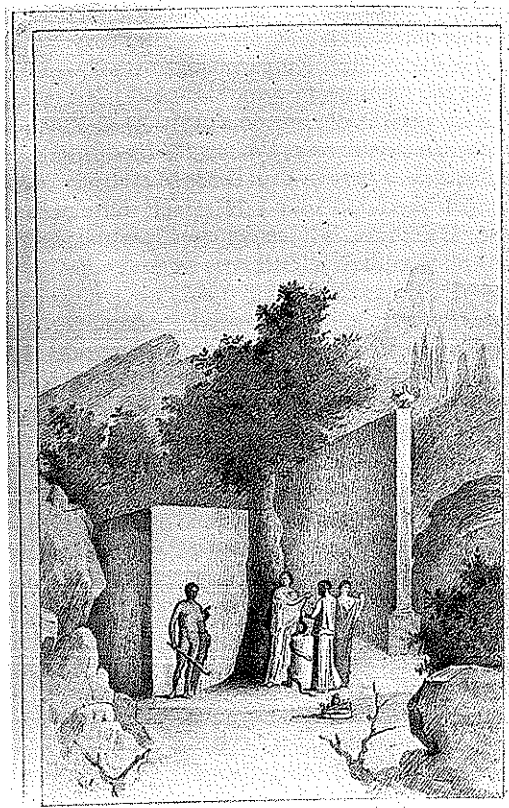
2768. (= [Dodekathlos] 1759\*) Ivory relief. St Peter's throne, Vatican. – H. with lionskin and club attacks Ladon on the tree at r.

2769. (= 374\*) Bronze statuette. London, BM Bronzes 827. From Byblos. – Walters, *BMBronzes* pl. 50 – H. stands naked with apple in l. hand, club (missing) in r., near the tree with Ladon.

# 11. Herakles in the Garden with Hesperides

## Wall painting

2770.\* (= Hesperides 47 with bib.) Pompeii I 7, 7b (Casa del Sacerdos Amandus). – Rizzo, *PER* pl. 95; Schefold, *WP* 30–31; Dawson, C. M., *YaleClSt* 9 (1944) 99 no. 40a. – About A.D. 50. – Young H. naked (lionskin, cloak on l. arm, bow/quiver, r. hand



Herakles 2771

on club) stands to r. facing three Hesperides before the tree, around an altar with a snake coiled around it. Perhaps after a Hellenistic original.

2771.\* (= Hesperides 48 with bib.) Pompeii V 2, 9–12. Destroyed. – Schefold, *WP* 72; Dawson, *o. c.* 89 no. 22 pl. 7. – 50–1 B.C. – Before a wall and building in a mountainous landscape are, at l., young H. (naked, bow/quiver, lionskin on l. arm, club in r. hand) standing near the tree. Nearby three Hesperides around an altar with a snake on it; the figures resemble those of 2770.

## Mosaic

2772. (= [Dodekathlos] 1741\*, = Hesperides 11) Madrid, Arch. Mus. From Liria. – 3rd cent. A.D. – H. (lionskin, club in r. hand) strides l. picking apples from the tree, with Ladon. Behind the tree three small Hesperides walk r. looking at H. Cf. [Dodekathlos] 1743, snake only.

## Relief vase

2773. (= [Dodekathlos] 1745\*, = Hesperides 50) Stone relief vase, Tazza Albani. Rome, Mus. Torlonia 383. – Augustan. – H. (naked, lionskin on l. arm, club in r. hand) attacks Ladon coiled on the tree. One Hesperid at the r. picks up apples.

## Reliefs

2774. (= Hesperides 51 with bib.) Stucco pilaster. Rome, Basilica Sotterranea, Porta Maggiore. – Bendinelli, G., *MonAnt* 31, 1926, 601–847 pl. 42, 1; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 120 K 16. – About 40 A.D. – H. on stool to l., naked with lionskin on lower body, club between his legs, l. hand on stool, reaches r. hand to standing Hesperid offering him an apple.

2775. (= Hesperides 52) Stucco relief. Ostia, Isola Sacra grave 95. – Calza, *o. c.* 2366, 109 fig. 43; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 160 K 89. – Trajanic. – H. frontal with lionskin and club reaching to tree under which are two Hesperides. With other Labours (VIII–XI): 2366. 2454. 2654.

2776. (= [Dodekathlos] 1735\*, = Hesperides 17 with bib.) Marble «Ara Giustiniani». Vatican, once Lateran 9811. – 1st cent. B.C./A.D. – H. to r. picks apples from tree, with Ladon. Beneath the tree a sleeping Hesperid.

## Sarcophagi

2777. (= [Dodekathlos] 1723\*, = Hesperides 15) Rome, Mus. Torlonia 422. – A.D. 150–180. – H. naked, hand on club, lionskin on l. arm, to l. with head turned to two Hesperides and the tree with Ladon.

2778. (= [Dodekathlos] 1752\*, = Hesperides 12) London, BM 2300. – A.D. 150–180. – H. (naked, lionskin on l. arm, stretched out, for apples?) at r. of tree with Ladon, seen from the back. R. hand probably on club. Beyond tree three Hesperides, one running l. For H.'s attitude cf. the sarcophagus, [Dodekathlos] 1734 = Hesperides 14 (two Hesperides at l., one behind H. at r.).

2779. (= [Dodekathlos] 1720\*, = Hesperides 13) Rome, Pal. Corsini. – Late 2nd cent. A.D. – At r.

tree with Ladon. H. naked, lionskin on head and back, bow in l. hand, club in r., frontal; at l. small Hesperid running l. with head turned back.

2780. (= [Dodekathlos] 1725\* with bib., = Hesperides 16 with bib.) Konya Mus. 1002. – Early 3rd cent. A.D. – H. naked, lionskin on head, apple in l. hand, r. hand on club, frontal with head turned l. near tree with Ladon. A small half-dressed Hesperid sits on ground before tree.

2781. (= Hesperides 49\*) Stone relief. Budapest, Nat. Mus. 97.1913. From Intercisa. – Toynbee, J. M. C., *Latomus* 36, 1977, 375 i fig. 15. – H. frontal at r. with club in l. hand receives apples from a Hesperid, also frontally, at l.

2782. (= Hesperides 53) Carnelian intaglio. London, BM Gems 1870. – Walters, *BMGems* pl. 24. – A: H. with bow in l. hand, club raised in r. B: Hesperid offers patera to Ladon on tree.

## Clay reliefs

2783. (= Hesperides 21) Cup, Arretine. Rome, Antiquarium For. From Arezzo. – Porten Palange, Fr. P., *La ceramica arretina a rilievo* (1966) no. 102 pls. 25–26; by Gn. Ateius. – 1st cent. A.D. – Three Hesperides to r., one seated; tree with Ladon; H. standing to l., club on l. shoulder; Hermes to l.; pillar with amphora, a socle with woman standing on it and Pan by another woman.

2784. (= Hesperides 68) Lamp. Alexandria, Greco-Rom. Mus. 6663. – H. standing to r. with l. hand stretched to tree under which three Hesperides.

## Coins

2785.\* (= Hesperides 18) AE, medallion, Perinthos, Sept. Severus. – Voegtli pls. 7i. 13m; Schönert, *o. c.* 2087, 184, 526 pl. 30. – Rev.: H. naked, r. hand on club, lionskin on l. shoulder, apples in l. hand (type as 431–446) stands to l. with head turned back to the tree with dead Ladon. Beyond the tree a small Hesperid. Similar, with three Hesperides, AE Temenothyrai, Valerian; → Hesperides 19.

2786. (= [Dodekathlos] 1761\* with bib., = Hesperides 20) AU Cologne (?), Postumus. – Voegtli pl. 15k. – Rev.: H. naked seen from back with head turned to l. near tree with dead Ladon. At l. a Hesperid running l. with head turned back.

# 12. Herakles supporting heavens alone

2787.\* Plasma intaglio. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1769. – Richter, *EngrGemsRom* no. 278. – H. with lionskin on back, kneeling, supports heavens on hands and back.

# 13. The Tree alone, with Ladon

This appears, with other «victims» of the Labours, on [Dodekathlos] 1739? 1742. 1750 and the silver cup handle, *BMSilverPlate* no. 191. Elsewhere, it is likely also to allude to the Labour rather than to the Garden alone. Thus, it appears on a altar with other H.

motifs (Naples; Hermann, W., *Röm. Götteraltäre* [1961] 136–137 no. 62; *HERCULI TUTORI*) and beside H. with the lion on a provincial relief in Belgrade (*OeJh* 15, 1912, Beibl. 220 fig. 179).

# COMMENTARY

## GREEK

By about the middle of the 6th cent. B.C. the Atlas-version of H.'s Hesperides Labour is to be found on Attic bf. vases (2676) as well as on reliefs (2678, 2682) even in sculpture (2689).

The Atlas version appears down to the Classical period but not later. There are two main iconographic schemata: (1) *Atlas supports the heavens* (2676, 2678, 2680, 2682, 2686, 2689) with H. (a) leaving with the apples (2676, 2682), (b) trying to take them by force from Atlas (2678), (c) picking them from the tree while Atlas supports the heavens (2680), (d) standing simply beside Atlas (2684, 2686, 2689); and (2) *H. supports the heavens* (2677, 2683, 2685, 2687) with Atlas (a) presenting him the apples (2677, 2683), or (b) approaching the tree (2685). Once Atlas is not present, but two satyrs are playing with H.'s weapons (2687); on another vase H. is shown alone supporting the heavens (2692a). In both schemata Athena may also be present (2680, 2682, 2683). The location of the episode in the Hesperides garden may also appear in the Archaic period (2680, 2689) as well as in the South Italian vase-painting (2685, 2686). There is a third schema of the Hesperides Labour in which H. is approaching Atlas seated on a throne like a king, surrounded by other deities (on South Italian vases, 2688, 2688a; cf. the representations of H.'s Introduction to Olympus: 2867–2869). 2861 has a unique scene of Athena apparently handing the apples to H. in the company of a passive Atlas and several river gods (Nilos, Okeanos, Strymon); yet H. looks away.

The other version of the Labour, in which H. is represented in the garden picking the apples himself without Atlas' help appears even earlier, apparently in the middle of the 7th cent. B.C. (2690).

In this version H. is represented very often in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. He may be alone (2690–2699), accompanied by the Hesperides (2700–2715), also by other deities or persons such as Iolaos (2716–2718, 2726), other heroes (2717), men (2719, 2722), a woman (2729), Athena (2718), Hermes (2719, 2729), Artemis (? 2725), Pan (2721, 2723–2725, 2728), Hera (2721), Aphrodite (? 2722), personifications (2717; and 2720 – Okeanos indicating the location and as grandfather of Atlas), satyrs (2723–2725, 2727, 2729). The omphalos on 2723 may also indicate the place («omphalos of the sea», perhaps identifying the island Ogygia, island of the Atlantid Kalypso; Metzger *Représentations* 208), or rather the sacred character of the temenos, as also do a column (2724) and a pillar (2728; they are too small to allude to the columns supporting the heavens; cf. Hom. *Od.* 1, 52–54; Jucker 196).

In all these representations H. is shown in a variety

of actions: (a) picking himself the apples from the tree (2691. 2693. 2696. 2705), once even holding a basket (2716); stretching out his hand to pick them (2690. 2708) or raising his club against Ladon coiled on the tree (2691. 2695. 2697. 2701. 2731); striding to the tree (2680); moving away with the apples (2692. 2697. 2700. 2701); simply standing by the tree (2698. 2699. 2702. 2706. 2712-2715. 2718) sometimes holding the apples (2706. 2729. 2732) often leaning on his club (2686. 2688. 2709. 2719-2721. 2723. 2726. 2727) or supporting it upright on the ground (2699. 2707. 2722. 2724. 2725. 2729); once standing on a basis like a statue (2704); treading on a rock (2705); kneeling on a branch trying to cut it (2694); (b) seated on a rock covered with the lionskin (2703. 2707. 2712. 2717) or with his cloak (2721. 2722. 2725). Where H. is not himself trying to take the apples from the tree with the Hesperides standing by (2702. 2709. 2723. 2728) or has not got them already (2701) while the frightened Hesperides run away (2708. 2713), they may be shown offering Ladon a drink to help H. take the apples (on South Italian vases, 2704. 2705. 2726. 2727. 2729; Furtwängler, A. in *ML* I 2 2227; Robert, *Heldensage* 492-493; Brommer, F., *Jdl* 57, 1942, 119-120). This could be an invention of the vase-painters since it is unknown from literary sources. It has been interpreted as an indication of the changing conception of the myth in the 4th cent. B. C. (Brommer, *l.c.*); however, the *Tabula Albana* (FGH 40, c) implies and Seneca (*Herc. f.* 530-532) asserts that H. got the apples after having lulled the dragon to sleep. It could otherwise be interpreted as the duty of the Hesperides to feed the snake.

In the Attic art of the 5th and 4th cent. B. C. the Hesperides are represented either offering H. the apples (2707. 2717. 2719. 2722) or picking them for H. themselves (2703. 2710. 2718. 2721. 2725. 2729). The Hesperides are known in literary sources as thieves of the apples, but not in connection with H. The number of Hesperides (one to seven) on the monuments seems to depend on the space which was to be filled; only once are all seven of them represented (2786). Exceptionally Athena holds an apple on 2681, and cf. 2706.

On Attic vases of the Kerch style Eros/Erotes are often represented in various actions - leaning on H.'s shoulders or crowning him, picking apples, pointing to a Hesperid: these allude to the love of H. and one of the Hesperides (Götze 95-96; Schefold, K., *Gymnasium* 61, 1954, 292), unknown from the literary tradition but fitting well into the erotic atmosphere which dominates vase-painting of the late Classical period (2703. 2719. 2721. 2722. 2724. 2725). The absence of Aphrodite in such scenes (except in 2722) is inexplicable; instead, it is quite common to find Pan (2721. 2723-2725. 2728. 2729) and/or satyrs (2723-2725. 2727. 2729) probably emphasizing the rustic and idyllic character of the Hesperides garden as the Elysian fields (cf. Metzger, *Représentations* 207 with n. 2). However, no typical iconography of the Elysian fields seems to have existed in ancient Greek art (on

such pictures: Neutsch, B., *RM* 60/61, 1953/54, 67-68; Karousou, S., *ArchDelt* 19, 1964 [1965] 7-8). Sometimes a Nike (2686. 2723) indicates the good fortune of the deed.

In later Classical Attic vase-painting, when the Labour is often represented in contrast to the rare representations in early and ripe Classical art (2683. 2684. 2701. 2706. 2707) the Atlas-version of the myth and the fight of H. with Ladon are not represented as they had been in the Archaic and early Classical periods. Instead, the hero appears standing, or seated quietly in the peaceful garden of the Hesperides, which symbolizes the Elysian fields and alludes to the eternal youth which the hero will enjoy through possession of the apples (2702. 2703. 2717. 2719-2725; the absence of the tree on 2719 is remarkable: see Furtwängler, A., *ML* 1, 2, 2229; Robert 492-493; Schweitzer 134 with n. 1; Brommer, *Jdl* 57, 1942, 118; Metzger, *Représentations* 207. 209; Brommer, *H.* 49-50; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 167 with older bibliography in n. 803. This is also true for South Italian vase-painting but the Atlas-version is to be found here as well (2686. 2688), perhaps influenced by the satyr-play 'Atlas', as Brommer suggests (in *Jdl* 57, 1942, 119).

In the Archaic period H. is very rarely represented naked (2697. 2714); he is often wearing a short chiton (2677. 2682. 2692. 2716) under the lionskin which is tied round his neck and covers head and back (2676. 2677. 2682. 2691. 2692. 2700. 2714. 2716. 2730); once it is carried round his l. arm like a shield (2680; a motive quite common in later periods).

Lionskin and club are held by H. (2680. 2682. 2692. 2697. 2700. 2730), rarely raised against Ladon (2691. 2697. 2731), sometimes lie on the ground (2677. 2716), or are held upright on it (2714). Other weapons may be also shown: often the quiver at his back (2676. 2680. 2682. 2691. 2692. 2716. 2730), once in the field (2677), rarely a sword (2682. 2700; once H. threatens Atlas with it, 2679) as well as the bow (2692. 2730), once also lying in the field (2677).

In the Classical and the Hellenistic periods H. is always shown naked, exceptionally wearing the short chiton (2701. 2728). The lionskin, when not covering the rock on which the hero sits (2703. 2707. 2717), or wrapped round the l. arm (2688a. 2694. 2698. 2713. 2715. 2726), covers head and back as usual; sometimes the lionskin is replaced by a cloak, on which H. may be seated (2722. 2725) or which is wrapped round the l. arm (2712. 2721. 2723), exceptionally hanging from the l. shoulder (2705) or lying on a stool (2692a). Only once is H. shown holding the himation like a shawl round his lower body (2724).

The club is always represented, whether held as usual (2688a. 2698. 2703. 2713. 2728), or held upright on the ground (2681. 2699. 2707. 2712. 2715. 2717. 2722. 2724. 2725. 2729), or with H. leaning on it (2686. 2688. 2709. 2710. 2719-2721. 2723. 2726. 2727). Exceptionally it is carried on his shoulder (2693. 2718) or raised against Ladon (2695. 2701). A quiver (2688. 2688a. 2703. 2712. 2726. 2729) hanging at his back, or lying on the ground (2723), or between H.'s legs (2707), as well as the bow

are eventually shown (2699. 2704. 2713. 2718. 2728. 2729); exceptionally a sword (2717) and a spear (2705).

H. is almost always represented heedless (exceptions 2683. 2685. 2701. 2724), sometimes wreathed or crowned (2703. 2719. 2723. 2724. 2727. 2728) in harmony with the idyllic-erotic atmosphere of these pictures.

#### ROMAN

In the Roman period the representation of H. in the Hesperides garden, either alone or with the Hesperides, predominates. No other persons or gods are present, except on 2783, when Pan and two Nymphs are shown. Only once, on a gem, H. is represented in the Atlas-version supporting the heavens (2787); cf. the rf. vase, 2692a.

The Labour may be found as a single representation, with H. either alone or with the Hesperides, on wall-paintings (2742. 2744. 2770. 2771), on reliefs (2752. 2775. 2781), on gems (2754. 2755. 2757. 2782), on relief-vases (2758-2760. 2783), on lamps (2761. 2784), on coins (2765-2767. 2785; on the meaning of these representations as symbols of imperial power see Voegtli 43-44. 54-55. 61-62), and only once in sculpture (276a). More often it is represented as part of the Dodekathlon, on mosaics (2772), sarcophagi (2745-2747. 2777-2780; as a symbol of a happy life after death: Voegtli 8-9; Jacopi, I., *ArchCl* 24, 1972, 326-327; for the iconographic schemata of the representations on sarcophagi see Moreno 171-173); on reliefs 2747. 2751. 2772. 2773. 2776. textiles 2744, relief-vases 2758, bronze relief-utensils 2762-2764, coins 2767, medallions 2786, ivory-reliefs 2768.

In these representations H. is always standing; only once is he seated (2774). He may be picking the apples himself (2745. 2747. 2749-2752. 2754. 2759. 2760. 2763. 2772. 2776. 2778. 2784) or simply standing by the tree (2743. 2753. 2756. 2757. 2760. 2767. 2769-2771. 2777. 2780. 2782. 2783. 2786). Sometimes H. raises his club against Ladon (2744 [with snake pierced by an arrow], 2748. 2758. 2759. 2761. 2762. 2764. 2765. 2768. 2773), or strides towards the tree (2742. 2748. 2752. 2758. 2761. 2765), once offering a drink to Ladon (2755; see Lit. Sources), and once grasping the tree (2762); eventually H. is shown holding the snake (2759. 2761), or a Hesperid offers him the apples (2781). H. may also be depicted holding the apples (2767. 2769. 2780. 2785).

In the Roman representations H. is depicted either young or old, sometimes crowned (2742), or wearing a fillet (2749). He is always naked, usually with the lionskin hanging from his l. arm, exceptionally from his l. shoulder (2744. 2751), rarely covering his head and back (2779. 2780. 2787), and once the lower body (2774). He seldom has the cloak on his shoulder (2742), or wrapped round his l. arm (2770). He always carries the club, usually holding it in his r. hand (2745. 2753. 2754. 2757. 2760. 2769. 2772. 2773. 2775. 2779. 2781), often fighting Ladon with it (2744.

2748. 2758. 2759. 2761. 2762. 2764). Sometimes H. holds it upright on the ground (2743. 2755. 2756. 2767. 2770. 2777. 2778), once on a bull-head (2745: Rome, Torlonia 420), or carries it on his shoulder (2742. 2746. 2750. 2783); once the club lies in the field (2747). H.'s other weapons may also include a bow/quiver (2747 [in the field], 2758. 2760. 2770. 2771. 2779. 2782); once a pick-axe (2746).

The Hesperides, one to three in number if shown, are mostly depicted simply standing by the tree (2774. 2775. 2777. 2778. 2783-2785), exceptionally round an altar with the snake coiled on it (2770. 2771), a motif unknown in Greek art, though a Hellenistic prototype has been proposed for the Roman paintings. The altar perhaps indicates the holy character of the garden as a temenos; cf. 2724. 2756 (column); 2728. 2783 (pillar). Sometimes they offer H. the apples (2774. 2781) or are picking them (2773) or offer Ladon a drink (2782). Once a Hesperid is represented sleeping (2776). Rarely they are seated under the tree (2780. 2783), surpassing even the idyllic atmosphere of late Classical and South Italian representations of the myth on vases, which is otherwise to be found in Roman wall-paintings (2742. 2743. 2770. 2771). Sometimes the Hesperides are running (2778. 2779. 2786), or leaving (2772), frightened. See also 3415.

The iconography of the Labour, with the hero standing beside the tree on which Ladon is coiled, and with one Hesperid standing at the other side of it, survived the Roman period and was adopted by Christian art to represent Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden with the snake and the tree (Todisco, *o.c.* 2714, 163-184). GEORGIA KOKKOROU-ALEWRAS

#### V. Herakles' expeditions

##### A. Herakles at Troy

H., in the course of his expedition against the Amazons, or on the expedition of the Argonautai, visits Troy. Here King Laomedon promises H. his divine horses if he kills the ketos sent by Poseidon to plague Troy because of Laomedon's failure to reward Apollo and Poseidon for building Troy's walls. H. kills the ketos and frees Hesione, the king's daughter, who had been bound to a rock as its prey. Laomedon refuses the reward. H. proceeds against the Amazons but on his return he attacks and destroys Troy, kills Laomedon and gives Hesione to his colleague Telamon. On the way to Troy H. sacrifices to Chryse on her island near Lemnos.

LITERARY SOURCES: For details of the first encounter see → Hesione and → Ketos. The *Iliad* has no mention of the Amazon expedition, but sends H. to Troy for Laomedon's horses with six ships and few men (s. 640-643. 648-651). He serves the king but is cheated by him and sacks Troy. Pindar stresses Telamon's role in the sack, says that he killed Laomedon, whose unjust treatment of H. was the cause of the war, which took place on the expedition to the Amazons (N. 3, 36-37; 4, 25-26; I. 6, 27-31). The story was



also told in Hellan. (*FGH* 4 F 26b). Diod. has it as a parergon to the Argonauts' expedition (4, 32. 42. 49) with H. returning to Troy with only 18 ships to punish Laomedon. His lieutenant Oikles, left to guard the ships, was killed but H. sacks Troy, gives the kingdom to Priam, and Hesione to Telamon. Apollod. (*bibl.* 2 [103-104] 5, 9; 2 [134-136] 6, 4) places the encounter with Laomedon on the return from the Amazons, and the sack later still, giving H. 18 ships and otherwise offering an account similar to that of Diod. Ovid (*met.* 11, 213-215; 13, 22-23), Hyg. (*fab.* 89) and Schol. Lykophr. 34 add nothing substantial to the account, which may be a relatively late literary invention. See → Chryse I for H.'s sacrifice to her.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (see also → Chryse I, → Hesione, → Laomedon): Gruppe, O., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 968-969 s. v. «Herakles»; Robert, *Heldensage* 549; Schefold, *SB* II 138-140; Schefold/Jung, *SBIV* 194-198.

## CATALOGUE

### 1. Herakles' sacrifice to Chryse

See → Chryse I 1-5 (4 = Athena 532) for the Athenian vases of about 430-390 B.C. showing the scene. In all cases H. wears only a wreath and himation, on 4 and 5 (= 2788) he is beardless (uncertain on 3) and on 4 he leans on his club, on 5 on a stick. Attending are Athena (1. 4), Philoktetes (named on 1), Lichas (named on 1. 5), Iolaos (named on 2), Nike (2), Hermes (4), Apollo (4). The rocky altar stands before the pillar supporting the cult statue (an acanthus column on 1 in this position). The altar is blazing and meat cooking on 1; on 2-4 a bull is being brought up. The occasion was that on which → Philoktetes was bitten by a snake. H. is in mufti, as he is occasionally on other scenes of sacrifice (see 1335. 1344). See also Vollkommer 55-56.

2788.\* (= Chryse I 5 with *bibl.*) Volute crater fr., Attic rf. Leningrad, Hermitage 33A. From Kerch. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1408, 1: P. of the N. Y. Centauromachy; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 374; Froning, H., *Dithyrambos* (1971) pl. 15, 1. - About 390 B.C. - Young H., wreathed, leans on a stick holding a fillet (inscr. ... ΚΑΗΣ). At the l. a boy named Lichas leads a bull to the rocky altar before an acanthus column. At l., tripod on column; at r. a boy with bowl and tray.

2789. Bell crater fr., Attic rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. From Spina, erratico barina B. 1959. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1038, 2ter: Peleus P. - 440-420 B.C. - A wreathed youth (Iolaos?) dips into a bowl held by a wreathed naked boy (Philoktetes?) before a rock altar. At r. H., with himation and club and part of a figure with sceptre (Lichas?). Uncertain identification, lacking the cult image, but the rock altar is suggestive.

### 2. Herakles and Laomedon

See → Laomedon.

2790. Painting by Artemon. Rome, portico of Octavia. Lost. - *Plin. nat.* 35, 139: *Laomedontis circa Herculem et Neptunum historiam*. This may have been a cycle of pictures. Another by Artemon in the portico showed H.'s apotheosis (*ibid.*; 2921).

2791.\* Sequence of wall paintings in the house of M. Loreius Tiburtinus. Pompeii II 2, 2-5. - Schefold, *WP* 53; Spinazzola, *Pompei* 974-978 figs. 989. 990. 994 pl. 90; and for (e) also *EAA* IV 475 fig. 557; Rizzo, *PER* pl. 67; Schefold/Jung, *SB* IV 194-197 figs. 238-241. - Early 1st cent. A.D. - H. is shown naked throughout. a) H. kills the ketos. b)\* Telamon (?) presents H. to Laomedon (seated with sceptre and Phrygian cap) attended by two men. A horse's head to the top l. Presumably this is the negotiation for Laomedon's horses. c)\* H. strides forward to r. with raised club attacking a group of men among whom is Laomedon, in Phrygian cap. d)\* H. (with bow?) at r. observes the marriage of Telamon and Hesione, who hold hands (*cf.* Apollod. *bibl.* 3 [161-162] 12, 7). e)\* H., seated, crowns the young Priam with a Phrygian cap, the royal emblem.

### 3. Herakles kills the ketos and rescues Hesione

See → Hesione and → Ketos. There are occasional Archaic representations (on Corinthian, Attic, Caeretan vases) and on a South Italian vase. It is commoner in the Roman period, in painting and reliefs, and may then be shown with cycles of the Labours. See also H. with monsters (Section VII E).

### 4. Herakles fights at Troy

2792.\* East pediment of the Temple of Aphaia, Aigina. Munich, Glyptothek. - Ohly, D., *Die Aegineten* I (1976) for fullest *bibl.* and description of the figures, cleaned of restorations. - 490-480 B.C. - At the centre, Athena, facing the viewer, moves r. holding out her l. arm and aegis. The 2nd figure from the r. (a collapsed warrior behind him) is young H., kneeling and drawing his bow. He wears a helmet with raised cheekpieces, its crown in the form of a lion's head, and a corselet. Ohly identifies the stricken Laomedon in the prostrate figure at the extreme l.; Iolaos before H.; Priam on Athena's l. (protected by her); Telamon on her r. H.'s cheekpieces possibly took the form of the lion's lower jaw, an outline similar to that of some cheekpieces for «normal» Chalcidian helmets. The interpretation of the pediment, as H. at

Troy, is not normally disputed (but *cf.* Robertson, *HGA* 166, speculating that «H.» may be Paris, and the subject the death of Achilles). U. Sinn (*AM* 102, 1987, 151-157) suggests that the «H.» may be Hyllus and the subject the Dorian invasion of Aigina. The west pediment probably depicts Agamemnon's Trojan war, with Ajax, son of Telamon.

### 5. Uncertain

2793. West pediment of the Athenian Treasury, Delphi. Delphi Mus. - *FDelphes* IV 4, 181. - 490-480 B.C. - Fr. of fighting figures remain, none of them identifiable. The suggestion that this might be H.'s attack on Troy is based on his prominence in the metopes.

## COMMENTARY

H.'s affairs at Troy are remarkably little observed by ancient artists, apart from the fight with the ketos to rescue Hesione, which is usually treated as a separate episode, and the sacrifice to Chryse, probably prompted by Athenian interest in Lemnos at the time it is shown on vases. The probable battle at Troy on the Aphaia temple (2792) is prompted less by H. than by the participation of the Aeginetan Telamon. Only in Artemon's painting (2790) and on Pompeian walls (2791) are cycles of the story presented, presumably inspired directly by literature since there was no developed iconographic tradition for them.

### B. Herakles and the Amazons

On the expedition against the Amazons, and its relationship to the Labour to get the belt of the Amazon queen Hippolyte, see Section IV, K. On the participation of Theseus, see Section XI.

### C. Herakles at Oichalia

See → Eurytos I, → Iole I, → Iphitos I. Only the feast and the aftermath are shown. Apart from the scene of the feast with Eurytos on a Corinthian vase of about 600 B.C. the only representations are of H. fighting Eurytos' sons, on late Archaic Attic vases. Another Oichalian episode, not attested in literature, appears on Attic vases:

2794.\* (= Bousiris 31) Cup, Attic rf. New York, MMA 12.231.2. From Cerveteri. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 319, 6: Onesimos; Richter/Hall, pl. 39; Williams, D., in *ICG* (Rouen) 138 fig. 8 (with new frs.). - 500-490 B.C. - B: H. with lionskin and bow (head and r. hand missing) attacks three men (with himatia, one with a basket) by an altar; tetrapod with cauldron at the l. The centre man is called Ops (*ΟΠΣ*). (A = Iphitos I 2: H. killing the sons of Eurytos: see → Eurytos I, Commen-

tary. I: H. with a boy carrying luggage: = 1559 = Hyllus I 4).

2795. (= Bousiris 32\*) Hydria, Attic rf. Paris, Louvre G 50. From Vulci. - *ARV* 188, 70: Kleophrades P.; *CVA* 6 pl. 52 (431), 1. 4. 5; Williams, o.c. 2794, fig. 7. - About 490 B.C. - H. in lionskin over tunic, raises his club and tramples a man before an altar with a volute crater beside it. A boy with stick and lyre, a man with kithara and man with stick run away.

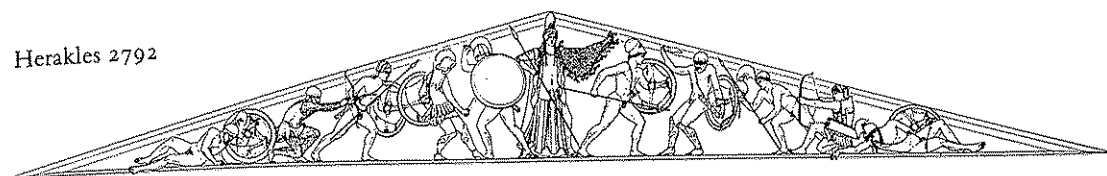
## COMMENTARY

See discussion in Williams o.c. The association with Oichalia is suggested by the scene on B of the cup 2794 (and the interior may be related) and the name Ops on the same cup. The setting is of sanctuary (altars) and feast (cauldron and basket - non sacrificial, as Williams - on 2794; crater on 2795). The identity of Ops is uncertain but the family of Eurytos descends from Dryops. If the Melas, son of Ops in Paus. 8, 28, 5 is the Melaneus, father of Eurytos (Paus. 4, 2, 2 with 4, 33, 5), and the Melas father of Eurytos of Pherekydes (*FGH* 3 F 82a) this would be an earlier brush with the family, also involving a feast. There was such an incident (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [155] 7, 7) in which H. slew Laogoras, king of the Dryopes, with his children, at a feast in a sanctuary of Apollo. This appears to be the story of the vases, but with a different name for the main victim. It explains why the feast rather than sacrifice is prominent on both 2794 and 2795. (There was also a Melas, companion of H., killed in the Eurytos episode: Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [156] 7, 7.)

### D. Herakles and the Argonauts

H. was a somewhat irregular member of the Argonaut expedition (for which see → Argonautai). The most important episode was that involving the loss of his boy Hylas in Mysia (for which see → Hylas). His association with Hylas is as early as the *Wedding of Keyx* ([Hes.] *frg.* 263 Merkelbach/West) and Kinaiathon (Davies *EGF* p. 142, B) but ancient representations concentrate on Hylas and the nymphs, not H. Exceptions are on Roman paintings (→ Hylas 10? 11), a mosaic (*ibid.* 12) and reliefs (*ibid.* 22. 23. 24? 34?). H. appears on the Argo with the Dioskouroi and Peleus, greeting Cheiron and Achilles on a child's sarcophagus, Rome, S. Paolo Fuori le Mura (→ Achilleus 82\*, → Argonautai 5). Some authors made H. leader of the expedition (Diod. 4, 41, 2; Dionysios Skyt., *FGH* 32 F 6; *cf.* Rusten, J. S., *Dion. Scytobrachion* [1982] 41. 96-97) but in Apoll. Rhod. 1, 341-347 he refuses leadership. Iolaos is with him in Hyg. *fab.* 14, 22. In Apoll. Rhod. he plays an important part until the Hylas episode, occupying with Ankaio the middle bench («powerhouse») of the Argo (1, 396-398. 531-532, with his club near him; 1161-1171, breaking his oar), urging the heroes to leave Lemnos (1, 861-874), defeating the *Gegenees* at Chytos in the Propontis (1, 989-1011). Then comes the Hylas ep-

Herakles 2792





isode (I, 1207-1295) after which he leaves the expedition, though Lynkeus thought he espied him far off from Africa (4, 1477-1480). In the *Tabula Albana* (FGrH 40, 105-109; Sadurska, *Tables* 87) he joined the Dioskouroi defeating Amykos, but this is not remarked in art (→ Amykos). Most sources agree that H. left the expedition after Hylas (Apollod. *bibl.* I [117] 9, 19; *contra*, Diod. 4, 44, 5) but some allow him to carry on to Colchis (Dionys. Skyt. *o.c.*; Demaratus, FGrH 42 F 2; Theokr. 13, 73-75, on foot) and others have him leave at Aphetai (Hdt. 7, 193; Pherekyd., FGrH 3 F 111, the Argo declaring him too heavy). Antikleides held that it was his son Hyllos that was left behind (FGrH 140 F 2). Diod. has him kill → Phineus and restore his sons to rule (4, 44, 4) and leading the Argonauts in his sack of Troy (4, 49). Herodorus said that he never joined the expedition but spent his time with Omphale (FGrH 3 F 41). None of this activity is reflected in art, and only one vase (below) shows him at Colchis, fighting the serpent guardian of the fleece with Jason. It was, however, his association with the Argonauts that may have prompted his attendance with Athena at Medea's murder of her children on a South Italian vase (see section XII; → Athena 631) and attendance at the Games for Pelias (see 2801-2803).

H. appears in groups with other heroes and Athena which have sometimes been identified as Argonauts: e.g., the Niobid Painter's name vase, Paris G 341 (→ Argonautai 32) and Ferrara 3031 (→ Argonautai 33 = Athena 601). Cf. also the Roman relief, → Argonautai 28\*, with a youth (H. or Argos) seated on a lionskin before Jason (?).

2796. (= Argonautai 21\* with bibl., = Iason 39 with further refs.) Volute crater, Apulian rf. Leninograd, Hermitage B 1718 (St. 422). - *RVAp* I 424, 55: close associate of the Lycurgus P.; *MonInst* 5, pl. 11. - 350-340 B.C. - H., with club and lionskin, and Jason attack from either side the serpent coiled around the tree holding the golden fleece. With Kalais, Medeia, Eros and three other Argonauts. JOHN BOARDMAN

## VI. Other principal adversaries and occasions

### ABDEROS

See → Abderos. H.'s favourite, killed in the course of the Labour for Diomedes' horses (section IV, J). The dead Abderos may appear with H. on the Roman silver cup, 2439. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 13-14.

### ACHELOOS

See → Acheloos 213-267. H. wrestles with Acheloos for the hand of Deianeira. The subject appears first on gems (Acheloos 221, 222), Attic vases (Acheloos 224, 225) and a Corinthian vase (Acheloos 246), thereafter frequently on Attic vases and one Caeretan (Acheloos 213). Later appearances are sporadic, but found throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 73-76; Schefold/Jung, *SB* IV 186-188; Vollkommer 25-26.

### AKTORIONE

See → Aktorione 6-10. H. kills the twin Aktorione. It is doubtful whether the episode appears on Late Geometric Boeotian fibulae (Aktorione 6-9) but Pausanias saw an encounter on the Amyklai throne (Aktorione 10) which he so identified. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 12. Cf. 2809, 2810.

### ALEOS

See → Aleos 5\* (= Antigone 26, = Auge 31), a Pompeii wall painting which may show H. with the sick Aleos, father of Auge.

### ALKESTIS

See → Alkestis 17-48; → Admetos I 14; → Ianitor Orchi 4. H. recovers Alkestis for Admetos from Hades. Representations are Roman, especially on sarcophagi (Alkestis 19-23) and in other funerary contexts, except for a Classical relief from Cyrene and an Apulian rf. vase (Alkestis 17, 18\*). A 3rd cent. A.D. mosaic in Kos shows H. and another at feast, a sorrowful woman at the l. and a servant → Proteas; it has been thought a representation of Admetos entertaining H. but the identification must remain hypothetical: *AA* 1936, 175-176, 179 fig. 24. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 22-23; Schefold/Jung, *SB* IV 179-181; Vollkommer 30.

### ALKYONEUS

See → Alkyoneus. H. slays the sleeping giant Alkyoneus. The subject is wholly Late Archaic, on Attic vases, one Caeretan (Alkyoneus 31\*) and some western reliefs (Alkyoneus I. 2, 35?). Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 68-70.

### ANTAIOS

See → Antaios I. H. wrestles with the Libyan giant Antaios. A popular subject, often introduced in H. series as though one of the standard Labours. In Late Archaic scenes (mainly Attic vases) the match is on the ground; from the end of the 5th cent. the giant is lifted by H., the usual scheme in Roman art. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 38-41; Vollkommer 22.

### ANTIGONE

See → Antigone 14 (= Herakles 381). 15. H. intercedes before Kreon for Antigone and Haimon on two Apulian rf. vases. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 77; Vollkommer 63; Schefold, *SB* V 85-86. For the fragment of a play on the subject (POxy 3317) see Xanthakis-Karamanos, *BICS* 33, 1986, 107-111.

### ARETE

See → Arete I, → Eudaimonia I, → Hedone. Prodikos' famous story of the Choice of H. between Arete and Eudaimonia/Hedone seems not to have been represented in antiquity.

### AUGE

See → Auge 6-24. H. rapes Auge, priestess of Athena at Tegea. She bears him → Telephos. See also LIMC IV p. 823-824 for the problem of identifying

scenes of H. drawing towards him a near-naked woman. The Rogozen cup (below) seems to make the identification explicit but the inscription is strange and equivocal. Otherwise the earliest certain representation is on the Telephos frieze at Pergamon (Auge 7\*) where H. is not insolent. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 118-120; Vollkommer 31.

2797.\* Gilt silver phiale. Sofia, Mus. 22304. From Rogozen. - Fol, A., et al., *The New Thracian Treasure* (1986) no. 4; Shefton, B. B., in *The Rogozen Treasure* (ed. Cook, B. F., 1989) 82-90. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - Drunken, wreathed H., seated on rocks on his lionskin, his quiver beside him, draws to him the near-naked Auge. Inscribed *AYTH ΔΗΑΑΔΗ*, 'Auge, indeed'.

### AITHIOPE

H. confronts Negroes or Africans in the episode with Bousiris. See → Bousiris; → Aithiopes 11-18. H.'s head is conjoined with a Negro head in the Attic head vase, Vatican 16539 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1538, 4; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 387).

### BOREADS

See 2838 (= Boreadai 49\*).

### BOUSIRIS

See → Bousiris. H. kills the Egyptian king Bousiris, who attempted to sacrifice him. A subject for Attic and Italiote vases, where H. is led to sacrifice (Bousiris 1-5) or routs Bousiris and his followers (Bousiris 6-28). Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 242-246; Vollkommer 22-23.

### CACUS

See → Cacus. H. kills Cacus, a Roman hero, who has stolen some of the cattle of Sun which H. had brought from the west. Seen only on Roman medallions (Cacus 1, 2).

### CHEIRON

A 4th cent. A.D. mosaic shows H. restraining Cheiron in the presence of Achilles; see → Achilleus 84 = Chariklo I 8\* = Cheiron 95. For H.'s education by Cheiron see 1665\*.

### CHIMAIRA

A pseudo-H. and Iolaos attack a chimaira on a bf. neck amphora by the Swing P., London BM B 162 (= Iolaos 49; A = 2122).

### DEXAMENOS

H. attacks a centaur Dexamenos on an Attic rf. vase (→ Dexamenos II 1 = Deianeira II 2\*) in the presence of Oineus and Deianeira. Other vases on which H. attacks a centaur and where a man who might be Oineus appears might be related to the same story (Attic and Apulian vases, → Deianeira II 3-8). The inscribed Dexamenos has been thought a mistake for Eurytion (references → Dexamenos II) but an Attic vase with a centaur at feast in the presence of a seated woman, a man on the kline beside him, a wounded man, and a watching H. (→ Deianeira II 1\*) could easily relate to a story

of an insolent centaur Dexamenos. Cf. Schefold/Jung, *SB* IV 188; Vollkommer 26-28.

### ECHIDNA

In Scythia H. met → Echidna, a snake-legged maiden who forced him to sleep with her and bore him three sons (Hdt. 4, 8-10; called Echidna in the *Tabula Albana*, FGrH 40 1a, 93-96, two sons). The encounter is not represented but one of the series of coins of Antoninus Pius at Alexandria devoted to the Labours ([Dodekathlos] 1760 with bibl.) shows H. with a snake-legged 'giantess' who has been identified as Echidna (*MuM* Münzlisten 263, 47). Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 122.

### ERECHTHEUS/ERICHTHONIOS

On an mid-5th cent. Attic rf. vase, Paris CA 1853 (→ Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos 24 = Erechtheus 40) H. attacks snakes on an altar with child between them, apparently an unconventional episode in the Erichthonios story.

### ERGINOS

See → Erginos for H.'s defeat of the Minyan king, which is probably seen on one Roman relief, Erginos 1\* (Schefold/Jung, *SB* IV 134 fig. 161). Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 7.

### EURYSTHEUS

See → Eurystheus for the king of Mycenae for whom H. performs his Labours. Eurystheus appears in the Labour for the Erymanthian Boar (section IV, D) and with Kerberos (2616) and with Kerberos (2616) and cf. 2267. A confrontation with Eurystheus is conjectured on Roman coins:

2798.\* AE, Aspendos, Severus Alexander and Gordian III. - *BMC* Lycia lxxvi. 105, 88 pl. 22, 9; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 64-65 pl. 171. j. k; *SNG* v. Aulock 4595; Schefold/Jung, *SB* IV 136 fig. 163. - Rev.: young H. with lionskin and club stands before a man with a sceptre, seated on rocks, behind whom is a youth with spear. Above, a lion on rocks; below, a bull (zebu) - referring to Labours?

### GERAS

See → Geras for 5th cent. Attic vases with H. meeting or attacking a figure generally identified as Geras. Cf. also → Alkyoneus 36\*; Brommer, *Herakles* II 79.

### HIPPOKOON

H. kills Hippokoon and his sons, to restore Tyn-dareos to the Spartan throne (Diod. 4, 33, 5-6; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [143-145] 7, 3). A Tegea there was a statue of H. showing the thigh wound he sustained in the battle (Paus. 8, 53, 9). Paus. 3, 18, 11 has been interpreted to indicate that the scene appeared on the Throne of Apollo at Amyklai (cf. Robert, C., *RE* III 1, 130 s. v. «Bathykles»; Pipili, *Lac* 81), and a Laconian bf. cup showing a man slaying two others, with two dead, has been associated with the scene (Hamburg 1983, 281; *ibid.* 10-11 fig. 15) but the attacker is not

characterised as H. and is elaborately dressed. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 80.

## KENTAUROI

See →Cheiron (and above); →Dexamenos II and →Deianeira II (and above). H. riding or carrying a centaur (1580. 1581\*. 1582), on a centaur-chariot (1428\*-1435).

For the encounter with Nessos in which he rescues Deianeira see →Nessos; the subject appears first on Attic vases from the mid-7th cent. on, then Corinthian and other Archaic wares. It regains popularity in the Roman period.

For the encounter with Pholos leading to H.'s major centauromachy see →Kentauroi; the subject appears first on Corinthian 7th-cent. vases, then on many Attic from about 550 B.C. and other Archaic wares; it is very rare later.

Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 48-59; Vollkommer 28-29.

## KERKOPES

See →Kerkops, Kerkopes. H. is shown carrying the captured Kerkopes from a pole over his shoulder from the early 6th cent. on in various media of Archaic art, surviving on Attic and Italiote vases to the 4th cent. For H. possibly pursuing Kerkopes see 2809. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 28-32; Vollkommer 24-25.

## KYKNOS

See →Kyknos I, →Ares. H. attacks the son of Ares and kills him, then attacks Ares himself. Many representations on Attic vases from about 560 B.C. and on some other Archaic wares and media. It seems then to be ignored except for occasional scenes in the Roman period. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 81-83; Vollkommer 29-30.

## LAODAMEIA

Wife of →Protesilaos, the first Greek to die at Troy. She was allowed to see him again for a short while, and when he «dies» a second time she dies with him. On the Roman stucco relief (below) H. is the intermediary at the meeting, not Hermes as in the literary sources (Apollod. *epitome* 3, 30; Ov. *her.* 13; Serv. *Aen.* 6, 447; Hyg. *fab.* 103, 104).

2799. (= Hades/Pluto 70) Stucco relief. Ostia, Isola Sacra, tomb of P. Aelius Maximus. - Calza, *NotSc* 1928, 153 figs. 14, 15; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 161 K 90 pl. 75, 2. - A.D. 120-130. - H. with lionskin leads Laodameia from an arched entrance towards a seated Plouton, who extends a hand, and Protesilaos. All figures named.

## LEPREOS

Scenes of H. with amphorae have been associated, probably wrongly, with H.'s contest with →Lepreos in discus-throwing, water-drawing and eating; see 1324\*. 1325\* and Commentary. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 13.

## LYKAON

Lykaon, son of Ares and Pyrene, met H. on his way to the Hesperides, challenged him and was killed. Eur. *Alc.* 501-502 refers and the *Etym. gen.* p. 258 Miller s. v. «Pyrene» gives the fuller story (for which see Robert, *Heldensage* 512) which appears also in Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (114) 5, 11, where the opponent is called Kyknos, another son of Ares. There is one very uncertain representation:

2800. (= 17\*) Neck amphora, Attic rf. Dresden, Staatl. Kunstslg. Dr. 288. From Nola. - *ARV* 19; Gerhard, *AVpl.* 124; Brommer, *Herakles* II 20 n. 71. - 510-500 B.C. - A: H. fully armed with club and bow attacking, on B: a warrior with spear, falling back. Inscriptions: A: *ΑΘΕΤΕ ΕΝΟΧΕΕ*; B: *ΝΟΑΧ*. Those by H. seem nonsense but by his opponent's head Robert restores Lykaon. The scheme is as for Kyknos (it could hardly be otherwise) and Beazley takes the opponent for Kyknos. It is just possible that the inscriptions are garbled, barely literate, attempts at «Herakles» and «Lykaon», since they do not present the pattern of usual nonsense.

## NEREUS/HALIOS GERON

See →Halios Geron; →Nereus. H. wrestles with the sea god, with fishy body, in minor arts from the 6th cent. on. On Attic vases Nereus acquires a fully human body (see below, Triton) before 550 B.C. and the scene continues to appear for nearly a century. There are Late Archaic Attic rf. vases showing H. destroying Nereus' palace. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 105, 111-113; Ahlberg, G., *Herakles and the Sea-Monster in Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting* (1984).

## OMPHALE

See →Omphale. H. served the Lydian queen and exchanged dress and roles with her. The subject is popular in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, showing the exchanged dress and H. spinning. Omphale often appears alone or without H., but not certainly in the Archaic or Classical periods. See 1524\*. 1525. 1558\*. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 126-128 (pl. 48 shows Artemis, not Omphale, cf. Vollkommer, R., *Ann. d'Hist. d'Art et d'Arch. de l'Univ. Libre de Bruxelles* 10, 1988, 27-37 fig. 1); Vollkommer 31-32.

## PELIOU ATHLA

H.'s role as an Argonaut secures his attendance at the Games where he may appear in art as spectator, judge or victor.

2801. Relief on the Chest of Kypselos at Olympia. Lost. - Paus. 5, 17, 9. - Mid-6th cent. B.C. - «H. is seated on a throne, his wife behind him - the inscription naming her is missing but she plays Phrygian, not Greek aulos.» They are watching the chariot-racing. Paus. may have mistaken the sex of the piper, and his «Phrygian aulos» was possibly a trumpet.

2802. Hydria, Attic rf. Tessin, private. - Jeske, B./Stein, C., *HASB* 8, 1982, 5-20 pl. 6: Psiax. - About 510 B.C. - H. at l. in himation holding his club on the ground in his l. hand, watching Peleus wrestle with Atalante, a cauldron between them, a tripod at r.

2803.\* (= Amykos 14\* [part], = Argonautai 22, Atalante 73\* [part], = Hippomenes 1) Volute crater frs., Attic rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 2865 (T 404). From Spina. - *ARV* 1039, 9: Peleus P.; Beazley, J. D., *AJA* 64, 1960, pl. 53, 3. - 440-430 B.C. - The frs. show various athletic events involving Argonauts, apparently at the Games for Pelias. One fr. has a naked hero before a tripod, raising his hand. Arias suggested H. and Beazley seems to agree: «he is dedicating the tripod he has won in the games».

## PROMETHEUS

See →Prometheus. H. frees Prometheus and kills the eagle sent by Zeus daily to torment the Titan. The subject begins to appear on Attic vases at the end of the 7th cent. B.C. and continues for nearly a century, also in Peloponnesian minor arts (but without H.). It recurs on Italiote vases with a theatrical setting, rarely later. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 84-88.

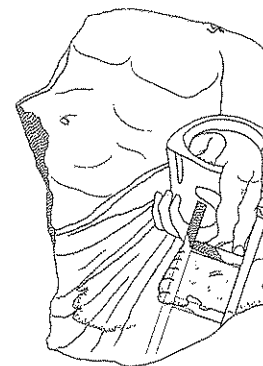
## PYGMAIOI

Pygmies pester H. after his encounter with →Antaios (I) (briefly alluded to in *Amm.* 22, 12, 4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brommer, *Herakles* II 47; Mourat, R., *RNum* 1900, 423-428; Robert, *Heldensage* 516-517; Waser, O., *ML* III 2 (1902-09) 3304-3306 s. v. «Pygmaien»; idem, *RE* XXIII 2 (1959) 2073 s. v. «Pygmaien»; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 82-84.

2804. Painting described in Philostr. *im.* 2, 22. - The pygmies attack sleeping H. (Hypnos stands over him, Antaios lies dead). H. stands up, laughs, gathers the pygmies into his lionskin to take to Eurystheus.

2805.\* Marble relief fr. Rome, Villa Albani. - Schreiber, *HR* pl. 30, 1; Waser, *ML* 3305 fig. 18; Helbig<sup>3</sup> II no. 1905. - 1st cent. BC? - Part of H. (?) reclining on his lionskin, cup in l. hand. A small naked figure has climbed a ladder and stoops into the cup, as if to drink.



Herakles 2805

2806.\* AE coin, Alexandria, Domitian, A.D. 94/5. - Mourat, with fig.; Voegtli pl. 18a. c. - Rev.: H. stands frontal, club in r. hand on ground, a figure (statuette) on outstretched l. hand, with lionskin over arm. Four small figures scurry around his legs.

The picture in 2804 represents an episode with which 2805 might be related, though in it the attack seems playful, but on neither 2805 nor 2806 are pyg-

mies certainly shown. The subject is related to that of H. being robbed by satyrs (3230-3238).

## SKYTHES

2807.\* Calyx crater, Apulian rf. Basel, Antikenmus. S 34. - *RVAp* II 501, 64: Darius P.; Schmidt, M., et al., *Eine Gruppe apulischer Grabvasen in Basel* (1976) 94-108 pls. 23, 25; Schefold/Jung, *SB* IV 219 fig. 269; Vollkommer 65 fig. 86. - 340-330 B.C. - Skythes enthroned with sceptre at the l., behind him a youth with spear. Before him stand →Rhodope holding a tablet, H. with lionskin, club and quiver, Antiope (= Amazones 782\*) and the child Hippolytos (= Hippolytos I 7). All figures named. In the upper register Pan, Apollo (= Apollon 941), Artemis seated on an altar beside a statue on a pillar (= Artemis 1391\*), Aphrodite and Eros.

Skythes was a son of H. by →Echidna (see above) and is here shown as king. Rhodope was the nymph of a Thracian spring, loved by Apollo. H. appears to intercede in a judgement offered by Skythes involving Rhodope (who had incurred the wrath of Artemis) and Antiope with her child Hippolytos. See also →Hippolytos I; →Rhodope; →Skythes. Schmidt, l. c., discusses the possible mythological and theatrical interpretation of the whole scene.

## SYLEUS

See →Syleus. H., set to work in Syleus' vineyard, proceeds to destroy it and Syleus' house and property. 5th-cent. Attic vases show the scene. See Brommer, *Herakles* II 34-36.

## TEUTAROS

H. was taught to shoot by the Scythian Teutaros (Lykophron 56; Kall. *fig.* 692 Pf.). This is probably the scene on the relief, Vatican 796 (→Athena/Minerva 375\*; Schefold/Jung, *SB* IV 134 fig. 161). Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 4-5.

## THEIODAMAS

→Theiodamas, Dryopian king and father of →Hylas, refused food to H. and →Hyllos. H. seized one of his oxen and killed Theiodamas (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [153] 7, 7; Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1211-1219 with *Schol.*; Kall. *h.* 3, 160-161; Robert, *Heldensagen* 533-534).

2808. Painting described in Philostr. *im.* 2, 24; H. contemplates the ox while Theiodamas pursues him with stones.

## TRITON

See →Triton; →Nereus (also above). There is no literary source. On many Attic vases of about 560-460 B.C. (and rarely elsewhere) H. fights Triton in a scheme adapted from that for H. and Nereus as a fishy god. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 90-92, but, for the Corinthian example which shows Nereus, see Boardman, J., *Festschr. N. Himmelmann* (1989) 193.

## TYPHON

See →Typhon. Eur. *Herc.* 1271-1272 has H. kill the three-bodied Typhon. Some scholars have so

characterised as H. and is elaborately dressed. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 80.

## KENTAUROI

See →Cheiron (and above); →Dexamenos II and →Deianeira II (and above). H. riding or carrying a centaur (1580. 1581\*. 1582), on a centaur-chariot (1428\*-1435).

For the encounter with Nessos in which he rescues Deianeira see →Nessos; the subject appears first on Attic vases from the mid-7th cent. on, then Corinthian and other Archaic wares. It regains popularity in the Roman period.

For the encounter with Pholos leading to H.'s major centauromachy see →Kentauroi; the subject appears first on Corinthian 7th-cent. vases, then on many Attic from about 550 B.C. and other Archaic wares; it is very rare later.

Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 48-59; Vollkommer 28-29.

## KERKOPES

See →Kerkops, Kerkopes. H. is shown carrying the captured Kerkopes from a pole over his shoulder from the early 6th cent. on in various media of Archaic art, surviving on Attic and Italiote vases to the 4th cent. For H. possibly pursuing Kerkopes see 2809. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 28-32; Vollkommer 24-25.

## KYKNOS

See →Kyknos I, →Ares. H. attacks the son of Ares and kills him, then attacks Ares himself. Many representations on Attic vases from about 560 B.C. and on some other Archaic wares and media. It seems then to be ignored except for occasional scenes in the Roman period. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 81-83; Vollkommer 29-30.

## LAODAMEIA

Wife of →Protesilaos, the first Greek to die at Troy. She was allowed to see him again for a short while, and when he «dies» a second time she dies with him. On the Roman stucco relief (below) H. is the intermediary at the meeting, not Hermes as in the literary sources (Apollod. *epitome* 3, 30; Ov. *her.* 13; Serv. *Aen.* 6, 447; Hyg. *fab.* 103, 104).

2799. (= Hades/Pluto 70) Stucco relief. Ostia, Isola Sacra, tomb of P. Aelius Maximus. - Calza, *NotSc* 1928, 153 figs. 14, 15; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 161 K 90 pl. 75, 2. - A.D. 120-130. - H. with lionskin leads Laodameia from an arched entrance towards a seated Plouton, who extends a hand, and Protesilaos. All figures named.

## LEPREOS

Scenes of H. with amphorae have been associated, probably wrongly, with H.'s contest with →Lepreos in discus-throwing, water-drawing and eating; see 1324\*. 1325\* and Commentary. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 13.

## LYKAON

Lykaon, son of Ares and Pyrene, met H. on his way to the Hesperides, challenged him and was killed. Eur. *Alc.* 501-502 refers and the *Etyim. gen.* p. 258 Miller s.v. «Pyrene» gives the fuller story (for which see Robert, *Heldensage* 512) which appears also in Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (114) 5, 11, where the opponent is called Kyknos, another son of Ares. There is one very uncertain representation:

2800. (= 17\*) Neck amphora, Attic rf. Dresden, Staatl. Kunstslg. Dr. 288. From Nola. - *ARV* 19; Gerhard, *AVpl.* 124; Brommer, *Herakles* II 20 n. 71. - 510-500 B.C. - A: H. fully armed with club and bow attacking, on B: a warrior with spear, falling back. Inscriptions: A: *ΑΘΕΤΕ ΕΝΟΧΕΕ*; B: *ΝΟΑΧ*. Those by H. seem nonsense but by his opponent's head Robert restores Lykaon. The scheme is as for Kyknos (it could hardly be otherwise) and Beazley takes the opponent for Kyknos. It is just possible that the inscriptions are garbled, barely literate, attempts at «Herakles» and «Lykaon», since they do not present the pattern of usual nonsense.

## NEREUS/HALIOS GERON

See →Halios Geron; →Nereus. H. wrestles with the sea god, with fishy body, in minor arts from the 6th cent. on. On Attic vases Nereus acquires a fully human body (see below, Triton) before 550 B.C. and the scene continues to appear for nearly a century. There are Late Archaic Attic rf. vases showing H. destroying Nereus' palace. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 105. 111-113; Ahlberg, G., *Herakles and the Sea-Monster in Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting* (1984).

## OMPHALE

See →Omphale. H. served the Lydian queen and exchanged dress and roles with her. The subject is popular in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, showing the exchanged dress and H. spinning. Omphale often appears alone or without H., but not certainly in the Archaic or Classical periods. See 1524\*. 1525. 1558\*. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 126-128 (pl. 48 shows Artemis, not Omphale, cf. Vollkommer, R., *Ann. d'Hist. d'Art et d'Arch. de l'Univ. Libre de Bruxelles* 10, 1988, 27-37 fig. 1); Vollkommer 31-32.

## PELIOU ATHLA

H.'s role as an Argonaut secures his attendance at the Games where he may appear in art as spectator, judge or victor.

2801. Relief on the Chest of Kypselos at Olympia. Lost. - Paus. 5, 17, 9. - Mid-6th cent. B.C. - «H. is seated on a throne, his wife behind him - the inscription naming her is missing but she plays Phrygian, not Greek aulos.» They are watching the chariot-racing. Paus. may have mistaken the sex of the piper, and his «Phrygian aulos» was possibly a trumpet.

2802. Hydria, Attic rf. Tessin, private. - Jeske, B./Stein, C., *HASB* 8, 1982, 5-20 pl. 6: Psiax. - About 510 B.C. - H. at l. in himation holding his club on the ground in his l. hand, watching Peleus wrestle with Atalante, a cauldron between them, a tripod at r.

2803.\* (= Amykos 14\* [part], = Argonautai 22, Atalante 73\* [part], = Hippomenes 1) Volute crater frs., Attic rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 2865 (T 404). From Spina. - *ARV* 1039, 9: Peleus P.; Beazley, J. D., *AJA* 64, 1960, pl. 53, 3. - 440-430 B.C. - The frs. show various athletic events involving Argonauts, apparently at the Games for Pelias. One fr. has a naked hero before a tripod, raising his hand. Arias suggested H. and Beazley seems to agree: «he is dedicating the tripod he has won in the games».

## PROMETHEUS

See →Prometheus. H. frees Prometheus and kills the eagle sent by Zeus daily to torment the Titan. The subject begins to appear on Attic vases at the end of the 7th cent. B.C. and continues for nearly a century, also in Peloponnesian minor arts (but without H.). It recurs on Italiote vases with a theatrical setting, rarely later. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 84-88.

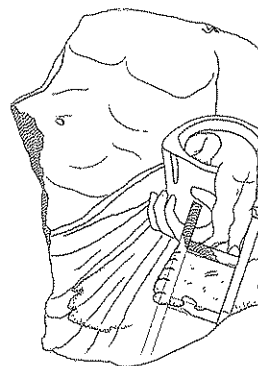
## PYGMAIOI

Pygmies pester H. after his encounter with →Antaios (I) (briefly alluded to in *Amm.* 22, 12, 4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brommer, *Herakles* II 47; Mourat, R., *RNum* 1900, 423-428; Robert, *Heldensage* 516-517; Waser, O., *ML* III 2 (1902-09) 3304-3306 s.v. «Pygmaien»; idem, *RE* XXIII 2 (1959) 2073 s.v. «Pygmaien»; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 82-84.

2804. Painting described in Philostr. *im.* 2, 22. - The pygmies attack sleeping H. (Hypnos stands over him, Antaios lies dead). H. stands up, laughs, gathers the pygmies into his lionskin to take to Eurystheus.

2805.\* Marble relief fr. Rome, Villa Albani. - Schreiber, *HRpl.* 30, 1; Waser, *ML* 3305 fig. 18; Helbig<sup>3</sup> II no. 1905. - 1st cent. BC? - Part of H.(?) reclining on his lionskin, cup in l. hand. A small naked figure has climbed a ladder and stoops into the cup, as if to drink.



Herakles 2805

2806.\* AE coin, Alexandria, Domitian, A.D. 94/5. - Mourat, with fig.; Voegtli pl. 18a. c. - Rev.: H. stands frontal, club in r. hand on ground, a figure (statuette) on outstretched l. hand, with lionskin over arm. Four small figures scurry around his legs.

The picture in 2804 represents an episode with which 2805 might be related, though in it the attack seems playful, but on neither 2805 nor 2806 are pyg-

mies certainly shown. The subject is related to that of H. being robbed by satyrs (3230-3238).

## SKYTHES

2807.\* Calyx crater, Apulian rf. Basel, Antikenmus. S 34. - *RVAp* II 501, 64: Darius P.; Schmidt, M., et al., *Eine Gruppe apulischer Grabvasen in Basel* (1976) 94-108 pls. 23, 25; Schefold/Jung, *SB IV* 219 fig. 269; Vollkommer 65 fig. 86. - 340-330 B.C. - Skythes enthroned with sceptre at the l., behind him a youth with spear. Before him stand →Rhodope holding a tablet, H. with lionskin, club and quiver, Antiope (= Amazones 782\*) and the child Hippolytos (= Hippolytos I 7). All figures named. In the upper register Pan, Apollo (= Apollon 941), Artemis seated on an altar beside a statue on a pillar (= Artemis 1391\*), Aphrodite and Eros.

Skythes was a son of H. by →Echidna (see above) and is here shown as king. Rhodope was the nymph of a Thracian spring, loved by Apollo. H. appears to intercede in a judgement offered by Skythes involving Rhodope (who had incurred the wrath of Artemis) and Antiope with her child Hippolytos. See also →Hippolytos I; →Rhodope; →Skythes. Schmidt, l.c., discusses the possible mythological and theatrical interpretation of the whole scene.

## SYLEUS

See →Syleus. H., set to work in Syleus' vineyard, proceeds to destroy it and Syleus' house and property. 5th-cent. Attic vases show the scene. See Brommer, *Herakles* II 34-36.

## TEUTAROS

H. was taught to shoot by the Scythian Teutaros (Lykophron 56; Kall. *frg.* 692 Pf.). This is probably the scene on the relief, Vatican 796 (→Athena/Minerva 375\*; Schefold/Jung, *SB IV* 134 fig. 161). Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 4-5.

## THEIODAMAS

→Theiodamas, Dryopian king and father of →Hylas, refused food to H. and →Hyllos. H. seized one of his oxen and killed Theiodamas (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [153] 7, 7; Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1211-1219 with *Schol.*; Kall. *h.* 3, 160-161; Robert, *Heldensagen* 533-534).

2808. Painting described in Philostr. *im.* 2, 24; H. contemplates the ox while Theiodamas pursues him with stones.

## TRITON

See →Triton; →Nereus (also above). There is no literary source. On many Attic vases of about 560-460 B.C. (and rarely elsewhere) H. fights Triton in a scheme adapted from that for H. and Nereus as a fishy god. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 90-92, but, for the Corinthian example which shows Nereus, see Boardman, J., *Festschr. N. Himmelmann* (1989) 193.

## TYPHON

See →Typhon. Eur. *Herc.* 1271-1272 has H. kill the three-bodied Typhon. Some scholars have so



identified the creature in the pediment of the Archaic Athena temple on the Athens Acropolis, which seems not to be attacked: see Brommer, *Herakles* II 71.

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## VII. Herakles in other undefined encounters

### A. Herakles attacks men or youths (anonymous)

#### CATALOGUE

**2809.** (= Aktorione 17) Amphora, Attic bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 174. – *ABV* 315, 2: P. of Würzburg 252; *CVA* I pl. 33 (317), 3. 4. 6; Schefold, *SB* II 135 fig. 175. – About 540 B.C. – A: H., in lionskin over tunic, with raised club and with a sword and bow at either side of him in the field, pursues to the r. a hairy man, holding a club, who looks back. Athena encourages H. and behind her, another hairy man runs away l., looking back. Schefold suggests H. and the Molione; Beazley suggests → Kerkopes. Both solutions are rejected by Hampe (→ Aktorione 17), but either is possible. (B: Theseus and bull, = Aigeus 2\*.)

**2810.** Amphora fr., Attic bf. Florence, Mus. Arch. – *ABV* 368, 100: Leagros Group. – 510–500 B.C. – H. attacks r. with club, before him a woman in polos faces r., the raised arms of a man, part of an entablature.

**2811.\*** (= Aktorione 18) Cup, Attic rf. Altenburg 233. From Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 137, 1: Aktorione P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 67, 1; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 4. 99. – 520–510 B.C. – B: H. wearing lionskin grasps round the neck two youths who attack him from either side, holding swords and wearing loin cloths. Not likely to be the Aktorione, or Kerkopes, or (→ Aktorione 18) Bousiris' attendants (inappropriate weapons). (A = 2570.)

**2812.** (= Alkyoneus 9) Hydria, Attic bf. Once Civitavecchia Mus. and Munich private. – *ABV* 332, 22: Priam P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 90; *Jdl* 77, 1962, 172–174 figs. 25. 26; Schefold, *SB* II 141 fig. 187; Moon, W., in *AGAI* 104. 117 fig. 7, 12; Brommer, *Herakles* II pl. 21b. – 520–510 B.C. – H., fully armed, looking back at Athena, a seated Hermes and chariot horses, approaches, holding his club, a house (column and entablature) within which an old man sits sleeping.

**2813.\*** Marble relief dedicated by the strategos and phylarchs at Kyzikos. Istanbul, Mus. 564. – Mendel, *Sculpt.* no. 858; Picard, C., *BCH* 56, 1932, pl. 25; Launey, M., *REA* 46, 1944, 219–226 fig. 1; Süßenbach, U., *Der Frühhellenismus im gr. Kampf-Relief* (1971) 47–50 figs. 1. 2. – 277/6 B.C. – H. naked with raised club attacks a collapsing warrior in trousered Celtic (Galatian) dress, holding a sword, his oval shield to the r., with H.'s lionskin hanging from a tree above it. The relief celebrates the city's appeal to H. when threatened by the Galatians under Loutarios. J. N. Mordtmann (*AM* 10, 1985, 200) sees here H. fighting the king → Kyzikos.

**2814.\*** Quartz scarab, Greco-Phoenician, Péronne, Danicourt Coll. – Boardman, J., *RA* 1971,

197–198 fig. 4. – About 500 B.C. – Young H., wearing lionskin, its head hanging behind him, attacks with club and bow a small warrior (helmet, tunic, spear, shield) who crouches before him, turning away. Very similar, in green jasper, is the scarab Baltimore, *WAG* 42. 158.

**2815.\*** Cornelian scarab, Greco-Phoenician or Cypriot. Boston, MFA 98.729. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 6, 58; Boardman, *o.c.* 2814, 198 n. 1. – About 500 B.C. – H., with lionskin, tunic and quiver, attacks with club and bow a small naked man who raises his hands in supplication.

**2816.** Sardonyx intaglio. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. FG 6863. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 50. – 1st cent. B.C. – Young H. (?) raises his club to attack a second figure (described by Furtwängler as a barbarian) before a palladion.

**2817.** Bronze relief. Tehran Mus. (?). From Persepolis. – Schmidt, E., *Persepolis* II (1957) pl. 31, 1. – 6th cent. B.C. – Naked man (H.?) with club raised attacks a man with one hand raised holding a stone.

**2818.** Bronze relief cheekpiece (?). Isernia, Mus. Naz. 4437. – *Sannio* (1980) 149–150 no. 38. – 425–400 B.C. – H., near frontal, with lionskin at back and over l. arm, and quiver (?), swings his club at a naked youth collapsing before him onto rocks. He grasps H.'s l. hand which is holding his hair.

**2819.** *Vacat.*

#### COMMENTARY

The Archaic pairs attacked (2809. 2811) call to mind Aktorione or Kerkopes, but only the hairy 2809 might qualify as the latter. (There are no grounds for seeing H. on the shieldband fr. from Perachora, → Aktorione 19.) The quarry on 2812 is generally taken for Alkyoneus, but only his sleepiness fits the identification. He is not monstrous, has no club, and is dressed, while H. is not threatening and might as easily be taken to be succouring or visiting. Moreover, the domestic or palatial or temple setting is inappropriate, and the same artist also depicts a certain Alkyoneus (inscribed) in the traditional way (→ Alkyoneus 3\*). So this may be another of the Priam P.'s original H. stories (cf. 1423\*).

**2812a** may involve one of H.'s cupboys whom he killed (cf. Robert, *Heldensage*<sup>4</sup> 576–577).

On the Greco-Phoenician scarabs the schemes of attack are eastern and no Greek identity for the victim – a warrior (2814) and a naked man (2815) need be sought. 2818 is a fine Classical piece, with the attacked youth completely naked and unarmed. On 2816 the attacking figure may not be H. and the presence of a palladion should provide a clue, but does not. On the relief with H. fighting a Celt (Galatian) H. symbolises triumph over the invading barbarian (2813).

No doubt all the scenes, except perhaps 2815 and 2816, were specific events, but so far we lack the iconographic evidence for identification.

### B. Herakles fights a snake

H. encountered a snake guarding the tree of the Hesperides; the serpentoid Hydra; the snake-related Kerberos; a snake in Lydia. One of Periklymenos' mutations was a snake and H. had a general reputation for having rid the earth of monsters. A snake emerges from Hades' palace on 2562. 2563. 2565.

LITERARY SOURCES: Hekataios (*FGH* I F 27) has Kerberos as a poisonous snake, brought to light by H. at Tainaron and presented to Eurystheus. For Periklymenos as snake see Hes. *fig.* 33(a), 17 Merkelbach/West and Apollod. *bibl.* I (93) 9, 9. For a man-eating snake killed by H. by the river Sagaris in Lydia (*sic*; really the Sangarios in Phrygia) see Hyg. *astr.* 2, 14, a story sometimes attributed to Panyassis (Davies *EGF* F dub. 5: see Matthews, V. J., *Panyassis of Halikarnassos* [1974] 144–145).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 190 (except A2 and 3, not H.; B1, different story); *Denkmälerlisten* I 147–149 (except 148, 14); *idem*, *Herakles* II 32–33. On the snake/Hydra: Schauenburg, K., *AA* 1971, 172–175 (= Schauenburg 1), and in *Stele* (Studies N. Kontoleon 1978) 96–102 (= Schauenburg 2).

#### CATALOGUE

##### GREEK

**2820.** Kotyle fr., Corinthian transitional bf. Athens, NM. From Perachora. – *Perachora* II no. 421 pl. 22. – 650–630 B.C. – Forepart of a figure (H.?) seizing by the neck a serpent with human head, having a snake head incised just behind the human.

**2821.\*** Plaque fr., Middle Corinthian bf. Corinth Mus. KN 6. From Corinth. – *Corinth* XV 3, no. 1338 pls. 56. 113. – About 580 B.C. – H. wearing corselet, quiver and sword, raises his club to a snake which he seizes. Incomplete above and below but apparently a one-bodied snake.

**2822.\*** Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Rome, Villa Giulia 74989. – Schauenburg 2, pls. 31. 32a: Tyrrhenian Group, Prometheus P. (Bothmer). – 560–550 B.C. – H. with lionskin and sword attacks with a club a large snake, also attacked from the r. by a warrior with club (Iolaos). Behind H. is Athena seated, Hermes and a woman.

**2823.\*** (= 2735, = Hesperides 71) Hydria, Attic bf. Boulogne, Mus. 406. From Vulci. – *ABV* 332, 21: Priam P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 90; Friedländer, P., *Herakles* (1907) 125 n. 1; Robert, *Heldensage*<sup>4</sup> 527; Schauenburg 2, pl. 33; Moon, W., in *AGAI* 104 fig. 7, 11; Schefold, *SB* II 124 fig. 156. – About 520 B.C. – H. fully armed with drawn sword seizes by the neck a snake which emerges from a rocky outcrop in the roof of a fountain house. A woman draws water, before her the forepart of a small lion leaps at or beside her. Behind H. the horses of a chariot and Athena.

**2824.\*** Cornelian scaraboid. Leningrad, Hermitage 551. – Boardman, *CGFR* pl. 372; Neverov, O., *Antique Intaglios* (1976) no. 12. – 500–480 B.C. – H., kneeling naked, raises his club to a snake which he seizes.

**2825.** Green jasper scarab, Greco-Phoenician. Tunis, Bardo. From Carthage. – Boardman, J., in *Praesant Interna, Festschr. U. Hausmann* (1982) pl. 66, 4. – About 500 B.C. – Young H. in lionskin raises his club to a snake which he seizes.

**2826.** AR stater, Phaistos, 322–300 B.C. – *BMC* Crete 62, 10 pl. 15, 5; Le Rider, G., *Monnaies crétoises* (1966) 23 nos. 33–36 pls. 4, 7–8; 23, 2–10. – Obv.: H., holding his bow, swings his club at a snake rearing up. Rev.: bull.

**2827.\*** Bronze statuette. Athens, NM 15276. From A. Floros (Messenia). – *AJA* 38, 1934, 310 fig. 4; Valmin, M. N., *Swed. Messenia Exped.* (1938) 440–441 fig. 89 pl. 33, 7. – About 500 B.C. – H. wearing a corselet raises his club to a snake which he seizes.

**2828.** *Vacat.*

**2829.\*** Bronze statuette. Paris, Louvre 157. From Doris. – de Ridder, *BrLouv* pl. 17, 157; *EncPhot-Louvre* 82c. – Mid 5th cent. B.C. – H. wearing lionskin raises his club and stretches out his l. hand (bow missing) over a rearing snake.

##### ROMAN

**2830.** Two stone relief bases for statues (of H.). Alzey Mus. From Alzey. – *CSIR* II 1, nos. 18. 19; Schauenburg 2, 99. – A.D. 220–230. – Each base carries four reliefs: Juno, H. with Kerberos (= 2632. 2633), H. with snake at tree of Hesperides (cf. 2752), and, on no. 18: young H. raises his club to a snake which he seizes; on no. 19: the same, but the pose is less animated and H. wears a lionskin or cloak.

**2831.\*** Clay lamp (Broneer Type XXII). Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. ABc 368. From Mysia or Makluba. – 1st cent. A.D. – H. wearing lionskin raises his club to a snake which he seizes. It has its coils round his l. ankle.

##### UNCERTAIN

**2832.** Nicolo intaglio fr. Copenhagen, Thorv. Mus. 1750. – Fossing, *ThorvGems* pl. 20. – 1st cent. B.C. – The legs and club of H.(?) holding a snake (?). The celestial ophiouchos (? Fossing).

**2833.** (= Kadmos I 31a\*) AE coin, Tyre, Gordian III. – Servais-Soyez, B., in *Atti I. Congr. Stud. Fenici e Punici* (1983) I 259–265 pl. 63, 3 = *BMC* Phoenicia 280, 425 pl. 33, 12. – A naked man advances on a snake, a stone in his raised r. hand, a club (?) in his l. The type is as that for Kadmos' attack in the same series (*ibid.* pl. 63, 1. 2; → Kadmos I 31). The club is not certain and it is oddly held. Servais-Soyez suggests a conflation of the Kadmos scheme with H./Melkart.

#### COMMENTARY

On 2820 there is no certainty that the attacker is H. and although the man-serpent recalls the Periklymenos story, it is most unlikely to refer to it. On 2822 Schauenburg sees the Hydra but the same artist uses the scheme elsewhere for a fight with a conventional many-headed Hydra (Paris, Louvre E 851; *ABV* 97, 24; *CVA* I pls. 5 [35], 5; 7 [37], 4) and is probably un-



likely to have shown the beast in two different ways, so this is meant for a different, if unidentified, encounter. The episode on 2823 remains unexplained. Boardman (o.c.) took the girl and the fountain house – a theme very common in the painter's work – to indicate an Athenian setting for an act ridding a place of malign presences (including the small lion). Beazley (CVA Oxford 2 p. 100) wondered if the snake were of the Hesperides (followed by Moon, o.c.) but nothing else signals this story in the scene.

In the other Greek and Roman scenes the possibility that an abbreviated Hydra is shown cannot be excluded, but this seems less likely with the Archaic – note the wearing of a corselet on both 2821 and 2827. 2826 may show Ladon since other Phaistos coins (2699) have the Hesperides tree. The Hydra scheme for a snake-fight, and a helper (as Iolaos) with the «H.» a warrior with helmet and corselet, appears on the strange bf. amphora Louvre E 707 (Schauenburg 1, 174 figs. 20, 21; 2, 100–101). The latter's dress, with animal skin (not lionskin) below corselet, is not Heraklean though the club might be borrowed from the H. scenes for another. Schauenburg takes the vase for Etruscan but its dipinto suggests a Greek source (Johnston, A. W., *Trademarks* [1979] 87, 192), perhaps E. Greek (cf. Boardman *apud* Schauenburg 2, 100). The snake features of Kerberos are often apparent on the dog's anatomy but on Boulogne 68 (ABV 385, 2) a whole snake is beside the dog, facing H., recalling Hekataios' version of the story (Lit. Sources). H. grapples an Erichthonios snake on a mid 5th cent. Attic vase (→ Erechtheus 40 and see above section VI). For his adventure in the cradle see Section III A.

#### C. Herakles fights various other animals

Several Labours involve animals of natural appearance but supernatural character (lion, deer, horses, bull, boar, birds, snake). He also captures the divine horse → Areion ([Hes.] sc. 120; Paus. 8, 25, 10; Brommer, *Herakles* II 78; cf. 2879 where Areion is one of H.'s chariot horses in an apotheosis procession); he is annoyed by cicadas between Rhegion and Locri on his return from Geryoneus and disperses them by prayer (Diod. 4, 22, 5); his opponent Periklymenos could turn himself into an eagle, ant, swarm of bees, fly or lion; H. can ward off plagues of cicadas and the worms that attack vines (Strabon 13, 1, 64 p. 613); pestered by flies at Olympia he drove them away by sacrificing to Zeus Apomyios (Paus. 5, 14, 1). None of these encounters is certainly recognised in art.

#### D. Herakles fights various other land monsters

H.'s Labours and other episodes present him with creatures of monstrous character (Hydra, Kerberos, centaurs). There are references to a few others in literature: three-bodied Typhon (Eur. *Herc.* 1271–1272). See also Section VI, Echidna. The scenes listed here do not readily relate to any of these.

### CATALOGUE

#### I. A human-headed quadruped

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Haspels, *ABL* 143–144; Reho-Bumkalova, M., *BullAntBesch* 58, 1983, 53–60; Tiverios, M., *Arch-Eph* 1978, 109–118; Vermeule, E., in *Festschr. F. Brommer* (1977) 295–301.

Attic bf. vases

2834.\* Oinochoe. Boston, MFA 98.924. From near Thebes. – *ABV* 524, 1: Athena P., Sèvres Class; Vermeule pl. 80, 1, 2; Tiverios pl. 39a; Reho fig. 7. – About 500 B.C. – H. in lionskin swinging his club leads by a rope around her neck a quadruped with hairy body, belly dugs, a human breast, a dog's tail, a woman's head (long hair with fillet) breathing fire.

2835. Skyphos. Monopoli, private. – Reho figs. 1–4: Theseus P. – About 500 B.C. – H., fully armed, leads by a chain round its neck a hairy quadruped with dog's tail, belly dugs, inverted claws, human head with short hair, floral fillet, earring, protruding tongue. (B. Monster-hunt; elephant ?)

2836. Skyphos fr. Athens, NM Acr. 1306. From the Acropolis. – Haspels, *ABL* 143, 25: Theseus P.; Graef/Langlotz I pl. 75; Reho fig. 5; Vermeule pl. 81, 1; Tiverios fig. 1; Schefold/Jung, *SBIV* 199 fig. 245. – About 500 B.C. – H., fully armed, leads by a chain round her neck a hairy quadruped (hind part missing) with belly dugs, a woman's head (white face) and lolling tongue.

2837.\* Skyphos. Copenhagen, NM 834. – *CVA* 3 pl. 119 (121), 8; Vermeule pl. 80, 4; Reho fig. 5; Tiverios pl. 39b. – About 500 B.C. – Young H.(?) naked, with club, drags by a leash a monster from a cave. The monster's head only appears, with protruding tongue, of uncertain sex but with a whiskery chin.

#### COMMENTARY

The scenes are all Attic of about 500 B.C. The monster is female (not certain on 2837), with open mouth (fire on 2834), dugs (2834–2836), dog's tail and legs but upturned claws on 2835 (like a bear). It seems unresistant. (The breasty sphinx confronting a hairy woman on Berlin F 1934 [*ABV* 528, 44; Vermeule pl. 80, 3; Reho fig. 8] is from the Athena P.'s workshop but not close physically to H.'s monster, although often compared.) She has been considered a deviant Hydra (Tiverios) or related to Lamia (well discussed by Vermeule and Reho), Kerberos or other infernal monster, or sphinx. Non-human aspects tell against a sphinx; Lamia is never described as such a monster, nor has to do with H. and Hydra is always differently composed. The dog-elements and scheme with leash or chain clearly relate to Kerberos, yet this is not the dog of Hades but a female counterpart of unknown (to us, or perhaps anyone) identity, living for a brief period in the imaginations of artists in an Athenian pottery.

### CATALOGUE

See Boardman, J., in *Festschr. N. Himmelmann* (1989) 191–192 for discussion of these scenes.

2844. Hydria, Caeretan bf. Künacht (Switzerland), Hirschmann Coll. – Isler, H. P., in *Slg. Hirschmann* (1982) 24–25, 95–96 no. 10; *idem*, *JdI* 98, 1983, 19–23 figs. 1, 3, 5, 6; Hemelrijk, J. M., *Caeretan Hydriae* (1984) 45–46, 14–142 pls. 103, 104: Eagle P. – About 510 B.C. – A naked man with harpe and stone attacks a ketos; dolphins, octopus, seal. Isler argues for Perseus (defending Andromeda) rather than H. (defending Hesione). Hemelrijk suggests an otherwise unknown story, with an unnamed hero (not H.) involving the Phokaia/seal.

2845.\* Stand, S. Italian rf. Tübingen, Univ. 5790. – *MuM Auktion* 18, 1958, no. 146; Boardman pl. 33, 1. – 390–370 B.C. – Young H. with lionskin and club attacks a young «Triton» wielding a trident two-handed; fish and waves.

2846. (= [Dodekathlos] 1712\* with bibl.) Marble frieze. Delphi Mus. From the Theatre. – *AJA* 82, 1978, 229 fig. 4. – 2nd/1st cent. B.C. or later. – H. swings his club at a rearing, coiled ketos which he seizes by the neck.

#### COMMENTARY

Unless Hemelrijk is right in seeing on 2844 an unknown myth with an unknown hero, the lack of an Andromeda or Hesione tells against specific stories of Perseus or H. Hemelrijk argues that the hero's appearance does not precisely match that of other H.'s in Caeretan, but the Hesione episode (up-coast from the painter's original home) or a generic attack on a sea-monster by H. seem likely explanations. He has no attributes of Perseus (as Isler) and H. can use stones or harpe against such creatures. The «Triton» on 2845 is too far removed in time and place to be the Triton fought by H. on Archaic Attic vases and cannot be Nereus, so could be a generic denizen of the seas. The physique recalls Skylla. The scene on 2846 is generally taken for the episode with Hesione but she is omitted, and there would have been room for her on a frieze where the artist allows two groups with H. for the Diomedes episode (1712; H. with the horse, and H. with the king), so the monster might here also be generic rather than specific to a story. The scheme is that for H. with a snake, with the ketos slim, rearing and legless, rather than the usual fight with a ketos.

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#### 2. Three winged youths

2838. (= Boreadai 49\*) Hydria, Lucanian rf. Winterthur 368. – *LCS* 145, 792 pl. 67, 4: P. of Naples 1959; Volkommer 22 no. 163, 1. About 350 B.C. – Young H. with club and lionskin pursues three winged youths. On the *Tabula Albana* (FGH 40 F 1a, 89–93) H. is said to have thrown into the sea two Boreads, Zetes and Kalais. See Brommer, *Herakles* II 78.

#### 3. A small winged man

See → Geras 7; Schefold/Jung, *SBIV* 174 fig. 212.

#### 4. Monster-bird

2839. (= 2266\*) Bell crater, Apulian rf. Kiel, Kunsthalle B 537. – 380–360 B.C. – Young H., naked, his quiver and lionskin behind him, draws his bow at a monster-bird with fishlike head and crest, round body, raised wing, long claws. Athena is seated above the bird. Schauenburg discusses the difficulty of taking this for a Stymphalian bird – its monstrous appearance, its singularity and the fact that it is grounded.

#### 5. Griffin

2840.\* Cup, Boeotian bf. London, BM 1931.2–16.22. – Brommer, *Herakles* II 146. – Late 5th cent. B.C. – Crude silhouette style. A man with club and cloak over l. arm (H.?) attacks a griffin.

2841. (= [Dodekathlos] 1726\*) Marble pilaster relief. Leptis Magna, Basilica. – Floriani Squarciapino, o.c. 1726, 144–145 pl. 52, 3; *eadem*, *ArchCl* 10, 1958, 112 pl. 36. – Severan. – Naked H. wrestles with a creature with lion's body, wings, mane, horn (?).

#### 6. Snake-legged man

2842. (= Acheloos 277 with bibl.). Bronze group. Rabat, Arch. Mus. From Volubilis. – 1st/2nd cent. A.D. – H. (only hand, foot and part of lionskin) fights a snake-legged man, certainly not Acheloos.

Cf. also → Acheloos 275 (wall painting at Ephesus) where the hero is not certainly H., and the fight is in the presence of a kneeling youth and a woman.

#### 7. Hare-headed winged man

2843.\* Gold ring, E. Greek. Paris, Louvre Bj. 1058. – Boardman, J., *AntK* 10, 1967, L6 pl. 6; *GGFR* 157 fig. 199. – About 500 B.C. – H. in lionskin with raised club pursues a hare-headed winged man. For such monsters in E. Greek art see Boardman, *AntK* 10, 1967, 23 and *AGGems* 105.

#### E. Herakles fights a sea monster

H. may fight a man fish, → Halios Geron, → Nereus or → Triton, and confronts a → Ketos when he rescues → Hesione. He had also a reputation for having cleared the sea of monsters: Pind. *N.* 3, 23–25; Eur. *Herc.* 400–402 (see Bond's commentary *ad loc.* [p. 168] for discussion and other allusions). He fought → Skylla (I) on his return from Geryoneus (Lykophron 44–49, 651).

#### VIII. Herakles' death and apotheosis

→ Deianeira despatched the robe, poisoned by Nessos' blood, to H. at Oichalia. It was presented to him by Lichas while he sacrificed at Mt Kenaion. In agony from the burning robe H. goes to Mt Oita where he builds a pyre, or persuades his children to

build a pyre. He then persuades → Philoktetes (or his father Poias) to light the pyre and rewards him with his bow and arrows. The river Douras or nymphs douse the flames which consume H.'s mortal parts while the hero, rejuvenated, rises to heaven in a chariot driven by Nike or Athena. Archaic scenes of a chariot procession to Olympus with Athena as charioteer, and H.'s introduction to Zeus by Athena, may be independent of the story of the pyre. H.'s immortality may also be regarded as a reward for his role in the battle of gods and giants, or recognition of his acquisition of the Hesperides' apples (of immortality) and his defeat of Hades (in seizing Kerberos). For Deianeira and the robe see 1680. For Lichas and the sacrifice at Mt Kenasion see section II c.

**LITERARY SOURCES:** In Homer (*Il.* 18, 117–119) H. is a mortal hero who dies, defeated by *μῆτις* and Hera's jealousy, and descends to Hades (*Od.* 11, 601–602). The immediately following lines in the *Od.*, placing him on Olympus with Hebe (602–604) were claimed to be later additions even in antiquity. In post-Hesiodic lines of the *Theogony* (950–955; see West's edition and comm. pp. 416–417) he lives on Olympus, and is similarly treated as a god in the 6th cent. compilation of the *ehoiai* (*frg.* 25, 26–33; 229, 6–13; *cf.* 1, 22 Merkelbach/West). Yet the same poem (*frg.* 25, 20–25) tells how Deianeira gave Lichas the poisoned robe for H., and states that he died and went to Hades. Apotheosis is not then attested before the 6th cent. (when it appears also in art). Pindar knows H. as a god in Olympus (*N.* 1, 69–72; 10, 17–18; *I.* 4, 55–60) and it is of course a commonplace in literature thereafter. Eur. can think of H. going to Hades and being worshipped as a hero (*Herc.* 1331–1333) or avoiding Hades and the funeral pyre by going to heaven (*Heraclidae* 912–916). The fullest account of the pyre is Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (159–160) 7, 7: H. in agony from the poisoned robe goes to Mt. Oita, makes a pyre, persuades Poias to light it and rewards him with his bow. A passing thundercloud lifts him to heaven. In Diod. 4, 38, 4–5, Iolaos builds the pyre, Philoktetes lights it and receives the bow, lightning falls and consumes the pyre leaving not a single bone. (See also Sen. *Herc. O.* 1483–1487, 1603–1606; Serv. *Aen.* 8, 299.) A papyrus *frg.* ascribed to Aeschylus' *Herakleidae* has been interpreted as referring to H.'s pyre, erected for the suffering hero by various of his children (*TrGF* III F 73b). The first clear reference to H.'s pyre is in Soph. *Trach.* 1193–1202 (date unknown, but earlier than *Phil.*) where Hyllos is enjoined to build it, and Soph. *Phil.* (409 B.C.) where (1409–1440) the role of Philoktetes with H.'s bow in securing the sack of Troy is foretold. It is probably the fiery character of the robe that is referred to by Bakchylides (*dith.* 16, 13–16; *cf.* Soph. *Trach.* 680–704) and not the pyre. The burning H. threw himself into a nearby river, thereby generating the hot springs of Thermopylai (*Schol.* Lykophron 50–51; Westermann, *Myth. Gr.*, App. *narr.* 28, 8). H.'s children decline to erect the pyre: *TrGF* II *adesp.* F 126. In Ov. *met.* 9, 229–238 H. builds his own pyre and lies on it like a conviva, on the lionskin, his head on his club.

The river that tries to douse the pyre is the Dyras (Hdt. 7, 198, 2; Strabon 9, 4, 14 p. 428), modern Gorgopotamos. H.'s daughter Makaria tries to douse it: Douris, *FGH* 76 F 94. In Apollod. and Diod. (*l.c.*) H.'s ascent is meteorological. Ovid *met.* 9, 262–273, has him ascend in Zeus' chariot to the stars (*sensit Atlas pondus*). In Lucian (*Herm.* 7) he flies to the gods. Antipater wrote a poem (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 59 = Gow/Page, *The Garland of Philip* XLVI, and comm.) describing a palace ceiling (imaginary?) of Gaius (Augustus' adopted son; dated thus 1 B.C.) on which are painted H., Athena, Ares and Aphrodite being carried up to heaven on the backs of winged Victories (*cf.* Roux, G., *RPh* 37, 1963, 88–89).

See → Philoktetes for his possession of the bow.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Beazley, *EVP* 103–105 (pyre); Boardman, J., *RA* 1972, 62–65 (procession); *idem*, «H. in extremis», in *Festschr. K. Schauenburg* (1986) 127–132 (= Boardman 2); Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 159–173, 188; *idem*, *Denkmälerlisten* I 125–126, 147; *idem*, *Herakles* II 93–98; Carpenter, T. H., *Dionysian Imagery* (1985) 104–111; Furtwängler, A., *ML* I 2 (1886–90) 2217–2220, 2235–2236, 2238–2241, 2250 s.v. «Herakles»; Gruppe O., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 1082–1090 s.v. «Herakles»; Holt, P., «The end of the Trachiniai and the fate of Herakles», *JHS* 109, 1989, 69–80; *idem*, «H. in armour», *AntCl* 55, 1986, 302–307; Metzger, *Représentations* 210–217; Mingazzini, P., «Le rappresentazioni vascolari del mito dell'apoteosi di Herakles», *MemLinc* ser. 6, 1, 1925/26, 413–490; *ArRelW* 21, 1922, 310–316 = *Opuscula selecta* I 348–354; Robert, *Heldensage* 595–601; Schauenburg, K., «Herakles unter Göttern», *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, 113–133; Shapiro, H. A., «The death and apotheosis of H.», *Classical World* 77, 1983, 7–18; Verbanck-Piérard, A., *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 187–199; Vollkommer 32–33.

## CATALOGUE

The mainly Archaic scenes of the introduction to Olympus on foot and the chariot procession are placed first since it is arguable that they exclude the version involving the pyre and subsequent ascent to Olympus by chariot. See Commentary.

### A. Herakles' introduction to Olympus on foot

#### GREEK ARCHAIC

##### 1. Introduction to Zeus

###### *Attic bf. vases*

H. is always fully dressed and armed unless otherwise stated.

**2847.\* (= 3304)** Cup. London, BM B 379. From Samos. – *ABV* 60, 20: manner of C.P.; *Para* 26; *CVA* 2 pl. 8 (66), 2; Verbanck-Piérard 188 fig. 1. – 570–560 B.C. – Zeus enthroned facing r., behind him Hera on throne (= Hera 460) faced by a woman (Hebe?), before him Hermes, Athena, H., Artemis, Ares (= Ares 78, = Artemis 1324, = Athena 428, = Hermes 560). *Cf.* the lekane fr. by the C.P., *ABV* 58, 120: Acr. 2112, Graef/Langlotz I pl. 92. The scheme is used by the Heidelberg P. for an Introduction of Dionysos,

on Heidelberg S 5 (*CVA* 4 pl. 151, 1. 3; *cf.* Carpenter 99–104), and an unpublished cup in Istanbul.

**2848.** (= Hermes 561) Lekythos. Athens, Nat. Mus. 413. From Thebes. – *ABV* 75: recalls Griffin-bird P.; *Add* 20; Haspels, *ABL* pl. 1, 2; Schefold, *SB* II figs. 33, 34. – 560–550 B.C. – Zeus on throne facing r., behind him H., before him Hermes and Athena.

**2849.** (= Athena 429\*) Cup. London, BM B 424. From Vulci. – *ABV* 168: Phrynos P.; *Para* 70; *Add* 48; *CVA* 2 pl. 13 (71), 2; *JHS* 52, 1932, pl. 5; Beazley, *Dev* pl. 21, 1. 2; Schefold, *SB* II fig. 35. – About 550 B.C. – Zeus on throne facing l. extending his hand to Athena who stretches her hand to his chin and drags H. forward by his forearm. *Cf.* the slightly later cup (?) fr., *Praktika* 1932, 28 fig. 2, where a woman (Athena?) leads H. by the hand.

**2850.\*** Amphora. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 496. – Schefold, *SB* II 39 fig. 37: Group E; *AntK* 32, 1989, pl. 27, 2. – About 550 B.C. – Zeus and Hera (= Hera 461) standing greet Hermes (= Hermes 555; a dog) and Athena leading H., followed by Poseidon and a youth.

**2851.\*** Amphora. London, BM B 166. From Vulci. – Gerhard, *AV* pl. 128, 1. 2; Walters, *BMVases* II 24 fig. 32 (B); v. Bothmer, *Amasis* 142 fig. 85. – About 540 B.C. – Zeus on throne facing r. approached by Athena, H. (turning away) and a beardless Poseidon. (B is similar but with Hermes for Poseidon and Athena holding an owl.) *Cf.* the near-contemporary oinochoe, Eleusis 2456 (Zeus, Hermes, Athena, H.); for the reluctant H. see 2855.

**2852.** Amphora. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1688. – *ABV* 150, 9: Amasis P.; *Para* 63; *Add* 42; *CVA* 5 pl. 4; Schefold, *SB* II fig. 36. – About 540 B.C. – A man (Zeus?) standing facing r. is approached by Hermes (= Hermes 554a), Athena (= Athena 495), H. and a youth with spear and dog. The painter has variations on the scene on Berlin F 1689 and Orvieto Faina 118 (*ABV* 151, 10, 14; Dionysos for the youth), Berlin F 1691 (→ Hermes 562b; *ABV* 151, 12: «Zeus» and Hermes touch each other's chins), and *cf.* the next.

**2853.\* (= 3371)** Olpe. Once Canino Coll. From Vulci. – *ABV* 153, 33: Amasis P.; *AZ* 1846 pl. 39, 1. – About 540 B.C. – H. shakes hands with a man (Zeus?) standing holding a ram-head sceptre. To l. and r. a youth with spear (or Hermes?) and Ares.



Herakles 2853

**2854.** Neck amphora. Paris, Louvre E 733. – Potier, *Vases Louvre* II pl. 54. – About 540 B.C. – Zeus on

throne facing r. approached by Athena and H. Behind him a warrior (Ares?) and a naked man.

**2855.** Amphora. Amiens, Mus. Pic. 3057. 179.40. – *ABV* 691, 5bis: Mastos P.; *Add* 67; *HDHG* (Rouen) fig. 105. – About 520 B.C. – Hermes, Zeus on stool, Athena, H. (turning away), Dionysos.

**2856.** Lekythos. Athens, Agora P 24104. From the Agora. – *Hesperia* 24, 1955, 63 pl. 29a; *Agora* XXIII pl. 76, 821. – 510–500 B.C. – Zeus on throne facing l., behind him a woman (Hera?), before him a column, Apollo (= Apollon 823\*), Hermes, Athena, H. *Cf.* the lekythos in San Antonio, Denman Coll. (Edinburgh P.; *Art of the Ancients* [Emmerich, Basel 1968] no. 20; *SouthernColls* no. 26) with no Zeus but columns at either side of a youth with spears, H., Athena, and Hermes all moving r.

**2857.** Lekythos. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 21135. From Gela. – Haspels, *ABL* 217, 18; Edinburgh P.; *MonAnt* 17, 1906, pl. 21, 1. – About 500 B.C. – Zeus seated on a block to l., behind him a woman with hand to mouth (apprehensive Hera?), approached by Hermes (with branch and wreath), Athena holding H.'s hand and a branch (H. in himation and chiton), Dionysos. Similar: Agrigento C. 832; *CVA* 1 pl. 61, 3. 4 (Poseidon for Dionysos).

**2858.** (= Ganymedes 59\*) Lekythos. New York, MMA 41.162.30. From Attica. – Haspels, *ABL* 226, 10 pl. 35, 1: Sappho P.; *CVA* Gallatin pl. 45 (393), 1. – 500–490 B.C. – Zeus on throne facing l., behind him Ganymede and Ares, approached by Athena, H. in lionskin over himation, a lion beside him, Iris holding fillet. *Cf.* also a simple version but with two Athenas on Berlin F 2022 (*ArchEph* 1890 suppl. pl. to pp. 1–10, 3; *BerlWPr* 1848 pl. 2).

###### *Attic rf. vases*

**2859.** (= 3305, = Aphrodite 1300\* [side B], = Hermes 297\*, = Hestia 8\*) Cup. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 2278. From Vulci. – *ARV* 21, 1: Sosias P.; *Para* 323; *Add* 154; Pfuhl, *Muz* fig. 418 (A); Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pls. 118, 119 (A); *CVA* 2 pls. 49, 50; Schefold, *SB* II 42 figs. 42, 43; *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 61 fig. 2; Ohly-Dumm, M., in *AGRP* (Amsterdam) 165–172 (attr. to Euthymides, supported by the style of inscriptions – Immerwahr, H. R., *Attic Script* [1990] 66). – 510–500 B.C. – Most names are inscribed. On B, at the l. Zeus and Hera (= Hera 212/463) seated facing r. with phialai. Hebe (= 3305) pours for Hera. Three seated pairs facing l., probably all with phialai – Poseidon and Amphitrite (= Amphitrite 34\*), Ares (= Ares 113) and Aphrodite, Dionysos (= Dionysos 499\*) and a woman. The scene continues on A with, at the l. facing l., three Horai (= Horai 42) holding fruit, Hestia and Amphitrite (*sid*) seated holding phialai (the latter is probably Demeter, holding what may be a spit with cutlets attached), Hermes carrying a ram, Artemis with a lyre (= Artemis 1175, = Apollon 825), a sheep beside her, H. with raised hand says *Zeō φίλε*, a woman with spear (= Athena 431). Under the handle the head of Selene (= Astra 41). For the familiar greeting see Burkert, *GrRel* 410.

2860. Kantharos fr. Athens, NM Acr. 556. From the Acropolis. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 21, 2: Sosias P.; Add<sup>2</sup> 154; Graef/Langlotz II pl. 42. - 510-500 B. C. - Facing l.: a woman, Zeus and Hera (= Hera 464) on thrones, a boy (= Ganymedes 61). Facing r.: Dionysos and H. and on another fr. Demeter and Kore seated with phialai with Iris pouring for them. The scheme as on 2859 but the direction changed and Dionysos with H.

#### Laconian vase

2861. (= Hera 459\* with bibl.) Cup. New York, MMA 50.11.7. From Italy. - BSA 49, 1954, pl. 50a (Shefton: Arkesilas P.); BCH 82, 1958, 491 fig. 9; Stibbe, *LakVas* pl. 44, 1 no. 140: (Boreads P.); Pipili, *LacIc* 11-12 fig. 16. - About 560 B. C. - A woman wearing a polos (Athena) leads a naked man (H.) to a seated man (Zeus) and a standing woman who extends a hand (= Hera 459). A welcoming Hera is unexpected but she is more likely to be shown in such a prominent position than Hebe.

#### Sculpture

2862. (= Hera 458\* with bibl.) Limestone pediment. Athens, Acr. Mus. 9. From the Acropolis. - Heberdey, R. *Altattische Porosskulptur* (1919) pl. 1; Brouskari, *CatAcr* 34-35 no. 9 figs. 27-29; Beyer, I., *AA* 1974, 645-647, 650 fig. 10, and *AA* 1977, 44-84 (date); Robertson, *HGA* 91-92; Ridgway, B. S., *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (1977) 202-204; Boardman, *GSAP* 154 figs. 192, 194 cf. 195. - 625-600 (Beyer); 560-550 (Richter, Ridgway); 550-540 B. C. (Boardman). - Zeus on throne faces r., Hera before him on throne frontal. Approached by Athena (missing, = Athena 435), H. and Hermes (= Hermes 565). Usually restored as a pedimental group from a small building, but Beyer suggests it filled the outer corner of one of the major pediments of the Archaic temple of Athena. Another male is sometimes associated and placed behind Zeus (Acr. 55: Boardman, *o. c.* fig. 195) and an «Apollo» head (= Apollon 827\*).

2863. (= [Dodekathlos] 1701) Throne and altar of Apollo at Amyklai. By Bathykles. Lost. - Paus. 3, 18, 11 - Athena brings H. to live with the gods (on the Throne); 3, 19, 5 - H. led into heaven by Athena with all the gods (on the Altar).

#### UNCERTAIN

2864. Cup fr. Late Corinthian. Athens, Nat. Mus. From Perachora. - *Perachora* II no. 2552 pls. 107, 163. - Mid 6th cent. B. C. - Fr. include (a) an enthroned figure; (b) Hermes and a man with shield and club; (c, d) warriors and a figure inscribed [Dion?]ysos.

#### 2. Introduction to Poseidon

Neither example is certain. 2865 may omit Zeus rather than replace him, and 2866 need not be a significant juxtaposition of the deities.

2865. (= Hermes 553\*) Oinochoe, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 30 (MNB 2056). - ABV 152, 29: Amasis P.;

Para 63; Add<sup>2</sup> 44; Karouzou, S., *The Amasis Painter* (1956) pls. 16, 1, 17; Arias/Shefton/Hirmer, pl. 54. - About 540 B. C. - Poseidon stands at the l. facing Hermes, Athena, H. with raised hand. Cf. Oxford 1929.19; ABV 153, 38; probably not H.

2866. \* Neck amphora, Attic bf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 1871. From Tarquinia. - ABV 270, 64: Antimenes P.; CVA 1 pl. 7. - About 520 B. C. - Hermes, H. facing away from Poseidon.

#### GREEK CLASSICAL

#### 3. Introduction to Zeus

##### a) Zeus enthroned

###### Attic rf. vases

2867. Bell crater. Palermo, Mus. Reg. N. I. 2120 (164; V 780). From Gela. - ARV 592, 32: Altamura P.; Para 394; CVA 1 pls. 37 (694), 4; 38-39 (695-696). - 470-460 B. C. - Zeus facing r. holding bolt and phiale. Athena before him looking back to H. (lionskin only, with club and quiver) who fingers his chin in apprehension.

2868. Cup fr. Athens, NM Acr. 352. From the Acropolis. - ARV 643, 128: Providence P.; Add<sup>2</sup> 275; Graef/Langlotz II pl. 28. - About 460 B. C. - The main fr. (c) has Zeus facing r. holding a phiale with a woman, Hermes and an altar behind him, Athena before him. (a) has H. and a woman approaching from r. (d) has Apollo (= Apollon 824) and Poseidon facing r. (b) has three women, one with phiale and sceptre.

2869. \* Column crater. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 228. From Bologna. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 511, 3: P. of Bologna 228; CVA 1 pls. 41-43 (238-240); Schefold/Jung, *SB IV* 222 fig. 273/4. - About 460 B. C. - Zeus faces r. with phiale and sceptre. Before him Athena (= Athena 436) turns back to H. who approaches with r. hand raised, palm up, and Hermes (= Hermes 563). Behind Zeus Apollo (= Apollon 826\*).

2870. (= Athena 437\*) Bell crater. Rome, Villa Giulia 2382. From Falerii. - ARV 1339, 4: near the Talos P.; Add<sup>2</sup> 367; FR pl. 20; CVA 2 pl. 1 (79); Hahland, W., *Vasen um Meidias* (1930, 1976) pl. 13; Schefold/Jung, *SB IV* 225 fig. 278; Vollkommer 38 fig. 48 - 420-400 B. C. - Zeus facing r. holding sceptre, crowned by flying Nike. Behind him Hera (= Hera 473; looking away, named) and Hermes (= Hermes 564). Before him Athena, young H. holding club and lionskin, wreathed, a woman (Hebe? = 3307) and a small Eros.

2871. \* (= 3334) Bell crater. Leningrad, Hermitage Bak 8. From Baksy. - Shefton, B. B., in *The Eye of Greece* (Studies M. Robertson, 1982) 149-181 fig. 3 pls. 41-44 - this reconstruction has now been revised by Shefton: close to Pronomos P. - About 400 B. C. - Upper register - Hephaistos, Hermes, Apollo, Hera (= Hera 472), Zeus enthroned (= Apollon 1083b), a small Nike, Athena, Poseidon, Aphrodite. Below, at the r., in a chariot, H. naked but festooned with fillets, holding a club and wearing a polos (?) beside a young charioteer holding the reins; from the l. the Dioskouroi mounted and behind them a man and a seated (?)



Herakles 2871

woman. At the centre a figure (Dionysos?) before (below) a crater. The occasion is festive (gods are wreathed, and the crater). Hebe (3334) had been identified as the charioteer, who seems more likely to be a youth.

#### Campanian rf. vase

2872. Bell crater. Stockholm, Nat. Mus. 18. - LCS 516, 612: Boston Ready P.; RM 93, 1986, pl. 39, 2. - 340-320 B. C. - Young H. with club and lionskin faces Athena; behind her Hermes offers a dish to Zeus, enthroned.

##### b) Zeus is standing

###### Attic rf. vases

2873. \* Stamnos. Trieste, Mus. Civ. S 424. From Vulci. - ARV 217, 2: Group of London E 445; Gerhard, *AV* pls. 146, 147 and p. 498 no. 3; CVA 1 pl. 3 (1915), 2. - 470-460 B. C. - Zeus faces r. with thunderbolt and sceptre. Before him a woman with torch (Artemis?) turning back to Athena (= Athena 432) who leads H. by the wrist. Behind H. Apollo looking back to a woman with jug (Hebe? = 3306). Behind Zeus Hera (= Hera 465), Dionysos, Hermes (= Hermes 557) Poseidon.

2874. \* (= 3460) Amphora. London, BM E 262. From Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 580, 3: P. of Louvre G 231; CVA 3 pl. 6 (171), 1b. - About 470 B. C. - Zeus faces l. with thunderbolt and sceptre observing Nike raise a wreath to H., naked but for lionskin, shouldering club; a column between them.

2875. Stamnos. Leningrad, Hermitage B 1559 (B 640, St. 1641). - ARV<sup>2</sup> 639, 56: Providence P.; Add<sup>2</sup> 274; *AdI* 1859 pls. G. H; Peredolskaya no. 118 pl. 86. - About 460 B. C. - Zeus faces r. with sceptre. Before him H. shoulders his club, holding out an apple in his r. hand, and Athena. Behind Zeus a woman (Hera or Hebe; = Hera 466) and Poseidon. Under the handle at r. a tree with a snake. On B a man with a sceptre (Atlas?), a woman (Hesperid?, = Hesperides 74) and Iris (= Iris 150).

#### Sculpture

2876. Group by Myron of Athena, H. and Zeus, *ἔργα κολοσσικά* on one base. Once Samos, Heraion, lost (removed by Mark Antony, restored by Augustus except the Zeus, taken to the Capitoline). - Strabon 14, 1, 14 p. 637b (Overbeck, *SQ* no. 536). - There have been various suggestions for the restoration of the group; see, most recently, Berger, E., *RM* 76, 1969, 66-92 (Zeus) and *AK* 13, 1970, 89-90. Cf. 431-446. For the base, Buschor, E., *AM* 68, 1953, 51-62.

#### 4. ROMAN

Cf. the Velletri sarcophagus, - Alkestis 21\*, where Klauser and Schefold argue for H. at the gates of Olympus, and Wrede (*Consecratio* 248 no. 141, q. v. for references) argues for H. at the gates of Hades welcomed by Pluto.



## B. The chariot procession (Archaic Greek)

H. and Athena, either or both on or mounting a chariot, in the company of other gods. In the early scenes (2877) Iolaos may be shown as driver (2878, 2879) (for later scenes with Iolaos as driver see 2932, 2933), but apotheosis is intended because the horses are winged (2877) and Hebe greets the chariot (2879). The main series of scenes run from about 540 to 490, and begin in a period when other divine epiphanies in chariot become common, but none are as common as these and the variety of other gods attending suggest a more general Olympian occasion, which can only be the apotheosis. Athena otherwise joins H. in a chariot only for gigantomachy, but then there would not be unarmed gods in attendance, or women, nor should they attend a leave-taking for a Labour, where Iolaos is the appropriate charioteer. It is not made explicit whether the journey is beginning (Iolaos may appear) or ending (Hebe may be suspected but Zeus is never shown). When Athena is not on the chariot (2903-2906) apotheosis may not be intended, and the dividing line between these and the scenes listed as H.'s chariot (Section II F) may have little subject-significance.

The lists are highly selective. Brommer lists some hundred examples of this general type.

### Attic bf. vases

H. is fully dressed and armed unless otherwise stated.

## I. Early scenes

On 2878-2880 (Tyrrhenian or related; see Carpenter 104-105 and *OJA* 3, 1984, 48-50) the chariot moves left.

2877.\* Cup. Taranto, Mus. Naz. 20137. From Taranto. - *ABV* 112, 65; Lydos; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 31; *CVA* 3 pl. 22; Lacroix, L., *Etudes d'archéologie numismatique* (1974) pl. 20, 1; Tiverios, *Lydos* pl. 32. - About 560 B.C. - H. holding bow and arrow and a charioteer in a chariot of four winged horses moving r. Beyond the horses Athena walks r. To l. a man with sceptre and a woman with a flower (Hades and Kore? - Metzger, H., *REG* 1964, 100). To r. a man and woman. Beazley (*Para* 44) takes the charioteer to be Hermes (= Hermes 406) rather than Iolaos.

2878.\* Hydria. Boston, MFA 67.1006. - *Para* 43; Tyrrhenian Group, cf. Archippe Group; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 28; *AntK* 12, 1969, pl. 20; *CVA* 2 pl. 70; Carpenter pl. 29b. - 560-550 B.C. - Iolaos drives a chariot l. Behind him Artemis (= Artemis 1239\*) and Aphrodite (= Aphrodite 1507\*) with wreaths, Artemis holding hers out to him. Beyond the horses H. walks l. In front, Demeter (= Demeter 456) and Hermes. All names inscribed.

2879. (= 3296\*) Hydria. Paris, Cab. Méd. 253. From Vulci. - *ABV* 104, 127; Tyrrhenian Group; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 28; *CVA* 1 pls. 32 (316), 13; 33 (317), 1. 2. -

About 550 B.C. - Iolaos drives a chariot l. Behind him H. holds out a wreath to Athena who stands beyond the horses, also holding a wreath. Before the horses Hebe and Hera (turning away, = Hera 469). All names inscribed, including two horses, Ario[n] and Leukos.

2880.\* Tyrrhenian amphora. Paris, Louvre CP 12069. - Carpenter 49-51. - About 550 B.C. - Fragmentary. Athena drives chariot to l. H. follows. Two women.

## 2. Herakles and Athena stand in the chariot

Athena holds the reins. Cf. unusual «wedding» scenes where the bride holds the reins: New York 17.230.14 (*ABV* 144, 3; *CVA* 4 pl. 16); London B 201 (*ABV* 323, 22; *CVA* 3 pl. 40, 1; = Apollon 833a); New York 12.198.4 (*ABV* 258, 5; *CVA* 3 pl. 19; = Artemis 1257\*); brief discussion by Jenkins, I., *BICS* 30, 1983, 138. Cf. also 1421. 1422\* (= 3293, 3295) where a woman holds the reins for H., and Athena is on the ground. Cf. Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 159 Type Ia (which includes some pieces mentioned above and others with a moving chariot [e.g., 1. 7. 9. 29] which are probably excerpts from gigantomachy). Other examples are → Athena 430; → Artemis 1320\*; → Apollon 831; and 3303.

2881.\* Amphora. Vatican 351. From Vulci. - Albizzati pl. 45. - 540-530 B.C. - Young H. With Hermes, Apollo and an old man holding branches.

2882. Amphora. Rhodes Mus. 14093. From Camirus. - *ABV* 307, 57; Swing P.; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukel-maler* (1982) pls. 79, 80. - About 530 B.C. - With two women, a man, two warriors; none identified as deities, but the painter often secularises such scenes (cf. Böhr, *o. c.* 42).

2883.\* Hydria. Princeton Univ. 171. - *ABV* 260, 34; manner of the Lysippides P. - About 530 B.C. - With Dionysos, a woman (= 3299, Hebe?), two warriors, Hermes.

2884.\* Amphora. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1827. From Etruria. - *Para* 170, 5; Chiussi P.; *CVA* 5 pls. 7, 3; 8, 1. - 510-500 B.C. - With Apollo, Poseidon, Hermes, a woman (= 3294, Hebe?), and behind the chariot a man resembling Hermes but in long dress.

## 3. Athena mounts the chariot

H. stands beside or before it. This is the most numerous class: Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 162 Type If. Also → Apollon 833c\* (where Athena raises a wreath and H. is white-haired). 834\*.

2885. Hydria. Athens, NM 401. - 530-520 B.C. - H. in an animated pose beyond the chariot. A lizard beneath it. With Hermes.

2886. (= 3297\*) Hydria. Toledo (Ohio) 56.69. From Vulci. - *ABV* 263, 2; P. of Vatican G 43; *Para*

116; *CVA* 1 pl. 21, 1. - 530-520 B.C. - With Dionysos, Hermes, two women.

2887.\* Amphora. New York, MMA 17.230.7. - *ABV* 281, 15; *Para* 122, 44bis; manner of Antimenes P.; *CVA* 3 pl. 32. - About 520 B.C. - With Apollo, Dionysos and a woman (*AETO KAAE*).

2888. Hydria. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81177 (H 2514). - *ABV* 332, 19; Priam P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 34 (978), 2. 4. - 520-510 B.C. - Chariot to left. Athena (*KOPE*). With Hermes and old man.

2889.\* Hydria. Madison, Elvehjem Mus. 68.14.1. - *Para* 146, 26bis; Priam P.; *Midwestern Colls* no. 66; Moon fig. 7. 2a. - 520-510 B.C. - With Hermes, a woman (= 3298, Hebe?).

2890.\* Cup. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2060. From Tarquinia. - *ABV* 435, 1; cf. Kevorkian oinochoe; Gerhard, *Trinkschalen* pl. 4/5. - 520-510 B.C. - Warriors, archers and a horse at either side (not relevant). A = Athena 466\*.

2891. Neck-amphora. Malibu, Getty Mus. 86.AE.85. - *Greek Vases. Molly and Walter Bareiss Coll.* (1983) no. 10; Bareiss P. (Bothmer); *CVA* 1 pl. 29, 1. - About 520 B.C. - With Hermes.

2892.\* Neck-amphora. Munich, Antikenslg. 1578 (J 159). From Vulci. - *ABV* 281, 9; related to Antimenes P.; *CVA* 8 pls. 380, 4; 385, 1. - About 520 B.C. - With Hermes, a man with spear (Iolaos?).

2893.\* Amphora. New York, MMA 41.85. - *ABV* 283, 13; group of Toronto 305; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 74; *CVA* 3 pl. 21. - About 520 B.C. - Young H., with a woman and Hermes.

2894.\* Lekythos. Mainz, Univ. 71. - *CVA* 1 pl. 37, 5-7. - About 500 B.C. - With Apollo, a woman with flower, a deer.

## 4. Herakles stands on the chariot while Athena mounts it holding the reins

On several H. wears a himation over all (2896, 2897). Cf. Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 160 Type Ib. Also 3300, 3301.

2895. (= under Hermes 420) Hydria. Switzerland, Private. - *ABV* 277, 7; manner of the Antimenes P.; *Para* 121; Dörig, *o. c.* 1922, no. 163. - About 520 B.C. - Iolaos stands behind chariot with club. With Dionysos, Apollo, Hermes.

2896.\* Hydria. Dunedin, Otago Mus. E 50. 108. - *CVA* New Zealand 1 pl. 14, 4. - About 520 B.C. - H. wears himation. With a woman, Apollo, Dionysos, Hermes.

2897.\* Olpe. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. 596. - Campus, L., *Cer. attica a fig. nere* (1981) no. 6. - About 510 B.C. - H. wears himation. With Apollo, Dionysos, Ares.

2898. Hydria. Naples, Mus. Naz. SA 30. - *ABV* 333, 26; Priam P.; Moon fig. 7, 3. - 520-510 B.C. - With Apollo, a woman, Dionysos, and before the horses a woman bearing a lebes on her head. The last is borrowed from wedding scenes and can hardly allude

to H. and Athena, but might allude to Hebe (the other woman?), if it is not an oversight.

2899. Neck-amphora. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1870. From Vulci. - *ABV* 330; close to P. of Berlin 1899; *CVA* 5 pl. 22. - About 510 B.C. - With Apollo and a woman, Dionysos and a woman, Hermes (= Hermes 424).

2900. (= Artemis 1320\*) Amphora. New York, MMA 41.162.174. - *Para* 123; related to Antimenes P.; *CVA* 3 pl. 34. - About 510 B.C. - H. wears himation. With Apollo, a woman with flower (Artemis?), Hermes, a fawn.

2901.\* Hydria. Rome, Villa Giulia 50515. - Mingazzini, *Coll. Castellani* no. 441 pl. 54, 1. - About 510 B.C. - With Apollo, Hermes.

The following belongs to either type 2 or type 4:

2902. (= Apollon 832\*) Calyx crater. Athens, Agora Mus. AP 1044. From the Acropolis N. Slope. - *ABV* 145, 19; Exekias; *Para* 60; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 40; *Hesperia* 6, 1937, 468-477 figs. 1-5; Simon, *Götter* 141 fig. 134; Schefold, *SB II* 41 fig. 40. - About 530 B.C. - With Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon, a woman, Hermes. H.'s hand on the rail is wrapped in his patterned cloak, not as restored in Moore, M., *AJA* 90, 1986, 37 fig. 1. Cf. also the Exekias amphora, Orvieto, Faina 187 (*ABV* 145, 11) where Poseidon is also present.

## 5. Herakles stands on the ground, Athena is on the chariot

Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 161 Type Id. Also → Apollon 836\* where Iolaos with a club stands behind the chariot.

## 6. Herakles mounts or stands on the chariot, Athena stands beside it

Without Athena on the chariot the apotheosis element is suppressed and there are fewer examples with attendant gods. Cf. Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 162 Types Ic. e. Also 3302.

2903. Amphora. Cambridge, Fitzw. Mus. GR 10.1932 - *ABV* 141, 1; Towry Whyte P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 22, 2a; Carpenter pl. 30b. - About 530 B.C. - Before the horses a man on a stool. Cf. the woman on a stool on the hydria, *Ars Antiqua* (Luzern) 5, 1964, no. 118.

2904.\* Column crater. Naples, Mus. Naz. H 2841. From Ruvo. - *ABV* 263, 7; related to the Lysippides P.; *JdI* 88, 1973, 23-24 figs. 26-27. - About 520 B.C. - With a woman (behind the chariot), Hermes, a man with sceptre and a woman.

2905. (= Apollon 833) Hydria. London, BM B 321. From Vulci. - *Para* 124; cf. Antimenes P.; *CVA* 6 pl. 84 (343), 1. - About 520 B.C. - With Dionysos, Apollo, Hermes. Cf. the column crater, Providence 29.140, with Iolaos, Dionysos, Apollo.

2906. (= 1419\*) Neck amphora. Fort Worth,



Kimbell Art Mus., Hunt Coll. - *Wealth of the Ancient World* (1983) 52-53 no. 4: Three-Line group (v. Bothmer). - About 520 B.C. - H. wears himation. With Hermes, a boy at the horses' heads.

*Attic rf. vases*

Cf. also the harnessing scenes, 1423-1427.

2907. (= Hermes 429\*) Calyx crater. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 126. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 297, 11: Troilos P.; *CVA* 3 pls. 127, 129; Boardman, *ARFHI* fig. 188. - About 480 B.C. - Athena mounts the chariot. H. beyond it waves back to her. With Apollo (= Apollon 837), a woman (Artemis?), Hermes.

*Non-Attic vase*

2908.\* (= 3292, = Aphrodite 1510\*, = Iris I 147) Hydria, close to Northampton Group. Rome, Villa Giulia Mus. From Cerveteri. - *ASAtene* 24-26, 1946-48 (1950), pls. 3, 5; Schefold, *SB II* fig. 44; *IconogrCl* 54 figs. 7, 8. - About 520 B.C. - A woman (Athena or Hebe?) mounts the chariot leading H., carrying lionskin and club, by the wrist. Before the chariot winged Aphrodite and Hermes.

### C. Herakles on the pyre

Also on the reliefs at Cadiz described by Silius Italicus (= [Dodekathlos] 1751). And cf. 874, bronze statue of H. wearing the poisoned cloak, and Aristides' painting (873).

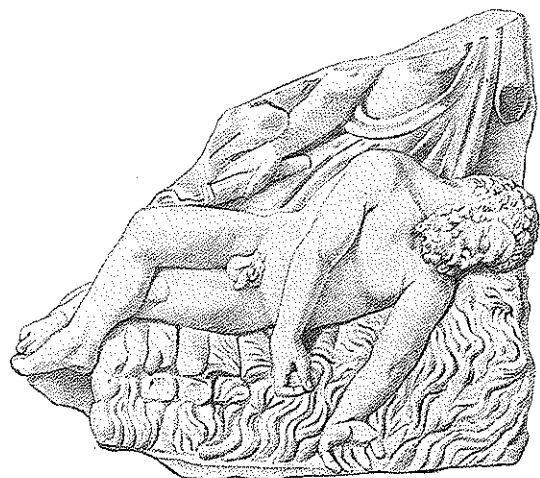
2909.\* (= Hyades 4) Bell crater frr., Attic rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 11688. From Conca. - Beazley, *EVP* 103-104; Clairmont, C., *AJA* 57, 1953, 85-89 pls. 45-48. - About 460 B.C. - A: (A woman) with a hydria; Athena turning back to her; the pyre on which H., wearing lionskin, lies with his head towards us, his arms hanging down. His club is beside the pyre and «grey strokes» at either side may represent water; a man running r. holding a bow (Philoktetes); a woman with a hydria. B: Women with hydriai. Cf. a bell crater frr., Leningrad, where H. kneels on the pyre (Beazley, *EVP* 104).

2910. Psykter, Attic rf. New York, Private. - Guy, J. R., in *ICG* (Rouen) 152-153. - 460-450 B.C. - H. reclines on his lionskin on the pyre holding out bow and quiver to a youth with two spears (Philoktetes). To r. Hermes approaching, a warrior, a woman with spear, a man with sceptre, a youth, a man with sceptre mourning on (in?) a rock (Oita?). A tree beyond the pyre.

2911. Wall painting. Pompeii II 2, 2-5. - Schefold, *WP* 53. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - No details available: the climax of a sequence involving the stories of Laomedon (2791) and Deianeira.

2912. (= Hyades 10) Limestone relief. Vienna, Niederösterreich. Landesmus. From Lichtenwörth (near Wiener Neustadt). - *CSIR Öst.* I 3, pl. 6, 158; Diez, E., *GrazBeitr* 5, 1976, 85-97; *Festschr. E. Diez* (1978) pl. 39, 6. - 2nd cent. A.D. - H. naked seated on pyre holding club and quiver (?). Before him Philoktetes holding a bow. Top l. Athena. Top r. two nymphs (?).

2913.\* Marble relief. Leipzig, Univ. - *Adl* 1879 pl. E, 2. - Roman. - H. reclines naked, inert on the pyre. Beyond, part of a figure running r. holding a torch.



Herakles 2913

2914. Clay relief medallion, Gallo-Roman. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1139. From Orange. - Willeumier/Audin, *Medaillons* no. 3; *Les Dossiers de l'Arch.* 1975, 9, 108. - 1st cent. A.D. - H. naked seated on lionskin on pyre holding bowcase. Before him Philoktetes (named) wearing a nebris, holding bow and upturned torch.

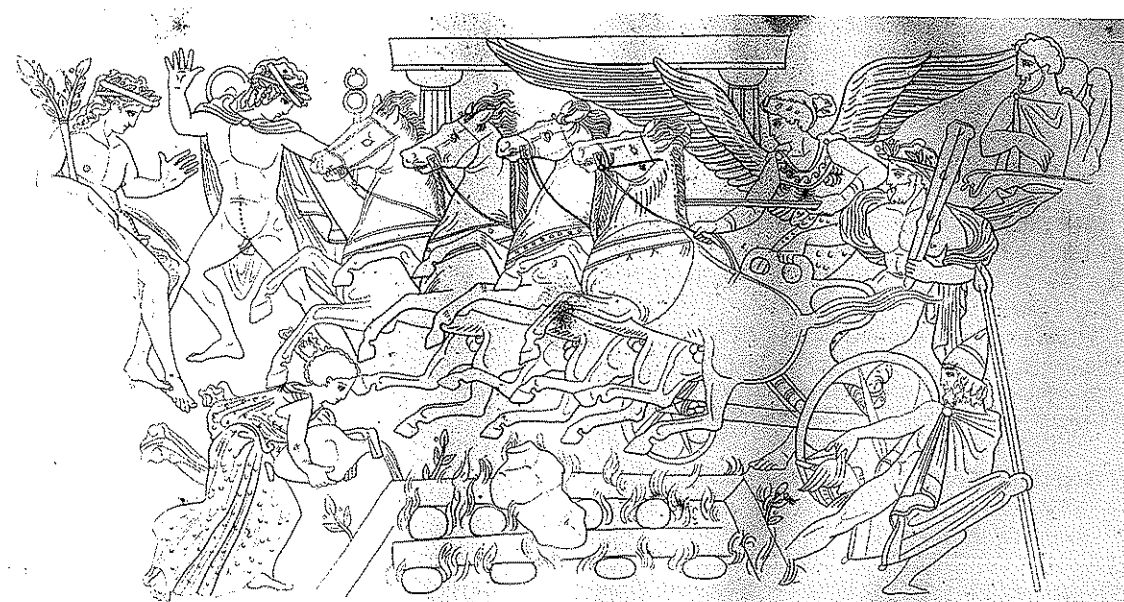
### D. Herakles and Philoktetes

See also, in the presence of the pyre, 2909. 2910. 2912. 2913? 2914. And in other settings, 1559\*? 2281? 2282? 2789? - Chryse I 1.

2915.\* Calyx crater. Attic rf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 77.AE.44.1. - *Getty Mus. Calendar* June-Aug. 1980: Achilles P. (Guy); *Getty Vases* 2 (1985) 213-216. - About 450 B.C. - Athena at centre holds out quiver and bow to a warrior at the left. At r. a bearded male (H.?) with a club at his side watches. He wears himation only.

### E. The Pyre and Herakles leaving by chariot

2916.\* (= Arethousa 4\* with bibl., = Athena 533 with bibl., = Hyades 5, = Hybris II 1) Pelike, Attic rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 2360. From Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1186, 30: Kadmos P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 341; *CVA* 2 pls. 81-82; Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 28, 1; Boardman 2, 128 pl. 21, 3; Brommer, *Herakles* II 94 fig. 47; Vollkommer 70 fig. 90; Boardman, *ARFH* II fig. 311. - 420-400 B.C. - The pyre contains a corselet. From the r. a girl pours water on it and another carries a hydria (Arethousa, Premnousia). At l. two satyrs dance (Skopas, Hybris). Above Athena (with reins) and young H., naked with club and chlamys over arm, in a chariot; beyond it a tree.



Herakles 2918

2917.\* (= Amymone 15 [B], = Hyades 6, = Hyas 1) Calyx crater, Attic rf. New York, MMA 52.11.18. - Milne, M. J., *AJA* 66, 1962, 305 pl. 81; Boardman 2, pl. 22; Schefold/Jung, *SB IV* 223 fig. 276. - 400-380 B.C. - A: The pyre contains a corselet, a tree beyond. Two girls pour water on the pyre, others at the r. and extreme l. L. of the pyre Athena directs the girls; a youth with spears. Above, Nike drives young H., naked but for chlamys, with club; above, a tree. Above r., a youth with spears, another carrying quiver and bow (Philoktetes), two women (one with jar? Hera seated and turning away?). Above l. Hermes, Dionysos, Apollo (= Apollon 924), Ares.

2918.\* (= Hyades 7) Bell crater, Attic rf. S. Agata de'Goti, Mustilli Coll. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1420, 5: P. of London F 64; Beazley 104; FR II 257 fig. 90; Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 22, 1; Brommer, *Herakles* II 95 fig. 48; Vollkommer 35 fig. 45. - 400-380 B.C. - The pyre contains a corselet. A woman douses it from l. At r. a man in pilos and chlamys runs away. Above, Nike drives H., naked, with chlamys and club. Two Doric columns and epistyle beyond (Olympus?). Above l. Hermes leads the chariot, Apollo seated. Above r. a man watches (Iolaos?).

2919.\* (= Hyades 8) Volute crater, Apulian rf. Milan, H. A. Coll. 260. From Ruvo. - *RVAp I* 417, 13: Lycurgus P.; *CVA* 1 pls. 7-9; Brommer, *Herakles* II 94 fig. 46. - 360-340 B.C. - Three girls extinguish the pyre. Above young H. naked, with club and lionskin, mounts a chariot driven to r. by Nike. Above l. a woman; above the chariot a deer; above r. Eros. Before the chariot a satyr.

2920. (= Hyades 9) Volute crater, Apulian rf. Tokyo, Private. - *RVAp Suppl.* 1, 84-85, 287a: Underworld P. - 330-320 B.C. - Two women douse pyre. At r. seated Aphrodite and Eros. Above, Athena drives

H. Top register, Pan, Artemis, Apollo, Zeus, Hermes (Trendall's description, l.c.).

2921. Painting by Artemon. Rome, portico of Octavia. Lost. - *Plin. nat.* 35, 139 (Overbeck, *SQ* no. 2110): *Herculem ab Oeta monte Doridos exusta mortalitate consensu deorum in caelum euntem*. (See 2790.)

### F. Herakles driven to Olympus by Nike

For H. driven by Nike in a centaur-chariot see 1429.

*Attic rf. vases (selection)*

H. is wreathed, beardless, with club and chlamys only, unless otherwise stated.

2922.\* Bell crater. London, BM F 64. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1419, 1: P. of London F 64; Mingazzini pl. 3, 1; Boardman, *ARFH* II fig. 354. - 400-380 B.C. - H. is bearded. Hermes leads chariot. Four Doric columns and epistyle beyond. An excerpt from the painter's 2918. Simpler, without columns, on his Paris, Cab. Méd. 430 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1420, 3; H. beardless); Ruvo, Jatta 422 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1420, 4; = Hermes 436b). The painter is the last to prefer a bearded H. in these scenes. Other examples with columns are Vienna IV 933 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1439, 1); Agora P 171 (*Hesperia* Suppl. 10 pl. 24, 255); Agora P 15568. Without columns, Agora P 8734.

2923.\* Bell crater. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 15637. From Spina T 376 B VP. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1424, 1: Group of Ferrara T 376 B; Alfieri, *Spina* 108 fig. 274. - 400-380 B.C. - H. mounting chariot. Two similar vases of the same group found at Spina in the same tomb (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1424, 2, 3).

2924.\* Calyx crater. St Weonards, Mynors Coll. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1437, 13: Upsala P. - 400-380 B.C. - H.

mounting chariot, Apollo with laurel branch and a flying Eros greet it. Fish below; top r. and l. over handles, altars.

#### Apulian rf. vase

2925.\* Oinochoe. London, BM F 102. - *RVAp* I 207, 127: Group of Vienna 4013; Mingazzini pl. 2, 2. - 380-360 B.C. - Young H. wears lionskin. The chariot is led by a flying Eros.

#### Relief vase

2926. Guttus medallion, Calene. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1209. - Pagenstecher, *Calen* 97 no. 190. - 3rd cent. B.C. - H. and Nike in frontal chariot.

### G. Herakles driven to Olympus by Athena

#### Apulian rf. vases

2927.\* Volute crater. Brussels, Mus. Roy. A 1018. From Bari. - *RVAp* I 35, 9, pl. 10: P. of Birth of Dionysos; *CVA* I pl. 1 (45); Trendall, *RFSIS* fig. 50. - 410-400 B.C. - Young H. with club and lionskin. Chariot to l. Nikai, behind with spear and shield (presumably Athena's), in front with thymiaterion. Owl with wreath overhead. On lower register, feast of Dionysos.

2928. Column crater. Basel, Antikenmus. S 28. - *RVAp* I 99, 243: Eumenides Group; Schmidt/Trendall/Cambitoglou *o.c.* 2807, pl. 27; Vollkommer 37 fig. 47. - 380-370 B.C. - Young H. with chlamys and bow. Chariot to l. Owl with wreath above. Behind, bucranium and tripod. H. wears an Oscan belt.

2929.\* Oinochoe. London, BM F 238. From Canosa. - *RVAp* II 933, 127 pl. 366, 3: Wind Group. - 320-300 B.C. - Young H. with club and lionskin mounts chariot, to r.

2930.\* Plate. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 1984.47. - *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 221 fig. 1; Giuliani, L., *Bildervasen aus Apulien* (1988) 28 no. 9 fig. 13: Phrixos Group. - 330-310 B.C. - Young H. with club and chlamys. Chariot to r. Athena fully armed. Nike overhead.

#### UNCERTAIN

2931.\* Bell crater fr., Attic rf. Nicosia, Cyprus Mus., Kition 3370. - *Kition* IV (1981) pl. 40, 37a. - 350-325 B.C. - Part of H. to r., club and lionskin (?) under l. arm, r. arm extended (to chariot rail?). Athena beyond.

### H. Herakles driven to Olympus by others

2932. (= 1417\*) Bell crater, Attic rf. Bologna. Mus. Civ. 318. From Bologna. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1437, 4: Upsala P.; *AdI* 1880 pl. N; Boardman, *ARFH* II fig. 348. - 400-380 B.C. - Young H. with club and chlamys driven by a naked youth to l. Hermes leads the chariot; fish below. Apollo has been suggested for the charioteer, copying the painter's other version (2924) where Apollo greets the chariot (and fish are also

shown). Cf. Birmingham 1620.85 (= 1418) where the youth is dressed and Hermes leads. However, on the reverse of a Talos P. vase in a private coll. (Vollkommer 36 fig. 46) Iolaos is reported as the inscribed charioteer (Schauenburg, K., *RM* 92, 1985, 48), and the chariot rises «über Blumen».

2933. Oinochoe. Apulian rf. Bari, Mus. Arch. 1015. - *RVAp* II 932, 122: Helios Group. - 320-310 B.C. - Young H. with club and chlamys driven by dressed youth to l. Hermes leads.

#### Incomplete

2934. Bell crater fr., Corinthian rf. Corinth Mus. C-37-237. From Corinth. - *Corinth* VII 4, pl. 6, 30: Hermes P. - 400-370 B.C. - Only Hermes leading a chariot to r., as on Attic scenes where the action is normally to the l.

### J. Herakles' chariot accompanied by other chariots

A series of silver and tin relief phialai and a patera show H.'s chariot, driven by Nike, accompanied by three other chariots with deities. The series may begin in the late 5th cent., though this has been doubted (Züchner, W., *JdI* 65/66, 1950/51, 205 n. 3; ignoring the reported grave context, see on 2934). They generate in Apulia (3rd cent. B.C.) a numerous series of Calene black copies (and some black and silvered clay copies in Etruria: Beazley, *EVP* 240. 292; → Herakles/Hercle 391). Silver and tin examples are listed in Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* I 126, but note that no. 3 (Ferrara) was converted into a handled patera, and that nos. 6. 7 (New York) are mainly tin, not silver (Strong, *o.c. infra*). Calene examples are listed in Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 166-169, but note that nos. 27-30. 36-38 are probably Etruscan (Beazley, *l.c.*); no. 18 is *StudEtr* 14, 1940, 434 fig. 2 (= De Marinis, R., *Gli Etruschi a nord del Po* [1988] 94-95 no. 553). Add: Berlin 5895 (Neugebauer, *FührerBerlin* II 185: «Hebe» and Ares, twice); Brussels, Mus. Roy. A 3522 (= Ares 79\*); Essen, Folkwang Mus. A 96 (Froning, H., *Gr. und it. Vasen* [1982] no. 140); Harrogate, Kent Coll. 157; Liverpool (H. and Ares, thrice?); Melbourne, Felton Coll. 270/5 (Trendall, A. D., *The Felton Vases* [1968] pl. 16); Volterra 462 (Etruscan?); Sotheby, 11/12 June 1983, no. 309; Hobart 71 (Hood, R. G., *Greek Vases in the University of Tasmania* [1982] pl. 23a); Sydney, Nicholson Mus.; *CVA* Louvre 15 pls. 10, 2; 11, 1. 2. The charioteers are all Nikai. H. is beardless and holds a club. The other three chariots generally bear Athena, Ares and Dionysos. Deviant types double Athenas (omitting Ares), double Ares (omitting Dionysos), double both H. and Athena, double both H. and Ares (Etruscan?), add a chariot with Hermes, replace Athena with Aphrodite, have Apollo (→ Apollon 839\*), have three chariots and move clockwise. The chariots are accompanied by small flying Nikai, Erotes or birds; and uniquely an eagle with Ganymede or alone. Animals may accompany the chariots - winged snake (Athena), dog or

boar (Ares, H.), deer or panther (Dionysos). Nikai sometimes lead the chariots also. On one or two a zone around the omphalos carries reclining figures at feast, sometimes taken for the wedding feast of H. and Hebe though figures are not clearly identified. One typical and two uncommon examples are listed here.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alfieri, N., *Hommages à A. Grenier* (1962) 89-96; Pagenstecher, *Calen* 70-73 and *JdI* 27, 1912, 155; Richter, G. M. A., *AJA* 45, 1941, 363-389; 54, 1950, 357-370; Strong, D. E., *Greek and Roman Silver Plate* (1966) 81. 89.

2935. (= 3313\*) Tin phiale. New York, MMA 39.11.4. From Spina. - Richter, G. M. A., *AJA* 45, 1941, 363-375 figs. 1-6; 54, 1950, 357-359 fig. 1. - Late 5th cent. B.C. (said to have been found with the calyx crater by the Dinos P., Oxford 1937.983, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1153, 13). - An Eros leads Athena's chariot and flies before Dionysos' holding a caduceus; an eagle before Ares. Beneath the chariots a dog (H.), deer (Athena), panther (Dionysos). For the frieze with the wedding feast see 3313.

2936.\* Clay relief phiale, Calene. Cleveland 1926.515. - *CVA* I pl. 48, 2. - 3rd cent. B.C. - The main frieze as the last: H. (lionskin and club), Athena, Ares and Dionysos in chariots drawn by Nikai. Eros flies before each chariot. Beneath the chariots a deer (H.), winged snake (Athena), dog (Ares), stag (Dionysos).

2937.\* Clay relief phiale, Calene. Paris, Louvre H 250. - *CVA* 15 pl. 10 (998), 2. - 3rd cent. B.C. - As the last but with H. twice and Athena twice. Stamped *GABINIVS T FIICIT*. Cf. the *EITIOEI* inscription on Berlin 3881 (Pagenstecher, *Calen* 70, 1a, cf. 1u).

### K. Herakles alone in chariot

2938.\* Relief, tomb monument of the Secundinii. Trier, Rhein. Landesmus. From Igel (near Trier). - Strong, A., *Apotheosis and Afterlife* (1915) pl. 30; Dragendorff, H./Krüger, E., *Das Grabmal von Igel* (1924) 70-71 fig. 42 pl. 8; Zahn, E., *Die Iglar Säule bei Trier* (1968) 22-23; *idem*, *TrierZ* 31, 1968, Beilage. - Mid 3rd cent. A.D. - At rear of monument. Within a zodiac with four winds. H., with club and lionskin, in chariot leaping to l., raises his r. hand to Minerva whose upper part is seen emerging from a cloud, extending her r. hand to him.

### COMMENTARY

#### Archaic Period

The Introduction of H. to Zeus on Olympus is an almost exclusively Attic scene. The Laconian 2861 is almost as early as any Attic, with Hera (?) beside the enthroned Zeus, and there were versions at Amyklai (2863) where, it seems, several gods were present. There is one uncertain Corinthian rf. scene (2864). In the Attic scenes which begin in the 560s Zeus is usually enthroned (beside a column on 2856); he stands on 2850-2853. Athena effects the introduc-

tion, sometimes holding H. (2849-2857) and supplying Zeus on 2849. H. shakes hands with Zeus (?) on 2853. Hera is enthroned behind Zeus on 2847, and perhaps is the figure standing beside him on 2850. 2856. 2857 (looking apprehensive). Hermes is almost always present, and occasionally Ares, Dionysos, Apollo, Poseidon; Iris and Ganymede on 2858 to enhance the welcome. The Sosias Painter's versions (2859. 2860) are far more populous and on 2859 there is a strong suggestion of an impending feast with Hermes carrying a ram and a sheep behind him, and Demeter perhaps with a charged spit. H. is pushed forward by Athena here, and Hera is beside Zeus. She is also by Zeus in the Acropolis Pediment (2862). It is not clear whether Poseidon is deliberately shown taking Zeus' place on 2865. 2866.

The question whether the scenes of the chariot procession (2877-2908) also allude to the apotheosis is discussed in the introduction to that section. Virtually all appear on Attic vases, starting c. 560. In the early ones Iolaos named (2878. 2879) or suspected (2877) is the charioteer, once with winged horses (2877), and Athena drives on 2880. On 2878-2880 the chariot moves left but thereafter, in common with most Attic chariot scenes, it moves right, with few exceptions (e.g., 2888). Identified deities in attendance are Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter and Hermes on 2878; and Hera and Hebe on 2879. There is much offering of wreaths on these two vases. 2878-2880 are of, or related to, the Tyrrhenian Group, where the iconography is sometimes aberrant (cf. Carpenter, T. H., *OJA* 3, 1984, 45-56) but the air of Olympian celebration, even without Zeus, is obvious. Zeus' apparent absence from all the scenes listed here makes the occasion more a departure than an arrival, but escorted by H.'s future colleagues on Olympus. Iolaos cannot be thought of as joining H. on Olympus. He is absent in almost all the later scenes where Olympians attend, and serves H. as charioteer on more clearly terrestrial occasions, but the dividing line between these classes is not closely definable. The winged horses clearly denote apotheosis on the Lydos cup (2877). Only in the 530s do the scenes begin to appear at all regularly, increasing to about 510 and lingering a little over the end of the century. The principal variants are distinguished in the lists. Athena holds the reins when on or mounting the chariot. Any figure likely to be Iolaos is hard to identify but he may be the clubman on 2895, the spearman on 2892. Hermes is almost always present, Apollo slightly more frequently than Dionysos. Artemis may often be suspected, beside Apollo. A Poseidon (2884) or Ares (warrior) are extremely rare, and cf. the *Leto kale* of 2887. The identification of the other women present is uncertain, but Hebe might be expected, on the analogy of 2879, although she is more appropriately H.'s goal than his escort. Where H. is beardless his impending rejuvenation is presumably implied (2881. 2893) and a himation-clad H. also implies impending retirement (2896. 2897. 2900. 2906). The lebes-carrier on 2898 is borrowed from a wedding procession but might allude to H.'s future marriage to Hebe. There is also a man with a sceptre on

2904 and seated on a stool on 2903. In the only non-Attic version (2908) Athena drags H. on to the chariot with a gesture more appropriate to the introduction on foot to Zeus himself; Aphrodite and Hermes attend.

### Classical period

H.'s self-immolation on the pyre on Mt Oita is first attested in any medium by the vases 2909. 2910 of c. 460 and later. The motif of rejuvenation through fire is an old eastern one but its introduction to this story cannot be closely dated. There is no allusion to it in Archaic literature or art (where the subject of apotheosis is often treated; see above). Worship at the site on Oita goes back to the Geometric period (see Boardman 2), but the story could be an aition for this and have attracted to it the story of the local hero Philoktetes who (himself, or his father Poias) lit the pyre and received H.'s bow (thus Nilsson 310-316 [= *Opuscula* I 348-349]; cf. Burkert, W., *GRBS* 7, 1966, 117). This tale too is not attested before these vases, on both of which Philoktetes appears. The dousing of the pyre by nymphs appears already on 2909 and the Philoktetes episode is isolated in an odd way on 2915. This makes it likely that the pyre, Philoktetes and dousing stories were created together at an unknown date before c. 460, but not in any literary text of which we have knowledge, although a play might seem a likely source. If the source is Archaic it took long to affect art or literature (perhaps Bakchyl. *diith.* 16, 13-16; certainly, Eur. *Phil.* [*TGF*<sup>2</sup> *frag.* 787-803] and Soph. *Phil.* 262 etc.; 409 B.C.). If later, the proximity of Thermopylai to Oita, the association of H. with both, and the role of his bow in eventually discomfiting easterners (in Philoktetes' hands at Troy) might have proved enough to generate the story.

From about 420 the interest shifts to H. being driven away from his pyre by Athena (2916. 2920) or Nike (2917-2919). Hermes leads the chariot on 2918. These scenes are on Attic and Apulian vases. H. is now shown beardless (except on the Attic 2919) and naked but for club and lionskin. An assemblage of gods attends on 2918. 2920, fewer on 2919, where columns recall either Olympus or H.'s hero shrine on earth, now left behind (see Section II D, 1). Zeus appears only on the Apulian 2921. Unexpected attendants are Eros on 2920 and Pan on 2921, possibly reflecting impending marriage and the rustic pyre respectively. On the Attic vases the abandoned pyre contains a muscle-corselet - a type never worn by H. but a symbol, it may be, of H.'s mortal body from which he rises newborn (the *exusta mortalitate* of Artemon's painting, 2921). Holt suggests that it indicates that H. was worshipped at Oita as a warrior. (It may be noted that the poisoned robe, or anything like it, appears in none of these Classical scenes with the pyre.) The dousing by nymphs (named on 2916) appears on all vases, but Philoktetes appears now only on the Attic 2917 (and perhaps 2918). The satyrs who approach the pyre on 2916 may be intent on theft of H.'s arms (for the motif see 3230-3238); one waits with a crater on 2919.

A tree is prominent on the Attic 2916. 2917. Over

this same period some Attic and Apulian vases (and Corinthian ? 2934) show the chariot group only (2922-2925. 2927-2933). Only the Attic P. of London F 64 still offers a bearded H. (2922, cf. 2918) and a columned goal. H.'s pose, knees bent and chlamys flying, is often repeated. Occasionally he is shown mounting (2918. 2922-2924. 2929. 2932) and a rightward chariot is sometimes preferred in Apulia (but cf. 2931). The charioteer is usually Nike but Athena is retained in Apulia and possibly once in Attica (2931). It is not clear whether Iolaos could be intended on isolated Attic and Apulian scenes (2932. 2933), but see under 2932 for a vase on which he is named. The identity is unexpected. The hovering owl with a wreath is a feature of two Apulian versions (2927. 2928). Hermes commonly leads the chariot, but it is Eros on 2925 and Apollo and Eros greet it on 2924. Other deities are no longer in evidence.

H.'s chariot is accompanied by other deities in chariots (Ares, Athena, Dionysos) on a notable group of silver and tin relief phialai (2935) which are copied in clay in Apulia (Calene: 2936. 2937) and Etruria (see before 2935). Richter thought their origin is in the late 5th cent. The copies are at least 3rd cent. All were probably made in Italy.

The introduction to Zeus on Olympus, on foot, is not forgotten. The enthroned Zeus remains on a few Attic vases to the end of the 5th cent. (2867-2871) and much later on one Campanian (2872). H. looks apprehensive on 2867, Hera unamused on 2870. The alternative Archaic type (2851-2853) with Zeus standing seems confined to the Early Classical period in Attica (2873-2875), including probably Myron's group for Samos (2876). 2874 has a column. Athena holds H. on 2873. Various deities attend, notably Poseidon and Apollo; most appear on 2873, including Hera. 2875 is important in that the Hesperides tree is shown and H. is holding an apple, making it clear that here at least it is the miraculous apples that are his passport to Olympus. It is difficult to judge whether on the Baksy crater (2871) the arrival of H. in a chariot is the prime reason for the scene. His polos, and the presence of the Dioskouroi, are among the more puzzling features of the scene. The subject loses its appeal in the 4th cent. although, in the light of 2875, we may take single figures with the apples as an intimation of impending apotheosis.

### Post-Classical

In later periods the fact of apotheosis is more important than the act. Calene relief vases have the chariot motif, deriving from Classical usage (2926. 2936. 2937) and in Roman art only the pyre is seen, and that rarely (2911-2914), and the unusual 2938 with H. ascending to Minerva in heaven, alone in his chariot.

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### IX. Herakles with Olympian gods

Several gods attend H.'s introduction to Olympus (Section VIII) and individual examples are not noticed here.

### A. Herakles and Aphrodite/Venus

For Aphrodite's intervention in scenes of H. with Hebe see Section IX, J, → Aphrodite 1513-1516. See also 2346. 2722. At Phanagoria she assisted H. in a ruse to rescue her from the Giants: Strabon 11, 2, 10 p. 495. She favoured him: Aristeides 40, 19 Keil. See *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 1095; Brommer, *Herakles* II 99.

### CATALOGUE

2939. (= 2181\*) Tyrrhenian amphora, Attic bf. Cerveteri, Mus. Naz. - H. leads a deer to Aphrodite, enthroned, in the presence of Artemis, Apollo, Ares and Hermes. Presumably a deviant version of the delivery of the Kerynitian deer, of the type not uncommon in this group of vases.

2940. Bell crater fr., Attic rf. Athens, Kanellou-poulos Mus. - 4th cent. B.C. - Aphrodite, Artemis, Eros and others. Below and before them H., wreathed, shouldering his club.

2941. (= Aphrodite [in peripharia or] 226\* with bibl.) Bronze relief. Hildesheim, Pel.-Mus. 2270. From Galjib. - 2nd cent. B.C. - With Artemis?, Dionysos?, Sarapis and Asklepios.

2942. (Uncertain) Limestone relief. Alexandria, Greco-Rom. Mus. 3283. From Benha (?). - Cassimatis, H., *BIFAO* 78, 1978, 554-555 pl. 99, 13. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - Crouching Aphrodite wringing her hair. From the l. a naked male, resembling the Lysippan H. in physique and features, pours from a jug over her head.

2943.\* Marble relief. London, BM 786. - Smith, *BMSculpture* no. 786 - Roman. - Athena (with lion), Aphrodite (with Eros), H. with sceptre «appears to wear the Egyptian crown» (the *atef* crown?).

2944. Marble sarcophagus, Asiatic. Athens, NM 1189. From Megiste. - *APL* XIV fig. 81; Himmelmann, N., *AbhMainz* 1970, 1, 12-13 n. 3; Wiegartz, *KISäulensark* 76; Laubscher, H. P., *Jdl* 89, 1974, 242-259 figs. 2. 3. - About A.D. 150. - Young H. (?) with cloak and club watches Aphrodite build a trophy. - Other examples of the group: a) Cameo. Paris, Louvre. - Laubscher, *o. c.* figs. 5. 6. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - b) Bronze medallion. Paris, Louvre. - *Ibid.* fig. 4. - 3rd cent. A.D. - The scene has generally been associated with victory at Troy. Laubscher suggests a Hermes/Octavian dedicating the club from his victory over Herakles/Antony. On the sarcophagus the scene is beside a group of Diomedes with the palladion and Odysseus (= Diomedes I 69).

2945.\* Grave relief, marble. Skopje, Mus. 82. From Prilep. - Josifovska, B., *Bodil nitz Lapidarium arheološki Muzej Skopje* 47 ff.; 99 no. 82 fig. 1; Düll, S., *Die Götterkulte Nord-Makedoniens* (1977) 274 no. 8 fig. 6; Wrede, *Consecratio* 251 no. 150 pl. 22, 2. - 3rd cent. A.D. - H. and Venus, at reduced scale, represent two dead children between their parents. Provincial.

2946. AE coin, Corinth, Commodus. - *Num-CommPaus* pl. FF 13. - Rev.: Aphrodite (Urania?)

holding a shield and H. crowning himself (= 741). Cf. *ibid.* pl. F 104 with Poseidon also at the l.

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### B. Herakles and Apollon/Apollo

Although H., like → Apollon, was a son of Zeus, a renowned archer and an accomplished musician (see above section II, G), there was seldom any sympathy between the two half-brothers. They generally met only in conflict, usually over possession of the Delphic tripod, but also occasionally over a deer (see 2174-2181. 2196. 2197). They are rarely shown in harmony before the Roman period.

The trouble over the tripod began when H. sought advice from Apollo's oracle at Delphi. When no reply was forthcoming, H. became angry and started to carry off the Delphic tripod. Not unnaturally, Apollo tried to prevent him. The two were finally reconciled when H. returned the tripod and Apollo expounded the measures necessary to secure the expiation that H. required.

LITERARY SOURCES: Though the tripod story was apparently known from early times, only later narratives survive. Apollod. (*bibl.* 2 [129-131] 6, 2) gives a circumstantial account: after H. had killed → Iphitos (I), he was purified by Deiphobos, son of Hippolytos, but continued to be afflicted by a disease. He went to Delphi to find a cure, but when the Pythia refused to prophesy for him, he seized the tripod and declared that he would set up an oracle of his own. Apollo fought him and the two were separated only when Zeus threw a thunderbolt between them. H. was then given the advice he sought, namely that he should be sold into slavery for three years in order to pay compensation to Eurytos, the father of Iphitos. Other authors provide only few modifications or additions to this basic story: Plut. *de E ap. Delph.* 387d explains that H. was still young at the time; Hyg. *fab.* 32 and Serv. *Aen.* 8, 299 say that H. carried off the tripod on his visit to Delphi after the murder of his wife and children and specify that H. was sold into slavery to → Omphale. Paus. 10, 13, 7-8 notes that the Pythia was Xenokleia and that upon this occasion she observed «there was another H.» Diod. 4, 31, 5-6 is unusual in describing the consequences of H.'s murder of Iphitos and his service to Omphale while omitting any mention of the struggle for the tripod. Most other authors either mention or allude to the struggle without expanding on the theme: Cic. *nat.* 3, 42; Plut. *de def. or.* 413a-b; *de sera* 557c. 560d; Paus. 8, 37, 1; Ps.-Kallisthenes 1, 45; *Schol. Pind.* O. 9, 48. Pind. O. 9, 30-33 appears to be the earliest extant reference to H.'s conflict with Apollo, but he does not specify that it was related to the theft of the tripod.

The reconciliation of H. and Apollo, joint founders of Gythium, is mentioned in Paus. 3, 21, 8. According to Apollod. (*bibl.* 2 [71] 4, 11) Apollo was not hostile to H. from the start, and when other gods were bestowing gifts on H., he gave him a bow and arrows, and, according to Diod. 4, 14, 3 he also taught him



their use. Paus. 8, 15, 5 records that H. set up a sanctuary to Apollo and Artemis in Arcadia, and built an altar for Apollo at Didyma (5, 13, 11). (Such is the scattered evidence pertaining to good relations between H. and Apollo. It had little effect on artists who overwhelmingly preferred to illustrate the conflict over the tripod.)

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## CATALOGUE

### 1. The struggle over the tripod

GREEK (see → Apollon 1009-1040, → Artemis 1291-1313)

#### a) The fight over the tripod

The tripod is upright between the two contenders who face each other, except on 2952, 2953 where H. is already moving off to the r., and 2951 where the tripod is held off the ground at an angle. The tripod is huge on 2947-2950. 2952, 2953. On 3019, 3020 the two face each other over the tripod, but a third figure intervenes between them.

#### Vases

2947.\* Pyxis, Attic bf. Boston, MFA 61.1256. - *ABV* 616, 11: Group of the Oxford Lid; *Para* 306; *Add* 143; *RA* 1978, 230 figs. 3-6; Bothmer no. 1. - About 550 B.C. - H. on r. wearing lionskin and holding club in l. hand. R. of H., Zeus, Hermes and a man with two wreaths; l. of Apollo (holding bow), Poseidon, Nereus (?), Dionysos and a woman - an unusual cast. Both contenders grasp the tripod with their r. hands.

2948.\* Kantharos fr., Boeotian bf. Paris, Louvre CA 952. - *CVA* 17 pl. 23, 2; Bothmer no. 8. - About 550 B.C. - H. on l., wearing lionskin and holding club in his r. hand. Both grasp the tripod. Apollo holds bow and arrow.

2949.\* (= Apollon 1010) Kantharos fr., Boeotian bf. Tübingen, Univ. S./10 1494a (C 19). - *CVA* 1 pl. 45, 3; Bothmer no. 9. - About 550 B.C. - H. at l., wearing lionskin, holding club in r. hand and gesticulating with l. hand. Apollo holds bow and arrow in l. hand and gesticulates with r. Neither has as yet grasped the large tripod that stands between them.

2950.\* (= Apollon 1009) Neck amphora, Attic bf. Vatican 16597 (356). From Vulci. - Albizzati pl. 46; Bothmer no. 2. - About 530 B.C. - H. on l. wear-

ing lionskin, holding club in his r. hand. Apollo holds bow and arrow; both grasp the tripod.

2951. Cup, Attic rf. Munich 2590 (J 401). From Vulci. - *ARV* 24, 12: Phintias; *Para* 323; *Add* 155; Bothmer no. 137. - About 520 B.C. - H. and Apollo both grasp the tripod, which is held at an angle off the ground. Both figures are named. (A = Alkyoneus 12\*)

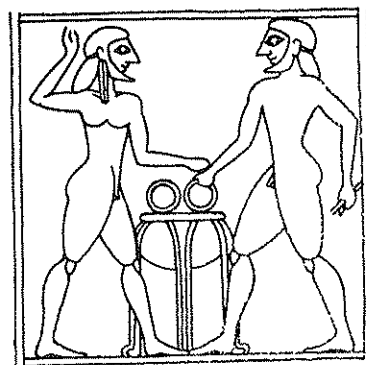
2952. Neck amphora, Attic bf. Leipzig, Univ. T 50 - *Para* 300; recalls the Red-Line P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 18, 3, 4; Bothmer no. 3. - About 500-475 B.C. - H. at the r., moving r., is seen in back view, brandishing his club in his r. hand. Deer beneath tripod. New York, MMA 46.129.1 (*ABV* 491, 55) is very similar.

2953. Cup, Attic bf. Düsseldorf 1954.8. - Manner of Haimon P.; *CVA* Nordrhein-Westfalen 1, pl. 12, 3-4; Bothmer no. 5. - 500-475 B.C. - Both contenders move r. H. wearing lionskin brandishes club in l. hand. Athena and Artemis flanking.

#### Bronze reliefs

2954. Shieldband relief. Olympia, Mus. B 1915. From Olympia. - Kunze, *Schildbänder XII* c pl. 33. - 525-500 B.C. - Two figures approaching each other with a tripod between them. The one on the l. may brandish a club, if so, he is H.

2955.\* Shieldband relief. Olympia, Mus. B 983. From Olympia. - Kunze, *Schildbänder XVIII* e pls. 46-47. - 525-500 B.C. - Two figures confront each other over a tripod; the one at the l. probably brandished a club in his r. hand; the one at the r. probably held a bow.



Herakles 2955

2956.\* (= Apollon 1012) Corselet shoulder flap. Athens, NM 84. From Dodona. - Kunze, *Schildbänder Beil.* pl. 9, 2. - 5th cent. B.C. (Lambrinoudakis, → Apollon 1012), not before 1st cent. B.C. (Borbein, *Campanareliefs* 177 n. 935), Roman Imperial (Fuchs, W., *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* [1959] 127 n. 55). - H. at the l. wearing lionskin as a cape, brandishing club in his r. hand. Both contestants grasp the tripod, which is relatively small and lifted off the ground, but remains almost vertical.

#### b) Herakles carrying off the tripod

H. bearded and carrying club unless otherwise specified.

#### (i) H. and Apollo alone

1. H. and Apollo on opposite sides of a vase (see Bothmer nos. 161-166)

#### Attic Vases moving left

2957.\* Amphora, rf. Florence, 3982 and Paris, Louvre C 12160. - *ARV* 238, 2: Myson; *CVA* Florence 2 pl. 25, 1; 26; Bothmer no. 166. - About 500-490 B.C. - A: H. naked. B: Apollo pursuing.

2958.\* (= Apollon 1028) Neck amphora, rf. New York MMA 13.233. - *ARV* 183, 13: Kleophrades P.; *Add* 187; Richter/Hall pls. 14-15; Bothmer no. 163. - About 490-480 B.C. - A: H. wearing lionskin as cape, quiver; standing rather than moving. B: Apollo pursuing at a stately pace.

#### moving right

2959. Pelike, bf. London BM B 190. - *CVA* 3 pl. 44 (164), 4; Bothmer no. 164. - About 510-500 B.C. - A: H. wears lionskin; between cocks on columns. B: Apollo pursuing at a run.

2960.\* (= Apollon 1027) Amphora, rf. Würzburg, Wagner Mus. L 500. From Vulci. - *ARV* 197, 8: Berlin P.; *Para* 342; *Add* 190; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pls. 165, 166; Bothmer no. 161. - About 490 B.C. - A: H. wears lionskin as cape, carries club in r. hand; B: Apollo pursuing.

2961. Neck amphora, rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 2318 (J 5). From Vulci. - *ARV* 199, 30: Berlin P.; *CVA* 5 pl. 210, 1-2; Bothmer no. 162. - About 490-70 B.C. - A: H. wearing lionskin, club in r. hand, unusually in full profile facing r. instead of looking behind him; quiver. B: Apollo pursuing.

#### 2. H. and Apollo together

moving left (see Bothmer nos. 126-136)

#### Attic vases

2962. Amphora, rf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 6843. From Tarquinia. - *ARV* 23, 2: Phintias; *Para* 323; *Add* 155; Bothmer no. 126 - About 510 B.C. - Young H., naked.

2963.\* (= Apollon 1025) Amphora, rf. Boston, MFA 63.1515. - *ARV* 1705: somewhat recalls Euthymides; *Para* 324, 7bis; *BullMFA* 61, 1963, 150 fig. 1; Bothmer no. 30. - About 510 B.C. - H. naked. Palm tree in centre. Cf. the fr. from Thasos, *AGRP* (Copenhagen) 382-383 figs. 2-4, by Euphronios (J.-J. Maffre).

2964.\* (= Apollon 1025a) Neck amphora, bf. Berlin. Staatl. Mus. F. 1853. - *CVA* 5 pl. 33, 1; Bothmer no. 32 - 510-500 B.C. - H. naked, flanked on either side by a palm tree and a deer. Apollo, at the r. in front of a tree much smaller than H., may have been an afterthought.

2965.\* Calyx krater, rf. London, BM E 458. - *ARV* 239, 16: Myson; *Para* 349; *Add* 201; Boardman *ARPH I* fig. 172; Bothmer no. 133. - About 490 B.C. - H. naked; a deer.

2966.\* (= Apollon 1026) Neck amphora, rf.

Rome, Romagnoli. From Gela. - *ARV* 202, 86: Berlin P.; *RM* 58, 1943, pl. 13; Bothmer no. 132. - About 480 B.C. - H. naked.

2967.\* Neck amphora, rf. London BM E 318. From Nola. - *ARV* 530, 20: Alkimachos P.; *CVA* 5 pl. 58, 3; Bothmer no. 135. - About 470 B.C. - Young H. naked.

#### Lucanian vase

2968. Volute krater, Lucanian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. H. 1762 (82110). - *LCS* 165, 917 pl. 72, 1: Primato P.; Richter, *Handbook* fig. 468; Trendall, *RFSIS* fig. 97. - 350-325 B.C. - H. naked. Woman at a window.

#### Reliefs

2969. (= 1698\*, = Apollon 1029\*) Metope, limestone. Paestum, Mus. From the Heraion, Foc del Sele. - Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele II* 178-184 fig. 34 pl. 66; Bothmer 62. - 575-550 B.C. - H. wears lionskin.

2970. Clay pierced plaque fr. Corinth Mus. 6401. From Corinth. - *Corinth XII* no. 213 pl. 17. - 6th cent. B.C. - H. naked (?); xoanon (?) at l.; tree (?) between H.'s legs. Apollo missing.

#### moving right

Attic vases (see Bothmer nos. 138-160)

2971.\* Hydria, bf. Madrid, Mus. Arch. 10913. - *ABV* 329, 2: Madrid P.; *Add* 89; *CVA* 1 pls. 8 (26), 5; 13 (31); Bothmer no. 139. - About 520 B.C. - H. wearing lionskin, quiver; tripod held in both hands. No club.

2972. (= Apollon 1023\* with bibl.) Olpe, bf. Paris, Louvre F 341. - *ABV* 176: may be Taleides P.; Bothmer no. 140. - 510-500 B.C. - H. wearing lionskin, quiver, brandishing club in l. hand. Both run.

2973. Olpe, bf. London market. - Sotheby, 11 Dec 1961, no. 77; Greifenhagen, A., *AA* 1978, 524 no. 24 fig. 38; Bothmer no. 28. - About 500 B.C. - H. wears lionskin, quiver, holds tripod with both hands. No club. Columns flank the figures and a triglyph-metope frieze runs above them.

2974.\* Olpe, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1765. From Vulci. - *ABV* 430, 20: Class of Vatican G 47; Micali, *Storia* pl. 88; Bothmer no. 120. - About 500 B.C. - Two narrow panels. In one, H. wearing lionskin, quiver, brandishing club in l. hand with Apollo grasping the tripod; in the other, Athena and Hermes rushing up from the r.

2975.\* (Apollon 1024) Neck amphora, bf. Paris, Louvre F 242. - *CVA* 4, pl. 48, 2; Bothmer no. 146. - About 500 B.C. - H. wears cuirass and short chiton, scabbard and quiver, brandishes club in l. hand. Deer between contenders.

2976. Cup skyphos, bf. Athens, Agora P 15009. From Athens. - *ABV* 566, 615: Haimon Group; Bothmer no. 159; *Agora XXIII* pl. 102, 1502. - 500-475 B.C. - Hack work.

2977.\* Oinochoe, bf. Brussels, Mus. Roy. A 1903. - *ABV* 473, 182: Gela P.; *CVA* 3 pl. 26, 3; Bothmer no. 31. - About 500-475 B.C. - H. naked; palm trees flanking.



moving right; H. seen in back view

**2978.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1478. From Vulci. - *ABV* 255, 13: Lysippides P.; *Add* 2 66; FR III fig. 109; Bothmer no. 138. - About 520 B.C. - H. wearing quiver, belted lionskin; the dorsal extension of the mane of the lionskin shows that a rear view is intended, and since H. is seen from the back, his body overlaps the tripod. The back view allows H. to brandish his club in his r. hand even though the group is moving r.

**2979.** Neck amphora, bf. Louvain-la-Neuve, Mus. - de Ruyt, F./Hackens, T., *Vases Grecs, Italiotes et Etrusques de la collection Abbé Mignot* (1974) 43-50 fig. 14; Bothmer no. 144. - 510-500 B.C. - H. naked, brandishing club in r. hand.

**2980.** Hydria, rf. Havana, Lagunillas Coll. From Vulci? - *ARV* 2 209, 163; Berlin P.; Kurtz, D. C., *The Berlin Painter* (1983) fig. 9; *MonPiot* 20, 1913, pl. 5; Bothmer no. 156. - About 500-490 B.C. - H. naked, brandishing club in raised r. hand.

**2981.** (= **3242**) Neck amphora, rf. Parma, Mus. Naz. C 3. - *CVA* 1 pl. 1 (2021), 1 (Tyszkiewicz P.); Bothmer no. 158. - 500-480 B.C. - Young H. naked, holding club in lowered r. hand.

**2982.\*** Cup, wg. frs. Athens, NM 15191 Akr. 432. From Athens. - *ARV* 2 332, 27: manner of Onesimos; *Add* 2 217; Graef/Langlotz II pl. 33; Bothmer no. 157. - About 490 B.C. - H. naked, brandishing club in raised r. hand.

**2983.** Neck amphora, bf. London, BM B 233. - *CVA* 4 pl. 54 (199), 3; Bothmer no. 148. - 500-475 B.C. - H. in belted lionskin showing both dorsal extension of mane and knotted paws, but presumably intended to be a back view because H.'s body overlaps the tripod.

Bronze relief

**2984.** Shieldband relief. Olympia, Mus. B 520. From Olympia. - Kunze, *Schildbänder XXV v pl.* 49. - 550-525 B.C. - Badly preserved, lower part only.

(ii) H. and Apollo flanked by Athena and Artemis

Attic vases

moving left (see Bothmer nos. 33-52)

**2985.\*** Amphora, rf. New York, MMA 63.11.6. - *ARV* 2 1617, 2bis: Andokides P.; *Add* 2 149; Bothmer, *BullMMA* 24, 1966, 201-212 fig. 2; Bothmer no. 33. - About 530-520 B.C. - H. naked; tripod held vertically.

**2986.** (= Athena 121\*/514, = Artemis 1295\*) Amphora, rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 2159. From Vulci. - *ARV* 2 3, 1: Andokides P.; *Add* 2 149; Arias/Shefton/Hirmer pl. 82; Bothmer no. 34. - 530-20 B.C. - H. wears belted lionskin, with lion's scalp slipping back off his head, holding the tripod with both hands. No club.

**2987.** Hydria, bf. London Market. - Rycroft P. - About 520-510. - H. wears lionskin. Palm tree in centre.

**2988.\*** Amphora, bf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC

6847. From Tarquinia. - *ABV* 338, 1: Painter of Tarquinia RC 6847 (near the Rycroft P.); *Add* 2 92; Arias/Shefton/Hirmer pl. 71; Bothmer no. 37. - About 520-510 B.C. - H. wears lionskin as cape; deer between contenders.

**2989.** Neck amphora, bf. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 409. - *Para* 149, 16bis: Rycroft P.; *Add* 2 92; *CVA* 1 pls. 41, 3-4; 45, 1-3; Bothmer no. 40. - About 510-500 B.C. - H. wears lionskin.

**2990.** (= Apollon 1015, = Athena 515, = Artemis 1300\*) Neck amphora, bf. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 435. - *ABV* 269, 41: Antimenes P.; *Add* 2 70; *CVA* 1 pls. 41, 2, 5; 44, 1-3; Boardman *ABFH* fig. 188; Bothmer no. 41. - About 510 B.C. - H. wears lionskin and quiver.

**2991.\*** (= Apollon 1014) Neck amphora, bf. Paris, Louvre F 231. - *ABV* 284, 9: near Group of Toronto 305; *CVA* 4 pl. 44, 1-3; Bothmer no. 43. - About 510-500 B.C. - H. wears lionskin.

**2992.** Neck amphora, bf. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 48.21. - *ABV* 284, 8: near Group of Toronto 305; Bothmer no. 45. - About 510-500 B.C. - H. wears lionskin.

**2993.\*** Amphora, rf. London BM E 255. From Vulci. - *ARV* 2 31, 2: Dikaios P.; *CVA* 3 pl. 3, 1; Bothmer no. 38. - About 510 B.C. - H. naked; Apollo back view.

**2994.\*** Cup, rf. Vatican 573. From Cerveteri. - *ARV* 2 36: Pythokles P.; Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie* pl. 24, 11; Bothmer no. 36. - End of 6th cent. B.C. - H. wears lionskin as cape.

**2995.\*** Cup, wg. frs. London, BM D 1. From Naucratis. - *ARV* 2 429, 20: Douris; *Add* 2 236; Hartwig pl. 50; Bothmer no. 48. - About 500-490 B.C. - H. wears lionskin as cape.

**2996.\*** Stamnos, rf. Paris, Louvre G 180. From Vulci. - *ARV* 2 289, 2: Siren P.; Pottier, *Vases* pl. 128; Philippaki, B., *The Attic Stamnos* (1967) pl. 36, 2; Bothmer no. 51. - About 490-80 B.C. - H. wears lionskin; deer between contenders.

**2997.\*** Oinochoe, rf. Leiden, Rijksmus. PC 84. From Vulci. - *ARV* 2 410, 60: Briseis P.; Bothmer no. 52. - About 480 B.C. - Young H., naked.

**2998.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1574. - Bothmer no. 44. - 500-475 B.C. - H. wears lionskin and quiver; deer between contenders.

moving right (see Bothmer nos. 53-111)

**2999.** Amphora, bf. Boston, MFA 98.919. - *ABV* 335, 3: Rycroft P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 14, 3; Bothmer no. 61. - About 520 B.C. - H. naked, holding tripod over his shoulder with his l. hand and club in his lowered r. hand. Deer between contenders.

**3000.\*** Lekythos, bf. Würzburg, Wagner Mus. L 366. From Vulci. *ABV* 337, 31: Rycroft P.; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 106; Bothmer no. 79. - About 510 B.C. - H. naked with cloak over his shoulders, carries tripod over his l. shoulder and holds club in his lowered r. hand.

**3001.** Amphora, bf. London, BM B 195. From Vulci. - *ABV* 335, 2: Rycroft P.; *Add* 2 91; *CVA* 3, pl. 37, 2a; Bothmer no. 60. - About 510 B.C. - H. wears

lionskin, tripod carried over l. shoulder, club held in lower r. hand; deer beside H.

**3002.** Neck amphora, bf. Toronto 927.39.1. - *ABV* 287, 6: Group of Würzburg 199; *CVA* 1, pl. 12, 1; Bothmer no. 69. - About 520-510 B.C. - H. wears short chiton draped around his waist, scabbard and quiver.

**3003.\*** Hydria, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1696. From Vulci. - *ABV* 268, 25: Antimenes P.; Brommer, *Herakles* II pl. 3a; Bothmer no. 57. - About 520-10 B.C. - H. wears lionskin and quiver. Back view.

**3004.\*** Amphora, bf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 984. From Tarquinia. - *Para* 143, 24bis: Euphiletos P.; Tronchetti, C., *Materiali del Museo Arch. Naz. di Tarquinia V: Ceramica attica a figure nere: Grandi vasi* (1983) pl. 39a; Bothmer no. 64. - About 530-10 B.C. - H. wears lionskin and quiver.

**3005.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 69. - *ABV* 328, 8: Long Nose P.; Bothmer no. 70. - About 510 B.C. - H. wears lionskin and quiver. The strange position of the quiver suggests that this may be intended to be a back view.

**3006.\*** Lekythos, bf. Corinth, Mus. CP 796. From Corinth. - *AJA* 34, 1930, figs. 1, 2; Bothmer no. 91. - 500-475 B.C. - H. brandishing club in l. hand. Poor quality. This sort of work is very common at this time; there are many lekythoi in this schema of this quality, see for instance *MuM Sonderliste* G, Nov 1964, figs. 35 and 36; Manchester Mus. III H 21, and see Bothmer nos. 84-109.

**3007.\*** Lekythos, bf. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 531. - *CVA* 2 pl. 49, 11, 12; Bothmer no. 88. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. wears close-fitting sleeveless, trousered costume decorated with small circles and lion-head cap.

**3008.** Cup-kotyle, bf. Athens, NM 18640. - Bothmer no. 109ter; Haimonian. - 500-475 B.C. - Like **3006**.

**3009.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Fiesole, Coll. Constantini. - *CVA* 1 pls. 11, 4; 15, 1, 2. - 500-475 B.C. - H. wears lionskin, but the artist is confused as to whether it is seen from the front or the back, as both the knotted paws and the dorsal extension of the mane are shown.

Relief vase

**3010.** (= Apollon 1020\*, = Artemis 1312) Relief pithos fr. Thasos, Mus. 2692 II. From the Artemisium at Thasos. *BCH* 85, 1961, 936; Bothmer 63. - End of the 6th cent. B.C. - H. carries the tripod over his shoulder and pulls a goat along behind him.

moving right; H. shown in back view

Attic vases

**3011.** (= 1808) Cup, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 2080. From Vulci. - *ABV* 256, 22: Lysippides P.; Schefold, *SBII* 144 fig. 192; Bothmer no. 53. - About 520 B.C. - Between eyes. H. wears lionskin, dorsal extension of the mane clearly drawn; tripod in front of his chest; quiver.

**3012.\*** Lekythos, bf. Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 753. - Haspels, *ABL* 55 pl. 16, 1a-b; Bothmer no. 77.

- About 520-10 B.C. - Same treatment of H. as **3011**, except scabbard instead of quiver.

**3013.\*** Amphora, bf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 5165. From Tarquinia. - *ABV* 336, 8: Rycroft P.; Tronchetti, *o.c.* **3004**, pl. 40a; Bothmer no. 63. - About 520-510 B.C. - Same treatment of H. as **3012**, but no scabbard.

**3014.** Hydria, bf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 86.AE.114. - Lykomedes P.; Bothmer, *BullMMA* 27, 1968, 432 fig. 8; Bothmer no. 55; *CVA* 1 pl. 55, 2. - About 520-10 B.C. - Same treatment of H. as **3013**, but with scabbard.

**3015.** Neck amphora, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1573. From Vulci. - *ABV* 401, 7: Group of Würzburg 221 (much restored); Bothmer no. 72. - About 510-500 B.C. - H. naked.

**3016.\*** Lekythos, bf. New York, MMA 66.11.4. - *Para* 247: Diosphos P.; Bothmer no. 95 pl. 19, 1-3. - About 500-490 B.C. - H. wears lionskin as a cape.

**3017.\*** Lekythos, bf. London, BM B 527. From Camirus. - *ABV* 488: Near the Marathon P.; Bothmer no. 83. - 500-475 B.C. - H. naked; quiver.

**3018.** Column krater, rf. London, BM E 491. - Bothmer no. 110; Vollkommer 43 fig. 55. - About 460 B.C. - H. naked.

(iii) H. and Apollo with a figure intervening

On **3019** and **3020** H. and Apollo confront each other; H. has not yet carried the tripod away, cf. section a.

Vases

**3019.** (= Artemis 1292\*) Skyphos, Chalcidian, bf. Naples, Mus. Naz. SA 120. - Rumpf, *ChalkVas* pls. 171-174; Bothmer no. 7. - About 530 B.C. - Athena stands in the middle behind a huge tripod, holding the wrist of the archer on the l. On either side of the tripod, grasping it with both hands, stand archers wearing short chitoniskoi who are virtually mirror images of each other. The one to the l. should be Apollo because a winged female figure (Artemis?) stands behind him and because of Athena's animosity. Hermes stands at the far r. (see section a for similar arrangements of the two contestants, but without an intervening figure).

**3020.** (= Hermes 538\*) Neck amphora, Attic bf. Boston, MFA 01.8027. From Orvieto. - *ABV* 152, 27: Amasis P.; *Add* 2 44; *CVA* 1 pl. 27, 1; Bothmer, *Amasis* 134-37 no. 25; Bothmer no. 118. - About 525-515 B.C. - Hermes, in the centre, rushing to the l. but with his head turned back to the r., intervenes between H. (on the r. wearing lionskin and quiver) and Apollo, l., who confront each other, each grasping the tripod which has been lifted off the ground. See section a and **3019**.

**3021.** (= Apollon 1034\*, = Hermes 539a) Hydria, Attic bf. London BM B 316. From Vulci. - *ABV* 268, 24: Antimenes P.; *CVA* 6 pls. 79, 4; 83, 1; Bothmer no. 13. - 520-510 B.C. - Zeus in the centre, rushing l. but looking back to r. Movement to r. H., to r., wears lionskin, quiver, carries off the tripod, while

Apollo at the l. tries to restrain him. L. of Apollo, Artemis; r. of H., Hermes, at far r. Athena. The strange position of H.'s quiver suggests that this may be intended to be a back view.

**3022.** Neck amphora (of Panathenaic shape), Attic bf., fr. Cleveland 15.533. - *ABV* 715: manner of the Antimenes P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 9, 1-2; Bothmer no. 11. - About 520 B.C. - Zeus (?) in the centre, head turned to l. Apollo to l. Leg of tripod to r. Thus the movement was to r., with H. on r.

**3023.** Hydria, Attic bf. Dijon 1207. - de Witte J., *Description des vases peints et des bronzes antiques qui composent la collection de M. de M\*\*\** (Paris, 1839) 34 no. 44; Bothmer no. 117. - 525-500 B.C. ? - Hermes in the centre with petasos and kerykeion, looking towards Apollo at the l. H., to the r., wears lionskin and quiver. Movement to r. Athena at far r.; Artemis at far l.

**3024.\*** Pelike, Attic rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 50755. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 204, 111; Berlin P.; Mingazzini, *CollCastellani* II no. 663; Bothmer no. 20. - About 490-480 B.C. - Athena in the centre, moving l. but looking r.; H. at l., naked; Apollo, r. Movement to l.

**3025.\*** (= Apollon 1036) Amphora, Attic rf. Vatican 16513. From Cerveteri. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 296, 1; Troilos P.; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 126; Bothmer no. 21. - About 490-80 B.C. - Athena in the centre, moving r. but looking l. H. naked at l., Apollo to r. Movement to l.

#### Sculpture

**3026.\*** (= Apollon 1038 with further refs.) East pediment of the Siphnian Treasury. Delphi Mus. - *FDelphes* IV 2, 153-162; Ridgway, B. S. *AJA* 69, 1965, 1-5 pls. 1-2; Bothmer no. 10. - About 525 B.C. - Zeus (in long chiton) centre, feet pointing r., head lost. H. wearing short chiton to r., thus movement to r. Woman (Artemis) to l. of Apollo. To l. and to r. a pair of shorter figures facing the corners flanked by chariots. The identity of these figures is obscure. Ridgway 5 n. 46 suggests that holes in the female figure r. of H. (smaller than he and facing away from him) may be for the attachment of an aegis, which would make her Athena, with the even smaller figure to her r. Iolaos, and perhaps (according to Bothmer 52) Hermes (very small) near the corner. These flanking figures, however, may not belong to the tripod story at all.

#### (iv) H. and Apollo with other figures

##### Attic vases moving left

**3027.\*** Cup, rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 27250. From Todì. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 124, 8; Nikosthenes P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 176; *CVA* 2 pls. 24; 25, 2-3; 26, 2; Bothmer no. 18. - About 520-10 B.C. - H. wears lionskin as cape. To l., four-horse chariot and charioteer; behind horses, Athena with small siren perched on her outstretched aegis. An owl perches on the goad of the charioteer.

**3028.** Neck amphora, bf., fr. Istanbul, Xanthos A 33.2324. From Xanthos. - *ABV* 692 and *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 6: Psiax; Metzger, H., *Fouilles de Xanthos* IV (1972) pl. 43; Bothmer no. 12. - About 520-10 B.C. - H.,

named, naked, presumably with a cape over his shoulders; club in lowered r. hand. To l. of H., knee with sceptre or spear of Zeus (or could it be Athena?).

**3029.** Stamnos, bf. Orvieto, Mus. Faina 48. - *ABV* 279, 52: manner of the Antimenes P.; Philippaki, B., *The Attic Stamnos* (1967) pl. 7, 2; Bothmer no. 114. - About 510-500 B.C. - H. wears lionskin. To l. of H., Athena; to r. of Apollo, Artemis; far r., Hermes, walking away but looking back.

**3030.** (= Hermes 539b\*) Hydria, bf. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1948.236. From Vulci. - *ABV* 360, 9: Leagros Group; *CVA* 3 pls. 37, 5-6; 39, 2; Bothmer no. 14. - About 510-500 B.C. - H. wears lionskin. To l. of H., Athena, far l., Zeus. To r. of Apollo, Artemis, far r., Hermes.

**3031.** Chous, rf., frs. Athens, NM Acr. 703. From Athens. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 118, 2: Kleomelos P.; Graeff/Langlotz II pl. 55; Bothmer no. 15. - About 500 B.C. - H. naked. To l. of H., Athena; far l., Zeus. Apollo only partially preserved. Nothing preserved r. of Apollo.

**3032.\*** Stamnos, rf. Paris, Louvre Cp 10747. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 296, 7: Troilos P.; Bothmer no. 125bis. - About 490 B.C. - H. naked, Athena at far l., deer between contenders.

**3033.** Stamnos, bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 251. - Philippaki, *o.c.* 3029, pl. 14, 2; Bothmer no. 123. - 500-475 B.C. - H. naked. Woman (Artemis or Leto) at far r.; deer between contenders.

##### moving right

**3034.** (= Apollon 1037, = Iolaos 42\*) Column crater, bf. New York, MMA 07.286.78. - Lykomedes P.; Bothmer no. 16 pls. 17, 18. - 530-20 B.C. - H. wears lionskin. Contenders are flanked by chariots, horses facing outward. Apollo's charioteer is Lykomedes. Athena stands r. of H.'s charioteer, Artemis l. of Apollo's; other figures on either side, going entirely around the vase.

**3035.\*** Hydria, bf. Paris, Louvre F 292. - *Para* 142: Euphiletos P.; Pottier, *VasesLouvre* pl. 83; *CVA* 6 pl. 70 (409), 2, 4; Bothmer no. 142. - About 520 B.C. - H. wears lionskin; small winged female figure (Nike?) to l. of Apollo.

**3036.\*** Hydria, bf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 1907. From Vulci. - *ABV* 360, 8: Leagros Group; Bothmer no. 116. - 520-10 B.C. - H. wears lionskin as cape. Quiver. Deer between contenders. L. of Apollo, Artemis; far l. Hermes (looking away from centre); r. of H., Athena.

**3037.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1965.114. - *ABV* 287, 7: Group of Würzburg 199; *CVA* 3 pl. 12, 3; Bothmer no. 119. - About 510 B.C. - H. wears cuirass, quiver. Deer between contenders. L. of Apollo, Artemis; r. of H., seated Hermes.

**3038.** Hydria, bf. Utica (New York), Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute. - *Para* 164, 9bis: Leagros Group; Bothmer no. 115. - About 510-500 B.C. - H. wears lionskin, quiver. R. of H., Athena accompanied by a bull or a cow. L. of Apollo, Artemis; far l., Hermes.

**3039.** Lekythos, bf. Agrigento, Mus. Reg. R 146. - *Para* 214, 150: Gela P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 54, 1-4. - About

510 B.C. - H. wears lionskin. Flaming altar between the contenders. L. of Apollo, a man; r. of H., Athena, column.

**3040.\*** Lekythos, bf. London, BM B 528. - Hapsels, *ABL* 210, 105: Gela P.; Bothmer no. 27. - 500-475 B.C. - H. naked, quiver. Flaming altar between contenders. L. of Apollo, column; r. of H., male figure (Iolaos?).

**3041.** Lekythos, bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 284. - Hapsels, *ABL* 206, 19: Gela P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 80, 4-5; Bothmer no. 25. - 500-475 B.C. - H. wears lionskin, quiver. Flaming altar between contenders. L. of Apollo, column; r. of H., figure in helmet and short chiton (Iolaos or Athena?).

**3042.\*** Lekythos, bf. Palermo, Fondazione Mormino 107. - Gela P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 8, 8-9; Bothmer no. 26. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. wears lionskin. Deer between contenders. L. of Apollo, column; far l., Artemis. R. of H., man (Iolaos?).

#### (v) H. alone carrying the tripod

##### moving left Attic vases

**3043.** Stand, bf. Eleusis Mus. 1405. From Eleusis. - Bothmer no. 169. - About 525 B.C. - H. wears lionskin.

**3044.\*** Lekythos, rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 7517. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 189, 78: Kleophrades P.; *OpuscAthen* 2, 1955, pl. 4 figs. 13-14; Bothmer no. 173. - About 500-490 B.C. - H. wears lionskin as cape.

##### Coin

**3045.** AR stater, Patara (Lycia), dynast Vakhssarā, about 390 B.C. - *BMC* Lycia 26, 116 pl. 7, 1; Babelon, *Traité* II 2, 306, 427 pl. 102, 2; Bräuer, pl. 5, 6. - Obv.: H. naked, carrying tripod. Rev.: triskeles in incuse square.

##### moving right Attic vases

**3046.\*** Eye cup, bf. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 566. - Bloesch, H., *Formen attischer Schalen* (1940) 19, iii 2; Bothmer no. 167. - About 520 B.C. - H. wears lionskin. Unusually he is shown in full profile looking in front of him (not back at pursuing Apollo). He holds the tripod over his l. shoulder and his club in his r. hand. B: H. again, shooting an arrow.

**3047.\*** Olpe, bf. Adolphseck 14. - *ABV* 450, 1: P. of Louvre F 161; *CVA* 1 pl. 14, 2, 5; Bothmer no. 168. - About 500 B.C. - H. wears lionskin, quiver. He carries the tripod over his r. shoulder and holds his club in his r. hand.

##### Coin

**3048.\*** AR didrachmon, Thebes, 440 B.C. - Bräuer, pl. 5, 7; *BMC* Central Greece 71, 36 pl. 12, 6. - Rev.: H. holding tripod in front of him swinging club in l. hand. Obv.: Boeotian shield.

##### Bone relief

**3049.** Handle. Baltimore, WAG 71.1126. - Ran-

dall, R. H., *Masterpieces of Ivory* (1985) no. 65. - 1st cent. B.C. - Young H. in lionskin, r. hand on club, holds tripod at his l. Beyond, a herm of Apollo and a tree.

##### moving right, back view Attic vases

**3050.** Column crater, rf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 3981. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 240, 41: Myson; *CVA* 2 pls. 38, 2; 40, 3-4; Bothmer no. 175. - About 490-80 B.C. - H. naked. On the other side: acontist.

**3051.\*** Lekythos, Six's technique. New York, MMA 67.11.22. - Bothmer no. 170 pl. 19, 4. - 500-475 B.C. - H. naked followed by a deer (?).

#### c) Reconciliation of H. and Apollo

**3052.** (= Apollon 1040\*, = Artemis 1318, = Hera 456) Bell crater, Attic rf. London, BM 1924.7-16.1 - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1420, 6: P. of London F 64; Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 23; *Etudes delphiques*, *BCH* Suppl. 4, 1977, 402 fig. 11; Vollkommer 52 fig. 69; Boardman, *ARF* II fig. 355. - 380-360 B.C. - In the centre background, tripod on a column. To l., H. naked, cloak over his shoulders, club over l. shoulders, shaking hands with Apollo (r.) seated, with laurel branch. They shake hands. L. of H., Hera (?) and Hermes. R. of Apollo, Artemis and Leto (?). Metzger (180-181) does not believe that this shows the reconciliation.

#### d) Unknown schemes

**3053.** Statues at Gythion. Lost. - Paus. 3, 21, 8: «The people of Gythion say that their city had no human founder, but that H. and Apollo, when they were reconciled after their strife for the possession of the tripod, united to found the city. In the market-place they have images of Apollo and H. ...» - Archaic?

**3054.** (= Apollon 1021, = Artemis 1313) Statues dedicated by the Phocians at Delphi, and replicas in Abae (Hdt. 8, 27, 5). Lost. - On the statues at Delphi, Paus. 10, 13, 7: «H. and Apollo are holding on to the tripod, and are preparing to fight about it, Leto and Artemis are calming Apollo, and Athena is calming H. This too is an offering of the Phocians, dedicated when Tellias of Elis led them against the Thessalians. Athena and Artemis were made by Chionis, the other images are works shared by Diyllos and Amyklaos. They are said to be Corinthians.»; Overbeck, *SQ* no. 480. - About 480 B.C.

**3055.** White marble reliefs in the temple of Artemis Hegemone at Lykosura in Arcadia. Lost. - Paus. 8, 37, 1: «On the first relief are wrought Moirai and Zeus surnamed Moiragetes, and on the second H. wrestling a tripod from Apollo.»

#### e) Uncertain

**3056.** (= Artemis 1291\*) Sketch for painting, stone plaque fr. From Persepolis. - Boardman, J./Roaf, M., *JHS* 100, 1980, 204-206 figs. 1-2. - About 500 B.C. - H. wears chiton and lionskin and moves to l. followed by Apollo with bow. At far r., Artemis.

The tripod, if present, was drawn on a fragment that is now missing.

**3057.** Pithos, Sicilian. Paris, Louvre CA 3837 (sixth panel). – *Mon Piot* 62, 1979, 32 fig. 11. – 670–640 B.C. – Two male figures, moving to r., helmeted figure intervening; woman at far l. (Artemis?). The disputed tripod – if it is a tripod – is largely effaced.

**3058.** Amphora, Attic bf. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 48.2127. – *Para* 134, 33; Swing P.; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmalerei* (1982) 39 pl. 63b; Bothmer 53 no. 29. – About 530 B.C. – H. at centre strides to l. looking back; a tripod beyond him (in further plane behind him). At l., a seated woman (Pythia?); at r., Apollo, standing, holding on to the tripod with one hand. Return and installation of the tripod?

**3059.** Rectangular sealstone. Brauron, Mus. 1305. From Brauron. – Boardman, *GGFR* 112 fig. 162; Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen* 30 F 6. – Late 8th cent. B.C. – Helmeted warriors fight over a tripod. Nothing identifies them as H. and Apollo and the scene may be generic.

**3060.** (= Aigisthos 1\*) Boeotian relief pithos. Boston, MFA 99.505. From Thebes. – Prag, A. J. N. W., *Oresteia* (1985) 32–33 pl. 22. – About 650–625 B.C. – Apollo?, centre, seated on the tripod?, attacked by man (H.) to l. Woman (Pythia?) to r.

**3061.** (= Apollon 1011) Bronze relief, tripod leg fr. Olympia Mus B 1730. From Olympia. – Willemssen, F., *OlympForsch* III (1957) 100 pl. 63; Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen* 29 F 4. – Late 8th cent. B.C. – Naked, helmeted warriors fight over a tripod which they have lifted into the air though it remains vertical. Very similar to the schema in 3059 and may also be generic.

**3062.** Bronze shieldband relief. Olympia Mus. B 1973. From Olympia. – Kunze, *Schildbänder* xlvii b pl. 67. – About 550 B.C. – Fragmentary and uncertain. Apparently movement to r., H. seen from the back, Apollo pursuing. At far l., woman wearing polos (Artemis?).

**3063.** Statues at Sikyon. Lost. – Plin. *nat.* 36, 10: «Dipoinos and Skyllis made images of Apollo, Artemis, H. and Athena.»; Overbeck, *SQ* no. 321. – 575–550 B.C. (?) – There is no indication that the tripod was represented or of how the four images were related. The assembly of these four participants in the tripod story is extremely popular in Attic vase painting from about the last quarter of the 6th cent. B.C., but does not appear in any other extant non-Attic representations of the story. See Griffin, A., *Sikyon* (1982) 112–115.

#### ROMAN

See also → Apollon/Apollo 406–411. 579–583.

#### f) The fight over the tripod

##### Clay Campana reliefs

**3064.** (= Apollon/Apollo 410\*) Rome, Antiquarium Pal. From the Temple of Apollo on the Pala-

tine. – Carettoni, G., *RendPontAcc* 44, 1971–2, 123 ff. fig. 2; Zanker, P., *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* Suppl. 10, 1983, 34–36 fig. 7; Borbein, *Campanareliefs* 176–178. – Early Augustan. – Young H. to the r., wearing his lionskin as a cape with a belt at the waist, holding club in his lowered l. hand. Both contenders grasp a ring of the tripod which stands upright between them, with r. hand. Same type: Rome, Mus. Naz. 113015, from the east slope of the Capitol; Borbein, *o.c.* 176–177 pl. 33, 2. Paris, Louvre S 784 (= Apollon/Apollo 409\*); Borbein, *o.c.* pl. 33, 1. For a political interpretation, see Kellum 200 and for another view Simon, E., in → Apollon/Apollo 409.

#### g) Herakles carrying off the tripod

##### Reliefs

**3065.** (= Apollon/Apollo 583\* with bibl.) Clay relief medallion, Gallo-Roman, by the potter Felix. Lyons, Mus. Gallo-Romain. – 1st cent. A.D. – H. centre, moving r., holding tripod aloft in l. hand, club in r. hand, lionskin worn as cape. Apollo moving r., turns back to grasp tripod. Leto, far l., holding H.'s elbow. All three figures inscribed. Composition unparalleled.

**3066.\*** (= Apollon/Apollo 406 with bibl.) Marble relief. Copenhagen, Glypt. 442. From Velletri. – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* no. 36; *Billedtavler* pl. 3, 36; Fuchs, W., *Vorbilder* (1959) 126 n. 47. – Mid 1st cent. B.C. – Young H. wearing lionskin as cape, tip-toe, moving l., tripod over l. shoulder, club in r. hand, looking behind him at Apollo. Omphalos between the two.

This neo-Attic invention of the 1st cent. B.C. is much copied in virtually identical form well into the Antonine period. It was popular for decorative reliefs and for the decoration of candelabra, for example: a) (= Apollon 1030\*, = Apollon/Apollo 408) Piraeus, Mus. 2118. – Fuchs, *o.c.* 187 no. 4 pl. 28b; Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Th., *Neoattika* (1979) 39 nos. 63, 64. – Early Antonine. – b)\* (= Apollon/Apollo 408a) Dresden, Staatl. Kunstslg. 27. From Italy. – Cain, H.-U., *Römische Marmorkandelaber* (1985) 154–155 no. 19 pl. 21, 2. – Hadrianic. (See also *ibid.* 187 no. 103 pls. 76, 4; 83, 1, fr. Vatican, Gall. Cand. inv. 2667; 1st half of 1st cent. B.C.).

**3067.** (= 3071, = Apollon/Apollo 407a\*) Relief on base of marble candelabrum. Todi, Mus. Comunale. – Paoletti 44 ff. pl. 10. – Flavian (Augustan: Simon in → Apollon/Apollo 407). – Only the foot and lower leg of H. survive, but the subject is clear from the remains of a flying lion's paw, part of the tripod and the pursuing Apollo. Movement to l.

**3068.** (= Apollon/Apollo 579\* with bibl.) Sarcophagus, limestone. Cologne, Röm.-Germ. Mus. 70. – From Cologne. – *SarkRel* III 1 no. 137 pl. 42; Espérandieu, *Recueil* VIII no. 6479. – 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. – Provincial. H. standing, Apollo seated.

**3069.** (= Apollon/Apollo 581\*) Grave relief, limestone. Trier, Rhein. Landesmuseum. From Trier. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* VI no. 4932. – Provincial. – H., naked, lionskin over one arm flees to l., pursued by Apollo.

#### Coins

**3070.** (= Apollon 1032\*) AE, Samos, Commodus (A.D. 180–192) and Macrinus (A.D. 217–218). – Bräuer, pl. 5, 8; Voegtli pl. 17, 1 and n. – Rev.: H. flees to l., but looks back at pursuing Apollo. The tripod is not shown, but the schema suggests the struggle for the tripod.

#### h) Reconciliation of Herakles and Apollo

**3071.** (= 3067, = Apollon/Apollo 407b\*) Marble relief on base of candelabrum. Todi, Mus. Comunale. – Paoletti 44 ff. pl. 12. – Flavian (Augustan; Simon in → Apollon/Apollo 407). – H. in tunic, back view at l., with club over l. shoulder, shakes hands with Apollo to r. Tripod stands between them.

#### 2. The struggle over a deer

See 2174–2181 with discussion. The scheme on Attic bf. vases is borrowed from the scenes of the struggle for the tripod.

#### 3. Other scenes

For H. with Apollo and Mousai see 1480\*? An Archaic bronze H. is dedicated to Apollo Ismenios (27), to whom H. sacrifices on the Tabula Albani (Admete 1\*; Apollon 388). H. and Apollo's statues side by side on Trajan's arch at Beneventum (→ Apollon/Apollo 329\*). Cf. also 338. 1317\*. 1370\*. 1576.

#### a) Herakles and Apollo stand frontally, arms round each other's shoulders

H. with club, Apollo with lyre.

**3072.\*** (= Apollon/Apollo 411) Jasper ringstone. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IX B 327. – *AGOe* II no. 1202 pl. 104. – 2nd cent. A.D. – Cf. the glass intaglios in Munich (→ Apollon/Apollo 411a); London (Walters, *BMGems* no. 2746); Berlin (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no. 1318).

**3073.** Silver relief. Turin, Mus. Ant. From Marengo. – Bendinelli, G., *Il tesoro di argenteria di Marengo* (1937) 35 pl. 13.

**3074.** AE coin, Aigeai, Gallienus (A.D. 253–268). – *BMC* Lycaonia 28, 43 pl. 5, 3; *SNG* v. Aulock 5461. – Rev.

**3075.** (= Apollon 500a\*) Lead tessera from Palmyra.

#### b) Other

**3076.\*** Bell crater, Paestan rf. Leningrad, Hermitage B 1660 (St 1777). – *RVP* 48, 105 pl. 13c: Group of Louvre K 240 (not Asteas, as in earlier lists); *Phlyax vases*² no. 32; Bieber, *Theater*² 131 fig. 481; Vollkommer 75 fig. 94. – 360–350 B.C. – Phlyax actors in usual costume. H. wears lionskin cap, holds club and tray of food (?), stands on a stool behind a wooden stand on which Apollo sits (laurel wreath, branch and bow) looking alarmed. Another actor before him with raised hand.

**3077.** Cornelian ringstone. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 7161. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 54. – 1st/2nd cent. A.D. – Apollo, a lyre before him, extends a branch to H. (with club) who stretches out a hand for it. Summary style.

#### COMMENTARY

##### The struggle over the tripod

As early as the late 8th cent. B.C., representations appear of two male, helmeted figures in conflict over a tripod. A sealstone from Brauron (3059) shows the figures standing on either side of a central tripod; a bronze relief on a tripod leg from Olympia (3061) shows each one grasping one leg of a tripod. Neither inscriptions nor conventional attributes had come into common use at this early date and so it is difficult to decide whether these works are intended to be representations of H. and Apollo or are just generic scenes depicting competing athletes (Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen* 28–32).

The story is illustrated recognisably and with increasing frequency from the middle of the 6th century B.C. Defradas, Parke and Boardman (1957) and Boardman (1978) have suggested that various historical associations and the symbolic interpretations consequent upon these contributed to the popularity of the theme in late Archaic art.

By the middle of the 6th cent. B.C. there existed at least one work which indisputably illustrates the story: the metope at Paestum (2969). Both figures are shown moving to the left, H. in the lead, Apollo trying to restrain him. H. is identified by his club, Apollo by the quiver on his back. A bronze relief on a shieldband (3062), made around the same time, is in poor condition and so is difficult to read, but Kunze suggests that it shows H. (seen from the back) moving to the right, looking behind him and brandishing his club, while pursued by Apollo, backed up by a female figure wearing a polos (Artemis?).

About the middle of the 6th cent. B.C. vase painters begin to illustrate the story. An Attic black-figure pyxis (2947) shows the two contenders facing each other on either side of the tripod, each grasping a ring. H. is clearly identified by his club and lionskin. The extensive selection of deities flanking the contenders is never repeated. The tripod, large and central, set vertically on the ground, is popular with the few artists who illustrate the story in the third quarter of the 6th cent. B.C., as for instance on the two Boeotian kantharoi (2948, 2949), in which H. is placed to the left and clearly identified by his club and lionskin and Apollo by his bow and arrow, and the Chalcidian skyphos (3019), in which Athena stands in the middle behind the tripod and the two contenders, both characterized as archers, are virtually indistinguishable.

The iconography of two other early vases is less clear-cut: the Swing Painter (3058) shows H. striding along in front of the tripod which rests on the ground in a scene that is interpreted as the restitution of the tripod in the presence of the Pythia, seated at the left.



An amphora by the Princeton Painter (1316) depicts H. bent beneath a huge tripod. The tripod in this case is probably an athletic prize, not the sacred object belonging to Apollo.

The years from around 530–515 B.C. see the theme gaining markedly in popularity in vase painting and the introduction of most iconographical types. The moment chosen for illustration from this time on usually shows H., having already lifted the tripod up, carrying it away while looking anxiously behind him. (2961 and 3046 are exceptional in portraying H. facing in the direction in which he is moving.) The hero carries his prize either to the right or (less frequently) to the left; Apollo hangs on to the tripod or pursues the thief.

Because H. moves in one direction but looks back in the other, his pose permits the construction of a balanced composition, tense on either side of the tripod. This balance is reinforced by the addition of Athena and Artemis (supporting H. and Apollo respectively) who frame the scene, usually facing inward (but see Bothmer 54) and who, from about 530 B.C. on, are included more often than omitted. Though balanced and basically symmetrical, the normal composition usually does not have a central accent; the emphasis is rather on the tug-of-war, the centrifugal pulling apart of the two contenders.

Occasionally a palm tree (2963, 2987) or a figure (3019–3026) is introduced to serve as a central feature – most conspicuously on the Siphnian Treasury (3026), where the design of the pediment demands it. The Antimenos Painter (3021) and a close colleague (3022) each introduce Zeus (as on the Siphnian Treasury) intervening between his two sons; the Amasis Painter (3020) and the painter of the hydria in Dijon (3023) place Hermes in this position. On the Chalcidian skyphos (3019) and on two Attic red-figure vases of the first quarter of the 5th cent. B.C. (3024, 3025), Athena is shown stepping between the contenders instead of supporting H. The central accent in the pediment of the Siphnian Treasury, though not entirely unparalleled in vase painting, nevertheless appears anomalous. So too is the presence of chariots (which on the Siphnian Treasury may or may not pertain to the story). Chariots (3034) or one chariot (3027) (and see Bothmer nos. 16–19 and pp. 52–53) also appear occasionally on vases, but they are exceptional.

The most popular Attic vase type (which is hardly ever adopted in other media) consists of four figures – the two protagonists flanked by their female divine supporters (Athena and Artemis). Movement to the right ultimately proves more popular. The attire of both protagonists is freely varied.

Depictions of H. moving to the right, shown in front view, generally portray H. wielding his club in his left hand. The majority of vase painters seem untroubled by this, but a minority are careful to depict the hero in back view when he is moving to the right, so that he can brandish his club in his right hand. The problem does not arise when H. is shown moving to the left, and there are no representations of the hero seen from the back when he moves to the left.

Palm trees are portrayed from time to time (2963, 2964, 2977, 2987 and see Bothmer 54). They are presumably intended as attributes of Apollo (like the deer [2964, 2975, 2988, 2998, 3001, 3031–3033, 3036, 3037, 3042 and see Bothmer 61] which is sometimes included), since this story is of necessity set at Delphi rather than at Delos. Columns (2973, 3039–3042) and altars (3039–3041) (and see also Bothmer nos. 22–28) are also occasionally introduced to indicate the setting.

During the last quarter of the 6th cent. B.C., three shieldband reliefs were devoted to this subject; two (2954, 2955) show the contenders facing each other, the third shows them moving to the right (2984). A pierced terracotta plaque from Corinth (2970) shows H. moving to the left; the rest of the group is missing.

Early 5th cent. B.C. vase painters of quality experiment with different schemata. Less distinguished vase painters and hacks working mostly in bf. (3006, 3008, for instance) prefer showing movement to the right (H. left-handed and seen from the front), usually in the four figure schema. Around 480 B.C. the Phocians dedicated a statuary group in Delphi (3054) in which H. and Apollo were shown both grasping the tripod, H. soothed by Athena and Apollo by Artemis and Leto. Paus.' description (10, 13, 7) suggests that, as in most representations of this theme, no single figure occupied the middle, so there was no central accent.

Vase representations peter out during the second quarter of the 5th cent. B.C.

5th and 4th cent. B.C. coins (3045, 3048) show H. by himself carrying the tripod. Such an excerpt appeared first in the last quarter of the 6th cent. B.C. (3043, 3046) and recurs with increasing frequency during the early 5th cent. B.C. (3044, 3047, 3050, 3051) (and see Bothmer nos. 167–175 and p. 61), along with representations in which H. and Apollo are shown on opposite sides of the vase (2957–2961) and see Bothmer nos. 161–166 and p. 60). (For representations of Apollo alone with the tripod with possible reference to this story, see → Apollon 384\* and → Apollon/Apollo 269.)

Very few vases treat the theme in the 4th cent. B.C., for instance, a Lucanian volute crater (2968) and an Attic bell crater (3052), which is often interpreted as depicting the reconciliation of H. and Apollo. This amicable conclusion to the story appears to have been represented on a marble relief in Todi (3071) centuries later, on which the two erstwhile contenders are again shown shaking hands (the theft is represented on another side, 3067), and it may also have been theme of the statues of H. and Apollo at Gythium, 3053.

Thereafter artists seem to have lost interest in the subject until the late Hellenistic period, when it was revived in the neo-Attic style on a number of Campana reliefs (3064) in which H. and Apollo face each other symmetrically (H. on the right), each grasping the tripod that stands between them (in a schema that is very close to the earliest representations of the theme, but in a style that is very different) and a series of neo-Attic reliefs (3066) in which the figures are shown daintily moving to the left, H. leading, but

turning to look behind him. An omphalos is represented between the two contenders. In both the Campana plaques and the neo-Attic reliefs, H. is shown wearing the lionskin over his head but falling behind him like a cape with a belt securing it at his waist. The relief at Lycosura (3055) mentioned by Paus. (8, 37, 1) may have been like one or other of these two types.

The renewed popularity of the subject may have gained impetus from Augustan propaganda, since Augustus claimed Apollo as his patron from the time of the battle of Actium and Mark Antony numbered H. among his ancestors. Campana reliefs were used to decorate the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. Neo-Attic reliefs of the type (3066) continued to be produced with little change as late as the Antonine period.

Two Samian coins (3070) show H. moving to the left, looking behind him, in a schema that is reminiscent of the tripod iconography, but the tripod itself is missing. Numismatists (see Voegtli 68–69) suggest that the image on the coins might have been derived from a Samian monument in which the theft of the tripod was represented but from which the tripod itself (perhaps made of precious materials) had been lost. There is no evidence that such a statuary group ever existed, but Apollo's son, Lykomedes, who serves as his father's charioteer on a column crater in New York (3034) does provide a tenuous Samian link (cf. Paus. 7, 4, 1).

#### Other scenes

The few late groups of H. and Apollo (3072–3075) reflect cult associations and are mainly in minor art.

The story behind the Phylax scene (3076) is not known but may be imagined.

SUSAN WOODFORD

(with JOHN BOARDMAN, sections 2, 3)

#### C. Herakles and Ares/Mars

H. fought three of Ares' sons – → Kyknos (I) (and → Ares 33–44), Lykaon (see Section VI) and Diomedes (Section IV, J) – and in fighting Kyknos (cf. → Ares 33–44) attacked Ares himself, having already attacked and wounded him at Pylos (Hes. sc. 357–367). Ares helps Acheloos against H. on the wooden box in the Treasury of the Megarians at Olympia (→ Ares 77; Paus. 6, 19, 12). It is the belt of Ares that H. acquires from Hippolyte (LIMC I p. 634). Ares sometimes occupies one of the flying chariots accompanying H. to Olympus (2935–2937). The dispute over Kyknos is alluded to on the Roman clay medallion, → Ares/Mars 494\* (= Athena/Minerva 330), where H. and Mars stand before Jupiter, Victoria and Minerva. Other scenes of H. with Mars and Jupiter are 3378, 3379. In Rome H. could be equated with Mars: *secundum pontificalem ritum idem est Hercules qui et Mars* (Serv. Aen. 8, 275; cf. Macr. Sat. 3, 12, 5–6). See Brommer, *Herakles* II 100.

#### D. Herakles and Artemis/Diana

H. confronts Artemis in the Labour over the Kerynitian deer (Section IV, E) and when she supports Apollo against him. See also under 2124 (attending the boar Labour), and → Artemis 1318a\* (Vollkommer 53 fig. 70), an Apulian rf. vase where Artemis is crowning H. in the presence of Pan. H. is with Diana and Silvanus on the 2nd cent. A.D. reliefs, → Artemis/Diana 279, 299. She appears between H. and Dionysos on a Roman relief at Tegea (= 311\*). They are associated in cult in Thrace: see → Artemis (in Thracia) 36, and, for Dacia, Barbulescu, M., *Acta Musei Napocensis* 14, 1977, 187 no. 74 pl. 4 (sarcophagus: H. with ketos and Diana at either side of reclining dead woman). H. dedicated a stone lion to her in Thebes (Paus. 9, 17, 2). Diana shared a couch with H. at the first Roman lectisternium of 399 B.C. (Liv. 5, 13, 6). See Brommer, *Herakles* II 100.

#### E. Herakles with Athena

Athena appears as H.'s patron and protector early in literature (Homer) and only a little later in art. She occasionally offers physical aid to him, but generally does no more than encourage or observe in the action scenes, and stands by him in others. In Archaic Athens a special relationship is particularly emphasised both by her presence in action and other scenes, and by some special groups involving libation or the hand-clasp.

LITERARY SOURCES: Athena's patronage of H. is surprisingly little documented in early literature. In Hom. *Il.* 8, 362–369 she recalls how she helped the hero in his Labours for Eurystheus – he had only to cry for help and Zeus would send her down – and through her he returned over the Styx with Kerberos. It is the same episode that is recalled by H. himself in Hades in *Od.* 11, 626, where he records the assistance of Athena and Hermes. Athena with the Trojans made the walled refuge for H. at Troy in the Hesione episode (*Il.* 20, 145–147). In the many references to H. in Hesiod Athena is seldom mentioned – her counsel in the Hydra episode (*theog.* 316–318), handing him his weapons at Pylos (*fig.* 33a, 31–33 Merkelbach/West), pointing out Periklymenos the bee (*fig.* 33b). She is prominent in [Hes.] *scutum*, helping H. against → Kyknos (I) and Ares – he dons the corselet she gave him at the start of his Labours (124–127), she encourages H. and Iolaos (325–337), mounts their chariot and puts mettle into their horses (338–344), tries to check Ares, then turns aside his spear (443–449, 455–456). After these early sources references to Athena's active help to H. remain meagre. In the Labours she provided the bronze castanets to set up the Stymphalian birds (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [93] 5, 6) and she receives and returns the apples of the Hesperides (*ibid.* 2 [121] 5, 11). She assisted him against the Pylians (Paus. 6, 25, 2; cf. 8, 18, 3). After his madness she brings him to his senses by casting a stone at him and so prevents him killing also Amphitryon (Eur. *Herc.* 1001–1008; Paus. 9, 11,



2) or Iphikles (Asklep. Trag., *FGH* 12 F 27). She takes him to Phlegra to fight the giants (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [138] 7, 1). Upon his retirement from active service, when the gods bestow gifts, she gives him a fine robe (Diod. 4, 14, 3; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [71] 4, 11). H. founded the sanctuary of Athena at Sparta (Paus. 3, 15, 6) but there is little evidence of joint cult: in Chios (Athena 1908, 227). H. statuettes are dedicated in the Classical sanctuary of Athena at Kakopetria in Cyprus (Karageorghis, V., *RDAC* 1977 197 and cf. *PraktAkad-Ath* 52, 1977, 163-180). For H. on the Athenian Acropolis see Commentary.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Amburger, E., *Athena und H. in der Kunst* (diss. Berlin 1949), cf. Beckel 120 n. 557; Beazley, J. D., *AntK* 4, 1961, 49-67, esp. 55-58; Beckel, G., *Götterbeistand in der Bildüberlieferung gr. Heldensagen* (1961) 41-63; Boardman, J., in *ACRP* (Amsterdam) 242-247; Braun, E., *Tages und der Minerva und des H. heilige Hochzeit* (1837); Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 28-31 (confused and highly selective); Brommer, *Herakles* II 101-102; Eckstein-Wolf, B., *Mdl* 5, 1952, 39-75, esp. 62; Gerhard, *AVI* 142-146; II 180-182; Gruppe, O., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 1096-1097 s.v. «Herakles»; Jahn, O., *Arch. Aufsätze* (1845) 83-127; Kunisch, N., *Modernität und Tradition, Festschr. M. Im Dahl* (1985) 179-194; Mommsen, H., *AntK* 32, 1989, 130-134; Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, 114-133, esp. 114-121; Simon, E., *Opfernde Götter* (1953) 10-12; Welcker, F.G., review of Braun in *RhM* 6, 1848, 635-640; Vollkommer 46-48.

## CATALOGUE

### GREEK

#### 1. Herakles and Athena alone

H. is always fully dressed and at the left unless otherwise stated.

##### Attic Vases

##### a) Heads only

**3078.\*** Cup, bf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 86.AE.170. - *ABV* 231, 10. 235; Nikosthenes potter, compared with Vatican 456; *Para* 109; *GettyVases* 2, 1985, 190 fig. 8. - About 530 B.C. - H.'s head (red face) to l., in lionskin with club raised in r. hand. Beside it head of Athena, also to l. (B: heads of a man and two goddesses; Beazley suggests Hera [= Hera 470 with refs.] and Hebe, and Zeus [?] «but he has a poor beard»).

**3079.** Oinochoe, bf. wg. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. T 301. From Spina. - *Para* 263; Class of London B 630. - About 500 B.C. - H.'s head facing r., his club upright before it; Athena's facing l., her hand (?) raised before it.

##### b) Herakles and Athena face each other

**3080.** Nikosthenic pyxis, bf. Private Coll. From Chiuse. - *AA* 1978, 534-535 figs. 54-55; near Lydos. - About 540 B.C. - H. moves towards Athena holding his club in his r., his l. fist raised. Athena steps towards him. Flanked by two men, two youths, two men with horses.

**3081.** Neck amphora, bf. Geneva market. - Christies, Geneva 5 April 1979, no. 60. - 520-510 B.C. - H. at r., in tunic with quiver and club.

**3082.** (= 2201) Neck amphora, bf. Cambridge,

Fitzw. Mus. GR 28.1864 (49). From Vulci. - *ABV* 316, 1: Class of Cambridge 49; *CVA* 1 pl. 11 (249), 1b. - About 510 B.C. - H. shoulders his club; behind him a stag. Athena holds a flower.

**3083.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Liverpool 1977.114.12 (once Danson Coll.). - Boardman, J., *Greek Painted Vases* (Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield 1968) no. 10. - About 510 B.C. - H. holds his club, raises his l. hand; beyond him a small bull. Athena before a block seat (not altar, as Bothmer, *Gnomon* 1982, 316) as though just risen.

**3084.\*** Cup, rf. Bochum, Univ. S 1085. - Kunisch 179 fig. 8: Penthesilea P. - About 460 B.C. - H. in lionskin, club on r. forearm; Athena with spear, stephanos.

**3085.\*** Pelike, rf. Warsaw, NM 142301. From Nola. - *ARV* 854, 4: P. of Munich 2363; Beazley, *VPol* pl. 28, 2; *CVA* Goluchow pl. 31, 2. - About 460 B.C. - Athena at the l., foot raised on rock, leaning forward «giving advice or instruction» (Beazley). Young H. stands frontal looking at her, with tunic, lionskin over l. shoulder, club in r. hand on ground.

**3086.\*** Skyphos, rf. Athens, NM 13909. - Karouzou, S. in *Essays K. Lehmann* (1964) 153-159 figs. 1-4. - About 370 B.C. - Young H. naked with club on l. shoulder, cloak over arm, faces Athena who leans on her shield, itself propped on a tree stump.

#### c) Herakles and Athena face the same way

**3087.\*** Plaque, fr., two-sided, bf. Athens, NM Acr. 2493. From the Acropolis. - Graef/Langlotz I pl. 101; Boardman 244 fig. 2. - About 570-560 B.C. - A: Part of a Panathenaic Athena, an owl before her. B: Part of H. shouldering his club. The complete plaque c. 50 cm high.

**3088.** Neck amphora, bf. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 59. - *ABV* 308, 76: Swing P.; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmalerei* (1982) pl. 122. - About 530 B.C. - Athena faces r. H. precedes her looking back, with bow and club, wearing a tunic.

**3089.** Cup, bf. Hamburg, Mus. KG 1970, 99. - *MuM* Auktion 40, 1969, no. 67 pl. 22; *Hamburg Stiftungsbericht* 1970, 24-28; Nikosthenes potter. - About 520 B.C. - Between eyes: A: Athena stoops to pick up her shield. B: H. holds a kantharos, raises his l. hand.

**3090.** Neck amphora, bf. Market. - Schauenburg, K., *RM* 93, 1986, pl. 46, 1. - About 500 B.C. - Athena precedes H., followed by two women. Cf. the bf. lekythos, Denman Coll., with Athena preceding H., Iolaos? and Hermes.

**3091.** Oinochoe, bf. London market 1977. - Altenburg Class. - About 500 B.C. - Athena beside H., in himation over lionskin, holding kantharos and club, facing r. Cf. bf. oinochoe, Private Coll.; *Para* 185, 20ter.

**3092.** (= 2542) Neck amphora, bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 219. - Haspels, *ABL* 238, 120: Diosphos P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 75 (461) 7; 76 (462), 3. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. with club and bow precedes Athena looking back. She holds out her helmet; beside her a bull.

**3093.** Lekythos, bf. Olympia Mus. From Olympia. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. precedes Athena with

his club. Both raise their l. hands palm out before a tall structure (gate or altar ?); behind them a grazing horse.

**3094.\*** Neck amphora, rf. London, BM E 321. - *ARV* 670, 10: manner of P. of London E 342; *CVA* 5 pls. 51 (301), 4; 60 (310), 3a. - About 460-440 B.C. - H. with club and lionskin raising his l. hand precedes Athena, looking back.

#### d) Herakles and Athena, one or both seated

**3095.** (= Apollon 830) Oinochoe, bf. Switzerland, Private Coll. - *Para* 185, 20bis: Guide-Line Class; Schauenburg 114. - About 510 B.C. - H. and Athena seated side by side on blocks, facing r. H. wears himation only and holds up a small object obscured by Athena's arm. In separate field, Apollo and Artemis, seated facing them.

**3096.** Plate, rf. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. From Olynthus. - *Olynthus* V (1933) pl. 67; Schefold *UKV* no. 595; Metzger, *Représentations* 215 no. 53. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - Athena stands at the l. Young H. is seated before her naked, on lionskin, club in l. hand, raised over an altar behind him; quiver above. Other examples: Bf. wg. alabastron, Bronxville, Bastis Coll.; *Para* 510, 21 (H. seated); Kerameikos 1610. Rf. calyx crater fr. Oxford 1925.622; *CVA* 1 pl. 39 (131), 7 (Athena seated).

##### South Italian vases

**3097.\*** Nestoris, Lucanian rf. Paris, Louvre K 538. - *LCS* 170, 961: Primato P.; Inghirami, F., *Pittura di vasi etruschi* (1852) pl. 108. - 350-325 B.C. - Frontal, looking at each other. Young H. naked, club on ground, lionskin over l. arm, branch in hand. Athena holds a fillet.

**3098.** Oinochoe, Apulian rf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1006. - *RVAp* II 913, 34 pl. 349, 2: assoc. with Capodimonte P.; de Ridder, *BiblNatVases* pl. 30. - About 320 B.C. - Athena seated at l. looking back at young H., seated wearing lionskin, holding oinochoe.

##### Stone reliefs

Cf. the 4th cent. votive and record reliefs, 326. 329.

**3099.** Marble (Pentelic) relief at the Herakleion, Thebes. Lost. - Paus. 9, 11, 6. By Alkamenes. Pemberton, E. G., *BSA* 76, 1981, 317-320. - After 403 B.C. - A colossal relief dedicated by Thrasyboulos and the Athenians who helped overthrow the Thirty, who had started their action from Thebes. The scheme is not known. Pemberton suggests frontal figures, perhaps libating, citing the Agora vase, 3176.

##### Gem

**3100.\*** Glass intaglio. Geneva, Mus. MF 2244. - Vollenweider, *CatGenève* II no. 66 pl. 28. - 2nd cent. B.C. - Athena stands behind H. crowning him. He holds club in r. hand on ground, lionskin over l. arm. Athena resembles the Ptolemaic Promachos on coins (→ Athena 159\*).

##### Clay relief

**3101.** Calene guttus. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. - Pagen-

stecher, R., *Jdl* 27, 1912, 158 fig. 11. - 2nd cent. B.C. - Young H. naked seated on a rock with his club. Before him a woman (Athena ?), her l. foot resting on a rock.

##### Coins

**3102.** AR stater, Lapethos (Cyprus), 440-400 B.C. - *Greek Coins Boston 1950-1963* pl. 22, 253; *NC* 1962, 11 no. 8 pl. 2, 16. - Obv.: Head of Athena. Rev.: Head of H. with lionskin. Cf. *NC* 1948, pl. 5, 3 (hemiobol).

**3103.** AR stater, Lapethos (Cyprus), King Demonikos, early 4th cent. B.C. - *BMC Cyprus* pl. 19, 9-12; *NC* 1948, 45-47 no. 2 pl. 5, 2. - Obv.: Athena standing, with helmet, shield, spear. Rev.: H. attacking r. with club and bow.

##### Metal relief

**3104.** Mirror case, à jour relief. Epidauros Mus. From Epidauros. - *Ergon* 1975, 107 fig. 103. - 400-350 B.C. - Athena seated at l. H. beside her, naked on lionskin, his club in l. hand. Her shield between them.

##### Statues

**3105.** Statues of H. and Athena Astyochoi. Base only. Tegea Mus. From Tegea. - *IG* V 2, 77; *SEG* XI 1066; Jeffery, *LSAG* 212. 216 no. 26. - 475-450 B.C.

**3106.** Statues of H. and Athena. Dedicatory base only. Rhodes Mus. From Lindos. - *Lindos* II no. 132. - 3rd cent. B.C.

#### 2. Herakles and Athena with Hermes and/or Iolaos, or other non-divine figures

H. is always fully dressed, at the l. unless otherwise stated.

##### Attic vases

##### a) Herakles, Athena and Hermes. Heads only.

Cf. 3319 (= Athena 275) with H., Athena and a woman.

**3107.** (= Hermes 224) Cup, bf. Vatican 456. From Vulci. - *ABV* 235 top: Nikosthenes workshop; Albizzati 208 fig. 156. - About 520 B.C. - Between eyes, the heads of Hermes, Athena and H., with lionskin and club.

##### b) Herakles faces Athena

**3108.** Amphora, bf. Malibu, 86.AE.66. - Brommer, F., *GettyVases* 2, 1985, 189 fig. 7; *CVA* 1 pl. 6, 1: close to Witt P. [Bothmer]. - About 540 B.C. - H. seated to r. faces Athena. Behind H. Hermes moving away, looking back.

**3109.\*** Oinochoe, bf. wg. Paris, Louvre F 116. - *ABV* 230, 2: P. of Louvre F 117; *Add* 59; Nikosthenes potter; *Adf* 1854 pl. 5; Perrot/Chippiez X 267 fig. 173; Hoppin, *BlackFig* 254. - About 520-510 B.C. - H. holds his club and extends his r. hand. Athena holds a bloom. Hermes stands behind H.

**3110.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Würzburg, Wagner Mus. L 190. From Vulci. - *ABV* 287, 4: Group of Würzburg 199; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 53. - 520-510 B.C. - H. wears corselet, with quiver and bow, holds club, l. hand lowered. Hermes behind Athena. Beyond H. a goat, beyond Hermes a dog.

**3111.\*** Neck amphora, bf. New York, MMA 56.171.19. - *ABV* 269, 43: Antimenes P.; *Para* 118; *CVA* 4 pl. 24 (752), 1. - About 520 B.C. - H. holds a club and raises l. hand. Hermes looks back, moving l.

**3112.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Los Angeles, A. W. Silver coll. - *ABV* 285, 1: Group of Bologna 33; *Para* 125; Christies, 21 June 1965 pl. 21. - 520-510 B.C. - H. naked, with club, mantle over arm, l. hand raised. A goat beyond Athena. Hermes looks back, moving r.

Examples with a similar scheme to **3109-3110** are: Bf. amphora frs., Oxford 1914.83; *CVA* 2 pl. 9 (410), 4. Bf. neck amphora, Würzburg 192; *ABV* 259, 23. Bf. neck amphora, Vatican 395; *ABV* 277, 18. Bf. neck amphora, Cab. Méd. 223a (Athena with panther). Bf. neck amphorae with a similar scheme to **3111-3112** are: Once New York, Gallatin Coll.; *ABV* 391, 3; *Para* 172 (= Hermes 556a; fawn beside Athena). Rome, Villa Giulia 489; *ABV* 394, 1. Cologne, Fond. Bodmer; *ABV* 478, 8; Dörig, *Art Ant.*, *Suisse Romande* no. 15a. Los Angeles 50.9.44; *CVA* 1 pl. 13 (853), 4. Basel market; *Para* 218; *MuM* Auktion 18, 1958, no. 100 pl. 27 (this cannot be other than H. in such a group, *pace* Bérard, C., *ICG* [Rouen] 118 with fig. 4: H. is corseleted).

**3113.** Cup, bf. Once Canino Coll. - Gerhard, *AV* pl. 132. - About 510 B.C. - H. seated on stool at r. Athena stands facing him, a large tree between them. Hermes behind Athena. (B: Athena with reclining H. under a tree)

**3114.\*** Hydria, rf. Compiègne, Mus. Vivenel 1054. From Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 246, 10: P. of the Munich Amphora; *CVA* 1 pls. 13 (111), 6; 15 (113), 2. 3. - 480-470 B.C. - H. and Athena sit facing each other on blocks. H. with only lionskin and himation, and club. They extend a hand to each other. Hermes moves r. between them.

#### c) Herakles, Athena and Hermes all move right

**3115.** Neck amphora, bf. Paris market. From Capua. - *ABV* 297, 19: P. of Berlin 1686; Vente Drouot 11-14 mai 1903 pl. 2, 1. 5. - About 540 B.C. - Hermes, looking back, leads Athena and H. to r. H. shoulders club and raises l. hand, as does Hermes.

**3116.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Compiègne, Mus. Vivenel 981. From Vulci. - *ABV* 310 below: recalls Swing P.; *CVA* 1 pls. 4 (102), 1; 8 (106), 1. 2; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) pl. 94. - About 530 B.C. - Hermes leads H. and Athena to the r. H. looks back at Athena. He is moving swiftly, carrying his club and raising his bow.

**3117.** Neck amphora, bf. Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8.3376. From Apulia. - *ABV* 391, 2: related to Munich 1416; *Para* 172; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 103; *CVA* Univ. of Cal. 1 pl. 20 (201), 2. - 510-500 B.C. - H., looking back, leads Athena and Hermes to the r. H. with his club; a panther beyond Athena.

**3118.** (= Hermes 254) Lekythos, bf. New York, MMA 25.78.5. - Haspels, *ABL* 257, 64: Athena P. - About 500 B.C. - Athena leads Hermes and H. to the r. Both Athena and H. look back. Hermes rides a large ram. H. holds a club. Other examples are: Bf. neck amphora, Leningrad 1484 (St 26); *ABV* 310; Böhr, *o. c.* **3116**, pl. 99. Bf. amphora, London BM W 38: *ABV* 313, 2; *CVA* 3 pl. 35 (155), 4a. Bf. neck amphora, Munich 1557; *ABV* 290, 3; *CVA* 8 pl. 395, 2. Bf. neck amphora, Paris F 384bis (CA 1961); Haspels, *ABL* 239, 135.

#### d) Herakles with Athena, Hermes and/or Iolaos

She crowns a feasting H. on 1494.

**3119.** (= Iolaos 54\*) Neck amphora, bf. Würzburg, Wagner Mus. L 188. - *ABV* 269, 44: Antimenes P.; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 53. - 520-510 B.C. - H. holding club and bow faces Athena. Behind her is Hermes looking back to Iolaos, holding club.

**3120.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Hanover, Kestner-Mus. 752. From Tarquinia. - *CVA* 1 pl. 10, 1: Antimenes P. (Follmann). - 520-510 B.C. - Athena faces H., holding bow. Behind Athena is Hermes. Behind H. a woman holding a flower and Iolaos with club and sword.

**3121.\*** Neck amphora, bf. London, BM B 237. - *ABV* 286, 3: Eye-Siren Group; *CVA* 4 pl. 58 (203), 1b. - 520-510 B.C. - H. faces Athena, naked but for lionskin over arms, and club. Behind H. a youth in chlamys (Iolaos ?); behind her Hermes.

**3122.\*** Lekythos, bf. Boston, MFA 1921.277. - *ABV* 518, 4: Theseus P. - About 500 B.C. - Athena leads H. (tunic, sword and club) towards Hermes.

#### e) Herakles with Athena and Iolaos only

See also 3135, Ares ?

**3123.\*** Neck amphora, bf. London, Victoria and Albert Mus. 4796-1961. - 520-510 B.C. - Athena faces H., at r. He holds club and raises r. hand. Behind Athena is Iolaos with two spears.

**3124.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Copenhagen, Glypt. 2653. - *ABV* 269, 37: Antimenes P.; Poulsen, F., *Vases gr. récemment acquis* (1922) fig. 17. - 520-510 B.C. - H. faces Athena, shouldering his club. Behind him is Iolaos in corselet, with club and sword. Similar is the bf. neck amphora, Rome, Villa Giulia 47492; *ABV* 319, 8; *Para* 139.

**3125.\*** Neck amphora, rf. Germany, private. Once Northampton, Castle Ashby 66. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1107, 4: Nausicaa P.; *CVA* Castle Ashby pl. 42 (697), 1. 2; *Aus der Glanzzeit Athens* (1986) no. 58; Boardman, *ARFH* II fig. 195. - About 450 B.C. - H. frontal holding club in r. hand on ground, bow and arrows in l., turns his head to Athena, at the l., who looks at him pensively, r. foot on a rock, r. elbow on her knee, hand to chin. At l. man in chlamys and petasos with two spears - Hermes (Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 30; Beazley) or Iolaos (Robertson in *CVA*) - probably Iolaos.

**3126.** *Vacat.*

#### f) Herakles with Athena and others, not certainly divine

**3127.\*** (= 3310) Neck amphora, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1577. From Vulci. - *ABV* 337, 23: Rycroft P. - About 510 B.C. - A: Athena faces H., in himation over lionskin, with club. He looks back l. to a woman who raises her l. hand, and a bull.

**3128.** Neck amphora, bf. New York market 1981. - Sotheby, Parke Bernet 9 Dec 1981 no. 200. - 510-500 B.C. - Athena leads H. r. looking back. H. with himation over lionskin, club, bow. Behind him two women.

Cf. also the bf. lekythoi, Thebes Mus., Rhitsona 18.59 and Athens, NM 1050 (*ABV* 499, 35. 36). Rf. bell crater, Agora P 10673 (= Athena 526\*; with man and youth).

**3129.\*** (= 3319, = Athena 275) Lekythos, bf. wg. Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 84. - Haspels, *ABL* 212, 158 pl. 26, 1: Gela P. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - Heads of H., facing r. in lionskin; of Athena and a woman facing him. A flower between H. and Athena. Small Nikai with wreaths fly r. approaching Athena and the woman (Hebe ?).

#### g) Herakles and Athena with other deities and heroes, where they are either the dominant couple or share the scene with no more than two others (usually either Poseidon or Dionysos).

For more populous Classical scenes of H. with other deities, often including Athena, see Section IX, P.

**3130.** Neck amphora, bf. Toronto, ROM 919.5.141 (304). From Tarquinia. - *ABV* 259, 21: manner of Lysippides P.; *Para* 114; *CVA* 1 pl. 14, 4. - About 520-510 B.C. - H. wearing a corselet, with club, faces Athena. Behind H. is Poseidon; behind her Hermes and a woman. Also with Poseidon, bf. amphora, unknown whereabouts; *AA* 1978, 517 fig. 28. With Hermes and a woman, *Kerameikos* IX pl. 25, 2 (57.4), bf. lekythos.

**3131.\*** Pelike, bf. Bologna, Mus. Civ. PU 199. From Cerveteri. - *ABV* 393, 14: Nikoxenos P.; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 141, 1; *CVA* 2 pl. 25 (324), 2. 3. - 510-500 B.C. - Athena and H. seated on stools, H. in lionskin with club looking away from the other figures. Dionysos stands between them facing Athena. Pantheress behind H.

**3132.\*** Fr., bf. Heidelberg Univ. S 181. From Orvieto. - *ABV* 692: recalls Group of Toronto 305; *CVA* 1 pl. 33 (467), 11. - 510-500 B.C. - H. with his club faces Athena. Behind him Hermes with a dog; beside Athena a bull and behind her a probable Dionysos faces a woman. Cf. *ibid.* pl. 33, 5; *Para* 167.

**3133.** Neck amphora, bf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 86.AE.76. - *Para* 140, 6bis: Three-Line Group; *Getty-Vases* 2, 1985, 190 fig. 9; *CVA* 1 pl. 30, 2. - About 520 B.C. - H. and Athena on stools, H. with cloak only. Behind Athena Dionysos and a woman, seated.

**3134.** Lekythos, bf. Athens, Agora P 24508. From the Agora. - *Para* 231: Class of Athens 581, i. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. stands in lionskin and himation, facing Athena seated on a block. Behind her is Dionysos with a seated goddess.

Also with Dionysos: Bf. column crater, Paris, Louvre C 11270; *ABV* 327, 46; *Para* 144; *OJA* 1, 1982, 153 fig. 15. Bf. wg. oinochoe, Munich 1828; *ABV* 440, 1 (also Apollo). Bf. lekythos, Athens, Agora P 24510; *Para* 237. Bf. oinochoe, Athens, Agora P 1134. Bf. neck amphora, Munich 1576. Bf. neck amphora, Vatican 17797 (= Dionysos 572). Bf. oinochoe, Swiss private; *Para* 185, 20ter; Schauenburg pls. 2. 3 (led by winged Hermes). Bf. olpe, Sotheby 18 May 1987 no. 292.

**3135.** Cup, rf. San Simeon 529-9-621 (5546). - Sotheby 13 Dec. 1928, pl. 16, 99.-425-400 B.C. - I: Young warrior at centre frontal looking to Athena leaning on her spear. Behind him H. seated holding club upright. The warrior might be Ares but is more probably Iolaos, though young.

**3136.** Pelike, rf. Palermo, Mus. Reg. N. I. 2162 (616). From Gela. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1145, 38: Kleophon P.; Mingazzini, *Apoteosi* pl. 4, 1; *BSA* 76, 1981, pl. 55b. - 440-430 B.C. - Young H. with lionskin, club and bow, is crowned by Athena. At l. Hermes (?); at r. white-haired man leaning on stick.

**3137.\*** (= 3322) Calyx crater, rf. Athens, NM 12542. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1456, 4: L. C. Group; Mingazzini, *Apoteosi* pl. 5, 1; Scheffold, *UKV* pl. 48, 1; *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 65 fig. 10; Boardman, *ARFH* II fig. 419. - About 340 B.C. - A woman raises a fillet to young H., in lionskin with club and bow, who looks r. to Athena.

**3138.\*** Calyx crater, rf. Boston, MFA 13.416. From Kerch. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1456, 5: L. C. Group; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 380; Scheffold, *UKV* pl. 48, 2. - 370-350 B.C. - Athena seated facing r. with Nike flying to her. Young H. faces her leaning on club, naked but for dress hanging from his club. A figure behind him crowns him. Behind Athena Hermes, looking back at her, and a woman.

**3139.** (= 3323, = Athena 440, = Dionysos 587) Calyx crater, rf. Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8.3495. From Boeotia. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1457, 7: L. C. Group; Metzger no. 46; *CVA* 1 pl. 53; *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 66 figs. 11-13. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - H. wearing lionskin, with club and bow, moving r., and Athena, looking back at each other. To l. Dionysos seated. A small Nike crowns H. To r. a woman holds up a wreath, and a satyr.

#### South Italian Vases

**3140.\*** Bell crater, Lucanian rf. Brindisi, Mus. Prov. 575. - *LCS* 89, 434 pl. 41, 6: Creusa P. - About 400 B.C. - Hermes with phiale faces Athena. Behind her stands young H., naked, with quiver, holding bow and his club on ground.

**3141.** Calyx crater, Lucanian rf. Ascona market. - *LCS Suppl.* 3, 28, 373d: connected with P. of Taranto 102547; Galleria Casa Serodine *Katalog* (1979) no. 28. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - Athena, holding spear and olive branch, leads young H. r. with club and lionskin, over rocky ground, followed by Hermes holding a ram. «Has a very provincial look» (Trendall).

**3142.** (= Hermes 558b) Volute crater, Lucanian rf. Cincinnati, Art Mus. 1916.308. - *LCS* 145, 794 pl. 69, 1: P. of Naples 1959. - About 350 B.C. - Hermes

at l. raises wreath to young H., wearing lionskin, with club. At r. Athena looks back at them.

**3143.** Nestoris, Lucanian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 82118 (H 1975). - LCS 146, 799: P. of Naples 1959; Mingazzini, *Apoteosi* pl. 5, 2. - Mid 4th cent. B. C. - Young H. at centre frontal, crowning himself, wearing only quiver, lionskin over l. arm, holding club. Apollo faces him from l. and Athena from the r. holding out a dish with an olive twig in it. Cf., by the same painter, London F 178; LCS 145, 791 pl. 67, 5. 6 (with Nike and Hermes). For other Lucanian, LCS Suppl. 3, 35-36, F 7. 8 (with Hermes); 47, C 40 (with woman with fillet).

**3144.\*** Nestoris, Lucanian rf. Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (formerly Fogg) 1977.216.2322. - LCS 153, 879: related to P. of Naples 1959; CVA pl. 38 (376), 7a. - About 430 B. C. - Athena seated centre facing l. on a block on two steps. Behind her young H. stands with foot on step, naked, lionskin over arm, club in l. hand on ground. Before Athena a man seated on ground looking back at her, wearing helmet and chlamys, with spear - probably Iolaos.

**3145.\*** Bell crater, Apulian rf. Fiesole, Costantini Coll. - RVAp I 107, 37: Hoppin P. - 380-370 B. C. - H. with club resting on rock, bow and lionskin, stands centre with Athena at r. holding up a wreath; a woman at the l. with a wreath.

Cf. Taranto 6518; Schauenburg 123 n. 66.

**3146.** Bell crater, Apulian rf. Vatican 18030. - RVAp I 252, 218: Goleta Group; Trendall, *Vat I V* 10 pl. 28b. - 375-350 B. C. - Young H. at l. naked, raises his l. hand to mouth, rests club on rock (?) over which is spread lionskin. Athena and youth in chlamys face him.

**3147.\*** (= 3356) Bell crater, Apulian rf. Madrid, Arch. Mus. 32658. - RVAp I 90, 185: related to Bendis P.; Cambitoglou/Trendall, *APS* pl. 35 figs 171. 172. - 380-360 B. C. - Young H., naked, seated facing l., his club beside him. Behind him Athena, before him Hermes holding three phialai.

**3148.** Bell crater, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81385 (H 1972). - RVAp I 89, 182: Bendis P.; Panofka, T., *BWPr* 7 (1847) fig. 7; Vollkommer 48 fig. 63. - 380-360 B. C. - Young H. seated facing l. holding club and a branch. Facing Athena and Hermes.

**3149.** South Italian rf. (?) Once Hamilton Coll. - Tischbein, W., *Collection of Engravings* ... (1791-95) IV pl. 22. - Athena seated at l. H., naked with club beside him, seated before her on lionskin. Behind him a youth in petasos, chlamys, boots (Iolaos?) crowns him.

**3150.** *Vacat.*

#### Wall painting

**3151.** Painting of the Battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile, Athens. By Polygnotos of Thasos. Lost. - About 470 B. C. - In Paus. (1, 15, 3) H. and Athena are mentioned, as though side by side, in a passage which attests the presence also of Theseus and the hero Marathon.

#### Stone reliefs

**3152.** (= Akademos 2 with bibl., = Demos 46\*)

Marble votive relief. Athens, NM 2407. From Athens. - Kron, U., *AM* 94, 1979, 49-63 pl. 7. - 340-330 B. C. - H. at r. naked with lionskin over l. arm, holding club. He appears to be crowning Athena. Both face l. where a man is seated with his back to them. The names inscribed: *Akademos*, or *Djemos* (Kron), Athena, Herakles.

**3153.** (= Athena [in Aegypt] 2) Limestone relief. Alexandria, Greco-Rom. Mus. 3170. - Kraus, T., *MDIK* 19, 1963, pl. 18b; Cassimatis, H. *BIFAO* 78, 1978, pl. 99, 12. - 1st cent. A. D. - H. naked with club, lionskin and holding apple (?), and Athena, at either side of Sarapis. Dedication *ΘΕΟΙΣ ΕΩΤΗΡΕΙ*.

#### Clay relief

**3154.** Relief vase. Athens, Agora P 26076. From the Agora. - *Agora XXII* no. 227 pls. 44. 84. - 200-150 B. C. - H. with club on ground and lionskin; Athena; Dionysos; Pegasus; Odysseus; erotes. Cf. *Alt-Agina II* 1, pl. 45. 582.

**3155.** (= 2112, = Athena 57\* with bibl., = Hephaistos II) Relief bowl. Paris, Louvre CA 551. - 2nd cent. B. C. - Athena delivers to naked H. the club made for him by Hephaistos, whose workshop is to the l.

### 3. Herakles and Athena: libation or «regaling» motif

H. always fully dressed at the l. unless otherwise stated. H. holds a kantharos also on 1450. 3089. 3091.

#### Attic vases

#### a) At an altar

**3156.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Leiden, Rijksmus. PC 5 (xv i 57). - *ABV* 370, 128: Leagros Group; CVA I pl. 31 (125), 1. - 510-500 B. C. - H. with club, l. hand raised - does not hold cup. Athena holds a jug over a burning altar between them. Behind her, Hermes.

**3157.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Hobart, Univ. 45. - *Para* 172: Group of Berkeley 8.3376; Hood, R. G., *Greek Vases in the Univ. of Tasmania* (1982) 23 pl. 7b. - 510-500 B. C. - A, and B: Athena pours into H.'s kantharos over an altar.

**3158.** (= 3320) Amphora Type B, rf. New York, private. - *ARV* 583, 2: P. of London 95; *Para* 392; Schauenburg pl. 7, 2. - About 450 B. C. - Athena pours into H.'s kantharos (Sotadean). He leans forward on his club. Behind her a burning altar. Behind him a woman with a fillet, and Hermes.

**3159.\*** Oinochoe, rf. Paris, Louvre N 3415 (L 62). From Athens. - *ARV* 607, 87: Niobid P.; Webster, T. B. L., *Der Niobidenmaler* (1935) pl. 22 c. d. - About 450 B. C. - Young H. leans forward on his club, with lionskin, quiver and bow, holding a phiale to pour over an altar, behind which is an olive tree. Athena holds a jug. Cf. the rf. pelike, Zurich market, with H. in himation over lionskin: Schauenburg, K., *RM* 93, 1986, 151.

### b) Herakles is seated

**3160.** (= Hermes 326) Skyphos, bf. South Hadley, Mt. Holyoke Coll. B.SII.3.1925. - Theseus P. (Vanderpool; see *ABV* 519, 18); Buifron, no. 22. - About 500 B. C. - A and B: H. seated on a block holding a phiale into which Athena pours. H. holds his club between his knees. Behind him a tree (not on B) and Hermes piping. Similar the bf. skyphos, Dresden ZV 680; Haspels, *ABL* 249, 10 (H. wearing himation).

**3161.\*** (= Athena 181) Skyphos, bf. London, BM 1902.12-18.3. From Boeotia. - Haspels, *ABL* 249, 9: Theseus P.; *JHS* 31, 1911, 4 fig. 4 (B); 6 fig. 5 (A); Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 246 (B). - About 500 B. C. - A: H. seated on a throne in lionskin, himation and chiton, holding club, quiver and bow beside him on ground. Athena has filled a phiale from a jug and hands it to him. Behind him a satyr with a goat. B: as A, but H. on a block and holds phiale being filled by Athena. Frr. in Basel, Kambli Coll., apparently bear a similar scene (Haspels, *ABL* 250, 11; *Para* 255).

**3162.** (= 3318) Lekythos, bf. Once Agrigento, Granet Coll. - Near Athena P. (Beazley 56 no. 3); Benndorf, *GSV* pl. 42, 4. - Early 5th cent. B. C. - H. seated on block, holding club and a phiale into which Athena pours. Behind him a woman holds a wreath over his head. Behind Athena Hermes shakes hands with Iolaos.

**3163.** (= Athena 187\*) Cup, rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 2648. - *ARV* 441, 185: Douris; *Para* 521; *Add* 240; Lullies, R./Hirmer, M., *Gr. Vasenbilder der reifarch. Zeit* (1953) pls. 88. 89; Simon, *Götter* 206 fig. 92; Kunisch 186 fig. 7. - About 470 B. C. - Tondo, H. seated on a rock, club on ground behind him, holds a kantharos into which Athena pours. She holds an owl; her helmet on a block behind her. A tree between them.

**3164.\*** (= 3328) Bell crater, rf. Murcia Mus. 2594. From Murcia. - Trias de Arribas, G., *Cerámicas gr. de la Peninsula Iberica* (1968) pl. 179; García Cavo, J. M., *Ceram. gr. de la Region de Murcia* (1982) pls. 2. 3; Vollkommer 47 fig. 60. - Early 4th cent. B. C. - H. seated naked on lionskin, holding club upright and kantharos (Sotadean). Before him Athena with jug. Behind her Dionysos and a woman. Behind H. a youth and a woman (Hebe?) holding out her hand over him. This resembles other scenes of this period in which H. may hold a cup but Athena has no jug, so the libation motif is not explicit, as here. Other examples are: Rf. cup, Switzerland, Private Coll.; Schefold, *Meisterwerke* 194 no. 208. Rf. cup, Athens, NM Acr. 208; *ARV* 399 mid; Graef/Langlotz II pl. 11. The lone H. in a cup in Tarquinia is an excerpt from such scenes (*MonAnt* 36, 1937, 487 fig. 131 left; Beazley, *EVP* 72).

### c) Both Herakles and Athena are standing

Also 3156. 3157.

**3165.\*** Amphora Type A, rf. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 456. - *ARV* 1634, 1bis: Berlin P.; *Para* 342; *Add* 190; Beazley pls. 20-23. 24, 1; 25, 1; 26, 1. 5. 6; Boardman, *ARFH* fig. 146; CVA 2 pls. 42. 43; Kunisch 188-189 figs. 5. 6. - 500-490 B. C. - On either

side of the vase: H. shoulders club and holds out kantharos (Sotadean); Athena raises a jug (= Athena 182\*).

**3166.\*** Skyphos fr., rf. Athens, NM Acr. 492. From the Acropolis. - Graef/Langlotz II pl. 40. - About 470 B. C. - Young H. holds phiale; Athena, frontal, a jug.

**3167.\*** Neck amphora, rf. Orvieto, Faina Mus. 27. From Chiusi. - *ARV* 296, 3: Troilos P.; *AA* 1978, 550-551 figs. 1. 3. - About 470 B. C. - H. wearing himation over lionskin holds a phiale. Athena pours from a jug. Beside her a cow. Other examples are: rf. cup fr., Athens, NM Acr. 351: Graef/Langlotz II pl. 23 (with dedication to Dionysos). Rf. lekythos, Agrigento, once Giudice Coll. 13; Beazley 57. Rf. amphora of Panath. shape, once Rome, Basseggio: Beazley 57 II, 5. Rf. lekythos fr., Palermo; *ARV* 993, 83; Beazley pl. 26, 2. Rf. pelike, Moscow, Hist. Mus.

### d) Herakles is leaning on his club

Also 3158. 3159.

**3168.\*** Lekythos, bf. wg. London, BM 1953.9-28.1. - *ABV* 709, 13bis; manner of Emporion P. - Early 5th cent. B. C. - H. wears himation over lionskin, holds out phiale to Athena, who does not hold jug but supports her shield upright on the ground.

**3169.** (= Athena 184\*) Neck amphora, rf. Paris, Louvre G 203. From Nola. - *ARV* 306, 1: Dutuit P.; *Add* 212; CVA 6 pl. 37 (416), 5-7. - About 470 B. C. - H. with lionskin holds out kantharos. Athena raises her jug. On B, Hermes walks hurriedly, arms extended, looking back. A vase once in the Torrusio Coll. may be a replica or the same (*ARV* 308; Beazley 57 III, 2).

**3170.** Cup, rf. Athens, NM Acr. 328. From the Acropolis. - *ARV* 460, 19: late Makron; Graef/Langlotz II pl. 22; Kunisch 185 fig. 4. - About 470 B. C. - Tondo. H. wears lionskin and himation and holds a phiale into which Athena pours. Cf. also by Makron, Bochum, Univ. S 1062: Kunisch 183 fig. 3.

**3171.** Lekythos, rf. Brussels, Mus. Roy. A 1014. - *ARV* 659, 41: P. of the Yale Lekythos; CVA 3 pl. 21 (124), 3. - About 460 B. C. - H. holds an egg(?) and a kantharos, into which Athena pours.

**3172.\*** Oinochoe, wg. London, BM D 14. From Vulci. - *ARV* 1213, 2: P. of London D 14; *Add* 347; Murray, A. S., *White Ath. Vases* (1896) pl. 21b. - About 430 B. C. - Young H. with lionskin draped over handle of club, propped on a rock, holds out a kantharos (Sotadean) to Athena who raises a jug. Other examples are: Rf. cup fr., Adria, Mus. Naz. B 561; *ARV* 831, 21. Rf. neck amphora, Leningrad B 4511; *ARV* 667, 6; Peredolskaya pl. 92, 1.

### e) Herakles is standing, holding his club upright on the ground

**3173.** Hydria, rf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 1 B 15 and Philadelphia market. - *ARV* 34, 9: Sundry Pioneer, and 1621. - About 510 B. C. - H. holds up a kantharos, Athena a jug. Behind her Dionysos sits on a stool, his back to her.



**3174.** Column crater, rf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 415. From Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 287, 29: Geras P.; de Ridder, *BiblNatVases* 306 fig. 69. - About 480 B.C. - H. holds out a phiale, Athena a jug. Above, an owl.

**3175.** Amphora, Type A, rf. Los Angeles, County Mus. 50.8.21 (A 5933.50-27). - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 500, 28: Deepdene P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 23 (863), 1. - 470-460 B.C. - H. holds out a kantharos over which Athena holds a jug.

**3176.** (= Athena 526\*) Bell crater, rf. Athens, Agora P 10673. From the Agora. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1404: compare P. of Athens 13908; *Hesperia* 18, 1949, pl. 75, 1; *BSA* 76, 1981, pl. 54c. - About 410 B.C. - Athena stands at l. holding a jug in her r. hand. H. frontal holds out a phiale. Behind her a man. Behind H. a youth (Iolaos?).

#### f) Herakles stands with his foot raised

**3177.** (= Hera 467 with bibl., = Iris I 151) Bell crater, rf. Omaha, Joslyn Art Mus. 1963.485. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1163, 40: P. of Munich 2335; *CVA* 1 pl. 34. - About 430 B.C. - H. with one foot on rock, naked but for quiver, shouldering club, holds out kantharos (Sotadean) to Athena, who stands frontal with a jug. Behind him a woman with sceptre («Hera», Beazley). Behind Athena is Iris. Kossatz-Deissmann (→ Hera 467) takes this libation to infer that Athena is reconciling H. with Hera, but the latter's (if it is she) gesture of recoil simply indicates repugnance for the Athena/H. group, and she appears in no other libation group with them.

#### Boeotian vase

**3178.** Lekythos, rf. Thebes Mus. From Thespieae. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1010, ix 2: copyist of the Achilles P.; *AM* 65, 1940, pl. 6. - 440-430 B.C. - H. stands shouldering his club, holding out a phiale to Athena who holds a jug.

#### 4. Herakles and Athena shake hands (dexiosis)

H. is always fully dressed and at the l. unless otherwise stated.

#### Attic vases

**3179.\*** Amphora, bf. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 495. - *Para* 187, 3: P. of Vatican 342; Mommsen, H., *Der Affekter* (1975) pl. 140, 1 (BMN P.); *eadem*, *AntK* 32, 1989, 118-134 pls. 22, 5; 23; *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 190 fig. 3. - About 540 B.C. - H., club on l. shoulder, shakes hands with Athena. Behind H. a man with staff and a woman; behind Athena, a warrior. The bystanders, if gods, may be Hera (or Hebe), Zeus and Ares.

**3180.\*** Neck amphora, bf. Aberdeen Univ. 683. - *ABV* 289 below: may belong to Group of Würzburg 199; *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 190 fig. 4. - About 520 B.C. - H., himation over lionskin, club on l. shoulder, shakes hands with Athena. Beyond Athena is a small cow and behind her Hermes.

**3181.** Neck amphora, bf. London market. - Sotheby 18 May 1987 no. 270 - About 520 B.C. - Dionysos behind H., who wears a corselet, no lionskin.

**3182.** Stamnos, bf. Hildesheim, Pel. Mus. 27. - *ABV* 289, 24: Group of Würzburg 199; Philippaki, B., *The Attic Stamnos* (1964) pl. 6, 3. - 520-510 B.C. - H. in a corselet with club on l. shoulder, shakes hands with Athena. A small panther beyond Athena, and Hermes behind her.

**3183.** Skyphos, bf. Delos Mus. 397. From Delos. - Haspels, *ABL* 249, 7: Theseus P.; *AEDelos* X pls. 47, 48. - About 500 B.C. - H., club on l. shoulder, shakes hands with Athena. They stand between pillars (altars?) surmounted by cocks. On B Iris and Hermes stand between owls on pillars. Delos 598 seems to have had a near replica of the H. and Athena on both sides: Haspels, *ABL* 249, 8; *Para* 255; *BCH* 83, 1959, 788-789 figs. 5-7.

**3184.\*** Oinochoe, bf. London, BM B 498. - Haspels, *ABL* 214, 181: Gela P.; Gerhard, *Gr. und etr. Trinkschalen* (1840) pl. C 7; *AntK* 32, 1989, pl. 25, 4. - About 500 B.C. - H., club on l. shoulder, shakes hands with Athena. Between them a slim palmette tree.

**3185.** Oinochoe, bf. Athens, Kanellopoulos Mus. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. shakes hands with Athena over an altar.

**3186.\*** Amphora, Type A, rf. Vatican 16573. From Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 182, 3: Kleophrades P.; *JHS* 30, 1910, pl. 4; Hoppin, J. C., *Euthymides and his Fellows* (1917) pl. 39; Schefold/Jung, *SB IV* 183 fig. 222. - About 500 B.C. - H., raising club over l. shoulder, shakes hands with Athena. Behind H. a youth wearing corselet, spear and helmet.

**3187.\*** Kantharos, rf. Paris, Louvre CA 1587. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1210, 69: Shuvalov P.; Lezzi-Hafter, A., *Der Schuwalow-Maler* (1976) pls. 124c. 125a-c. - About 425 B.C. - H. naked but for sword and with lionskin draped over club on which he leans, shakes hands with Athena. Behind her a youth with phiale and oinochoe.

**3188.\*** Bell crater fr., rf. Athens, Kerameikos 3737. - *Kerameikos* X 202 fig. 214, K 14. - About 425 B.C. - Young H. with lionskin and club shakes hands with Athena before a twisted tree (more probably the Acropolis olive than that of the Hesperides).

Other examples are: Bf. neck amphora. Boston 97.205; *CVA* 1 pl. 41 (663), 2 (with Iolaos, Hermes). Bf. amphora fr., Athens, NM Acr. 823; Graef/Langlotz I pl. 51. Bf. amphora, Adria, Mus. Naz. I.G. 22662; Fogolari, G./Scarfì, B. M., *Adria antica* (1970) pl. 10; De Marinis, R., *Gli Etruschi a nord del Po II* (1988) 63-64 fig. 216 no. 482 (H. with himation over lionskin, Hermes). Bf. neck amphora, Munich 1556 (= 3314). Bf. lekythos, Athens, Agora P 24507 (= 3315); *Para* 225 (Hermes, a woman). Rf. neck amphora, Parma, Mus. Naz.; *CVA* 1 pls. 1 (2021), 2.; 3 (2023), 2. 3. Rf. bell crater, Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 3063 (T 512 VT); *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1086, 2: Alfieri, *Spina* 72 no. 162.

#### Stone relief

**3189.** (= 328\* with bibl.) Marble relief. Athens, Epigr. Mus. 2810. From Athens. - Schöne, P., *Gr. Reliefs* (1872) no. 113 pl. 27; Svoronos III 667 no. 443 pl. 218, 2. - 4th cent. B.C. - Young H. with club in a rocky setting (? = Herakleia), takes the hand of a fig-

ure at the l. (seated) holding a shield on the ground, probably Athena.

#### UNCERTAIN

**3190.** Cup fr., bf. Athens, NM Acr. 1896. - Graef/Langlotz I pl. 83. - About 500 B.C. - H. shakes hands (l. hands) with a woman (head missing) who raises her r. hand to his chin, his r. being raised in greeting. His club between them; a tree beyond. Possibly a Hesperid, or a mortal woman.

#### ROMAN

See also → Athena/Minerva 377\*. 382\*. 383 (herms). 384.

**3191.** (= Athena/Minerva 369) Wall painting. Rome, Domus Aurea. - Reinach, *RépPeint* 21, 3. - 1st cent. A.D. - H. stands frontal, l. foot on a block, club and cloak in l. hand. Athena at the l. stretches her r. hand to his chin while he supports her r. elbow.

**3192.\*** (= Athena/Minerva 371) Wall painting. Rome, Via Latina, Catacomb Room N. - Strong, D., *Roman Art* (1976) fig. 230; Ferrua, A., *Le pitture della nuova catacomba di V. L.* (1960) pl. 113. - 4th cent. A.D. - H., wearing a cloak over his shoulders, rests his club on a rock; Athena at the r. They grasp each other's forearms.

**3193.** (= Athena/Minerva 374 with bibl.) Altar relief (Ara Giustiniani). Vatican (once Lateran 9811). Dedicated by P. Decimus Lucio. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> I no. 1027. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - Athena (r.) and H. stand at either side of an altar. At the sides the Labours (= [Dodekathlos] 1735).

**3194.** (= Athena/Minerva 380 with bibl.) Stucco relief. Rome, Porta Maggiore, Basilica, ceiling of main hall. - 1st cent. A.D. - Young H. with quiver, cloak and shouldering sword, stretches his r. hand to Athena's shoulder or chin. She seems to hold or support his wrist. Athena's head is lost; she wears a sword at her belt.

**3195.\*** (= Apollon/Apollo 434 with bibl., = Artemis 1183) Silver relief situla. Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. VII A 95. From Kucurmare, Bucovina. - Matzulewitsch, L., *Byz. Antike* (1929) no. 14 pls. 7-11; Weitzmann, *Spirituality* no. 118. - 613-630 A.D. - H. in Farnese pose, three apples (?) at his feet; Athena leans on a pillar, her legs crossed, a battle axe at her feet. Other pairs on the vase are Mars and Venus, Diana and Apollo.

**3196.** AE coin, Selge (alliance with Lakedaimon). - *BMC Lycia* cxvii (description from Mionnet). - Rev.: H. and Athena at sacrifice.

**3197.** AR antoninianus, Antioch (?), Claudius Gothicus. - *RIC V* 1, 228, 203. - Rev.: Athena with H., standing with club and spear.

**3198.** (= Athena/Minerva 385\*) AE contorniates, 4th cent. A.D. - Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons* no. 64 pl. 23, 4-6 (obv. Omphale); no. 485 pl. 193, 6 (obv. man with horse). - Rev.: group as 3191 but both H.'s feet on ground.

**3199.** (= Athena/Minerva 373 with bibl.) Glass. Unknown whereabouts. - Jahn 85-86. - H. with li-

onskin takes Athena by the wrist. Inscr. *HABEAS HERCULE ATENEN TIBI PROPITIAM*.

**3200.** Glass intaglio. Munich, Münzslg. - *AGD* I 2 no. 1249 pl. 130. - 1st cent B.C./A.D. - H. with club and lionskin beside Athena-Fortuna with cornucopia.

#### COMMENTARY

##### The early period and Archaic non-Athenian scenes

Some 30 H. episodes are known in Greek art down to about 620 B.C. (cf. Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen*, chart at end) but on none of them does Athena certainly appear. More than once in this period, however, she is shown in support of → Perseus. She is seen supporting H. against the Hydra, first on a Corinthian vase of about 610-600 (→ Athena 11\*; 1990). Thereafter she appears more than once on Corinthian vases in the same episode (1991. 1992. 1994. 1995) and on some she holds a small jug, possibly to hold for H. the Hydra's venomous blood; certainly not to refresh him (cf. Boardman, J., *OJA* 1, 1982, 237-238). She attends on Corinthian also in the centauromachy and Kerkopes episodes, always unarmed; in the centauromachy (Paris L 173; Schefold, *Sagenbilder* pl. 62) it may be noted that Hermes holds a bowl, standing beside Athena. These Corinthian vases, however, represent a very meagre proportion of the H. episodes depicted in the ware. On another Corinthian work, the chest of Kypselos, she again supports H. against the Hydra (Paus. 5, 17, 11) and in the Archaic cedar-wood group made by the Spartan Medon and shown in the Megarian Treasury at Olympia (Paus. 6, 19, 12; Beckel 46-47) she attends his fight with Acheloos (Acheloos 228).

The record is even more meagre in most other non-Athenian scenes. On Laconian bf. Athena appears only to lead H. to Olympus in a scheme which follows Attic models (2861) as she does on the Amyklai throne (Paus. 3, 18, 11). Attic too is the inspiration for the mufti Athena attending the Hydra scene once in Eretrian bf. (2007). She is ignored in East Greece and Boeotia (in the Amazonomachy of Acr. 466, Graef/Langlotz I pl. 22, the onlooker may be Athena but the piece is not certainly Boeotian), and on the Peloponnesian shield-bands, except perhaps against Ares/Kyknos (Kunze, *Schildbänder* 246). At Sicyon she appeared with H. in Dipoinos' and Skyllis' group with Apollo and Artemis, generally taken to be the struggle over the tripod (Overbeck, *SQ* no. 321; see 3063). And in late Archaic sculpture she presides over what appears to be H.'s attack on Troy on the east pediment of the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina (2792) and may be part of a large clay fighting group involving H. at Olympia (*OlympBer* VI [1958] 169-188).

In the west she is ignored on the Caeretan hydriae, as she had been in East Greece but on the Ricci hydria (2908) which also has an East Greek background, she pulls H. onto the chariot for the ride to Olympus. Here Attic influence must be the reason for her pres-

ence, and the same source explains why the Chalcidian bf. painters are generous in showing her with H. – in the tripod episode, against Geryon, the Lion, and the centaurs. In the many H. episodes on the Silaris Herakion metopes she is ignored.

### Athenian Archaic scenes

On the few early Archaic Athenian scenes of H.'s activities Athena does not appear at all. (It seems to me most unlikely that the bird on the Middle Protoattic New York Nessos vase is her owl: Schefold, *Sagenbilder* pl. 23; Fittschen, *Sagenstellungen* 116.) From about the 560s, a period when Athena's own image in Athens changes abruptly to that of the warrior goddess, there is an equally dramatic development in her role with H. She becomes a regular attendant at most of H.'s adventures (see especially Beckel) so that her absence is often more remarkable than her presence. Details of her attendance or participation will be found elsewhere and a summary only is given here. Though she is credited with active participation in a few episodes by ancient authors, even if only in the provision of weapons, this is rarely indicated in art, and not generally on the occasions picked upon by authors. In a fight against Geryon she takes an active part (2469). Otherwise her presence is characterised by total passivity in sitting down to watch, sometimes beside a waiting chariot (e.g., → Alkyoneus 6\*), to a degree of movement by way of encouragement, to positive gestures of encouragement (notably in such a dangerous moment as the approach to Kerberos [2554]), to bustling belligerent support against other Olympians – against Apollo, or Ares over Kyknos (e.g., Berlin F 1732; *ABV* 110, 37: Lydos; = Ares 42\*; → Athena 519\*; and the Euphronios crater, *GettyMusJ* 9, 1981, 29–34 [= Athena 520]; cf. the shield band, Kunze, *Schildbänder* 246). In the latter encounter, however, she may also be shown separating the contestants (Vian, F., *REA* 47, 1955, 20–21).

She is commonly absent in the multi-figure scenes of Amazonomachy, Centauromachy, the fighting at Oichalia and against → Bousiris; less explicably so in the fights with → Nereus and → Triton, and H. needs no support when he carries off the → Kerkopes. She attends some other, unusual encounters (2822, 2823, 2839). In the Gigantomachy Athena is usually close to H. and in many scenes appears only with him, commonly on a chariot. She is invariably his escort in both the chariot procession, presumably to Olympus and in the presentation to Zeus (Section VIII). On Olympus she is his usual partner in assemblies of gods, and she regularly attends his performance as a musician (Section II, G) and his relaxation as a sole symposiast (1486\*–1493). Illogically H. may be shown attending the birth of Athena who was to introduce him to Olympus (→ Athena 35, 349\*).

The most significant of the Archaic Athenian scenes are those which show H. and Athena alone, or only in the company of Hermes or Iolaos, or as the principal figures in other divine assemblies (distinguishing these from assemblies in which they are no more than another two divinities, though normally

paired). They begin in the 560s but are commonest in the middle years of the second half of the 6th cent. and do not outlive the Archaic period in any numbers. Earliest, perhaps, a two-sided plaque from the Acropolis (3087) with the striking Athena on one side, H. on the other. His iconographic role on Athena's Acropolis was an important one, as can be seen from the Archaic pedimental compositions devoted to his exploits (twice fighting → Triton, Introduction to Olympus [2862], fighting the Hydra [2021]) but it is perhaps surprising to find so little evidence for any cult role, although the Acropolis was by no means wholly devoted to worship of the city goddess. (H. is named on an Archaic base from the Acropolis, probably not as receiver of the dedication: Raubitschek, *Dedications* no. 60. Reliefs with H.: Walter, *RelAkr* nos. 122 [= 2201], 123 [see after 1379], 124) There is a good range of H. scenes on vases from the Acropolis, though little exceptional; cf. 1411, 1453 for slightly unusual scenes. There is a rare Chian fr. with him (57\*), and an Etruscan bronze tripod with a group apparently showing the apotheosis (→ Herakles/Hercle 121).

In vase scenes where H. and Athena are alone, facing each other (3080–3086) there is little remarkable except for H.'s unusually animated pose on 3080. Where they face the same way (3087–3094) the processional element might suggest progress to Olympus, and 3093 is notable, where they approach a building. Where both are seated (3095) we might suspect an extract from a gathering on Olympus, but otherwise there is nothing distinctive to place these scenes. With the addition of Hermes, however, which is far commoner (3107–3121), the suggestion of the journey to Olympus may be stronger, though the scenes in which they are all moving in one direction are decidedly in the minority (3115–3118); on 3116 H. displays remarkable agitation, and on 3118 Hermes rides a ram. They are sometimes joined by Iolaos or anonyms, including women (3119–3121). A few Archaic Athenian scenes, concentrating on the couple, admit other deities, normally Poseidon (3130) or Dionysos (3131–3134), and the fact that there is such a choice may indicate that the other deities are, as it were, guests or companions rather than that the scenes are again extracts from an Olympian assembly.

The most intimate of the scenes between hero and goddess involve more specific acts of either libation or the handshake. The libation scenes have been listed (3156–3178) without regard to whether H. holds a phiale or a kantharos. The phiale in H.'s hand indicates the usual libation act which we see performed in the 6th cent. mainly for mortal or ceremonial occasions of departure, and in the 5th cent. often between deities (cf. Eckstein-Wolf and Simon). None of these scenes with H. and Athena are earlier than about 510 so they may be regarded as an early but exceptionally prolific version of the libation with divine pairs, the implication being that H. at least approaches the status of Athena, as a divinity. When H. holds a kantharos the scene has sometimes been described as of Athena regaling H. (so by Haspels and Beazley), as though the act is simply a matter of refreshment. (On the significance

of the vessel held by Athena on Corinthian and one Attic scene of H. with the Hydra, see above.) In the Athenian scenes there is no iconographic distinction between those involving a kantharos and those with a phiale. Athena pours indifferently into either and they appear in almost equal numbers. On the two scenes where an altar is also shown, clear indication of libation rather than regaling, the vessel is once omitted (3156), once a kantharos (3157); cf. the Classical scenes with kantharos (3158) or phiale (3159). Where a tree is shown it may be Athena's olive rather than a rustic, picnic setting. The act is clearly intended to be the same whatever the vessel. In nearly half the instances with the kantharos it is of H.'s special Sotadean shape. Hermes is quite often present, perhaps as catalyst between hero and deity, and on one vase a satyr (3161). Athena is usually pouring into H.'s cup. H. is often shown seated before her (3160–3164), sometimes on a throne (3161) or rock (3163); being crowned by a woman on 3162. The simple standing type is introduced on the Berlin P. vase (3165) but in the Archaic period when he stands he generally holds his club upright on the ground (3173) or leans on it (3168–3170). The pose is a restful one, possibly even indicating tiredness as though this is the welcoming libation after Labours accomplished (in which case an element of 'regaling' might be admitted). This mood is enhanced by the fact that he is quite often shown not in simple fighting kit but in a himation (3168, 3170) and this, combined with the leaning posture, puts one in mind of the old-man grave reliefs of late Archaic.

The libation is a post-Pisistratid motif, but the dexiosis handshake (3179–3189) appears by about 540 though it is most popular in the years around 500. Hermes is sometimes present (3180, 3182, 3183), once with Iolaos (3186) and on 3179 perhaps other gods. There is an altar between them on 3185 and what might be a sanctuary setting on the Theseus P. versions (3183). The motif is a comparatively rare one at this period (compare Hermes and the man, possibly Iolaos, on 3162, and the implication of acceptance or greeting might also be taken to imply an Olympian reception, or at least return from Labours completed. Finally, notice how often an animal is included. They (cattle, panthers [some for Dionysos?], deer; the dog and goat are perhaps Hermes') possibly indicate a terrestrial rather than Olympian setting, though the bull and deer could allude to Labours (in a surprising way) and the bull to sacrifice (thus Durand, J.-L., *Sacrifice et labour* [1986] 34–35, but he takes no account of the other animals). Early scholars attempted to demonstrate some erotic connection between Athena and H. on the basis of some of the scenes discussed (cf. Braun, Welcker, Gerhard). This has been rightly discounted. (Cf. also 1423, 2888, 2898.)

### Classical and Hellenistic period

After the Archaic period Athena's presence in scenes with H. becomes somewhat less common, except where it is a necessary part of the action, as in the Introduction to Olympus, at Eleusis or in the Gigantomachy (→ Athena 54, 358, 360, 363, 364, 369.

422, 458, 459, 483–491). This is partly due to a relative overall lapse of interest in scenes with H. after the spate of Archaic representations, especially in Athens, and in part due to the monuments on which they are shown, such as metopes, where the restrictions of the field play their part. To this the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia are a striking and unique exception ([Dodekathlos] 1705). Here we see for the first time a deliberately youthful Athena comforting the weary young H. after his encounter with the lion (1919); a unique representation of Athena receiving the Stymphalian birds from H. (2265); a unique scene of her assisting H. with the load of the heavens as Atlas brings the apples (2283); and a unique scene of her directing his demolition of the walls of the stables of Augeias (2302). These had no perceptible influence on other works of art and the insistence on Athena is surprising in a Peloponnesian work, unless it is her role as Zeus' daughter and protector of his hero-son that is emphasised. In the equipping of H., which occupied writers, Athena plays the part of intermediary in handing him the club made for him by Hephaistos on a Hellenistic relief bowl (3155). In Athens her presence beside H. in the painting of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile, named with the hero Marathon and Theseus (3151), and on the Niobid P.'s name vase which may also have Marathonian associations (Harrison, E., *Art Bulletin* 54, 1972, 390–402; 3520), show that in art at least the hero still has a role as an Athenian-adopted hero, no less than Theseus, and that this is demonstrated by his presence beside the city goddess. On the relief 3152 they attend Demos (?) and he may be crowning her. For more specific association between them in Athens we turn, as in the Archaic period to the vases. Where the two are shown alone together the setting and postures are quite casual (3085, 3086, 3096). On 3094 H.'s animated pose and gestures suggest that he is setting off to an adventure, and on 3096 it may be that Athena is visiting H. in his own sanctuary. They sit together on 3114 while Hermes hurries by, and here, H., in himation and chiton only, has the air of a veteran. Hermes also attends on 3125 and on 3126 and 3136, where Athena is crowning H., the hero is young. On 3135 it is likely that the warrior who stands between them is a youthful Iolaos. The old man on 3136 is notable. The libation motif persists into the early 4th cent. but by that time (3164) embedded in a multi-figure scene; and it is copied in Boeotia (3178). Either kantharos or phiale is used in scenes with an altar (3158, 3159). The simple standing pose for both is favoured in the 5th cent. (3166, 3167) on the model of the Berlin P. vase (3165). The types with H. leaning on his club is continued (3171, 3172) but H. is not so obviously a veteran and on 3172 he is young. The handshake dexiosis is far rarer after the Archaic period (3187–3189) and on 3187 seems combined with libation since a youth approaches with phiale and jug. Although the Athenian scenes concentrating on hero and goddess do not much outlive the 5th cent. the theme is later taken up on South Italian vases (3097, 3098, 3140–3146) where H. is almost always shown young. The libation and handshake are not car-

ried west. In Athens their place is taken by multi-figure scenes in which Nike and other figures may be present, and usually, though not always, Athena. It has proved convenient to list these separately (3403-3411) despite the fact that Athena is almost always present, since the hero is the focus of interest and not his association with the goddess alone (cf. also 1370\*. 1371. 1373\*. 1391\*). The strongly Athenian association is carried to Thebes, H.'s birthplace, in the Athenian dedication there at the end of the 5th cent. (3099). The association is observed in coins of Lape- thos (3102. 3103) but is infrequent on other late Clas- sical monuments: 3100. 3101. 3104-3106. 3153. 3154. For Athena and H. on either side of coins → Athena 178. 308. 311. 333.

### Roman period

Rome displayed one of the finest Archaic groups, the clay figures from Sant'Omobono (→ Athena/Min- nerva 386\*, → Herakles/Hercle 131) but in later pe- riods there are few simple groups, though in Olym- pian gatherings H. is usually beside Minerva (→ Dode- katheoi). The gestures on 3191. 3198 and cf. 3192. 3194. 3197 are unusual, but perhaps to be taken as of no greater intimacy than that of the Archaic dexiosis. With other couples, however, the hand on forearm gesture seems also affectionate; cf. Zeus and Hera on the Pompeian painting (Reinach, *RépPeint* 8, 4), Pe- leus and Thetis on the Portland vase (Ashmole, B., *JHS* 87, 1967, 6 pl. 1; Haynes, D. E. L., *JHS* 88, 1968, 61). → Athena/Minerva 369. 385 (our 3191. 3198) take H. to be kissing Athena's hand. We see the ges- ture on a sarcophagus where he still holds the defeated Antaios (→ Antaios I 47\* = Athena/Minerva 378). And cf. the Classical mirror reliefs, → Auge 9, and Muscarella, O. W., *Ancient Art* (Schimmel Coll. 1974) no. 33. Athena attends H.'s Labours and other en- counters less commonly in Roman art, where the em- phasis is more clearly on H.'s unaided achievement and courage. For Minerva and H. on either side of coins → Athena/Minerva 49. 121.

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### F. Herakles and Demeter

For H. at Eleusis and scenes with a clearly Eleusi- nian connotation see Section II, E (1405 = Demeter 387 = Hades 43; 1410 = Demeter/Ceres 145\*, the Lovatelli urn). See Brommer, *Herakles* II 102; Voll- kommer 41-43. 52-53. She shares herms with H. and Dionysos (1213. 1214).

### CATALOGUE

See also the votive reliefs (327. 1406A; with vota- ries), triple herm with Dionysos (1213), with Palai- mon (?) 3490.

3201.\* Votive relief. Athens, Acr. Mus. 2600+. From the Acropolis. - Walter, *RelAkr* 72-73 no. 122. - 4th cent. B.C. - H. seated on his lionskin at l. Before

him a goddess (upper part missing) and a cult figure of a smaller goddess wearing a polos (lower part and base missing); possibly a votary beyond.

3202. Votive relief. Thebes Mus. From near Thes- pia. - Jamot, P., in *Mél. G. Perrot* (1903) 197 fig. 1. - 4th cent. B.C. - H. with club and lionskin beside De- meter with torch; their hands are close. A dog between them and two mortal worshippers at the r. Dedication by Philon. The shrine of Demeter at Mykalessos was said to be opened daily by H. (Paus. 9, 19, 5).

3203. Gold plaques. Leningrad, Hermitage BB 44. From Bliznitza (Taman: the «Great Bliznitza barrow»). - Artamonov, M., *Treasures from the Scythian Tombs* (1970) 75-76 figs. 145-147. - 350-300 B.C. - Sepa- rate matching plaques showing a) Demeter, veiled, with corn ears in hair, b) Kore with torch, c) young H. with club and laurel wreath. Apparently from the tomb of a priestess.

3204.\* AE medallion, Antoninus Pius, A.D. 152. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II pl. 44, 2; *ML* I 2, 2964. - Rev.: Ceres seated, with sceptre, offers cornucopia to H., with club and lionskin.

3205. AE coin, Erythrai, Septimius Severus. - *BMC* Ionia 148, 263. - Rev.: H. with spear and club faces Demeter, with cornucopia and torch.

### G. Herakles and Dionysos/Bacchus/satyrs

Herakles and Dionysos were both relative new- comers to Olympus and are also linked through H.'s fondness for wine. There is little evidence for joint cult except in Chios (*Athena* 1908, 227. 228), in Tha- sos (cf. 45), and, under Septimius Severus, at his birth- place in Leptis Magna, and none for any close myth- association. They feast together in Archaic Greek art, and H. joins the Dionysiac thiasos, generally drunk- enly, in Roman art. Satyrs rob H. of his weapons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. and Dionysos: Brommer, *Vasenli- sten* 190-193; idem, *Herakles* II 102-103; Carpenter, T. H., *Dio- nysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (1985) ch. 6; Froning, H., *Würzburger* 1, 1973, 201-228; Kübler, K., *RM* 43, 1928, 103-130; Matz, F., *SarkRel* IV (1968-1975).

H. robbed by and pursuing satyrs: Beazley, J. D., *Apollo* (Sa- lerno) 3/4, 1963/64, 3-14; Brommer, *Satyrs* 34. 37. 76; Karousou, S., *BCH* 60, 1936, 152-157; McPhee, I., *AntK* 22, 1979, 38-42; Simon, E., in *The Eye of Greece* (Studies M. Robert- son, 1982) 136-137; de Waele, E., *Rech. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* (Lou- vain) 1, 1970, 23-62; Vollkommer 51-52.

### CATALOGUE

#### GREEK

#### 1. Herakles with Dionysos, alone

See also, at feast, 1500-1510; → Dionysos 578-582.

3206.\* Pelike, Attic rf. Brussels, Mus. Roy. R 235. From Capua. - *ARV* 1121, 11: late mannerist; *CVA* 2 pl. 19 (72), 4; Feytmans, D., *AntCl* 14, 1945, pls. 2-5. - Mid 5th cent. B.C. - A and B are chariot scenes with a woman and youth, the woman with jug

and phiale (A), torches (B). Under the handles are H. seated on a rock holding out a kantharos (Sotadean) and looking round, and Dionysos on a chair with kan- tharos and sceptre. Feytmans thinks the whole compo- sition Eleusinian, with Triptolemos.

3207. (= Dionysos 584\*) Cup, Attic rf. Würzburg, Wagner Mus. H 5011. - *Para* 500: Jena P.; Simon *Führer* Würzb pl. 46; Froning 227-228 fig. 10; Vollkommer 51 fig. 68. - 400-390 B.C. - Young H. and Dionysos, wreathed, naked but for chlamydes, with club and thyrsos, walk l. with arms round each other. At r. an altar. Cf. the rf. cup, Marzabotto (= Di- onysos 583; *ARV* 1517, 2; Froning 228 fig. 13).

3208. (= 1069\*) AU, AR coins, Thasos, late 5th/ 4th cent. B.C. - *Guide de Thasos* (1968) 187-188 pls. 1-3; Kraay/Hirmer, *GrCoins* fig. 439; Vollkommer no. 462 fig. 82. - Obv.: Head of Dionysos. Rev.: H. kneeling with bow. The H. type appears in relief at a gate at Thasos (= 45\*), opposite one of Dionysos; cf. *Guide de Thasos* 62-65.

#### 2. Herakles with Dionysos and others (usually satyrs/maenads)

Dionysos attends H. at music (1446. 1447\*. 1449. 1472\*), tripod-carrying (1319), at a Labour (2127).

3209. Oinochoe, Attic bf. Rome, Villa Giulia. - About 500 B.C. - Two panels: Hermes, goddess, Apollo facing r.; Dionysos, H., satyr facing l.

3210. Lekythos, Attic bf. Bolton, Mus. A.1.1963. - *Para* 212, 2: P. of Oxford 245; *ArchRepts* 1977/78, 89 fig. 1. - About 500 B.C. - H. fully dressed, seated on stool at l., looking round at cave (?) or rock. Before him Dionysos (with kantharos) and a woman seated facing r.; a seated Athena and a second Dionysos with kantharos, looking round at them. Cf. Athens, NM 9687 (*ABV* 491, 58) with a seated H., two Dionysoi and a satyr.

3211. (= Dionysos 839\* part) Psykter, Attic rf. Compiègne, Mus. Vivenel V 1068. From Vulci. - *ARV* 2 188, 66: Kleophrades P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 13, 15. 16; *HDG* (Rouen) no. 106. - About 500 B.C. - H. hold- ing bow and club faces Dionysos holding kantharos and ivy. On a low «bench» running behind them and around the vase crawl six satyrs. Before the bench stand craters, between H. and Dionysos a kantharos.

3212. Column crater, Attic rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 8346. From Nepi. - *ARV* 290, 5: Tyszkiewicz P.; *Para* 355; Galinsky, G. K., *The Herakles Theme* (1972) fig. 4. - About 480 B.C. - Young H. in chlamys, with club and kantharos, follows Dionysos who looks round. Hermes follows H., a piping satyr precedes Di- onysos.

3213. Stamnos, Attic rf. Geneva, Private. - *Stamnoi* (Exhib. J. Paul Getty Mus. 1980) no. 13: Tyszkiewicz P. - About 480 B.C. - A: H. in chlamys with club and kantharos, with two youths, with skyphos and lyre. B: Hermes looking round, a man in exomis, and Diony- sos looking round, all with cups, a piping satyr. Hermes' glance links the two sides as a Dionysiac ko-

mos including mortals with H. on A; the man on B might be Hephaistos.

3214. Calyx crater, Attic rf. Tessin, Private. - *ARV* 1470, 164: Group G; Isler-Kerényi, C., in *An- tidoron J. Thimme* (1983) 95-100 fig. 5. - About 350 B.C. - B: Young H. with club and chlamys leads a bearded Dionysos (?) with thyrsos, both wreathed, in a scheme resembling Dionysos leading Hephaistos (who this may be). Nike overhead. Three maenads, a satyr. A has young Dionysos in panther chariot.

3215.\* Calyx crater, South Italian rf. Boston, MFA 1921.272. - 4th cent. B.C. - Young H. seated on cloak, with club, faced by a standing youth (Dionysos ?) with ivy crown holding two spears (?). Above H. a three-column building (? cf. 1368-1374). At l. a mae- nad with tympanon and branch, a satyr with phiale. At r. a satyr.

#### 3. Herakles and satyrs

Cf. also satyrs attending him in his shrine (1369-1372\*; cf. 1330 with maenad), sacrificing be- fore his image (1097\* = 1392), with H. at music (1473. 1474. 1476), crowning H. (1514\*), serving him at feast (1511\*-1515; cf. 1521\*), attending H. riding on centaur (1580), attending (1873. 2725) or imitating (2736) his Labours.

3216. Skyphos fr., Attic bf. Nauplion Mus. From Tiryns. - *AntW* 6/2, 1975, 28 fig. 6. - About 500 B.C. - H. in lionskin with club, preceded by piping satyr.

3217. (= 1324\*) Pelike, Attic rf. Cambridge, (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (formerly Fogg) 1925.30.34. - *ARV* 285, 7: Geras P.; *CVA* Hoppin pl. 12, 3. 4; Bu- schor, E., *Satyrtänze* (1943) fig. 65. - 500-480 B.C. - A: H. walks r. holding club, carrying two amphorae from a pole on his shoulder. B: A dressed satyr draws water from a well (shaduf).

3218. Cup, Attic rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 2534. From Vulci. - *ARV* 286, 25: P. of Louvre 456; *Add* 294; *CVA* 2 pl. 100, 4; Brommer, *Satyrs* 34 no. 65. - 470-460 B.C. - I: H. seated on rock on li- onskin holding club, quiver and bow at side, raising a kantharos to his lips. Before him, satyr with jug. (A-B = Bousiris 2.)

3219.\* Cup, Attic rf. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1943.52. - *ARV* 286 top: recalls P. of Athens 1237; *Ashm. Report* 1943 pl. 1; Brommer, *Satyrs* 34 no. 61c. - 470-450 B.C. - H. in lionskin kneels holding cup and club, quiver and bow hang. A satyr extends a hand to him.

3220.\* Oinochoe, Attic rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 32687. From Spina. - *ARV* 1356, 3: P. of Ferrara 271. - 420-400 B.C. - H. seated on himation with club; behind him satyr with thyrsos, before him a woman with jug offers a bowl to him.

3221.\* Hydria, Attic rf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. 4399. From Tarentum. - *ARV* 1412, 48: Meleager P.; *RM* 65, 1958, pl. 31, 2. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - H. seated on dress, with club, quiver and bow below. At l. two satyrs (one with tray) and a woman with fillet; stele. At r. woman with fillet and three satyrs (one piping).



Cf. the bell crater by the same painter, Madrid 11031 (ARV<sup>2</sup> 1410, 26).

**3222.** Bell crater, Attic rf. London Market (once Nostell Priory). - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1419, 10: Erbach P.; *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, pl. 11, 2; Christies 30 April 1975 pl. 20, 56; Boardman, *ARFII* fig. 353. - 400-375 B.C. - Young H. seated on cloak with club and large full cornucopia, a drinking horn below him. Three satyrs, one with full trays, and at r. Apollo.

**3223.** Bell crater, Apulian rf. Bern, Schlaepfer Coll. - *RVAp* I 246, 165 pl. 80, 3, 4: Schlaepfer P. - 370-350 B.C. - Young H. stands with club and cup, being crowned by a woman who holds a situla. Before him a satyr practises with his bow.

**3224.** Hydria, Lucanian rf. London, Freud Mus. 4400. - *LCS Suppl.* 3, 181, 113a: Foundling Group; Burn, L., in *Sigmund Freud and Art* (1989) 87. - About 350 B.C. - Seated young H. wreathed, in lionskin, holds out cup to a satyr who holds a jug and strainer. Other Lucanian rf. with H. and cup, and satyr piping: Reggio Calabria 7003 (*LCS* 63, 607).

**3225.** Bell crater, Campanian rf. Agrigento, Mus. Reg. R 207. - *LCS* 505, 480 pl. 198, 1; APZ P.; *AuA* 10, 1961, pl. 21, 39. - 330-320 B.C. - Young H. seated on lionskin. Satyr piping behind him, woman with tray before. Another Campanian rf. with H. and piping satyr is Palermo 1075 (*LCS* 260, 231).

**3226.** Calyx crater, Sicilian rf. London market. - *LCS Suppl.* 3, 98, 46: Himera Group; Christies 31 May 1979 no. 271 (ill.); Ede, C., *Greek Pottery from S. Italy* 7, 1979, no. 6. - 400-370 B.C. - Young naked H. carries crater and club, preceded by maenad with tympanon and satyr with torch and thyrsos; a goose.

**3227.\*** Olpe, Sicilian rf. Leningrad, Hermitage inv. 2079. From Adrano. - *LCS* 604, 104 pl. 237: Adrano Group; Benndorf, *GSV* pl. 44: *RM* 47, 1932, 127 fig. 2. - About 325 B.C. - Drunken H. lies on his lionskin, club beside him. An old woman pours a jug over him from behind a door, shown above him. Two satyrs and two maenads with trays, kithara, torches, pipes, crater.

**3228.\*** Chous, Paestan rf. Münster, Univ. 751. - Stähler, K., *AntK* 20, 1977, 61-66 pl. 15; *Boreas* 1, 1978, 193 pl. 35, 2; *Heroen und Götter der Gr.* (1980) 82 no. 30. - 340-330 B.C. - Young H. with lionskin and club approaches papposilen seated on rock holding a staff and a knotted fillet. Between them a tripod on a pillar.

**3229.** Relief cup, Calene. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 4218. - Pagenstecher, *Calen* no. 13a pl. 7. - 3rd cent. B.C. - Young H. (?) drunken, wearing sword and holding club (?), supported by satyr; maenad at r. Inscr. *GABINIV FECIT*. The figure looks slight for H.

#### 4. Herakles asleep is robbed by satyrs

H. is robbed also by Pans (3498), Erotes (3419-3431), and, awake, by satyrs while he supports the heavens for Atlas (2687), rising from his pyre (2916; cf. 2919), and of a cake while feasting with Di-

onysos (1506 = Dionysos 582\*), and cf. 1371. The satyr with sheathed sword on a cup, Riehen, Hoek Coll. (Beazley 7 fig. 1) need not be relevant. More likely excerpts from this episode are: the stamnos, Leningrad 813 (Beazley 10), satyr with bow, quiver and club; Boston 64.2032 (ARV<sup>2</sup> 285, 2; *Para* 355), satyr-player with sword and quiver; intaglio, Baltimore 42.461 (Boardman, *AGGems* no. 336 pl. 24; *GGFR* pl. 376), satyr drawing bow, with Sotadean kantharos; and cf. 3223, above.

**3230.\*** Psykter, Attic bf. Brussels, Mus. Roy. A 1312. From Athens. - *CVA* 3 pl. 27 (121), 4. - About 500 B.C. - A: Satyr stoops over recumbent H.; satyr runs with arrow and sword. B: Satyr kneels with arrow; satyr runs with arrow and quiver.

**3231.** Lekythos, Attic bf. wg. Montpellier, Mus. Fabre 455. - Beazley fig. 6. - 500-490 B.C. - H. naked, asleep on rock, club by him, lionskin overhead. Four satyrs dance, two each with arrows and sword.

**3232.** Volute crater, Attic rf. Padula, Mus. Prov. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1608, 1699; *Para* 393, 19bis: earlier mannerist; Beazley figs. 1-3; Gallo, I., *Atene e Roma* 34, 1989, 1-13. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - H. sleeps surrounded by six satyrs, crawling and kneeling, one with sword, one with club. At l. a piper. Satyr play.

**3233.** Hydria, Attic rf. Salerno, Mus. Prov. 1371. From Fratte. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 188, 67: Kleophrades P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 188; Beazley fig. 5; Brommer, *Satyrsplele*<sup>2</sup> no. 76; Gallo, o.c. 3232, 9. - About 500 B.C. - H. asleep in lionskin and tunic. Around him dance four satyrs, one with club, one with arrows.

**3234.\*** Hydria, Attic rf. Vatican 16509. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 623, 72: Villa Giulia P.; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I no. 956; Karousou pls. 17, 18, 1; Brommer, *Satyrsplele*<sup>2</sup> figs. 26-28; Simon pl. 36a. - About 460 B.C. - Young H. naked, lies on his lionskin on an ashlar podium. Four satyrs, who have his quiver, bow and club, dance away. Simon suggests that the dead lion is shown, not the skin, but the legs are clearly skinned.

**3235.** Skyphos, Attic rf. Paris, Louvre G 558. - Karousou pls. 18, 2; 19; *Philologus* 27, 1968, pl. 1, 2; Brommer, *Satyrsplele*<sup>2</sup> no. 72. - About 460 B.C. - H. reclines on his lionskin on a rock, awakening. Four satyrs, with his sword, club and bow, a closed door amid them.

**3236.** Cup, Attic rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 15365 (T 269 C VP). From Spina. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1270, 15: Codrus P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 356; Beazley fig. 7. - About 430 B.C. - Young H. (no attributes) half-seated, a satyr pulling at the cloak he sits on. Other satyrs (four on B) carry his quiver, club, bow and lionskin.

**3237.** Bell crater fr. Attic rf. Cyrene Mus. From Cyrene. - McPhee pl. 15, 4, 5. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - (a) part of H. apparently recumbent or seated and asleep, with a figure removing his club. (b) part of two satyrs, one with bow and spear. Since H. on (a) is wreathed, he may be sleeping at table.

**3238.** Lebes, Peucetian. Bari, Mus. Arch 6209. From near Bari. - McPhee pl. 16; Brommer, *Satyrsplele*<sup>2</sup> no. 73. - 4th cent. B.C. - H. naked, asleep by a rock, his bow, quiver, club beside him, approached by a satyr. Three other satyrs prepare a feast.

#### 5. Herakles threatens, pursues or captures satyrs

Cf. his defence of Hera on the Brygos P. cup (3348). On the vases listed here he threatens at a feast (3239), beats (3240), leads them bound (3241, 3245), chases them (3242-3244) where one has his quiver (3243), another a tripod (3244), and shoots at them (3342).

**3239.\*** Skyphos, Attic bf. Naples, Mus. Naz. H 2468. - *ABV* 703: Theseus P.; Haspels, *ABL* 249, 6; Buschor, E., *Satyrtänze* (1943) fig. 56; Brommer, *Satyrsplele*<sup>2</sup> no. 81. - About 500 B.C. - A: H. reclines with drinking horn, raises his club at a satyr kneeling before him; quiver and bow hang. B: As A, H. looking the other way, holding his club. Cf. the eye cup, Dallas, Mus. 1972.5, where H. reclining reaches for a sword on A looking round to B where H. reclining is served by a satyr (Group of Walters 48.42).

**3240.** Lekythos, Attic bf. Cambridge, Fitzw. Mus. G 84. From Athens. - Haspels, *ABL* 270, 4: near Beldam P.; *CVA* I pl. 22 (260), 9. - About 500 B.C. - H. in lionskin raises his club to beat a satyr who crouches before him. Cf. the eye cup, Geneva A 8724 (*CVA* 2 pl. 65, 4, 5) with running H. between eyes, satyrs beyond them.

**3241.** (= Erginos 2) Lekythos, Attic bf. Athens, NM 516. From Eretria. - *ABV* 508: near Sappho/Diosphos P.; Karousou fig. 1 pls. 20, 21; Brommer, *Satyrsplele*<sup>2</sup> figs. 30-32; Simon 138 pl. 33a-c. - 500-490 B.C. - H. holding a bow and sandal preceded by two satyrs with hands bound. At l. and r. a satyr runs away. Simon argues for the influence of Aisch. *Kerykes* with Erginos' tribute-bearers translated into satyrs. *Para* 248 mentions two replicas by the same hand (one in *GettyMusJ* 6/7, 1978/79, 141 figs. 2-4, Prague, private).

**3242.** (= 2981) Neck amphora, Attic rf. Parma, Mus. Naz. C 3. From Vulci. - *CVA* I pls. 1, 2, 2; 3, 1 (2021/3); *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, pl. 7, 1 (A); Brommer, *Satyrsplele*<sup>2</sup> no. 79. - About 480 B.C. - Neck: A: Young H. (?) kneels drawing his bow at - B: a satyr running with drinking horn.

**3243.** Rf. vase. Lost. - Reinach, *RépVases* II 318, 1 (Tischbein III 31); *Philologus* 27, 1868, pl. 2, 3; Beazley 11; Brommer, *Satyrsplele*<sup>2</sup> no. 78. - H. with raised club and bow pursues a satyr, holding a quiver.

**3244.\*** Bell crater, Apulian rf. Trieste, Mus. S 410. - *RVAp* 195, 219: near York P.; *CVA* I pl. 4 (1922), 1, 3. - About 380 B.C. - Young H. in chlamys with bow and raised club, pursues to l. a satyr carrying a tripod on his head, towards a tree. The tripod is unlikely to be Apolline.

**3245.** Calyx crater, Campanian rf. Chicago, Private. - *LCS Suppl.* 3, 95, 33 (25b); Santapaola P.; *Ars Antiqua Lagerkatalog* 3, 1967, no. 84 pl. 12; *RM* 90, 1983, pl. 85, 4. - 400-375 B.C. - Young H. with club and lion-head cap leads a bound satyr.

**3245a)** Ivory relief sword hilt. From Takht-i Sangin (on the Oxus). - *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1981, 141. 157 pl. 5; *Oxus* (cat. exp. Zurich 1989) no. 8 fig. - Early Hellenistic. - H. with lionskin, raised

club, tramples a kneeling satyr, mainly set behind him, whose hair he holds in his l. hand.

#### ROMAN

#### 6. Herakles with Dionysos, alone or without thiasos

Cf. also the Vatican relief 1695\* = Dionysos/Bacchus 106\*.

**3246.\*** Wall painting. Ostia Mus. 155. From Ostia. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV no. 3182. - 3rd cent. A.D. - H. with kantharos, small male in white dress, Dionysos with patera.

**3247.** Arch of Septimius Severus, Leptis Magna. - *MAAR* 22, 1955, 135 pl. 48, 73a. - Imperial family with Roma, Silvanus, and in background Dionysos (or Genius), Tyche of Leptis, H. Cf. *ibid.*, 160 pl. 57, 88, decoration on chariot of Severus, also with H. and Dionysos presenting wreath and thyrsos to Tyche of Leptis. H. and Dionysos were jointly worshipped at Leptis.

**3248.** Sarcophagus, garlanded. Alexandria, Greco-Rom. Mus. 25781. - Adriani, *Rep A* I pl. 17. - Late 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. - Between garlands, H. with club and lionskin; Dionysos; maenads at corners.

#### Coins

**3249.\*** (= Dionysos/Bacchus 107) AU aureus, AR denarius, AE as and sestertius, Rome, Septimius Severus, A.D. 194. - *BMC Emp V* pls. 6, 18; 7, 3; 21, 7, 10; 22, 1. - Rev.: H. with club and lionskin, panther, Dionysos with jug and thyrsos, both gods face l. Cf. the AE medallions (inscr. *DIS AVSPICIBVS*...), Gnechi, *Medaglioni* pl. 93, 1.

**3250.\*** AU aureus, AR denarius, AE as, dupondius and sestertius, Rome, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, A.D. 204. - *BMC Emp V* pls. 33, 18; 35, 1, 2; 48, 3; 50, 12. - Rev.: H. faces Dionysos. Sometimes inscr. *DI PATRII*. Cf. → Dionysos/Bacchus 108 (inscribed column between; Caracalla, Rome).

**3251.\*** (= 1579d) AE sestertius, Rome, Septimius Severus, A.D. 204. - *BMC Emp V* 341. - Rev.: H. and Dionysos attend the emperor at sacrifice; attendant with pig, pipers, Tellus.

**3252.\*** AE, Sardis, Caracalla. - *BMC Lydia* 264, 167 pl. 27, 8. - Rev.: H. and Dionysos face each other with cups, panther between. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 41, 57, 58 (Salonina, Bagis-Temenothyrai alliance coin).

#### 7. Herakles with Dionysos at feast

Also → Dionysos/Bacchus 110, 111 = Athena/Minerva 329\*, 112\*; → Dionysos (in per. or.) 116\*.

**3253.** (= Dionysos/Bacchus 109\*) Mosaic pavement. Worcester, Art Mus. 1933.36. From Antioch, Atrium House. - Levi, *Antioch* I 21-22 pl. 1a, 146a. - 1st cent. A.D. - Dionysos reclines with cup and thyrsos flanked by young and old satyrs, a crater and cups

before him. H. kneels before him, drinking (cf. 3254). At l. a maenad with pipes.

3254. (= Dionysos [in per. or.] 105\*) Mosaic pavement. Princeton, Univ. From Antioch, House of the Drinking Contest. - Levi, *Antioch* I 156-157 pl. 30b; Kraus, *PKG* fig. 350. - A.D. 200-250. - Dionysos reclines holding drinking horn. H. kneels before him, drinking, his club against the mattress. At l. a maenad with tympanon. Cf. the Apamea and Philipopolis mosaics, Dionysos [in per. or.] 106. 114\* (= *IconogrCl* 382 fig. 8).

## 8. Herakles in chariot at Dionysiac thiasos

For H. in centaur-chariot see 1430-1433; → Dionysos/Bacchus 246\*. 250\*.

3255. Clay relief cup, Arretine. London, BM L 94. - Walters, *BM Roman Pottery* 28 fig. 22. - 1st. cent B.C. - Dionysos and Ariadne in a goat-cart move r., met by Aphrodite in a mule cart and H. (only head and club preserved) in a mule cart. Signed *P CORN PARIDES*.

3256. Votive relief to H. and Dionysos. Sofia, Nat. Arch. Mus. 2906. From Panagurishte. - Filow, B., *BullSocBulg* 3, 1912/3, 31-32 fig. 26; *Gold der Thraker* (1979) no. 486. - 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. - H. with club and kantharos and Dionysos with thyrsos, his r. hand round H.'s shoulders, stand frontal on a chariot drawn by two lions, ridden by Eros. A cista bottom r.

## 9. Thiasos, usually with Dionysos (in chariot on 3258. 3265. 3269), H. on foot, collapsing or collapsed

### a) Drunken Herakles is supported by a satyr or satyrs

3257. (= Dionysos [in per. or.] 132) Mosaic. Alexandria, Greco-Rom. Mus. From Sheikh Zoueda. - *ASAE* 15, 1915, 24-27 fig. 5 pl. 4. - Early 4th cent. A.D. (Levi, *Antioch* I 73 n. 32. 98 n. 29). - Upper register: Dionysos in centaur chariot with Eros, two satyrs. Lower register: H. with lionskin and club collapsing forward r. onto a small satyr holding pedum. Before them a panther, Pan and two satyrs.

3258. Garland sarcophagus, Roman. Liverpool, County Mus. (once Ince Blundell Hall no. 220). - *SarkRel* IV 1 no. 28 pl. 29, 1. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - H. supported by satyrs and Pan, walking to l.; herm at r.

3259. Sarcophagus, Roman. Rome, Pal. Mattei. - *SarkRel* IV 2 no. 120 pl. 142. - About 200 A.D. - Dressed satyr supports H. with lionskin, facing l.

3260.\* Sarcophagus lid, Roman. Rome, Pal. Borghese. - *SarkRel* IV 4 no. 332 pl. 333. - A.D. 250-275. - H. with cup and lionskin supported by satyr from behind, moving l.

### b) As a but Herakles is also attacking a woman, usually pulling at her dress

H. is usually collapsing to the r., his l. leg bent and knee often near the ground, pulling at the dress of a half-naked woman before him, who faces him or is

near-frontal. H. is usually near-naked, his cup fallen to the ground.

3261. Wall painting. Pompeii VII 4, 24. Destroyed. - Scheffold, *WP* 179; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1141; *MonPiot* 56, 1969, 20 fig. 4; *RA* 1979, 50 fig. 14b. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - In a room; H. supported by a dressed woman standing behind him, whose l. hand he holds. Behind her a satyr, also supported by a woman, carrying a club and pissing on H.'s r. leg; young Dionysos; onlookers through an open door.

3262.\* Mosaic. Lyon, Mus. Beaux-Arts. From Vienne. - Stern, H., *MonPiot* 56, 1969, 13-21 pl. 2. - Mid 3rd cent. A.D. - H. in lionskin with club, supported by a satyr and, behind him, a dressed woman whose wrist he holds and who caresses his chin (cf. 3261); four other satyrs and a maenad attend. In the upper register Dionysos with satyrs and a maenad watch.

3263. (= Dionysos/Bacchus 73) Sarcophagus, Roman. Rome, Villa Albani. - Kübler 109 fig. 4; *SarkRel* IV 4 no. 344 pl. 339. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - H. holds the hands of a satyr behind him, the woman before him, with garland round his neck. Cf. the fr., Rome, S. Paolo, *ibid.*, no. 345 pl. 339 (H. with garland); Oslo, Sk. 1254, *ibid.*, IV 1 no. 46A pl. 53.

3264. Sarcophagus short side (front = 3272), Roman. Bolsena, Municipio. - *SarkRel* IV 1 no. 46 pl. 50. - A.D. 170-200. - H. supported by satyr and Pan, holds wreath in r. hand, satyriskoi before him hold his club and support the cup in his l. hand. The woman before him is not touched. For the satyriskos with club cf. Rome, Mus. Cap., *ibid.* IV 2 no. 97 pl. 122; Rome, Villa Doria Pamphili MD 2297, *ibid.* IV 2 no. 140 pl. 161, 1; and with quiver, Lyon, Pal. des Arts. On Naples 6776, *ibid.* IV 2 no. 118 pl. 139 (Kübler 114 fig. 8) the woman is not touched and H. is garlanded. Cf. also *SarkRel* IV 2 no. 101 pl. 127 (= Dionysos/Bacchus [in peripharia occ.] 167\*).

3265.\* Sarcophagus, Roman. Boston, MFA 1972.650. - Comstock/Vermeule, *SculptBoston* no. 244. - A.D. 200-250. - H. supported by two satyrs, and one behind holds his club.

3266. Marble frieze. Baalbek, Small Temple. - *Baalbek* II (1923) 37 fig. 77; Kübler 110 fig. 5. - 3rd cent. A.D. - H. nearly kneeling.

3267.\* Bronze relief vase. London, BM 871. - Walters, *BM Bronzes* no. 871; Kübler 106-108 figs. 1-3. - 2nd cent. A.D. - The satyr behind H. holds his club.

3268. Silver relief plate. London, BM P&RB 1946.10-7.1. From Mildenhall. - Painter, K. S., *The Mildenhall Treasure* (1977) pls. 1, 5; Strong, *Silver Plate* pl. 60. - 4th cent. A.D. - In thiasos with Dionysos standing, satyrs, maenads, Pan.

### c) Herakles in lionskin running with torch

3269. Sarcophagus, Roman. Rome, Pal. Giustiniani. - *SarkRel* IV 2 no. 98 pl. 121. - About A.D. 210. - A satyriskos carries H.'s club. Cf. Cliveden, *ibid.* no. 99 pls. 124, 125; and perhaps London, Soanes Mus., *ibid.* no. 104A pl. 148.

### d) Herakles is recumbent, drunken

3270. Sarcophagus lid, Roman. Florence, Pal. Medici-Riccardi. - *SarkRel* IV 4 no. 324 pl. 330. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - H. wholly naked, seated on ground, with drinking horn, facing r.

3271. Sarcophagus, Roman. Woodstock, Blenheim Pal. - *SarkRel* IV 1 no. 45 pl. 47. - A.D. 200-225. - H. holding kantharos is supported by small Pan. Cf. Moscow, Pushkin Mus., *ibid.* no. 47 pl. 56 (= 3274) and Rome, Palatine, *ibid.* no. 50 pl. 78, 1, 2; and the fr., Rome, *MusNazRom*, *Sculture* I 7/2, 320-321, X 26.

### e) Other scenes

See also the Parthian (?) silver dishes, → Dionysos/Bacchus (in per. or.) 127\*. 128\*, where H. dances; and → Dionysos (in per. or.) 136\*, attending chariot of Dionysos and Ariadne (= [Dodekathlos] 1744).

3272. (= 3264) Sarcophagus (front). Bolsena, Municipio. - H. stands beside Dionysos, with cup and lionskin.

3273. Sarcophagus, Roman. Leningrad, Hermitage. - *SarkRel* IV 3 no. 212 pl. 220. - About A.D. 200. - H. plays cymbals.

3274. (= Dionysos/Bacchus 69) Sarcophagus, Roman. Moscow, Pushkin Mus. - *SarkRel* IV 1 no. 47 pl. 57. - A.D. 170-200. - H. carries thyrsos and cup, following a dancer. He imitates the common pose of a satyr, cf. *ibid.* 54, TH 90. (Side of sarcophagus = under 3271.)

3275. (= Dionysos/Bacchus 207\*) Sarcophagus, Roman. Rome, Villa Doria Pamphili. - *SarkRel* IV 1 no. 39 pl. 37, 1. - A.D. 230-260. - H. standing with club, lionskin and kantharos, beside Dionysos and Ariadne, reclining, with satyrs vintaging and a river god. Cf. the Gallo-Roman relief vase, → Dionysos/Bacchus (in peripharia occ.) 114\*.

## 10. Herakles with satyrs/maenads; without Dionysos, but these scenes may generally be taken as excerpts from the fuller scenes listed under Section 9.

### a) Drunken Herakles supported by satyr/satyrs/Pan

3276. Marble relief. Sorrento, Mus. Correale. - *MA* 26, 1920, pl. 5; Kübler 117 fig. 10. - Hadrianic. - A satyr stands before H. in the pose of the woman in Section 9 b.

3277.\* Sarcophagus. Alexandria, Greco-Rom. Mus. 17927. From Alexandria. - *SarkRel* IV 3 no. 228 pl. 250; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 269. - A.D. 160-190. - Two satyrs support naked H. Cf. Salerno Cathedral, *SarkRel* IV 3 no. 244 pl. 251.

3278.\* Sarcophagus fr., Roman. London and Los Angeles markets. - Sotheby 13/14 December 1982 no. 265. - 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. - H. dressed in mantle supported by three satyrs. At l. Pan. At r. a satyr with torch and another, riding a mule, carrying H.'s club.

3279.\* Marble relief Aphrodisias, Sebasteion.

3280.\* Stucco relief. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Pompeii VII 1, 8, Baths of Stabiae. - Kübler 127 fig.

127. - Mid 1st cent. A.D. - H. supported by satyr with a torch.

3281. Bronze relief vase. Budapest, Nat. Mus. From Sopiana (Pannonia). - *ArchErt* 46, 1932/33, 39-43 figs. 8, 9; Kiss, A., *Roman Mosaics in Hungary* (1973) pl. 8, 3. - H. with club supported by satyr holding drinking horn; fallen crater between them. Satyrs l. and r.

3282.\* Bronze relief box (length 40mm). Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. GR 200.1981. - Nicholls, R. V., *The Wellcome Gems* (1983) no. 99. - 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. - H. in lionskin supported by satyr; club below.

3283. AE coins, Alexandria Troas, Commodus, Caracalla, Severus Alexander, Valerian I. - *BMC Troas* pls. 5, 8; 6, 4, 13; Bellinger, A.R., *Troy Suppl.* II, *The Coins* (1961) pl. 23, A 435. - Rev.: H. supported by Pan, a satyr behind him.

3284. Marble group. Once Wilton House. - Michaelis, *AncM* 709, 175; Reinach, *RépStat* I 466, 5. - H. with club and lionskin supported by small satyr.

### b) As a but Herakles attacks a woman, as in Section 9 b

See also Section VI, Auge.

3285.\* Mosaic, signed by Aristo, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. From Rome, Via Appia. - Lucas, H., *RM* 17, 1902, 122-129 fig.; Reinach, *RépPeint* 186, 6; Kübler 115 fig. 9. - 2nd cent. A.D.

3286. (= [Dodekathlos] 1742\* with bibl.) Mosaic. From Cartama. - *RA* 1979, 49 fig. 14a. - 3rd cent. A.D. - Young H. supported by satyr, holds dress of woman (missing) behind him. Before him a tree and a half-naked woman flees.

### c) Other scenes

Cf. the relief, Tabula Albani (1516 = Admete 1\*\* = Italos I with further refs.) where a reclining H. is attended by satyrs who may personify the location of some of his Labours.

3287.\* Marble relief puteal. Madrid, Arch. Mus. 2708. - *EA* 1746-1751. - 2nd cent. A.D. - H. dances holding club and lionskin, his arm over the shoulder of a dressed woman.

3288.\* Carnelian intaglio. Frankfurt, Mus. f. Vor- und Frühgesch. X 14809. - Henkel, o.c. 1913, no. 125 pl. 76, 176. - H. in lionskin drags forward a dressed satyr (?) holding pipes (?).

3289. Stucco relief. Pompeii VII 1, 18, Baths of Stabiae. - Curtius, *WP* 189 fig. 115; Borda, M., *La pittura romana* (1958) 87; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* K 54 II. - Mid 1st cent. A.D. - H. wearing lionskin with club and drinking horn, faces a child satyr holding a torch.

3290. Stucco relief. Ostia, Mus. From Isola Sacra, grave of P. Aelius Maximus. - Calza, G., *NotSc* 1928, 156 fig. 18; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 161. - A.D. 120-130. - Very fragmentary. Moving to l. panther, H., satyr, Pan. Inscribed *HERCVLES, SILENVS, SACRA, AEGYPAS*.

3291.\* Clay mould. London, BM E 67. From Athens. - Walters, *BM Terracottas* 440 fig. 84. - Roman. - H. with club and lionskin dancing with a maenad, holding torch and tympanon.

## COMMENTARY

## GREEK

Close association begins in the Archaic period when Dionysos and H. feast together (1500-1505). Dionysos is also commonly present on Olympian occasions involving H. H. may appear in an almost wholly Dionysiac setting on Attic vases from about 500 (3209-3215) or served by satyrs alone (3216-3222), the later versions of which (3221, 3222) are Dionysiac varieties of H. holding court. The theme is taken up on S. Italian vases (3223-3228). Closer comradeship is expressed in the gesture on 3207, where both suffer from the effects of wine. H. has become quite helpless on the Sicilian rf. vase 3227 and the popular later motif of the drunken H. supported by a satyr appears on the Calene 3229. For an introduction of Dionysos to Olympus modelled on that of H. see → Athena 485\* (Carpenter 99-104 pl. 27).

The presence of a satyr at H.'s fight with the lion and bull on 1873 is presumably no more than an indication of the rural setting, and observed in some other scenes of Labours (e.g. 2127). Scenes with H. asleep being robbed by satyrs of his arms appear on Attic vases from the late 6th cent. to about 430 (3230-3236, cf. 3243) or later (3237). The piper on 3232 (and satyr-player with sword and quiver on Boston 64.2032, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 285, 2) suggest a stage origin for the subject. On 3234 and 3236 H. is young, which could suggest that the occasion was after his fight with the Lion, which leaves him weary elsewhere in art (e.g., the Olympia metope 1919). Simon makes this point well, and cites the *Leon* satyr-play by Aeschylus as a possible source; she also sees the dead lion on 3234, not the skin, but this seems less likely. The episode also recalls the story of the semi-bestial Kerkopes who stole H.'s weapons and were bound by him, and the satyrs might be acting their story, but are often more than two. H. drives them away from his feast (3239) where theft may not be their intention (but cf. 1506), but they are light-fingered on other occasions (cf. introduction to section 4). H.'s pursuit and capture of satyrs (3240-3242) need not relate to the arms theft since they are not generally shown with arms (except 3243) and it is a theme that lingers on to S. Italian vases (3244, 3245). Whether theft is intended on the Peucetian 3238 is not clear; they seem rather to be preparing a feast for him. When Pans attack they take food too (3498). Cf. the Hermes leading bound satyrs on Münster 784 (*Boreas*, 2, 1979, pls. 21, 22). H.'s chastisement of a satyr on the Hellenistic ivory hilt (3245a) seems an isolated group of uncertain mythological context. Dionysos feasts below H.'s apotheosis on 2927.

## ROMAN

In Roman art H.'s role at the thiasos or in the triumphal procession is generally that of the drunken guest. Pompeian paintings introduce most of the themes but the main types are only established with the rich series of sarcophagi and mosaics of the 2nd/

3rd cent. Where there is a feast (3253, 3254) the setting is often described as a drinking contest, but this is not made explicit in art or literature, and the most we may assume is that H. was less able to resist the effects of wine than Dionysos. He is most commonly shown in a drunken state being supported by satyrs, sometimes with the help of a dressed woman (3261, 3262) or Pan (3259, 3264, 3271, 3283). Upright, and supported mainly from behind, he adopts a pose which can be traced back, via the Calene 3229, to 5th cent. groups of Dionysos and Hephaistos in a similar condition (→ Hephaistos 122\*). But he may also appear falling forward (3261-3268) and then he is usually seizing the dress of a near-naked maenad before him. This is a group which is detected also in scenes of H. with Auge (→ Auge; and Section VI, Auge). H. is always naked (except 3278), often wreathed and sometimes with a garland round his neck (as 3263). He clutches his cup, or it has fallen to the ground. His club (or quiver) may be picked up by a satyr (3264, 3266, 3267, 3269) who may ride ahead with it (3278). There are odd variants on the group, with a satyr's impolite treatment of H. on 3261, or a dressed woman supporting H. or being attacked (3261, cf. 3262). Sometimes H. has fallen to the ground (3270, 3271). Otherwise he may dance (3287, 3291; → Dionysos/Bacchus [in per. or.] 127, 128), carry a torch (3269) or thyrsos (3274) or cymbals (3273). There are several simpler groups, removed from the fuller scenes, but on these a satyr with torch twice accompanies H. (3280, 3289).

Occasionally H. stands by in more sober presence (3272, 3275) and it is in this role, as an equal or companion to the god, that he appears on the god's chariot (3256) or in a chariot of his own. This is the spirit of other scenes where they are alone together (3246-3252), where shared cult may also be suggested (the coins 3249-3252). He shares herms with Dionysos and Demeter, 1213, 1214 (= Dionysos 535\*, 536), and with Dionysos alone (1208).

## H. Herakles and Hades/Plouton/Pluto

H. has occasion to confront Hades in his katabasis to recover Kerberos (Section IV, M), to free Theseus (Section XI), to recover → Alkestis, to recover Laodameia (2799). He was one of H.'s divine adversaries at Pylos, where H. wounded him (Hom. *Il.* 5, 395-397; Pind. *O.* 9, 33-35). See also → Hades, Lit. Sources. For scenes of H. with an old man carrying a cornucopia, and previously identified as Plouton, see H. and Palaimon (Section X), where some scenes still defy certain identification (see Commentary *ibid.* and → Hades 68-74). H. attends Hades' rape of Persephone on the sarcophagus, → Hades 19. See Brommer, *Herakles* II 103-104. JOHN BOARDMAN

## J. Herakles and Hebe

→ Hebe (I), the child of Zeus and Hera, is given in

marriage to H. to live on Olympus and enjoy its feasts in eternal youth.

LITERARY SOURCES: From the lines added (in the 6th cent.) to Homer (*Od.* 11, 602-604) and Hesiod (*theog.* 950-955) on, writers are unanimous that Hebe was H.'s last wife (→ Hebe I) and it is thus that Zeus' bastard son becomes adopted by Hera (Diod. 4, 39, 2-3). Only Apollod. (*bibl.* 2 [160] 7, 7) gives them two children, Alexiades and Aniketos. H. appears at Hebe's side when she rejuvenates → Iolaos (Eur. *Heraklidae* 843-866).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See also → Hebe I. Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 67-68; *idem*, *Herakles* II 123-124; Dumézil, G., *Mariages indo-européens* (1979) 59-65; Laurens, A. F., in *ImagesSoc* (Lau-sanne) 59-72; Vollkommer 37-39.

## CATALOGUE

## I. Scenes of apotheosis

In scenes of the apotheosis of H., especially those with the chariot, a woman is commonly shown, in various positions vis-à-vis H. or the chariot: in front of it welcoming H. (3296, 3297, 3301-3303), alongside accompanying it (3300), or on it beside H. (3294, 3295). She supplies the atmosphere of hospitality, modesty and charm appropriate to the harmonious environment to which H. is introduced, by her attitude (lowered head, 3300; hand raised to mouth, 3297, 3302, 3312; the shoulder of her dress raised, 3301) and attributes (flower, 3303; crown, 3313; fillet, 3299). But these are characteristics that abet anonymity and can lead to reduplication of figures, so it is a delicate and perhaps bold task to name the women that accompany H. There are few grounds for identifying Hebe except through inscriptions (3296, 3305), position (3297, 3304, 3309), function (3306) or attribute. But this seems justified where she takes H.'s hand (3292) or the reins (3293-3295) or is at feast on Olympus beside him (3313), and where the figure is clearly not Athena or Nike. Otherwise the circumstances of the story recommend such a feminine presence as the personification of Youthfulness which guarantees H.'s new status and happiness as a god. See also → Hebe I.

## a) Chariot scenes

## (i) Hebe drives

3292. (= 2908\*, = Aphrodite 1510\* with bibl., = Iris I 147) Hydria, Ionian bf. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Caere. - Laurens, in *IconogrCl* 45-56. - 530-520 B.C. - Hebe (rather than Athena - Schefold) mounts the chariot leading onto it H. by the wrist. Before it Hermes and a winged goddess (Iris? - Schefold; Athena? - Ricci; Aphrodite? - Delivorrias, Boardman, 2908).

3293. (= 1421) Hydria, Attic bf. Once Rollin Coll. - Gerhard, *AV* 100 pl. 325. - Hebe mounts the chariot holding the reins, where H. stands already; Athena, Dionysos and a veiled woman.

3294. (= 2884\*) Amphora, Attic bf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 1827. From Etruria. - *ABV* 389,

5: Leagros Group, Chiusi P. - About 510 B.C. - On the chariot Hebe holding the reins and whip and H. in himation, with club; Hermes (twice?), Apollo, Poseidon, a goddess before the horses.

3295. (= 1422\*) Amphora, Attic bf. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1858. From Etruria. - Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 76, 1969, 47 pl. 6; *CVA* 5 pl. 20, 1: Mastos P. [Mommson]. - About 530 B.C. - In the chariot Hebe holding the reins and H. (chiton, himation, club); Dionysos, Hermes, a goddess with sceptre or spear before the horses.

## (ii) H. and Hebe beside the chariot

3296.\* (= 2879, = Hera 469) Hydria, Attic bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 253. From Vulci. - About 550 B.C. - Iolaos drives; H. follows receiving a crown from Athena; before the horses Hera and Hebe with crowns. All figures named.

3297.\* (= 2886) Hydria, Attic bf. Toledo (Ohio), Mus. of Art. 1956.69. From Vulci. - *ABV* 263, 2: P. of Vatican G 43; *Para* 116; *CVA* 1 pls. 20, 1; 21. - About 530 B.C. - Athena mounts; before the horses H. with Hebe behind him, r. hand to her mouth; Hermes, Dionysos, goddess.

3298. (= 2889\*) Hydria, Attic bf. Madison, Univ. 68.14.1. - About 510 B.C. - Athena mounts; H. and Hermes beside the chariot; Hebe mainly obscured by the horses' foreparts.

## (iii) H. on the chariot, Hebe beside it

3299. (= 2883\*) Hydria, Attic bf. Princeton, Univ. 171. - *ABV* 260, 34: manner of Lysippides P. - About 520 B.C. - Athena and H. on the chariot; before it Hebe presents a fillet with both hands; Dionysos, Hermes, two hoplites.

3300.\* Amphora, Attic bf. Once Castle Ashby, Northampton. From Vulci. - *ABV* 329, 2: P. of Berlin 1899; *Add* 89; *CVA* pls. 11, 1; 12, 1-2. - 520-500 B.C. - Athena mounts beside H. Beyond is Hebe, preceded by Apollo, Artemis and Hermes.

## (iv) H. on the chariot, Hebe before it

3301.\* Hydria, Attic bf. Altenburg 216. - *Para* 116, 31ter: P. of London B 302; *Add* 68; *CVA* 1 pls. 26-27. - About 520 B.C. - Athena mounts beside H. Before the horses Hebe lifts the hem of her chiton. Dionysos.

3302.\* Hydria, Attic bf. Rimini, Mus. Civ. - *ABV* 261, 36: near Mastos P.; *Para* 115; Arias, P. E., *ArchCl* 2, 1950, 114-118 fig. 1 pl. 28. - About 520 B.C. - H. mounts, in presence of Athena, Apollo, Hermes. Hebe before the horses presses the fingers of her r. hand to her mouth.

3303. Amphora, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 205bis (S 1645). - *ABV* 369, 111: Leagros Group; *CVA* 3 pl. 24 (161), 1-2. - About 510 B.C. - Athena and H. on the chariot, in the presence of Apollo, Hermes and Zeus(?). Hebe(?) turned to l., her hair loose, in a starred himation, lifts a flower to her face.

## b) Introduction to Olympus

3304. (= 2847\*) Cup, Attic bf. London, BM B



379. From Siana. - *ABV* 60, 20: manner of C.P.; *Para* 26; Brijder, *Siana* I 246-247 no. 121 pl. 24. - About 560 B.C. - H. led by Hermes and Athena, followed by Artemis and Ares, to Zeus and Hera enthroned. Hebe stands on a footstool before Hera, her r. hand raised towards her.

3305. (= 2859) Cup, Attic rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 2278. - In the seated assembly of gods a winged Hebe (inscribed) pours into Hera's phiale from a jug.

3306. (= 2873\*, = Athena 432 with bibl.) Stamnos, Attic rf. Trieste, Mus. Civ. S 424. - Athena leads H. to the gods, standing. Between Apollo and Poseidon is Hebe, raising her r. hand and holding a jug.

3307. (= 2870, = Athena 437\*) Bell crater, Attic rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 2382. From Falerii. - Before Hermes, Hera, Nike and Zeus enthroned, H. is presented between Athena and Hebe (rather than Aphrodite) with Eros at her shoulder. H. is usually accompanied by Athena/Nike and Hebe, cf. 3323-3324.

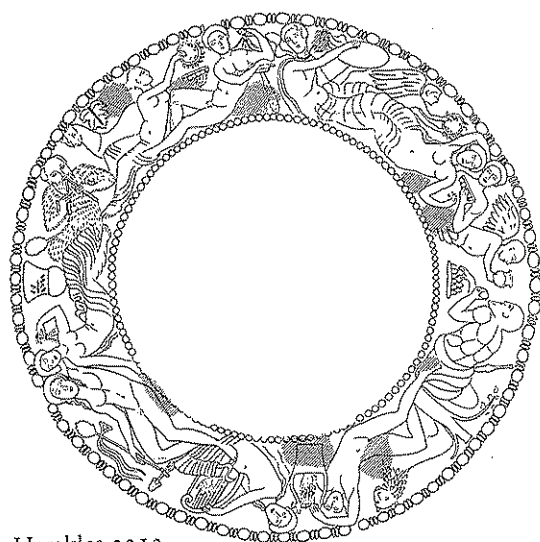
### c) On Olympos

3308.\* (= Ares 82 with bibl.) Hydria, Attic bf. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 499. - Three seated couples - Hermes/Ares, H./Athena, Zeus/Hera beside whom is Hebe (crowned with myrtle).

3309. (= Dionysos 571\*) Amphora, Attic bf. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 16. From Bologna. - *ABV* 286, 3: group of Bologna 16; *Para* 125; *CVA* 2 pl. 17 (316), 1-3. - About 520 B.C. - Athena turns l. to H. and Hebe; behind her Hermes and Dionysos. Cf. Toronto 919.5.141 (= 3130; *CVA* 1 pl. 14, 4); Gerhard, *AV* pl. 135 (Christies, 23 March 1959, no. 170); Hanover 752 (*CVA* 1 pl. 10, 1).

3310. (= 3127\*) Amphora, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1577. - *ABV* 337, 23: Rycroft P. - 520-510 B.C. - A: H. with a bullock, between Hebe and Athena.

3311. Lekythos, Attic bf. Athens, NM 496 (CC 904). - Haspels, *ABL* 231, 1 pl. 40, 2: group of Athens 496. - Hebe at l. turned to H. who looks round, l. hand raised, to Apollo and Artemis.



Herakles 3313

3312.\* Oinochoe, Attic bf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 94581. From Orvieto. - *ABV* 441, 3. - H. and Athena at centre; at r. Hermes; at l. Dionysos and Hebe, who raises her wrapped hand before her face.

### d) Other scenes

Hebe attends Hera suckling H. on → Hera 301. The woman attending a H. Mousikos might be taken for Hebe, especially when holding a sceptre (as *MuM* Auktion 56, 1980, pl. 33, 83) or flower (1443\*).

3313.\* (= 2935) Two relief phialai, tin. New York, MMA 39.11.4, 47.11.9. From Spina. - Late 5th cent. B.C. - Feast with reclining gods (Aphrodite, Ares, Dionysos, Ariadne, Apollo), with H. (young) leaning on his club and Hebe (himation around legs) presenting him a phiale and crown. Outer frieze, chariots attending H.'s apotheosis.

### 2. Scenes of homage to Herakles

The identity of Hebe is clearer, from her proximity to H. (3314, 3315) or her complementary position vis-à-vis Athena (3318, 3322, 3328) and Nike (3323-3327). She is always a welcoming figure offering a crown (3318, 3323, 3325, 3327) or fillet (3320, 3322) but also reveals her role as a symbol of concord by her attendance at dexiosis scenes of H. and Athena (3314, 3315) and as libation carrier (3321, 3324). She is par excellence the libation partner of H. on Olympos to whom she offers phiale (3324) or kantharos (3321).

#### a) At dexiosis of Herakles and Athena (see in 3188)

3314.\* (= 1865) Amphora, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1556. From Vulci. - *CVA* 8 pl. 393, 1: near Mastos group. - 520-510 B.C. - Hermes behind Athena; Hebe behind H., holding her l. hand to her face.

3315. Lekythos, Attic bf. Athens, Agora P 24507. *Para* 225: class of Athens 581, i; *Agora* XXIII pl. 81, 898. - 500-490 B.C. - Hermes behind Athena; Hebe behind H. raising her wrapped l. hand.

#### b) Homage to Herakles

##### Attic vases

##### (i) H. and Hebe alone

3316. Amphora, rf. Lost. - Gerhard, *AB* pl. 47. - A: H. holds out a kantharos. B: Hebe runs r., oinochoe in hand.

3317. Pelike, rf. Once Zurich market (Arete) and New Milton, Hattatt Coll. - *ARV* 2 665, 2: Ethiop P.; *Add* 278; Sotheby, 10/11 Dec 1984, no. 32. - 460-450 B.C. - Young H. leans on his club, Hebe tilts her phiale and holds a sceptre; an altar between them.

##### (ii) H., Hebe, Athena, etc.

3318. (= 3162) Lekythos, bf. Once Granet Coll., Agrigento. From Agrigento. - Benndorf, *GSV* 90 pl.

42, 4; Beazley, J. D., *AK* 4, 1961, 56 no. 3: near Athena P. - About 500 B.C. - Athena pours for a seated H.; behind H. Hebe raises a crown; Hermes and Iolaos.

3319. (= 3129\*, = Athena 275) Lekythos, bf. Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 84. - Gela P., early 5th cent. B.C. - Colossal heads: Hebe and H. facing Athena; two Nikai fly between.

3320. (= 3158) Amphora, rf. New York, Private. - *ARV* 2 583, 2; 1660: P. of London 95; *Para* 392; Sotheby, 29 Nov 1965, pl. on p. 55. - About 450 B.C. - Athena pours for H. by an altar; behind him Hebe (upper part lost) holds a fillet; Hermes.

3321.\* Bell crater, rf. Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 1142. - *ARV* 2 1438, 2: P. of Vatican 9103; *CVA* 3 pl. 132, 5-6. - 400-375 B.C. - Young H. crowned, seated on cloak looks l. to Athena; Hebe offers him a kantharos and holds a jug; Hermes, a Dioskourios, a dog.

3322. (= 3137\*) Calyx crater, rf. Athens, NM 12542 (Nicole 1101). - *ARV* 2 1456, 4; 1694: L. C. Group, Erotostasia P. - 4th cent. B.C. - Hebe prepares to place fillet on H.'s head; he turns to Athena.

##### (iii) H., Hebe, Athena, Nike

3323. (= 3139, = Athena 440, = Dionysos 587) Bell crater, rf. Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8.3495. From Boeotia. - H. moving r. looks back at Athena; between them a flying Nike crowns him; at r. Hebe presents a crown. Dionysos and satyr at either side.

3324.\* (= 3410, = Athena 534 with bibl.) Pelike, rf. Once Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2626. From Athens. - *ARV* 2 1472, 1: Herakles P.; Laurens 65 fig. 9. - Seated H. on lionskin looks back to Athena and Nike flying with phiale and crown; before him Hebe, in peplos, holds a jug and large phiale.

##### (iv) H., Hebe, Nike

3325.\* (= 3406 with bibl., = 3482) Lekythos, rf. New York, MMA 24.97.36 (once Athens, Melas Coll.). - About 400 B.C. - H. seated on a base reaches out for Nike's phiale; behind him Hebe foot raised, leans forward on a sceptre offering a laurel crown. Dioskouroi at sides.

3326. Crater, rf. Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 2028. From Athens. - *CVA* 3 pl. 110. - 400-375 B.C. - Between two altars Iolaos seated, Nike offering a fillet to seated H. in oriental costume, turned from Hebe, by a third altar, lifting her peplos before her face and holding close a flower-tipped sceptre.

3327. Crater, rf. Athens, NM 1386. From Boeotia. - About 330 B.C. - Nike presents phiale and crown to young H., crowned, seated on a base and holding a cornucopia. Behind him Hebe moves away towards a column holding a crown. At r. Iolaos seated.

##### (v) H., Hebe, others

3328. (= 3164\*) Crater, fr., rf. Murcia, Arch. Mus. 2594. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - H. seated on a base with Athena (libation scene), Dionysos, a woman; Iolaos (?) and Hebe, her l. hand over H.'s head.

##### Apulian rf. vase

3329. (= Aphrodite 1516\*, = Hermes 568) Situla. Genoa, Mus. Civ. 1177. From Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 518, 188 pl. 187, 3-4: near Darius P. - 335-330 B.C. - Above, Eros, Aphrodite, Athena. From l. Pan, Hebe partly veiled approaches young H. seated, fastening winged sandals; Hermes.

c) In scenes on reliefs and rf. vases (see 1368-1380) with H. beside a pillared shrine peculiar to him, a woman is shown offering a libation to H. (e.g., 1373, 1374, 1376). This might be Hebe though the setting seems terrestrial.

### 3. Marriage; Herakles and Hebe as a couple

With gods present Hebe can be mistaken for no other bride of H. and she is four times named (3330-3333). The event is linked to apotheosis and the symbolic chariot often appears with a connotation either of marriage or of apotheosis; it is not always clear which (3334). The simpler, intimate scenes are less easy to interpret and the woman might be variously identified (3341) even in the presence of Aphrodite and Eros (3342). The presence of Zeus and Hera can guarantee the identity of Hebe on 3343. See also the double herm, 1209.

#### a) Marriage

##### (i) Chariot procession

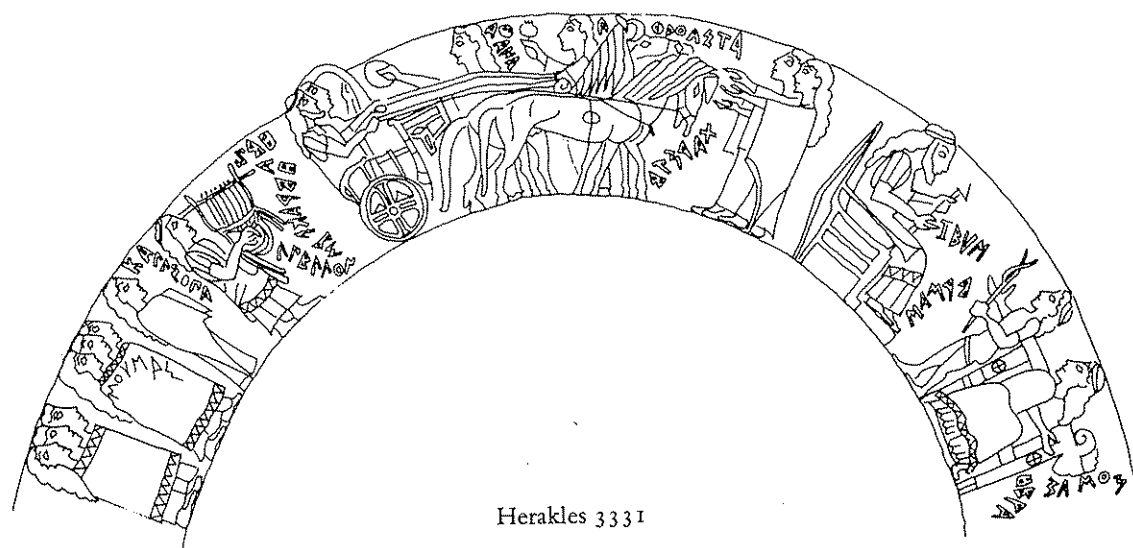
3330. Crater, orientalisng. Samos, excavation depot. - From Samos. - 7th cent. B.C. - H. and Hebe (inscribed names) in a chariot accompanied by gods including Apollo and Hermes. The earliest illustration of the marriage.

3331.\* Aryballos, Corinthian. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Vulci, Necr. dell'Osteria. - Sgubini Moretti, A. M./Pandolfini, M., *Archeologia nella Tuscia* 2 (1986) 88-89 pls. 47, 48. - Early 6th cent. B.C. - All figures are named. H. and Hebe in a chariot moving r. greeted by Athena holding up a wreath and Aphrodite holding up a flower (?) and two Charites. Beyond these are Zeus and Hera enthroned, Hermes between them. Behind the chariot is Apollo with a lyre and Muses, of whom Kalliope is named.

3332. (= Apollon 840\* with bibl.) Hydria, Attic bf. New York, MMA 14.105.10. - *ABV* 261, 37. - H. holds the reins (not Hebe, as on 3292-3295) with veiled Hebe; Dionysos, Apollo, Hermes (names inscribed).

3333. (= Hebe I 35) Loutrophoros, Attic rf. Athens, Acr. Mus. NA-57-Aa 1154. - *ARV* 2 103, 12. - H. and Hebe on the chariot preceded by Ganymede (names inscribed).

3334. (= 2871\*, = Hera 472) Bell crater frs. Leningrad, Hermitage, Baksy 8. From near Kerch. - Shefton, B. B., in *The Eye of Greece* (Studies M. Robertson, 1982) 149-181: near Pronomos P. - About 400 B.C. - Assembled gods, with Zeus and Hera. Below r. H. (club, fillets, crowned?) and Hebe (veiled, diadem).



Herakles 3331

with part of a horse and chariot behind them. Apotheosis (Shefton), but see the interpretation in 2871.

### (ii) Foot procession

**3335.\*** (= Aphrodite 1513, = Apollon 841, = Artemis 1284, = Hera 471) Tripod pyxis, Attic bf. Warsaw, Nat. Mus. 142319 (once Goluchow 165). From Attica. - Beazley, *VPol* 6; *CVA* Goluchow 1 pl. 16, 1. - About 500 B.C. - Cortege of gods around H. who leads Hebe by the wrist, head lowered, her cloak adjusted by a goddess in polos (Hera?). Charites and Artemis (?) prepare the bed in the thalamos.

**3336.** (= Hera 474\*) Pyxis, Attic rf. Philadelphia, Univ. MS 5462. - *Museum Journal* 7, 1916, 269-276 figs. 204-205; Haspels, E., *BCH* 54, 1930, 442; Scheffold, *UKV* 59 no. 579; Metzger, *Représentations* 223; Roberts, S., *The Attic Pyxis* (1978) 169, 181; Vollkommer 38 fig. 49; Boardman, *ARF* II fig. 400. - 4th cent. B.C. - Zeus and Hera throned, Athena seated, a torchbearer, receive young H. (chlamys, club) leading Hebe by the wrist (jewelled, veil adjusted by Eros), two assistants carrying loutrophoros, box and long patterned sash; erotes.

**3337.** Wall painting. Pompeii VII 9, 47. - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1479; *MAAR* 22, 1955, 169 pl. 61, 99; Della Corte, M., *Case ed abitanti di Pompei* 3, 1965, 199. - 1st cent. A.D. - Temple of Venus between Priapus and Cupid. Hebe/Iuventas (tunic, stola, crown, sceptre) descends the steps for the *dextrarum iunctio* with H. (lionskin, club). Behind, Isiac procession.

**3338.** Silver altar. Argos, Heraion. Lost. - Paus. 2, 17, 6, with no details. - Archaic sphyrrelaton?

**3339.** (= 3399, = Apollon 842 with bibl., = Hera 366 with bibl.) Marble puteal. Once London, Lord Guilford. From Corinth. - 1st cent. B.C. archaizing? - Cortege of gods towards Athena, H. (lionskin, weapons) and Hebe (chiton and himation lifted away from neck), head inclined and veiled.

### (iii) In the thalamos

**3340.\*** (= Aphrodite 1515, = Hera 475 with

bibl.) Amphora, Apulian rf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 3257. From Ceglie. - *RVAp* I 169, 32. - Above, on a rich kline, Hebe (veiled, jewelled) seated with head lowered. Between her and young H. (himation, club) flies Eros, arms open to unite them. At r. a servant presents a crown, another a phiale; before the group Eros and Aphrodite. At l. traces of figures with sceptre (Zeus and Hera?).

### b) Herakles and Hebe together

**3341.** (= 1527\*) Cup, Attic rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 15779. From Spina. - Alfieri, *Spina* 116 no. 300. - 400-375 B.C. - Young H. in chlamys, crowned, leaning on club and raising a hand, stands before a seated Hebe (?) who lifts a fold of her overfall.

**3342.\*** Hydria, Attic rf. London, BM E 244. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1481: near group of London E 230; *CVA* 6 pl. 98 (373), 5; Scheffold, *UKV* no. 184 pl. 14, 3-4 (Hippolyte P.); Metzger, *Représentations* 216 no. 54. - 400-350 B.C. - H. leans towards a seated Hebe, Eros at her knees. Aphrodite (?) moves away l.

### c) Family group

**3343.** (= 1525 with bibl., = Aphrodite 1514\* with bibl., = Hera 476) Hydria, Apulian rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 3291. - *RVAp* I 426, 60 pl. 156, 4; 157, 1: Chamay P. - Above, Hera enthroned between Hebe, her hand on the throne back, a woman and child, and young H. (naked, club) to whom Eros flies with fillet and phiale.

### COMMENTARY

H.'s association with Hebe demonstrates his divine status. It is shown normally in scenes of the apotheosis, on foot (3304-3307) or by chariot (3292-3303), of life on Olympus (3308, 3309, 3311, 3312) and of the marriage (3330-3340).

A number of other scenes are more difficult to locate, showing Hebe beside H. Mousikos (see section 1, d) or in a hieron (section 2, c). They are not con-

cerned with showing whether the setting is terrestrial or not, but to demonstrate H.'s divinity, one of the guarantees of which is Hebe herself. Even with the hieron building, the scenes are not so unlike those of homage to H. (3316-3329) where a column (3327), and one (3317, 3319) or even three (3326) altars may appear, or where a bullock appears between Athena and H.

Unexpectedly, scenes of the marriage appear first, in Greek island art (3330, within the 7th cent.), then in Corinth (3331), and continue into the early imperial period (3337) which is when the iconography of Hebe also disappears. This becomes the traditional way of showing H.'s place with the Olympians. Archaic Athens develops a different scheme, with the apotheosis in a chariot, from about 560 to 500 B.C.

The scenes of H. with Hebe achieve varying degrees of intimacy (3313, 3341-3343) but their main function is to glorify H. Athena (3318-3324, 3328, 3329) and Nike (3319, 3323-3327) may also attend. Hebe's role is to demonstrate the grandeur of Olympus, holding a sceptre (3317, 3326, 3337) or, the definitive welcome for H. among the gods, offering him the libation that seals his right to join them (3306, 3313, 3316, 3317, 3321, 3324).

ANNIE-FRANCE LAURENS

### K. Herakles and Hephaistos

Hephaistos made armour and equipment for H.: see *LIMC* IV p. 729. On a Hellenistic relief cup he is making H.'s club, which is handed to the hero by Athena (→ Athena 57\* = Hephaistos II). See Brommer, *Herakles* II 107.

### L. Herakles and Hera

Although Hera's hostility to H. looms large in the hero's myth, it does not appear to have caught the attention of figurative artists. Hera is very rarely represented with H. and when she is, relations between the two appear to be entirely cordial. They appear together in scenes which show Hera suckling H., and of H. protecting Hera from an attack by satyrs. See → Hera, section II C, 3 for literary sources on her enmity.

#### 1. Hera suckles Herakles

Despite the fact that Hera became H.'s enemy even before he was born, she once (probably unknowingly) gave him her breast and thus provided him with her divine milk.

LITERARY SOURCES: Lykophron (1327-1328; *Schol.* 39, 1327, 1328) is the earliest source alluding to Hera nourishing H. at her breast. Eratosth. *kat.* 44 says that the sons of Zeus had no honour unless they had been suckled by Hera and that Hermes brought H. to Hera. While he was drinking Hera shook him off, thereby creating the Milky Way. Diod. 4, 9, 6 says that

after → Alkmene had exposed H., Athena and Hera passed the spot where the baby lay and Athena persuaded Hera to give him her breast. The lusty child sucked so hard that Hera pushed him away; the milk thus spilled became the Milky Way. Paus. 9, 25, 2 comments on the place where the Thebans said Zeus deceived Hera into suckling the infant H. Hyg. *astr.* 2, 43 quotes a tradition that H. was put to Hera's breast while she was asleep.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bayet, J., *Herde* (1926) 150-154; Beazley, J. D., *JHS* 69, 1949, 14; Cook, *Zeus* III 89 ff.; Deonna, W., in *Coll. Latomus* 18, 1955, 15-20; Gruppe, O., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 1098-1100 s. v. «Herakles»; Monaco, G., *RendPontAcc* 8, 1931/32, 173-176; Renard, M., in *Hommages à J. Bayet* (1964) 611-618; Vollkommer 31.

### CATALOGUE

**3344.\*** (= Hera 301, = Iris I 152 with bibl.) Squat lekythos, Apulian rf. London, BM F 107. From Anzi, Basilicata. - *RVAp* I 395, 1 pl. 137, 1: Suckling P.; Renard pls. 32, 6; 33, 7; Vollkommer 33 fig. 40. - Mid 4th cent. B.C. - Hera seated in the centre suckling H. as a young child. To her r. Iris; further r. a seated woman, possibly Alkmene. To the l. of Hera, Athena wearing aegis and holding a spear in one hand, a flower in the other; to her l. Eros and a seated woman (Aphrodite?).

**3345.** (= Hera 454) A lost statue described in *Anth. Pal.* 9, 589. The lines imply that the artist showed the breast without milk because there was no real kinship.

### UNCERTAIN

**3346.** Wall painting, said to be a copy of a picture in the Golden House of Nero (or the Baths of Titus). - Renard pl. 35, 10. - A.D. 50-75. - Zeus (bearded and dressed, accompanied by an eagle) holds the baby H. to the breast of the sleeping Hera in the presence of Athena and Hypnos. Authenticity doubted.

**3347.** Plastic vase. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2913. From Corinth. - Renard pl. 32, 5. - 400-350 B.C. - Goddess suckling a baby. As she wears a wreath of ivy she is more likely to be a nymph suckling the infant Dionysos than Hera suckling H.

#### 2. Herakles protects Hera from attacking satyrs

**3348.** (= Babakchos 1\*, = Dionysos 791 with bibl. [B]), = Hera 327, = Hermes 752, = Iris I 111 [B]) Cup, Attic rf. London, BM E 65. From Capua. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 370, 13; Brygos P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 224; Simon, E., in *The Eye of Greece* (Studies M. Robertson 1982) 125-129 pl. 30. - 500-475 B.C. - A: Four satyrs at the l. menacing; Hermes in the centre, confronting them ineffectually. Hera, to Hermes' r., fleeing; H., r. of Hera, carrying bow and club and wearing Scythian dress under his lionskin, advancing ready to defend Hera. On B satyrs attack Iris at an altar with Dionysos present.

**3348a** (= 1698\*, = Hera 328\* with bibl.) Me-  
tope 7. Paestum, Mus. Naz. From the Heraion on the

Foce del Sele. – About 550–540 B.C. – Hera stands to the l., H. with drawn sword advances to the r. defying the satyrs who approach from metopes 8 and 9.

## COMMENTARY

Although the subject of the suckling of H. was known in Greece it seems to have found little favour with artists on the mainland. The one vase that seems surely to illustrate this theme comes from South Italy (3344) and H. is not shown on it as a baby, which we might have expected from the sources, but a young child already steady on his feet. The Etruscans show him older still (→ Herakles/Hercle 400–404) and the subject was more popular among them, often conflated with Hera's ultimate adoption of H. in connection with his apotheosis.

No extant literary source mentions Hera attacked by satyrs and defended by H. Simon (o.c. 3348) suggests that the Attic vase painting has been inspired by a satyr play on the subject, while she feels that the goddess in the metope (3348a) is protectress rather than protected (*JdI* 82, 1967, 290–291). Whatever the story may have been, it seems that visual artists are here again showing H. and his step-mother on friendly terms – a contrast with the picture given in literature. Thus, H.'s deeds are prominent on her «Treasury» at Foce del Sele (= [Dodekathlos] 1698). She is often present at his introduction to Olympus (see Commentary on Section VIII) and at Olympian assemblies. In some scenes she seems to show her dislike for him (e.g., 3177 = Hera 467; cf. 2857).

Hera sends Iris with the Nemean lion to test H. on an Attic bf. vase (1915). That she is present on the Campanian rf. scene of H. with Atlas (→ Atlas 13\*, = Hera 457) is highly improbable.

SUSAN WOODFORD

## M. Herakles and Hermes/Mercury

See also → Hermes 497–568. 586–589. Hermes commonly attends many of H.'s Labours and other exploits in Greek art, especially in late Attic bf., notably Kerberos (Section IV, M, in which Hermes plays a role), Antaios (→ Antaios I 2\*–14\* passim), Acheloo (→ Acheloo 248\*–251\*), and less often in the encounter with the Hydra, Boar, Bull and with the Hesperides. He is also often a companion of H. in his role as intermediary between earth, Olympus and Hades (e.g. → Hades 129, and the possible scene with Alkestis [→ Alkestis 58\* = Hermes 586]). H. and Hermes may feast together (1495–1499, and cf. → Hermes 499). Hermes carries the infant H. (1665\*), attends H. in his shrine (1369. 1370\*. 1378\*) or helps him at an altar (1330. 1391\*), joins him in music-making (1475\*) and fishing (3369), and cf. 1321\*. 1322\*.

From the Hellenistic period on they are often associated in cult, both being gods of the palaestra, and there are H./Hermes double herms (1205–1207); cf. RESuppl. III 1100–1101 and MLI 2, 2961. Aristides

40, 19 Keil mentions common images, «they achieve such a degree of comradeship». For a Hermerakles see 926a. b, and cf. 591\*.

For their appearance on South Italian vases see Schauenburg, K., *AuA* 10, 1961, 83. See Brommer, *Herakles* II 109–110.

## CATALOGUE

## GREEK

3349. (= Hermes 497\*) Amphora, Attic bf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 1689. – *ABV* 151, 10: Amasis P.; Karouzou, S., *The Amasis Painter* (1956) pl. 8, 2. – 550–540 B.C. – H. with quiver, club and bow faces Hermes; before them a dog; to r. one, to l. two youths with spears.

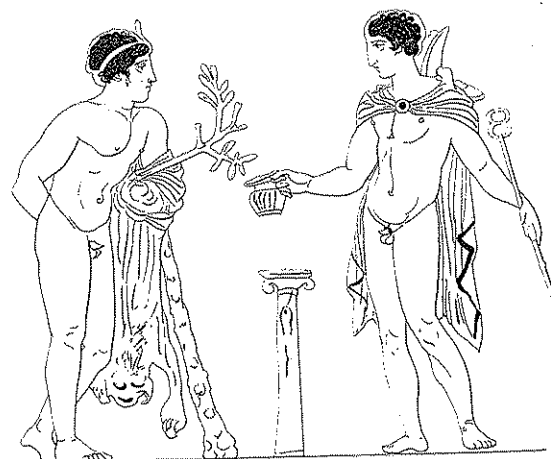
3350. (= Hermes 498) Amphora, Attic bf. New Orleans, Mus. 16.38 (2033). – *ABV* 315, 3: Bucci P.; *Add* 85; *JdI* 94, 1979, 69 fig. 18; Williams, D., in *ICG* (Rouen) 135 fig. 2. – About 530 B.C. – Hermes leads H. past a block surmounted by gaming pieces (?; not an altar; the identification is Williams'). At either side columns topped by an owl and a cock.

3351. (= Dionysos 832\* with bibl.) Cup, Attic rf. Orvieto, Mus. Faina 45. From Orvieto. – *ARV* 861, 14: Pistoxenos P. – About 460 B.C. – Hermes extends a hand to a fully dressed H.

3352. Hydria, Campanian rf. London, BM F 211. – *LCS* 258, 211 pl. 103; 1: Io P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 4 (84), 3. – Early 4th cent. B.C. – Hermes (probably) with staff, foot raised on rock, faces H., foot also on rock, wearing lionskin, holding club and extending olive branch to him. (Behind H. two women with tray, fillet and wreath, probably irrelevant.)

3353.\* Volute crater, Lucanian rf. Paris, Louvre K 518. – *LCS* 167, 931 pl. 73, 3: Primato Group; *AuA* 10, 1961, pl. 9, 17. – About 350 B.C. – Young H. seated on lionskin, with club, quiver and bow. Hermes stands before him, at the l. From r. Nike approaches with palms.

3354. (= Hermes 559a) Nestor, Lucanian rf. London, BM F 178. – *LCS* 145, 791 pl. 67, 5: P. of Naples 1959; *AuA* 10, 1961, pl. 8, 15. – About 350



Herakles 3355

B.C. – Hermes being crowned by Nike, approaches H., wearing lionskin, with club and bow. At r. Athena.

3355.\* Calyx crater, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81470 (SA 278). From Basilicata. – *RVAp* I 48, 21: Tarporley P.; Panofka, T., *BerWPr* 7, 1847, fig. 4. – 400–390 B.C. – Young H. with lionskin leans on his club holding an olive branch. Hermes faces him extending a cup to him over a short Ionic column. Panofka saw here H. with the Hyperborean olive for the Olympic Games and Hermes Enagonios.

3356. (= 3147\*) Bell crater, Apulian rf. Madrid, Arch. Mus. 32658. – *RVAp* I 90, 185: related to Bendis P.; *AuA* 10, 1961, pl. 8, 16. – 380–360 B.C. – Young H., wearing quiver, seated facing l., his club below him. Hermes faces him holding three phialai. Behind H. Athena.

3357. (= 368\*) Clay group. Paris, Louvre MYP 202. From Myrina. – *BCH* 10, 1886, pl. 11; Winter, *Typen* II 378, 3; Mollard-Besques II 86 pl. 105b. – 3rd cent. B.C. – H. with club and lionskin stands beside a herm. See Winter, *ibid.*, for comparable examples from Myrina.

## ROMAN

See also 739\*, coin of Tiberius with H. and Hermes before the Temple of Concord; 2164.

3358. Mosaic. Torre de Palma, Monforte (Portugal). – Blazquez, J. M., *ArEspArq* 53, 1980, 139–140 fig. 8. – 3rd cent. A.D. – Hermes supports the drunken H. (naked, wreathed, with lionskin).

3359.\* Cornelian intaglio. Munich. Münzslg. – *AGD* I 3 no. 2526 pl. 231. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – Hermes raises a wreath for H., with club and lionskin. Cf. Walters, *BMGems* no. 3152, glass, with a tree between them.

3360.\* Marble relief. Florence, Mus. Arch. 13745. – 1st/2nd cent. A.D.? – Mercury and H. stand at either side of an altar, Mercury holding a bowl over it, H. a phiale. H. holds lionskin and (?) in l. hand.

3361. Two reliefs. Palmyra, built into Arab wall at entrance to sanctuary of Bel. – Seyrig, H., *Syria* 24, 1944/45, 75–76 pl. 4. – 2nd cent. A.D.? – a) H. seated facing r. on rocks, before him a lion (?) and tree. b) Hermes seated facing l. on rocks, before him a ram and palm.

3362. Limestone relief. Cluj-Napoca Mus. MIC 15. From Cluj. – Barbulescu, M., *Acta Musei Napocensis* 14, 1977, 187 no. 76 pl. 9, 2. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – H. frontal (Farnese), his bow above him, beside Hermes with caduceus and purse.

3363. AE as, Rome, L. Rubri Dosseni, 87 B.C. – Crawford, *RRC* no. 348/6 pl. 46. – Obv.: janiform head of H. (lionskin, club) and Hermes (petasos, caduceus). Rev.: prow.

3364.\* AE coin, Themisonion, Maximinus (A.D. 235–238), Philippus I (A.D. 244–249). – *BMC Phrygia* 420, 10 pl. 49, 5; *SNG* v. Aulock 4020. 4022. – Rev.: H. faces Hermes. Behind H. a youth with horse, probably the local hero Lykabas (?) Sozon.

3365.\* AE coin, Nysa, Gordian III (A.D. 238–244). – *BMC Lydia* 182, 59; *SNG Copenhagen* 326. – Rev.: H. faces Hermes.

3366.\* AE coin, Perge, Salonina (about A.D. 260). – *BMC Lycia* 138, 92 pl. 25, 3; *SNG* v. Aulock 8527. – Rev.: Hermes and H. face l., sometimes between them a standard.

3367. (= 1107 with bibl.) Alternating herms of H. and Hermes. «Stoa of Herms», Cyrene. – Goodchild, R., *Kyrene und Apollonia* (1971) 86 figs. 23–26. – 3rd/4th cent. A.D.

3368. Bronze statuettes (chariot fittings). Leninograd, Hermitage B 864. From Duchowa Mogila? (E. Bulgaria). – Mercklin, E., *JdI* 48, 1933, 84–89 figs. 1, 2; *Ant. chydosch. bronsa* (Leningrad 1973) nos. 230, 231. – 2nd cent. A.D. – H. reclines naked on lionskin holding club and bowl; Hermes reclines with caduceus and bowl. Cf. 1060.

## COMMENTARY

Williams identified the central object on 3350 as a gaming table. If it alludes to the only other such tables on scenes of this date – between Achilles and Ajax (*LIMCI* pls. 96–102) – and if these allude to Pisistratus' return to Athens (Boardman, J., *AJA* 82, 1978, 18–24), the scene may take on something of a (re)introduction of H./Pisistratus to Athens. Other representations suggest no specific mythological situation, though the olive branches held on the South Italian vases (3352. 3355) and the phialai on 3356 are notable.

## N. Herakles and Poseidon

Poseidon helps defend Pylos when H. attacks, and H. «wields his club against the trident» (Pind. O. 9, 29–31). Several of H.'s adversaries are Poseidon's children or kin – → Bousiris, → Antaios, → Nereus, → Triton, and his sometime rival/friend Theseus was Poseidon's son. He also kills Poseidon's ketos (see → Hesione). Poseidon seldom attends with other gods on Heraklean occasions (→ Ares 80\*). It is not clear whether Poseidon is officiating for Zeus in welcoming H. to Olympus on the Attic bf. vases (2865. 2866). On the Attic bf. Kolchos oinochoe Poseidon reacts vigorously behind and in favour of (?) H. and Athena against Ares (→ Ares 42; Rumpf, A., *Sakonides* (1937. 1976) pls. 29–31; Berlin F 1732). They share a late votive relief from Thasos, 276, and their statues are juxtaposed on a sarcophagus, 1296. See Brommer, *Herakles* II 114–115.

## CATALOGUE

## GREEK

3369. (= Hermes 552) Lekythos, Attic bf. New York, MMA 56.171.33. From Sicily. – Haspels, *ABL* 54; Tillyard, *Hope* 31 pl. 6; Boardman, J., in *Festschr. N. Himmelmann* (1989) pl. 33, 4–6. – About 510 B.C. – Poseidon sits on a rock holding a trident and a fish; H. kneels on a rock with rod and line (not his bow, as



Tillyard suggests) to which a box-like object is attached; Hermes sits on a rock, facing the others, also fishing.

**3370.\*** Amphora of panathenaic shape, Attic rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 2164. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 183, 10: Kleophrades P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 186; Greifenhagen, A., *AA* 1966, 491-492 figs. 1-2; Schefold, *SB* II 121 figs. 150-151. - About 490 B.C. - A: H. wearing lionskin and quiver, draws his bow at - B: Poseidon, who stands looking back at him, holding fish and trident.

## COMMENTARY

The fishing party on **3369** is unexplained. H.'s adversary on **3370** looks more like Poseidon than Ne-reus, but we cannot be sure, and this is the only possible scene of the confrontation at Pylos.

## O. Herakles and Zeus/Jupiter

For Zeus as H.'s father see *LIMC* IV p. 728; and Zeus receiving H. into Olympus, Section VIII. For H. fighting beside Zeus in the gigantomachy see → Gigantes and Section IX, R. There are few other confrontations, none in the setting of myth. Zeus intervenes in H.'s fight with Ares over → Kyknos (I), and with Apollo over the tripod (Section IX, B). In Greek examples the Zeus might be a king and in the Roman the setting is of cult. H. shares few sanctuaries with Zeus (*RE* Suppl. III 1102-1103). For H. and Ammon see → Ammon 153. 154\*. See Brommer, *Herakles* II 116; Vollkommer 53-54.

## CATALOGUE

### GREEK

**3371.** (= 2853\*) Oinochoe, Attic bf. Once Rome, Canino. From Vulci. - *ABV* 153, 33: Amasis P.; *AZ* 1846 pl. 39, 1; *WV* 1889 pl. 4, 4; Hoppin, *BlackFig* 40. - 550-540 B.C. - H. with bow and spear shakes hands with a man (Zeus?) holding a sceptre with ram-head terminal. To l. a youth, to r. a warrior.

**3372.** Cup, Attic rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 2530. From Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 831, 20: Amphitrite P.; Panofka, T., *BerlWPr* 7, 1847, fig. 1; *AZ* 1853 pl. 49, 4; *CVA* 3 pl. 106, 5. - About 460 B.C. - H. fully dressed extends an olive branch to a man with a sceptre who raises his r. hand. Cf., by the same artist, the skyphos Hanover KS 761 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 832, 30; *AZ* 1853 pl. 49, 1) where a very similar «Zeus» hands a wreath to H.

**3373.\*** Bell crater, Apulian rf. Leningrad, Hermitage B 299 (St. 1775). From Ruvo. - *RVAp* I 129, 260: Iris P.; Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*<sup>2</sup> no. 31; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* IV. 22; Trendall, *RFSIS* fig. 120. - About 360 B.C. - Phlyax players: Zeus on high throne raises thunderbolt, holds sceptre topped by eagle. Before him H. (lion-head cap) eats from a phiale. Behind him a white-haired man (perhaps not then Iolaos)

pours at a fountain (? «pillar-altar», Trendall/Webster).

**3374.\*** Hydria, Campanian rf. Naples, private. - Schauenburg, K., *RM* 93, 1986, pl. 43 (Group of Parrish P.); Vollkommer 54 fig. 71. - 350-325 B.C. - Young Zeus with thunderbolt: young H. behind him, wearing lionskin, club on ground in l. hand, foot raised on rock, places his r. hand on Zeus' shoulder. Both face l.

**3375.** Marble decree relief. Delphi Mus. 12675. From Delphi. - Moretti, J.-C., *BCH* 111, 1987, 157-165. - About 400 B.C. - Seated Zeus and seated young H. with bow face each other with two figures (missing) between.

**3376.** (= Kallirrhoe II 3\*) Marble votive relief. Athens, NM 1778. From Ilissos bed. - Svoronos pl. 131; Möbius, H., *AM* 60/61, 1935/36, pl. 90; Hausmann, U., *Gr. Weihreliefs* (1960) 80. 82 fig. 47; Mitropoulou, E., *Libation Scenes* (1975) 70-71 no. 51. - 3rd cent. A.D. - H. wearing lionskin and holding club holds out a jug (?) to a man who also holds a jug (Zeus Meilichios?) and is seated on a rock with the head of Acheloos upon it (= Acheloos 204\*). Between them is Hermes (= Hermes 728) holding a jug. Behind Zeus a dressed figure holding cornucopia and phiale, usually taken for a woman (Meter at Agrai?; Svoronos suggests Kallirrhoe) but Mitropoulou suggests Palaimon (→ Melikertes Palaimon).

### ROMAN

**3377.\*** Votive relief to Iuppiter Caelius, H. Iulianus and the genius of Mons Caelius. Rome, Pal. Cons. 1264. - Stuart-Jones, *SculptPalCons* pl. 112; Helbig<sup>2</sup> II no. 1806; Wrede, *Consecratio* 245 no. 133 (H. as portrait). - About A.D. 190. - H. stands beside Jupiter, a tree with an eagle between them. To r. the genius of Mons Caelius seated beside a tree.

**3378.\*** Votive relief to Mars, Jupiter, Mercury, H., dedicated by M. Quartinius. Vatican, Gall. Lapid. 11b. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* I 170 pl. 23. - Early 3rd cent. A.D.

**3379.** Cornelian intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 2547. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 23. - 1st cent. A.D. - Mars and Jupiter, heads turned to each other. At r. H. with lionskin and club.

### Coins

**3380.\*** AE, Keretapa Diokaisareia, Marcus Aurelius. - *BMC Phrygia* 130, 7 pl. 15, 9. - Rev.: H. with club and lionskin with Zeus Laodikeus, with eagle and sceptre.

**3381.\*** AR antoninianus, Lugdunum, Diocletian, A.D. 287. - Bastien, P., *Le monnayage de l'atelier de Lyon. Diocletien et ses corrégents avant la réforme monétaire* (285-294) (1972) 137, 108-111 pls. 7-8. - Rev.: Jupiter with sceptre and thunderbolt faces H.

**3382.** AR antoniniani, late 3rd/early 4th cent. A.D. - *RIC* V 2, 248, 275 (Diocletian, Siscia); Robertson, *Hunter* IV 238-239, 69. 72-74 pl. 54 (Diocletian, Antioch); *RIC* V 2, 256, 327 (Diocletian, Tripolis); 288, 584 (Maximian, Siscia); Robertson, *Hunter* IV 249, 63 pl. 56 (Maximian, Tripolis); *RIC* V 2,

302, 673/74 (Constantine, Antioch); 309, 719 (Galerius, Antioch). - Rev.: Jupiter faces H. holding Victoria (on a globe - Siscia).

**3383.** AU aureus, AR antoninianus, Lugdunum, Maximianus Herculeus, A.D. 285. - Bastien, *o.c.*

**3381.** 121-141 nos. 34. 61-62. 66. 71-72. 74. 112. 132-134 pls. 3-5. 8. 9. - Rev.: Jupiter shakes hands with H.

**3384.** AR denarius, unknown mint. Carausius (A.D. 286-293). - *RIC* V 2, 547, 1074. - Rev.: Jupiter offers his thunderbolt to H.

**3385.\*** AU aureus, Treveri, Diocletian-Maximian-Constantine, A.D. 303. - Bastien, P./Metzger, C., *Le trésor de Beaurains* (1977) 133-134, 378-384 ill. - Rev.: Jupiter faces H., between them holding up a small Victoria.

## COMMENTARY

The scene on **3371** is to be related to contemporary introductions to Olympus, but the handshake is more than a welcome and unique in this context. Panofka thought **3372** showed H. Kallinikos delivering the olive from the Hyperboreans, to serve as prize at Olympia, to Zeus Basileus. He associates also other scenes of H. and a branch (**3148. 3355**). In the phlyax scene (**3373**) H. seems decidedly to be eating offerings intended for Zeus.

The frequent appearance of H. and Jupiter on coins of the Tetrarchic period (**3381-3383. 3385**) is due to their role as protectors of the Augusti, introduced by Diocletian (Jupiter) and Maximianus Herculeus (H.).

## P. Herakles with the assembled gods

H. fights beside the gods against the giants (see next Section and → Gigantes). Though a newcomer to Olympus he is often shown in the company of the gods, especially in Archaic Athens and in Roman art. His usual companion is Athena/Minerva. See also → Dodekathēoi.

LITERARY SOURCES: See Section IX, J for H.'s marriage on Olympus and Section VIII for the apotheosis. There are few anecdotes about his behaviour with the gods. Kall. h. 3, 145-160 has him take Apollo's role waiting at the gates for Artemis to return from hunting, anxious to get at the game, and still a glutton. He was not formally regarded as a «thirteenth» Olympian but rather as a supernumerary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Knell, H., *Die Darstellung der Götterversammlung* (1965); Long, C. R., *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome* (1987); Weinreich, O., *ML* VI (1924-37) 844-845 s. v. «Zwölfgötter».

## CATALOGUE

This is highly selective. See also → Hera 468\*.

### GREEK

**3386.** (= 2607 [B], = Apollon 828\*) Amphora, Attic bf. Orvieto, Mus. Faina 78. From Orvieto. - *ABV* 144, 9; Exekias; *Para* 60; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 39; Technau, W., *Exekias* (1936) pls. 11-13; Schefold, *SB* II 40 fig. 39. - About 540 B.C. - A: All seated. Ares faces Aphrodite (= Aphrodite 1294\*/1508) and Poseidon. Zeus and H. (himation, chiton and club) with Athena turning to them, face Apollo, Hermes and Dionysos (= Dionysos 498). Cf. also the bf. hydria, Basel BS 499, = Ares 82\* (H. with club wearing himation only, facing Athena; Zeus and Hera facing a woman [Hebe?]; Hermes [= Hermes 775] facing Ares), little later; and the plaque fr. Athens NM Acr. 2582, Graef/Langlotz I pl. 109.

**3387.** (= Artemis 1173\*) Hydria, Attic bf. London, BM B 345. From Vulci. - *ABV* 332, 20: Priam P.; *Para* 146; *CVA* 6 pl. 94 (353), 4; Moon (ed.), *AGAI* 99 fig. 7, 4a. - About 520 B.C. - Hermes (= Hermes 781) and a woman face H. (cloak over lionskin?) and Athena; Apollo and Artemis face Dionysos (= Dionysos 481) and a woman.

**3388.\*** Nikosthenic pyxis, Attic bf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 76931. - *ABV* 229; *Para* 108; Hoppin, *BlackFig* 201; *MarbWPr* 1960, pls. 6, 7; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 153. - About 520 B.C. - All seated. Athena, H. (himation, club), Zeus, Hera, Hermes, Demeter, Apollo, Artemis, Iris, Aphrodite, Dionysos. Cf. the oinochoe, Paris F 117, also from Nikosthenes' workshop, where all are seated (*ABV* 230, 1).

**3389.\*** (= Hephaistos 173 with bibl.) Kyathos, Attic bf., signed by Lydos the slave. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Vulci. - Canciani, F., *AntK* 21, 1978, 17-22 pl. 6. - About 520 B.C. - Twelve standing gods. God faces goddess (Aphrodite?), god faces goddess, H. faces Athena, Dionysos (= Dionysos 818\*), Hermes (= Hermes 782), Poseidon faces Amphitrite (= Amphitrite 55a) god faces goddess.

**3390.\*** Lekythos, Attic bf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 1961. From Sicily. - *ABV* 379, 273: Leagros Group; Gerhard, *AV* pls. 69. 70. - About 500 B.C. - Hermes seated, Athena standing, Dionysos seated, H. standing, Ares seated (= Ares 81).

**3391.** Lekythos, Attic bf. Athens, NM 458 (CC 903). From Athens. - *Para* 204, 1: Group of Athens 458; *CVA* I pl. 6 (14), 5. 6. - About 500 B.C. - Pairs standing. Ares and Aphrodite (= Aphrodite 1296); Dionysos and a woman; H. and Athena; Hermes and a woman. Cf. Athens 496 (CC 904); Haspels, *ABL* 231 pl. 40, 2: standing woman, H., Apollo, Athena, Dionysos.

**3392.** (= Apollon 861 with bibl.) Dinos, Attic rf. Basel, Antikenmus. Lu 39. - Berlin P. - Zeus mounting a chariot, with other deities. The bearded figure with himation, knobbed staff and a large eye is most probably H.; cf. Robertson, M., in *Studies ... P. H. v. Blanckenhagen* (1979) 77 n. 6.

**3393.** Kantharos, Attic rf. University, Univ. of Mississippi 1977.3.226. From Olynthus. - *Olynthus* XIII pls. 74. 75. - About 400 B.C. - A: A woman standing before seated Zeus (crowned by Nike) and seated Athena. B: A woman standing behind seated H.

(on cloak, holds club, wears baldric); a woman with phiale; a seated youth with staff looking back. All are perhaps deities.

**3394.** Volute crater, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. H 3239. From Canosa. - Schauenburg, K., *RM* 93, 1986, pl. 45. - Mid 4th cent. B. C. - In an assembly of gods, in three registers dominated by Zeus centre top, a bearded H. sits at Zeus' r., club and lionskin below, and a second young H. with club, lionskin and wreath, approaches an altar, centre below. In this register also are mortals and Athena.

**3395.** (= Aphrodite 1172) Gold reliefs on the base of the throne of Zeus in his temple at Olympia. Lost. - Paus. 5, 11, 8. - About 435 B. C. - H. beside Athena with other gods attending the birth of Aphrodite.

**3396.** (= Dodekathēoi 13 with bibl.) Relief frieze on the altar of the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia. - About 150 B. C. - One of 15 deities.

#### ROMAN

**3397.** (= Dodekathēoi/Dei consentes 1\*, = Iuno 291) Wall painting. Pompeii IX 11, 1. - Scheffold, *WP* 288; Weinreich 807 fig. 5; Spinazzola, *Pompeii* 177-178 figs. 215-216 suppl. pl. 1. - 1st cent. B. C./A. D. - Twelve gods. H. fifth from l. between Minerva and Venus.

**3398.** Wall painting. Once Wilton (drawing in Eton College). - Reinach, *RépPeint* 6, 3; *BSR* 7, 1914, pl. 4b. - Athena, H., Artemis, Apollo, Ceres, Vertumnus, Terra.

**3399.** (= 3339 with refs.) Neo-attic puteal relief. Once London, Lord Guilford. From Corinth. - 1st/2nd cent. A. D. - One of ten deities including three Charites. Cf. also the bases, → Dodekathēoi 23\* (Farnese puteal, H. beardless) and 25\* (Albani puteal); and the provincial reliefs → Dodekathēoi 43\*, 44\*, 46\*, 47\*.

**3400.** (= Demeter/Ceres 167\*, = Iuno 41 with bibl.) Trajan's arch at Beneventum. - A. D. 114. - With Olympian gods.

**3401.** (= Androklos 4\* with bibl.) Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus. - One of twelve deities. H. stands with club raised over his head, between Androklos and Bacchus.

**3402.** Sarcophagus fr., Roman. Rome, Pal. Mattei. - *SarkRel* III 1 pl. 43, 140. - 3rd cent. A. D. - Be-

yond two tables laden with food are Bacchus, Athena, Jupiter and Hera. At the l. a woman; lying in the foreground, seen from behind, H. with his club.

#### COMMENTARY

In the 6th cent. assemblies on Attic bf. vases the gods are often all seated (3386, 3388) but later many or all stand (3387, 3389-3392). H. is prominently placed beside Zeus on 3386 (and cf. 3394), otherwise he is usually paired with Athena. He wears himation only when seated (3386, 3388) and on the Late Archaic 3392, but is fully dressed when standing (possibly with himation over lionskin on 3387) as though just arrived. Given his importance in Archaic Athens it may be that H. is the *raison d'être* for many of these scenes, but there is probably no suggestion of recent arrival when he appears at Hellenistic Magnesia (3396). He incongruously joins the gods attending the birth of Athena on two bf. vases (→ Athena 335, 349 = Apollon 819c\*), and, more appropriately, that of Aphrodite on the Phidian throne of Zeus at Olympia (3395). In Roman art his appearance with the Olympians is in accord with his status in Roman religion. His relegation to the floor, in his familiar older reclining position, at the feast on 3402 is noteworthy. Athena/Minerva remains his usual companion.

In Gallia/Germania he often appears with three or more other gods on the bases or base and shaft of the «Jupiter columns» of the 1st-3rd cent. A. D. (cf. Müller, W., *Die Jupitergigantensäulen und ihre Verwandten* [1975]; Bauchhenß, G./Noelke, P., *Die Jupitersäulen in den germanischen Provinzen*, *BonnJbb Beih.* 41 [1981]).

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#### Q. Herakles holds court

The subject isolated here is a popular one on 4th cent. (and latest 5th) Attic vases. «Herakles sitting, often with a kantharos in his hand, among his well-wishers - Athena, Nike, Hermes, Iolaos, satyrs, maenads» (Beazley, *EVP* 71). Sometimes other deities attend, and occasionally H. is not seated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Beazley, *EVP* 71-72; Metzger, *Représentations* 212-224; Mingazzini, P., «Le rapp. ... dell'apoteosi di H.», *MemLinc* ser. 6, 1, 1925/26, 413-490 *passim* (classified with the attendant figures, usually Nike or satyrs); Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, 113-133.

#### CATALOGUE

The list is selective but includes examples of all attendant figures and activities.

##### Attic rf. vases

**3403.\*** Bell crater. London, BM E 498. - *ARV* 1334, 16; Nikias, P.; Metzger no. 42; Froning, H., *Dithyrambos* ... (1971) pl. 11, 2. - 410-400 B. C. - Young H. wreathed, with club, sword and cloak, foot raised on a block, faces two youths, one seated, with

spears (Dioskouroi?). A small Nike flies to H. Behind him a tripod on a column and Athena.

**3404.** Stand fr. New York, MMA 12.229.15. - *ARV* 1339, 2; Talos P. - 410-400 B. C. - At l. H. leans on club facing woman with spear (Athena?) and a youth with chlamys, sword, two spears (Iolaos?). Behind the latter a woman faces a wreathed man seated on a rock - «probably god and goddess» (Beazley).

**3405.** Pelike. Voronezh, Kramskoy Mus., once Tartu, Mus. 108. From Capua. - *ARV* 1411, 41; Meleager P.; Malmberg, V. K./Felsberg, E. R., *Antichniya vazi* (1910) pl. 6, 3. - Early 4th cent. B. C. - Young H. seated on himation, club on lap, looks back to Athena, with Nike overhead. Top r. and l. seated women, one with fillet. Below l. and r. satyrs with dishes.

**3406.** (= 3325\*/3482) Lekythos. New York, MMA 24.97.36 (once Athens, Melas Coll.). - *ARV* 1325, 54; manner of Meidias P.; 1423, 1; near P. of Vienna 1089; Metzger, pl. 30, 1; *AM* 62, 1937, pl. 28; Vollkommer no. 372. - Early 4th cent. B. C. - A woman with one foot raised, with sceptre («Hera? Aphrodite?») - Beazley; Hebe?, crowns young H. seated to r., faced by Nike with jug and phiale. At either side a youth with chlamys and spears («Dioskouroi? or Iolaos and Hermes?») Beazley).

**3407.\*** (= Athena 438 with bibl.) Calyx crater. Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 1025. - *ARV* 1438, 1; Group of Vienna 1025; *CVA* 3 pls. 108, 1; 109, 1. 2. - Early 4th cent. B. C. - H. seated on cloak with club, bow, quiver, holding out kantharos (Sotadean) to a small Nike with jug. Above him a tripod. To l. above, two youths seated with fillet and two spears; below them an altar and a youth with two spears. To r. Athena, Hermes and two youths with two spears. At extreme l. and r. a satyr with dishes.

**3408.** Calyx crater. Athens, NM 12251. From Boeotia. - *ARV* 1438, 2; Group of Vienna 1025; Mingazzini pl. 4, 2; Metzger no. 36 pl. 31, 1. - Early 4th cent. B. C. - Young H. seated on cloak holding his club on his lap. He looks back to Hermes; Nike hovers above. To l. and r. youths with spears, the r. one starting away (Dioskouroi?); top r. a youth. Blocks may indicate altars.

**3409.\*** Bell crater. London, BM F 74. - *ARV* 1448, 5; Toya P.; Metzger no. 49; *ArchEph* 1982, pl. 17a; Boardman, *ARFH* II fig. 374. - Early 4th cent. B. C. - Young H. seated with club, sword and cloak, turns to Athena who leans on his shoulder. Before H. Eros and a woman; behind Athena a woman facing a seated youth.

**3410.** (= 3324\*) Pelike. Once Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2626. From Athens. - *ARV* 1472, 1; Herakles P.; Metzger no. 40 pl. 31, 4; Scheffold, *UKV* pl. 4, 1. - Early 4th cent. B. C. - H. seated on lionskin, with club, looks back to Nike and seated Athena. To r. a woman holding jug and phiale (Hebe?) and a youth.

**3411.\*** (= 1565, = Atlas 25 with bibl., = Hesperides 77) Pelike. Paris, Louvre MN 734. From Benghazi. - *ARV* 1472, 2; Pasithea P.; *CVA* 8 pl. 48 (528), 3. 4. - Early 4th cent. B. C. - Young H. seated drinking from Sotadean kantharos, face frontal, with club. At l. two women, one with jug; at r. an old man

leaning on a stick. («Hesperides and Atlas?» - Beazley).

#### COMMENTARY

Athena, Nike and Hermes commonly attend these groups. Among the anonymous men may be Iolaos or the Dioskouroi (3403, 3406, 3408) and among the women, Hebe (3410). Other figures could be mortal. Activities explicit or implied include crowning and libation. There are similar groups around H. at his columnar shrine (1368-1374) and cf. here 3407 (and 3403) with tripod and altar. Satyrs lurk in the wings on 3405 and in comparable groups (3221, 3222) the Dionysiac thiasos is dominant. Where similar schemes include a certain Zeus or possibly Hebe (3321-3328) we may be sure the setting is Olympus but the general atmosphere of most of these scenes is of the honouring of H. by gods, heroes, and, it seems, mortals, in an undefined setting. H. may be shown young (rejuvenated) or (less often) old. The vase scenes probably reflect popular Herakles icons in which his status is revealed by the company he keeps. The mainly naked H. seated on dress or lionskin and with his club on his lap is the dominant type.

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#### R. Herakles in Gigantomachia

See → Gigantes, especially Commentary, section 2, 1 and 2. H.'s participation guarantees the gods' success and he is invariably shown in a prominent position, close to Zeus or Athena, in all general scenes of gigantomachy, but is not shown in an isolated duel, as most of the gods may be, until the post-Classical period.

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mele, N. V., «Eracle euboico a Cuma - La Gigantomachia e la Via Heraclea», in *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'occident* 1 (Cahiers du centre Jean Bérard 5, 1979) 19-51; Vollkommer 40-41.

On Attic bf. vases H. fights from Zeus' chariot, with Athena at hand, or from Athena's chariot. He is always a Bowman except on a few late bf. vases where he is beside Athena on the chariot and carrying a club, no doubt influenced by other scenes in which he shares a chariot with the goddess for his apotheosis journey to Olympus. Exceptionally, on a bf. dinos of about 560 B. C. (Malibu 81.AE.211, = Gigantes 171\*), he is fighting with a sword, against a giant → Pankrates. (The drawing of this vase in *LIMC* IV, taken from *GettyVases* 2, 1985, 26-27, needs correction in many respects, partly from additional fragments, and especially since *ibid.* 38 fig. 19 below joins 36 fig. 17 top r., giving an Athena fighting with a sword.) For H.'s later associations with a Pankrates see 1381-1384\*. His only other named opponent of the Archaic period is Thourios, on the Amyklai throne (= [Dodekathlos] 1701), but beside Zeus and Athena he may confront Enkelados, Perichthonios and Porphyrior (→ Gigantes 105, 116, 119?). He confronts a



Herakles 3402

giant (?) Gagenes on a Boeotian bf. vase (Louvre MNC 743, → Ares 44\* = Gagenes 1\*) in the presence of Ares and Athena.

On Attic rf. vases H. no longer fights on the chariot, and in post-Classical scenes his normal weapon is the club. H. appears in an individual duel with an anguiped giant on gems of the 2nd-1st cent. B.C. (→ Gigantes 66-71; 69 is Walters *BMGems* no. 1043) and cf. the later stele, → Gigantes 535.

Apollo. *bibl.* 1 (36-38) 6, 1-2 has him kill Porphyron, helping Apollo kill Ephialtes, and shooting all the giants as they lay dying. JOHN BOARDMAN

## X. Herakles with other figures of cult or myth

### AFRICA

H. also attends Africa, with Aphrodite, Eros and Psyche, on a Severan relief vase from Timgad (→ Africa 44\*).

3412.\* AU aureus, AR denarius, AE sestertius, Rome, Commodus A.D. 191-192. - *BMC Emp IV* 755, 355-357 pl. 100, 7-8; 758, 372 pl. 100, 19; 843, 718-720 pl. 111, 4. - Rev.: H. (or Commodus as H.) stands r., foot on ship's prow, club on tree trunk r., holding thunderbolt. He holds the hand of Africa, in elephant skin, with sistrum and cornucopia; at her feet a lion. *PROVIDENTIAE AVG.*

### AKADEMOS (OR DEMOS)

On the record relief of 330-320 B.C., Athens, NM 2407, Athena and H. with a seated figure whose inscribed name is variously restored ΔΗΜΟΣ or ΑΚΑΔΗΜΟΣ. See 3152 = Akademos 2 = Demos 46\*. Cf. Vollkommer 53.

### ASKLEPIOS

H. built Asklepios a temple at Amyklai (Paus. 3, 19, 7) and the god healed his wound in a cave on Taygetos (Paus. 3, 20, 5). See also → Cheiron 101\*, a Roman bronze group of H., Asklepios and a centaur holding a cornucopia; 2941.

### ANTIOCHOS

3413. (= 275, = Antiochos 6\*) Marble relief (honorific decree for taxiarch). Athens, NM 3491. From Athens, Kynosarges. - Kron, *Phylenheroen* 192-193 pl. 28, 1. - 330-320 B.C. - A man with himation and staff; young H. with club and lionskin. The decree is of the tribe Antiochis and the man is most probably the tribal hero.

### CONCORDIA

3414.\* (= Homonoia/Concordia 101 with *bibl.*) AU aureus, Rome, Maximian, A.D. 306-307. - Rev.: Concordia extends r. hand to H., leaning on his club.

### DEI FLUVII

Cf. also → Belos 4, H. seated beside Phoenician river god Belos, where he was healed of wounds received from the Hydra; and below, 3505. And H.

with a river god on coins of Temenothyrai (Phrygia), of Salonina (→ Hippourios 3; but not necessarily fighting him since he does not raise his club but holds it at ease; he could be assisting him).

3415. (= Baetis 1\*, = Hedone 2 with *bibl.*) AU aureus, Rome, Hadrian, A.D. 119-122. - *BMC Emp III* 254, 99 pl. 48, 19. - H. between two women in distyle temple, with club. Below, a river god (Baetis) (a head on RIC no. 60) and prow (a fish on RIC no. 61). The temple of H. at Gades and Hesperides (?).

3416. (= 480 with *bibl.*, = Baetis 3\*) AU aureus, Rome, Hadrian, A.D. 119-122. - *BMC Emp III* 273, 274 pl. 51, 21. - H. with apple, ship's prow, river god (Baetis). Inscribed *HERC. GADIT.*

### DIOSKOUROI

The Dioskouroi have a comparable hero/god status to that of H. Their statues could be associated (Aristeides 40, 20 Keil). They appear often in scenes with H. on Attic vases of the latest 5th and 4th centuries: in scenes of initiation at Eleusis (1401\*. 1402. 1408\*; cf. → Dioskouroi 169\*. 170); in the scene of apotheosis on the Bakys crater of about 400 B.C. (2871); in scenes of H. «holding court» (e.g., 3325. 3403. 3406. 3408. 3474), to which may be added the following. See also Vollkommer 55.

3417.\* Bell crater, Attic rf. Sydney, Nicholson Mus. 49.04. - About 400 B.C. - Young H. seated with club, over an altar; to r. Athena and Zeus, seated; to l. the Dioskouroi with chlamydes and spears, one seated. This is very much a «family group» of Zeus with his children.

### EOS/AURORA

3418.\* AE contorniate. - Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons* nos. 55. 292 1.2 pls. 20, 11; 121, 11. 12. - 4th cent. A.D. - Rev.: H. shouldering club leads Aurora's chariot, drawn by boar and lion. (Obv.: Alexander head; Trajan head.) JOHN BOARDMAN

### EROS

H. was frequently subject to the power of Eros; his gluttony for love matched his gluttony for food. Nevertheless no extant literary source seems to link the figures of H. and Eros. The connection appears to have been made rather more explicitly in the visual arts (whence the epigrams *Anth. Pal.* 16, 103. 104) which describe a statue of H. by Lysippos showing H. bereft of his club, lionskin and quiver and explain that Eros has stripped the hero of his arms - though there is no suggestion that a statue of Eros with the equipment of H. was also made by Lysippos. (Such figures of Eros had, however, become common by the time the poems were composed; see → Eros 950-954; → Eros/Amor 613-615.)

H. is portrayed alone with Eros (or Erotes) in a number of situations: H. carrying Eros or with Eros perched upon his shoulder; Eros with H. who has his hands bound behind his back; Erotes playing with or stealing the hero's equipment when H. is asleep, feasting or reclining in the presence of Omphale; or H. and Eros simply facing each other across an altar.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Brommer, *Herakles II* 36-37; Furtwängler, A., *ML I 2* (1886-90) 2248-2249 s.v. «Herakles»; Greifenhagen, A., «Zwei Motive Pompejanischer Wandgemälde auf Goldglas und Tonlampen», *MJBK* 16, 1965, 51-53; Lippold, *Gemäldekopien* 128-129; Scharmer, H., *Der gelagerte Herakles*. 124. *BerlWPr* (1971) 21-29; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 86-88; Woodford, S., «Herakles' attributes and their appropriation by Eros», *JHS* 109, 1989, 200-204.

## CATALOGUE

### a) Herakles with Eros and other gods

#### (i) In the garden of the Hesperides

Eros often appears as an attendant figure, sometimes collecting apples from the tree. His presence no doubt contributes to the idyllic atmosphere conjured up in this scene, but is unlikely to have any more specific narrative implications. See 2703. 2719. 2721. 2722. 2724. 2725.

#### (ii) H. feasting

Scenes of H. reclining sometimes include Eros, less as a participant than as an adjunct. See 1030. 1508\*. 1513.

#### (iii) H. with a woman

Eros occasionally mediates between H. and a woman in scenes that suggest H.'s marriage to Hebe. See 1525. 1528\*.

Sometimes other gods are shown in scenes where the presence of Eros may suggest the marriage of H. and Hebe. See 3329. 3336. 3340. 3342; and cf. 1692 (= Eros 640d).

For Eros between H. and Nemea (?) see 1920.

#### (iv) Other scenes

Eros sometimes appears in scenes which show H. with other gods (e.g. Athena, Nike) or in connection with his apotheosis. See 2925; → Eros 913\*. 913a.

### b) Eros/Erotes play with or steal Herakles' equipment

→ Eros/Amor 616-618.

#### (i) H. reclines naked, feet to the left

3419.\* Marble relief fr. Brunswick, Bowdoin College 1906.2. - Herbert, K., *Ancient Art in Bowdoin College* (1964) no. 75 pl. 7; Scharmer no. 11 fig. 9. - 3rd-1st cent. B.C. - H. lies asleep while four Erotes steal his club and wine. One rests the club on his shoulders, while another rises from his crouched position to take its weight on his back; a third carries off the tiny oinochoe and a fourth leans over into the wine cup held in H.'s l. hand.

3420. Plaster relief. Hildesheim, Pel.-Mus. 1125. From Memphis. - Adriani, *Rep A II* (1961) no. 199 pl. 94, 310; Scharmer no. 19; Reinsberg, C., *Stud. zur hell. Toreutik* (1980) fig. 104. - Probably Hellenistic original. - H. reaches out his r. hand towards an Eros who appears from behind his r. thigh (compare 3421. 3422).

3421. (= Eros 914\*) Bronze relief disk. London, BM 857. - Scharmer no. 17 fig. 10. - 1st cent. A.D. - H. supports himself on his l. hand, lying on his lionskin. Six Erotes play around him; one to the l. carries off his club; one to the r. takes his bow; a third pipes in his ear; a fourth flies overhead, a fifth, in the foreground, seems to have his hands tied behind him; and H. grabs the sixth, behind his thigh, like the Eros in 3420.

3422. Wall painting. From Pompeii IX 8, 3 and 6 (43), Casa del Centenario. - Scheffold, *WP* 280; Loewy, E., *RM* 12, 1897, 144 fig. 1; Scharmer no. 16. - 1st cent. A.D. - H. supports himself on his l. hand, lying on his lionskin in a landscape. He grasps the arm of an Eros behind his thigh (like the one in 3420. 3421); another leaps onto his shoulder from the r. The pose of H. is very similar to that on 3421.

3423. (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 620\*) Clay relief medallion. Nîmes, Mus. de la Maison Carrée. From Nîmes. - Willeumier/Audin, *Médailles* 21 no. 2; Scharmer no. 18. - Mid 1st cent. A.D. - H. turns his head to look at an Eros at r. Another, standing by his feet, holds his bow. In front, two Erotes carry his club. H. holds a cup; a tree behind him.

3424. (= 1032, = Eros/Amor Cupido 619\*) Marble sarcophagus relief. Rome, Villa Doria Pamphilj. - *SarkRel III* 1 no. 142 pl. 43; Scharmer no. 28 fig. 11; Calza, R., et al., *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphilj* (1977) no. 183 pl. 115. - A.D. 200-250. - H., club in r. hand, cup in l.; two Erotes beside him, one clutching his club. Victories flanking.

3425. Glass intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 1327. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 15, 1327. - Roman. - H. holds a cup while Eros flies above him carrying his club. Similar are Berlin FG 1326. 4208. 4209.

3426. Glass intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 4210. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 31, 4210. - Roman. - H. has apparently fallen asleep while dining; Eros carries his club away.

3427. Marble table leg. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. 4363. - Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Th., *Trapezophora tou Mouseiou Thess.* (1985) no. 4 fig. - 3rd cent. A.D. - H. asleep leans on his l. arm, r. arm rests on his thigh. At least three Erotes try to remove his club, which is behind him.

3428.\* Marble table leg. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. B 291. - Himmelmann, N., *BonnJbb* 1977, 642-643 fig. 15; idem, *Das akad. Kunstmus. der Univ. Bonn* (1984) 104 no. 48. - Early 4th cent. A.D. - H. reclines naked, holding cup. Behind him Erotes (three?) lift his club. Cf. also Paphos Mus. 2956, *Ann. Rept. Dept. Ant.* for 1987, fig. 91.

#### (ii) Young H. reclines dressed, with Omphale

For other scenes which show Eros in the presence of H. and Omphale see → Omphale.

### Wall paintings

3429. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9000. From Pompeii VII Is. Occid. 15. - Scharmer no. 13; Bastet, F. L., *BullAnt-Besch* 44, 1969, 146 fig. 3; Scheffold, *WP* 209. - A.D. 50-60. - H., feet to l. at lower r.; several Erotes carry



off his equipment; four in the centre deal with his club. Omphale, with two attendants, sits at the top l. To upper r. an altar with Eros?

**3430.** Naples, Mus. Naz., Sala 54. From Pompeii VI 13, 6 (c) (Casa del Forno di Ferro). – Fourth Style. – Scharmer no. 14 fig. 8; Scheffold, *WP* 130. – A.D. 69–79. – H., feet to l. at lower r., with six Erotes, three stealing his club, one drinking from his cup, one at his head, one at his l. foot. Higher up, centre, an altar with two Erotes on it. To its l., Omphale seated (upper part missing).

**3431.** (= Eros/Amor, Cupido **616\***) Pompeii VII 1, 25 and 47 (10) (Casa del Sirico). – Scharmer, no. 15; Bastet, *o.c.* **3429**, 147 fig. 4; Scheffold, *WP* 164. – About 70 A.D. – H. feet to l. at lower r., with six Erotes, four stealing his club, one drinking from his cup, one behind his head. Altar above and to the l. of H. with four Erotes on it, playing with H.'s quiver. Upper l., Omphale seated with two attendants. Upper r. Dionysus reclining with attendants.

**c) Herakles on one knee; Eros on his shoulder**  
H. naked, with lionskin behind him.

(i) H. brandishes his club over his and Eros' heads  
**3432.\*** Glass intaglio. Oxford, Ash. Mus. 1888.448. – Boardman/Vollenweider, *OxfordGems* I (1978) 112 pl. 64, 383. – 250–200 B.C. – H. with his l. knee on the ground; brandishes his club in his r. hand and with his l. hand holds the hand of Eros who climbs on his shoulder. Similar are: Oxford F 78; Boardman/Vollenweider, *o.c.* pl. 64, 382. Berlin, FG 1324. Florence, Milani, L. A., *Guida* (1912) pl. 135, 9; *GlaspastenWürzb* I no. 386. Munich, *AGDI* 2 pl. 130, 1244–1247. Walters, *BMGems* pl. 31, 3153.

(ii) H. without club

**3433.\*** Glass intaglio. Hanover, Kestner Mus. – *AGDIV* pl. 47, 309. – 1st cent. B.C. – H. with his near knee on the ground (ground line possibly formed by his club), his further foot flat on the ground line, as if he were trying to rise (as in **3432**). He seems to hold Eros by the hands, his further arm raised over his head, his nearer arm in front of his chest. – Similar are: a) (= Eros **612\***) Onyx cameo. Naples, Mus. Naz. – Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* pl. 27, 6–7. – 1st cent. B.C. – H. raises r. hand as if vanquished. – b) Glass, Berlin, Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 15, 1322. – H. is kneeling on his club; Eros holds bow and arrow. – c)\* Carnelian, New York, MMA 41.160.771. – Richter, *MetMusGems* no. 414 pl. 51. – 1st cent. B.C./A.D. – H. with two Erotes, one on his shoulder, the other on his hip.

Also, with one Eros, Copenhagen NM, M43. Fossing, *ThorvGems* pl. 11, 877. Berlin, FG 1320.1321. Hanover, *AGD IV* pl. 121, 928/29. Cf. *GlaspastenWürzb* I no. 385.

(iii) Young H. kneeling on a rock; Eros alighting on his back.

**3434.** Sardonyx intaglio. London, BM 1876. – Walters, *BMGems* pl. 24, 1876. – Hellenistic. – H.

kneels with l. knee on a rock to the l., with bow in r. hand and club in l.; Eros alights on his back and clasps him round the neck.

**d) Herakles naked with hands tied behind his back**

(i) H. reclining; Eros at his feet

**3435.** Glass intaglios. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 4206. 4207. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 31, 4207. – Roman. – Eros at H.'s feet, carrying his club.

(ii) H. on one knee; Eros binding (or unbinding) his hands behind his back

**3436.** Glass intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 1325. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 15, 1325. – Roman. – H. turns his head to look back at Eros.

(iii) H. seated, hands behind his back; Eros, behind him, binding (or releasing) him

**3437.\*** Cornelian intaglio. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IX B 656. – *AGOe I* pl. 46, 268; Boardman, J./La Rocca, E., *Eros in Greece* (1978) 160–161. – 1st cent. B.C. – H., seated on a rock covered by his lionskin, hands behind his back, turns to look at Eros who stands behind him. Cf. the simpler version on the seal-ring from Delos, RA 1988, 332 fig. 58.

(iv) H. walking, hands tied behind his back; Eros on his shoulder

**3438.\*** (= Hedone 7) Chalcedony intaglio. Florence, Mus. Arch. 14757. – Milani, L. A., *Guida* (1912) pl. 135, 8; *GlaspastenWürzb* I no. 384. – 1st cent. B.C. – H. with lionskin over shoulder, head bent forward. Similar are Walters, *BMGems* pl. 16, 1224 (H. with club, bow and lionskin) and an amethyst, Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. (Hellenistic).

**e) Herakles naked, walking, hands free; Eros or Erotes holding or binding his legs**

**3439.** Sardonyx cameo. Once Marlborough Coll. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 65, 47. – 1st/2nd cent. A.D. – Drunken H., holding a cup in one hand and his club over his shoulder with the other, lionskin over his arm, walks slowly. Two Erotes, one clinging to (or trying to bind) each leg.

**3440.\*** (= Eros **919**) AE coin. Temenothyrai, quasi-autonomous, A.D. 244–249. – Voegtli 86–87 pl. 20g; *BMC Phrygia* pl. 47, 11. – H. holding in his r. hand a torch and carrying lionskin and club over his l. arm, approaches a column surmounted by a statue, on the other side of which is a small Eros. Either Eros is pulling tight a rope apparently attached to the r. leg of H. (so Head, *BMC*) or H. is trying to burn Eros' wings with his torch (so Voegtli), or perhaps both.

**3441.** AE medallion, Pautalia, Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138–140 or 150–152. – Thompson, M., *ANS MN* 22, 1977, 29–36 pl. 5, 1. – Rev.: the figures and setting similar to **3440**. A second Eros appears at the far r., behind H.'s leg.

**f) Herakles and Eros on opposite sides of an altar**

**3442.\*** Glass intaglio. Hanover, Kestner Mus.

2800. – *AGDIV* pl. 121, 927. – Augustan. – H. naked, holds his club and lionskin over one arm and extends his other hand, holding an apple (?), over a round altar; Eros opposite H. A tree with a bird behind the altar. Cf. Vienna XI B 324, *AGOe II* pl. 15, 656.

**g) Other scenes**

With H. and Hippolyte (→ Eros **913b**); with H. on 3rd cent. coins (→ Eros **915–918**).

**3443.** Sardonyx cameo. Leningrad, Hermitage 294. – Neverov, O., *Antique Cameos* (1971) no. 27. – 1st cent. B.C. – Eros pouring (bath) water over crouching H. in the presence of a woman (Omphale?).

**3444.\*** Jasper intaglio. Munich, Münzslg. A 2002. – *AGDI* 3 pl. 254, 2716. – 2nd cent. A.D. – H. seated on rock, holding his club in front of him. Three Erotes, one flying towards his shoulder; one mid-air in front of him, one holding his club, possibly trying to pull it away.

**3445.** Intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 7568. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no. 7568. – 1st cent. B.C./A.D. – H. seated, with club and lionskin, with a skyphos in one hand. Eros reaches a wreath to him.

**3446.** Glass intaglio fr. Munich, Münzslg. – *AGD I* 3 pl. 302, 3109. – Roman. – Eros stands looking into a crater; opposite him H. with his lionskin (only lionskin and leg preserved). Similar composition to **3442**.

**3447.\*** Bronze relief attachment on bronze hydria. Malibu, Getty Mus. 79.AE.119. – 4th cent. B.C. – H. naked walking to l., club over r. shoulder, lionskin behind him, carries Eros on his l. arm, as a parent would carry a child (e.g., H. and → Telephos).

**3448.** AE coin, Herakleia Pontou, A.D. 200–250. – *RecGén* I 2, 358, 78 pl. 57, 18; Voegtli 87 pl. 20h. – Rev.: H. naked, seated to r., holds out a hand to Eros, down on one knee to l. holding H.'s club. A tree behind Eros and another Eros in the tree. Cf. **3444**. Obv.: head of H.

**3449.** Bone relief. Alexandria, Greco-Rom. Mus. GR 23891. – H., naked, standing with his club under his arm and Eros on his shoulder.

UNCERTAIN

**3450.** (= **677\***) Marble table leg. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. 846. From Thessaloniki. – Stephanidou-Tiveriou, *o.c.* **3427**, no. 1 fig. – 3rd cent. A.D. – H. standing, leaning on club. A kneeling child beside his l. leg embraces a deer; another child embracing a small animal at the other side. Neither child is winged. The deer suggests → Telephos.

**3451.** Marble metope, Parthenon, East 11 (gigantomachy). – Praschniker's identification of the figure fighting a giant beside Eros as H. is generally now discounted: see Berger, *PartheDokMet* 57.66–68.

COMMENTARY

Erotes proliferate on vases from the 4th cent. B.C. and so it is hardly surprising that they appear in scenes with H. and other gods. Eros' presence adds to the

idyllic quality of the garden of the Hesperides, suggests the erotic aspects of H.'s match with Hebe, and extends the pleasures of the table to those of the bedroom in scenes of feasting (Section a).

The earliest representation of H. and Eros alone is on the bronze hydria in Malibu (**3447**), and shows H. carrying the infant Eros in an affectionate manner. Such service is performed by older gods for younger ones frequently in sculptures of the 4th cent. B.C. (e.g., Eirene with Ploutos, Hermes with Dionysus) and even earlier on vase paintings of the 5th cent. B.C.

Lysippos' statue of H. disarmed by Eros (*Anth. Pal.* 16, 103. 104) must have been made around the end of the 4th cent. B.C., but there is no evidence that Eros was shown with H.

The earliest representation of Eros on the shoulder of a crouching H. is of the 3rd cent. B.C. (**3432**). H. brandishes his club in one hand (the object of his attack is not clear) and holds Eros' hand with the other. H.'s position suggests submission, but he does not evince any hostility towards Eros. The theme, whatever its meaning, was popular with gem cutters. In a later variant (**3433**) H. is shown without his club. Vollenweider (*Steinschneidekunst* 102) interprets a cameo of this type (**3433a**) as showing H. forced down on one knee by Eros, making a gesture of submission with his free hand. Furtwängler holds the same opinion, and also sees the Roman gems which show H. with his hands bound behind his back, as images of Eros subduing H.

This may be true of some of the representations, for just this sort of piquant conceit was found appealing in Hellenistic and Roman times. Nevertheless, the possibility that friendly relations such as are revealed in the Malibu bronze (**3447**) also pertain to at least some of the gems should not be excluded. For instance, on **3433** H. is holding Eros' two hands, apparently to help him balance on the hero's shoulders in an avuncular way. Another gem (**3438**), in which H. is shown, hands tied behind his back, walking with Eros perched on his shoulder, is visually very close to the Malibu bronze (**3447**).

When H. is shown with his hands tied and Eros is behind him (**3436**, **3437**), it is usually assumed that Eros is binding the hero's hands and thus exercising his power over him. This may well be correct, but it should be remembered that the image alone, unsupported by any literary evidence, is ambiguous, and Eros might just as well be releasing H. from his bonds (representations of Prometheus being released appear to have been more frequent than representations showing him being bound).

Images of Eros or Erotes stealing or playing with the equipment of H. were probably first created in the Hellenistic period. In their most elaborate form they appear in a Roman painting (**3431**) with Dionysos, Omphale and a drowsy, feasting H., whose equipment is being toyed with by Erotes. The powers of love and wine have disarmed the hero. The presence of Dionysos is unusual and the image of H. with Erotes stealing his arms seems more closely attached to Omphale, possibly fitting in with the pattern of reversal sug-

gested by that story: man overcome by woman; mighty hero overcome by tiny deities.

The visual antecedents for the type of Omphale and H. with thieving Eros are twofold: one reaches back to scenes of the 5th cent. B. C. in which satyrs rob the sleeping H. of his arms (3230-3238) and the other to the more recent painting by Aetion (Lucian, *Herod.* 5) which showed the wedding of Alexander and Roxana with Eros playing amidst the armour of Alexander. One tradition prepares for the stealing of H.'s arms, the other for the representation of Eros with incongruous equipment. A third strand may have been contributed by Timanthes' painting (Plin. *nat.* 35, 74) where the huge size of a Cyclops is indicated by satyrs measuring his thumb with a thyrsus. The Eroses are shown tiny in contrast with the hero, and have to work as a team to lift his club.

Images of H. alone with Eroses meddling with his equipment may be abbreviations of the scene with Omphale or, more likely (as argued by Scharmer) an independent invention. Further abbreviations show Eroses without H., playing with the hero's equipment, or Eros himself alone sleeping on H.'s lionskin with the club beside him, or wearing the skin and holding the club (→ Eros/Amor, Cupido 576. 577. 613-618. 621. For an infant H. sometimes taken for a wingless Eros see 1221\*-1256).

Although many images suggest that the arms of H. are being stolen by Eros (or Eroses) (Section b), in others (3444. 3448), the hero seems willing to have his equipment handled by the baby god(s).

In the absence of literary evidence, the scenes of H. and Eros are extraordinarily difficult to interpret. We can seldom be absolutely sure whether we are looking at allegories of the power of love or subtle illustrations of stories whose content eludes us.

SUSAN WOODFORD

#### GORGON

H. confronted the shade of Medusa in Hades; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (123) 5, 12.

3452.\* (= Gorgo, Gorgones 282) Chalcedony pyramidal seal, Greco-Lydian. Boston, MFA 95.80. - Boardman, *GGFR* pl. 846; *idem*, *Iran* 8, 1970, pl. 2, 12. - Early 5th cent. B. C. - H. wearing tunic and holding club and a small lion, with Gorgo/Medusa holding two lions. Cf. the probably Cypriot Archaic scarab, Nicosia D 15 (Boardman, *AGGems* pl. 5, 70) where the probable Perseus decapitating the gorgon wears a lionskin.

#### HEKATE

3453. Heliotrope intaglio. Lost, once Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 8662. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* pl. 61. - Roman. - Three-headed Hekate, a tree, H. starting away to r. with club.

#### HELIOS/SOL

Cf. also the encounter with Helios en route to Geryon, 2545-2552.

3454. AR antoninianus, Serdica, Aurelian (A. D. 270-275). - RICV 1, 300, 318. - Rev.: H. resting on

club, his foot on a captive, receives globe from Sol holding a whip.

#### IRIS

Hera sends Iris with the Nemean lion for H. (= 1915). Some of the Nike figures who pour for H. may in fact be meant for Iris. She stands beside him on 1409 (at Eleusis with Medea).

#### KORKYRA

Jugate heads of H. and Korkyra on AE coins of Korkyra, 229-248 B. C. (= 155).

#### KYBELE

H. holds a statuette of Kybele on 3rd cent. A. D. coins of Kotiaion in north Phrygia, an area partial to the goddess. Aristeides 40, 20 Keil mentions H. at mountain shrines of Kybele. See also the coin of Gallienus, where H. is with an Amazon, → Amazonas 783\*.

3455.\* AE coins, Kotiaion, Severus Alexander (A. D. 222-235) to Gallienus (A. D. 253-268). - BMC Phrygia 162, 18 pl. 20, 6; 170, 62; SNG v. Aulock 3775. - Rev.: H. standing, l. hand on club, holding out statuettes of seated Kybele in his r. hand. Obv.: bust of Demos or emperor.

#### LAES

A bronze statuette of H. appears with statuettes of Lares, Jupiter, Fortuna and others in a lararium at Pompeii (MLI 2, 2967; II 2, 1883 fig.; III 2, 1886 fig.; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 69b).

3456.\* Wall painting, Pompeii VII 4, 26 (Casa di Baccho). - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 69 Atlas pl. 3; Reinach, *RépPeint* 186, 2. - Mid 1st cent. A. D. - Lar with rhyton and situla, H., altar with piper beyond, genius with cornucopia and patera, Lar (lost).



Herakles 3456

3457. Altar relief. - Altmann, W., *Die röm. Grabaltäre* (1905) no. 236; Ryberg, I. S., *MAAR* 22, 1955, 62. - 1st cent. B. C./A. D. - H. and Mercury seated at either side of Lares on a pedestal.

3458. Altar relief base. Ostia, Piazza dell'ara. - Calza, G., *NotSc* 1916, 146-148 fig. 5. - H. at an altar, a pig beside him, a tree, a thyrsos and a satyr with situla. A dancing Lar at either end of the scene. Cf. 3456.

#### MELEAGER (and PERSEUS)

3459. Painting by Parrhasios. Rhodes. Lost. - Plin. *nat.* 35, 69 (Overbeck, *SQ* no. 1706): *in una tabula quae est Rhodi Meleagrum, Herculem, Persea.* The same artist painted a H. in Lindos for which the god posed in a dream (= 1257; Athen. 12, 543f; Overbeck, *SQ* no. 1700) - perhaps not the same. The association of the heroes is unusual; possibly in Hades, where H. met Meleager (Pind. *fig.* 249a [dith. II] Snell/Maehler; Bakchyl. *epin.* 5, 165-175)?

#### MOUSAI

See also 1478-1482\*; 3331, at wedding with Hebe.

3459a) Marble relief. Thebes Mus. 135. From Niochori, near Thespieae. - Karouzos, Ch., *To Mouseio tes Thebas* (1934) 39, 135 fig. 30; Schild-Xenidou, W., *Boiotische Grab- und Weihreliefs* (1972) 65, 75; Schachter, A., *Cults of Boeotia II* (1986) 158-159. - 4th cent. B. C. - Three women (the Muses of Helikon?) beside young H. and Dionysos.

#### NIKE/VICTORIA

Nike is seen crowning H. frequently through the 5th and 4th cent. B. C., occasionally later. Sometimes this is the major theme but more commonly she is a minor figure rewarding H. in action or at rest or on Olympus. She also serves as his charioteer to Olympus (2922-2926) and, with negroid features, driving his centaur-chariot (1429).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 158-159; Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, 113-133; Vollkommer 49-51.

#### CATALOGUE

The catalogue is selective and concentrates on scenes where H. and Nike are the protagonists. They are often together in other scenes.

#### GREEK

##### a) Nike crowns Herakles

*Attic rf. vases*

3460. (= 2874\*) Amphora, London, BM E 262. From Vulci. - About 470 B. C. - Nike crowns H. beside column. At r. Zeus.

3461.\* Oenochoe. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 5060 (T 135A). From Spina. - Lezzi-Hafter, A., *Der Schuwall-Maler* (1976) 98 no. 55bis pl. 179. - About 420 B. C. - H. with club, lionskin, approached by Nike from the r. holding out a wreath; at r. Iolaos.

3462. Bell crater. Athens, NM 1234 (CC 1346). From Boeotia. - Dumont, A./Chaplain, J., *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* (1888) pl. 15. - Early 4th cent. B. C. - At l. youth with two spears, petasos, foot raised on rock (Iolaos?). Nike moves r. to crown H., seated looking back at her, with club and holding two apples.

See also 3139 = 3323.

*Lucanian rf. vases*

3463. Bell crater. London and New York markets. - LCS Suppl. 3, 20, 297c; Arno P.; Christies, 6 July

1976 no. 47; Sotheby Parke Bernet, 20 May 1982 no. 174. - About 400 B. C. - Young H. naked, holding club, extends l. hand to a wreath held out by Nike.

3464.\* Bell crater. Frankfurt, Mus. f. Vor- und Frühgesch. β 591. - LCS 78, 400 pl. 36, 5; near the Mesagne P.; CVA 3 pl. 24, 1. - Early 4th cent. B. C. - Young H. naked, lionskin at neck, club and bow, crowned by Nike from r. At l. youth (Iolaos?) with spear and sword.

3465.\* Bell crater. Athens, Kanellopoulos Mus. - LCS 92, 479; Creusa P. - 380-360 B. C. - Young H. naked, with club and baldric, faces Nike with a wreath, over a pillar. At r. a boy with raised wreath.

3466. Volute crater. Rio de Janeiro, Nat. Mus. 1195. - LCS 167, 932; Primato P.; Jdl 27, 1912, 298 figs. 23, 24. - 350-340 B. C. - Young H. naked, with club and holding kantharos over a laden table, beyond which a Nike holding a wreath. Above, a window. At l. youth with staff, l. foot raised.

3467. Panathenaic amphora. Ipswich Mus. LR 1921-120B. - LCS 169, 945 pl. 74, 2; Primato P.; Cook, R. M., *Greek Painted Pottery* (1972) pl. 54. - 350-340 B. C. - Young H. naked, wreathed, with club, seated on himation on rocks, holding out cup. Nike flies from l. with wreath.

*Campanian rf. vases*

3468. (= 1532) Hydria. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. 77a. - LCS 671, 58; Owl Pillar Group; Jdl 7, 1892, 69 fig.; Schauenburg pl. 8, 2; AM 102, 1987, pl. 12. - Mid 5th cent. B. C. - Young H. in lion-head cap, corselet and with club, extends a hand to Nike who holds out a wreath.

3469.\* Cup. Basel market. - LCS Suppl. 3, 92, 1 pl. 11, 1; Chequer P.; MuM 51, 1975, no. 167 pl. 45. - About 400 B. C. - Nike flies to crown H., seated, holding club.

*Apulian rf. vases*

3470.\* Bell crater. Ruvo, Jatta Mus. 545. From Ceglie. - RVAp I 24, 105; Ariadne P.; Ausonia 3, 1908, 63 fig. 4. - 400-380 B. C. - Young H. naked, holds quiver and club. Nike crowns him from r. Athena seated at l.

3471.\* Bell crater. London, BM F 47. - RVAp I 97, 231 pl. 34, 1; Eumenides P.; Schauenburg pl. 6, 1. - 380-370 B. C. - Young H. with club, lionskin, sword, bow, quiver, extends hand to Nike who offers a wreath. Below H. a low pillar; between them a floral.

3472.\* Bell crater. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. Chr. VIII 333. From Bari. - RVAp I 71, 50; Adolphseck P.; CVA 6 pl. 234, 2; Vollkommer 50 fig. 65. - About 370 B. C. - Young H. with chlamys, club and sword, extends a hand to Nike who offers a wreath and holds a fillet. An altar between them, a youth (Iolaos?) to r.

3473. Bell crater. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81413 (H 1990). From Bari. - RVAp I 76, 78; Prisoner P.; Patroni, *Vasi... Mus. Vivenzio* (1900) pl. 32. - 370-360 B. C. - Young H. naked seated on lionskin, with club and phiale, quiver on ground. Nike approaches from l. with wreath and situla. At r. Hermes. Cf. Zurich market, RVAp I 399, 23 pl. 140, 2 (with Athena).

**3474.** Oinochoe. Taranto, Mus. Naz. I.G. 8104. From Montescaglioso. - *RVAp* I 208, 137: Group of Vienna 4013; Schauenburg pl. 10. - 370-350 B.C. - Nike raises a fillet to young H., wreathed, with chlamys and club. To the r. a seated woman raises a wreath and holds a palm branch, another stands holding a big sash. At either side youths with spears (Dioskouroi?) seated.

**3475.** (= Hedone 5) Oinochoe. Sèvres, Mus. Nat. 60. - *RVAp* II 921, 85: «Athena mug» associated with P. of Berlin F 3383; *AdI* 1832 pl. F; *CVA* pl. 40, 17, 23. 26-28. - 320-300 B.C. - Nike flies from l. with wreath and fillet to H., seated at r. with lionskin and club. Between them Athena seated. A chest hanging at the r.

#### Reliefs

**3476.\*** Gold finger ring. London, BM R 57. - Marshall, *BM Finger Rings* fig. 18; Boardman, *GGFR* pl. 769; Horster, G., *Statuen auf Gemmen* (1970) pl. 3, 3. 4. - 4th cent. B.C. - Young H. with chlamys, club and cup, crowned by Nike.

**3477.** Bronze mirror relief, West Greek. Bari, Mus. Arch. From Canosa. - Züchner, *Klappspiegel* 84 KS 142; Willeumier, P., *Le Trésor de Tarente* (1930) 118 pl. 14, 4. - About 300 B.C. - H. seated with club, crowned by Nike holding shield.

**3478.** AR coins, rev. **a)** Diobol, Taras, 4th/3rd cent. B.C. Ravel, *Vlasto* no. 1430 pl. 42. - **b)** (= **344\***) Stater, Herakleia (Lucania), 4th/3rd cent. B.C. *NNM* 91, 1940, 31-33 nos. 49-57 pl. 5; *SNG* Copenhagen 1105. - **c)** Stater, Herakleia (Lucania). *BMC* Italy 231, 46; Vollkommer 50 fig. 66. H. holds cornucopia. (**a-c**: obv.: head of Athena.) - **d)** (= **660**) Stater, Herakleia Pontou, Arsinoe (289-281 B.C.). *Rec-Gén* I 2, 351, 43 pl. 56, 10; *SNG* Berry II pl. 35, 916. H. leans on club on rock; Nike stands on column. (Obv.: head of Dionysos.) - **e)** (= **557\***) AE as, Ugentum, 1st cent. B.C. *SNG* Copenhagen 1090. (Obv.: janiform head.)

#### UNCERTAIN

**3479.** Marble relief. Athens, Acr. Mus. 1329. From the Acropolis. - Robert, C., *Arch. Hermeneutik* (1919) 19 fig. 15; Neumann, G., *Probleme des gr. Weihreliefs* (1979) 50. 65 pl. 42a; Brouskari, *Cat. Acr* 169 fig. 364. - 430-420 B.C. - Young H. (or athlete?) seated at l. crowned by Nike (or Iris? - Neumann) with her arm round the shoulder of a woman - Athena (Robert) or Hebe (Brouskari).

**3480.** In pediment of Temple of Asklepios at Tiane. Lost. - Paus. 2, 11, 8. - H. with Nikai.

#### b) Herakles and Nike: libation motif

##### Attic rf. vases

**3481.** Stamnos frs. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1911.627. From Cerveteri. - *CVA* I pl. 49 (141), 5. - About 490 B.C. - H. seated on stool covered with panther skin, with lionskin, himation, club, holds out phiale to Nike with jug.

**3482.** (= **3325\***, = **3406** with bibl.) Squat lekythos. New York, MMA 24.97.36 (once Athens, Melas

Coll.) - Early 4th cent. B.C. - Young H. wreathed, in himation, with club, seated on a stepped base, receives phiale from Nike who holds a jug. Behind H. a woman holds up a wreath. At either side wreathed youths with phialai, spears (Dioskouroi?).

See also **3407**.

##### Lucanian rf. vase

**3483.** Nestoris. Sydney, Nicholson Mus. 46.46. - *LCS* 170, 962: Primato P.; Trendall, A. D., *Nicholson Mus.* (1948) 328 pl. 12. - 350-340 B.C. - Young H. with club and lionskin, holds up wreath. At r. Nike seated on rock holding a phiale.

#### ROMAN

#### Victoria crowns Herakles

**3484.\*** Mosaic. Tunis, Bardo. From Oudna, House of Industrius. - *InvMos* II 1 no. 413; *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* (1897) 28 A 133 pl. 8; Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 266. - About A.D. 300. - H. naked, holding kantharos.

**3485.** Stucco relief. Ostia, Theatre. - Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 182 K 129. - About A.D. 195. - H. with lionskin and club; Victoria holds crown over H.'s head, and a palm.

**3486.** Glass intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 1302. 1303. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* nos. 1302. 1303. - H. with lionskin and club. Victoria (wingless on 1302) with palm, crowns him.

**3487.\*** AE medallions, Antoninus Pius, A.D. 155; Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 174; Commodus, A.D. 177. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II pls. 45, 2 (= Toynbee, J. M. C., *Roman Medallions* [1944] pl. 41, 1); 60, 2; 87, 8 (= Dressel, H., *Die röm. Medaillone*, Berlin [1973] no. 60 pl. 9, 7). - Rev.: H. with lionskin, club and apples (tree on Gnechi pl. 45, 2); Victoria crowns him holding cornucopia.

#### COMMENTARY

For Nike as a subsidiary figure crowning H. who is engaged in other activities, or being celebrated by other figures and deities, see, e.g., **1335**. **1345\*** (H. at sacrifice); **3129**. **3139** (H. with Athena); **3403**. **3405**. **3407**. **3410** (H.'s court) and in some Labours (e.g. **2347**. **2352**). As a major motif this is relatively rare on Attic vases (**3460**-**3462**) where libation is slightly commoner (**3481**. **3482**), but very common on South Italian vases (**3463**-**3475**. **3483**), a ring and a mirror (**3476**. **3477**), where, if there is an accompanying figure, it is Iolaos, Hermes or Athena (Dioskouroi?) on **3474**. **3482**). It lingers on South Italian coins (**3478a-c**) with an unusual version at Herakleia Pontica (**3478c**). The Roman scenes are slight (and cf. the coins **284\***. **552**. **917\***. **919\***; and reliefs **920\***. **957\***. **1032**). Almost all listed here could be regarded as excerpts from more populous scenes, spotlighting the victorious hero. In most there is the possibility of confusion with Iris, but the goddess of victory is the more plausible attendant on H. It is probably Nike that

offers a cup to H. on the Dodekathlos sarcophagus **1752**.

#### PALAIMON (?)

4th cent. scenes, mainly on Attic vases, of H. with an old man carrying a cornucopia, and sometimes himself carrying the old man, have generally been interpreted as H. with Hades/Plouton. The discovery of the shrine of H./Pankrates/Palaimon in Athens by the Ilissos (see **1381**-**1384\***) makes likely the identification of the figure with the cornucopia as Palaimon (see Commentary; → Melikertes Palaimon). Lykophron 662-665 seems to take H. as Palaimon and Plaut. *Rud.* 160-161 calls him his socius. An inscription from Koroneia (*IG* VII 2874; *RE* Suppl. IX [1962] 514-516; Schachter, A., *Cults of Boeotia* II [1986] 9-10) names both, not necessarily an assimilation.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 182-183 (Plouton; on D 1 H. does not carry «Plouton»); Metzger *Représentations* 196-202; Robert, *Heldensage* 485 (Plouton); Schauenburg, K., *Jdl* 68, 1953, 38-72 (esp. 43-44. 50-51. 55: Plouton) (= Schauenburg 1); *idem*, *RM* 93, 1986, 143-156 (= Schauenburg 2); von Straten, F. T., *BullAntBesch* 49, 1974, 172; Vollkommer 43-45.

#### CATALOGUE

##### a) Herakles with Palaimon

##### Attic rf. vases

**3488.** Skyphos. Market. - Schauenburg 2, 144 n. 8 and *Gymnasium* 93, 1986, 406. - Early Classical. - H. shakes hands with a man holding a cornucopia. At r. a «king» with sceptre.

**3489.\*** (= Hades 68) Bell crater. Beneventum, Mus. del Sannio 635 st. - Schauenburg 2 pl. 37, 2; Vollkommer 45 fig. 57. - 400-375 B.C. - Young H. shakes hands with a man holding a cornucopia. At r. Athena.

**3490.** (= Hades 72 with bibl.) Bell crater. Athens, Kanellopoulos Mus. 188. - Brouskari, M. S., *To Mousio*... *Kanellopoulou* (1985) 66-68. - 400-375 B.C. - Young H. wreathed, with club and full cornucopia, faces a seated old man (Palaimon), wreathed, with sceptre. To l. a woman with two torches (Demeter?) and a seated youth with spears; to r. a wreathed old man with sceptre (local hero?).

**3491.** (= Hades 69) Bell crater fr. Samos, Mus. - Schauenburg 2 pl. 38, 1. - 400-375 B.C. - In upper register, H. wreathed, seated with club, before upper part of two-pillar shrine, approached by Nike with kantharos. Below, seated youth with spears (Iolaos?), wreathed man with cornucopia and sceptre (Palaimon) and Athena.

**3492.** (= Athena 439, = Hades 70) Bell crater. Madrid, Arch. Mus. 11017. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1440, 2: Oino-maas P.; Schauenburg 1, 43 fig. 6; Metzger pl. 30, 2. - About 375 B.C. - Young H. wreathed, seated over a basis with club, crowned by small Nike. He looks back to Athena, a seated youth with spears (Iolaos?) and a satyr. To r. an old man with cornucopia (Palaimon) and a satyr.

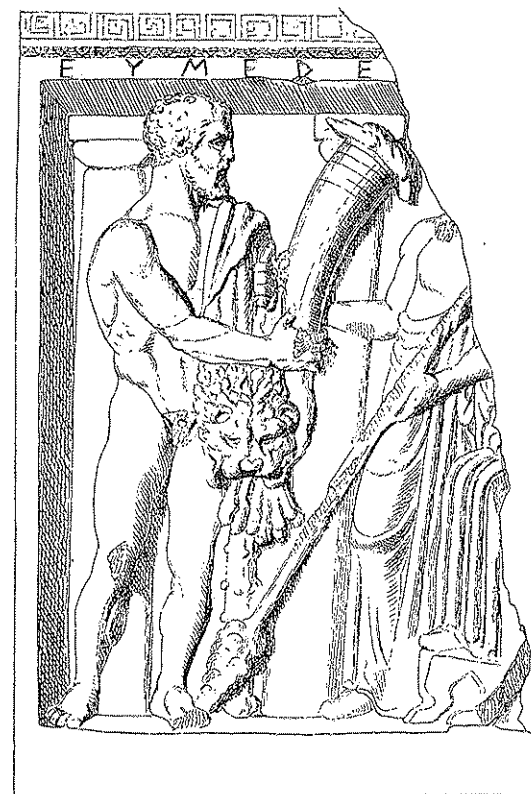
#### South Italian vases

**3493.** Column crater, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81872 (H 2408). From Ruvo. - *RVAp* I 25, 108; Ariadne P.; *AuA* 10, 1961, pl. 20, 37; *Tainia*, *Festschr.* R. Hampe (1980) pl. 50, 1. - 400-380 B.C. - Young H. seated on lionskin holding a full cornucopia and his club. To l. a man with sceptre (Palaimon). To r. Athena and Hermes. H.'s quiver on a tree before him; owl with wreath overhead.

**3494.** (= Hades 73) Bell crater, Campanian rf. Windsor, Eton Coll. - *LCS* 262, 237 pl. 104, 1: Plouton P.; Cook, *Zeus* I pl. 31; Tillyard, *Hope* no. 305 pl. 41; *RVP* 163. - 350-325 B.C. - H. in lionskin leans on club before Palaimon, seated with sceptre and cornucopia. Behind him stands a goddess (Ino/Leukothea?). Cook took the seated figure for Zeus.

#### Relief

**3495.\*** (= Hades 70 with bibl.) Marble votive relief. Thebes Mus. 111. From Thebes. - *ML* I 2, 2187 fig.; *ArchDelt* 2, 1916, 251 fig. 8; Karouzos, *o. c.* **3459a**, 26-27 no. 48 fig. 23; Vollkommer 44 fig. 56. - About 380 B.C. - H. with lionskin and club receives a full cornucopia from a man with sceptre (Palaimon). A woman (Ino/Leukothea?) seated to r. Columnar background.



Herakles 3495

##### b) Herakles carries Palaimon

**3496.** Bell crater, Attic rf. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 31094. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1446, 2: Pourtales P.; *BCH* 68/69, 1944/45, 120 fig.; Metzger, pl. 26, 1; Boardman,



ARFH II fig. 373. - 375-350 B.C. - H. in lionskin, carries on his back white-haired Palaimon who bears a cornucopia. Behind them a woman (nymph) seated on a rock. They are led by Hermes and greeted by a young satyr. Fish and a wave pattern indicate that a river is being crossed.

3497.\* Cup, Attic rf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 822. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1521: Jena or Q P.; Metzger pl. 26, 2; Vollkommer 45 fig. 48. - 375-350 B.C. - H. wreathed and with lionskin, carries on his back a man, also wreathed, who bears a cornucopia. Cf. also the fragmentary scene on the cup, once Weimar, Preller (ARV<sup>2</sup> 1511, 3: Jena P.; Metzger pl. 26, 3; Brommer, *Herakles* II 104 fig. 50; Palaimon also holds sceptre). Paribeni also compares a fragmentary marble group in Kos (BollArte 45, 1960, 3 fig. 4) with part of a naked male carrying a dressed figure.

## COMMENTARY

The important scenes are on Attic rf. vases of the early 4th cent., the early years of the H./Pankrates/Palaimon sanctuary in Athens, but notice the early 3488. We may imagine that H.'s carriage of Palaimon (3496. 3497), apparently over water (3496), was the occasion for the presentation of the cornucopia to H. This we see only on the Boeotian relief 3495 (H. and Palaimon, or H. Palaimon were worshipped at Koronea) and H. holds the cornucopia on 3490 and the Apulian rf. 3493. Elsewhere (3488. 3489. 3491. 3492. 3494) Palaimon retains the horn. The story, presumably an aition for the joint cult in Athens, is not attested in literature. The South Italian vases (3493. 3494) derive from the Attic. Previous explanations take these as scenes of H. with Hades/Plouton but have no support in literature or cult. Van Straten suggested the identity of Palaimon after the discovery of the shrine in Athens. The cornucopia is, however, also an attribute of Hades/Plouton. The figure carried by H. is white-haired on 3496, black-haired on 3497, but presumably the same person, so we cannot identify a Palaimon as older than a Plouton. The figure on 3490 and 3492 is also white-haired and on 3490 the Demeter might hint at Plouton, but there was Demeter also at Agrai near the Palaimon sanctuary. Only the Campanian rf. 3494 otherwise looks much like a Plouton; so there is an element of uncertainty in some identifications still. Note the white-haired figure with cornucopia on the vase, Schauenburg 2 pl. 38, 2 (Private), but is this Plouton or Ploutos? The satyrs on 3492 and 3496 presumably indicate the rustic setting of the episode.

## PAN

3498. Oinochoe, Apulian rf. Taranto, Ragusa Coll. - RVAp I 112, 76: Bucrane Group; McPhee, I., *AntK* 22, 1979, 38-42 pl. 15, 1-3. - About 360 B.C. - H. lies asleep on his lionskin. To l. a small Pan carries off his bow and quiver; to r. another carries a pot, or cornucopia (?). Below, an amphora, club, calyx crater and wineskin (?).

3499. Coptic textile. Vienna, Mus. für angewandte Kunst T 633. - Egger, G., *Kopt. Textilien* (1967) pl. 33. - Young man (H.?) with stick and club beside Pan.

3500. Marble relief. Athens, NM 3692. From Athens. - *ArchEph* 1939-41 Chr. 3 no. 14. - Naked H. with club seated on a rock beside a tree and a small Eros. He tries to seize Pan who struggles to escape.

## COMMENTARY

Pan doubles for a satyr, or satyrs, on 3498 (see 3230-3238) and the Campana reliefs (1434\*. 1435) where he carries H.'s club beside H.'s lion-chariot. On 3500 he seems to intervene in an Eros/Pan dispute. See also → Artemis 1318a\*, Pan watching Artemis crown H. on an Apulian rf. vase. For Pan in Dionysiac thiasos scenes which include H. see 3258. 3264. 3271. 3278. 3283. 3290. He may lurk in the Hesperides garden (2721. 2723-2725. 2728. 2729. 2783). See also 1323 (Pan herm). 1580.

## PERINTHOS

3501. AE medallion, Perinthos, Alexander Severus (222-235 A.D.). - Schönert, *o.c.* 2087, 54 no. 781 pl. 48. - Rev.: Perinthos, a young naked hero with chlamys, extends a hand to young H., with club and lionskin.

## PERSEUS

See also above, s. v. Meleager.  
3502. AE coin, Tarsos, Caracalla (A.D. 211-217). - BMC Lycaonia 195, 183; SNG Copenhagen 370; SNG v. Aulock 6019. - Rev.: Perseus with sandals and harpe, H. with club and lionskin, support a bust of Caracalla between them.

## PINARII/POTITII

→ Euandros (q. v. for bibl. and discussion) introduced the cult of H. to Rome. The Pinarri and Potitii, among the oldest Roman gentes, oversaw the cult at the ara maxima. They had received H. in Rome and he instructed them about the cult. The Pinarri came late to the sacrificial banquet instituted by Euandros, after the entrails were eaten, and were accordingly excluded from that part of the ritual in perpetuity. See Verg. *Aen.* 8, 268-272; Liv. 1, 7.

3503.\* (= Euandros 3 with bibl.) AE medallion, Antoninus Pius, about A.D. 145. - Gneccchi, *Medaglioni* II pl. 54, 3; ML I 2, 2290 fig.; Kapossy, B., in *Festschr. L. Mildenberg* (1984) 148-149 pl. 22, 2. - Rev.: H. seated at table, with club. Four figures around the table (one or two slaves?). To l. large vases, behind a great bowl on a pedestal. A tree behind H. Also on AE as and AU aureus of Caracalla, Rome, A.D. 204 (BMC Emp V 344, 846 pl. 51, 2; Hurter, S., *SMZbl* 30, 1980, 39-41).

3504.\* AE contorniate, 4th cent. A.D. - Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons* no. 67 pl. 24, 1-7. - Rev.: H. seated, with club. Beside him a seated woman placing her arms on his shoulder. To r. bow and quiver. In

foreground a pig and two bulls. Alföldi identifies the woman as Rome, daughter of Euandros. Obv.: bust of Roma.

## ROMA

3505. AU medallion, Ticinum, Maximian, A.D. 293. - Gneccchi, *Medaglioni* I pl. 5, 8; *Wealth of the Ancient World* (Fort Worth, Hunt Coll., 1983) no. 153. - Rev.: Roma crowns H. who extends his l. hand to a reclining river god. Obv.: Maximian as H.

## SARAPIS

Cf. the relief in Alexandria (3153 = Athena [in Aegypt] 2); 541. 2941.

## SILVANUS

See ML I 2, 2950-2955, 2963 on shared cults. For possible conflations with Silvanus see 567\*. 1168\*. H. also appears with Silvanus, Diana and three nymphs on the 2nd cent. A.D. relief in the Vatican, → Artemis/Diana 299 (also JHS 77, 1957, 286 fig. 2).

3506.\* Marble relief base. Vatican. - ML I 2, 2951-2952 fig. - H. with lionskin and club, and Silvanus. Between them an altar before a tree, a pig and a dog.

3507. Marble relief. Paris, Louvre. - Clarac II pl. 164, 63; ML I 2, 2953. - H. with lionskin, club and fruit, and Silvanus stand at either side of Diana.

## SOMNUS

→ Hypnos/Somnus 120, an imaginary (?) painting, Philostr. *im.* 2, 22.

## TYCHE/FORTUNA

With the Tyche of Leptis, 3247. And cf. 2164.

3508. Wall painting. Kastell Echzell (Hessen). - *Weitauer Geschichtsblätter* 18, 1969, 1 ff. fig. 5; *Germania* 46, 1968, pl. 8. - 2nd cent. A.D. - Fortuna with staff and wheel holds out cornucopia to H., wreathed, with club, lionskin, bow and sword.

3509.\* (= 2164) Clay lamp. London, BM Q 921. - Walters, *BMLamps* no. 638 pl. 22; Bailey, *BMLamps* II 174 pl. 16. - 1st cent. A.D. - Mercury hands a purse to Fortuna, standing on a globe. Behind her H. with club and lionskin.

JOHN BOARDMAN

## XI. Herakles and Theseus

In some accounts → Theseus joins H. in his expedition against the Amazons. In his visit to Hades to fetch Kerberos H. visits Theseus and Peirithoos who have been fastened there for their attempt to rape Persephone, and he frees one or both of them. From the Archaic period on parts of Theseus' life and behaviour are modelled on H. and there are numerous correspondences.

LITERARY SOURCES: *Amazonomachy*: Theseus' participation in H.'s expedition against the Amazons is recorded by Philoch. (*FGrH* 328 F 110); Hegias of Troezen (Paus. 1, 2, 1: cf. Davies *EGF* p. 70-71 F 2; *FGrH* 606 F 1); Pherekyd. (*FGrH* 3 F 151); Apollod.

*epitome* 1, 16; *Schol. Eur. Hipp.* 10. Theseus thus wins Antiope rather than in an independent sally with Peirithoos, and in Lykophron 1329 (with *Schol.*) he takes the Amazon's belt to give to H. In Eur. *Heraclidae* 215-217 Iolaos recalls carrying Theseus' shield. H. supports Theseus by killing Antiope and the Amazons in a version attributed to the *Amazonon Epanastasis* in Plut. *Thes.* 28. A 2nd cent. B.C. papyrus with a paraphrase of an epic records a meeting of H. with Theseus and Peirithoos near the Isthmus on H.'s return from the Amazons (Barns, J. W. B., *ClQ* 43, 1949, 1-3).

In *Hades*: See → Theseus for details of the attempted rape of Persephone, and for Theseus with Peirithoos in Hades, and Brommer 1, 97-99 for discussion of sources. H.'s intervention was mentioned first in Kritias' *Peirithoos* (*TrGF* I 43 F 1) where Peirithoos is fastened to a rock by serpents and the freeing is achieved with the goodwill of the underworld gods. The heroes are usually described as enthroned, but H.'s tug to release Theseus left part of the latter's bottom on the rock to which it was stuck (cf. Panyassis, Davies *EGF* F 9; *Schol. Aristoph. Eq.* 1368). Most sources agree that only Theseus was rescued but Diod. 4, 63, 4 records that some authors say neither was freed. A few have both freed (Diod. 4, 26; Hyg. *fab.* 79). In Sen. *Herc. f.* 806 Theseus is presented to H. by Plouton and Persephone and (818-821) helps H. drag Kerberos up from Hades.

Other: In Eur. *Herc.* 1326-1333 Theseus promises gifts to H., sanctuaries, sacrifices and stone monuments (cf. Philoch., *FGrH* 328 F 18); in Sen. *Herc. f.* 1341-1344 Theseus offers H. refuge and expiation in Attica after the murder of Megara and his children - *nostra te tellus manet*. H.'s and Theseus' mothers (Alkmene and Aithra) were grand-daughters of Pelops; their fathers (Zeus and Poseidon) were brothers (Eur. *Herc.* 1154 *συγγενὴς φίλος τ' ἐμὸς* - H. speaks; and 1401, will take Theseus as his son, having killed his own children).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Boardman, J., in *The Eye of Greece* (Studies M. Robertson, 1982) 1-28; Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 220-221 (Hades); *idem*, *Denkmälerlisten* II 14 (Hades; not no. 2); *idem*, *Theseus* (1984) 97-103 (Hades). 110-112. 115-119 (Amazons). 132 (= Brommer 1); Felten, W., *Attische Unterweltdarstellungen des 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (1975) 46-64; Robert, *Helldarstellungen* 703-706 (Hades). 730-732 (Amazons); Vollkommer 23-24 (Hades).

## CATALOGUE

### A. Amazonomachy

The joint expedition has been suspected on the following monuments.

3510. (= Amazones 95. 245\* with bibl.) Athenian Treasury at Delphi, metopes. - 490-485 B.C. - H. and Theseus each kill Amazons on side metopes and the front metopes carry amazonomachy, perhaps linking them.

3511. Pediment from the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, Rome, brought to Rome from Greece in an-

tiquty. Rome, Pal. Cons. – La Rocca, E., *Amazonomachia* (1985); *idem*, in *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik II* (1986) 51–58. – About 440 B.C. – Fragmentary group including Amazons on horseback and Athena. Of H. there is a torso with part of the lionskin. Theseus is identified in the figure formerly taken for Apollo and associated with the group of Niobids. La Rocca suggests that the group may once have occupied the east pediment of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria.

**3512.** (= Amazones 98) Reliefs on the throne bars of the Zeus by Phidias in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, described by Paus. 5, 11, 4. – About 430 B.C. – Paus. saw Theseus with H. fighting Amazons. We do not know how he identified him.

**3513.** (= Amazones 101) Marble metopes from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai. London, BM. – About 400 B.C. – H. is certainly identified on slab 541 (= 2458\*) and Theseus possibly on slab 539 (Hofkes-Brukker, C., *Der Bassai-Fries* [1975] 90).

**3514.** (= Amazones 102) Marble frieze from the Mausoleum, Halicarnassus. London, BM. – 350–325 B.C. – H. with club on slab 1008 (= 2459\*). Theseus possibly in the adjacent group on slab 1010 (Ashmole, B., *JHS* 89, 1969, 22–23 pl. 1).

On possible representations on the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia (= Amazones 104\*) and the Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus (= Amazones 120\*) see Brommer 1, 118.

## B. In Hades

See →Theseus for other scenes with Theseus and Peirithoos in Hades, without H. Theseus has been thought present in the Kerberos scenes 2572. 2639. 2668. For a wrong identification see *RVP* 330, 565 pl. 217b.

### Attic rf. vases

**3515.** Lekythos. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. 30035. From near Taranto. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 532, 57: Alkimachos P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 255; Felten fig. 17; Brommer 1, pl. 43; *idem*, *AA* 1979, 494–496 fig. 4; Boardman, *ARFH* II fig. 47. – About 460 B.C. – H. in tunic, lionskin, with club, clasps hands with and pulls a seated figure on a rock (bearded, petasos, chlamys, two spears): generally now taken to be Peirithoos because bearded (cf. the rf. cup, Boston 99.539; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1142, 1; Felten, fig. 16).

**3516.** (= Hades 151\*, = Hermes 588) Calyx crater. New York, MMA 08.258.21. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1086, 1: Nekyia P.; *Para* 449; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 327; Richter/Hall pl. 135; Jacobsthal, P., *MetrMusSt* 5, 1934, 123–125 figs. 6, 7; Caskey/Beazley III 69–70; Brommer 24 fig. 33. – 440–430 B.C. – Hades at l. faces Peirithoos and Theseus (both named) seated on a rocky ground, both with petasos, chlamys, tunic, spear, and Theseus with corselet. Facing them at the r. is young H. in tunic and lionskin, with club and bow; behind him Hermes. Other underworld figures (→Aias I 144, →Elpenor 7) and Persephone, seated between columns.

**3517.** Pelike. From Kerch. – Boltunova, A. I., *Mél. K. Michalowski* (1966) 287–292 figs. 1, 2; Shtitelman, F. M., *Works of Art in the Museums of the Ukraine* (1977) no. 50. – About 350–330 B.C. – Young H., in lionskin, with club in crook of l. arm, drags a bearded man by hand and shoulder from a block. At l. a woman stands (Persephone?), Nike flies to crown H., at r. Athena seated.

### Reliefs

**3518.\*** «Three-Figure» relief. Rome, Torlonia Mus. – Götze, H., *RM* 53, 1938, 207–220 pl. 34; 1; Helbig<sup>2</sup> II no. 1908; Felten fig. 23. – Copy of an original of about 420 B.C. – Young H. at l. with club, dress over arm, looks r. to a youth (Peirithoos) in chlamys, seated on a rock on whose side appear a quiver and bow. Watching from the r. a youth (Theseus) in himation holding a long stick and sheathed sword. Peirithoos' head is wrongly restored in the Torlonia relief; he looked rather towards Theseus. For other copies see Götze, *o. c.*, with pls. 34, 1; 35.

**3519.\*** Bronze shield band relief. Olympia Mus. From Olympia. – Kunze, *Schildbänder* 112–113 Beil. 7, 4; Schefold, *Sagenbilder* fig. 24; Felten fig. 15; Brommer 1, 101 fig. 15. – 575–550 B.C. – Theseus and Peirithoos (named) seated on thrones side by side, their hands raised forwards. H. (named) in tunic approaches from the r. drawing his sword.



Herakles 3519

### UNCERTAIN

**3520.\*** (= Akamas et Demophon 29 with bibl., = Argonautai 32, = Athena 602, = Dioskouroi 219, = Eteokles 46 with bibl., = Hylas 38 with bibl.) Calyx crater, Attic rf. Paris, Louvre G 341. From Orvieto. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 601, 22; Niobid P.; *Para* 395; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 266; Simon, E., *AJA* 67, 1963, 43–52. 61–62; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 133–135 pls. 191. 192. – 460–450 B.C. – Athena faces H. in the company of other heroes. Below them a youth seated on the ground (petasos, sword, two spears, helmet and shield at feet) and another (sword) on a rocky ground line.

See Simon and Simon/Hirmer for the various interpretations proposed which include H. with Theseus and Peirithoos in Hades. This is likely, but it is by no means clear that the main theme is the freeing of the heroes, rather than, e.g., heroes before Marathon (thus, Harrison, E. B., *ArtBull* 59, 1977, 390–402).

## C. Other

There are a few monuments on which H. and Theseus have been identified in non-narrative settings. E.g., the Barracco relief (1380\*) where the youth with the bull may be taken for Theseus (Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 71); a bf. cup where there is a bust of H. and of another (3); a painting at Pompeii with H. and two youths (1572). There were statues of H. and Theseus (with Apollo) in the Athens Agora near the Temple of Ares (Paus. 1, 8, 4), and (with Hermes) in the gymnasium at Messene (Paus. 4, 32, 1), but it is not known whether a positive association was intended.

## COMMENTARY

The parallel between the two monster-slaying heroes was observed already in the early 6th cent. For many monuments and vases of the Archaic period artists were clearly deliberately choosing a juxtaposition (cf. Boardman 2–3), and confusion is possible, notably in scenes with the Cretan/Marathonian bull (see Section IV, H Commentary). With the special prominence given to Theseus in Athens from the end of the 6th cent. the parallelism becomes more marked, and the heroes share the honours on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (3510) and on the Hephaisteion in Athens ([Dodekathlos] 1706). At the same time a special relationship is sought, especially in the story which allows Theseus a part in H.'s Amazonomachy. It is difficult, however, to identify certain representations of this joint expedition in art though it is probable on the Athenian Treasury (3510) and Paus. may have been right to see it at Olympia (3512). H. seems certain on the pediment in Rome (3511). Generally, the Archaic H.'s Amazonomachies give place to Thesean Attic Amazonomachies with no conflation, and from the Classical period on H.'s labour is represented rather as a duel (see Section IV, K). Literary sources are more explicit about the relationship.

The freeing of Peirithoos and/or Theseus from Hades appears earlier in art than literature, on the Peloponnesian shield band (3519), and then on a few Classical Athenian vases and a relief (3515–3518). It is not clear on 3516 or 3519 whether both heroes are to be freed, though this is likely since both are shown, undifferentiated. On 3515 and 3517 only one is shown being freed. Common sense suggests that this must be Theseus, but the beard has made Peirithoos the more popular identification. In both scenes H.'s effort in removing the hero from the seat to which he has been fastened is vigorously expressed. In the relief 3518 the implication that the seated figure is to be left behind

depends on the comparable mood of the associated «Three-Figure» reliefs, rather than on the contrasted pose (standing/seated) which might have seemed aesthetically preferable.

For the derivation of various details of Theseus' iconography and attributes from H. see →Theseus.

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## XII. Herakles attends other mythological occasions

H.'s presence in many scenes is justified only by his attendance on Athena, with no closer relevance. This is especially true of scenes attended by Olympians in the Archaic period. Otherwise, particular exploits are appropriate to certain localities or deities; thus, H. may appear in various underworld scenes (e.g., →Danaides 22\*) or even at Hades' rape of Persephone (→Hades 19, with Kerberos; cf. Section IV, M, 15). In the few scenes listed below some other reason for his presence may often be suspected.

### ARIADNE

H. attends Dionysos' discovery of Ariadne on the sarcophagus, Alexandria 17927 (Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* fig. 596; *SarkRel* IV 3 pl. 250 no. 228), simply borrowed from the many thiasos scenes which he also attends.

### ATHENA (birth of)

H. (illogically) attends the birth of Athena on two Attic bf. vases (→Athena 335. 349\* [= Apollon 819\*]).

### MEDEIA

That H. and Medeia are both infanticides may explain his presence in the scene of Medeia at Eleusis on an Apulian rf. crater (1409 = Herakleidae 9). He attends her crimes on another Apulian crater (Munich 3296, →Athena 631) but here beside Athena, and passively.

### OINOMAOOS

H. attends the oath-taking between →Oinomaos and →Pelops before the race on an Apulian crater (London F 278; *RVAp* II 931, 118 pl. 365, 3), possibly for the association of the event with the founding of the Olympic Games, also attributed to H.

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## GENERAL COMMENTARY

This Commentary presents a summary of the material in the above article (*LIMC* IV, V) and takes into consideration so far as is possible material in other *LIMC* articles which deal with Greek and Roman H., including subjects for later volumes (principally →Kentauroi, Kerkopes, Kyknos, Nereus, Nessos, Omphale, Prometheus, Syleus, Telephos, Triton). It concentrates on the hero's physical appearance, dress,

weapons and attributes; and adds a historical survey, by main periods, indicating the emergence of new scenes, their regional popularity and possible significance. Given the volume of material, token examples only are generally cited. For the historical survey of the development of the H. type in sculpture see O. Palagia's Commentary to section I C (*LIMC* IV 791-796).

### Physical appearance

H. is shown as an infant fighting the snakes in his cradle (section III A) and carried by Hermes to Cheiron (1665\*); as a boy in sculpture (section I C 8; Late Hellenistic, mainly Roman); as a youth at school (section III C). In earlier Archaic art he is invariably bearded but there are isolated beardless exceptions: Protocorinthian, about 660 B.C. (Schefold, *Sagenbilder* pl. 24b), and in Attic bf. about 540 B.C. (Birmingham; Brijder, *Siana* I pl. 58c); after about 540 he begins to be shown beardless more often, and frequently so by the end of the century. This feature is not always confined to its most appropriate occasion – his first Labour, with the Nemean Lion – although this is the commonest context for it in the Classical period. Youthfulness may also connote rejuvenation through apotheosis – in the bf. chariot scenes (2881, 2893; about 540 and 520 B.C.), in Attic rf. rising from his pyre (section VIII E-H, with rare exceptions), or anticipating apotheosis in the garden of the Hesperides (section IV N). In Late Archaic and Classical scenes with Athena alone his occasional youthfulness more probably refers to his mortal state, early in his career; but some of these scenes may suggest his age when he is shown leaning on his club, in the pose often adopted by the elderly (e.g., on grave reliefs) or where he is wearing a himation alone, or himation over his lionskin. Thus, on bf. chariot scenes (2896, 2897, 2900, 2906); or with Athena (3167, 3168, 3170). Otherwise the himation alone is a suitable relaxed attire for Archaic and later feasts (section II H), on Olympus (3386, 3388, 3392), or watching Philoktetes receive his bow after 'death' (2915). On some Roman cycles of the Labours on sarcophagi he is made to age progressively (e.g., 1716-1718, 1722), but there is a general uniformity of physique in all Roman representations of H., usually naked, with lionskin and club.

H. will often wear a chitoniskos alone in the Archaic period, especially against the Lion before he can wear its skin (but he is more commonly naked). A loincloth typifies some Attic bf. encounters with Antaios (→ Antaios I 1\*, 3\*, 10\*, 14\*). For the himation, with or without lionskin, see above. He is commonly wreathed, on festive occasions, sacrificing, or as victor (see Blech, M., *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* [1982] 431-432 and index). He wears an Oscan metal belt in an Apulian rf. apotheosis (2928) and what is regarded as an athlete's belt on a Roman bronze (861\*). He is dressed as a priest (H. Gaditanus) on a Roman relief (872a); and as an actor in the company of Muses on Arretine cups (1481). He dresses as a woman for → Omphale.

H.'s hair is regularly shown short and often curly, as is his beard. On one Attic bf. chariot-apotheosis it is white (→ Apollon 833c\*; by the Madrid P., who also dwells on H.'s hairy chest on 1491\*). On some Classical statuary he is given cauliflower ears (Lenbach and Lansdowne types, 325-376, 656-659\*; and cf. 189\*). His glaring eyes which were noted by some writers (*LIMC* IV 730) are accentuated in some Attic rf. scenes of the first half of the 5th cent. (e.g., 1666\*, 1671\*, 1870, 2189, 2197). Lysippos' statues gave him a distinctive physiognomy with heavy features and unruly curly hair and beard; these almost amount to a portrait type which remains influential throughout antiquity (cf. *LIMC* IV 793) and enables identification of heads and figures without attribute or context. It is Lysippos too (notably in the H. Farnese; 681a-737) who imbues him with a grossly muscled physique, often copied thereafter, and who expresses his extreme weariness at the end of his Labours in the same figure (and cf. 663-681) and in the seated colossus for Tarentum (927-949\*). (See above for earlier, weary, leaning figures of H. in himation.) His head is exceptionally winged (as Hermes, with whom he may be assimilated) on 591\* (Polykleitan?).

### Arms and armour

Both literature and art agree in making H. primarily a bowman – the use of his bow was crucial to the successful outcome of the Trojan War, with or without the arrows tipped with Hydra poison (which may be alluded to in art, on Corinthian vases; Boardman, J., *OJA* 1, 1982, 237-238; Amyx, *CVP* 629, 30, objects that the arrows were already poisoned but there is no evidence for this and he hardly ever shoots the Hydra). These arrows were, via Nessos's blood, his ultimate undoing. In Late Archaic Attic art he may adopt the Scythian costume which is attributed to other heroic bowmen at the time, with patterned, sleeved and trousered dress and the *gorytos* bowcase (e.g., 3348, → Gigantes 303\*). He fights from Zeus' chariot pole on some bf. gigantomachies (→ Gigantes 106\*, 114\*, 120\*, 123\*). He is commonly shown wearing a sword but not often using it except against humanoid foes – Amazons, Kentauroi, Kyknos – and often in Attic bf. against the Lion, sometimes shown to be ineffective (1882; cf. 1806, 1834). He sometimes uses a spear when fighting like a hoplite (see below) but is rarely seen at ease holding one, as in the bf. chariot scene on 1414. He throws a stone at Kyknos on the bf. vase Munich 1709 (*ABV* 361, 14); he holds his father's thunderbolt on a Roman gem (538\*). Against the Hydra he may use a *harpe* (section IV C). At Oichalia he may use his fists (rf., → Iphitos I 2).

From the 6th cent. on his club is his most popular weapon in art, and from the Classical period this becomes overwhelmingly true, serving both as weapon and commonest attribute. It is essentially a rustic weapon, suiting a fighter who wears an animal skin, but it is by no means clear whether its adoption depends on this aspect of H.'s behaviour (on which see also below, on the lionskin) or relates to figures of the eastern smiting god wielding a mace (generally on maces and

clubs see Buchholz, H.-G., *ArchHom, Kriegswesen* 2, E 319-344). It appears first with H. on Corinthian vases from about 600 B.C. (2011, not in use while he fights the Hydra; and 2821, fighting a snake, about 580 B.C.). At about the same time it is seen on a 'Melian' vase (1690\*) and soon afterwards on Attic bf. (3087). It was meant to have been fashioned from a whole tree trunk, not just a branch, and its massive quality is generally emphasised by artists, sometimes in a deliberate contrast with Theseus' lighter weapon (Philadelphia L 64.185; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 187, 62; Kleophrades P.). However, some of the earlier representations show it slim and tubular, probably intended to represent metal (also attested as a material in some texts); this is true of the 'Melian' 1690\* and a shield-band relief (2682 = Atlas 3\*). On the latter it is given a snake-head handle, which is seen also on an Attic rf. vase about 500 B.C. (2036). H. is shown making his own club on a Roman gem and a 4th cent. A.D. ivory (1595\*, 1596\*), and receiving it from Hephaistos, via Athena, on a Hellenistic relief cup (3155 = Athena 57\*).

The lionskin, acquired from the Nemean lion, and thereby impenetrable by weapons, is H.'s only 'magic' equipment (in a deviant version, Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (65-66) 4, 9-10, it is from the lion of Kithairon, which makes little sense). Incongruously, he wears the skin already while fighting the lion on the scarab 1790, and the Attic (?) bf. vase Compiègne 982 (*Para* 108, 6; *CVA* 1 pl. 3, 2). It is his most characteristic attribute, yet it may be worn by other heroes in literature (e.g., Diomedes [Hom. *Il.* 10, 177-178], Aeneas [Verg. *Aen.* 2, 721-722, cf. 7, 666-669; 9, 306-307]) and occasionally in art, although then the skin is generally slighter (thought of as a panther's it may be) and is not worn as H. wears his lionskin. Artemis, however, may wear a lionskin in the Heraklean manner in Attic bf. (→ Artemis 1327\* = Gigantes 105; Bérard, C., *AION* 9, 1987, 159-165, figs. 23, 26, 2-3; 27, 1). The manner of wearing the skin in the Archaic and Classical periods generally reflects its properties: the head as a helmet (though the head may sometimes be omitted in bf., e.g. 2455, 2822, Amazons 7\*), the skin wrapped around the body tight like a corselet, or hanging from the left arm like a shield (e.g. 23\*, 1087\*, 1096\*, 1097, 2468). Often after about 500 B.C., however, it simply flies behind his naked body like a chlamys (see below). It is knotted at his neck with the simple 'Herakles knot'.

Its origins are not revealed by its iconography. Egyptian priests and others (e.g. the bronze, *Samos* VIII pls. 1-2) wear felines' skins, and it is a regular feature of figures of → Bes on whom the head hangs on the chest and the tail between the legs. It seems very likely that adoption of the lionskin by H. and the story of the Lion's and therefore its pelt's invulnerability go together, from whatever source, which is perhaps more likely to be literary than visual, though the wearing of the skin may be inspired by foreign models. It suits a rustic club-bearing hero (see above), and it may be significant that it is very commonly omitted in 6th cent. Peloponnesian art where the image of the naked or hoplite H. is preferred (cf. Boardman, J., in *Festschr.*

*Clatting* [1990]) and on the Olympia metopes (1705). Yet it is on Corinthian vases that it first appears: on the possible H. bowman on a fragment of around 650 (*JHS* 71, 1951, pl. 29a; *Corinth* VII 2, no. 1 pl. 1) and more clearly for the centaur-fighter on the slightly later alabastron, Florence 79252 (*AJA* 60, 1956, pl. 69, 9-10). In these scenes the skin wraps the body and only on the latter are the legs clear, hanging down, and the head probable, at H.'s shoulder. At the end of the 7th cent. the skin is worn with the head in position as helmet on an East Greek bronze relief (2476). On a 'Melian' vase of the early 6th cent. the lion head hangs down H.'s back, near waist-level (1690\*), as it does on a Chian fragment of 575-550 (57\*); on none of the examples cited is the skin belted.

From the 560s on the skin is regularly worn in Attic art (an early example, 3087, with the head worn as a helmet). In bf. it is usually wrapped closely round the body and belted. The scheme persists into the Late Archaic when it may also appear clipped together at the front rather than belted (e.g., → Alkyoneus 11\*; → Bousiris 12\*) and an added refinement is to have the tail looped through the belt (e.g., 40\*, 1332\*, 1477\*, 1562\*, 2015, 2037, 2245, 2869, 2959, 3165; → Amazons 28\*, 83\*, 86\*; → Geras 5\*). From the end of the 6th cent. the skin may hang from the l. arm, like a shield (e.g. 23\*, 1087\*, 1096\*, 1097\*, 2468; → Alkyoneus 10\*, 13\*, 18\*. → Amazons 64\*, 89\*), a scheme adopted at the same time by Athena for her aegis, as on the Acropolis pediment (→ Athena 125\*; cf. the rf. → Athena 387\*, 389\*). Now too the skin may fly free from H.'s shoulders, like a chlamys (e.g. 2178, 2958, 2988, 3016; → Amazons 62\*) and the lion-head is less often worn in position as a helmet.

On two Archaic bronzes the skin is worn under a corselet (48\*, 73\*); exceptionally the skin is worn upside down with the head hanging below the belt, like a *pardalis* (e.g. 2969). On these the exceptional protective role of the skin seems to be forgotten. This *pardalis* scheme is also met, if rarely, in Attic bf. (2607, 2463 = Eurytion II 2\*). The lion's eyes are normally closed, but see 11\*-14\*. The head can sometimes appear quite animated, as on the Selinus metope, → Amazons 96\*.

After about 500 B.C. there are occasional examples of a lion-head helmet worn by H. (or sometimes perhaps by his sons), clearly inspired by the lionskin: on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (→ Kyknos; Boardman, *GSAP* fig. 213, 4); in the Aegina pediment (2792; doubtfully Hyllos); on a Campanian vase (1532 = 3468); in the Tegea pediment (1309; doubtfully Telephos); and cf. the Roman 1308a. Note also the boarskin cap on Republican coins (165\*; also, Crawford, *RRC* 42/2 pl. 8; 69/5, 72/7 pl. 14).

H. virtually never wears a normal helmet despite [Hes.] *sc.* 136-138. The identification of the figure on the bf. vase Paris E 707, fighting a snake, is uncertain (see Commentary to section VII B). H. wears helmet and greaves on the Paestan vase by Assteas showing his madness (1684\*); a helmet and shield on an Apulian vase, with Kyknos, Ruvo J. 1088 (*RVAp* I 29, 23)



where his usual equipment is conspicuously discarded at his feet; and a helmet on Hellenistic coins of Lamia (993\*).

Helmet, shield and corselet are rendered unnecessary through the properties of the lionskin, quite apart from any positive intention to show him as a non-hoplite. It is notable that many of the few Archaic representations of him in a bell corselet are Peloponnesian: bronzes (48\*. 73\*; with lionskin beneath), Laconian cups (1764. 2114) and the Laconian lead figurines (Pipili, *LacIc* 13 fig. 18), the Corinthian plaque (2821). For some examples on Attic bf. see 1317\*. 2177. 2330. 2975. 3037, and after 3112; → Alkestis 58\*; Palermo, *Jdl* 80 (1965) 99 fig. 22; Malibu 88.AE.24, Medea Group. And on rf. of about 450, a leather corselet on → Geras 2\*. A muscle corselet is the only part of H. left behind on his pyre in Attic rf. (2916–2918) yet he is not seen wearing one on Attic vases. However, one is worn by the actor impersonating H. on the Attic rf. Pronomos vase of around 400 B.C. (Naples 3240; → Dionysos 835\*), which possibly gives a clue to the subject of the play in preparation. Otherwise it is worn by H. on Classical Corinthian cups of the Wide Group (1327\*. 1352; Reading 47.viii.1, *CVA* 1 pl. 16, 5; Athens NM 409, *AM* 26, 1901, 146) and on Campanian rf. (1532 = 3468). There was a statue of an armed H. at Sparta (82, where the reference should be to Paus. 3, 15, 3; the statue in Paus. 3, 14, 6 was not armed). On H.'s armour in literature see Holt, P., *AntCl* 55, 1986, 304–307.

#### Other attributes and possessions

H., a notorious drinker, is well provided with cups. Since he was a Boeotian by birth the preferred shape is the kantharos, and this may be used also for libation, as an alternative to the more usual phiale. In the Hellenistic and Roman period his cup is commonly the skyphos with vertical ring handles. He rarely drinks from a horn (in the Bibax type in sculpture 754. 755. 764\*; in Attic bf. 1517? 3239; Apulian rf. 1494). In the 5th cent. B.C. he often favours the so-called Sotadean kantharos (footless, with rounded bowl) for which the ancient name seems to have been *karchesion*. In 5th cent. literature it is a *karchesion* that Zeus uses to dupe Alkmene into believing that she is lying with her husband, and it is likely that the choice of shape for H. was determined by this association with his divine father. A bronze example was found at his sanctuary on Mt. Oita, and a gilt silver one was dedicated to H. in Elaius and recorded in the Parthenon accounts of 434/3 B.C. and later (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 343, 5–6). (For the *karchesion* see Boardman, J., *JHS* 99, 1979, 149–151; for H. and the Dionysiac associations of his kantharos see Carpenter, T. H., *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* [1986] 117–118.)

An unexpected but recurrent attribute of H. in all periods is a cornucopia. In the earliest representation it replaces a drinking horn at a feast with Hermes on an Attic bf. cup of about 500 (1498). Young H. reclines with one on a 5th cent. relief at Rhamnous (1062). On a 4th cent. Attic vase he receives one from a figure probably identifiable as Palaimon (3490; and cf. the

4th cent. relief from Thebes, 1495) in a cult associated with H. (as) Pankrates, where he also is seen holding one (1381–1384\*; cf. Apulian rf. 3493). He holds one on other Classical Attic reliefs and vases (1386\*. cf. 1389. 3222); S. Italian vases and terracottas (1000. 1000a. 1535a. 1571; Naples H 2408, *RVAp* 1 25, 108; Naples private, Trendall, *RVP* 165, 329 pl. 110a, Python); coins of Cyprus (1001\*), Kyzikos (1073\*). In the Hellenistic period he reclines with one (1063); stands holding one in a statuary type of Hellenistic origin (555–579\*, including coins and the copies of coins on Roman clay 'Herakles cups' [Pagenstecher, *Calen* 151–157]; on 562 [Lehmann, P., *Statues on coins of S. Italy* (1946) 3 fig. 2] the horn seems filled with phalloi; cf. also the statuette of Lenbach type, 359). In the Roman period he holds a cornucopia on some herms (1163–1166\*), in a Pompeian painting (1694\*), on a relief where he also holds a baby (1695\*), on a relief with Hebe (Guerrini, L., *Palazzo Mattei* [1982] no. 28 pl. 23a). He is shown receiving one from Ceres on a medallion of Antoninus Pius (3204. cf. 3205), from Africa on coins of Commodus (3412), and from Fortuna on the Kastell Echzell painting (3508). (For studies of H. and the cornucopia see *ML* 1 2, 2176. 2183. 2186–2188. 2964; Hartwig, R. P., *H. mit dem Füllhorn* [1883]; Becatti, G., *BollArte* 53, 1968, 1–11.)

Literary accounts of his possession of the cornucopia (*LIMC* IV 729) seem to seek to explain a widespread phenomenon which was not especially related to any particular story or cult, but rather reflected a fertility aspect of the hero not much admitted in ritual but indicative of his universal appeal and therefore universal functions. Related is his association with and partial assimilation to Silvanus (see section X s. v. 'Silvanus').

H. holds an *akerostolion* on a medallion of Antoninus Pius (918); receives a globe from Sol on a 3rd cent. A.D. coin of Serdica (3454) and holds a globe with Victoria upon it on a coin of Constantine, Rome (539\*); holds a *kerykeion* on a 3rd cent. Pisidian coin (540). Athena's owl sits upon his shoulder on the late Archaic gem 66\*, and accompanies his chariot to Olympus on the Apulian vases 2927. 2928.

#### Actors as Herakles

These have not been recorded in the main article except where a mythological scene seems depicted, as on the S. Italian phlyax vases: 1522\* (reclining at feast). 1538 (with a woman). 1550 (pursues woman). 3076 (with Apollo). 3372 (with Zeus); also Taranto 56048, with a king (Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* IV 23; Trendall, *Phlyax Vases* no. 122); Catania MB 4232, with Kerkopes (*ibid.* no. 25); Rome, Ragusa Coll. 9, with bull's head (*ibid.* no. 128); Milan, Scala 12, with woman and Hermes (*ibid.* no. 95); Taranto 7591, bust (*ibid.* no. 190); Berlin 3046, knocking at door (*ibid.* no. 22); Lentini (*ibid.* no. 79; = Auge 6); private, 'H. threatens to decapitate Eurystheus with a pair of shears' (Webster, *MIOMC* 3 110 under UT2).

The H. actor on the Pronomos vase has been discussed above (under Arms and Armour); he holds a

mask not unlike the features of the actor himself. It may well be that a play is the inspiration for mythological scenes on various vases, notably the South Italian, and that H.'s presence, as protagonist or onlooker, indicates his role in the play but he is not shown as an actor. The same is true of the scenes with satyrs which might be suggested by Attic satyr plays, although more than the presence of a satyr is required for the identification of satyr play on Attic vases. For a selection of H. masks see 257–270\*; with 270\* cf. Sotheby's 11 July 1988, lot 381, 3, and for tragic masks and figures of *H. Furens*, Webster, *MTSP* 158.

For comic masks and figures of H. see Webster, *MIOMC* 3 18 Type J, with references for terracottas and other monuments, and pl. 1d; *ibid.* 110 UT2 is a comic H. with the boar (once Nordmann Coll.; Winter, *Typen* 417, 4; V 74 fig. 93). A comic H. is identified or suspected on some Kabirion vases: *Kabirenheiligtum* IV 62 no. 286 pl. 24, 3 (= 2277), 64 no. 356 (Acheloos), 67 no. 403 pl. 23, 5 (Omphale?), 67 no. 410 pl. 23, 3 (Atlas?); and cf. the Kabirion statuettes of a figure with lionskin (?) and kithara. *Kabirenheiligtum* V 122–123 nos. 312–313 pl. 24 (= 1470\*). The H. on a centaur chariot on an Attic rf. vase (1429 = Aithiopes 22\*) is preceded by a figure that resembles a comic actor and himself seems as comic as his Nike charioteer. See also Pagenstecher, *Calen* pl. 23, 221a, for a roundel relief with a comic H. with club and cup. And a possible comic H. on the scarab, Lamia Mus. D 3016 (863, Pantos, P. A., in *Festschr. N. Himmelmann* [1989] 316–318 pl. 50, 2. 4. 6), plump, with cloak, club and lionskin.

In general on H. and the stage see Vollkommer, ch. 9.

#### Historical survey

This section presents a summary of the development of the iconography of H. by periods, with selective reference to *LIMC* catalogues and no more than allusion to other aspects of the hero – literary, religious, philosophical, etc. Brief bibliographies with each section indicate principal sources other than the *LIMC* articles. They omit Brommer's works (*Vasenlisten* 3, *Denkmälerlisten* I, H., *Herakles* II, and numerous articles) because these are clearly fundamental to any study of the hero and have rendered the work for this, as for many other *LIMC* articles, infinitely less laborious.

#### Geometric and early Archaic periods (to c. 625 B.C.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Carter, J., 'The Beginnings of Narrative Art in the Greek Geometric Period', *BSA* 67, 1972, 25–58; Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen*; Furtwängler, A., *ML* 1 2 (1886–1890) 2135–2147 s. v. 'Herakles'; Hampe, *Sagenbilder*; Scheffold, *Sagenbilder*.

The identification of H. in early art depends either on the presence of distinctive attributes, which do not appear until well into the second half of the 7th cent. (see above) or on unequivocal myth scenes. To start with the certain: some scenes of H. and the Hydra appear on the Boeotian bronze subgeometric fibulae of

around and probably after 700 B.C. (2019. 2020) and these may give some confidence in identifying other scenes on these objects, but the confidence is not total: the Lion (1913), the Deer (2205), the Birds (2280). For the supposed Aktorione/Molione (→ Aktorione 6–9) on the fibulae serious doubt must be entertained whether these figures appear at all in Greek Geometric art (cf. Boardman, J., in Moon [ed.], *AGAI* 25–27).

The second (and third) quarter of the 7th cent. sees more certain identifications. On Protocorinthian vases we find the Bull (2353. 2354), Geryon (2462), perhaps the Hesperides (2690) and Centaur fights (→ Kentauroi; Fittschen 111–128; and *Arts in Virginia* 21, 2, 1981, 20 fig. 6). The last subject can be traced earlier, into Late Geometric, on an Attic vase and in a bronze group, but there can be no certainty so early that a horse-man is uniquely a centaur attacked by H. The presence of a woman, a probable Deianeira, makes the identification more plausible (→ Nessos), and she appears on a Subgeometric seal and Protoattic vases before the mid century and a Spartan ivory and Argive relief vases after it (Fittschen *l.c.*).

Various other early identifications have been proposed, all to varying degrees debatable. On Attic Late Geometric vases the Lion (1907), the Birds (2275), and see → Aktorione section D. There are other lion-fights – on Chian Late Geometric (1908), Protocorinthian (1909), a Naxian relief pithos (1912) and Spartan ivory (1914); the Hydra on a Cretan relief plaque (Fittschen SB 31), a bronze seal (2026); the Deer on Italo-Geometric (2206) and a probably Cypriot glass gem (2207); the tripod fight with Apollo on relief vases from Sicily and Boeotia (3057. 3060), on an early seal (3059) and a bronze tripod leg from Olympia (3061); a Protocorinthian snake-fight (2820).

These few scenes bear little relationship to the few subjects alluded to in early literature (see *LIMC* IV 730–731), but it is notable that they are mainly of what come to be regarded as canonical Labours – the Lion, Hydra, Bull, Geryon, perhaps also the Deer, Birds, Hesperides; seconded by subjects which long remain popular thereafter – the tripod-fight and centaur-fight. The prime centres – Boeotia, Corinth, Sparta and Athens – are the main sources of any myth scenes of the period, so regional preferences cannot be argued; nor are any clear iconographic conventions established, even for the same scenes in one centre.

#### Archaic period (c. 625–475 B.C.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Furtwängler, A., *ML* 1 2 (1886–1890) 2147–2153. 2192–2222 s. v. 'Herakles'; Kunze, *Schildbänder*; Payne, *NC* 125–133; Pipili, *LacIc*; Scheffold, *SB* II; Steuben (for Attic and Corinthian); Amyx, *CVP* 628–632.

In this period the identity of H. is soon established, with club and lionskin (see above) and the most numerous range of scenes is offered for any commensurable period in antiquity. Athens dominates the subject but by no means monopolises it or dictates the schemes for many scenes.

The description of the Chest of Kypselos (1697) indicates the range of Corinthian awareness of H.

scenes, and this is well reflected on the vases of Corinth (down to c. 550). Five Labours appear: the Lion (1828. 1909? 1910?), the Hydra is especially popular (1990-1995. 2011), Geryon (2498), Kerberos (2553), Amazons (once, → Amazones 1\*; Amyx, CVP 557.4). There is also a scattering of other stories: marriage with Hebe (3331), → Acheloos 246, → Amazones 1, → Eurytos 11 (= Deion 1\*, = Iole 11; the first symposium in Greek art), → Gigantes 98, → Hesione, → Kentauroi, → Kerkopes, → Kyknos, → Nereus, fighting snakes (2820. 2821). There seems no particular pattern in the choice, but most are earlier than their counterparts in Athens.

Even more prolific are the NE Peloponnesian shieldband reliefs, with a very full series of Labours: the Lion (1776. 1799. 1830. 1839. 1846-1848), the Hydra (2052), the Boar (2118. 2136), Geryon (2477. 2478), Hesperides (2682); also, the tripod-fight with Apollo (2954. 2955. 2984. 3062?), in Hades (3519), → Antaios 1 33, → Halios Geron 2, → Kerkopes, → Nessos; see Kunze, *Schildbänder* index. Sparta is the next most important centre in the Peloponnese. Cycles of Labours appeared on monuments there (1700. 1701) and on vases (mainly 575-525 B.C.) several Labours (1764. 1911? 2035. 2114. 2317) and other scenes: 2861, → Amazones 2, → Kerkopes, → Kentauroi. The Spartan relief ivories are almost as prolific (1777. 2054; → Nessos, → Prometheus, still without H.). (See Pipili for all Spartan scenes.) Many Archaic bronze statuettes may be Laconian or Corinthian (26\*-31\*. 48\*. 73\*. 77-80. 82-84).

Olympia attracted the Labours dedication of Heraclea Pontica (1704); Delphi, the tripod-fight on the Siphnian Treasury (3026), the Athenian Treasury metopes (1703), another metope (2022); and H. will have participated in gigantomachies at both sanctuaries (→ Gigantes 2-6) and appears on other minor votives (as 2025). Aegina may have his attack on Troy in the Aphaea pediment (2792) also celebrating the Aeginetan Telamon. Boeotia has a poor record; cf. tripod fights (2948. 2849) and cf. 2262, → Kentauroi. The Eretrian vase with the Hydra (2007) copies Attic. Other local preferences in the scenes mentioned are not easily identified, except for the tripod-fight at Delphi, although this is common enough elsewhere also.

The islands have a slight but interesting record: clay reliefs in Crete (47\*. 2621); a Thasian plate (→ Amazones 60) and relief pithos with tripod-fight (3010); a polychrome plate (Theran?; *EADélos* X no. 45; → Nessos); and an early marriage, on a 'Melian' vase (1690\*). East Greece comes late into the story, but this could be deceptive. A 7th cent. marriage on Samos is reported (3330) and the bronze plaque from Samos with Geryon (2476) gives the scene in a highly developed form before 600 B.C. H. is important in Thasos, through cult (45\* and later coins) and the centaur fight finds monumental expression in Anatolia, on the Assos temple (with a Triton-fight), and in clay revetments from Ak Alan and Larisa (→ Kentauroi). H. appears on few vases (57\*, Chian. 1842, bf. and *MuM* Auktion 40, 1969, no. 53, bf.) and in terracottas (12\*.

54\*; cf. faience 13\*. 14\*). Late Archaic gems are dominantly East Greek in origin and often show H. in single studies or heads (section I) and in action (Boardman, *AGGems* index); he appears too on coins of the region, notably Kyzikos (10\*. 37. 44\*).

In the west H. is a subject for monumental art: on the Silaris temple (1698) and at Selinus (→ Acheloos 220\*, → Gigantes 13\*. 14\*, → Kerkopes); and on clay reliefs (often arulae) (2024. 2119; → Acheloos 224\*. 225\*; → Alkyoneus 1\*. 2; → Kerkopes). On western vases he is well represented in 'Chalcidian' bf. (2464. 2479. 3019; → Amazones 3\*; → Kentauroi, → Kyknos) and the pseudo-'Chalcidian' (1809; → Amazones 24), and notably on vases apparently made in immigrant East Greek studios in Etruria, especially the Caeretan hydriae (Hemelrijk, J. M., *Caeretan Hydriae* [1984] index): 1779. 2016. 2464. 2479. 2616. 2844; → Acheloos 213; → Alkyoneus 31\*; → Bousiris 9\*; → Hesione (cf. 2844); → Kentauroi; and an introduction to Olympus on a vase related to the Northampton Group (2908). The winged Geryons of both 'Chalcidian' vases (2464. 2479) echoed by the Sicilian poet Stesichoros are notable.

The richness and variety of this record around the Greek world pales beside that of Athens, where H. scenes account for no less than 44 per cent of all myth scenes on Athenian bf. vases, concentrated principally in the years c. 560-510 (cf. Boardman, J., *JHS* 95, 1975, 1-2), with a perceptible weakening towards the end of the 6th cent. Some scenes are accepted from the repertory of other Greek centres, but most seem to have been devised in Athens and many new scenes or unique variants are introduced. The monumental scenes are particularly numerous: Acropolis pediments - 2021 (Hydra), 2862 (Introduction), → Triton (twice), presumably in the Gigantomachy (→ Gigantes 7), and from the Agora, the Lion (*Agora* XI pl. 17 no. 96); cf. also reliefs, the base (52 + 1877 + 2579) and 65\*. 71. 2110. The architectural emphasis is remarkable, especially on the Acropolis where, it seems, he was not worshipped.

All the canonical Labours (section IV; except for the eccentric Augeias) appear on vases from the 560s on, but Amazons appear a little earlier (→ Amazones section I A), Birds a little later, Diomedes only from the end of the 6th cent., as also Hesperides scenes without Atlas. Many other major episodes appear as early (it must be remembered that the 560s, after the François Vase and with the Tyrrhenian amphorae, see the start of many new myth scenes on Attic vases): Introduction to Olympus (section VIII A. B), → Acheloos sections F-J, → Gigantes section I C 2 (notably the weaving of the scene on the peplos dedicated to Athena), → Kyknos I. Others appear even earlier: → Kentauroi from c. 580 (but → Pholos from c. 530), → Nessos (as already on Protoattic) from c. 600, → Nereus from c. 590 (but H. destroying Nereus' palace only after 500), → Prometheus c. 610-550. Others begin only later: → Alkyoneus from c. 520, → Antaios I from c. 520, → Bousiris 10-18 from c. 530, → Eurytos 12-7 from c. 500, → Geras c. 480-450, → Hesione at the end of the 6th cent., → Kerkopes

from c. 550, → Syleus c. 490-460, leading a monster c. 500 (2834-2837), rescuing Hera (3348).

Apart from this plethora of myth scenes there is a great number of scenes of H. with Athena in no action context but emphasising their close relationship (section IX E) by proximity, a handshake or libation. With these go scenes of H. as lone symposiast attended by Athena (section II H) and as musician (section II G). These are all scenes peculiar to Athens. Several others dwell on other aspects of his life: an infant (1665\*), as athlete (1316-1320), at a fountain (1322\*), at sacrifice (1331-1334\*. 1336\*. 1337\*. 1340\*-1342. 1344), in chariot (section II F), with family (section III D c). His association with Hermes is a constant theme (section IX M), and with Dionysos and/or satyrs mainly after about 500 (section IX G).

It has been argued by some scholars, though without commanding universal assent, that H. enjoyed a special position in Archaic Athens through his association with the city goddess, and that this was exploited as a symbol of the state of Athens, involving at times a degree of identification by its rulers with the hero, notably by Peisistratos. This is shown by the frequency and variety of scenes, innovations in myth and story which seem possibly related to contemporary events of a political or religious nature, and H.'s exceptional position in the architectural sculpture of the Acropolis. For discussions in this vein see Boardman, J., *RA* 1972, 57-72 (Introduction to Olympus); *JHS* 95, 1975, 1-12 (Kerberos, Eleusis, the Deer, Nereus/Triton, scenes with Athena), *RA* 1978, 227-234 (tripod-fight), in *AGRP* (Amsterdam) 239-247 (with Athena), in *Festschr. N. Himmelmann* (1988) (Nereus/Triton); Glynn, R., *AJA* 85, 1981, 121-132 (Nereus/Triton); Shapiro, H. A., *AJA* 88, 1984, 523-529 (Kyknos); Williams, D. in *ICG* (Rouen) 131-140 (Alkyoneus). Dissent has been summarised by Cook, R. M., *JHS* 107, 1987, 167-169, answered by Boardman, J., *JHS* 109, 1989, 158-159.

The Archaic period saw the establishment of the iconography of all major H. scenes although there is no hint of a canonic cycle of the Labours as yet, and there are few innovations later. This was by no means altogether due to Athens, and the earlier Peloponnesian contribution was important, while the East Greek may easily be underestimated. The Peloponnesian preference for a H. without lionskin suggests a rather different view of the hero, more the hoplite (as he is in [Hes.] *scutum*) than the violent and somewhat rustic man of action, which is how he appears in Athens, where his introduction to a cultured Olympian life seems singularly unconvincing, though it was clearly an important element in the Athenian view of him, and it was in Archaic Athens that he was thought first to have been worshipped as a god. From Athenian art one might judge that his apotheosis was there thought to depend on his role in the gigantomachy, where he is exceptionally prominent. There is no hint in any of the scenes of any role as saviour of mankind; it would perhaps have been foreign to the spirit of Archaic narrative at any rate. If Peisandros' epic or Stesichoros' poems had any effect on his iconography, it cannot be

identified, and must be judged unlikely. Where art and literature can be closely matched, as in [Hes.] *scutum* or Stesichoros' *Geryoneis*, the dissimilarities are more obvious than the similarities (cf. Boardman, J., *AntK* 19, 1976, 11-13).

#### Classical Period (c. 475-325 B.C.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Furtwängler, A., *ML* 12 (1886-1890) 2153-2176. 2222-2242 s.v. 'Herakles'; Scheffold/Jung, *SB* IV; Vollkommer, R., *Herakles in Greek Art of the Classical Period* (1988) - for the fullest discussion and list of monuments.

The fifth century sees the establishment in art, however insecurely, of the Twelve Labours. The choice for the metopes on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (1705) was to prove influential, but not immediately and the grouping of Labours remains long haphazard and 'incomplete' (see Commentary to section IV A).

Athen's and Athena's special relationship with the hero survives, but it is muted. The more monstrous Labours and encounters are less to Classical taste, and the exceptional Archaic emphasis on H.'s closeness to the goddess is relaxed. That several of his Labours decorate metopes on the Hephaisteion (1706) seems uncharacteristic and old-fashioned, recalling the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (1703); a few appear again on a relief from Sunium (1708, of disputed date, however). On Athenian vases his Labours are sporadically shown: the Lion (1890-1892. 1917. 1925), Hydra (2009. 2039), Boar (2132), Deer (2196. 2197), Bull (2309-2312. 2350-2352), Geryon (2474), Kerberos (2624). The Amazon Labour retains hints of the Archaic expedition (→ Amazones 88. 89\*); there is a duel on the Hephaisteion (→ Amazones 99) and the winning of the belt is ignored. The Hesperides Labour (2702. 2703. 2718-2725) takes on a new dimension towards the end of the 5th cent. with the already rejuvenated H. shown peacefully receiving the apples from the Hesperides. This is a significant change in attitude to the hero. It is echoed in scenes of his apotheosis. This could still be shown in the Archaic manner (2867-2871. 2873-2875) but for the first time he appears on the pyre, and soon thereafter being lifted to Olympus, rejuvenated, by chariot (section VIII C-H).

Other significant novelties in Athens are the number of scenes with Hebe on Olympus (section IX J), though the identity of the Hebe is seldom certain, and the many 'court' scenes (section IX Q) where he is seen with a variety of gods, heroes and quasi-mortals. He is frequently to be seen being congratulated and crowned, especially by Nike (section X s.v.), and these scenes may relate to the end of his Labours and apotheosis rather than terrestrial successes. The artists seem to be presenting him more often as a god, but not as other gods, and the 4th cent. in particular dwells on his initiation at Eleusis (section II E 1. 2). His worship in Athens is indicated by the scenes, on reliefs and vases, of H. in or by a columnar shrine (section II D 1), and the special associations of the 'Palaimon' scenes (section X s.v.) which may reflect a new Athenian cult. There are other scenes too of him being worshipped or in cult, on vases and reliefs (273. 275. 310.

326\*-330. 333\*. 617\*. 760\*. 761. 3152. 3189. 3201. 3479, section II D 2). It cannot be said that his role in Athenian theatre promoted much in art (see above) but for the notable actor on the Pronomos vase, though his developing relationship with Dionysos and his satyrs (section IX G) conceals a number of scenes possibly inspired by satyr plays.

His role in Athens' affairs is still perceptible and he stood with Athena in the Marathon painting of the Painted Stoa (3151). Amazonomachies are now more Theseus-centred, but their joint expedition to Amazonland was invented in the early 5th cent. and may occasionally be identified (section XI A, though not certainly in Athens after the Delphi Treasury). An interest in his sacrifice to Chryse en route to Troy (section V 1) may have been promoted by Athenian interest in Lemnos. Gigantomachies had been important in Athenian iconography, and may have taken on a special role in the iconography of Athenian success over Persia since they are prominent in Periclean and post-Periclean Athens; H. retains a central role beside Zeus and Athena (section IX R).

Many of the Archaic H. subjects either disappear or appear infrequently; new are scenes of babyhood, fighting the snakes (section III A), and at school and with Linos (section III C). The freeing of Theseus theme (section XI B) probably owes more to the importance of Theseus than to that of H. except perhaps in the three-figure relief (3518) which has to be interpreted in the light of its enigmatic companion reliefs.

Probably the most important development in H. iconography in the 5th/4th cent. is the proliferation of new statuary types for him as a votive or a cult figure. These are discussed in LIMC IV 792-793 and their regional significance is noted there.

In *Corinth* there are a few but interesting representations on vases, in the Wide Group (1096\*. 1327\*. 1352), a relief crater (2246) and in rf. (2934). *Boeotia* has him on some rf. vases (86\*. 1537\*. 1567. 3178) but also on several reliefs (331. 2619. 3203. 3459a. 3495) as well as the famous relief by Alkamenes of 403 (3099) and Praxiteles' pediments at Thebes with the Labours (1710). Samos had the Myron group (2876), perhaps an apotheosis, and the new Temple of Artemis at Ephesus several Labours and exploits on its columns (1707). In West Greece Lysippos' groups at Alyzia (1709) probably had most effect only after they reached Rome. In North Greece and Macedonia his importance to the royal family probably accounts not only for statuary types but the use of H. figures and heads quite freely on fine metalwork (e.g., 122, 123. 256\*. 1090. 1770).

The *Western Greek* world is particularly rich in H. scenes, especially on the 4th cent. vases, though he continues to appear on clay reliefs also (as 1778. 1815, and → Kentauroi), and in sculpture (→ Gigantes 15\*. 16\*). On *Apulian* vases the Labours are well represented: 1812. 1876. 1918. 2010. 2346. 2423. 2504. 2571. 2572. 2615. 2686-2688. 2726-2728. And there is a fair range of other action scenes including scenes with Athena or Nike, and apotheosis following

the Athenian model (2925. 2927-2930. 2933), the episode with the girdle of Hippolyte (→ Amazones 778a\*. 781) as well as generalised Amazonomachies (→ Amazones 90\*-92\*), → Bousiris 3\*-5, → Alkestis 18\*, the suckling by Hera (→ Hera 301\*), with Jason (2796) and confronting Skythes (2807). In less specific contexts there are several symposia (1494. 1509. 1515. 1523), scenes of worship and sacrifice (1335. 1345\*. 1391\*. 1392) and a number with him in the company of unidentified women (section II J 1). His attendance at the painting of his statue (271\*) is notable.

On *Lucanian* vases there is slightly less interest but the Hippolyte scenes (→ Amazones 777. 778\*) recur, and the interest in Bousiris (→ Bousiris 6\*. 7\*), while for another oddity → Kerkopes. Of the *Paestan*, apart from the phlyax scenes (see above) there is the remarkable madness (1684\*; Trendall, *RVP* 84, 127. 89-90). *Campanian* also have Hippolyte (→ Amazones 779\*. 780\*). The *Sicilian* are more restricted: sacrifice (1339), some liveliness at Dionysiac parties (3226. 3227), and → Acheloos 259a\*. The *Indexes* in Trendall's monographs are the fullest source for south Italian subjects with H.

On coins the subject of the baby strangling the snakes appears at Thebes (1619\*. 1620. 1630-1632) and for the East Greek alliance (*SYN*) issue (1621\*). Other Boeotian coins with H. are 1070. 1071. 1078. 1092\*. In North Greece he remains an important subject, notably in the north-west, at Kyzikos (225. 1073\*. 1663\*. 1774) and Heraclea Pontica. He is rather more popular in the west, as at Heraclea Lucania. The Cretan 1067\*. 1080\*. 2699 are unexpected. He appears on few gems and fingerings (312\*. 340. 341\*. 422\*. 423\*. 569. 666. 771\*. 926a. 1326\*. 1348. 1767. 1768. 2698); the most notable is the unusual Greco-Persian with the dead Lion and ?Nemea (1920).

In the literature of Classical Greece H. begins to take on a new persona. There is more emphasis on his role as a saviour of mankind, in his ridding the earth of malevolent monsters and miscreants. He begins even to adopt the role of the tragic hero, wearied by his Labours, pitiable in his madness, rewarded for his life's work by rejuvenated ease in Olympus. Most of the representations reflect very little of this indeed, and many of the elements which do seem to reflect the literature were present before the Classical period: his ageing figure, for example, in bf. apotheosis scenes. In the 5th cent. there is certainly more emphasis on the rejuvenation, and the tiredness is made more explicit – we think of the Lion metope at Olympia (1919) and Lysippos figures of H. seated on his basket after the Augeias Labour (2300) and the Farnese type. The most moralising, philosophical new attitude to H. is expressed in Prodikos' invention of H.'s decision between Virtue and Vice, and this is totally ignored in ancient art (→ Hedone). H.'s role as protector of youth is little apparent, and his political and cult functions are more prominent in the many coins from cities which bore his name or worshipped him and, towards the end of this period, in the expression by various rulers

of their assimilation to him, with or without alleged family ties.

### Hellenistic Period

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Furtwängler, A., *ML* 12 (1886-1890) 2177-2183. 2242-2252 s. v. «Herakles»; Scheffold/Jung, *SBIV*.

The iconography of H. in the age of the Hellenistic kings is largely dominated by the rulers' interest in him as a model for their behaviour, with a degree of assimilation to him, begun with Alexander himself and typified by the representations of Alexander wearing H.'s lionskin on many series of Hellenistic coins. The kings of Pergamum must have been responsible for the new interest in stories associated with the founding of the city involving H.: → Auge, and → Telephos, both virtually ignored hitherto. Other Anatolian themes are strongly represented – Amazonomachies (→ Amazones 102\*-110. 115\*), many of them decorating Anatolian monuments and following the tradition of the Mausoleum frieze; and the story of → Omphale, another novelty of the Hellenistic period. H.'s symbolic role is well exemplified in the relief from Kyzikos showing him defeating a Celt (2813). His popularity in Anatolia is further shown by his appearance in the Myrina terracotta series (368\*. 395\*. 419\*. 487\*. 3357) and on grave reliefs (1112-1116). The Omphale story brings to the surface more explicit scenes of his love life (1557\*. 1558\*) and subjection to Eros (section X s. v.); and the Auge story may have helped popularise depictions of his drunkenness.

Although Hellenistic literature may have established a canonic order for the Labours, this is barely reflected in the few scenes of the cycle, in minor art (1711) and at Delphi (1712). It is mainly minor art – the clay relief bowls based on metal prototypes – that provides any numerous series of scenes of Labours (1802. 1816. 1922. 2048-2050. 2096. 2194. 2210. 2339. 2425. 2429. 2510. 2696. 2709. 2711). The principal statuary types ring the changes on types established in the 5th and 4th cents. (discussed in LIMC IV 793-794); a major innovation is the creation of H. herms (section I C 7) and the growing popularity of the reclining figures (section I C 4). In physical appearance the figures confirm the trend of the preceding period, to show him naked, with club and lionskin only, and increasingly often with facial traits determined by the Lysippos images.

In the west the Apulian (Calene) gutti and other relief vases carry many H. vignettes, less detailed than those of the homelands relief bowls (211. 213. 1611-1613. 2051. 2195. 2199. 2926. 2936. 2937. 3101. 3229 and → Omphale); see Pagenstecher, *Calen* and Jentel, *Gutti*, indexes. He remains a popular subject on metalwork, demonstrated by his common appearance on the plaster copies which were dispersed far from their homes, to Memphis in Egypt or Begram in modern Afghanistan (207. 216\*. 1544\*. 1755. 1827. 1966. 3420).

On coinage the range is much as it had been in the Classical period, with more in Anatolia and the west.

Note too his popularity in the burgeoning Hellenistic kingdom of distant Bactria (160\*. 193. 195. 283\*. 627. 738\*. 946\*). The H. head becomes a dominant type in many mints, typifying the dynastic H. which seems the dominant theme of the hero's iconography in this period.

### Roman Period

The worship of H. in the Forum Boarium from early in the Republican period ensured for him a markedly different iconographic career from that he enjoyed in the Greek world, not, in this respect, differing greatly from the treatment of other Greek gods by Rome, but Greece had been more engaged by H. as a hero than an Olympian, and the Hellenistic fashion of assimilation of rulers to H. also secured for him a far more prominent position in scenes of state cult. The two other main areas of popularity are funereal, since his promotion to immortality held a convenient and welcome message for a people more concerned with such matters, and the Dionysiac/Bacchic. The total disparity of these interests make of him as interesting a study of diversity in iconography as in cult and popular belief.

Statues of H. in Rome (see discussion in LIMC IV 794-795) proliferated from the spoils of Greece which served temples and public spaces, and were multiplied by the many copies (cf. 446) and pastiches of the Classical and Hellenistic types which were thereafter created – the great gilt statues (as 302\*. 372\*) or colossal figures (as 652\* and the Farnese 702\*, even the boy H. 1236\*). H. is a frequent companion of Roman emperors, especially in cult scenes (1579\*) and on coins and medallions: these appear in mints throughout the empire. Medallions and contorniates offer some striking subjects: Hadrian, 390\*; Antoninus Pius, 284\*. 918. 3204. 3487; → Cacus 1\*; → Kentauroi; Marcus Aurelius, 1433\*. 3487; → Cacus 2\*, → Kentauroi; Lucius Verus, 740. 2540; Commodus, 2172. 3487; Septimius Severus, 2785; Geta, 635; Maximian, 410, → Kentauroi; contorniates, 1696\*. 2408. 2409. 2413. 3198. 3418. 3504, → Kentauroi. (For H. on Roman coins and medallions see Voegtli, *Heldenepen*.) He is plentifully represented on gemstones, commonly head alone or figures deriving from statuary types – these must have been popular gifts at all levels of society, from the imperial family who adopted him to young athletes (for whom he shared a protective role with Hermes/Mercury). These are mainly produced in Italy. He is also especially well represented in a more peculiarly Roman decorative genre, the clay Campana relief plaques (339. 386a\*. 452. 1058. 1434\*. 1435. 1955. 2076. 2389. 3064; → Hesione, Telephos).

In Rome he is a common subject of paintings and mosaics (e.g., 473\*. 2059. 2643. 2743. 2790. 3191. 3192. 3285. 3346; → Acheloos 260\*; → Alkestis 24\*. 25. 31. 32; → Antaios I 39; → Auge 19; and at Ostia, 3246). The same is overwhelmingly true of Pompeii and Herculaneum, where the surviving material is far more plentiful but the style and subject matter of the paintings probably more often reflect the



interest in their Greek originals (few are in the more characteristically Roman landscape style) than any particular Roman interest in individual scenes: 554. 630. 927. 1478. 1539. 1572. 1655. 1656. 1693. 1694\*. 2742. 2770. 2771. 2791. 2911. 3261. 3337. 3397. 3422. 3429-3431. 3456; → Aleos 5\*?; → Auge 12\*-15; → Hesione, Nessos, Omphale, Prometheus, Telephos. (See Scheffold, *WP* index.) Other sites in Italy are rich in statuary, as Tivoli (659\*. 872a. 1175\*. 1179\*. 1227\*) and Alba Fucens (986\*).

In North Africa the major media are sculptural or mosaic. Leptis Magna is rich in statuary and relief (335. 353. 447. 469. 508. 656. 682. 1194. 1540. [Dodekathlos] 1726. 1942. 2841. 3247). Mosaics are more distributed and include two with the Dodekathlos (1739. 1740; other subjects, 325. 1430. 1599. 3484; → Auge 16\*. 17\*; and cf. the painting at Zliten, 2530). Spain too had sculptural Dodekathlos (1748. 1751. 1753) and mosaic (1741. 1742). Mosaic is the popular monumental medium for the western provinces (617a. 1689. 1713. 1951. 2061. 2432. 3262. 3358; → Acheloos 261\*; → Antaios I 40\*-41; → Auge 18\*. 20).

In homeland Greece major representations depend very much on the continuing Hellenistic tradition: in major sculpture, the Dodekathlos at Corinth (1746) or the Sparta herms (1109\*-1111) and the many versions of Classical and Hellenistic cult and votive statues. In Paros there are mosaics (2163. 2226b) but the majority of the H. scenes are to be found in minor art. In Asia Minor the record is somewhat richer and a very large proportion of the Imperial coins with H., alone or in addition, are from eastern mints (see Voegtli, *Heldenepen*). The new Aphrodisias reliefs will prove a major source. In Syria the Antioch mosaics may be singled out (1053\*. 1600\*. 3253. 3254).

Scenes and cycles of H.'s Labours on sarcophagi of the later 2nd to 4th cents. are the most notable demonstration of H. iconography of the period and presumably reflect the message of immortality won through courageous achievement. There is far less emphasis in the Roman period on the support (even if only moral) given him by Athena/Minerva than there had been in the Archaic and Classical Greek periods. (In general see *SarkRel* III 1; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 148-149.) Some 40 Roman sarcophagi carry the Dodekathlos (see 1714-1724. 1734. 1752) and a significant number of Asiatic (1725. 1730-1733) which swell the record of Asia Minor. Other H. scenes also figure on the sarcophagi (2944. 3068. 3248. 3258-3260. 3263-3265. 3269-3275. 3277. 3278. 3402; → Alkestis F. G; → Amazones 122\*-138; → Hesione, Kentauroi, Prometheus).

Other popular media for H. scenes in the Roman period are clay lamps (mainly for simple groups showing the Labours: 1932. 1965. 1984. 2081-2083. 2164. 2165. 2224. 2267. 2372. 2641. 2761. 2784); relief vases include series showing the Dodekathlos (1754) and individual Labours (1964. 2077-2080. 2228. 2256. 2391. 2395. 2759. 2760. 2783); stucco reliefs (2071. 2366. 2454. 2654. 2774. 2775. 2799. 3194. 3280. 3289. 3290. 3485; → Amazones 117.

118). Of the many coin types we may single out his special popularity with Antoninus Pius ([Dodekathlos] 1760, Alexandria), with Gordian III ([Dodekathlos] 1729, Hadrianopolis), with Postumus at Cologne ([Dodekathlos] 1761), at Perinthos and Heraclea Pontica.

Of the various H. subjects which enjoy special favour in the Roman period we may notice his encounter with the snakes while a baby (section III A), the many Bacchic scenes in which he is a participant or equal partner to Bacchus (section IX G), his relationship with Eros (section X s. v.), → Alkestis (sarcophagi and tomb paintings), → Auge, Cacus, Omphale, Telephos.

It is not easy to know where to end any survey of H. iconography in the Classical world. He is prominent among the various Classical themes in Coptic art (textiles - 1550a. [Dodekathlos] 1744. 1928. 2060. 2227. 2251. 2271. 3499, → Nessos; the relief 2371). He is seen on late ivory reliefs (654\*. 1596\*. 1974), and latest of those listed here, on St Peter's throne in the Vatican ([Dodekathlos] 1759), and the Byzantine casket (931\*). He survives strongly into the Dark Ages retaining his identity as a Classical hero and god and even many of his exploits, more strongly than most other Classical divinities except perhaps Pan; H. scenes contribute to Christian iconography (H. and a Hesperid at the tree, for Adam and Eve) and, with other mortal sons of gods, contributes even to the details of apocryphal versions of the life of Christ (cf. Toynbee, A. J., *A Study of History* VI [1939] 465-476). He never truly disappears from Western art, or has to be rediscovered, nor are any of his Classical roles, as saviour of mankind, as model for kings, as tragic hero, ever forgotten.

JOHN BOARDMAN

with PHILIP BRIZE (IV L)

WASSILIKI FELTEN (IV B. D. E)

GEORGIA KOKKOROU-ALEWRAS (IV C. N)

ANNIE-FRANCE LAURENIA (IX J)

OLGA PALAGIA (I C)

VALERIE SMALLWOOD (IV M)

LUIGI TODISCO (IV H)

SUSAN WOODFORD (III A; IV F. G; IX B. L; X Eros)

**HERAKLES (IN PERIPHERIA ORIENTALI) → LIMC Suppl.**

## HERAKLES (CYPRI)

L'épigraphie chypriote n'a encore livré aucune attestation du nom d'H. avant l'époque hellénistique et, si l'on met à part une notice d'Hésychius (Hesych. s. v. *Málaka*) où il est indiqué que les habitants d'Amathonte appelaient H. «Malika» (mot formé sur le sémitique *MLK*, «roi, seigneur», plutôt que d'après le nom

du dieu → Melqart), aucun texte littéraire antique n'évoque de culte ou d'aventures mythologiques d'H. à Chypre. Pourtant, les images d'un dieu figuré sous l'aspect de l'H. grec ont connu un succès considérable à Chypre entre le milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. et le IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

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## CATALOGUE

Les représentations sur les intailles et les monnaies sont prises en compte dans l'article → Herakles, p. ex. 7. 19\*. 21\*-24. 41\*. 43\*. 46\*.

### I. Héraclès en dehors d'un contexte mythologique

#### A. Tient un arc et des flèches

##### Ronde bosse en calcaire

1. New York, MMA 74.51.2661. De Golgoi. → *Atlas* I 580; Reinach, *RépStat* V 82, 8; Myres 1092; Sophocleous 30 n° 1 pl. 5, 2. → Vers le milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. → H. (tunique courte ceinturée, léonté, coiffure égyptisante) tient un arc de la main g., bras dr. cassé.

2. New York, MMA 74.51.2654. De Golgoi. → *Atlas* I 576; Myres 1093. → Vers le milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. → H. (tunique courte ceinturée, léonté) tient des flèches dans chaque main, un carquois est accroché derrière son bras g.

3.\* New York, MMA 74.51.2455. De Golgoi. → *Atlas* I 585; Reinach, *RépStat* V 86, 4; BrBr pl. 205; Myres 1360; Sophocleous 31 n° 3 pl. 5, 4; Yon 2, 138 fig. 9; Nikolaus-Havé, F., *AA* 1986, 578 fig. 3. → 3<sup>e</sup> quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. → H. barbu de grande taille (tunique courte ceinturée, léonté) tenant des flèches dans la main dr., un arc contre le flanc g. Le bras g. et la massue sont, semble-t-il, des adjonctions modernes.

4.\* Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. 1934/III-16/1/60. De Kazaphani. → Karageorghis, V., *RDAC* 1978, 166-167 n° 60 pl. 27; Sophocleous 32 n° 4 pl. 6, 1. → Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?) → H. (tunique, pagne ceinturé avec «œud d'H.», léonté) tient des flèches de la main dr., un arc de la g.; carquois et autres étuis contre le flanc g.; la tête manque.

Cf. etiam New York, MMA 74.51.2653 et 2654 (Myres 1092a. 1093; Sophocleous 31 n° 2 pl. 5, 3. De

Golgoi); Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. B 125 (Myres, J. L., *BSA* 41, 1940-45, 65 n° 410 pl. 14, 4. De Lefkoniko); Londres, BM C 219 (Pryce C 219 fig. 141. D'Idalion); Alep, Mus. Nat. (Dunand 105 n° 32 pl. 23. D'Amrit, très fragmentaire).

#### B. Armé de l'arc et de la massue

Pour les monnaies de Kition et de Lapithos, voir le commentaire.

##### Ronde bosse en calcaire

5. Anciennement coll. de Clercq. D'Idalion. → De Ridder, A., *Coll. de Clercq V. Les antiquités chypriotes* (1908) n° 7 pl. 2. → Début du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. → H. entièrement nu porte un arc sur le bras g. et brandit de la main dr. une massue (?) disparue (trou dans la main pour l'insertion d'un objet).

#### C. Armé d'un arc, maîtrise un ou plusieurs lions

##### Statues en calcaire

6.\* Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. C 90. Provenance inconnue (Salamine parfois indiquée à tort). → Yon, M., dans *Salamine de Chypre* IV (1973) 24-26 fig. 11b; Nizette-Godfroid, J., *RDAC* 1975, 103 pl. 14, 5; Sophocleous 41 pl. 11, 1; Yon 1, 290 fig. 5. → Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. → H. barbu (tunique, pagne, léonté) maîtrise deux petits lions du bras g., sous lequel sont accrochés un carquois et un autre étui; bras dr. cassé.

#### D. Héraclès, bras dr. levé, maîtrise un lion

##### Ronde bosse en calcaire

7.\* Trois statuettes fr. trouvées dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Idalion. a)\* Londres, BM C 206. → Pryce C 206 fig. 132; Sophocleous 33 n° 1 pl. 6, 3. → Vers le milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?) → H. barbu (tunique courte ceinturée, léonté) lève le bras dr. et tient de la main g. un petit lion par ses pattes arrière. → b)\* Londres, BM C 209. → Pryce C 209 fig. 134. → Même date. → Même type, pagne égyptisant; aucune arme n'était tenue dans la main dr. → c)\* Londres, BM C 210. → Pryce C 210 fig. 135. → 3<sup>e</sup> quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. → Même type, visage plus personnalisé; les deux bras sont cassés, le lion arraché. Cf. la tête Pryce C 207, même provenance, apparemment même geste du bras dr.

8. Londres, BM C 208. Provenance inconnue. → Pryce C 208 fig. 133. → 3<sup>e</sup> quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. → Même type, bras dr. cassé.

#### E. Brandit une massue et maîtrise un lion

##### a) Vêtu d'un chiton court et de la léonté

##### Ronde bosse en calcaire

9.\* Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. Kition 141. De Kition-Bamboula. → SCE III pl. 15, 3; 16, 3; Sophocleous 34 n°

2 pl. 7, 1; Yon 1, 288 fig. 1; Yon 2, 150 fig. 23. – Début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Le bras dr. brandit la massue (fr.) qui adhère à l'arrière du crâne, arrachement du lion sur la cuisse g. De nombreux exemplaires fr. proviennent du même sanctuaire (SCE III pl. 23, 31, 34, 36, etc.; Sophocleous 34 n° 4 pl. 7, 3).

10.\* Plusieurs statuettes trouvées à Idalion. a) Londres, BM C 217. Du sanctuaire d'Apollon. – Pryce C 217 fig. 140. – Début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Même type, H. tient le petit lion par la crinière. Cf. C 216, exemplaire de même provenance, un peu plus récent. – b)\* Paris, Louvre MNB 315. Probablement du sanctuaire d'Apollon. – Perrot/Chipiez III 577 fig. 390; Caubet, A., *RLouvre* 1968, 333 fig. 3; Hermay, A., *Musée du Louvre, Dépt des ant. orientales – Cat. des ant. de Chypre. Sculptures* (1989) n° 606. – Vers le milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Même type. – c)\* Paris, Louvre AM 641. – Masson, O., *BCH* 101, 1977, 320 n° 18 fig. 3; Yon 1, 290 fig. 2; Yon 2, 148 fig. 22; Sophocleous 34 n° 3 pl. 7, 2; Hermay, o. c. n° 600. – 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Même type, le petit lion, tenu par les pattes arrière, est en partie détaché de la cuisse.

11. Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. C 177. De Lefkoniko. – Myres, o. c. 4, 65 n° 408 pl. 14, 4. – Vers le milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Même type que précédemment, cf. Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. C 190, du même site (Myres, o. c. 4, 65 n° 407 pl. 14, 4).

12. Alep, Mus. Nat. 225. D'Amrit. – Dunand 104 n° 21 pl. 20; Dunand, M./Saliby, N., *Le temple d'Amrit dans la Pérée d'Aradus* (1985) pl. 38; Yon 2, 148 fig. 21; Bounni, A., dans *IconogrCl* 378 fig. 2. – 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Même type, le bras dr. manque; plusieurs autres exemplaires proviennent du même site: Dunand 104–105 pl. 18–19, 21–23; Dunand/Saliby pl. 39–40; Bounni 378 fig. 1.

13. Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. 1954/IV-3/1. De Pergamos. – Hermay, A., dans *Acts of the Intern. Arch. Symposium «Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident»* (1986) 406 pl. 41, 3. 5. – 3<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Même type, les deux bras et le lion arrachés.

14.\* New York, MMA 74.51.2660. De Golgoi. – *Atlas I* 578; Perrot/Chipiez III fig. 389; Reinach, *RépStat V* 96, 1. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Même type, H. barbu, le petit lion se détache plus de la jambe.

15.\* Nombreux exemplaires de provenance inconnue: choix parmi les mieux conservés. a) Rome, Mus. Barracco 63. – Borda, M., *RendPontAcc* 22, 1946–47, 114 fig. 18; Helbig, *Führer* II n° 1871a. – 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Même type, le petit lion est debout sur la cuisse d'H. – b)\* Mariemont, Mus. Ac. 840.B. – Lévêque, P./Donnay, G., *L'art grec du musée de Mariemont* (1967) n° 25 avec fig. – Même date. – c) Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. C 89. – Inédit. – Même date. – Même type, le lion a la tête en bas.

#### b) Vêtu d'un chiton court, sans léonté

##### Ronde bosse en calcaire

16.\* New York, MMA 74.51.2652. De Golgoi. – *Atlas I* 572; Reinach, *RépStat V* 99, 3; Myres 1095; Sophocleous 37 n° 2 pl. 8, 1. – Début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. (chiton ceinturé, bandeau avec «nœud d'H.»

autour du crâne) brandit la massue qui adhère derrière la tête, arrachement du lion sur la cuisse g.

17. Stockholm, Medelhavsmus. Kition 234 + 250. De Kition-Bamboula. – SCE III pl. 25, 1; Sophocleous 37 n° 3 pl. 9, 1. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Même type, fr.; cf. du même site, SCE III pl. 34, 5 (Sophocleous 36 n° 1 pl. 7, 4) et pl. 28 (Sophocleous 37 n° 4 pl. 9, 2), où massue et lion sont arrachés.

#### F. Héraclès brandit une massue, pas de lion conservé

##### Ronde bosse en calcaire

18. Stockholm, Medelhavsmus. Kition 19, etc. De Kition-Bamboula. – SCE III pl. 22, 23, 6; Sophocleous 38 n° 1 pl. 8, 2; Yon 1, 290 fig. 3. – 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?) – H. tourné vers sa g., nu sous la léonté, bras g. cassé.

19.\* Paris, Louvre AM 1515. De Pyrgos, près d'Amathonte. – Dussaud, R., *MonPiot* 21, 1914, 5–11 pl. 1; Caubet, A., *RLouvre* 1968, 4–5 fig. 2; Sophocleous 38 n° 1 pl. 10, 1; Hermay, o. c. 10b, n° 598. – Début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. entièrement nu, le bras g. manque. Cf. Larnaca, Mus. Rég. 673, de Kition-Bamboula, cassé en haut des cuisses (SCE III pl. 17, 6; 18, 1; Sophocleous 39 n° 2 pl. 9, 3).

#### G. Têtes séparées

##### a) Sans massue

##### Relief

20. Plaquette en argent décorée au repoussé. Paris, Louvre AM 697. – Caubet, A., *RLouvre* 1973, 6 fig. 7. – VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Tête imberbe d'H. coiffée de la léonté, la chevelure se termine en boucles hathoriques. Exemplaires comparables à Nicosie et à New York, voir Caubet.

##### Ronde bosse en calcaire

21.\* Londres, BM C 211. D'Idalion, sanctuaire d'Apollon. – Pryce C 211 fig. 136. – Vers le milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Tête barbe.

22. Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. 1933/IX-22/3. De Louroujina. – Inédite. – Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Tête imberbe.

##### b) Avec massue appliquée derrière le crâne

##### Ronde bosse en calcaire

23.\* Londres, BM C 212. D'Idalion, sanctuaire d'Apollon. – Pryce C 212 fig. 137. – Milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Tête barbe.

24. Rome, Mus. Barracco 69. – Borda, o. c. 15a, 115 fig. 19–20. – Début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Tête imberbe. On connaît de nombreux exemplaires du même type.

#### II. Héraclès dans un contexte mythologique

##### A. Combat le lion de Némée (?)

→ Herakles 1838. 1845.

##### Relief

25. Petit autel en calcaire. New York, MMA 74.51.2633. Du sanctuaire de Golgoi. – *Atlas I* 87; Myres 1109; Sophocleous 40 n° 2 pl. 42, 4. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?) – Sur la face principale H. nu combat un lion dressé sur ses pattes arrière.

##### Ronde bosse

26.\* Groupe fr. en calcaire. Paris, Louvre AM 1516. De Pyrgos, près d'Amathonte. – Dussaud, o. c. 19, 5–11 pl. 1; Sophocleous 40 n° 1 pl. 10, 2; Hermay, o. c. 10b, n° 599. – Début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. nu combat un lion dressé sur ses pattes arrière: sa main dr. brandissait sans doute la massue.

#### B. S'empare des troupeaux de Géryon (→ Geryoneus)

27. (= Eurytion II 49\* avec bibl., = Herakles 2512 avec bibl.) Relief sur une base de statue (?) en calcaire. New York, MMA 74.51.2853. De Golgoi. – *Atlas I* 912; Karageorghis 80 pl. 2. – 490–480 av. J.-C. – H., debout sur une sorte de piédestal, a tué d'une flèche le chien → Orthros (I) et attaque Eurytion qui se retourne vers lui.

#### C. Combat l'hydre de Lerne

##### Peinture de vase

28.\* Plat de fabrique White Painted I. Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. De Palaepaphos-Skales. – Karageorghis 86 pl. 6, 2; Maier, F. G./Karageorghis, V., *Paphos. History and Archaeology* (1984) 146 fig. 127. – Fin du XI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. (?) et → Iolaos (?), armés l'un d'un arc, l'autre d'une épée, attaquent un grand serpent à deux têtes; autour du monstre deux chiens (?), un taureau, un oiseau.

##### Ronde bosse

29. Fr. de petits groupes en calcaire. New York, MMA. De Golgoi. – *Atlas I* 92; Myres 1108. 1110–1113. – Début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Restent deux plinthes et des fr. de serpents: sur une des plinthes le crabe qui pince le pied g. d'H. assure l'identification de la scène.

#### III. Types divers

##### Ronde bosse en calcaire

30.\* Londres, BM C 214. D'Idalion, sanctuaire d'Apollon. – Pryce C 214 fig. 139. – Fin de l'époque archaïque. – H. (léonté) brandit une massue de la main dr. et pose la main g. sur un cratère au sommet d'une colonnette; à dr. un autre personnage dont il ne reste que les pieds et la main posée aussi sur le cratère. Il doit s'agir d'une représentation des deux divinités adorées dans le sanctuaire plutôt que d'une adaptation locale de la dispute du trépied.

31. New York, MMA 74.51.2500. De Golgoi. –

*Atlas I* 923; Reinach, *RépStat V* 269, 4; Myres 1409. – Fin de l'époque archaïque. – Fr. d'une statue d'H. tirant à l'arc, un genou en terre: la léonté posée sur le carquois permet l'identification; sous le carquois fourreau d'une épée.

32.\* Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. 1968/V-30/683. – Inédite. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H., coiffé de la léonté, est entièrement drapé dans un himation; il tient verticalement la massue de la main g.

#### COMMENTAIRE

Les représentations d'H. sont, à Chypre, les premières qui se rattachent à l'iconographie des divinités grecques et, entre le VI<sup>e</sup> et le IV<sup>e</sup> s., elles forment la série la plus abondante des dieux masculins, bien avant les «Baal-Hammon» (→ Ammon) et les «Bès» (→ Bes [Cypri et in Phoenicia]). Leurs particularités iconographiques et le contexte religieux chypriote indiquent que le personnage doit, dans la plupart des cas, être interprété comme un dieu local et non comme une simple image de l'H. grec.

C'est, semble-t-il, à Golgoi et Idalion, dans la partie centre-est de l'île, que sont sculptés les premiers H.: à Golgoi le dieu est figuré en archer (1–3), à Idalion plutôt en maître des lions (7), mais dans les deux cas la dépouille de lion posée sur la tête et nouée autour de la taille indique que l'artiste se réfère à un même modèle. Pour le reste, on note surtout des différences avec la tradition grecque: ces sculptures en ronde bosse sont des ex-voto qui représentent le dieu dans une attitude faussement active, puisqu'il ne se sert pas de son arc et qu'il n'est nullement en danger devant le petit lion qu'il tient contre lui. Ces représentations sont en fait l'aboutissement d'une série d'images qui, dans l'art chypro-phénicien antérieur, évoquaient sous diverses formes la puissance d'un dieu ou d'un héros au nom indéterminé: l'archer, qui brandit un casse-tête ou une hache fenestrée, apparaît sur les coupes en argent du VII<sup>e</sup> s. sous l'aspect du Pharaon vainqueur (Markoe, G., *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* [1985] 45–47 avec bibl.), le tueur ou le maître des lions sur ces mêmes coupes (→ Bes [Cypri] 14), mais aussi sur un relief en terre cuite de Kazaphani (Karageorghis, V., *RDAC* 1978, 181 n° 207 pl. 47) ou, dans l'art chypriote, sous la forme d'un kouros nu maîtrisant le fauve (un exemplaire provient de Salamine, les autres de Samos, Rhodes, Cnide, Naucratis; deux statuettes de Palaepaphos et Kition montrent le personnage vêtu). Un seul document (6) témoigne d'un essai pour associer l'arc au lion (ici dédoublé) avant que l'adoption de la massue brandie détermine l'image de l'H. chypriote «canonique» (9–15); dans la plupart des cas le dieu est représenté imberbe.

L'opinion la plus répandue veut que les images chypriotes d'H. se rapportent au culte du dieu phénicien Melqart; pourtant, quand un même sanctuaire a livré des dédicaces inscrites et des statues au type d'H., la divinité est nommée en grec → Apollon (Golgoi, Idalion, Voni), exceptionnellement → Zeus (Golgoi),

ou en phénicien → Reshef (Idalion): le sanctuaire de Kition-Bamboula, souvent considéré comme un exemple déterminant, n'a livré en fait aucune dédicace à Melqart (mais Reshef y est mentionné, associé à As-tarté, dans une inscription du British Museum), pas plus que le sanctuaire d'Amrit, sur la côte syrienne, où le dieu paraît nommé Shadrapha (→ Satrapes) ou → Eschmoun. L'identité du personnage figuré sur les monnaies de Kition et de Lapithos est incertaine, mais son attitude (arc dans la main g. tendue et massue brandie dans la dr., voir Yon 2, 291 fig. 4) s'inscrit dans la tradition du «Pharaon» vainqueur des coupes chyprophéniciennes. À Kition-Bamboula un «Zeus» tenant, semble-t-il, un foudre et un aigle est associé aux H., alors qu'à Golgoi, Idalion ou Lefkoniko des représentations d'un dieu-bélier trônant, généralement appelé Baal-Hammon par les modernes, étaient offertes avec celles d'H.; dans tous les cas le dieu local, qui n'a reçu que tardivement un nom définitif, pouvait être évoqué sous des formes différentes, celle de l'H. grec indiquant clairement sa toute-puissance contre les forces hostiles et maléfiques, probablement aussi son caractère chthonien de dieu qui meurt et renaît: on pense alors à celui que les Grecs ont appelé → Adonis, d'autant plus que, généralement, une divinité féminine reçoit un culte dans les sanctuaires «héracléens» de Chypre.

La répartition des sculptures n'est pas sans intérêt: en dehors des sanctuaires ruraux du centre et de l'est de l'île seul un site majeur de Chypre, Kition, a livré ce type de représentation, inconnu à Kourion, Palaepaphos, Amathonte (où Bès avait visiblement la préférence), Marion et Soloi, attesté à Salamine seulement par les monnaies d'Evagoras I<sup>er</sup> qui cherchait probablement à se présenter comme un nouvel H. L'abondance des statues mises au jour dans les sanctuaires de Kition-Bamboula (environ 40 exemplaires) et d'Amrit, ainsi que la présence d'exemplaires isolés à Al-Mina, Ibn Hani, Tell Sukas, Tell es-Safi, Lachish, Tell Jemmeh, Gaza, montre que dans l'ambiance religieuse phénicienne l'H. de type chypriote correspondait, au V<sup>e</sup> s., à l'idée que prêtres et fidèles se faisaient de leur divinités masculines. Une tête trouvée en Lycie (*ArchEph* 1899-1900, pl. 4) indique que cet H. était apprécié dans d'autres régions de Méditerranée orientale.

Les représentations des exploits du héros grec sont rares, mais homogènes pour la provenance (Golgoi) et la date (fin VI<sup>e</sup>-début V<sup>e</sup> s.). Seuls trois sujets sont attestés dont l'un, la lutte contre le lion de Némée (25-26), est si étroitement lié aux images plus nombreuses du dieu maîtrisant un petit lion que l'on peut mettre en doute la véritable intention de l'artiste. Quant à l'histoire des troupeaux de Géryon (27) et à la lutte contre l'hydre (28-29), est-ce un hasard si la première se situe dans l'ambiance du monde phénicien occidental (voir Karageorghis, V., dans *Y. Yadin Memorial Volume* [1989] 92-97) et si l'autre a des antécédents orientaux évidents? Le plat de Palaepaphos (28) pourrait bien être un précieux témoin de la rencontre, au début des «âges obscurs», entre les mythes du Proche-Orient et la civilisation grecque.

L'originalité de l'iconographie d'H. à Chypre est indiquée, négativement, par sa disparition presque complète à l'époque hellénistique, quand s'imposent les «canons» de la mythologie grecque.

ANTOINE HERMARY

## HERCULE

Etr. Hercle (genitive Hercles), Herkle, Heracle, Herecele, Hercele, Herchle; Old Latin (Preneistine) Hercles, Hercele, Hercle[s] (see Wachter, R., *Altlateinische Inschriften* [1987] 133-136 §§ 55e. 56d; 149 § 62e; 225 § 86c; 268 § 110h; 381 § 175; 409-410 § 192a-b; 419 § 194b); for different forms in Italic dialects see Vetter, E., *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (1953) 108. 151-153. 335. 339. 355; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* II 291 with bibl.; Poccetti, P., *Nuovi documenti italici* (1979) 51 no. 36; 164 no. 219 with bibl.; and this cat., 23.

The Etruscan name, *Hercle*, was adopted directly from the Greek, presumably Doric, *Herakles*. The name is attested on portable objects from c. 480 to the 2nd cent. B.C. The predominant form is *Hercle* (in four inscriptions genitive *Hercles*), and *Herkle* (the latter: 332. 263. 298); the remaining variants are found in one example (cf. Bayet 2; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I, 70-79 with bibl.; II 149-151. 155-157. 158-169; Peter 2253 ff.; *ThesLEtr* I 173-176). The earliest form, *Herecele*, c. 480 B.C. occurs on 331 (cf. de Simone, C., in *Interferenza linguistica, Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia* [1977] 48-50 for the earliest phase of transmission of Greek name of H. into Etruscan).

Of the inscriptions, only few appear to have religious significance - the earliest, is a 5th cent. dedication on an Attic kylix (unpublished), Colonna 3, 436 n. 68 (forthcoming, J. Heurgon). The remaining are Hellenistic: e.g., *Hercle* on the 2nd cent. B.C. bronze liver from Piacenza (TLE<sup>a</sup> no. 719c; Pfiffig 1, 123-126; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I, 77 (59); van der Meer, L. B., *The Bronze Liver of Piacenza. Analysis of a Polytheistic Structure* [1987] esp. 122-124, with bibl.; there, his name appears near Nethuns and adjacent to Maris and Letham); *Hercles* on 23 of the 3rd to 2nd cent. B.C., the dedications to *Hercle* on the 3rd to 2nd cent. Samnite statuette base (65a) from Venafro, and *Hercle* on a Manchester bronze base (1981.527, said to be from Pompeii, Pallottino, M., *BSR* 50, 1982, 183. 193-195 no. 72 pl. 22d. e; *idem*, *StEtr* 51, 1983, 609-611; van der Meer, o.c. 123). The inscription on the mirror 404 indicates the represented scene as adoption of H. by Uni. The epithet, *Calanice*, from the Greek, *Καλλινυκος*, was used in Vulci between the 5th and 4th cent. B.C. on four monuments [mirrors, gem: 176f. 316. 409, another mentioned in 259]; cf. Martelli, M., *StEtr* 54, 1986 [1988] 165-170.

Despite his name derivation from Greece, the Etruscan H. is neither the Greek Herakles of literary and figurative art nor a singular «Italic» divinity. He was more widely worshiped throughout Italy than any other hero-god. Iconographically, however, his nature varies from region to region in southeastern, central and northern Italy indicating the conflation of the Greek hero with local divinities. A detailed study of votive deposits of all the Italic regions would permit a final answer to the nature of his worship, origin, iconography, and evolution. The evidence indicates that his cult existed at health sanctuaries beginning earlier in the north, but in the south and east c. mid-4th cent. B.C., probably under influence from Magna Graecia. In Etruria Padana, the north, and east, anatomic ex-votos and water cults are coupled with H. votives. His connection with water appears in various contexts, in scenes with an amphora(ae), fountain(s), and spring(s), alone or together with others.

LITERARY SOURCES: There is no literary evidence for an Etruscan cult of H. The cult, nonetheless, must have spread throughout Italy (Diod. 4, 21, 1-3; Dion. Hal. ant. 1, 40, 6). Stesich. (1st half of the 6th cent. B.C.), in the *Geryoneis* (Page *PMG* fig. 185), reported that the hero journeyed along the Tyrrhenian coast (also Hellan., *FGH* 4 F 111; Diod. 4, 21, 1). The harbour at Cosa was named *portus Herculis* (Strabon 5, 2, 8 p. 225). In Rome, a sanctuary is suggested by 509 B.C. at the time of the dedication of the Capitoline temple, when Vulca, the sculptor from Veii, had been employed to make a *Hercules ficitilis* (Martialis 14, 178; Plin. nat. 35, 157). The earliest of three Latin cult sites was at the Porta Trigemina (foot of the Aventine) already by the 5th cent. B.C., implying an earlier establishment under Etruscan domain (Devoto 318-319; Radke 141; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* II 292; Piganiol 1261-1264). Van Berchem, D., «Hercule-Melqart à l'Ara Maxima», *RendPontAcc* 32, 1959/60, 61-68; *idem*, «Sanctuaires d'Hercule Melqart. Contribution à l'étude de l'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée», *Syria* 45, 1967, 74-109. 307-338; Rebuffat, R., «Les Phéniciens à Rome», *MEFRA* 78, 1966, 7-48 see a Phoenician origin for the primitive cult of H. at the *ara maxima* in the Forum Boarium, introduced by cattle merchants trading in the ancient market. For a cult of H., proven by his name inscribed on a *pocolom* at Ardea, contrada Casalinnaccio, cf. Stefani, E., *NotSc* 1954, 12 fig. 12; Colonna, G., in *ArchLaziale* 6, 1984, 409 n. 59.

For other localities, Strabon (5, 2, 3 p. 220) reports hot springs in Caere from the Augustan Age. Springs near Caere were called *fons Herculis* by Liv. (22, 1, 10) and H. is said to have established the well of *lacus Ciminus* in Faliscan territory (Serv. *Aen.* 7, 697) through driving an iron lever into the earth.

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romaine (1976) 23-38; Brommer, F., *Heracles, The Twelve Labors of the Hero in Ancient Art and Literature* (1986) (= Brommer, *Heracles*); *idem*, *Herakles* II 65-67; *idem*, *Vasenlisten*, *passim*; *idem*, *Denkmälerlisten* I, *passim*; Cassola Guida, P., *Aquileia Nostra* 40, 1969, 47 ff.; Colonna, G., *Bronzi votivi umbro-sabellici a figura umana I. Periodo «arcaico»* (1970) *passim* (= Colonna 1); *idem*, «Il maestro dell'Ercole e della Minerva. Nuova luce sull'attività dell'officina veiente», *OpuscRom* 16, 1987, 7-34 (= Colonna 2); *idem*, «Note preliminari sui culti del santuario di Portonaccio a Veio», *Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia Archeologia Antropologia* 1, 1987, 419-446 (= Colonna 3); Comella, A., «Tipologia e diffusione dei complessi votivi in Italia in epoca Medio- e Tardo-Repubblicana», *MEFRA* 93, 2, 1981, 770-771; Contu, E., «Ercole e le Esperidi in un bronzetto da Ossi (Sassari)», *ArchCl* 12, 1960, 96 ff.; Cristofani, M., *I bronzi degli Etruschi* (1985) 281-283 (= Cristofani, *Bronzi*); Deecke, W., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2298-2300 s.v. «Herkle»; Drukker, A., «An amphora without silens by the Silen Painter», *BullAntBesch* 54, 1979, 65-71; Dury-Moyaers, G./Renard, M., «Travaux relatifs au culte de Junon», in *ANRW* II 17.1 (1981) 188-193; Emmanuel-Rebuffat, D., «Hercle agonistique en Etrurie», *Latomus* 44, 1985, 473-479; Fischer-Graf, U., *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci* (1980) 23. 28. 31. 55. 77-78. 123; Furtwängler, A., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2221-2222. 2237-2238 (hot springs). 2241-2242 s.v. «Herakles, Etruskisches»; *idem*, *AG* III 196-199. 208-209; Galli, E., «Herkle», *StEtr* 15, 1941, 27-71; Gruppe, O., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 996. 1012 (hot springs) s.v. «Herakles»; Guandani, G., «Santuari e stipi votivi dell'Etruria padana», *StEtr* 42, 1974, 62; *idem*, «L'Ercole bronzo di Villa Cassarini», *Il Carrobbio*, 4, 1978, 293-308; Hampe, R./Simon, E., *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst* (1964) 1-17; Herbig, G., *RE VIII* 1 (1912) 687-690 s.v. «Herkle»; Höckmann, U., *Die Bronzen aus dem Fürstengrab von Castel San Mariano bei Perugia* (1982) 68 (= Höckmann 1); *eadem*, «Zu drei archaischen etruskischen Kannenhelmen», in *Forschungen und Funde, Festschr. B. Neusch* (1980) 187-195 (= Höckmann 2); Hostetter, E., *Bronzes from Spina I, The Figural Classes: tripod, kraters, basin, cista, protome, utensil stands, candelabras and votive statuettes* (1986) 43-49. 117-121; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 18-22. 26-27. 32-37; *eadem*, in *Dizionario della civiltà etrusca* (ed. M. Cristofani, 1985) 135-137 s.v. «Hercle»; Mansuelli, G. A., «Studi sugli specchi etruschi. IV: La mitologia figurata sugli specchi etruschi», *StEtr* 20, 1948/49, 76-79. 90 (= Mansuelli, *Studi*); Peter, R., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2259-2267. 3002-3010 s.v. «Hercules»; Pfiffig, *RelEtr* 340-352 (= Pfiffig 1); *idem*, *Herakles in der Bilderwelt der etruskischen Spiegel* (1980) (= Pfiffig 2); Pfister-Roesgen, G., *Die etruskischen Spiegel des 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (1975) 123-127; Rebuffat-Emmanuel, D., *Le miroir étrusque d'après la collection du Cabinet des Médailles* (1973) 513-526; Richardson, E., *Etruscan Votive Bronzes, Geometric, Orientalizing, Archaic* (1983) 340-345; Riis, P. J., *Tyrrhenika. An Archaeological Study of the Etruscan Sculpture of the Archaic and Classical Periods* (1941) 178-182; Schwarz, S. J., *The Iconography of the Archaic Etruscan Herakles: a Study of Three Adventures: Nessos, Pholos and Achelous* (Diss. Univ. of Maryland 1974); Sichtermann, H., *EAA* III (1960) 387-390 s.v. «Ercole italico e romano»; Simon, E., in *Gli Etruschi. Una nuova immagine* (ed. M. Cristofani, 1984) 157-160; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 70 ff.; II 31 ff. 72 ff.; Stibbe-Twist, A., «Herakles in Etrurien», *Castrum Peregrini* 132/133, 1978, 81-106; Stiglitz, R., «Herakles auf dem Amphorenfloß», *Oefh* 44, 1959, 112-141; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 157-166.

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below, pp. 79–86; *idem*, in *Akten des Kolloquiums zum Thema die Göttin von Pyrgi* (1981) 26 ff. (Pyrgi, Rome); *idem*, *EAA* IV (1961) s.v. «Italia, Arte» 260–274; *idem*, «I culti del Santuario della Cannicella», in *AnnFaina* 3, 1987, 11–26. 135–136 (Orvieto); Comella 717–803 (all of Italy); Cristofani, *Bronzi* 20–21. 281–283 (Veii); *idem*, *Prospettiva* 9, 1977, 6 (Rome, Pyrgi); Di Niro, A., «Il culto di Ercole fra i Sanniti Pentri e Frentani. Nuove Testimonianze», in *Documenti di Antichità Italiane e Romane* IX (1977) (numerous votives, Samnite sites, not seen); *idem*, *Piccoli bronzi figurati del Museo di Campobasso*, *Materiali del Museo di Campobasso* 1, 1978 (not seen); Dury-Moyaers/Renard 188–201 (Uni and H. at Pyrgi, Caere, Veii, Falerii, Tarquinia); Esposito, A. M., in *Artigianato artistico: l'Etruria settentrionale interna in età ellenistica* (1985) 138–139 (Populonian coins); Galli, Gatti Lo Guzzo, L., *Il Deposito votivo dall'Esquilino detto di Minerva Medica* (1978) (Rome); Gruppe 996–997. 1011–1012: H. at thermal springs; Gualandi (central Italy); Hermansen, G., «Mares, Maris, Mars, and the Archaic gods», *StEtr* 52, 1984, 147 ff., esp. 153–157; Hostetter (Spina); Hus, A., *Les siècles d'or de l'histoire étrusque* (675–475 av. J.-C.) (1976) 167–173; Latte, *RR* 214 nn. 3, 4; Martin, P. M., «Héraclès en Italie d'après Denys (A. R., I, 34–44)», *Athenaeum* 60, 1972, 252–275; Mattiocco, E., «Il culto di Ercole tra i Peligni», *Quaderni di «Abruzzo»* 8 (1973) 5–16; Nagy, H., *Votive Terracottas from the «Vignaccia», Cerveteri, in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology* (1988) (Cerveteri); Morel, J.-P., «Le sanctuaire de Vastogirardi (Molise) et les influences hellénistiques en Italie centrale», in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* (1976) 255 ff. esp. p. 261 (Samnite); Peter 3009–3010; Pfiffig 1, 340–344; Picard, C., in *Hommages à J. Bayet* (1964) 561–566; Piganiol, A., «Les origines d'Hercule», in *Hommages à A. Grenier, Coll. Latomus* 58 (1962) 1261–1264; Radke, G., *Die Götter Altitaliens* (1965) 140–142; Sannio Pentri e Frentani dal VI al I sec. A. C., Isernia, Mus. Naz. (1980) *passim* (numerous Samnite votives); Sbordone, S., «Il culto di Eracle e il tempio arcaico di S. Omobono», *PP* 36, 1981, 28–31; Sommella Mura, A., «La decorazione architettonica del tempio arcaico», *PP* 1977, 99–126; *idem*, «Il gruppo di Eracle e Athena», *PP* 36, 1981, 35–38 (Rome, S. Omobono); Stopponi, S., in *Santuari d'Etruria* (1985) 120; Taylor, L. R., *Local Cults in Etruria* (1923) 33 ff.; 116 ff.; 198–200 ff.; van Wouterghem, F., «Le culte d'Hercule chez les Peligni», *AntClass* 42, 1973, 36–48; *idem*, «Archäologische Zeugnisse spätrepublikanischer Zeit aus dem Gebiet der Peligner», in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* (1976) 147–152; Verlengia, F., «Il culto di Ercole nella Valle di Fara S. Martino», in *Rivista abruzzese* 15, 1962, nos. 1–2, 7–10 (not seen).

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## I. Non-narrative

## A. Hercle head, bust, lionskin

## 1. Frontal, beardless

## Coins

1. \* AR, didrachma, Populonia (?), c. 2nd half 4th–early 3rd cent. B. C. – Sambon, A., *Les monnaies antiques d'Italie* (1903) 55, 61–63; Hafner, G., *RM* 77, 1970, pl. 27, 2 fig. 9; Marchetti, P., in *Contributi introduttivi allo studio della monetazione etrusca, Atti V Convegno Centro Int. di Studi Numismatici, Napoli 1975* (1976) 289–290 (35 + 3 examples, with bibl.); Visonà, P., *The Coinage of Populonia and Other Etruscan Centers*, (M. A. Thesis, Univ. of California, Santa Barbara, 1980) 10, 14–15, 24 fig. 9; Visonà notes short-bearded type in the same series, 10 fig. 8; Crawford, M. H., *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic Italy and the Mediterranean Economy* (1985) 70 fig. 24. – Obv.: H. head (beardless, frontal, lionskin cap, knotted at neck). Rev.: some blank; others with club; leg. XX.

2. AE, sextans, Populonia (?), 2nd half 4th–early 3rd cent. B. C. – Petrillo Serafin, P., in *Contributi, o. c.* I, 123, 125–126, 128 pl. 19, 69–70. – As 1.

## UNCERTAIN

2a) Terracotta votive matrix fr. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. From Tarquinia, ancient city. Tarquinia workshop. – Stefani, G., *Terrecotte figurate* (1984) 91 pl. 50c no. 254. – Hellenistic. – Matrix of frontal head, lionskin cap, cf. → Herakles 215.

## 2. Head nude, club raised

3. \* Kylix fr., rf. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 06.279. Volterra Group. Hesione P. – Pairault-Massa, F.-H., *RA* 1980, 87–89, fig. 26. – 350–325 B. C. – H. (youth, beardless) head, profile toward l., lionskin knotted around neck, club vertical in field.

4. \* Bronze mirror. London, BM 705. From Pales-trina. Volterra workshop. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV 335, 1; Walters, *BMBronzes* 118 no. 705; Pairault-Massa, o. c.

3, 88, fig. 27. – 350–300 B. C. – H. (beardless) facing, turned slightly to r., lionskin knotted at neck, club diagonal in field behind head.

## 3. Frontal, bearded

5. Terracotta antefix (mould-made). Cosa, Mus. From Cosa, Temple of Jupiter, original decoration, and Capitolium, original decoration. – Richardson, L., in *Cosa II. The Temples of the Arx* (1960) 154–157, 208–209, 232 ff. pls. 17, 1–2; 35, 141, 1–2; figs. 1, 22, 46; Strazzula, M. J., in *La romanizzazione dell'Etruria: il territorio di Vulci* (1985) 99 fig. 98. – Mid-3rd cent. B. C.; redecoration: c. 150 and 100 B. C.; each follows 3rd cent. scheme. – H. (frontal, lionskin cap, bearded?, moustache, heavy features); enframing round shell, with chain of alternate palmettes and lilies; cf. Campanian examples: a) Salerno; *NotSc* 1952, 97–100; 2nd cent. B. C.; b) Pompeii, Antiquarium, from Doric Temple; unpublished; undatable; c) Capua, Koch, H., *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien mit Ausschluss von Pompei* (1912) 62–63 pls. 14, 5; 15, 1; 2nd–1st cent. B. C.?

5a) Two silvered stamnoïd situlae, handle base (mould-made relief). Rome, Villa Giulia 52138–47/55. Thought from Cerveteri. Bolsena Group. – *EVP* 287, 292; Mingazzini, *CollCastellani* II 278–279 nos. 838, 839, 840 pls. 225, 7; 227, 2; 228, 4. – 300–250 B. C. – H. (frontal, lionskin cap, heavily bearded). Beazley: 11 examples, «two bronze specimens are similar». – b) London, BM. From Bolsena. – c) \* Hamburg, Mus. KG 1962.22. – Hornbostel, W., *Kunst der Etrusker* (exp. Interversa, Hamburg 1981) 95 no. 115. – d) Two silvered oinochoai handle bases. Rome, Villa Giulia 52145/48; Mingazzini, o. c. 278–279 nos. 847, 848 pl. 228, 6; 229, 1, 2, 3. Pernice (*Jdl* 35, 1920, 84–96): type depends on Tarantine bronzes. e) Toronto, ROM 918.3.152. From Tarquinia. Hayes, J. W., *Greek, Roman, and Related Metalware in the Royal Ontario Museum* (1984) 28 no. 32 fig. H. (beard?), coarse adaptation.

## 4. Profile

See also 3.

6. \* Carnelian ringstone. London, BM 726. Formerly Castellani Coll. – Walters, *BMGems* no. 726 pl. 12; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 178 no. 935. – C. 350–300 B. C. – H. (youth, beardless, lionskin cap) head to l.

7. Gold relief stamped on lead-zinc ring. «Italic» (Merz). L. Merz Coll. – Vollenweider, M.-L., *Deliciae Leonis*. (1984) 87–88 no. 134 (fig.): relief: end 4th–beginning 3rd cent. B. C. (ring later?). – H. (beardless, lionskin cap) toward r., adapted from Greek type, cf. → Herakles 138, 151.

8. AE, sextans, Populonia, c. 210 B. C. (Visonà). – Sambon, o. c. I, 70 no. 116; Thomsen, R., *Early Roman Coinage* III (1961) 117 fig. 28; Visonà, o. c. I, 41 fig. 19. – Obv.: H. head (fillet, cf. 41, 43a, 52a, 63, 65a, 74) to r., shouldered club. Rev.: bow, arrow and club; in the center, two pellets.

## 5. Janiform

9. Head kantharoi, rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 37543. From Spina, T. 1029 B VP. Clusium Group. - Harari, M., *Il «Gruppo Clusium» della ceramografia etrusca* (1980) 70. 160. 166-168. 170 no. 9 pl. 50. - C. 320 B.C. - Janiform heads: A, youthful H. (beardless, lionskin cap). B, female head (helmet?). - Another example: a) Rome, Villa Giulia 50572, Castellani Coll. From Cerveteri? - *EVP* 118, 8 pl. 28, 4-5; Harari, *o. c.* 70 no. 8 pl. 49; cf. 80 and comparisons.

## B. Herm

10. Four-sided carnelian intaglio. Vienna, Kunsth. Mus. IX B 248. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 24, 64; *AGOe* I no. 97 pl. 18. - 2nd cent. B.C. - Frontal hip herm of H. (wreathed, lionskin covering shoulders, arms and back, both arms held against chest, club hangs at l.); cf. → Herakles 1120-1124.

11.\* Bronze oinochoe handle. Paris, Louvre Br 2762 (1140, R 54). - de Ridder, *BrLouvre* 115 pl. 99. - 2nd cent. B.C. - Herm bust of youthful H. (beardless, fillet, back covered with lionskin).

## C. Standing

## 1. Assault pose

## a) «Cypriote type» (cf. 36-38)

12. Terracotta statue fr. From Veii, Portonaccio sanctuary. Colonna 3, 436-437 fig. 22: 530 B.C.: apotheosis. Fr. (upper torso only) of H. statue (chiton, lionskin knotted at neck), Cypriote type; Colonna places with Menerva (= 132a), cf. type, Sant'Omobono statue 131.

12a)\* Bronze statuette. London, BM 464. «From Umbria». - Richardson 340 no. 1 pl. 204 fig. 803-804. - C. 540-520 B.C. - H. (club missing, nude beneath lionskin body cover, clasped at waist), standing stiffly frontal, tail held in l., l. foot forward.

13.\* Bronze statuette. Fiesole, Mus. Com. 484. From Sant'Apollinare (near Fiesole). - Richardson 341 no. 2. - C. 540-520 B.C. - Club missing, as previous, except short tunic beneath lionskin. - a) Florence, Mus. Arch. 96. - *Ibid.* 341 no. 3 figs. 805-807; Cristofani, *Bronzi* 199 (fig.). 282 no. 94: northern Etruscan? - Club missing, as previous with short tunic beneath lionskin; fawn dangles from l. hand. - b) Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12091. - Richardson 341 no. 4 figs. 808-809. - As preceding, but club in assault pose. - c) Adria, Mus. Naz. I.G. 210581. From Adria. - *Ibid.* 341-342 no. 1; Tombolani, M., in *Gli Etruschi a nord del Po II* (1988) 99-100. 103 no. 561bis fig. 253. - C. 500 B.C. - Beardless, short tunic beneath lionskin, lower legs, hands missing. - d) Formerly Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Fr 2163. - *Ibid.* 342 no. 2. - Club in r. inclined above r. shoulder, l., empty, short tunic beneath lionskin, but not knotted at neck; lion forelegs, paws hang symmetrically over the chest. - e) Paris, Cab.

Méd. 516. - *Ibid.* 342 no. 3. - As d. - f) Geneva, Mus. MF 1017bis. - *Ibid.* 342 no. 1 pl. 242 fig. 810. - C. 480-460 B.C. - No tunic, most of torso nude and exposed.

14. Candelabrum supports. Besançon, Mus. Beaux-Arts A 390. - Lebel, P., *Cat. des coll. arch. de Besançon V. Bronzes figurés* (1959) no. 78 pl. 39 fig. 1. - C. 530-500 B.C. - Club missing, l. hand empty, extended slightly forward, tunic, same as 13, except bearded. - a) Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Fr 687. - Giglioli pl. 210, 1. - Beardless. - b) Rome, Villa Giulia 24408. - Giglioli pl. 213, 3; Nardi, G., in *Civiltà degli etruschi* (1985) 152 fig. 6.26.2. - Nude beneath lionskin. a and b are contemporary, c. 520-500 B.C., and Vulci workshop pieces.

## b) Transitional

15. Statuette (candelabrum finial?). London, Priv. Coll. Found in Umbria (near Cascia). Vulci workshop. - Bayet 1, 37-38 no. 4 pl. 2; Haynes, S., *Etruscan Bronzes* (1985) 174 pl. 83; 276 no. 83. - C. 510-490 B.C. - H., (lion's paw draped on r. shoulder, head on l., l. forepaw on l. arm, cinched at waist, wire tail [missing] inserted in hole in back, probably held in l., r. raised, swinging club [missing], similar to 12).

## c) Kilt/perizoma

Cf. 39-40. 42-43. 64. 114. 132. 169. 366. Head nude, or fillet.

16. Handle of bronze vase. Unknown whereabouts. Formerly Casuccini Coll.? Possibly from Chiusi. - Galli 53-55 figs. 5-7; Höckmann 2, 187 ff. fig. 2: Chiusi workshop. - 525-500 B.C. - Stiff hieratic H., assault pose, lionskin perizoma, l. hand holds tail; stands on an Acheloos head (H. as a pitcher handle grip appears only once in 6th cent. B.C.; he is common on thymiateria, Höckmann 2, 189).

17.\* Bronze statuette. Ancona, Mus. Naz. 21266. From Pantiere di Castelbellino. - Colonna 1, 26 no. 2 pl. 3: southern Umbria; Bianchi Bandinelli, *ElAR* 123; Höckmann 2, 194 n. 29 (Group B); Richardson 343 no. 1 pl. 242 fig. 811. - Beginning 5th cent. B.C. - H. (lionskin perizoma, lion head covers genitals, l. grips remains of bronze rod, tail?). - a) Florence, Mus. Arch. 86. - Richardson 343 no. 2 pl. 243 figs. 812-813. - Same date. - Paws wrapped about waist (as 40). - b) Leningrad, Hermitage 1198. *Ibid.* 343-344 no. 3 pl. 243 fig. 814. - C. 500-480 B.C. - c) Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 7773. - Galli 55-56 pl. 6 fig. 1.

18.\* Bronze statuette. Verona, Mus. Arch. A4128. - Franzoni, L., *Bronzetti etruschi e italici del Mus. Arch. di Verona* (1980) no. 101 fig. - Beginning 5th cent. B.C. - H. has rectangular mantle instead of lionskin about waist. Cf. Colonna 1, nos. 610. 615. 627. 628 for other Sabellian examples of H. with kilt.

## d) Nude

## (i) Beardless (?)

19. Bronze statuette. Rome, Villa Giulia 24548. - Colonna 1, 85, cf. no. 196: southern Umbria; Richardson 345 no. 2 pl. 244 figs. 816-817. - C. 540-520 B.C. - a) Perugia, Mus. Naz. 942. Umbrian.

- *Ibid.* 345 no. 4: 550-525 B.C. - H. nude, bearded?, r. hand missing.

20.\* Bronze statuettes. London, BM 1935.8-23.62. - Colonna 1, 86 no. 202 pl. 64: southern Umbrian; Richardson 345 no. 5. - 5th cent. B.C. - As 19, schematic figure treatment.

21. Bronze statuette. Lyon, Mus. Gallo-rom. A 1972. From Fort de Loyasse (Lyon). - Boucher, S., *Collections des Musées de Lyon. Bronzes grecs, hellénistiques et étrusques* (1970) 77 no. 56 fig.; Richardson 345 no. 1. - C. 520-500 B.C. - Less schematic, fuller figure.

(ii) Lionskin cap, skin over l. arm, nude, beardless, club in raised r.

22. Bronze statuette. Kansas City, Nelson Gall. 49-76. - Mitten, D. G./Doeringer, S. F., *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (1967) no. 183. - 375-350 B.C. - Bow in l. hand. - a) Paris, Cab. Méd. 536. Central S. Italic (Cristofani). - Cristofani, *Bronzi* no. 97 (bibl.): 400-350 B.C.; late Polycleitan type.

23.\* Bronze votive statuette. Toledo (Ohio), Toledo Mus. 78.22. Said to have been found with Karlsruhe statuette (67) at Todi. Central Etruscan, same master (?) as Karlsruhe statuette and the BM 642 bronze cista lid handle, H. with Horses of Diomedes (238). - De Grummond, N. T., in *Etruscan Life and Afterlife. A Handbook of Etruscan Studies* (1986) 20-21 fig. I-1; Fabing, S., in *The Gods Delight* (1988) 250-254 figs.: Orvieto workshop (Richardson). - Late 4th cent. B.C. - Nude, light beard, lionskin cap, knotted at neck, wrapped over l. forearm, bow in l. hand, club (club could be modern, based on technical analysis) in raised r. Inscribed on r. thigh, top to bottom: *Hercules mi* (I [am of] Hercule; «I belong to Hercule»); the spelling, *Hercule* is unique (the statuette has been cleaned and repatinated, thus, a determination regarding the authenticity of the inscription is difficult). - a) Bronze statuette. Princeton, Univ. Art Mus. 73.7. - *Sculptures in Bronze from the Classical World, Univ. of North Carolina* (Exhibit. Cat. 1976) no. 55. - Late 4th-early 3rd cent. B.C. - Probably held bow in l. - b) Bronze statuette. Villa Rosebery. Formerly Naples, Mus. Naz. - Alinari neg. no. 33592. Giglioli 68 pl. 371, 2; Muscettola, S. A., in *Bronzes hellénistiques et romains Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Coll. int. sur les bronzes antiques, Lausanne, 1978* [1979] 89 pl. 41 figs. 24-25: «Pergamene/Etrusco-Italic» fusion: portrait of Mithridates IV?; c. 88 B.C.

## (iii) «Italic»

24.\* Bronze votive statuette. Pesaro, Mus. Oliveriano 3348. - Colonna 1, 83 no. 194 pls. 61-62: southern Umbria: c. 500-425 B.C. - H., stiffly frontal, l. foot forward, lionskin cap takes on greater importance; schematic incised pattern diagonally across and down back and over l. arm, knotted at neck, tail about waist; cf. Colonna for a second example.

25.\* Bronze statuette. Stuttgart, Württemberg. Landesmus., Antikenslg. 3.203. - Colonna 1, 145 no. 435 pl. 105: Sabellian. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - Lionskin cap is prominent; lion's body extends diagonally down back of H.'s neck to cover l. arm.

26. Bronze votive statuette. Chieti, Mus. Naz.

From Caramanico (Pescara) sanctuary. Sabellian. - Bianchi Bandinelli, *ElAR* 249 figs. 285-286. - 3rd-1st cent. B.C. - H. (nude, lionskin cap, knotted at neck [forms a «collar»] and over l. arm, club in raised r.).

## e) Lionskin cap, with apples of Hesperides

Cf. 34. 53-56. 99. 258-259. 262-264.

27.\* Bronze votive statuette. Bologna, Soprintendenza Arch. 41409. From sanctuary at Villa Cassarini (Bologna). Northern Italic workshop. - Gualandi, G., *Il Carrobbio. Riv. di Studi Bolognesi* 4, 1978, 293-309, esp. 305 ff. (figs.); Dohrn, T., *Die etruskische Kunst im Zeitalter der griech. Klassik* (1982) 59 ff.; Colonna, G., in *Santuari d'Etruria* (1985) 92. 94 fig. 4, 11 B 1; Cristofani, *Bronzi* 34. 120-121 fig. 7.4; 259 f. - C. 400-380 B.C. - H. (assault pose, lionskin cap and over l. arm, l. extended forward palm up) held 5 apples of Hesperides. Cf. Gualandi for discussion of type and northern workshop.

28. Bronze statuette. Taranto, Mus. Naz. 107485. From Volturara Appula (Foggia prov.), Monte Sambuco. - Colonna 1, 155-156 no. 475 pl. 117: Adriatic Sabellian. - 3rd cent. B.C.? - H., assault pose, lionskin cap, knotted at neck and over l. arm, pomegranate instead of apple in l. - a) Bronze statuette. Besançon, Mus. Beaux-Arts A 389. Sabellian. - Lebel, *o. c.* 14, no. 77 pl. 39 fig. 2. - Lionskin forms a «collar», one apple in extended l., «Caramanico Group». - b) Bronze statuette. Verona, Mus. Arch. A4, 171. - Franzoni, *o. c.* 18, no. 155 fig. - c) Priv. Coll. (Holland). - Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, A. N., *BullAntBesch* 51, 1976, 97. 106 fig. 15. - d) Paris, Cab. Méd. 545. - Adam 193 no. 298 fig.: 2nd cent. B.C.? - Seven of this type are known to me, three with pomegranate instead of apple (Oehler archive, Cologne).

## Nude head, with lionskin over l. arm, apples in l.

29. Bronze candelabrum finial. Chiusi, Mus. 2091. From Chiusi? Chiusi workshop (Hostetter). - Maetzke, G., *StEtr* 25, 1957, 517-518 no. 56 fig. 52; Hostetter 199 no. 5. - End 5th-beginning 4th cent. B.C. - H. standing (beardless, nude, club in raised r., apples in l.). - a)\* Bronze statuette. New York, MMA 96.9.424. - Colonna 1, 150 no. 456 pl. 111: Sabellian, Bari Group: 4th cent. B.C.? - Nude, lionskin over l. arm only, apple in l.

## f) Nude, lionskin on l. shoulder or l. arm

30. Bronze statuette. Cagliari, Mus. Naz. From Posada (Nuoro, Sardegna). - Colonna 1, 126-127 no. 374 pl. 86: Sabellian; 500-450 B.C.; Bianchi Bandinelli, *ElAR* 110 fig. 125: 3rd cent. B.C.; Torelli, M., in *Gli Etruschi e Roma. Incontro di studio in onore di M. Pallottino*, 1979 (1981) 76-77 pl. 4a, b: Oscan Campanian influence: c. 410-380 B.C. - H. (nude, club [missing]? in raised r., lionskin over l.).

## g) Schematic

31. Bronze statuette. Saignon. From Saignon (France). - Rolland, C., *Bronzes antiques de Haute-Provence, Gallia Suppl.* 18 (1965) 64 no. 88; Boucher 1, 34-35 fig. 32: other examples cited; «Gallic», local al-

teration in proportions, stance. - **a**) Laon (Aisne), Mus. From Laon. - Boucher 1, 34-35 fig. 34: «Gallic». - 4th-2nd cent. B.C. - H., assault pose, lionskin over l. arm. Cf. A. Leibundgut, *Die römischen Bronzen der Schweiz, II Avenches* (1976) 135-140: no Hercules votive provenances are secure; proposes they are 19th cent. imports, cf. also **b**) Central Italic, Samnite: Isernia, Mus. Naz. 4137. Found at Larino, Piana S. Leonardo, Q. 292, strata A. - Di Niro, A., in *Sannio Pentri e Frentani dal V al I sec. a. C.*, Isernia, Mus. Naz. (1980) 309 no. 94.1: 3rd-1st cent. B.C.? - **c**) Naples, Mus. Naz. 136557. Found at Venafro sanctuary (another example, Baranello, Mus.). - La Regina, A., in *Sannio*, o.c. 360-361 no. 107.1. - **d**) Torcello, Mus. Prov. 1868. From «agro altinate». Local «expressionist» Venetic workshop (Tombolani). - Tombolani, M., *Bronzi figurati etruschi italici paleoveneti e romani del museo provinciale di Torcello* (1981) 68-69 no. 44 (fig.): 4th-3rd cent. B.C.

#### h) Projection(s) from the head

32.\* Bronze statuette. Paris, Cab. Méd. 525. Pice-num? - Adam 183 no. 277 fig.: Northern Italic, 400-350 B.C.? - Assault pose, lionskin reduced to small wrap hanging from l. forearm. Three protuberances from head (incised hair). This type along with variants with one, two or three protuberances were analyzed by Balty and divided into six groups. Dating and provenance is uncertain, however, a number come from northern Italy and may range in date from the 2nd half of the 5th to the 2nd or 1st cent. B.C. Cf. Balty 198-199.

#### D. Striding or running

##### 1. Assault or club down

33. Carnelian scarab. Paris, Cab. Méd. Luynes 266. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 59-60 no. 76 pl. 19. - 500-450 B.C. - H. (nude) club raised in assault, running-kneeling, bow in l. - **a**)\* Carnelian scarab. New York, MMA 41.160.467. - Richter, *MetrMusGems* 48 no. 181 pl. 30; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 166 no. 716. - 5th-4th cent. B.C. - H. running toward the r., lionskin over shoulder. - **b**) Chalcedony scarab. Palermo, Mus. Reg. 268. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 615, similar to **a**; cf. *ibid.* 165-166 nos. 159 pl. 32 (club down in l., bow in r.). 691. 692. 703. 708.

##### 2. With apples of the Hesperides

Cf. 27-29. 53-56. 99. 258-269. 262-264.

34. Scarab? fr. Unknown whereabouts. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 10, 1; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 161 no. 616. - 350-300 B.C. - H. (nude, beardless) club in r., branch (cf. 53, 58) of Hesperides tree with apples on it in l., running toward r. Archaic running-kneeling pose, bow on ground.

#### UNCERTAIN

35. Carnelian scarab. Geneva, Mus. 1963, 19869.

- Zazoff, *EtrSk* 59 no. 75 pl. 19; Vollenweider, *CatGenève* no. 213. - 400-350 B.C. - H.? (nude, bearded) in Archaic running-kneeling pose toward r., shield in l., apple? in r., three apples in field, eagle behind him.

#### 3. Striding «Cypriote type» (cf. 12-14)

36. Bronze relief furniture cover. Rome, Villa Giulia 24454. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2661; Bordenache Battaglia, G., et al., *Il Mus. Naz. Etr. di Villa Giulia* (1980) 162 fig. 200. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. (bearded, lionskin cap, knotted at neck and waist, nude beneath lionskin, club in raised r., l. [not illustrated]) assault pose, striding toward r.

37.\* (= Alkestis 59 with bibl.) Bronze rod tripod finial. London, BM 37.6-9.85 (588). From Vulci. Vulci workshop. - Haynes, o.c. 15, 154 pl.; 264 no. 52c. - C. 525-500 B.C. - H. (lionskin cap and knotted at neck, about body, short tunic beneath lionskin), striding, assault pose (narrative?).

38. Candelabrum finial. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12397. Vulci workshop. - Mus. Greg. *Etr. del Vaticano I* (1842) pl. 52, 4; Bayet 1, 37-38 no. 4. - Slightly later than 37 c. 500 B.C. - H. striding, nude beneath lionskin; Bayet notes iconographic similarity among four examples, BM 464 (12) is mentioned; others cannot be securely identified.

#### 4. Kilt/perizoma (cf. 16-18)

##### a) Assault

39. Bronze votive statuette. Orvieto, Mus. Civ. From Cannicella sanctuary (Orvieto), found near altar with terracotta reclining H., 76. - André, A., *StEtr* 35, 1967, 69 pl. 32d; Stopponi, S., in *Santuari*, o.c. 27, 120 fig. 6.1 B 3; Colonna, G., in *AnnFaina* 3, 1987, 17-18 fig. 14. - Beginning 5th cent. B.C. - H. (lionskin perizoma) running rapidly, advancing l. leg.

40.\* Bronze tripod fr. New York, MMA 12.229.4. - Richter, *MetrMusBronzes* 43 fig. no. 62. - 500-475 B.C. - Youthful H., *Knielauf*, nude, lionskin wrapped round waist, r. and l. hands missing, probably held club and bow. - **a**) Bronze candelabrum finial. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1479. Vulci workshop. - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* no. 1479 fig.; Adam 50-51 with bibl., no. 50 figs. - 450-400 B.C. - H. (beardless, assault pose, lionskin worn as perizoma, lion's head covers genitals, paws at sides, bow in l.).

##### b) Non-assault, bow, arrow

41. Bronze relief furniture cover? Munich, Antikenslg. 210t WAF; 49 WAF (lost). Perugia, Mus. Naz. 1450. From Castel San Mariano. Central Etruscan workshop. - Höckmann 1, 54 ff. no 17 figs. 36-37 pl. 22, 2. - 525-500 B.C. - Figures walk toward r. in a strip of individual panels, one above another (too poorly preserved for exact reconstruction): H. (bearded, chitoniskos, bow in l., arrow in r., quiver strapped to back); four women, goddesses? (carry

fruit, branch or alabastron), → Turms (Hermes), Chimaira (= Chimaira [in Etruria] 23).

##### c) Non-assault, club down

42.\* Bronze candelabrum. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12402. Vulci workshop. - Mus. Greg., o.c. 38, pl. 50, 5. - 475-450 B.C. - H., short hair, fillet, beardless, lionskin kilt, lion's head covers genitals, club down in r., bow in l. walks with l. foot forward.

##### d) Non-assault, club resting on arm

43. Bronze candelabrum statuette (base, feet missing). Priv. Coll. (England). From Populonia. Vulci workshop. - Richardson 344 no. 2; Haynes, o.c. 15, 172 fig. 275 no. 79. - C. 475-450 B.C. - H. (beardless, short hair, l. foot forward, club in r., resting on r. arm, bow in l., short rectangular mantle wrapped round waist, draped over l. forearm) strides. - **a**) Bronze statuette. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Fr 2071a. - Richardson 344 no. 4 pl. 244 fig. 815. - H. (bow? in l., club rests on r. arm, fillet? about head, rectangular mantle about hips and over l. arm) strides. Close replica.

#### E. Repose

##### 1. Standing, beardless, hands various ways

##### a) With lionskin (or without) cap, club down in l., r. on hip or extended

44. Bronze statuette. Once New Haven, Yale Univ., Coats Coll. - Uhlenbroch, J. P., *Herakles* (1986) no. 32. - Late 3rd-early 2nd cent. B.C. - H., contrapposto (nude, beardless, lionskin cap, knotted at neck, wrapped over l. arm, l. extended forward [missing], perhaps held club). - **a**) Bronze statuette. Campobasso, Mus. Prov. Sannitico. From Trivento. Central Italic, Samnite. - Di Niro, A., in *Sannio*, o.c. 31, 239 no. 75.5 fig.: late Hellenistic; cf. → Herakles 614, and 377 (reversed contrapposto).

##### b) Nude head, lionskin (or without) knotted at neck or on arm, r. rests on downed club, l. on hip or extended, or reversed

45. Rf. stamnos. Formerly Cambridge (England), Cook Coll. - Gerhard, E., *Trinkschalen und Gefäße des Königlich Museums zu Berlin* (1848-50) pl. C, 2-3; 11; *EVP* 142-143, 8bis: near Funnel Group. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - A, Athena, Eros, B, H., nude, beardless, frontal, contrapposto stance, club in r. down on rock, l. on hip, lionskin hangs over l. arm, flaps outward; related to A?, cf. → Herakles 317.

46.\* Carnelian scarab. London, BM 666, Castellani Coll. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 100-102 no. 193 pl. 38. - Transitional style, late 4th cent. B.C. - H. frontal, turns head toward r., beardless, r. foot on rock, legs flexed, r. leans on club, lionskin hangs from l. shoulder, over l. arm. - **a**) Carnelian scarab. London, BM 799. From Chiusi. - Walters, *BMGems* 97 pl. 13 no. 799; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 165 no. 697. - *A globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. - H. standing to r., beardless?, club in r., bow in l., indication of lionskin; cf. *ibid.* no. 287 (=

60b). 693. 695. 699. 700. 702. 707. 714; similar motif but nude, without lionskin, from 4th-3rd cent. B.C. - **b**) Carnelian scarab. Malibu, Getty Mus. - Boardman, J., *Intaglios and Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Eastern from a Private Collection* (1975) 107 no. 152 pl. - *A globolo*, 3rd cent. B.C. - H. one foot raised?, round object below; club down in r., bow? in l., lionskin flares from about neck?

47. Carnelian scarab. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus., formerly Shannon Coll. 11. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 108-109 no. 204 pl. 40. - Late Etruscan style, 2nd-1st cent. B.C. - Bearded H., contrapposto stance, head turned slightly to l., club held down in r., lionskin over l. shoulder, standing on ground line, cf. similar, beardless, «Albertini» type, → Herakles 271, etc.

48. Silver ring. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Vignanello, found with 335. - Giglioli pl. 374, 11. - 4th cent. B.C.? - H., frontal, exaggerated contrapposto, r. leaning on club, lionskin over l. arm, looks toward r.

49. Two terracotta votive statuettes (mould-made, back unworked). Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8-2661/8-2663. From Cerveteri, Vignaccia deposit. - Nagy 42. 219-220 II E 10-10a figs. 210-211: end 4th-early 3rd cent. B.C. - Both: H. (beardless, wreath) standing, weight on r. leg, hand on l. hip, lionskin over shoulders, knotted at neck, cf. → Herakles 370 (reversed). - **a**) Inv. 8-2736, instead, enlarged lionskin cap, knotted at neck, cf. enlarged lionskin cap, → Herakles 465-468. - Votives also found at: **b**) Veii, Portonaccio sanctuary. Colonna, in *Santuari*, o.c. 27, 101. - **c**) Rome, Antiquarium Com., from Esquiline deposit, Minerva Medica sanctuary. Gatti Lo Guzzo, L., *Il deposito votivo dall'Esquilino detto di Minerva Medica* (1978) E, 45a pl. 14. - L. on club, lionskin covers club.

50. Bronze candelabrum finial. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 26283 (2310). From Spina T. 915. - Hostetter 43-45 no. 18 pl. 23a-d: Spina workshop. - C. 440 B.C. - H. repose (beardless, club downed in l., r. on hip, no lionskin). Early example of type popular in Hellenistic period. Later examples: Hostetter 44 n. 186. **a**) Paris, Cab. Méd. 1478. Vulci workshop. - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* 594 fig. no. 1478. Adam 51-52 with bibl. no. 51 figs. - Beginning 4th cent. B.C. - Nude head, lionskin knotted at neck. - **b**) Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 28202. From Spina T. 1245. Spina workshop. - Hostetter 46 no. 21 pl. 25a-d. - C. 380-370 B.C. - Reversed composition: **c**) Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 2301. From Spina T. 102. Spina workshop. Hostetter 45-46 no. 20 pl. 24d-f. - C. 400-380 B.C.

51. Bronze statuette. Campobasso, Soprintendenza Arch. From Casacalenda (Campobasso). Central Italic, Samnite. - La Regina, A., in *Culture adriatiche antiche d'Abruzzo e di Molise II* (1978) 372-373 pls. 170-171 (fig.). - Two examples. H. (beardless, nude, lionskin hangs from l. forearm, club? (missing) in l., r. hand on hip). - **a**)\* Bronze statuette. Paris, Cab. Méd. 548. - Adam 194 no. 302 fig.: 2nd-1st cent. B.C. - Nude head, club down in r., lionskin over l. arm, l. on hip.

##### c) Club down in l., r. extended

Cf. 268. 393. 395. 398.



52. (= Herakles 835: 1st. cent. B.C.) Bronze statuette. Priv. Coll. From Bondeno (Ferrara). Central Italic. - Staccioli, R. A., *ArchCl* 9, 1957, 26-43 pl. 10-11, 1 with other examples: 350-300 B.C. - H. (bearded, lionskin on l. shoulder, covering l. arm, club down in l. fist, r. extended). - Similar bronze lionskin found at Campochiaro, Santuario di Ercole. Isernia, Mus. Naz. 4027. Central Italic, Samnite. - Capini, A./La Regina, A./Di Niro, A., in *Sannio*, o.c. 31, 207-208 no. 68.3: 2nd cent. B.C.; based on same prototype as → Herakles 547. - a) Bronze statuette. Bern, Bloch-Diener Coll. - Hornbostel, o.c. 5c, 123 no. 152. - 3rd-2nd cent. B.C. - H., beardless, fillet, lionskin on l. shoulder, covering l. arm, club down in l. fist, r. extended.

#### d) Right rests on club, apples in l.

53.\* Carnelian scarab. Copenhagen, Thorv. Mus. I 14. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 161 no. 617. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - H. (nude, beardless) fatigued, r. foot on rock, r. supports head, l. leans on club or branch? with apples from Hesperides tree behind him. - a) Carnelian scarab. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 42.486. - Unpublished. - A globolo style. H., nude, club down in r., three apples in l., advances toward r. - Similar: b) Carnelian scarab. Vatican, Bibl. Apost., Borgia Coll. 473. - *Ibid.* 166 no. 713. - A globolo, 3rd cent. B.C. - H., in profile, knee flexed, holds branch of Hesperides tree, cf. 34 and 58.

54.\* Bronze statuette. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 54.2242. - Hill, D. K., *Cat. of the Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Gallery of Art* (1949) 46 pl. 22 no. 95. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - H., lionskin cap, knotted at neck (lion's lower jaw forms a «collar») and wrapped over l. arm (extended, palm up with two apples). R. presumably rested on club as in a) Marseille, Mus. Borély 784. - Boucher 29 pl. 6 fig. 30: Etrusco-Italic. - 4th-2nd cent. B.C. - One apple. - b) Paris, Cab. Méd. 550. - Adam 192 no. 296 fig. - 2nd half 2nd-1st cent. B.C. - L. missing; lower jaw of lion forms «collar»: close to Colonna's «Caramanico» group. - More abbreviated: c) Basel Market. - *MuM Auktion* 22, 1961, no. 82 pl. 26. - 3rd-2nd cent. B.C. - d) Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8.3391. Unpublished. - Pomegranate in l. - e) Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 15497. Unpublished? - Apple in l. - f) Verona, Mus. Arch. A4.175. - Franzoni, o.c. 18, no. 157 fig. - Schematic anatomy, lionskin is over l. arm, only.

55.\* Bronze statuette. Verona, Mus. Arch. A4.150. - Franzoni, o.c. 18, no. 132 fig.: 2nd cent. B.C. - Projection at top of head instead of lionskin cap. Club down in r., lionskin over l. arm, one apple in extended l.

#### e) Nude with apples

56.\* Bronze situla handle. London, BM 1824.4-46.12 (1249). - Brendel, O., *Etruscan Art* (1978) 328 fig. 250; Haynes, o.c. 15, 220 fig.; 306-307 no. 165: northern Etruscan?, c. 350-300 B.C. - H. (nude, unbearded), standing, club down in r., apples in extended l. - Perhaps with apples: a) Bronze candelabrum finial. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 10522. Perhaps from Spina. Spina workshop (Hostetter). -

Hostetter 45 no. 19 pl. 24a-c. - C. 440-430 B.C. - Club slightly raised in r., raised l., apples missing. - Similar: b) Bronze candelabrum finial. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 27144. From Spina, T. 1068. Spina workshop (Hostetter). - *Ibid.* 46-47 no. 22 pl. 26a-c. - C. 380-370 B.C. - Part of club and apples missing. Cf. → Herakles 372 (but looks toward his r., Lenbach type); Berger, E., *AntK* 13, 1970, 88 fig. 1: a type created by Myron?

57.\* Bronze votive statuette. London, BM 463. From Monte Falterona votive deposit (cf. recent discussion of deposit: Cristofani, *Bronzi* 11. 98 ff.; 253 ff.). Northern Italic workshop. - Walters, *BMBronzes* no. 463; Giglioli 47 pl. 260, 1; Cristofani, M., *Città e campagna nell'Etruria settentrionale* (1976) 165 fig. 222; *idem*, *Bronzi* 101. 255 fig. 4.5. - C. 440-420 B.C. - Youthful H., contrapposto, nude, short hair, head turned slightly r., lion's head falls back from his head, knotted across chest in a square knot, over l. shoulder and forearm, held club? (missing) up in r., bow or apples? (missing) in l., closely related to H. on Vatican mirror → Atlas 15\*; adaptation of Greek type, cf. → Herakles 303. 607. 619.

#### UNCERTAIN

58. Carnelian scarab. Malibu, Getty Mus. - Boardman, o.c. 46b, 108 no. 174 fig. - A globolo style, 3rd cent. B.C. - H.(?) club down in r., branch or tree? from Hesperides garden in l., cf. 34. 53.

#### f) Nude head, lionskin over l. arm, club resting on l. shoulder, r. on hip, beardless

59. Bronze statuette. Avellino, Mus. Prov. From Rocca San Felice, Ansanto Valley, Mefite sanctuary. - Sabellian. Colonna 1, 165 no. 512 pls. 127-128: Sulmona Group, 4th cent. B.C.? - Schematic (l. arm missing), probably held club up in l. - See also a) Paris, Cab. Méd. 552. - Adam 194 no. 300 fig. - 2nd-1st cent. B.C. - H. nude, lionskin over l. arm, club resting against l. shoulder, r. on hip. - b) Paris, Cab. Méd. 554. - *Ibid.* 195 no. 303 fig. - c) Priv. Coll. (Holland). - Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, o.c. 28c, 97 no. 4; 106 fig. 16. - Remains of club in l. - d) Verona, Mus. Arch. A4.194. - Franzoni, o.c. 18, no. 164 fig.

#### g) Nude, club down in r., bow, bearded or beardless

60.\* Carnelian scarab. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 215. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 696; AGD II no. 261 pl. 54. - Early a globolo style, 4th cent. B.C. - H. (frontal, bearded, nude, club in r., bow in l., head toward l., l. leg in profile); related to three other Etruscan and one Greek gem with similar motif: a) Carnelian ring stone. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1774. - Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* 46. 62. 79 pl. 19, 1 no. 92. - 350-300 B.C. - H. in three-quarter view toward l., bow in raised r., club down in l. - b) Carnelian scarab. London, BM 851. From Canino. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 137 no. 287 pl. 53. - Later a globolo style, 3rd cent. B.C. - H. facing r., club down in r., bow in l. - c) Carnelian ringstone fr. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 382. - Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* 46. 62. 79 pl. 10, 3 no. 38. - As a; upper part of stone

missing. - Cf. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. Dfa 109. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 166 no. 711. - A globolo style, 3rd cent. B.C. - H., walking toward l., nude, bearded, club down in l., bow? in r., shield? above his l. shoulder.

#### 2. Standing with drinking vessel

For discussion, cf. → Herakles p. 766.

#### a) Nude, with or without lionskin, wine skin/horn/cornucopia

Cf. 82c. 101.

61.\* Carnelian scarab. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 181. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 111 no. 211 pl. 41; Mandrioli Bizzarri, A. R., *La coll. di gemme del Mus. Civ.* (1987) n° 7 fig. - Late Etruscan free style, 4th cent. B.C. - H. (lionskin on his back, wine skin or club in hand?, bends, drunken?) toward r., grape vine in background. Cf. Syleus, 321.

62.\* Bronze statuette. Florence, Mus. Arch. 5. From Poggio Castiglione (Massa Marittima). - Giglioli pl. 260, 3; Cristofani, *Bronzi* no. 98 fig.; 283. - Beginning 3rd cent. B.C. - Horn in r., lionskin cap, wrapped about l. arm, apple in l., contrapposto; related to others from Palestrina and the North. - a) (= Herakles 774 [drinking, not horn of Acheloos], = Acheloos 265\* with bibl.) London, BM 1248. - Walters, *BMBronzes* no. 1248 pl. 23. - Modern replica? - b) Naples, Mus. Naz. (scat. 63-64, no. 68). - Colonna 1, 167 no. 524 pl. 128: Sulmona Group, 4th cent. B.C. - Horn in r., probably held apples in l. - c) Bronze votive statuette. Castelvechio Subequo, Convent of S. Francesco. From votive deposit of fountain at S. Agata (Abruzzi). Sabellian. - van Wouterghem, F., *AntCl* 42, 1973, pl. 7 fig. 8. - 4th cent. B.C.? - H. in repose, lionskin knotted at neck, over l. arm, horn in l.? (described by van Wouterghem), r. on hip. - d) Paris, Cab. Méd. 366. - Colonna 1, 175 no. 562 pl. 139: Sabellian; Adam 179 no. 270 fig. - End 4th cent. B.C. - Nude, no lionskin. - e) Minneapolis, Inst. of Arts. 63.40. - Del Chiaro, M., *Re-Exhumed Etruscan Bronzes* (Exhib. Cat. 1981) 20 no. 14. - Early 3rd cent. B.C. - Lionskin over l. arm. - f) Bologna, Mus. Civ. - Schauenburg, K., *Jdl* 68, 1953, 56 n. 99. (Not seen.) Undatable. H. carries cornucopia, cf. 82d. 101.

#### b) Extended hand, holding cup (cf. 74), with or without crown/wreath or fillet

63.\* Bronze mirror. Copenhagen, Thorv. Mus. H. 2157 (Br. 157). Praeneste workshop. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II 148; Melander, T., in *Bronzes hellénistiques*, o.c. 23b, 163 ff. pl. 99 fig. 7; Adam, R., *Recherches sur les miroirs prénestins* (1980) 42 no. 26 fig. - 350-300 B.C. - H. (beardless, fillet about head, long ends extended to either side, nailed to a wall? [for wreath and extended headband, cf. → Herakles 283. 319. 369. 370. 1174], lionskin on l. shoulder) near frontal, club in l., downed on rock, skyphos in extended r., quiver in field.

64. Bronze statuette. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Alife (Latium). - Levi, A., *NotSc* 1916, 111-117 figs. 1-2: 3rd cent. B.C. (Hellenistic or Roman?). - H.,

contrapposto stance, beardless, lionskin perizoma (cf. 16-18), diadem with ivy leaf attached at apex, kantharos in r., l. palm up (to hold apples? Levi suggested a cornucopia), thin-strap sandals; similar pose and type: 66b.

65.\* Bronze statuette. Verona, Mus. Arch. A4.151. Northern Etruscan. - Franzoni, o.c. 18, no. 141. - Late 4th-early 3rd cent. B.C.? - H. nude, lionskin over l. arm, cup in extended r., projection from head, cf. comparisons, Franzoni, with club, horn, and foot on olla: 82d. - a) Bronze statuette with inscribed base. Chieti, Mus. Naz. 3780. Former Pansa Coll. (Sulmona). From Venafro (Isernia). Central Italic, Samnite. - La Regina, o.c. 52b, 367-371 pls. 168-169; *idem*, in *Sannio*, o.c. 31, 368-369 no. 107.17 (bibl.): End 3rd-2nd cent. B.C. - No projection, fillet, apple in l. R. hand extended, palm up, held phiale? (missing). Oscan inscr.: *núvitiú úpsitiú / pr mil-natúú úht / herekl[il]úí bratels[il]* (Noviui Opsiui and Percenniu Minatui give [this] to Herekles for favors received). Cf. discussion: Poccetti, P., *Nuovi documenti italici* (1979) 51-52 no. 36; Untermann, J., *Glotta* 57, 1979, 309.

66. Bronze statuette. Isernia, Mus. Naz. 469. Found at Pietrabbondante (Isernia) sanctuary. Central Italic, Samnite? - La Regina, in *Culture*, o.c. 51, 486-487 pl. 312a-c; La Regina, A./Di Niro, A., in *Sannio*, o.c. 31, 176-177 no. 57.3 (fig.); Adam 196 no. 305 fig.: beginning 1st cent. B.C. - Beardless, elaborate vine wreath, lionskin over l. arm, forearm. Kantharos (missing) in extended r., club down in l. - H. adopts attributes of Dionysos: a) (= Herakles 782) Bronze statuette. Paris, Cab. Méd. 567. - Adam 195 no. 304 fig.: beginning 1st cent. B.C. - b) (= Herakles 763) Bronze statuette. Paris, Cab. Méd. 561. - Adam 195 no. 306 fig.: beginning 1st cent. B.C. - H., lionskin over l. arm, kantharos in extended r.

#### UNCERTAIN (CUP)

67.\* Bronze statuette (base does not belong). Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. 64/122. Former Chigi Coll. 354. From Montecassino. Said found at Todi with Toledo statuette, 23. Central Etruscan workshop, same artist as 23 and BM 642 bronze group, 238; possibly inspired H. type on mirror, 242. - Pellegrini, G., in *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica* 2, 1902, 216-217 no. 354 fig.; Thimme, J., *JbMusWürttemberg* 2, 1965, 295 fig. 172; Hornbostel, o.c. 5c, 93 no. 113; Jurgeit, F., in *Atti 2° Congr. Int. Etr., Firenze 1985* (forthcoming). - Late 4th-early 3rd cent. B.C. - H. (light beard? lionskin cap, and over l. arm; probably held lion's trailing hind legs, as composition in related mirror 242, in extended l. hand; cup? in r.), muscle cuirass over short chiton.

#### F. Kneeling

#### I. Shooting

#### UNCERTAIN

68. Bronze tripod relief. Munich, Antikenslg. SL 68, Loeb tripod C. Central Etruscan workshop. -

Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 34 pl. 7, 1; Höckmann I, 121 ff. pl. 64. – 550–500 B.C. – H.? (short curly hair, beardless, short chiton, no lionskin) kneeling (bow-shooting stance) profile toward l., shoots arrow, cf. → Herakles 45. 47. 48; quiver with arrows strapped to back, bush in front to l.

## 2. Unique kneeling or bent leg stance

69.\* Carnelian scarab. Malibu, Getty Mus. Boardman, *o.c.* 46b, 44. 108 no. 173 fig. – *A globolo*, 3rd cent. B.C. – H. bearded, kneeling, club downed in r., bow in l., turns head toward l. Cf. London, BM 806. Zazoff, *EtrSk* 166 no. 699. One knee drawn up.

## G. Seated

### I. Resting

70. Scarab. Vienna, Kunsthinst. Mus. VII B 247. From Province of Prince of Naples, tomb. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 318 (Achilles); *AGOe* I no. 45 pl. 10. – 350–300 B.C. – H. sits on rock toward r., l. rests on downed club, wreath?, knot on neck. – a) Chalcedony scarab. London, BM 771. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 159 no. 578. – 4th cent. B.C. – As 70, but bearded, bends head, assault pose with sword? – b) Carnelian scarab. Vienna, Kunsthinst. Mus. IX B 184. – *AGOe* I no. 67 pl. 13. – *A globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. – Club down in hand, cf. subject → Herakles 930–940 p. 773, Lysippan weary H.

71.\* Gold ring. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. Fortnum Coll. 85. – Boardman, J., *BSR* 34 n.s. 21, 1966, 9 no. 21; 12. 15: Fortnum Group no. 24 pl. 3: 450–400 B.C.? – H., beardless, seated on lionskin, club in r., grips r. knee with l. For discussion, cf. → Herakles 931 (youth).

72. (= Herakles 915 with bibl.) Bronze helmet cheek-piece relief. Rome, Villa Giulia 13221. From Palestrina tomb. – Della Seta, A., *Museo di Villa Giulia* (1918) 451; Holloway, R. R., *Art and Coinage in Magna Graecia* (1978) 141 fig. – Late 4th–early 3rd cent. B.C. – H. on lionskin covered rock, toward r., r. rests on skin, l. extended, raised, rests on club as 73; quiver on rock to r.; for pose, figure style, cf. → Herakles 920.

### UNCERTAIN

73. Cup fr., rf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 83.AE.368. – Frel, J., in *GettyVases* II 153–154 no. 16 fig. 16: Del Chiaro Painter, Cerveteri workshop? – 375–350 B.C. – I., H. (torso preserved, crossband, nude) on lionskin facing r., r. hand extended, rests on club, l. hand raised to r., cf. 72. 123 (on latter, H. sits on chlamys). 116 (reversed) for attributes and pose, cf. → Herakles 911–912. 917. 921. 1568, discussion p. 772.

## 2. Resting with water, well, or amphora

Cf. 81–83. 86. 88–94. 97.

## 3. Drinking

Cf. 63–66.

74.\* Sardonyx ring stone. London, BM 1045. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 25, 37; Walters, *BMGems* no. 1045 pl. 15. – 2nd cent. B.C.? – Lysippan Epitrapezios H. (bearded, fillet), on rock toward l., cup in l., lionskin on l. arm, cf. → Herakles 976. 986. 990, discussion, pp. 774–775; boar beside rock (Furtwängler and Palagia view boar as sacrificial victim rather than labor, cf. theme → Herakles p. 794. 1381. 1387. 1390–1391).

75. Lifesize terracotta pediment? or statue (limbs, lower torso missing). Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 3548. Donati Coll. (Lugano). – De Ruyt, C., *AntCl* 40, 1971, pl. 2 figs. 2–4. – C. 320–280 B.C. – H. (beardless, lionskin cap, and cape) seated; echoes 4th cent. Greek facial types, cf. → Herakles 767. 1173. – a) Terracotta statuette of Dionysos? Vulci, excavations. – de Cazanove, O., *MEFRA* 98, 1986, 7–36 fig. 7: 200–150 B.C. – Similar scheme; panther skin replaces lionskin. The figure is interpreted by Cazanove as Dionysiac and H. fusion absorbed into new cult of Dionysos; cult is superimposed on 4th cent. B.C. sanctuary of H.

## H. Reclining

76. Terracotta (hand-made) torso. Orvieto, Mus. Civ. From Cannicella sanctuary, found near altar (Orvieto). – André, *o.c.* 39, 66 pl. 29c–d; Stopponi, *o.c.* 39, 120 fig. 6. 1 B 2; Colonna, *o.c.* 39, 17. 19 fig. 15. – 400–350 B.C. – H. (head, legs, arms missing, lionskin wrapped about l. arm) seated/reclining on rock?, legs extended l., torso toward his l., looks toward l., cf. → Herakles 1017–1021, discussion p. 777.

### I. Uncertain type

77. (= 336) Head, terracotta high relief fr. S. Severa (Rome), Antiquarium. From Pyrgi, Temple B. Caeretan workshop. – Cristofani, M., *Prospettiva* 9, 1977, 6; idem, *L'arte degli Etruschi* (1978) 96–97; Colonna, G., in *Akten des Kolloquiums zum Thema Die Göttin von Pyrgi*, 1979 (1982) 26 no. 5, 3 pl. 18a. c; v. Vacano, O.-W., in *Forschungen und Funde, Festschr. Neutsch* (1980) 69 pl. 91, 3; Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *Recherches sur l'art et l'artisanat étrusco-italiques à l'époque hellénistique* (1985) 10–12 fig. 6. – C. 520–500 B.C. – H. frontal head (bearded, moustache, lionskin cap); cf. → Herakles 26 (head). 35. 4. 5. 11.

78. Head, terracotta high relief pediment figure or statue? Berlin, Staatl. Mus. From Rome, Esquiline. Caeretan workshop. – Gjerstad, E., *Early Rome* IV 1 (1966) 461 n. 5 fig. 131, 3; Cristofani, *Prospettiva*, *o.c.* 77, 5 ff. fig. 11; idem, *L'arte*, *o.c.* 77, 96 n. 54 fig. 66. – C. 510–500 B.C. – Frontal head of H., bearded, moustache, with lionskin cap, similar to 77.

79. Terracotta statue, lost. Rome, a sanctuary. Made by Vulca, an artist working at Veii before going

to Rome. – Plin. *nat.* 35, 157 (with Varro as his source). – Before 509 B.C. – Uncertain type, cf. «Cypriote» (12–13) or Veii (132) types, respectively, as possibilities.

80. Head, terracotta fr. of statue? Priv. Coll. (Miller). – Uhlenbroch, *o.c.* 44, no. 27. – Late 4th cent. B.C. – H. (beardless, lionskin cap, lion's teeth project on forehead), slender face, cf. 9; → Herakles 100. 105. 117. 120. 164, for lion's teeth, *ibid.* 129. 255. 405. 465. 468; and AR didrachma, Herakleia (Pontos), Erhart, K. P., *The Development of the Facing Head Motif on Greek Coins and its Relation to Classical Antiquity* (1979) 349 no. C95 fig. 56.

### UNCERTAIN

80a) Terracotta fr. Florence, Mus. Arch. From Talamone, Temple. – André, A., *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (1939–40) 236 no. 19 pl. 83 fig. 290; v. Freytag gen. Lœringhoff, B., in *Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche* (1977) 152; Cristofani, M., *Gli Etruschi in Maremma* (1981) 278 f. and n. 87 fig. 274; v. Freytag gen. Lœringhoff, B., *Das Giebelrelief von Telamon* ... RM 27. Erg.-H. (1986) 192–193 with bibl.: Kreon, H. or other god? – 180–160 B.C. – H.? (bearded, lionskin cap?), cf. 75.

## J. Non-narrative episodes; with amphora, fountain, and water

### I. Alone with amphora

81. Alabaster scarab. The Hague, Royal Coin Cab. 1995. – Maaskant-Kleibrink, *CatGemsTheHague* no. 42a. b. – *A globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. – H. (club in l., bow in r.), r. foot rests on amphora. – a)\* Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. D Fa 730. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 558 and other examples in Maaskant-Kleibrink 89. – b)\* Carnelian ringstone. London, BM 959. – Walters, *BMGems* no. 959; Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* 135 no. 47 pl. 11, 5. – 3rd cent. B.C. – Latin inscription: E [...]. H/Q QINES. H., collecting water in lionskin, amphora before his foot, club behind on ground.

82. Bronze candelabrum finials (2). Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 26677/26676 (stolen). From Spina, T. 58 C. Spina workshop (Hostetter). – Hostetter 47–49 nos. 23–24 pls. 27a–c; 28a–c; 93a; 29a–e. – C. 380–370 B.C. – H. (nude, beardless), head rests on l. hand, elbow on raised l. leg on an amphora. Both from same mould. – a) Bronze candelabrum finial. Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. Probably Vulci workshop. – Uhlenbroch, *o.c.* 44, no. 29 fig. – C. 300 B.C. – H. (nude, beardless), head in r. hand, elbow on r. knee, his r. foot on amphora, club down in l. – Three others: b) Sotheby, *Sale Cat.* Nov. 29, 1965, n° 83. – c) *MuM* Auktion 1961, no. 75 pl. 23: end 5th cent. B.C. – d) Bronze statuette. Formerly Perugia. From near Santa Giuliana (Perugia), chamber tomb. – Minto, A., *NotSc* 11, 1914, 135–137. – 2nd half 4th–beginning 3rd cent. B.C. – Projection from head, club down in r., horn (cf. 62) in extended l., l. foot placed on olla. From weary H. motif; composition from Olympia metope, Nemean Lion (→ Herakles 1705\*/1919).

## 2. Sits on amphora

83.\* Carnelian scarab. Malibu, Getty Mus. – Boardman, *o.c.* 46b, 107 no. 151. – *A globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. – Head bowed, holds club.

## 3. Stands before a fountain, fills amphora

84. Agate scarab. Boston, MFA 27.718. From Chiusi. – Richter, *EngrGemsGE* no. 796; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 158 no. 554. – 500–450 B.C. – *Hercle* (inscr.) (nude, club and bow behind him) leans forward to fill amphora from lion-head spout. – a) Sardonyx scarab. Priv. Coll. – Hornbostel, W., et al., *Kunst der Antike. Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz* (Cat. exp. Hamburg 1977) no. 459 with list of replicas. – 500–450 B.C. – Replica of latter, however, *Hercle* (inscr.) holds spear in r. – b)\* Carnelian scarab. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1921.1234. – Richter, *EngrGemsGE* no. 797; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 67 pl. 18; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 72 (12); Boardman/Vollenweider, *CatGemsOxford* I no. 220 pl. 37. – Late 5th cent. B.C. – Replica of last: *Herfele* (inscr.) (nude, lionskin wrapped about his l. arm, muzzle behind his head), except club down (seems to rest on it, watching amphora fill). – No longer actively engaged in drawing water: c) (= Herakles 1326\* with bibl.) Agate scarab. London, BM 1949.7–12.2. – Late 5th cent. B.C.? – Greek inscription, Western Greek? (Boardman), possibly Etruscan. – H. (nude, bearded, l. foot on rock [?], contrapposto), fills amphora, water gushes from rock; cf. similar theme, examples in Boardman, *o.c.* 46b, 139. 149. 150 and Walters, *BMGems* nos. 664. 665 (inscribed *Herfele*) pl. 11.

85. Bronze oinochoe (type 6) handle relief. Florence, Mus. Arch. 11930. From Populonia, San Cerbone necropolis, Tomba a Fossa no. 30. – Romualdi, A., in *L'Etruria mineraria* (1985) 188–189 fig. 18. – 5th cent. B.C. – H. (nude, club, on ground behind) leans forward, holds amphora under flowing water from lion-head spout. – Similar subject, but no club (youth, satyr); cf. Liepmann, U., in *Forschungen und Berichte* (Staatl. Mus. zu Berlin) 8, 1967, 30–31 pl. 14.

86. *Vacat.*

## 4. Runs with amphorae

87.\* Carnelian scarab. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 217. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 123 no. 236; *AGD* II 115 no. 262 pl. 54. – 4th cent. B.C. – H. (nude, club shouldered in r., running-kneeling pose) runs toward the r., two amphorae bound together in his outstretched l., cf. theme on Greek vase, → Herakles 1325\*.

## 5. With amphora with Vile

88.\* (= Iolaos/Vile 1) Bronze mirror. Perugia, Mus. Naz. 998. Vulci workshop. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 128; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 74 (36); Rebuffat-

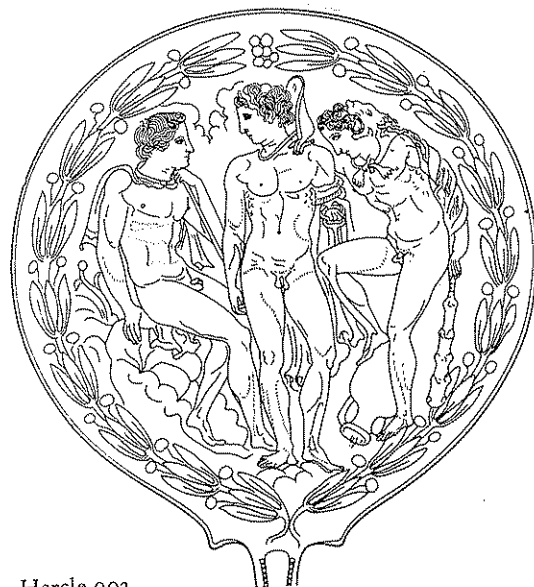
Emmanuel 514. 517: *Pile* instead of *Vile*; Fischer-Graf 106 V 88. – C. 300 B.C. – Names inscribed in cartouches: *Vile*, *Hercle*. H. (nude, lionskin cap, knotted at neck, club down in l.) at r., stands, rests his r. foot on amphora, gestures to *Vile* (chlamys, shield, lance), standing at l., cf. 140. 141.



Hercle 88

#### 6. With amphora with Turms

89.\* Bronze mirror. Columbia, Miss. Univ. Mus. Art and Arch. 80.191. Vulci workshop. – Del Chiaro, M. A., *Muse* 15, 1981, 54–57 fig. 1. – Late 4th cent. B.C. – H. (nude, slight beard, lionskin over head and shoulders, knotted at neck, club down in r.) stands with l. foot on amphora on its side, converses with Turms (Hermes) (winged hat, caduceus). Bird on his r. arm. – a) Bronze mirror. Naples, Mus. Naz. 5567. Former Borgia Coll. Vulci workshop. – Gerhard,



Hercle 90a

*EtrSp* II pl. 129; Fischer-Graf 99–101 V 73 pl. 28, 1. – Late 4th–early 3rd cent. B.C. – As 89.

#### 7. With amphora, with Turms and Vile

90. (= Iolaos/Vile 4\*) Bronze mirror. Unknown whereabouts. From Belora (Cásina) (Valdichiana). – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 127; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 76 (46); Pfiffig 2, 60 fig. 15. – 3rd cent. B.C. – Names inscribed: *Hercle*, (youth) stone(?) in r., rests l. on club, l. foot on amphora; behind him is lion-head fountain. *Turms* (center, caduceus in r., winged petasos) holds stone(?) in l. hand (with which to attack the well, Fischer-Graf 146); *Vile* (chlamys over l. shoulder, strigil in r.). – Uncertain Vile: a) (= Iolaos/Vile 5) Bronze mirror. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 1072. From Palestrina. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 131; Sassatelli, G., *CSE Bologna* 1 (1981) 30 no. 12 figs. 12 a–d; Pfiffig 2, 63 fig. 16. – 350–325 B.C. – H. (beardless, nude, lionskin over shoulders, knotted at neck, l. resting on downed club, r. on Turms' shoulder, r. foot rests on flowing amphora); Turms (center, petasos, caduceus in l.) faces third male, Vile?

#### 8. With amphora, with Turms, Menerva and others

91.\* (= Athena/Menerva 202 with bibl., = Iolaos/Vile 17 with bibl.) Bone relief plaques. Palestrina, Mus. Naz. (formerly Rome, Villa Giulia 13248/50/51 [Vile, Hercle, Turms]) and Brummer Coll. (Menerva). From Palestrina. Praeneste workshop? – Huls, Y., *Ivoires d'Etrurie* (1957) 81 no. 107 pl. 47 with bibl.; Busch, H./Edelmann, G., eds., *Etruskische Kunst* (1969) pl. 103; Jurgeit, F., in *Die Aufnahme fremder Kultureinflüsse in Etrurien und das Problem des Retardierens in der etruskischen Kunst*. Mannheim Symposium, 1980 (1981) 186 and n. 20 fig. 4: end 4th cent. B.C. – Turms (petasos, boots, caduceus) l. of H. (beardless, lionskin cap, knotted at neck, short chiton, cuirass, club down in r., l. foot on amphora) and Menerva (gorgoneion, helmet, lance, shield) to r. of and face-to-face with H., warrior (tunic, cuirass, chlamys, greaves, lance), Vile(?) to r. of Menerva.

#### 9. With amphora with – Uni

92.\* (= Iolaos/Vile 8) Bronze mirror. Formerly Martinetti Coll. (Rome). From Palestrina. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 80–81 pl. 63, 2 (Iolaos); Bayet 1, pl. 7 b; Mansuelli, G. A., *StEtr* 15, 1941, pl. 12, 1. – Late 4th–early 3rd cent. B.C. – *Uni* (inscr.) or Menerva(?) (mantle, helmet [?], leans on lance in l. hand, lifts skirt with r.) in the center flanked by H. and youth, Vile(?) each with l. foot on amphora. H. (youthful, nude, lionskin cap, knotted around neck, club down in r.); behind H. to l. is lion's head spout with flowing water; caduceus before Vile; below, owl flanked by two cocks (Gerhard/Körte: *Ani* instead of *Uni*).



Hercle 92

#### 10. With amphora with winged women

93.\* Bronze mirror. Perugia, Mus. Naz. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 64 (Lasa); de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 74 (31). – 4th cent. B.C. – *Hercle* (inscr.) (lionskin cap and about neck [?, damaged], l. foot on amphora, club down near amphora) converses; two seated, winged women (half nude, necklaces) flank H., l. woman wears wreath.



Hercle 93

#### 11. Flowing water, fountain

##### a) Seated, before flowing fountain

94.\* Sardonyx ringstone. London, BM 769. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 16, 68; Walters, *BMGems* 94 no. 769 pl. 13; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 74 (30). – C. 400 B.C. – Inscribed: *Hercle*, (chlamys over shoulder,

quiver beside him) seated on a rock, in profile to l. with r. foot up, head supported in r.; leaning on club, down in l., bow resting against rock; opposite, water issues from rock. – a) Carnelian scarab. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 367. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 159 no. 572; *AGD* II 108–109 no. 242 pl. 52. – C. 400 B.C. – Beardless H. (lionskin cap falls away from head) sits on rock in three quarter view toward l., outstretched l. holds club, rests head in r., water gushes from rock; amphora beneath club. – b) Scarab. Leningrad, Hermitage. – Neverov, O. J., *StEtr* 49, 1981, 23–24 pl. 10, 1. – 400–350 B.C. – H. (young, beardless) frontal, seated on a rock, l. knee up, hands crossing his chest(?), lion-spout fountain gushing water to r., club vertical in field at l.



Hercle 95

##### b) Attacks fountain

95.\* Bronze mirror. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 3341 (F 135). Vulci workshop. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 135; Bayet 1, 169; Mansuelli, G. A., *StEtr* 15, 1941, pl. 13, 2; Stiglitz, R., *OeJh* 44, 1959, 130–131; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 75 (38); Rebuffat-Emmanuel 514. 516. 521: *philece* instead of *vilece*; Fischer-Graf 77–78 V 47 pl. 21, 3. – 400–350 B.C. – Inscribed: *Hercle*, [v?]ilece in a cartouche (place name? or Vile?). H. (nude, lionskin cap, down his back and twisted about his l. arm, held in l.) assaults (from l. to r.) a lion-spouted fountain from which water flows, overturned amphora below.

#### UNCERTAIN

96. Carnelian scarab. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1892.1492. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 683; Boardman/Vollenweider, *CatGemsOxford* I 55 no. 230; Fischer-Graf 77. – 4th cent. B.C. – H. (bearded, l. foot on a rock? club in the field) as victor over the fountain, strikes with sticks in either hand at a rock? or overturned amphora, cf. H. striking overturned amphora with a stick, Zazoff, *EtrSk* 71 no. 98 pl. 23 and nos. 96. 97.



## c) With Menerva

Menerva attends H. at a fountain, → Athena/Menerva 193. 195\*.

## d) Hercle, satyr and winged woman

97.\* (= 149) Bronze cista foot, Praenestine. Paris, Louvre 1663. From Palestrina. – Bayet 1, pl. 6 (Nike, Silen replenish H.); Mansuelli, *o. c.* 92, pl. 13, 2 (H. receives ablution from satyr and winged woman); Brommer, *Herakles* II 15 n. 32; Jurgelt, F., *CP* II 1, 65–66. 140–142 no. K 32, 1–3 pl. 39b. – End 4th cent. B. C. – H. (rests head in l., club down in r.) seated on lionskin under a lion-spout fountain; winged woman and satyr empty vessels of liquid over H.

## K. Hercle sacrificing

98.\* Carnelian scarab. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 369. – AGD II no. 244 pl. 52; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 76–77 no. 118 pl. 26. – 400–350 B. C. – H. at louterion(?) or altar at which he bends over toward r. and rests his foot; club below. – Cf. a) Naples, Mus. Naz. From Cumae. *A globolo* style. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 164 no. 676.

99.\* Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1921.1230. – Boardman/Vollenweider, *CatGemsOxford* I no. 228 fig. – *A globolo* style, end 4th cent. B. C. – H. (lionskin cap falls back from his head, quiver, club down in l.) contraposto stance, head turned l. toward altar with 3 aples(?) on it.

## UNCERTAIN

100. Sardonyx scarab. Paris, Cab. Méd. Luynes Coll. 259. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 68 no. 95 pl. 23; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 73 (20a). – Free style, 4th cent. B. C. – Name inscribed: *Hercle* (club down in r., lionskin trails down shoulder, arm patera(?) in l. hand; Zazoff thought hydria or amphora).

## L. Hercle with cornucopia

101. Skyphos, Faliscan rf. Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8.998. From Orvieto. – *EVP* 87 pl. 15, 6–8. – 4th cent. B. C. – A, H. (wreathed, lionskin under him, phiale) seated on rock, horn lies near feet (cf. 72, 73 and → Herakles 1001). B, satyr (thyrsus, large horn).

## M. Hercle with a woman

## 1. With a woman

Cf. 367. 405–416 for winged and unwinged women, and → Eros (in Etruria) 58.

102. Cup, Faliscan rf. Princeton, Univ. – *EVP* 300. – 4th cent. B. C.? – I, H. and a seated woman.

103. Stamnos, rf. Florence, Mus. Arch. From Orvieto. – *EVP* 146: later rf., 4th cent. B. C. – B, H. and a seated woman.

104.\* (= Eros [in Etruria] 59a\*) Stamnos, Faliscan rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 1198. – Della Seta, *o. c.* 72,

57; Deppert, K., *Die rotfigurigen faliskischen Vasen* (unpubl. diss., 1954) 57 no. 1 pl. 44c. d; 45a: Herakles P.; Helbig<sup>2</sup> p. 366. – Early 4th cent. B. C. – H. (beardless, nude, laurel wreath crown, club in raised r., lionskin over r. arm) leads woman, Hebe(?) on horseback with a chest at r., swan in field, seated woman at extreme r. – a) Stamnoi, Faliscan rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 1199 and 3 similar to previous. – Deppert, *o. c.* 57 pl. 45 b–d. – Scene moves from r. to l. and woman, Tyche? (cornucopia) on base (statue?) is bystander; Ionic column in background.

105. Carnelian scarab. Florence, Mus. Arch. 15263. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 20, 45; Delatte, A., *Volume offert à J. Capart* (1935) 113–132, opp. p. 128 pl. 6 fig. 9; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 91 pl. 34 no. 168. – 5th cent. B. C. – H. (beardless, nude, bow in r.) leads draped woman toward l.; club between them. – a) Carnelian scarab. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 3098. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 64, 25; Delatte, *o. c.* 113–132, opp. p. 128 pl. 6 fig. 10; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 161 no. 610. – 5th cent. B. C. – b) Unknown whereabouts. Formerly Tarquinia. From Tarquinia. – Furtwängler, *AG* III 208 fig. 134; *AdI* 1885, 222 pl. GH 39.

106.\* Bronze buckle. Toronto, ROM 918.1.113. Formerly Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino Coll. Vulci workshop. – Mitten/Doeringer, *o. c.* 22, 187 no. 193 fig. (Omphale). – C. 520–500 B. C. – H. (lionskin about body, club in r.) in profile, faces l. toward elaborately dressed woman.

## a) Battles woman

107. Bronze cista lid. St. Louis, Mus. 16.25. Praeneste workshop. – *Cat. Warneck Coll.*, Hotel Drouot (1905) no. 257; Mitten/Doeringer, *o. c.* 22, no. 206; Foerst, G., *Die Gravierungen der Pränestinischen Cisten* (1978) 205–206 no. 113: modern re-engraving? – Late 4th cent. B. C. – H. (nude, club in r., assault pose) battles partially draped woman.

## 2. Hercle with woman, others

108. Terracotta krater handle. Rome, Priv. Coll. – Zancani Montuoro, P., *ASAtene* 24–26, 1946–48, [1950] fig. 10. – End 6th cent. B. C. – H. (club) and woman (long drapery), move r., two standing nude youths (Dioskouroi?, cf. Dioskouroi/Tinas cliniar 16\*), on opposite handle, cf. H., woman on thymiatrion 151. 367.

109. Bronze tripod. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 2899. From Spina, T. 128. Vulci workshop. – Hostetter 15–18 no. 1 pls. 1f–g; 2a–c; 3a–d. – C. 500 B. C. – H., woman, 2 other couples (male/female). Hostetter lists other examples, cf. → Dioskouroi/Tinas cliniar 14\*. 15 and Adam 63–66.

## N. With man/men

110.\* Agate scarab. New York, MMA 41.160.550. – Richter, *MetMusGems* 47 pl. 29, 175;

Zazoff, *EtrSk* 161 no. 612. – Free Style, 450–400 B. C. – H. (nude, club, lionskin hanging from l. forearm) standing with man. – a) Gem. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 161 no. 614. – *A globolo* style. – b) Carnelian scarab. London, BM 804. Zazoff, *EtrSk* 161 no. 613. – Mid-4th cent. B. C. – H. (club down, lionskin in r.) and man, Turms(?), stand conversing.

111. Carnelian scarab. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Falerii. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 77 no. 122 pl. 27. – Mid-4th cent. B. C. – H. opposite seated, bearded, old man, → Geras(?).

112. Bronze helmet attachment. Boston, MFA 01.8376. Former Warren Coll. Vulci workshop. – Unpublished. – 500–475 B. C. – Three walk toward r. H. (center, mantle/kilt?, club in l.). L. male (bearded, helmet). R., youth, Vile? (unbearded, *tebenna*); cf. La Tolfa amphora, 322 side A for three-figure group with bearded man.

## O. Non-narrative

## 1. Divine assembly/conversation

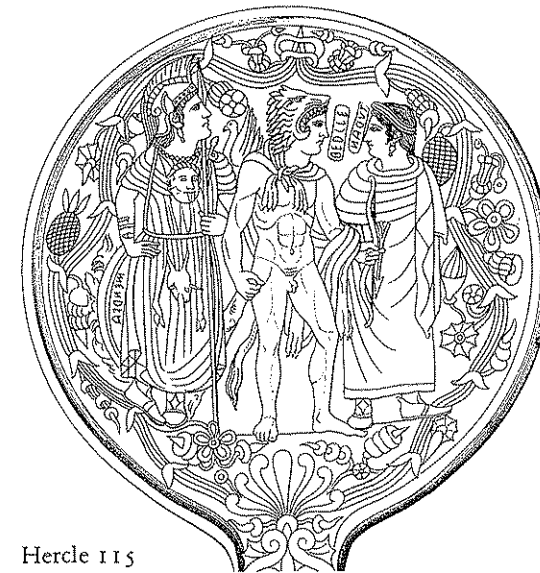
## a) With Turms and Menerva

113. Bronze mirror. Paris, Louvre, From Saïda (?). – de Ridder, *BrLouvre* II 53 no. 1739 pl. 84 with bibl. – Late 4th cent. B. C. – Menerva, lance in r., Corinthian helmet, Gorgoneion; H. (nude, bearded, lionskin cap, knotted at, r. resting on club), Turms (nude, caduceus in r., petasos).

114.\* Bronze mirror. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Fr 129. From Orvieto. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 158; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 76 (49); Fischer-Graf 102 V 76. – 3rd cent. B. C. – Three-figure group. *Menrva* (inscr.) Gorgoneion, holding lance in l., *Hercle* (inscr.) (short kilt around hips, beardless, lionskin knotted at neck, patera in raised r.), *Turmus* (inscr., nude, beardless, chlamys over shoulders, staff/caduceus(?) in l., winged petasos on head).



Hercle 114



Hercle 115

## b) With Turan and Menerva

115.\* Bronze mirror. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Fr 131. Former Antiquarium 3381. From Tarquinia. North Etruscan workshop (Fischer-Graf). – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 156; Fischer-Graf 3–4 no. 34; Pfiffig 2, fig. 10. – 4th cent. B. C. – Names inscribed: *Hercle*, *Menrva*, *Turan*. H. (unbearded, nude, lionskin cap, knotted about neck and over l. arm, bow, one arrow in l., club down in r.) between *Menrva* (goat skin hangs from belt) and *Turan* (→ Aphrodite/Turan) (mantle, diadem, earrings, sandals), bird/griffin in field. – Cf. analogous scene: a) (= Aphrodite/Turan 32\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12642. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 155. – 4th cent. B. C. – Names inscribed: *Turan* converses with H. (lionskin cap, club down in r.) to r. and *Menrva* at l. – b) (= Aphrodite/Turan 34a) Bronze mirror. Formerly Perugia. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 221 no. 17; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 78 (64). – Undatable. – Inscribed: *Hercle*. H. turns toward partially clothed youth (his l. hand on H.'s r. arm, or vice versa?) erroneously inscribed *Turan*. R., *Menerva*.

## 116. Vacat.

## c) In four-figure group

117.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 58 with bibl., = Artemis/Artumes 43\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror. Florence, Mus. Arch. 84806. From Bomarzo. North Etruscan workshop (Fischer-Graf). – Giglioli pl. 301, 3; Mansuelli, *StEtr* 16, 1942, 546 no. 3 pl. 46; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 75 (42). – Late 4th cent. B. C. – Names inscribed: *Menrva* and *Hercle* (beardless, lionskin knotted at neck, club upright in r., l. on hip; perizoma), center, faces *Artume* (→ Artemis/Artumes), *Aplu* (→ Apollon/Aplu), converses with *Menerva* who places r. on his shoulder.

118. (= Ares/Laran 26\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Fr 130. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 255c, Kranzspiegelgruppe. – 3rd–2nd cent. B. C. – Names inscribed: *Vile*, *Menrva*, *Hercle*, *Laran*. H. (beardless, nude, boots, baldric, club shouldered in



Heracle 117

l.) looks toward Laran and Menerva (center). Menerva looks toward Vile.

119. (= Aphrodite/Turan 34 with bibl., = Iolaos/Vile 16) Bronze mirror. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. F 1868. From Città di Castello. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 64 C; Bayet I, 221; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* 173 (22). - 4th cent. B.C. - Names inscribed: H. embraces Turan, between Menerva and a young man (helmet, cuirass), Vile?

120.\* (= Athena/Menerva 189, = Eris 5, = Ethis 1) Bronze mirror. Morlanwelz, Mus. de Mariemont B 206. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 164; Lambrechts, R., *CSE Belgique* 1 (1987) 43-46 no. 25 fig. 25a-g (glorification of H. in presence of Eris and Thetis?). - End 4th cent. B.C. - Names inscribed: Eris, Menerva, Heracle, Thetis. H. (beardless, nude, lionskin knotted at neck, club down in l.) embraces Menerva (raises peplos). Left, nude diademed, jeweled Eris (alabastron in l., staff in r.); r., winged, clothed Thetis.

121.\* (= Hermes 559) Bronze tripod fr. Athens, Nat. Mus. X 6511. From the Acropolis of Athens. Vulci workshop. - Riis, P. J., *Tyrrhenika* (1941) 78 pl. 14, 1; de Ridder, A., *BCH* 1896, 401; Neugebauer, K. A., *Jdl* 58, 1943, 231. 264 fig. 20. - C. 500 B.C. - Four-figure group. Turms, Menerva?, H., woman, Uni?

#### d) With others

122.\* Hydria, bf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 4139. From Vulci. SBH, *Etrusker* pl. 73; Mangani, E., in *Prima Italia: l'arte italica del I° millennio a.C.* (1981) 139-140 no. 91 fig.; Spivey, N., *The Micali Painter and His Followers* (1987) 21 no. 126 pl. 23a; Micali P., mature phase, middle II; *idem*, in *Un artista etrusco e il suo mondo il pittore di Micali* (1988) no. 1 pl. 1 figs. 76-78. - C. 510-500 B.C. - H. (kilt?, club on r. shoulder, bow in l.) stands at l. of ensemble of deities?, behind Turms?; Uni and Tinia (→ Zeus/Tinia) in the center.



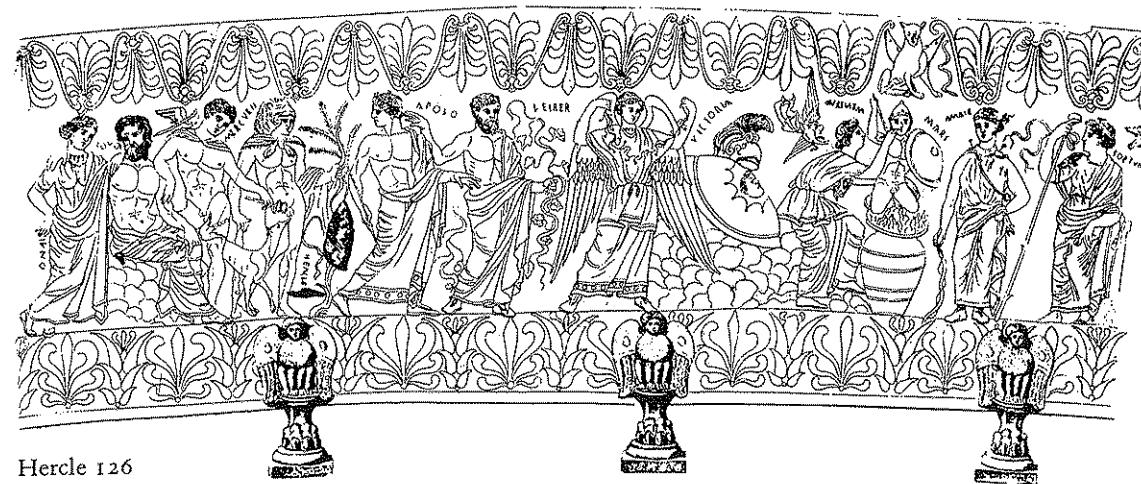
Heracle 124

125. Bronze mirror. Location unknown. Formerly Collegio Romano, Mus. Kircherianum. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 168. - Early Kranzspiegelgruppe, 3rd cent. B.C. - H. (chlamys fastened about neck, club down in l.) seated at l.; three women and man (Phrygian cap); near de Ridder, *BrLouvre* 53 no. 1742 (Campana 7166).

126.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 53\*, = Ares/Mars 11 with bibl., = Artemis/Diana 296, = Artemis/Artemus 78, = Athena/Menerva 167, = Dionysos/Fufluns 87, = Iuno 333\*) Bronze cista, Praenestine. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Misc. 6239. From Palestrina. - End 4th cent. B.C. - Latinized names inscribed. H. (inscr. Heracle, beardless, nude, lionskin cap, knotted at neck and over l. arm, bow in l., frontal, leans on club, down in r.; for the type, cf. 54. 62. 119) is between → Mercurius (*Mercuris*) and Leiber. Apollo (*Apolo*, laurel branch, wreath) strides to r. near Diony-

123. Bell krater, Faliscan rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 3619. From Falerii. - Della Seta, *o.c.* 72, 69 no. 3619; Mingazzini P., *MemLinc* 1925, 476 no. 261 pl. 8 fig. 2. Near Del Chiaro P. - 375-350 B.C. - H. (nude, heavy beard, laurel wreath, cross-straps, leans on club in r.) seated on chlamys?, opposite, standing Turms, flanked by pairs of two satyrs, two ephebes.

124.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 59\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror. Paris, Louvre 1722. From Viterbo. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 167; de Ridder, *BrLouvre* II, 49-50 no. 1722 (Aphrodite, Hera [?], Apollon); de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 77 (54); Pfiffig 2, 76-77 fig. 22 (see inscribed Aplu). - 300-250 B.C. - Names inscribed: Heracle (bearded, nude, chlamys over l. arm, club in r., down) stands in l. with one foot on rock, Menerva looks toward H., woman, Turan (?) (half-nude) holds laurel branch (symbol of victory?), woman, veiled, berries? in hand, Aplu (half-nude, laurel branch in l.) at r., seated.



Heracle 126

sos (*Leiber*) who looks back to H.; dog between H. and Mercurius; Mars freed from pithos by Menerva.

#### e) Uncertain assembly, modern?

127. Bronze cista, Praenestine. Hannover, Kestner Mus. 1954.7. From Palestrina. - Foerst, *o.c.* 107, 122-124 no. 20 pl. 18 (damaged, restored): 3rd cent. B.C.; Bordenache, G. B./Emiliozzi, A., *CP* I 1, 95 (false). - Four groups of figures, assembly with Aita (→ Hades/Aita, Calu) Tinia(?); third group: H. (contrapposto stance, nude, beardless, lionskin knotted at neck and over l. arm, club down in r., resting on rock) stands between two men, Dioskouroi/Tinas Clinia(?) (mantle), l. figure holds patera; cista in the field between H. and man; pilos? field between r. figure and warrior; men, women, warriors and winged deities.

#### 2. With Menerva

##### a) Alone with Menerva

128. (= Athena/Menerva 186 with bibl.) Cup, Faliscan rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 44500. From Sant'Oreste. - *NotSc* 1924, 329 fig. 1; *EVP* III, M. - 350-300 B.C. - I, H. and Menerva.

129. Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Rome, Villa Giulia 12996. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 363; Adam, *o.c.* 63, 42 no. 27 fig. - 350-300 B.C. - Menerva stands on ledge; H. (nude, lionskin cap, club resting on l. arm, r. foot up on ledge) gestures toward her.

130.\* Bronze mirror. Orvieto, Faina Mus. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 61, 2; Mansuelli, G. A., *StEtr* 19, 1946/47, 59 (Master of ES 228). - 3rd-2nd cent. B.C. - H. (beardless, youth, wreathed?, lionskin knotted at neck, club down in l., patera in r.) sacrificing(?) to Menerva (at l., peplos, aegis, helmet, shield, lance, wings); tree, center background.

131. (= Athena/Minerva 386\*\* with bibl.) Terracotta votive or acroterion group fr. Rome, Antiquarium Com. 16161. From sanctuary at Sant'Omobono. - Mura, A., *PP* 32, 1977, 99-126; Colonna 2, 7-33 fig. 74. - C. 530 B.C. - H. («Cypriote» type, lionskin

knotted at neck and belted at waist) stands frontally slightly forward of Menerva.

132. (= Athena/Menerva 39 with bibl.) Terracotta group fr. From Veii, Portonaccio sanctuary. Rome, Villa Giulia. - Colonna 2, pls. II-IV, figs. 1-8. 10. 21-45. 73; Colonna 3, 437-439 figs. 23-25: Olympus. - C. 500 B.C. - Fr. of H. (vertical club in raised r., lionskin wrapped about the waist (kilt); lion protome fr. probably covered pubes) l. foot forward, with Menerva. - Cf. possible groups of H. and Menerva: a) (= 12) With Menerva. From Veii, no. 3170; DAI neg. 65.1854; Colonna 2, 28. 32 n. 80 figs. 77. 64. - C. 530 B.C. - b) Menerva strides with unidentified male figure. From Satricum. - Alinari 41144; *Nieuw Licht op een oude Stad* (1985) 91 fig. 30; Colonna 2, 24. 32-33 fig. 55.

133.\* Bronze candelabrum finial. New York, MMA 61.11.3. Vulci workshop. - 5th cent. B.C. - Menerva and H. (unbearded, nude, lionskin, unusual type, fastened at r. shoulder, tail held in l., club down in r.). Menerva stands at his l. with r. on his l. shoulder.



Heracle 130

## UNCERTAIN

**134.** (= Athena/Menerva 190) Sardonyx. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 72 no. 101 pl. 23; Zazoff, *AG* 234 n. 102 pl. 59, 9 (Athena). 400-375 B.C. - H. (nude, club down in r., lionskin) conversing with Menerva(?) (lance). - **a)**\* Carnelian scarab. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1921.868. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 102 pl. 24; Boardman/Vollenweider, *CatGemsOxford* I 53 no. 221 pl. 37.

**b) With Menerva and others (three-figure group)**

**135.** (= Athena/Menerva 192, = Iolaos/Vile 7\*) Bronze mirror. Formerly Mannheim, Reiss-Mus. (missing, destroyed?). From Orvieto. Vulci workshop (Fischer-Graf). - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 63, 1; Fischer-Graf 63 V 40 pl. 17, 2; Höckmann, U., *CSE Bundesrepublik Deutschland* I (1987) 71-72 no. 46 (fig.). - 350-325 B.C. - On a rocky landscape: Menerva (aegis, diadem, chiton, lance in r.) l., H. (nude, lionskin knotted at neck) (faces Menerva toward the l., raises r., club down in l., and youth, Vile(?) (chlamys) places hand on H.'s shoulder.

**136.\*** Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Frankfurt, Mus. für Vor- und Frühgesch. X 15224. - Höckmann, o.c. **135**, 40-42 no. 18; **140-141** (pl. 18a-d): 300-250 B.C. - Menerva (aegis, helmet, lance in r., shield down in l.) looks at H. (beardless, nude, lionskin about l. arm, leans on club, r. on hip) who stands in center, boy Vile(?) (nude, adolescent), looks toward H., offers arrow in r. and holds bow in l.



Heracle 136

**137.\*** Bronze mirror. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Fr 133. From Toscanella. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 163. - 3rd cent B.C. - H., sad (beardless, long hair, radiate crown, lionskin knotted at neck, club down in l., leans on r. hand, elbow on knee), comforted by Menerva (center, chiton, himation, aegis, helmet), at l., an un-

identified male (nude, radiate crown, chlamys around his l. arm) leans on column.

**138.** (= Iolaos/Vile 6) Bronze mirror. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. 2774. - Eichler, F., *Führer durch die Antikensammlung. Wien* (1926) 54 pl. 8b. - 4th cent. B.C. - H. and youth, Vile(?) seated (on chlamys?) in rocky landscape flank Menerva (center, chiton, himation, aegis, helmet, shield down in l.) standing, touches her hair while looking toward r. youth; behind her, at l., H. (nude, beardless youth) seated on lionskin, club down in l. gestures.

**c) Heracle, Menerva, woman**

**139.** Oinochoe (shape 7), rf. Rome, Pal. Cons. - *BullCom* 1911, 69, 71; *EVP* 173 [3]. - 3rd cent. B.C. - H. and Menerva with a woman.

**3. With Vile**

**140.** (= Iolaos/Vile 2\*) Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. R 1286 (837). From Palestrina. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 336; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 77 (58); Rebuffat-Emmanuel 472, 474; Lambrechts, R., *Les miroirs étrusques et prénestins des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles* (1978) 224-225. - 4th cent. B.C. - Names inscribed: *Heracle, Vilae*. H. (mantle, bow in l., club down in r.) sits on rock at l., faces Vile (mantle, shield, lance); cf. 88.

## UNCERTAIN VILE

**141.\*** Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. R 1287 (838). From Palestrina. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V p. 83 no. 64d; Lambrechts, o.c. **140**, 229-232 no. 37 (fig.) with bibl. - C. 300 B.C. - H. (beardless, nude, club upright in r.) sits on rock? (with drapery?, lionskin?) at r., and youth (nude, foot up on rock?) at l., gestures demonstrably, Vile?



Heracle 141

**142.** (= Iolaos/Vile 3\*) Bronze mirror. Unknown whereabouts. Formerly Barberini Coll. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 337, 1. - 4th cent. B.C. - H. (nude, beardless, lionskin knotted a neck, leans on club in l.) stands at r. conversing with youth, Vile(?) (nude, baldric, sword, spear in l., chlamys over l. shoulder, shield on ground). Altar behind H. - **a)** Bronze mirror. Unknown whereabouts. Formerly Westropp Coll. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 337, 2. - 4th-3rd cent. B.C. - H. (nude, beardless, lionskin over l. arm, club upright in l.) stands at r. and youth, Vile(?), seated at l. on a rocky ledge, places his l. on H.'s shoulder. Column in middle background; silen(?) in exergue.

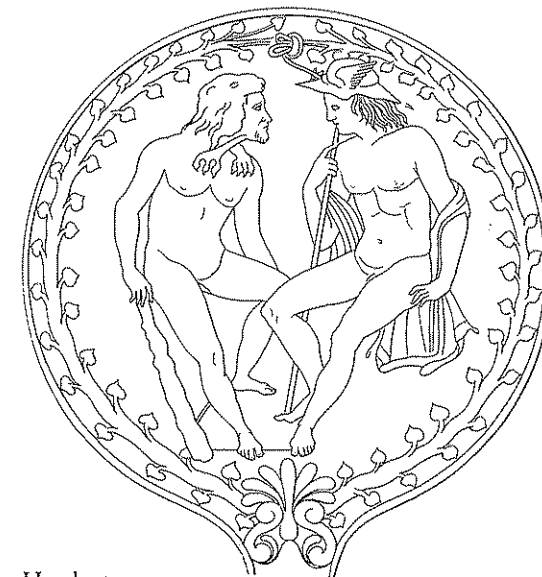
**143.** Gold necklace relief pendants. London, BM 2285. From Italy. - Marshall, *BM Jewellery* 262-263 pl. 46. - 3rd cent. B.C. - H. (nude, club in r., lionskin on rock behind him) sits on rock at l. facing nude youth, Vile(?) (spear).

**144.** (= Iolaos/Vile 10\*) Bronze cista foot, «Ficoroni Cista», Praenestine. Rome, Villa Giulia 24787. From Palestrina. - Dohrn, T., *Die Ficoronische Ciste* (1972); SBH, *Etrusker* 150-151 pl. 232; Jurgeit, o.c. 97, 64-65. 138-140 no. K 31, 1-2 pl. 38a-b (H., Iolaos, winged demon). - C. 330 B.C. - Same composition as 90a except H.'s foot rests on rock, and central figure is winged boy. Identity of third male is uncertain (Santangelo, A., in *Musei e Mon.* pl. 128: H., Peirithoos, and Theseus); cf. **a)** Silvered relief patera. Rome, Villa Giulia 52000. Bolsena Group. - Mingazini, *CollCastellani* II 263 ff. no. 834 pl. 224; Caruso, L., *Coll. Castellani. Le Ceramiche* (1985) 56 no. 71 (fig.): H., Peirithoos, Theseus; Jurgeit, o.c. 97 n. 374: H., no Theseus. - 300-250 B.C. - H. (center, beardless, lionskin knotted a t neck) faces l. toward seated male (chlamys). Youth, Vile? at r.

**4. With Turms**

**145.\*** Bronze mirror. Unknown whereabouts. Formerly Collegio Romano. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 130; Del Chiaro, M. A., *AJA* 59, 1955, 283; Rebuffat-Emmanuel pl. 89; Fischer-Graf 107 V 92. - C. 300 B.C. - H. (bearded, lionskin cap, knotted at neck, club down in r.) and Turms seated, converse, both rest feet on architecture? - **a)** Bronze mirror fr. Arezzo Mus.? Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 81 no. 64a mentions fr. in Arezzo Mus. with similar composition, H.'s l. foot rests on rock; top of caduceus is unclear. - **b)** Bronze mirror. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1285. Vulci workshop. - Rebuffat-Emmanuel 43-47. 513-519 pls. 3, 74; Fischer-Graf 104 V 82. - C. 300 B.C. - H. and Turms face one another, seated. - **c)** Bronze mirror (damaged). Boston, MFA 92.2740. Vulci workshop. - Eldridge, L. G., *AJA* 21, 1917, 365-386 fig. 6; Comstock/Vermeule, *BronzesBoston* 266 no. 377 (Apollon/Aplu); Fischer-Graf 107 V 91, with bibl. - C. 300 B.C. - Pair are reversed, feet on rocky landscape.

**146.\*** Carnelian scarab. London, BM 655. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 72 no. 103 pl. 24. - Late 5th cent. B.C. - H. (lionskin cape, bow in l., quiver, club on ground) and Turms stand conversing.



Heracle 145

**147.** Agate. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Misc. 30219, 708. - *AGD* II no. 233 pl. 51. - 425-400 B.C. - Turms (bearded, caduceus in l.) converses with H. (?) (beardless, wineskin in l.).

**5. With Aplu**

## UNCERTAIN HERCULE

**148.** (= Apollon/Aplu 44\* with bibl.) Colonnade krater, rf. Formerly Marchese Patrizi Coll. From Montediano near Montefiascone. - *EVP*, 127: Volterra Group, Hesione P. - 350-325 B.C.

**6. With Turan**

## MODERN ENGRAVING?

**149.** (= 97) Bronze cista, Praenestine. Paris, Louvre 1663. From Palestrina. - De Ridder, *BrLouvre* II no. 1663 fig.; Bayet 1, 144. 164. 168. 220-221 pl. 9; Foerst, o.c. **107**, 8 n. 21 no. 9 (modern engraving). - H. and woman recline, banqueting on couch. Swan appears behind her. Table with stemmed bowl and fruit before them. Menerva is seated l. looking on.

**7. With Uni****a) With Juno Sospita (and woman)**

**150.** (= Iuno 2) Gold ring band relief. London, Victoria and Albert Mus. 445-1871. From Maremma. Vulci workshop. - *BdI* 1858, 49-50; *AdI* 1867, pl. H, 1; Peter, R., *MLI* 2, 2261 fig.; Oman, C. C., *Victoria and Albert Mus. Cat. of Rings* (1930) 48 fig. no. 47 pl. 3. - 4th cent. B.C. - H. (chiton, lionskin cap, knotted at neck, club in r.); Juno Sospita (chiton, mantle, goat-skin cap and knotted at neck, belt [?] in one hand); two figures are toe-to-toe around ring.



**151.** (= Iuno 14 with bibl.) Bronze thymiaterion. Munich, Antikenslg. 720g WAF, and Perugia, Mus. Naz. 1404.1434. From Castel San Mariano (Perugia), bronze deposit. Central Etruscan. - Höckmann 1, 64-71 no. 26-28, esp. 67. - C. 520-500 B.C. - H. (bearded, lionskin over head, about body, short chiton, short sword [?] in raised r., not a club [Höckmann]), no known examples of H. holding sword in this fashion; on second relief plaque, a woman; third relief: Juno Sospita.

## 8. Hercle and Tinas Cliniar

See 108. 127? 316. 367; → Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 49\* (H. winged). 14\*. 15.

## II. Narrative

### P. Hercle and family life

#### 1. As an infant, strangling the serpents

**152.** (= Alkmene 12 with bibl., = Iphikles 7\* with bibl., = Iolaos/Vile 31) Stamnos, rf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 70528. From Orvieto, Settecaminini, Poggio del Roccolo. - *EVP* 52 pl. 10, 1: Settecaminini P.; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* 173 (20); Bonfante, L., *StEtr* 45, 1977, 154 and n. 17; Adembri, B., in *Pittura etrusca a Orvieto, Cat. mostra Orvieto* (1982) 91-93 no. 13 (fig.) with bibl. - 400-350 B.C. - A, infant H. (inscr.) strangling a snake, → Iphikles (by mistake inscr. *Vile* instead of *Viphide*), woman on l. probably Alkmene, a maid to r. with distaff and spindle; above, Tinia and Uni. B, Ransom of Hector. - Cf. a) (= Apollon/Aplu 51\* with further refs., = Iphikles 8 with bibl.) Calyx krater, Faliscan rf. London, BM F 479. - Nazzano P., c. 380 B.C. - Herakliskos and Iphikles.

**152b)** Terracotta disc (altar decoration?). From Roccagloriosa, Lucania, complex B, found with a bronze club of H. - Unpublished. Fracchia, H. M./Gualtieri, M., *AJA* 93, 1989, 228. - 4th cent. B.C. - Not seen. H. strangles snakes.

#### 2. With wives

H. with Deianeira and → Nessos: 306-311. Hebe is uncertain: see 104. 394. 396. 405-407. 413. 416.

#### 3. With Epiur, child

**153.\*** (= Agamemnon 102 with bibl., = Aias II 115, = Alexandros 106 with bibl., = Aphrodite/Turan 31, = Epiur 1\*, = Helena/Elina 32) Bronze mirror. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1287. From Vulci. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 181; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 77 (53); Pfiffig 2, 82-83 fig. 25. - End 4th cent. B.C. - Inscribed above: *Turan, Hercle, Epiur, Tinia, Thalna*. H. (frontal, lionskin over l. arm, club up in r.) stands be-



Hercle 153

fore Tinia, holds winged boy, → Epiur between Turan and → Thalna, seated and looking on.

**154.** (= Athena/Menerva 158\* with bibl., = Epiur 4) Bronze mirror. Göttingen, Univ. M 58. - Körte, G., *AbhGöttingen* NF 16, 1917, 44 no. 29. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - H. (youthful, lionskin knotted at neck, club down in r.) stands with babe in l. arm, as on 153 and 156, between Turan and → Mean, male (?) at l. Menerva seated to r. - a) Unknown whereabouts. From near Orvieto, Paglia river. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 82 n° 64b. - H. (beardless, standing) holds unnamed baby, between seated, clothed *Thanr* (l.) and *Thalna* (r.).

**155.** (= Athena/Menerva 157 with bibl., = Epiur 2\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Fr 136. North Etruscan workshop (Fischer-Graf). - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 165; Enking, R., *JdI* 59/60, 1944/45, 112-115 pl. 6, 1; Pfiffig 2, 86-87 no. 27. - 350-300 B.C. - Inscribed: *Munthu[ch], [H]ercle, Menrva, Turan*. H. (youthful, lionskin over l. arm, club in l., shouldered) and Menerva, in the center, together hold child (unnamed, holds poppy, bud or egg). H., crowned by → *Munthu[ch]*; Aphrodite/Turan looks on from l.

**156.** (= Athena/Menerva 157a with bibl., = Epiur 3\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror fr. Heligoland, Kropatschek Coll. - Hornbostel, o.c. 56, 97 no. 118. - C. 300 B.C. - H. and Menerva in center of ensemble with child. H. (nude, lionskin over l. arm) holds child in l. as on 153. Menerva embraces H. with her r. Inscribed, fragmentary: → *Leinth* (far r.), *Turan* (r., background), *Men[rva]*; male figure to l. of H. is too incomplete to identify; in background, temple architecture; below: *Catmithe* (→ Ganymedes/Catmite) with eagle; above: satyr?

**157.** (= Athena/Menerva 156\* with bibl., = Epiur 5\*) Bronze mirror fr., Vulci workshop. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Fr 29. From Vulci. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 335, 2; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 72 (19); Pfiffig 2, 88-89 no. 28. - C. 440 B.C. - Inscribed: *Hercle, Epiur*. H. (youthful, beardless, nude) lifts Epiur (mantle,

fillet) onto his shoulder; Menerva (chiton, himation, aegis, helmet, lance), at r., looks on, gestures toward group; owl on plant to r.

### UNCERTAIN CHILD

**158.** (= Athena/Menerva 154\* with bibl., = Epiur 6) Kylix fr., rf. Boston, MFA 90.69. - Beginning 4th cent. B.C. - H. (nude) holds winged child, Epiur(?) with both hands while Menerva looks on from r.

#### 4. With Marś hercles (→ Maris)

**159.** (= Apollon/Aplu 62 with bibl., = Artemis/Artumes 44\*, = Helios/Usil 24, = Iolaos/Vile 14) Bronze mirror. Florence, Priv. Coll. From a chamber tomb in the Contrada Cantolle near Lubriano (Bagnoregio). - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V Nachtr. no. 16, 219-220; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 76 (50.51); Pfiffig 2, 84-85 no. 26; van der Meer, L. B., *The Bronze Liver of Piacenza* (1987) 114-115, 119 no. 7 fig. 67: 375 B.C. - 3rd cent. B.C. - Names inscribed: *Artumes* (in Amazon garb, bow in r.; l. on Aplu's shoulder), *Aplu, Hercle* (center), *Marś hercles* («Hercle's Mars»; youth between Hercle and Vile, chlamys over l. shoulder, lance in l.), *Vile* (r., long mantle, lance). H. (long mantle tied round waist, club down in l.; patera in r.), standing, one foot on boar, looks toward r.; assembly look at him; → Eos/Thesan or sun above.

## Q. Dodekathlon

### 1. Nemean Lion

#### a) Tackles lion from behind, both move in same direction

**160.** Column krater, Apulian (Stähler) bf. Priv. Coll. - Stähler, K., in *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. Festschr. K. Schauenburg* (1986) 53-58 no. 5 pl. 9, 3. - C. 470-460 B.C. - A, both H. (beardless, nude, club down in r., l. extended to lion) and lion (upright) stride toward r. (unique pose), lion rears on one hind leg, other touches picture border, forepaws raised above its head, looks back to H. B, charioteer, biga.

**161.** Clay antefix, Campanian. From Fondo Paturrelli (Capua). - Brown, W. L., *The Etruscan Lion* (1960) 140 pl. 50a with bibl. - Mid-6th cent. B.C. - H. (short chiton, quiver strapped to back) grips lion about neck from behind. Both move toward l.

**162.** (= 229) Terracotta frieze plaque (mould-made) B. Viterbo, Mus. Civ. From Acquarossa (Ferentino), building, Zone F. Caeretan workshop. - Strandberg, M., in *Etruskerna Acquarossa Nyare Fynd och Forskning* (1972) 44-45 pl. 11; Cristofani, M. in *Gli Etruschi*, o.c. 30, 194; Strandberg Olofsson, M., in *Casa e palazzi d'Etruria* (1985) 57. - 550-525 B.C. - H. (quiver strapped to back) grips lion (on all fours) from behind; both move toward l. Cf. series of plaques illustrating H., Cretan bull, 229, and Geryon?, 247.

**163.\*** Bronze tripod reliefs. Munich, Antikenslg., Loeb 66 (A), Loeb 68 (C). From Castel San Mariano

(Perugia), Tomb Fonte Ranocchia. Central Etruscan workshop. - Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 32-33 pls. 11-12; Höckmann 1, 121-123 n. 644 (bibl.). - 550-525 B.C. - Loeb 66 (A) Top relief: H. (short chiton, quiver strapped to back, running-kneeling pose, toward r.), strangling lion from behind, l.; Loeb 68 (C) Bottom relief: near 66 (A) but reversed. H. (quiver at shoulder).

#### b) Assaults attacking lion with club or without weapon

**164.** Oinochoe, bf. Hamburg, Mus. KG 1917.503. Circle of Micali Painter. - Dohrn, T., *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen aus der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jh.* (1937) 154 no. 248: Siren Painter; Beazley/Magi, *RaccGuglielmi* 76; 81 no. 33; Giglioli pl. 131, 3; Hornbostel, o.c. 5c, 65 no. 71. - C. 510 B.C. - H.(?) (no attributes, nude, r. arm raised, club missing) in profile toward r. attacks confronting lion.

**165.** Gem. Unknown whereabouts. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 670. - Free style, late 5th-early 4th cent. B.C. - Both H. and lion stand (composition? not seen) - a) Gem. Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 19, 12; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 675. - *Aglobolo*, 3rd cent. B.C. - H. (club down in r.), runs, assaults huge, rearing lion.

#### c) Closed composition, vertical wrestling hold, both arms about lion

**166.** Bronze relief, simpulum handle base. Genova, Mus. Civ. From Genova, via XX Settembre, Tomb 114. Vulci workshop. - Blanck, H., *AA* 1968, 550 fig. 10; Melli, P., in *Civiltà degli etruschi* (1985) 194 no. 5 (fig.). - C. 490-480 B.C. - H., nude, upright position, grips lion in strangle hold about neck, lion's hind leg presses against H.

**167.** Agate scarab. Rome, Villa Giulia. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 91 pl. 34 no. 167. - Free style, 4th cent. B.C. - Vertical wrestling hold, as previous, club behind H. (nude, beardless) in the field. - a) Unknown whereabouts. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 17, 56; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 164 no. 668. - b) Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 17, 57; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 665. - Same scheme, name *Hercle* on b inscribed.

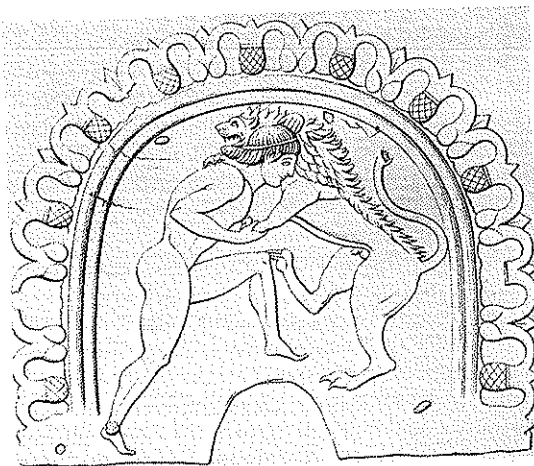
**168.\*** Candelabrum attachment. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 596. Vulci workshop. - Mansuelli, o.c. 130 316-319 pl. 6, 2-6; Brown, o.c. 161, 141-143 pl. 51, a. 1-4. - 475-450 B.C. - H. (nude, beardless) grips lion with both arms about neck and shoulder, lion's l. hind paw presses against H.'s r. knee. H. turns his head to r. and the lion in the opposite direction. - Replicas: a) Candelabrum attachment. Paris, Cab. Méd. 583. From Toscana. - Giglioli pl. 209, 4; Brown, o.c. 161, 141-143; Adam 52-53 no. 52 (fig.) with additional examples. - 475-450 B.C.

#### d) Open triangular composition, wrestling hold

**169.** (= Acheloos 229 with bibl.[A], = Iolaos/Vile 22\*) Neck amphora, bf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 80675. From Saturnia, Necropoli degli Sterpeti. Follower of Micali P. - Camporeale, G., *StEtr* 36, 1968, 31-34 pl. 2; Cristofani, M./Michelucci, M., in *Gli Etruschi in Maremma* (1981) 111 fig. 81; Spivey, o.c.

122, 37 pl. 35 C.: Group of Florence 80675; *idem*, *Ar-tista*, o. c. 122, 86 no. 43 figs. 148-150. - C. 510-500 B. C. - A, H. with Acheloos; B, H. (bearded?, kilt tied about waist) from r., wrestles lion; club and bow hang in field to r.; youth, Iolaos? approaches from l., holding weapons?; identical in pose to that on Caeretan hydria fr. Paris, Louvre, Campana 10229, Hemelrijk, J. M., *Caeretan Hydriae* (1984) 41-42; 174 no. 24, pl. 89b-c; fig. 42: Eagle Painter; c. 520-510 B. C.

170. • Bronze relief covering for a chariot. Unknown whereabouts. From Cerveteri. - Micali, *Monumenti inediti*... (1844) pl. 19, 1; Brown, o. c. 161, 141 pl. 50, b. - Before 450 B. C. - Vertical triangular composition, wrestler's hold. H. grips lion's forepaw in r., his l. arm about the neck; lion's r. forepaw on H.'s shoulder. This leads to throw known as «crossbuttock».



Hercle 170

171. (= 211, = Acheloos 236\* with bibl.) Bronze tripod attachment. Leningrad, Hermitage B 486. Vulci workshop. - Savignoni, L., *MonAnt* 7, 1897, 299-300 no. IX fig. 3; 358-359; Brown, o. c. 161, pl. 39, c. 2; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* pl. 6, 2. - C. 500 B. C. - A, H. wrestling lion (triangular composition, both arms around lion's neck and shoulder, hands locked). Lion's l. paw on hero's r. shoulder; B, H. and Erymanthian Boar; C, Eurystheus; on the arches: A, Herakles with Acheloos, B and C animal combat groups.

172. Bronze cista lid handle. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12.727, Falcioni Coll. 76. - Brown, o. c. 161, 142-143 pl. 51, b. 1-2; Helbig<sup>4</sup> Ino. 703; Dohrn, o. c. 27, 22-23 no. 2. - Mid-5th cent. B. C. - Triangular composition, wrestling pose, H. extends his l. arm about lion's shoulder, its r. paw rests on the hero's l. shoulder, his r. arm drawn back, lion's head up, mouth open. - a) Bronze cista lid handle. Palestrina, Mus. Naz. Barberini Coll. 13140 (formerly Villa Giulia). From Praeneste. - Brown, o. c. 161, 162 pl. 58d. - 4th cent. B. C. - Triangular assault composition; lion's forepaws rest on H.'s (nude, fillet) l. leg, his hand on the lion's mane.

e) Combined triangular composition and assault  
173. • Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Munich, Anti-



Hercle 173

kenslg. 3421. From Palestrina. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 55; Pfiffig 2, 30-31 fig. 2; Adam, o. c. 63, 26 no. 8. - C. 350 B. C. - H. (beardless, club in r., almost rests on shoulder, mantle over l. arm) strides toward r., attacks rearing lion. Menerva, center, background looks on. Beneath lion, human bones; rocky terrain.

#### f) Throttles lion from above

174. • Bronze mirror. Florent, Mus. Arch. 621. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 132; Bayet 1, 104-106; Mansuelli, o. c. 130, 52 (Master of Prometheus); *idem*, *Studi* 76 f.; Szilágyi, J. G., *BullMusHong* 40, 1973, 11 fig. 10; Pfiffig 2, 28 fig. 1. - 4th cent. B. C. - H., same pose as Budapest mirror, 175; stands on his r. foot while his l. presses against lion's l. hind leg; lion's r. leg is



Hercle 174

wedged against hero's. Menerva, behind H., rests r. hand on shield; club rests on ground between H.'s legs.

175. • Bronze mirror. Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts 57.19.A. - Szilágyi, o. c. 174, 9-24. - End 4th-beginning 3rd cent. B. C. - H. (nude, beardless) wrestling lion, r. knee on ground, the l. foot, knee bent, on the ground bracing himself, both arms surround and strangle lion's neck from above; lion's tongue hangs out; club in field behind H. Similar scheme found on Lucanian coins.



Hercle 175

176. Sardonyx scarab. Boston, MFA. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 61, 20; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 666. - C. 400 B. C. - Standing combat, H. above lion. - a) Sard scarab. Boston, MFA 27723. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 63, 23; Beazley, J. D., *The Lewes House Coll. of Ancient Gems* (1920) no. 89 pl. 3; *StEtr* 10, 1936, 403 no. 6; Brown, o. c. 161, 142-143 n. 3; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 164 no. 669; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 72 (18: same as no. 16). - Free style, beginning 4th cent. B. C. - Inscr. *Hercle*. Standing combat, frontal. - b) \* Carnelian scarab. New York, MMA 81.6.7. - Richter, *MetrMusGems* no. 174 pl. 29. - Beginning 4th cent. B. C. - H. standing over small lion. - c) Carnelian scarab. London, BM 719. - Furtwängler, *AG* III 188 fig. 126; Walters, *BMGems* no. 719; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 74 no. 108 pl. 25. - Free style, 400-320 B. C. - Inscription modern. - d) Agate scarab. Paris, Louvre 1200. - de Ridder, A., *Bijoux antiques* no. 1200; Brown, o. c. 161, 142-143 n. 3; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* no. 788 fig. - 4th cent. B. C. - Inscribed letters *Alofa?*. H. (nude, beardless), both arms about lion's neck. Club behind him. Figures in profile, lion's head is frontal. - e) Malibu, Getty Mus. - Boardman, o. c. 46b, no. 171 fig. - *A globolo* style, 3rd cent. B. C. - Cf. f) Scarab. Unknown whereabouts. Formerly Rome market. - Beazley, o. c. a, no. 89 *infra* (not seen); de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 38 (2); Martelli, M., *StEtr* 54, 1986 (1988) 166 no. 4: inscr. *Calanidef*. - H., lion.

177. Campanian architectural terracotta. Salerno, Mus. Prov. From Fratte (Salerno). - Szilágyi, o. c. 174, 19-20 figs. 11-13; Jurgelt, o. c. 91a, 185 fig. 3. - C.

300 B. C. - H. (nude, knee bent, grips lion with both arms from above) wrestles lion in tondo composition; club behind H. in the field, similar to 175, cf. pose on 180 and Herakleian (Lucania) coinage.

178. Silvered relief patera. Rome, Villa Giulia 51939. - *EVP* 285, 291: Bolsena Group; Mingazzini, *CollCastellani* II 262 no. 833 pls. 224, 8; 225, 1. - 275-250 B. C. - Replica from Orbetello, *ibid.* 263. Interior tondo similar to 177; rocky landscape.

179. Gold ring. Naples. Mus. Naz. 115745. From Populonia. - Cristofani, M., in *L'oro degli Etruschi* (1985) 66, 242 (fig.) no 277, 318: beginning 4th cent. B. C. - Similar to 176; vertical composition.

180. • Bronze situla foot, Praenestine. London, BM 650. From Offida, Picenum. - Giglioli pl. 225, 1; Jurgelt, o. c. 97, 72, 146-147 no. K 41, 1-4 pl. 42a-c with bibl. - 4th-beginning 3rd cent. B. C. - H. (cuirass, short chiton, beardless) one knee on ground, grips lion from above about neck, cf. pose on 177.

181. • Candelabrum attachment. London, BM 672. Vulci workshop. - Walters, *BMBronzes* pl. 13; Brown, o. c. 161, 142-143 pl. 51c; Haynes, o. c. 15, 204 (fig.); 295. - C. 400 B. C. - H. grips lion from above, both arms round neck while lion grasps H. at the waist. Hindquarters will be hoisted up in «heave».

#### g) Horizontal composition

182. Oinochoe, bf. New York, MMA 9795. Orvieto Group. - Richter, G. M. A., *BullMMA* 6, 1911, 31 fig. 3; Caldò, A. L., *StEtr* 10, 1936, 432 fig. 1 no. 23; Dohrn, o. c. 164, 157 no. 303; Spivey, o. c. 122, 84 n. 40. - End 6th-early 5th cent. B. C. - H. wrestles lion in horizontal composition.

183. Carnelian scarab. Leningrad, Hermitage. Neverov, o. c. 94b, 1 pl. 8, 5. 6. - Early *a globolo* style, 350-300 B. C. - H. (cuirass, short chiton), wrestling lion, horizontal composition. - a) Zazoff, *EtrSk* 164 no. 672 mentions another example of this type: London, BM 800.

#### UNCERTAIN

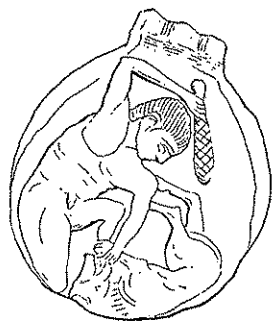
184. (= 224\*) Hydria, bf. (extensively restored). Vatican, Guglielmi Coll. G 92. From Vulci. Follower of Micali Painter. - Beazley/Magi, *RaccGuglielmi* 79 no. 50 pl. 28, 92; Spivey, o. c. 122, 44. - C. 500 B. C. - Shoulder scene: H.? (kilt, quiver strapped about waist) wrestles lion (horizontal composition), and Hind? - a) Bucchero stamoid vase. Chiusi, Mus. Etr. - Brown, o. c. 161, 140. - Late 6th cent. B. C. - H. (horizontal composition) as pancratiast, wrestling full length on ground, scheme repeated four times.

#### h) Unique wrestling hold, lion under Hercle's foot

185. • (= Iolaos/Vile 23) Neck amphora, bf. Richmond, Virginia Mus. 62.1.8. P. of Munich 892. - *Virginia Mus. Art Quarterly*, Summer 1962, 165 fig. 3; *Ancient Art in Virginia Museums* (1973) no. 133; Schwarz, S. J., in *GettyVases* I (1983) 125 no. 5; Rizzo, M. A., in *CerEtr* 38, 182 (fig.). 312 no. 135 with bibl. - C. 500-490 B. C. - A, H. twists r. foreleg of lion, Vile(?) to r., club hangs in center field.

## i) Assault from above, lion down

186.\* Bronze tondo relief, base of trefoil oinochoe. From Tarquinia, Pozzetto 9. - Pernier, L., *NotSc* 1907, 327 fig. 61b. - 4th cent. B.C. - H. (club in raised r.) assaults fallen lion, grips lion's forepaw with l., his foot on lion's head? Lion's legs up, push H. away.



Hercle 186

187. Carnelian scarab. Rome, Villa Giulia. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 130 no. 266 pl. 50. - A globolo style, 3rd cent. B.C. - H. (nude, strides toward r., weapon? in r.) much larger than lion, suspends him by tail?, reminiscent of H. holding a fawn, 13a.

188. Candelabrum attachment. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Fr 2162. From Chiusi. Chiusi workshop (Hostetter). - Neugebauer, K. A., *Antike Bronzestatuetten* (1921) 96-97 pl. 51; *Die Antike* 18, 1942, 35 fig. 16; Brown, o.c. 161, 141; Hostetter 199 no. 4. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. (beardless, fillet about short hair, nude, club in raised r.) assaults fallen lion; grips lion's l. hind leg in l. and places his l. foot on lion's haunch. Lion opens mouth, similar to 185.

## j) Throws lion over his back, wrestling «body slam»

189. (= Athena/Menerva 197) Bronze mirror. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12680. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 133; Delatte, A., *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientale* 3, 1935, 130 n. 3 pl. 8; Mansuelli, *Studi* 76; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* 175 (40); Pfiffig 2, fig. 5. - C. 400 B.C. - Names inscribed: *Herq[le]*, *Menrva*. Unusual composition: H., in three-quarter view, at l., appears to throw lion? (poorly preserved; Pfiffig thought it the Deer) with both hands from over his shoulder toward the ground. Club, bow behind H. in field; Menerva, on platform to r., raises r. hand.

190.\* Agate scarab. New York, MMA 11.195.2. Said to be from Falerii. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 20, 30 and III 186. 449; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* no. 787 fig.; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 164 no. 671. - 450-400 B.C. - H. crouching toward the l., both arms about lion's neck, throwing it from over his back, forward into a «body slam», club to l. of group.

191.\* Carnelian cut scarab. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 386. - *AGD* II no. 243 pl. 52; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 164 no. 673. - Free style, 430-320 B.C. - H. (nude, short hair), grips head of lion to drag it from its cave, club in field behind his l. foot. - Similar: a) Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 674.

192.\* Gold bulla. Birmingham Mus. 1920 A 235. - Unpublished. - 4th-3rd cent. B.C. - H. throws lion in tondo composition, similar to 189. 190? - a)\* Gilt silver finger ring. - Oxford, Ashm. Mus. Fortnum Coll. 81. From Praeneste. - Boardman, o.c. 71, 8. 12. 15 no. 17 pl. 2. - 450-400 B.C. - H. throwing lion.

193. (Uncertain) Two gold finger rings. Paris, Louvre Bj 1112. 1113. Formerly Campana Coll. - Boardman, o.c. 71, 12 no. 27 pl. 17; Sassatelli, G. in *Le monde étrusque, Musée Borély* (1977-1978) 50 no. 30; 56-57 fig. - Unusual. H.? beardless, club in l., frontal, kneeling, chlamys knotted at neck, leans? against lion (in profile, hind quarter above in field), based on throw?

## DOUBTFUL

194. (= 281) Bronze chariot relief frieze. New York, MMA. From Monteleone di Spoleto, Colle del Capitano (Perugia), chamber tomb. Central Etruscan workshop. - Richter, G. M. A., *BullMMA* 21, 1926, 83 fig. 6; Höckmann 1, 118-120 pls. 61-62 with bibl. - C. 540 B.C. - Man, kneeling-crouching with a feline (lion?), l. arm about neck, r. arm around belly, both move toward r.

195. Bronze chariot relief fr. Perugia, Mus. Naz. Arch. 1448. 1403. 1404. 1408. From Castel San Mariano (Perugia). Central Etruscan workshop. - Brown, o.c. 161, 86-87. 92; Höckmann 1, 112 figs. 70. 71 pl. 28, 1-3. - End 6th cent. B.C. - Possibly Peleus and Thetis (Höckmann).

196. Ivory relief pyxis fr. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 20446/7 (785/787). Provenance unknown. Found in collection with Regolini-Galassi material. - Huls, o.c. 91a, 33 no. 3 pl. 3, 2 with bibl.; Martelli, M., in *Il commercio etrusco arcaico. Quaderni del centro di studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica. Atti 5-7 dicembre 1983* [1985] 216 n. 37 (bibl.); 223 fig. 40. - End 6th cent. B.C. - Man (short chiton tied about waist, long strands of curled hair) and lion (on all fours) run in tandem toward l.; type similar to 162.

197. Gold repoussé brooch. Paris, Louvre, Campana 1124. - Coche de la Ferté, E., *Les bijoux antiques* (1956) 78 pl. 30, 4. - C. 600 B.C. - Two pairs of symmetrically confronting man embracing and running in tandem with lion, composition similar to 196.

## 2. Lernaean Hydra

198.\* «Pontic» neck amphora, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 836 WAF. From Vulci. - Ducati, P., *Pontische Vasen* (1932) 20 pl. 24; Hannestad, L., *The Followers of the Paris Painter* (1976) 26-27. 57 no. 20: Tityos P. - C. 530-520 B.C. - H. (?) (beardless, short chiton) with dogs in each hand, running-kneeling pose, faces a twelve-headed Hydra.

199. (= 325, = Iolaos/Vile 24\*) Hydria (without vertical handle), bf. Paris, Louvre CA 2510 (not 2515!). - *EVP* 16, 2: P. of Vatican 238; Maffre, J.-J., *RLouvre* 1985, 2, 87. 94 n. 38 fig. 6a-b. - C. 510-500 B.C. - A, H., nude, club in raised r., one head of Hy-

dra in l., attacks from l. while Vile attacks from r., grips one head of Hydra in l., a harpe in the r. ? (paint missing). Hydra has thirteen heads. B, H. and Triton.

200.\* Bronze cista foot. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etrusco 12729-31. From Vulci (or Orte). Vulci workshop. - Jurgeit, o.c. 97, 23-24 no. K 2, 1-3 pl. 4a-c with bibl. - Last third 6th-early 5th cent. B.C. - Coiled Hydra with seven heads between H. (nude, club in raised r., Hydra head in l.) and Vile (short chiton, cuirass, greaves, sword in r.), both attack from either side of Hydra. Other examples in Jurgeit, nos. K 2, 4-9 pls. 4-6a and Adam 27-28 no. 26. (Cab. Méd. 581) (fig.). H. wears cross-straps on Vatican and Pennsylvania examples.

201.\* Carnelian scarab. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1766. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 70 no. 96 pl. 23. - Late 5th-early 4th cent. B.C. - H. (inscr. *Herde*), knife in l., himation over shoulder, monster with two snake heads probably represents Hydra.

202.\* Carnelian scarab. London, BM 721. - Walters, *BMGems* no. 721 pl. 12; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 641. - End 4th cent. B.C. - H. (nude, assaults with club in raised r., foot on body), holds one of five (?) heads in l.

## UNCERTAIN COMPOSITION

203. (= Athena/Menerva 201 with bibl.) Terracotta relief revetment, *columen* fr. S. Severa (Rome), Antiquarium. From Pyrgi, Temple B, front facade. Caeretan workshop. - Colonna, G., *NotSc* 24, 1970, suppl. 2, *Pyrgi* 294-300 fig. 216-220; *idem*, o.c. 77, 25 ff. - C. 510 B.C. - Fr. of four figures, two male, two female, = H.? (fr. of lionskin), Vile?, Uni? (diademed female), Menerva? (fr. of crested helmet, vest, chiton), fr. of lion (does not belong), and two Hydra heads with l. hand attached.

204. *Vacat.*

## UNCERTAIN

205. Olpe. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 1255. From Tarquinia. Group of the Phoenician Palmette. - Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 18-19 fig. 6 and n. 99. - 575-550 B.C. - Man, H.? fights two-headed snake with sword/stick?

206. Bronze statuette. Unknown whereabouts. From Chiusi. - *NotSc* 1887, pl. 5. - 3rd-1st cent. B.C. - H. (frontal nude, beardless, lionskin [?] around neck, club [?] in r., legs bent) flanked by two snakes (winged, bearded), Hydra? Cf. Roman mosaic, bronze, → Herakles 1599. 1628.

## 3. Erymanthian Boar

## a) Alone with boar

207. Carnelian scarab. Sarasota (Florida), Ringling Mus. GCC 1002 (129). Former Gavet Coll. - Unpublished. - 5th cent. B.C. - H. (nude, beardless) bends toward l., forces boar (?) into pithos.

208.\* Carnelian scarab. London, BM 72.6-4.1140 (668). From Chiusi. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 18, 30; III 190; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 76 no. 115 pl. 25. - 400-350 B.C. - H. (chlamys clasped at neck, over shoulders, sword

in r., club in raised l.) assaults a boar (Furtwängler, Zazoff: Theseus and Krommyon sow; opposed; Beazley, o.c. 176a, 72; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* 197 fig. 795: «boar, not a sow»; Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* II 24).

## b) With boar, → Eurystheus (and Menerva)

209. (= Athena/Menerva 198\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror. London, BM 619. North Etruscan workshop (Fischer-Graf). - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 339; Pfiffig 2, 34-35 no. 4. - End 4th cent. B.C. - H. (beardless, nude, lionskin entwined about his l. arm, club down in r.) center, his foot on tethered boar, looks at Eurystheus; Menerva (peplos, aegis, helmet, shield, lance) at l., looks on.

210. Carnelian scarab. Formerly Munich, Arndt Coll. 1599. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 160 no. 588. - 400-350 B.C. - H. (club) stands near vessel (pithos?); small form inside, Eurystheus? No boar present.

211.\* (= 171, = Acheloos 236 with bibl.) Bronze rod tripod. Vulci workshop. Leningrad, Hermitage, B 486. - Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 35. 79 n. 230 pl. 6, 3-4. - C. 510-500 B.C. - On the uprights between arches: A, H. and Lion; B, H. and Boar. H. (beardless, nude), Boar on his shoulders, strides toward r.; C, on adjacent arch to r. is Eurystheus in pithos, hand raised, pleading. Behind him, a woman, Eurystheus' mother?

## UNCERTAIN

212.\* Bronze candelabrum finial. New York, MMA 06.1092. Said to have been found at Sirolo near Ancona. Vulci workshop. - Richter, *MetrMus-Bronzes* 44 no. 63 (youth). - Early 5th cent. B.C. - Youth, H.? (perizoma? about hips) turns slightly toward r., bends, supports boar on his back.

## 4. Kerynitian Deer

## a) Alone with Deer

213.\* Carnelian scarab. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1966.597. - Boardman/Vollenweider, *CatGemsOxford* I no. 212 fig. - Mid-5th cent. B.C. - Earliest of similar scheme in examples that follow. H., however, raises club above his head, holding stag antler. - a) Carnelian scarab. Malibu, Getty Mus. - Boardman, o.c. 46b, 44. 106 no. 148 fig. - Early a globolo, late 4th cent. B.C. - H. (nude, bearded, club up in l.?, horn in the other), stands beside Deer, both moving in same direction. - b) Formerly Capranesi. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 19, 5; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 618. - Early a globolo style, beginning 3rd cent. B.C. - c)\* Florence, Mus. Arch. 14428. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 130 no. 263 pl. 50, a globolo. - d) Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 216. - *AGD* II no. 264; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 620. - All previous are carnelian scarabs, same scheme. - e) Carnelian scarab. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 107983. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 619. - 3rd cent. B.C. - Similar, except H. has a spear in hand. Cf. also Zazoff nos. 621-625.

214. Carnelian scarab. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IX B 179. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 19, 9; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 637; *AGOe* I no. 66 pl. 13. - Early 3rd cent. B.C. -



H. grasps horn and moves away from Deer; club in field.

**215.** Sardonyx scarab. Hamburg, Mus. KG 1964.307. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 130 no. 264 fig; *AGD* IV no. 371 pl. 256, 35. - 3rd cent. B.C. - H. and Deer both vertical and parallel scheme; vertical club divides pair.

**216.\*** Carnelian scarab. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 43975. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 130 no. 265 fig. - 3rd cent. B.C. - H. grips one horn, both kneel.

**217.\*** Carnelian scarab. New York, MMA 41.160.504. - Richter, *MetMusGems* no. 217 pl. 33. - 3rd cent. B.C. - Same scheme on a) Carnelian scarab. - *MuM* Sonderliste K (1968) no. 115 fig. - H. (club in l.) in profile toward l., grasps horn and kneels on back of downed Deer. - b) Carnelian scarab. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. Dfa 110. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 629; *idem*, *AG* 243 n. 173 pl. 61, 9. - Advanced a *globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. - Both kneel, H. kneels on Deer's back, grips one horn.

**218.** Bronze statuette group. Location unknown. From Vulci. - *Atti VII<sup>o</sup> Congr. Int. di Arch. Class.* 1958 II (1961) 265 pl. V fig. 3. - C. 400 B.C. - H. (nude, lionskin cap, "collar", assaults with club [missing] in raised r., l. bow? [missing]); the Deer runs away. Possibly third figure of Aplu completed a group similar to that found on the helmet appliqué **221**. Statuette type represents transformation from older, rigid "Ionic-Cypriote" scheme **12-14**, to classicizing adaptation similar to examples in Colonna 1, 83 nos. 193. 194 pls. 63. 62: South Umbrian, "Pesaro Maestro". - Cf. a) Bronze group. From Vulci excavations, H.(?) sanctuary. - Unpublished; de Cazanove, O., *MEFRA* 98, 1986, 7-36: 4th cent. B.C. - H. and Deer. Type unknown.

#### UNCERTAIN

**219.** Scaraboid. London, BM 837. Formerly Castellani Coll. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 19, 14; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 628. - Early 3rd cent. B.C. - Nude man bends to l. toward quadruped.

#### b) With Aplu and Deer

**220.** Amphora, bf. Ticino, Priv. Coll. - Uggeri, G., *QuadTic* 4, 1975, 17 ff. pl. 6; Spivey, N. J., *Prospettiva* 40, 1985, 16; Spivey, o.c. **122**, 29 no. 191: Micali P. - C. 500-490 B.C. - Under handles, small figures of Aplu (chiton, mantle) at l., aims bow and arrow at H.; H. (unbearded, chlamys tied about waist, bow, two arrows in raised l., club horizontal in r.); Deer, center, rearing, faces Aplu.

**221.** (= Apollon/Aplu **13\*** with bibl.) Bronze helmet relief appliqué. Paris, Cab. Méd. 2013. From Vulci, Tomba Campanari (found with the Vatican tripod). Vulci workshop. - Giglioli pl. 104, 1; Adam 108-110 no. 132 figs. - End 6th-beginning 5th cent. B.C. - Same scheme as **222**. H. (beardless? lionskin cap falls away from his head, knotted about neck and waist as Portonaccio **[222]** and S. Omobono **[131]** type; club in r.), assaults and grips Deer by horns; Aplu (bow drawn) shoots at H.; Deer, fettered, back down on ground between two gods.

**222.\*** (= Apollon/Aplu **12**, = Artemis/Artumes **57**) Terracotta ridge pole statue group. Rome, Villa Giulia 40704. From Veii, Portonaccio Temple. - Giglioli pls. 189-196; André, o.c. **80a**, 3-5; Herbig, R./Simon, E., *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker* (1965) pl. 9. 11. 12; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III no. 2554; Colonna 3, 431-433. 435 figs. 16-18. - End 6th cent. B.C. - Aplu (probably held bow in r., arrows in l.) rushes toward H. (lionskin cap, knotted at neck and cinched at the waist, chiton beneath); l. foot holds fettered Deer to ground. Turms (head preserved) belongs with group; woman holding child.

#### DOUBTFUL

**223.** "Pontic" amphora, bf. Formerly Munich, Antikenslg. 839 (J 1012). - Sieveking/Hackl 103 pl. 34 figs. 108-109; Dohrn, o.c. **164**, no. 75; Hannestad, o.c. **198**, 62 no. 55; Silen P. - C. 540-520 B.C. - A, three figures chase Deer toward l. Youth, H. ? (beardless, short chiton, bow in l., club in raised r.) assaults rearing Deer; woman (tutulus, chiton), nude youth with long hair, Aplu?

**224.\*** (= **184**) Hydria, bf. (extensively restored). Vatican, Guglielmi Coll. G 92. From Vulci. - Follower of Micali P., c. 500 B.C. - Shoulder scene: H. ? (sword ?), seated, holding tethered Deer?

See also → Artemis/Artumes **74**.

#### 5. Stympthalian Birds

**225.\*** Onyx scarab. Malibu, Getty Mus. Boardman, o.c. **46b**, 105 no. 140 fig. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - H. (bearded, nude, club in l.) holds Bird in r.; stands on another.

**226.** Carnelian scarab. Hamburg, Mus. KG 1964.302. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 135 no. 278 pl. 52: late non-Etruscan style; *AGD* IV no. 43. - H. (bearded, nude, lionskin over shoulders), kneeling on club, shoots (with drawn bow and arrow) three flying Birds. - a) Scarab. Unknown whereabouts. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 18, 69; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 166 no. 717: late non-Etruscan style, 2nd-1st cent. B.C.? - b) Scarab. Unknown whereabouts. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 718: late non-Etruscan style, 2nd-1st cent. B.C.? - Same scheme, without club.

**227.\*** Sard ringstone. London, BM 1041. - Walters, *BMGems* no. 1041; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 719. - A *globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. - H. kneels toward the r. shoots two Birds; his club in the field.

#### 6. Cretan Bull

**228.\*** Calyx krater, rf. Chicago, Art Institute 89.18 (extensively restored). Said to be from Capua. - Beazley, J. D., in *Festschr. A. Rumpf* (1952) 10-11 pl. 3; Perugia P. - C. 420-400 B.C. - A, below, center, H. (nude, lionskin cap and knotted at neck) fights Cretan bull from l., H. stands facing viewer from opposite side of bull, club in raised r., l. grips bull's neck; be-

low, l., → Minos (I); r., Turms, Nike?, above, unidentified man, Tinia?, woman, Menerva?

**229.** (= **162**) Terracotta relief plaque (type A). Viterbo, Mus. Civ. A 1. From Acquarossa (Ferento), building, Zone F. Caeretan workshop. - Cassieri, N., in *Prima Italia*, o.c. **122**, 122-123 no. 75 fig. with bibl.; Strandberg Olofsson, o.c. **162**, 57 with bibl. - a) Other fr. of same matrix. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Castel d'Asso and Tuscania. - Colonna di Paolo, E./Colonna, G., *Castel d'Asso I* (1970) 53 pl. 451, 2; Cristofani, M., in *Gli Etruschi*, o.c. **30**, 194 pl. 12b; b) Tuscania fr. *StEtr* 48, 1980, 545-546 pl. 105, 6. - 550-525 B.C. - H. (bearded, quiver strapped to back, bow in field, his body hidden behind bull) places his arm about animal's middle, grips l. front hoof, his l. hand holds horn; both move toward r. No relationship to flanking scenes of soldiers (l.) and chariot procession (r.), cf. **162**. **247**.

#### UNCERTAIN

**230.** (= **246/274**) Column krater, Etrusco-Corinthian. Paris, Louvre E 631. From Cerveteri. Vulci workshop. - Colonna, G., *StEtr* 29, 1961, 51 no. 20; 55-56 pls. 13-14: Rosoni P. (Cretan bull); Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 18. 19 n. 98 (cattle of Geryon or Alkyoneus ?); Martelli, in *CerEtr* 28. 133 (fig.). 291 (bibl.; Cretan bull or Alkyoneus). - 580-560 B.C. - A, H. and Alkyoneus. B, two men with knives or short swords follow bull; first of two grasps tail of (Cretan?) bull.

**231.** Buccero pesante oinochoe with calf's head, stamped relief. Florence, Mus. Arch. 3190. From Chiusi. Chiusi workshop. - Batignani, G., *StEtr* 33, 1965, 304 no. 172; SBH, *Etrusker* 92 pl. 43 with bibl. - After mid-6th cent. B.C. - Man, H.? or → Theseus? (beardless, short chiton) strides toward l., grips bull's horn and hoof, repeated three times; or H. and Geryon?

#### FALSE

**232.** Bronze cista. Leningrad, Hermitage B 546. Formerly Campana Coll. - Bordenache/Emiliozzi, o.c. **127**, 103-105 no. 25 pls. 125-127: false. - H. (nude, lionskin knotted at neck), grapples, holding bull's horn while Menerva looks on; club rests against rock; Menerva(?) stands behind bull to r.; l. and r., a toilet scene.

#### 7. Horses of Diomedes

##### a) One horse

**233.\*** Carnelian scarab. London, BM 720. - Bayet 1, 122; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 165 no. 689. - 4th cent. B.C. - Both run r.; H. (lionskin covers head and back), assaults single horse with club in r., holds bridle with his l., both in tandem toward r. Dog runs under horse. - a) Carnelian scarab. Naples, Mus. Naz. - *Ibid.* 165 no. 686. - 5th-4th cent. B.C. - H. seizes rearing horse of Diomedes.

**234.\*** Carnelian scarab. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 2265. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 68 no. 93 pl. 22. - Free style, late 5th-early 4th cent. B.C. - H. (nude, bearded) bends over small horse; club under him.

**235.** (= Herakles **242I\*** with bibl.) Jasper ring stone. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 384. - Schefold/Jung, *SB IV* 154 fig. 192: c. 300 B.C. - H. (nude, bearded, club in raised r.) and one horse, parallel, toward l. - a) Carnelian scarab. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. M 142. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 165 no. 687. - A *globolo*, 3rd cent. B.C. - H. (nude bearded, club in raised r.) and one horse following in parallel movement toward l.

##### b) With two horses

**236.\*** Oinochoe, bf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81057 (H 2506). From Vulci. - *EVP* 17, 4: Kyknos P. - Late 6th cent. B.C. - H. and youth (Beazley: Diomedes ?); two horses stand to l.

**237.\*** Carnelian scarab. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 47. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 128 no. 262 pl. 49. - A *globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. - Club behind hero, before pair of horses.

**238.\*** Bronze cista lid handle. London, BM 642. From Palestrina. Central Etruscan workshop? - Bayet 1, 122; Heurgon, J., *Daily Life of the Etruscans* (1964) pl. 13; Birchall, A./Corbett, P., *Greek Gods and Heroes* (1974) no. 26. - Late 4th-early 3rd cent. B.C. - H. (beardless, nude, lionskin cap, down back, tied at neck), arms extended to hold bridle (missing) of each rearing horse.

**239.** Carnelian scarab. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 23585. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 131 no. 267 pl. 50. - A *globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. - H. between two horses, club over his l. shoulder, Second horse is incomplete (inactive scheme). - Similar: a) Vatican, Bibl. Apost., Coll. Borgia 454. - Zazoff no. 688.

See also → Herakles **242A**.

#### UNCERTAIN

**240.** Gold plaque (center of nine). London, BM 1282. - Marshall, *BMJewellery* no. 1282 fig. 25. - 5th cent. B.C. - Bearded man (cuirass, animal skin) between two horses galloping to front in Master of animals scheme, or biga?

#### 8. Amazons

See also → Amazonas Etruscae **15** = Helene/Elina **40**.

**241.\*** Calyx krater, rf. Perugia, Mus. Naz. Arch. 791. From Montelucre Necropolis (Perugia). - *AZ* 1879, pl. 16; *EVP* 165; Camporeale, G., *StEtr* 27, 1959, 120-121; Cristofani, M., in *CerEtr* 224-225 (figs.). 326 no. 173 (fig.; bibl.). - 330-300 B.C. - A, H. (nude, beardless, lionskin knotted at neck, club in raised r., bow in raised l.) assaults falling Amazon (Boeotian shield, helmet, snakes about waist, sword falls to ground) before him; woman at H.'s l. and Amazons at r., all flanked by winged women (l. winged woman holds snakes). B, combat.

**242.** (= Amazonas Etruscae **14\*** with bibl., = Iolaos/Vile **26**) Bronze mirror. Toronto, ROM 919.26.31. From Castel d'Asso. Vulci workshop. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 69 pl. 56; Matteucig, G., *AJA* 50, 1946, 63 fig. 4; 64-65; Fischer-Graf 93-94 V 61. -



Hercle 243

End 4th cent. B.C. – H. (light beard, lionskin cap, short chiton, muscle cuirass) assaults Amazon, sinking back, as in 244; broken axe below her. Vile seated at l. behind H., watches. Cf. 67, for the H. type (esp. lionskin with muscle cuirass, light beard).

243.\* Bronze mirror fr. Florence. Mus. Arch. 73645. Vulci workshop. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 136; inscription: Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 190–191 n. 1; *TLE* 645; Fischer-Graf 95 V 68. – Last third 4th–early 3rd cent. B.C. – Inscribed: *v. r(?) mi scatnasvechnasvechnartha* (above in field); *Hercle* (inscr. on club; lionskin cap, knotted about neck, over his l. arm, club in raised r.) assaults Amazon while holding her away with his l. Amazon (short chiton, helmet, shield. *...chn...* inscr. on shield, crouches? [lower part of mirror missing], crossband with round brooch as 244). Behind H., winged demon, Nike? (missing below hair).



Hercle 244

244.\* (= Amazonas Etruscae 16, = Athena/Menerva 199 with bibl.) Bronze mirror. Rome, Villa Giulia 24872. Formerly R. de Witt Coll. (Orbetello), then Mus. Kircheriano 5568. Vulci workshop. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV 1, 85 pl. 341, 2; Fischer-Graf 93–94 V 62 pl. 26, 1. – 4th cent. B.C. – Names inscribed in cartouches: *Hercle* (center, lionskin cap, club) assaults Hippolyte/Hephle(n)ta (chiton, crossband, helmet, shield, axe); *Menerva* watches from l.

### 9. Geryon

245. (= 280, = Geryoneus 19 with bibl.) Column krater, Etrusco-Corinthian. Cerveteri, Mus. Naz., formerly Rome, Villa Giulia 19539. From Cerveteri, Banditaccia Necropolis, Tumulus I, tomb 1. – Cassieri, *o.c.* 229, 124 no. 76; Martelli, M., in *Cer-Etr* 28, 132 (fig.). 289–291 no. 85 (bibl.): P. of Code Annodate. – C. 590–570 B.C. – H. (lionskin cap, quiver, drawn bow and arrow) toward r., shoots attacking, falling, two-bodied Geryon (fr.); two arrows hit giant in foot or knee, arrows bent.

### UNCERTAIN

246. (= 230/274) Column krater, Etrusco-Corinthian. Paris, Louvre E 631. – C. 580–560 B.C. – See 230: B, two men (H. and Vile?) with knives or short swords follow a bull, cattle of Geryon? The lead man holds tail.

247. Terracotta frieze plaque (mould-made) fr. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. From Tarquinia. Caeretan workshop. – Cristofani, M., in *Gli Etruschi*, *o.c.* 30, 194 pl. 12c. – 550–525 B.C. – Fr. of herd of cattle moving toward r.; belongs with series of relief plaques, some illustrating H. labors, from Acquarossa, cf. 162, 229, Cerveteri, cf. Cristofani, *o.c.* pl. 11b, Tuscania, *ibid.* 11c, Castel d'Asso, cf. 229.

### 10. Kerberos

#### a) Alone with Kerberos

##### (i) Foot on Kerberos' back

248. Scarab. Unknown whereabouts. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 18, 15; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 163 no. 649. – 5th–4th cent. B.C. – H. (lionskin over shoulders) puts foot on K.'s (three heads, snake tail) back. – a) Carnelian scarab. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1763. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 163 no. 655. – 3rd cent. B.C. – H. (club, bow) stands with both feet on K.'s back.

##### (ii) Rides on Kerberos' back

249. Carnelian scarab. Taranto, Mus. Naz. 12017. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 163 no. 650. – 500–450 B.C. – H. rides on K.'s (two heads, three tethers, snake tail) back.

##### (iii) Kerberos beside H.

250.\* Carnelian scarab. London, BM 1901.7–3.1. – Walters, *BMGems* no. 723 pl. 12; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* 197 no. 793 fig. – Late archaic, 520–480 B.C. – H. (club in l., three tethers in r. fastened to K.'s

three necks, snake tail, chlamys trails behind H.) strides l., leads K. – Similar scheme: a) Carnelian scarab. From Chiusi. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 163 no. 651. – 5th cent. B.C.

#### (iv) H. drags Kerberos

251.\* (= 354a) Carnelian scarab. London, BM 72.6–14.1165. Formerly Castellani Coll. – Walters, *BMGems* no. 620 pl. 11; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* 197 no. 794 fig. with bibl. – Early 5th cent. B.C. – H. (nude, club in raised r., tripod on l. shoulder) assaults K. (one head, snakes emerge from his back, tail ends in serpent's head?), both run toward l., star in field.

252. Carnelian scarab. Rome, Villa Giulia. Zazoff, *EtrSk* 92 no. 175 pl. 35. – End 4th cent. B.C. – H. (assault type) in violent movement, runs toward l., drags (tether) cowering K. (3 heads).

#### (v) Lion wrestling scheme

253. Carnelian scarab. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1762<sup>B</sup>. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 163 no. 652. – A globolo style, 3rd cent. B.C. – H. and K. in lion wrestling scheme as 176c (Zazoff pl. 25, 108), throttles K. from above.

#### (vi) Inactive

254.\* Carnelian scarab. Geneva, Mus. 1964.20253. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 107 no. 203 pl. 40; *idem*, *AG* 239 n. 141 pl. 60, 4; Vollenweider, *CatGenève* 1 no. 230. – 3rd–2nd cent. B.C. – H. (statuesque; club down in l., lionskin over shoulders) in three-quarter view, holds tether of K. (3 heads) up in r. – Stands near K. (3 heads) on: a) Carnelian scarab. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1776ter. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 163 no. 653. – 3rd cent. B.C.

### UNCERTAIN

255.\* Belly amphora, bf. Paris, Louvre CA 1870. – AA 1912, 539; Dohrn, *o.c.* 164, no. 143 (Pontic); *idem*, *StEtr* 12, 1938, 289; *EVP* 11: Ivy Leaf Group. – 550–525 B.C. – Nude youth, H.(?) holds kentron(?) in raised l., leads dog (one head), K. (?) on tether toward r.

#### b) With others

H. leads Kerberos

256.\* Hydria, Campanian bf. Naples, Mus. Naz. Ragusa Coll. (Taranto). – DAI neg. 68.4528–31; Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 96, C 6. Unpublished. – 525–500 B.C. – H. (bearded, short chiton, cuirass, bow in l., quiver), walks toward r. (looks back to K.) behind Hermes (petasos, caduceus, winged boots), leads K. (three heads) on tether to r., before Menerva (helmet, shield). Shoulder: Perseus and Gorgons.

257.\* Column krater, Apulian (Stähler) bf. Bari, Mus. Arch. 4305. From Ruvo? – Dohrn, *o.c.* 164, 130: Kyknos P.; *EVP* 17; Parise Badoni, F., *Ceramica campana a figure nere* (1968) 70–71 no. 16; De Juliis, E. M., *Archeologia in Puglia. I Musei archeologici della Provincia di Bari* (1983) 26 fig. 33; Stähler, *o.c.* 160, 54–58 no. 1. – 470–460 B.C. – A, H. (nude, frontal, tether in l., turns back to touch 2nd of three heads with r.) leads K. to r.; Menerva at r. gestures.

### 11. Hercle and the Hesperides

#### a) Alone, resting

258. Rectangular bronze cista short sides (unpublished), Praenestine. Rome, Villa Giulia 13133. From Palestrina. – Della Seta, *o.c.* 72, 452 no. 13133; Ducati 558 f. 678; Giglioli 54 pl. 295; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III no. 2942; Foerst, *o.c.* 107, 174–175 no. 75 pl. 48a–c (short sides not illustrated). – Late 3rd cent. B.C. – Short sides: a) Turns (caduceus, winged hat in background); b) H. (laurel crown, three apples in l., patera in r., club leans against a column), each have mantle over l. arm, flanked by columns, cf. → Herakles 65a.

#### b) Supports firmament

259. (→ Atlas 17, at the end) Sardonyx scarab. Boston, MFA 27.724. – Beazley, *o.c.* 176a, no. 88 pl. 3; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* 197 no. 792 fig.; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 72 (17). – Early 4th cent. B.C. – H. (inscr. *Hercle*, frontal, nude, lionskin over his shoulders), knees bent under weight, on rocky ground, supports firmament on shoulders; lunar crescent, stars. Tree of Hesperides at his l.; club stuck in rock, quiver tied to it, bow and plant below. Atlas/Aril does not appear. Cf. bronze mirror → Atlas 15\*: H. (apples, club in his hands) (inscr. *calanice*) walks away while Aril (inscr.) supports firmament.

260. Carnelian scarab. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 23583. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 92 no. 176 pl. 35. – Early a globolo style, late 4th cent. B.C. – H., staggers to support heavens, wears perizoma or skin(?) about hips, club between legs, bow to l. in field, gorytos (?) behind.

#### c) In the garden

### UNCERTAIN HERCULE

261. Trozzella, Messapian bf. Lecce, Mus. Prov. 425. – Delli Ponti, G., in *Il Mus. Prov. Castromediano di Lecce* (1983) 17–18 fig. 16. – 5th cent. B.C. – Hunt scene? or H. in the garden of the Hesperides? Man (club in raised l., lionskin? or chlamys on shoulders, r. extended toward tree) attacks tree (apples?) toward the l.; three cocks fill the frieze to r. and l. of main scene.

#### d) With Menerva (others) and the apples of the Hesperides

262. (= Athena/Menerva 187\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror. Unknown whereabouts. Formerly priv. Coll. Weimar. Vulci workshop (Fischer-Graf). – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 153. – 450–440 B.C. – H. (beardless, nude, lionskin over his l. arm, perhaps holds apples of Hesperides in l.) at r. faces Menerva.

263. (= Athena/Menerva 194\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror. London, BM 544. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 134; Pfiffig 2, 32–33 no. 3 fig. – 440–430 B.C. – Inscribed: *Herkle, Menrva* run toward r., flee garden of Hesperides. H. (beardless youth, lionskin over l. shoulder, apples in l., club in r., quiver and bow between his legs) looks back. Behind Menerva (winged), three-headed snake, Ladon? (Hydra?).

264.\* (= Athena/Menerva 196 with bibl.)

Bronze mirror. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Fr. 138. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 140; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 75 (39); Fischer-Graf 24–25 V 12 pls. 3, 4; Pfiffig 2, 46 fig. 9. – End 5th cent. B.C. – Names inscribed: *Menerva*, *Herhile* (beardless, fillet, lionskin kilt, club shoulder on r., l. hand on goat) in garden of Hesperides, H. moves toward l., Ladon at l., Hesperides tree with apples in background. H. and Menerva (laurel wreath, offering box in l.) stand on platform, touch goat (sacrifice? on altar with flames?) two birds upright in tree, third falls. Tree in foreground; sun and star in field.

#### UNCERTAIN MENERVA AND VILE

265. (= Iolaos/Vile 9) Bronze mirror. Rome, Villa Giulia 24888. Vulci workshop. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 338, 1; Fischer-Graf 93 V 60. – Late 4th–early 3rd cent. B.C. – H., Menerva(?) and Vile(?). H. (youth, apples? in l., club down in r.), Menerva (chiton, himation, stephane, necklace) r. arm on H.'s shoulder. Vile (chlamys) seated at l.

### R. Hercle and expedition to Troy

#### I. With Hesione and Ketos

266.\* (= 293) Kelebe, rf. Perugia, Mus. Naz. From Perugia, Palazzone necropolis. Volterra Group. – *EVP* 124–125, 1: Hesione P.; Montagna Pasquonucci, M., *Le kelebai volterrane* (1968) 24, 100; Manconi, D., in *Prima Italia*, o.c. 122, 177–78 no. 125; *idem*, in *Civiltà degli Etruschi* (1985) 332 (fig.). 334 no. 2; Harari, M./Oddone, M., in *Contributi alla Ceramica etrusca tardo-classica. Atti del Seminario 1984* (1985) 50–54 fig. 18 (A only). – 350–325 B.C. – A, H. fights → Ketos; B, H. (nude, club, down in r.), supports, arm about woman, → Hesione? (nude, mantle), who leans? against H., pulls at her mantle, her feet on rocky shore; cf. similar motif, but different theme, → Herakles 1544.

#### UNCERTAIN

267. Bronze mirror. Perugia, Mus. Naz. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 65; Brommer, *Herakles* II 61 fig. 30. – 3rd cent. B.C. – H. (beardless, chiton, cuirass) adjusts mantle about rescued woman, Hesione?, defeated Ketos? at l.

#### 2. With Hesione, Laomedon/Lamtu[n] and/or others

268. (= Hekabe 60) Bronze mirror. M.G. Ortiz Coll. (Switzerland). From Capodimonte on Lake Bolsena. Central Etruscan workshop. – Jucker, I., *AntK* 29, 1986, fig. 3 pls. 24–26, 1. – 325–300 B.C. – Names inscribed: H. (beardless, nude, club rests on r. shoulder, lionskin knotted at neck) shakes hand of *Lamtu* (→ Laomedon); woman, *Echpa* (→ Hekabe) sits on rocky shore, protects *Vilia* (daughter of Ilion, He-

sione) on her lap. For *Lamtu* inscribed, cf. → Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 58\*.

#### UNCERTAIN

269.\* Bronze mirror. Unknown whereabouts. Formerly Paris, Oppermann Coll. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 341, 1: Hesione. – 3rd cent. B.C. – H. (center, club resting on r. shoulder), his arm about woman, Hesione? (nude, mantled pulled up in bridal gesture, necklace, boots); similar: 266. 267. Seamonster's tail? Ketos? under H.'s r. flexed leg. Nude woman (mantle) at r., arms extended toward H., dolphin at l.

See also 398a.



Hercle 269

### S. Other principal adversaries

#### I. Acheloos

270. (= 284) «Pontic» neck amphora, bf. Amsterdam, Priv. Coll. Drukker, A., *BullAntBesch* 54, 1979, 65–75 figs. 2–3, 7: Silen P. – C. 520 B.C. – A, H. and centaur; B, H. (beard, nude, club assaulting in raised r., bow in l.) runs («Knielauf»), attacks while → Acheloos (beard, horn) walks, H. toward r., and confronts A. moving toward l.; moment before conflict; cf. → Acheloos 234\* for similar composition.

271.\* Neck amphora, bf. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. 386A. Near Pontic Group. – Drukker, o.c. 270, 70. 75 pl. 8. – C. 530–520 B.C. – H. (kilt?, no weapons) pulls Acheloos by horn, from above, tries to force Acheloos to kneel.

272. (= Acheloos 231 with bibl.) Scarab. Unknown whereabouts. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 17, 58; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 157 no. 544. – Beginning 5th cent. B.C. – Standing combat. H. grips Acheloos in wrestling hold from above.

273. Terracotta relief pinax. Rome, Villa Giulia, Veii Deposit 2281. From Veii, Portonaccio sanctuary.

– Colonna 3, 437. 439 fig. 25. – 450–400 B.C.? – H. (youthful, nude, head missing, no lionskin), Acheloos (bull body, human head, facing). Both move r., H. leans against A., grips horn.

#### 2. Alkyoneus

274.\* (= 230 [with bibl.]/246) Column krater, Etrusco-Corinthian. Louvre E 631. From Cerveteri. – Bianchi Bandinelli, *ElaR* 154 fig. 178; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 18 f. n. 100; Drukker, o.c. 270, 68. – 580–560 B.C. – A, H. (bearded, short chiton) attacks giant, → Alkyoneus (cuirass; lying on ground) from r. B, H. and cattle of Geryon or Cretan bull?

#### 3. Antaios

275.\* (= Antaios 134) Carnelian scarab. Florence, Mus. Arch. From Podere il Casone, Tomb (Populonia). – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 91 no. 166 pl. 34, 166; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 71 (5); Zazoff, *AG* 235 n. 112 pl. 59, 10. – 500–450 B.C. – Inscribed: *Hercle*. H. and → Antaios combat face to face. In field, club and twisted snare.

#### 4. With Cacus

#### UNCERTAIN

276. (= Cacus 5 with bibl.) Bronze lebes. London, BM 55.8–16.1 (560). From Santa Maria di Capua Vetere. – Small, J. P., *Cacus and Marsyas in Etrusco-Roman Legend* (1982) *passim*, esp. 16–36. 124–126; Haynes, o.c. 15, 269–270 no. 64. – End 6th cent. B.C. – H. guides a herd of cattle toward r.; turns back to a person, Cacus? (bound, hand and foot), suspended from tree.

#### 5. With Kentauroi

#### a) Pholos

##### (i) With Pholos

277. «Pontic» oinochoe, bf. Unknown whereabouts. Vulci workshop? Banti, L., *StEtr* 34, 1966, 372 no. 3 fig. 1b pl. 73; Hannestad, o.c. 198, 57 no. 26: Tityos P.; Schwarz 74 ff. fig. 12a. b. c; Schiffler, B., *Die Typologie des Kentauren in der antiken Kunst vom 10. zum Ende des 4. Jh. v. Chr.* (1976) 305 with bibl. no. E 24; Brize, Ph., *Die Geryoneis des Stesichoros ...* (1980) 147 no. Phol 9. – C. 520–510 B.C. – Pholos behind H., seated on stool, facing r.; pithos at l. H. (lionskin cap, club in r. bow in l.) runs toward r., fights three attacking centaurs (equine forelegs, weapons: branches).

278. (= Iolaos/Vile 27) Amphora, bf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 78738. From Cortona. Orvieto Group. – Magi, A., *StEtr* 21, 1950/51, 375–377 figs. 1–2; Schwarz 91 ff. figs. 18a. b; Schiffler, o.c. 277, 307 with bibl. no. E 42. – 500–475 B.C. – H. (beardless, nude, club in r., bow in l.) strides toward r., Pholos?

(bearded, human forelegs, wineskin bag? in both hands) behind H. One centaur (rock) attacks H. from r.; Vile (sword, shield, girdle) chases after centaur toward the l.

279. Caeretan red ware brazier fr. Veii, Priv. Coll. – Banti, o.c. 277, 371–372 fig. 1a no. 1 and no. 2 pl. 74a; Schwarz 83 ff. figs. 14–15; Schiffler, o.c. 277, 318 nos. E–S 63a and b; Brize, o.c. 277, 146 Phol 7. – C. 510–500 B.C. – H. (bow) fights three centaurs toward r.; bird and Pholos (seated on rock) behind him, toward l.; at l.: a pithos and cave?

#### UNCERTAIN

280. (= 245, = Geryoneus 19 with bibl.) Column krater, Etrusco-Corinthian. Cerveteri, Mus. Naz. From Cerveteri, Banditaccia Necropolis, Tumulus I, tomb 1. Banti, o.c. 277, 374 no. 4 fig. 2; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 20 n. 123 (Pholos); Schwarz 89 ff. figs. 17a. b; Schiffler, o.c. 277, 304 with bibl. no. E9 (Pholos); Brize, o.c. 277, 142–143 Ger 76; 150 Phol 44 pl. 9, 2; Martelli, M., in *CerEtr* 132 (fig.). 289–290 (fig.): P. of Code Annodate. – C. 590–570 B.C. – H.? (bearded, long mantle) faces l. toward centaur (bearded, kantharos in his r. and staff? in l.), offers a round object, egg?

#### DOUBTFUL

281. (= 194) Bronze chariot relief frieze fr. New York, MMA. From Monteleone di Spoleto, Colle del Capitano (Perugia). Central Etruscan workshop. – Hampe/Simon 53 ff. 64 f. fig. 11 pl. 24 (Chiron); Schwarz 86 ff. fig. 16; Schiffler, o.c. 277, 317 E–S 61 with bibl.; Höckmann 1, 118–120 pl. 61 with bibl. – C. 540–530 B.C. – Centaur (Pholos? bearded) seated on a stool (missing fr.), hare tied to branch over his l. shoulder; winged figure, youth, H.? with lion?

#### (ii) Pholoe fight, lacks Pholos

282.\* «Pontic» amphora, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 838 (J 151). From Vulci. – Hannestad, o.c. 198, 14. 54 pls. 2–3: Amphiaros P., Schiffler, o.c. 277, 304 E 13. – C. 540–530 B.C. – H. (bearded, chiton, lionskin cap, club in l. [artist's error]), two centaurs (lead centaur: human forelegs, one human foot, one hoof, the next: human front feet) attack toward l.

283. «Pontic» amphora, bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 173 (3326). From Vulci. *CVA* 1 pls. 28, 6; 29, 1; 30, 1; Hannestad, o.c. 198, 57 no. 25: Tityos P.; Schwarz 82 ff. fig. 13; Schiffler, o.c. 277, 305 E 25. – C. 520–510 B.C. – A, shoulder: H. (lionskin cap, club, bow) attacks toward r., one centaur returns attack. B, Continuation of A, second centaur attacks toward l.

284. (= 270) «Pontic» amphora, bf. Amsterdam, Priv. Coll. Christie's Sale Cat. 16 Mar. 1977 no. 201; Drukker, o.c. 270, 65–71 pls. 1–2: Pholos. – Silen P., c. 520–510 B.C. – A, H. (bearded, nude, club assaulting in raised r., bow in l.) fights one centaur (equine legs, uprooted tree) toward r. B, H., Acheloos.

#### UNCERTAIN

285. Caeretan pithos with stamped metopes. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. (M. 207). – Masner, K., *Die*



*Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terrakotten* (1892) no. 207 fig. 11; Schwarz fig. 22. - C. 550 B.C. - Centaur (l., human forepart, branch in r.); in opposing metope to r., H. (nude, bearded, bow, quiver hanging in field) shoots toward centaur.

286. Caeretan pithoi with stamped metopes. Leningrad, Hermitage St. 909 and St. 1065. - Schiffler, *o. c.* 277, 312 E - S 25. 26. - C. 550 B.C. - As 285.

287. (= Gigantes 413) Fr., bf. Heidelberg, Univ. E 40b. From Orvieto. - *CVA* 2, pl. 59, 4: Orvieto Group; Schwarz fig. 19. - 500-475 B.C. - H. (bow) shoots centaur (three-part boulders).

### (iii) Heracle shoots attacking centaur

288. Bronze cista, Praenestine. Copenhagen, Glypt. H 242. From Palestrina. - Giglioli 53-54 pl. 292, 2; *CPI* I, 82 ff. no. 17 pls. 98-101; Foerst, *o. c.* 107, 30. 126-127 no. 24 pls. 21c. 22a-c. - 2nd cent. B.C. - H. (nude, bearded, assault pose, lionskin knotted at neck and over l. arm, club in r., bow in l.) fights attacking centaur (equine forelegs, branch).

289. Nenfro relief plaque. Florence, Mus. Arch. 70814. From Tarquinia. - Giglioli pl. 71, 2; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 20 fig. 7 (not Pholos); Schwarz 73 ff. fig. 10; Schiffler, *o. c.* 277, 316 E - S 55 (probably not Pholos); Brize, *o. c.* 277, 150 Phol 43 (uncertain). - C. 550 B.C. - Man (belt or perizoma, bow and arrow) shoots attacking centaur, an altar(?) between them.

### (iv) With sword

#### UNCERTAIN HERCULE

290. Bronze chariot relief. Munich, Antikenslg. 720p; Perugia, Mus. Naz. 1407. - From Perugia, Castel San Mariano. Central Etruscan workshop. - Höckmann I, 11-13. 16-18 no. 1 text fig. 7 pls. 1. 2. 5. 6 Beil. 1 with bibl. - C. 540 B.C. - Youth (short chiton, sword?) attacks? centaur (human forelegs, branch on shoulder).

### (v) Dionysiac centaur-chariot

291.\* Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Villa Giulia 420 (12984). From Palestrina. - Matz, F., in *Festschr. C. Weickert* (1955) 41-45 no. 3 fig. 2; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III no. 2945; Adam, *o. c.* 63, 29 no. 11 (fig.). - C. 350 B.C. - H. (youth, beardless, lionskin knotted at neck, club resting on r. shoulder) rides in chariot pulled by two centaurs (equine forelegs) toward l., foreground centaur (hunt bag); second centaur (bunch of grapes); in field, a wine skin; winged youth (sandals) crowns H.; dog beneath centaurs, cf. theme in Greek and Roman art, → Herakles 1428-1433 and p. 811.

### 6. Kerkopes

292. Carnelian scarab. Formerly Durand Coll. - Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele* II 195 fig. 47; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 163 no. 657. - A *globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. - H. walks toward r. with 2 tethered Kerkopes (→ Kerkops) tied to a yoke slung over his shoulder.

### 7. Ketos

293. (= 266\*) Kelebe, rf. Perugia, Mus. Naz. From Perugia, Palazzone necropolis. Volterra Group, Hesione P. - 350-325 B.C. - A, H. (beardless?, nude, chlamys, sword, scabbard) draws sword from scabbard to cut tongue from Ketos; B, H. and Hesione, cf. uncertain Ketos, 267. 269. 398.

### 8. Kyknos

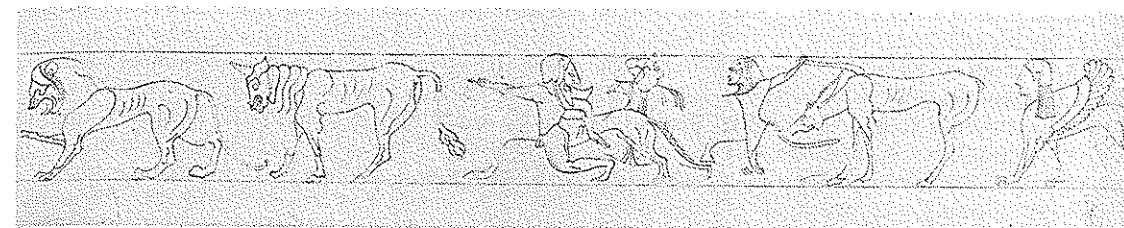
294. (= Ares/Laran 13\* with bibl. = Iolaos/Vile 29) «Pontic» amphora, bf. Heidelberg, Univ. 59/5. Paris P., 550-525 B.C. - H. (hoplite garb but no cuirass, = leather cuirass?, long quiver?, helmet, lance in r., shield in l., greaves) fighting, from r. to l., against → Kyknos (I), who turns to flee, looks back. A warrior stands (helmet, cuirass, greaves) beside K., offering hilt of sword still in its sheath, holds spear in one hand.

295.\* (= Ares/Laran 14 with bibl., = Athena/Menerva 203, = Gigantes 406, = Iolaos/Vile 28) Amphora, bf. Rome, Vatican, Guglielmi Coll. G 91. From Vulci. - *EVP* 2 pl. 3, 3-4 (Gigantomachy): Micali P.; Vian F., *REA* 51, 1949, 31-32 pl. 3, 1-4 (Kyknos); Spivey, *o. c.* 122, 20 no. 110. - C. 500 B.C. - Vile and Menerva behind H. (beardless, short chiton, lionskin [lion's head falls back as on Caeretan hydria] knotted at neck and waist, club in r., bow in l., quiver, baldric) fights toward r., Kyknos? (bearded), fallen, Laran? (beardless, foot on Kyknos) fights H.; behind L., two young warriors (Phobos? and companion?); winged goddess? between combatants. - a) (= Athena/Menerva 204\* with bibl., = Gigantes 407), Hydria, bf. Cambridge, MCA 13. Spivey, *o. c.* 122, 16 n. 70: School of Micali P. (late phase); Spivey 34 pl. 36. - Beginning 5th cent. B.C. - Excerpt of → Athena/Menerva 203. H. and Menerva. H. (short chiton, club in r. bow? in l.) assaults, charging toward r.

296. (= Gigantes 409 with bibl.) Amphora, bf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 798. Formerly Feoli Coll. - Micali P.; *CVA* 3 pls. 42, 4-6; 43, 1-2; 45, 1-3 fig. 22; Spivey, *o. c.* 122, 14 no. 63 (combat). - C. 510 B.C. - Young warrior behind H. = Vile(?); H. (beardless, chiton, leather cuirass, club in raised r., lionskin wrapped about his l., held forward as a shield) attacks toward r., Kyknos?, Laran? (bearded, shield, spearless raised r.). Fighting pairs extend about vase.

297. Hydria, bf. Leningrad, Hermitage 3145. From Vulci. - Waldhauer, O., *JHS* 43, 1923, 171 fig. 1 pl. 6; Dohrn, *o. c.* 164, 130: Kyknos P.; *EVP* 16 (Kyknos or Ares?); Spivey, *o. c.* 122, 42 no. 2. - C. 480 B.C. - H. (frontal head turned toward r., beard, club in r., bow and lion's tail in l., lionskin over shoulder, lion's head at nape of neck), faces Laran? (beardless, short chiton, cuirass, helmet, shield, sword sheath), quiver behind H. and between Laran's legs, sword sheath on ground, between H.'s legs, wavy lines and thunderbolt between the two; represents intervention of Tina between Laran and H., after death of Kyknos (see Comm.).

298.\* Carnelian scarab. London, BM 621. From



Hercle 307

Chiusi? - de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 71 (4); Zazoff, *EtrSk* 39 no. 40 pl. 13. - 500-450 B.C. - Inscribed *Herkle*. - a) Replica: Paris, Cab. Méd. From Falerii. - de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I, 71 (6); Zazoff, *EtrSk*, 40 no. 41 pl. 13. - 5th cent. B.C. - Names inscribed: *Hercle* (nude, lionskin hanging from shoulders down back, club in raised r. [behind H.'s head]) attacks toward r., *Kukne* (Kyknos) (nude, helmet, shield), fallen.

299. Carnelian scarab. London, BM 770. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 163 no. 658. - 4th cent. B.C. - Differs from previous, Kyknos (sword, shield, quiver) appears to gain the upper hand, raises his sword over H. (club in raised hand, bow on ground) who falls back; Kyknos' foot on H.'s thigh?

300. Four carnelian scarabs. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* nos. 659-662. - 4th cent. B.C. - Varies from previous in that H. (bearded, nude, club in raised r., bow in l., Attic helmet) stands over Kyknos, places foot on Kyknos' thigh, as victor. - a)\* Agate scarab. New York, MMA 51.43.1. - Richter, *MetMusGems* no. 161 pl. 27; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 163 no. 663. - Early a *globolo* style, 4th cent. B.C. - K. turns head away.

301. (= Amazones Etruscae 51\* with bibl.) Bronze chariot relief lamina. Perugia, Mus. Naz. From Castel San Mariano. Central Etruscan workshop. - Hampe/Simon 11-17 Beil. p. 11 pl. 20-21; Höckmann I, 42-44 no. 8 with bibl.; 114-118 fig. 25 pls. 30-31. - C. 500 B.C. - H. fights Kyknos (pants, cap, short chiton; weapons: helmet, shield, greaves, lance) wields a sword vs. H. and Laran; Tina? behind Laran; Menerva behind H.? Two snakes.

#### UNCERTAIN

302. (= Gigantes 408 with bibl.) Amphora, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 853 (J 1060). From Vulci. - Sieveking/Hackl, *o. c.* 223, 110-111 figs. 121-124; Spivey, *o. c.* 122, 26 no. 170: Micali P. (Gigantomachy). - C. 500 B.C. - H. (short chiton about waist, club in r., bow in l.) assaults attacking bearded warrior, Kyknos? Laran? (leather cuirass, lance in r., shield in l., helmet, greaves), two confronting, bearded warriors (same dress and weapons as previous), woman (long dress, crossbands) runs toward l., behind last warrior.

303. Bronze helmet appliqué. Paris, Louvre 311. Vulci workshop. - de Ridder, *BrLouv* II 42 no. 1682 pl. 75; Camporeale, G., in *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum, Papers of the 6th BM Classical Colloquium*, 1982 (1986) 447 ff. fig. 3. - End 6th-early 5th cent. B.C. - H. (beardless, lionskin cap, knotted at

neck and waist, club in r.) attacks bearded warrior, Kyknos (short chiton, cuirass, helmet, shield, sword) toward r. Others, cf. Camporeale, *o. c.* (figs. 1a. b. 2. 5).

### 9. With Nereids

304.\* Terracotta relief kantharos. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 1962.34. Clusium Group. Volterra workshop? Malacena Group. - Hornbostel, *o. c.* 5c, 88 no. 108 fig.; Harari, *o. c.* 9, 80. 185-188 no. 3 pls. 61-62. - End 4th-3rd cent. B.C. - A, H. (bearded, nude, club rests on l. shoulder, lionskin over l.) between symmetrical, weapon-carrying → Nereides (with arms of → Achilles?) on hippocamps; B, dancer between seated youths; cf. → Herakles 894.

### 10. With Nereus

305. (= Athena/Menerva 200\* with bibl.) Sardonxy scaraboid. Boston, MFA 21.197. Former Lewes House 35. From Rome. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 18 no. 18 pl. 7; Boardman, *o. c.* 46b, 38 fig. 15; Geras; Brize, *o. c.* 277, 97 NER IV 14: uncertain. - C. 520-500 B.C. - H. (short chiton, lionskin cap and body cover, r. hand grips old man's l.) fights a bearded old man (balding head?, → Nereus or → Geras, old age?, hand raised), watched by Menerva and a woman (Doris or Uni?); cf. H. with bearded man on La Tolfa amphora, 398, and on scarab, III.

### 11. Nessos

306. Amphora, bf. Zürich, Univ. 415 (B 14). Ivy Leaf workshop. - Baur, P. V. C., *Centaur in Ancient Art* (1912) 124 no. 308 pl. 4; Schwarz 5 ff. pl. 1, 1-2; Schiffler, *o. c.* 277, 304 no. E 11. - C. 540-520 B.C. - Woman, Menerva?; H. (short chiton, lionskin cap, knotted about neck, club in raised r.), runs parallel with → Nessos toward r., seizes N. (human forelegs) by forelock. N. carries Deianeira.

307.\* «Pontic» oinochoe, bf. (surface poorly preserved). Rome, Villa Giulia. From Vulci, Necropoli dell'Osteria, tomb 177. - Hannestad, *o. c.* 198, 81-82 pls. 54-57: Paris P.; Rizzo, M. A., *Xenia* 1981, 2, pp. 14-16 fig.; eadem, in *CerEtr* 297-298 no. 101.1. - C. 520-510 B.C. - H. (lionskin cap, covers body, club in raised r., Deianeira (center, tutulus, mantle) behind

Nessos (human forelegs); all run toward l.; Nessos and Deianeira look back to H.

**308.\*** «Pontic» plate, bf. Rome, Villa Giulia 84444. From Vulci, same tomb as 307. – Hannestad, *o.c.* 198, 58. 82 no. 32 pl. 16: Tityos P.; Rizzo, *o.c.* 307, 20–21 (fig.); *eadem*, in *Artista*, *o.c.* 122, 33. 94 figs. 54. 172 (bibl.); *eadem*, in *CerEtr* 34–35. 146 (fig.). 299 no. 101.5 (bibl.). – C. 520 B.C. – H. (beardless, short chiton, club in r., bow in l.) chases fleeing Nessos (human forelegs and feet, tree trunk in r.) toward l., looks back toward Deianeira who escapes him; she is close behind H.

**309.\*** Amphora, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 6009 (834). From Italy. – Sieveking/Hackl 96 no. 834 figs. 94–95 pl. 33; Schwarz 23 ff. fig. 3; Brommer, *Herakles* II fig. 24. – C. 520–510 B.C. – H. (bearded, short chiton, muscle cuirass, quiver, two swords, one in r. hand, other in scabbard, bow in l.) chases Nessos (equine forelegs) toward r.; Nessos carries Deianeira (claps hands?) or pleads?).

**310.** Krater, Faliscan rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 6474. From Corchiano? – Della Seta, *o.c.* 72, 86 no. 6474; Bayet I, 94 no. C. – 4th cent. B.C. – A, H. (club) pursues Nessos who carries Deianeira, assisted in scene by two maenads, satyr, figure with thyrsus. B, maenad between two satyrs.

**311.** Ringstone. Location unknown. Formerly München, Arndt Coll. 146. – Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* no. 309. Unpublished. – Undatable. – H. and Nessos.

#### UNCERTAIN

**312.** Column krater, bf. Berne, Hist. Mus. 45142. Jucker, I., *Aus der Antikensammlung des Bernischen Historischen Museums* (1970) 46–47 fig. 18: Lotus Bud P. (wedding of Peirithoos, Lapith with a sword). – C. 500 B.C. – Man, Theseus?, H.? (sword in r.) grasps centaur, Nessos? (equine forelegs) from behind (l. to r.) with l.

**313.** «Pontic» amphora, bf. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1971.911. – Sotheby Sale Cat, 1 July 1969 no. 224 fig.; Hannestad, *o.c.* 198, 64 no. 69: Silen P.; Stibbe, C. M., *MededRome* 39, 1977, 7–8 pls. 1. 3. 1. – C. 540–530 B.C. – A, Shoulder: H. (beardless, short chiton, stick in r.) pursues centaur, Nessos? (beard, human forelegs) that flees from r. to l.

**314.** Amphora, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. J 650. From Vulci. Near Lotus Bud Group. – Baur, *o.c.* 306, 63 with bibl. no. 173 pl. 6A; Schwarz 30 ff. fig. 5a. – C. 530–510 B.C. – A, H. (bearded, lionskin cap, short chiton, club in r., assault pose) seizes centaur, Nessos? (bearded, equine forelegs), both in slow parallel movement toward r., l. on centaur's shoulder; centaur looks back. B, centaur uproots a tree.

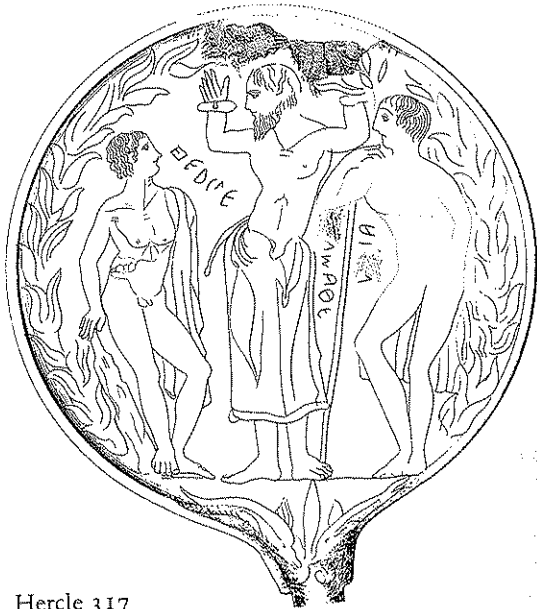
**315.** Two limestone urns. Perugia, Mus. Naz. From Chiusi. Chiusi workshop. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II, 170–172 pl. 71, nos. 9 (a, below). 10 (b, below); Bayet I, 94 no. D (interpretation?). – 150–100 B.C. – a) Man, H.? (short chiton, lionskin cap, knotted at neck, club in r.) seizes arm of club-wielding centaur, Nessos? Fallen soldier below, one stands l. on H. Another figure (male?, female?) pulls partially nude woman (Deianeira?) toward r. b) H.? (nude, chlamys

over l. arm, axe in r., stick in l.) attacks centaur as nude woman is pulled away from his grasp by young man, Vile? (short chiton, chlamys); same combat as a?

#### 12. With Prumathe

**316.** (= Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 47\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror. Unknown whereabouts. Formerly Canino Coll. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 138, 1; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 38 (3); Pfiffig 2, 53 fig. 12; Martelli, *o.c.* 176g, 166 no. 2: before 350 B.C. – Names inscribed: Calanice (H.), Prumathe, Castur. H. (beardless, nude, chlamys over l. arm, club on the ground) with Castor frees → Prometheus/Prumathe; Castor holds an egg in his r.; eagle in foreground.

**317.\*** (= Apollon/Aplu 55 with bibl.) Bronze mirror. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 3345 (Fr 134). – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 139; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 75 (41). – 4th cent. B.C. – Names inscribed: Herkle, [Pr]umathe, A[pl]u. H. (beardless, nude, chlamys over l. shoulder, club down in l.) stands (resting) before Prumathe bound; Aplu leans on staff at r.



Hercle 317

**318.** (= Esplace 1\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror. New York, MMA 03.24.3. From Bolsena, tomb. Kranzspiegelgruppe. – de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 77 (60); Schefold, *SBIII*, 89 fig. 113; Massa-Pairault, *o.c.* 77, 105–106 fig. 32. – C. 320 B.C. – Names inscribed: Esplace, Herkle, Prumathe. 4-figure group. Prumathe rescued. H. (beardless, nude, baldric, quiver, club leaning between legs), seated at r. looks down at dead eagle beneath Prumathe's feet; Prumathe (center, bearded, drooped head, pained expression) between Menerva and → Esplace (Asklepios) (binding Prumathe's wounds?). Ionic architecture in background.

#### 13. With Skylla

**319.\*** Clay candelabrum finial. Florence, Terrosi Coll. From Tomba dei Calisna Sepu near Monteriggioni. – Bianchi Bandinelli, R., *StEtr* 2, 1928, 147–148 pl. 33, 36; *EVP* 280; Boosen, M., *Etruskische Meeresmischwesen. Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Bedeutung* (1986) 33. 56 no. 32. – Beginning 1st cent. B.C. – H. (nude, lionskin cap, club in raised r.) grips → Skylla (l) with l. by hair.

#### 14. Hercle and river Strymon

##### UNCERTAIN

**320.\*** Carnelian scarab. Malibu, Getty Mus. – Boardman, *o.c.* 46b, 42, 105 no. 138 fig. – 4th cent. B.C. – H. (beardless, nude, lionskin trailing down back) lifts massive stone, perhaps to throw it into river, → Strymon? – a) Rock crystal (?) ringstone. Florence, Mus. Arch. 15535. – Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* no. 6 pl. 2, 4–5. – 4th cent. B.C. – H. (beardless, nude, club leaning on ground).

#### 15. → Syleus adventure

##### UNCERTAIN

H. with vine branch

**321.** Carnelian scarab. Florence, Mus. Arch. 15259. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* III. 114 no. 210 pl. 41. – Beginning 2nd cent. B.C. – H. (bearded, long hair, lionskin wrapped about upper torso, shoulders double axe with l., grape vine in r.). – a) Cf. 61, Carnelian scarab, and discussion of possible Syleus representations, Zazoff, *o.c.* nn. 31–34.

#### 16. Triton

**322.** (= 398) Amphora, bf. Rome, Villa Giulia 74959. Provenance unknown. Formerly Pesciotti-Cima Coll. 435. La Tolfa Group. – *Finarte* 1970, 14–15 no. 31 pl. 10; Camporeale, G., *Archaeologica. Scritti in onore di A. Neppi Modona* (1975) 158–163 no. 1 fig. 8 (Bonly); Boosen, *o.c.* 319, 100 no. 3. C; Rizzo, M. A., in *Artista*, *o.c.* 122, 33. 99 (bibl.) figs. 185–186; *eadem*, in *CerEtr* 162 (fig.) (A: apotheosis?). 306 no. 116 (bibl.). – C. 530 B.C. – A, H. between two men facing him (see 398); on B, H. and → Triton (triple-human torso, six arms, single fish tail, arms extended).

**323.** Neck amphora, Campanian bf. Paris, Louvre E 761. – Parise Badoni, *o.c.* 257, 47 no. 13 pl. 22 (figs.): Gruppo del P. di Milano. – 500–450 B.C. – Neck, A, H. (lionskin cap, club in r., bow in l.) runs toward r., following (continues on B): B, fleeing Triton (one body and head, fish tail, fish in either hand), turns head back.

**324.\*** Gold finger ring. Florence, Mus. Arch. 89260. From Populonia. Vulci workshop (?). – Minto, A., *MonAnt* 34, 1932, 318 ff.; Boardman, J., *AntK* 10, 1967, 9; 15, BIV 3, pl. 4: H. and three Nereids; Cam-

poreale, *o.c.* 322, 152 ff. fig. 3; Brize, *o.c.* 277, 93 n. 515; 159 Ner III 8; Boosen, *o.c.* 319, 99–125 no. 2. – 550–500 B.C. – H. (short chiton, bow and quiver) grips arm of first of three paratactically aligned human busts (beardless, long hair) of seamounter, Triton?

**325.** (= 199) Hydria (without vertical handle), bf. Paris, Louvre CA 2510. P. of Vatican 238. – Camporeale, *o.c.* 322, fig. 9 (B only) n. 54; Boosen, *o.c.* 319, 83–84 no. 28. – C. 500 B.C. – A, H. and Hydra. B, H.? (nude, no attributes) wrestles with Triton (human body, single fish tail); in field: dolphin, vine and water below.

**326.\*** Carnelian scarab. Paris, Cab. Méd. Luynes 260. Zazoff, *EtrSk* 70 no. 97 pl. 23. – Late 5th–early 4th cent. B.C. – H. (frontal, club in l., lionskin and quiver hang from l. arm, both arms raised) turns head toward (speaks with?), small sea demon, Triton? (human forepart emerging from water).

#### T. Hercle in other encounters

##### 1. With Bellerophon and Chimaira, as onlooker

**327.\*** (= Apollon/Aplu 52 with bibl., = Artemis/Artumes 77, = Chimaira (in Etruria) 75\* with bibl.) Calyx krater, Faliscan rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 906. From Falerii, Necropoli di Celle. – Schauenburg, K., *Jdl* 71, 1956, 76 fig. 17; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III no. 2784. – Near Nazzano P., c. 370 B.C. – A, upper register: l., H. with woman opposite Artemis and Apollon. H. sits on lionskin, club down in r.; woman approaches, offerings(?) in each hand. B, silen, H., Athena, Hermes, Nike.

##### 2. Hercle and/or Theseus with Minotaur

##### MISUNDERSTOOD

**328.** «Pontic» amphora, bf. Paris, Louvre 172. – Ducati, *o.c.* 198, 14–15 pl. 15; Hannestad, L., *The Paris Painter* (1974) 46 no. 19 with bibl.: Paris P. – C. 540–530 B.C. – Man, H.? or → Theseus? (chiton, sword, sheath) attacks → Minotaur (kneeling) toward the l., between an altar (snake protomes) and cauldron (snake protomes); Turms (mantle, caduceus) and bearded man (mantle, hare in l., spear in r.).

**329.\*** Amphora, bf. Paris, Louvre CA 11069 (S 4129). – Camporeale, G., in *Studi in onore L. Banti* (1965) 118–120 pl. 27; Spivey, *o.c.* 122, 45 with bibl.; P. of the Dancing Satyrs. – 475–450 B.C. – A, H. (beardless, nude, lionskin cap, knotted at neck, held in extended l. fist, club in r. raised to chest height) threatens Minotaur (horse-head? with horn, human body), both toward the r., as it flees, Minotaur turns back; B, warriors fight.

**330.** (= Ariadne/Ariatha 4\* with bibl., = Iolaos/Vile 30) Bronze mirror. Unknown whereabouts. From Civita Castellana. – de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 24 (2). – End 4th–early 3rd cent. B.C. – Names inscribed: Ariadne/Ariatha (heavily draped, veiled) stands next to seated Theseus (inscr. *Hercle*, bow,

quiver) above body of dead Minotaur (*Thevru Mines*), *Vile*, instead of Hermes/Turms; *Mine* (→ Minos I) and *Menrva* look on.

### 3. With Mlacuch

**331.\*** Bronze relief mirror. London, BM 1772.3-4.7.4 (542). Possibly from Atri. Vulci workshop. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 344; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I, 70 (1); Pfiffig 2, 58–59 fig. 14; Pfister-Roesgen 17–21 pl. 1 (with discussion of replicas); Haynes, *o.c.* 15, 272 no. 71 with bibl.; Colonna, *o.c.* 39, 20–22 fig. 19. – C. 500–475 B.C. – Names inscr. under feet: *Herecele* (beardless, mantle tied about waist, lionskin knotted at neck, club in r., bow and quiver in field, behind him) grasps → *Mlacuch* about waist with l., hoists her on l. shoulder, carries her off; cf. Colonna, discussion of inscription, iconography; for composition, Florence gem, 360.

### 4. With Pegasos or (winged) horse(s)

**332.** Bronze mirror. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Lewis Coll. From Cortona. – *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications* 5, 1883, 190 ff. pl. 4; Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 65 no. 51a; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 72 (15). – 5th–4th cent. B.C. – Names inscribed: *Herkele*, *Pakste* (→ Pegasos). H. (youth, nude, chlamys) rides rearing horse toward l.; Dolphin leaps behind horse, at r.

**333.** Bronze mirror. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Lewis Coll. Formerly Castellani Coll. – *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications* 5, 1883, 192 pl. 5; Dunbabin, T. J., in *Studies D. M. Robinson* II (1953) 1172–1173 n. 57. – 5th–4th cent. B.C. – H. (youth, nude) holds bridle of winged horse (of Diomedes?) with both hands. Club, bow with arrow and lionskin on ground. Lionskin mistaken for Chimaira by Dunbabin. Similar to 334.

**334.** Bronze mirror. Vienna, Kunsth. Mus. From Rome? – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 334, 1 (Bellerophon); Bayet 1, 122; Dunbabin, *o.c.* 333, n. 57 (H. and → Areion). – 5th cent. B.C. – H. (youth, beardless, lionskin tied about waist, club on ground) grips bridle of rearing winged horse; owes composition to Olympia Diomedes metope.

**335.** Carnelian scarab. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Vignanello, found with 48. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 165 no. 685. – 5th–4th cent. B.C. – H. between two rearing, winged (Thracian?) horses.

**336.** (= 77) Terracotta temple antefix fr. (reconstruction uncertain; two pairs of antefixes?). S. Severa (Rome), Antiquarium. From Pyrgi, Temple B. – Colonna, *Pyrgi*, *o.c.* 203, 321 figs. 241–243; *idem*, in *Akten*, *o.c.* 77, pl. 18a; *idem*, in *Santuari*, *o.c.* 27, 132–133; v. Vacano, *o.c.* 77, 469–470 pl. 91, 3; Massa-Pairault, *o.c.* 77, 10–12 figs. 5–6. – 510 B.C. – H. (frontal, lionskin cap) reconstructed between two symmetrical rearing (winged) horses (Colonna,

Massa-Pairault?), Master of Animals scheme, Thracian Horses, or biga?

### 5. With amphora raft

#### a) On four-six amphora raft

**337.** (= Aias I 142\*, = Aias II 99, = Athena/Menerva 146\*, = Eos/Thesan 14 with bibl., = Helene/Elina 18) Bronze mirror. London, BM 627. From Cerveteri. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV 398; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 77 (56); Pfiffig 1, 343 fig. 136b; Pfiffig 2, 95 no. 30. – 400–350 B.C. – Exergue: *Hercle* (inscr. in main scene, on altar platform above his head) as adolescent (nude, club in raised r., bow in raised l.) sits on six-amphora raft; lionskin sail in background.

**338.** (= Amatutunia 1\*, = Aphrodite/Turan 37, = Ares/Laran 19\* with bibl., = Athena/Menerva 166, = Eos/Thesan 15) Bronze mirror. London, BM 618. From Bolsena. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* III 2 pl. 257 B; Pfiffig 1, 249 f. 349–350; Pfiffig 2, 78 fig. 23. – End 4th cent. B.C. – Exergue: H. (adolescent, club on r. shoulder, lionskin knotted at neck, himation wrapped at waist, holds onto lionskin sail with l.) stands on five-amphora raft.

**339.\*** Carnelian scarab. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 3711. From Corchiano. – Stiglitz, *o.c.* 95, 114 no. B 11; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 55 no. 68 pl. 18. – 500–450 B.C. – H. (nude, club in l., bow in field) reclines on six-amphora raft; sail billows from his r. hand; sun, moon and stars in field. – Replica: a) Sard scarab. Boston, MFA 21.1202. Formerly Lewes House Coll. 42. From Cumae. – Zazoff, *EtrSk*, 160 no. 589. – As previous, except bow and two arrows in r.; sun, moon and stars missing. – Similar: b) Carnelian scarab. – Paris, Cab. Méd. 1776\*. – *A globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. – Five amphorae, club in r., abbreviated sail (?) in l. – c) Carnelian scarab. The Hague, Royal Coin Cab. 1964/1. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 160 no. 596; Maaskant-Kleibrink, *CatGemsTheHague* 89 no. 41a. b fig. – 3rd cent. B.C. – Four amphorae, abbreviated sail (?) in r. Numerous examples given in Stiglitz, *o.c.* 95, 112–141; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 160 nos. 589 ff. and Brommer, *Herakles* II 65–66 figs. 33–34.

#### b) Sits on amphora raft

**340.\*** Carnelian scarab. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 231. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 89 no. 164 pl. 33; AGD II no. 294 pl. 57. – End 4th cent. B.C. – H. (club down in l., head resting in r.). – Later replicas: a) Carnelian scarab. London, BM 1906.1–16.2. – Walters, *BMGems* no. 802 pl. 13; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 606. – b) Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 232. – Stiglitz, *o.c.* 95, 114 pl. 72, 10; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 160 no. 607. – *A globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C.

#### c) Reclines with Satyr on amphora raft

**341.** Carnelian scarab. Rome, Villa Giulia. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 123 no. 234 pl. 45. – *A globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. – H. (club) and Satyr (sword?) lay on a six-amphora raft. – Replica: a) Carnelian scarab. Unknown whereabouts. – Furtwängler, AG pl. 20, 39;

Stiglitz, *o.c.* 95, 114 pl. 71, 8; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 601. – *A globolo*, 3rd cent. B.C. – Cf. Stiglitz and Brommer, *Herakles* II 65–67 for H. replaced by satyr.

### 6. With (assaults) snake(s)

**342.** Carnelian scarab. London, BM 667. de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 72 (13); Zazoff, *EtrSk* 162 no. 639. – 450–400 B.C. – H. (modern inscr.: *Hercles*, nude, bow in l., lionskin over l. arm, r. hand on club) stands, resting; behind, in field, snake/Hydra?

**343.\*** Carnelian scarab. London, BM 722. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 62 no. 81 pl. 21. – Late 5th–early 4th cent. B.C. – H. (nude, club in r., snake head in l.) in violent movement assaults snake. Rock in foreground. Cf. → *Herakles* 1606\* for pose, except H. is a child.

**344.\*** Carnelian scarab. London, BM 808. – Walters, *BMGems* 98 no. 808; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 643. – *A globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C. – H. assaults snake. – a) Carnelian scarab. Florence, Mus. Arch. 14391. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 162 no. 644. – *A globolo* style, 3rd cent. B.C.

**345.** Bronze statuette. Campobasso, Mus. Prov. – Colonna 1, 171 no. 544 pl. 135; Sabellian, Campobasso Group, Master B. – 4th cent. B.C. – H. (nude, raised r., club missing), assaults snake entwined about l. arm, head missing; cf. Colonna 1, 171 nos. 545–547 pl. 135, same configuration. – Similar: a) Potenza, Mus. Prov. – AA 1966, 327 fig. 102; Colonna 1, 174–175 no. 569 pl. 138; Sabellian, Campobasso Group, Master C. – 4th cent. B.C. – H. (nude, lionskin cap, knotted about neck, raised r., club [?] missing); cf. Colonna no. 561 from same group. – b) Fr. Boston, MFA 08.32g. – Oefh 12, 1909, 183 fig. 92. – 4th cent. B.C. – H. (nude, bearded). – c) Florence, Mus. Arch. 22, Uffizi Coll. 205. – Giglioli 47 pl. 262, 4. – Late 4th cent. B.C.? – H. (kneeling, lionskin cap and knotted at neck). – d) Cista handle. Toronto, ROM 918.3.117. From Fernetto (Viterbo). Orvieto workshop? – Hayes, *o.c.* 5e, 29–30 no. 34 fig.

#### UNCERTAIN

**346.** Carnelian scarab. Formerly Nott. – Zazoff, *EtrSk*, 162 no. 640. – 500–450 B.C. – H. (shield and sword) assaults snake/Hydra?

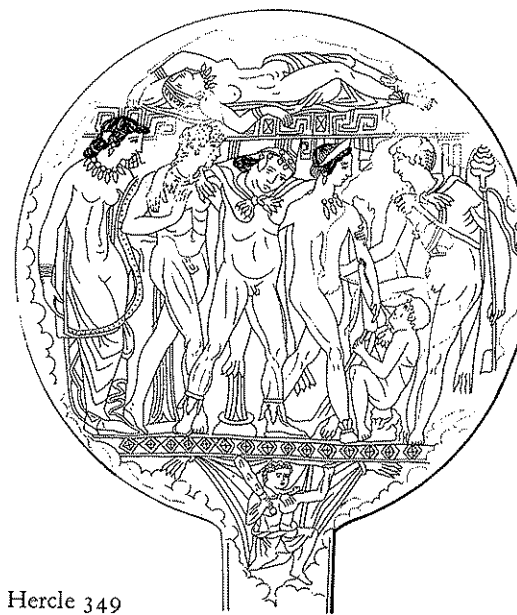
**347.** Agate scarab. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. From Tarquinia. – Furtwängler, AG III 207 fig. 132; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 162 no. 642. End 4th cent. B.C. Nude youth, H.? (sword), snake encircles arm (Furtwängler: not H.).

### 7. With winged rabbit monster

**348.** (= *Herakles* 2843\* with bibl.) Gold finger ring. Paris, Louvre Bj. 1058, once Campana. – Boardman, *o.c.* 324, 23–24 no. L 6 pl. 6. – 550–500 B.C. – H. (nude, lionskin cap?), club in raised r. pursues demon with human body, short tail, wings and rabbit's head. Branch in field.

### 8. With a ship?

**349.\*** Bronze mirror. Unknown whereabouts. From Chiusi. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 149; Pfiffig 2, 96–97 fig. 31. – 3rd cent. B.C. – Above, H. (?) drunken with Dionysos and bacchantes. Exergue: an adolescent H. (club raised rests on r. shoulder?) holds onto lionskin sail (as 338), climbs off ship? (no amphorae).



Heracle 349

**350.** Carnelian scarab. Formerly Thorvaldsen Coll. – Furtwängler, AG pl. 17, 13; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 165 no. 690. – Free style, 4th cent. B.C. – H. (club on ground) bends toward l., empties? sack? onto ship?

### U. Narrative; encounters with divinities

#### 1. With Menerva

##### UNCERTAIN NARRATIVE

**351.\*** Bronze mirror. Location unknown. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 161. – End 4th cent. B.C. – H. (nude, bow beneath feet) abducts? Menerva. Artumes?, Aplu?, woman stand near.

#### 2. With Turms

##### UNCERTAIN

**352.** Stamnos, rf. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 824. From Certosa. – Ducati, P., *StEtr* 8, 1934, 119 ff. pl. 29, 30; *EVP* 31–32: c. 420 B.C.: Theseus and Periphetes?; Fischer-Graf 77–78 and n. 751: perhaps H. and Turms? – Turms or youth and H.? (satyr face, beard, bald head, pelt with no lionskin markings, club in raised r., in assault pose) with Turms attacks a column (spring house?).





Hercle 351

### 3. With Aplu and tripod contest

#### a) Hercle, alone with tripod

**353.** Amphora, bf. Florence, Mus. Arch. 4168. Lotus Bud Group. – Dohrn, T., *StEtr* 12, 1938, 290E pl. 56, 3 (A only); *EVP* 18. – 500–475 B.C. – A, two satyrs. B, H. (glaze poorly preserved) (lionskin cap, trailing over his l. arm, club in r.) alone, running toward l., turns head back, tripod slung on l. shoulder; similar scheme on **354**.

**354.\*** Carnelian scarab. The Hague, Royal Coin Cab. 1988. Formerly Cortona, Mus. Corazzi Coll. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 8 no. 8; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 58 no. 74 pl. 19; Maaskant-Kleibrink, *CatGemsTheHague* 87 no. 35 pl. 11, 35 a–c. – Beginning 5th cent. B.C. – H. (beardless, nude, lionskin over shoulders) runs r., turns head back, club in raised l., r. arm about tripod legs, star in field. – a) Cf. **251\***, London scarab, H. carries tripod with Cerberos. – b) Lapis lazuli scarab. – Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IX 2079. – *AGOeI* no. 91 pl. 17. – 4th cent. B.C. – Scheme as **354**.

#### b) With Aplu

**355.** (= Apollon/Aplu **18** with bibl.) Hydria, bf. München, Antikenslg. 900 (J 984). Vulci workshop. – Sieveking/Hackl, o.c. **223**, 124 no. 900 pl. 40. – 1st third 5th cent. B.C. – Lower half of vase missing. H. (beardless, nude, lionskin hanging from shoulders, sword in raised r., assault pose, grips leg of tripod) strides l., looks back toward Aplu who holds leg of tripod. A figure to l., Turms? (mantle, flat hat, bow in l.) raises r. arm in warning.

**356.** (= Apollon/Aplu **19** with bibl.) Colonnnette krater, rf. Turin, Mus. Ant. 3576. – CVA 2 pl. 2, 1–3 (1820). – Mid-4th cent. B.C. – A, H. (lionskin trailing down back, club in raised r.) and Aplu, both place hand on tripod, pulling away.

**357.** (= Apollon/Aplu **14\*** with bibl.) Agate scarab. Boston, MFA 27.668. From Tarquinia. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 6, 46; Boardman, *AGGems* 46 no. 79; 48 pl. 5 (from Greece, worked in Etruria?); Zazoff, *EtrSk* 23. 159 no. 584; Giraud, E., in *Actes du colloque sur les problèmes de l'image dans le monde méditerranéen classique 1982* (1985) 77–81 pl. 1. – C. 520–510 B.C. – H. (lionskin cap and cape, club up on r. shoulder) runs toward l. with tripod on l. shoulder; Aplu follows, grips leg of tripod. Large snake (Python?) at l. → Apollon/Aplu **15**. **16**.

**358.** (= Apollon/Aplu **17\*** with bibl.) Bronze cista foot. Vulci workshop. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12743–45. From Vulci (or Orte). – Jurgeit, o.c. **97**, 26–27 no. K 3, 4–6 pl. 7a–c. – 1st third 5th cent. B.C. – H. (club and bow) and Aplu stride toward r. Aplu turns back to H., both grip kettle (lebes). Examples from thirteen collections in Jurgeit: 26–30 nos. K 3, 1–23 pls. 6b–11d.

#### UNCERTAIN

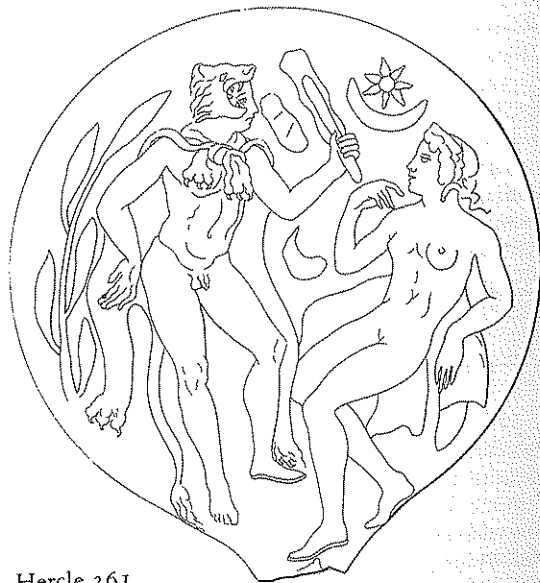
**359.** Terracotta matrix for bronze decorative plaque. Rome, Villa Giulia 63447. From Vulci, necropoli dell'Osteria. Vulci workshop. – Sgubini Moretti, A. M., in Cristofani/Michelucci, *Gli etruschi*, o.c. **169**, 67 fig. 45; Hill, D. K., in *Studi ... Maetzke II* (1984) 321–324 pl. 1a, b; Jurgeit, o.c. **97**, 87 n. 80 with bibl. – C. 500 B.C. – H. (?) l. (bearded, mantle, two straight bars, weapons? in each hand) follows Apollon/Aplu? (chlamys over shoulders, fillet, lyre in l.); center: large hole, below: column krater on ground; Hill: H. and Apollon celebrate in later version of story.

#### 4. With Turan

See also **403**.

#### UNCERTAIN

**360.** Scarab. Florence, Mus. Arch. 15257. – Bayet *I*, 210 no. 3: Omphale?; de Ruyt, F., in *Mél. F. Cumont*



Hercle 361

*II* (1936) 665–673: Omphale?, carries H.'s bow and club; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 43–44 no. 45 pl. 14: Aeneas and his daughter; Boardman, J., *AJA* 73, 1969, 487: H. and Deianeira? – End 4th cent. B.C. – Inscribed above: *Turan*. Atypical H.? (beardless, nude, bow in l.?) in half kneeling (running?) pose, supports (abducts?) woman, Turan? (seated, mantle, club in her l., bow?) on his l. shoulder; cf. mirror **331** for similar type.

**361.\*** Bronze mirror. Unknown whereabouts. Gerhard, *EtrSp II* pl. 152: Turan; Pfiffig 2, 56–57 fig. no. 13: interpretation uncertain. – 3rd cent. B.C. – H. (beardless, lionskin cap, knotted at neck, club in raised r.) attacks (?) nude woman, Turan? (diademed, earrings, sandals), reclining/seated? on mantle at r.; in field: half-moon, star.

#### 5. With Uni

##### a) Fights Juno Sospita or Uni

**362.\*** (= Iuno **1** with bibl.) «Pontic» amphora, bf. London, BM 39.2–14.71 (B 57). From Cerveteri or Vulci. Paris Painter. – Walters, *BMVases II* B 57 (Athena?, Herakles, Hera/Juno Sospita, Poseidon); Zancani Montuoro, o.c. **108**, 93 n. 1; Hampe/Simon 5 and n. 23 pl. 6 fig. 1 (Herakles, Juno Sospita, Zeus); Hannestad, o.c. **328**, 17–18 no. 11; Bonfante, L., *Etruscan Dress* (1975) 60ff. nn. 10–11; Rizzo, in *CerEtr* 150 (fig.). 300–301 (bibl.). – C. 530–520 B.C. – Shoulder: A, H. (bearded, lionskin cap, knotted at neck, club in r., assault pose, sword in scabbard at waist) attacks Juno Sospita (mantle, goatskin head with horns on her head, lance in raised r., shield in l.) toward r. as she fights back. Woman, Menerva? and male, Tina or → Poseidon/Nethuns? (scepter or trident), l. and r., respectively, flank central scene of H. and Juno Sospita; cauldrons with snake protomes as votives in her sanctuary?

**363.** Amphora fr., bf. Cerveteri magazine. From Cerveteri, Banditaccia necropolis, Tomb 86. – Hemelrijk, o.c. **169**, 191 and n. 1007 pls. 149b–c: near Caeretan Hydriae. – C. 520 B.C. – H. (lionskin cap, club in l.?) fights (from l.) Juno Sospita (goatskin with forelegs bound together on breast, horned goat forms cap, lance in raised r., shield in l.), other figures (fr.) between the two opponents.

#### UNCERTAIN

**364.\*** (= Iuno **15** with bibl.) Bronze handle attachment. Paris, Louvre Br 1681. – de Ridder, *BrLouvre II* 42 no. 1681 pl. 75; Zancani Montuoro, o.c. **108**, 93 and n. 12. – 500–475 B.C. – H. (bearded, short chiton, lionskin about body, club in r.) fights against woman, Juno Sospita? (de Ridder interprets headdress as goatskin) over silen protome.

**365.** (= Acheloos **142\*** with bibl.) Bronze helmet appliqué. Paris, Cab. Méd. 579. Vulci workshop. – Adam 112–113 no. 139 fig. – 500–450 B.C. – H. combats woman, Uni? – Similar: a) Bronze handle attachments. Paris, Louvre 2788–89. – de Ridder, *BrLouvre II* 118 nos. 2788–2789 pl. 100 (1789) and

Zancani Montuoro, o.c. **108**, fig. 12 (2788). – b) Bronze handle attachments. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. – Guarducci, E., *StEtr* 10, 1936, 33 pl. 7, 5; Neugebauer, K. A., *AA* 1924, 316. – c) Bronze handle attachment. London, BM. – d) Bronze helmet appliqué. Paris, Cab. Méd. 580. – Camporeale, o.c. **303**, fig. 4 (Hera); Adam 113 with bibl. no. 140 (fig.): 500–475 B.C.: H. and Uni?

#### b) With (rescues?) woman, satyrs, other pairs

#### UNCERTAIN UNI

**366.\*** Amphora, bf. Vatican 35767, Astarita 741. – Hemelrijk, o.c. **169**, 191 pls. 149d–e; Spivey, o.c. **122**, 33: Micali P.; *idem*, in *Artista*, o.c. **122**, 76 fig. 120: Micali P. or his school. – Late 6th cent. B.C. – H. (beardless, kilt/tebenna wrapped about his waist, club in r., bow in l.) and woman, Uni?, two satyrs run from r.; Menerva (helmet, shield, long skirt, leather corselet, lance missing) stands at l., behind H. – Cf. also a) Amphora, bf. Palermo, Mus. Reg. 1498, Casuccini Coll. From Chiusi. Spivey, in *Artista*, o.c. **122**, 76 no. 31 fig. 119 with bibl.: Micali P., mature phase. – 510–500 B.C. – Excerpt of previous? H. (kilt, club down in r.) runs toward the r., attacks satyrs, running l.

**367.** Bronze apparatus. a) \* Bronze incense burner, thymiaterion. Mainz, RGZM 0.23189. Vulci workshop. – Neugebauer, o.c. **121**, fig. 44; Zancani Montuoro, o.c. **108**, 89 fig. 4; Herbig, o.c. **222**, 40 with bibl. pl. 18, 1. – Early 5th cent. B.C. – Side one: H. and woman (tutulus, long mantle) who grips H. while looking back; side two: two satyrs run. Side three: two youths moving toward l. – b) \* Rod tripod. London, BM 49.5–18.21 (587). From Vulci. – Walters, *BMBronzes* no. 587; Neugebauer, o.c. **121**, fig. 18; Haynes, o.c. **15** 155 (pl.), 264 no. 53. – C. 500–475 B.C. – On one vertical rod: H. (lionskin, club in r.) runs side by side toward r. with woman (chiton, mantle covers head and shoulders), his l. hand on her arm; on another vertical rod: two nude, bearded satyrs stand gazing; 3rd rod: two youths stand inactive, cf. **108**, → Dioskouroi/Tinas Clinia **14\***. **15**.

#### 6. With Eros

→ Eros (in Etruria) **58**. **59**.

**368.** Stamnos, rf. Once Roman market. – *EVP* 46 pl. 11, 7: near P. of London F 484. – Late 5th cent. B.C. – H. (seated, beardless, nude, club in r.) crowned? by nude winged demon, Eros?

**369.** (= Eros [in Etruria] **55**) Carnelian scarab. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1772<sup>a</sup>. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 95 no. 183 pl. 36. – Mid-4th cent. B.C. – H. (frontal, nude, lionskin knotted at neck, leans on club), crowned by Eros.

#### UNCERTAIN

**370.** Amethyst. Paris, Cab. Méd. N 4721. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 159 no. 587. – 2nd cent. B.C.? – H. kneeling with Eros? on his back.

## 7. With Fufluns, satyrs, silens, Pan, maenads

## a) Bystander, Fufluns is crowned

371. (= Dionysos/Fufluns 78\* with bibl., = Eros [in Etruria] 2) Bronze mirror. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 54.85. From Castel Giorgio, near Orvieto. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 35; Pfiffig I, 274 fig. 119. - C. 300 B.C. - Inscribed: *H[er]cle* (seated toward r., club down, boots, mantle draped over r. thigh, diadem with a crescent), *Fufluns*, → *Vesuna* stand, look l., *Svutaf* (winged, sandals, = Eros?).

## b) With satyr(s), silen, Pan

## (i) Drunken

See also → Herakles 3238 (Peucetian bf. lebes, 400-350 B.C.).

372. Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Rome, Villa Giulia 13002. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 335, 3; Adam, *o.c.* 63, 43 no. 29 (fig.). - C. 330-300 B.C. - H. (nude, leans on club under l. arm), sits on lionskin covered rock, drunk, asleep; a nude boy, satyr?, Eros? steals? his quiver? sword? hanging in field.

373.\* Bronze mirror. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 128a. Kranzspiegelgruppe. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 150; Mansuelli, *Studi* 77. - 3rd-2nd cent. B.C. - H. (nude, club on r. shoulder?), drunken, supported by satyr? (nude, chlamys); maenad? (mantle?, crown?) seated at r., → Pan (bearded, plays syrinx) to l.

## (ii) Punishes satyrs

374.\* Column krater with added colour. Geneva, Mus., Hellas et Roma 60. Praxias Group? - Schauenburg, K., *Jdl* 102, 1987, 235 fig. 4. - 5th cent. B.C. - H. (nude, club down in r.) stand at l. punishes(?) two satyrs (hands bound); one on ground, another stands at r.

## c) With maenad

375.\* Cup, rf. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 2947. From Chiusi. - *EVP* 56; Gerhard, *o.c.* 45, II pl. 9, 1-2. - 4th cent. B.C. - A. H. (standing, frontal, beardless, ivy wreath, chlamys over l. forearm, held in r., club up in l.) looks toward maenad (chiton, thyrsus in r.), seated on rock.

## 8. Gigantomachy

→ Gigantes 435-437-438.

376. (= Akrahe 1\*, = Athena/Menerva 221 with bibl., = Gigantes 410 with bibl.) Hydria, bf. Marseille, Mus. Borély 3098, Campana Coll., Froehner 1598. - Sassatelli, *o.c.* 193, 77 fig. no. 120; Spivey, *o.c.* 122, 22 no. 129; Micali P. - C. 500 B.C. - H. (beardless, lionskin knotted at neck and waist, bow in l.) fights fallen giant (dressed as warrior, boulder in r.), Menerva (arm of giant in r. held as club, shield in l.) fights second nude giant.

377. (= Akrahe 2, = Athena/Menerva 222, = Gigantes 412 with bibl.) Amphora, bf. Location unknown. Formerly Rome, Depoletti Coll. - *EVP* 18: near Micali P.; - Beginning 5th cent. B.C. - Same scene as 376 except composition is reversed.

378. (= Gigantes 411) Amphora, bf. Minneapolis, Univ. WF 7. - Carlucci, R. O., *AJA* 82, 1978, 545-549, esp. 546-547 figs. 1-3; Spivey *o.c.* 122, 45: suspect; Pomerance Group. - C. 500 B.C. - A. H. (frontal, head turned back, nude, bearded, lionskin cap, lionskin hanging on shoulders, l. hind paw held in hero's l., outstretched hand, club down in r.) looks back to Menerva while moving r.; B, two giants (one beardless, one bearded) run away from pursuing pair wielding three-part boulders as weapons.

379.\* (= Gigantes 45\* with bibl.) Relief krater fr. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. fr. Y 19. - Trendall, *Vat* II 201 fig. 23. - End 4th cent. B.C. - H. (club in raised r., bow in l., lionskin on shoulders) fights toward r., attacks giant (boulder, animal skin, serpent about his leg).

380. (= Akrahe 4\* with bibl., = Athena/Menerva 235, = Gigantes 414 with bibl.) Two bronze laminae. Boston, MFA 01.7528 and 01.7529. From Bomarzo. - Del Chiaro, M., *AA* 85, 1970, 346-353 fig. 4. - Beginning 5th cent. B.C. - H. (nude, lionskin knotted at neck, club (?) in raised r., bow in l.) in front of Menerva moving r.

381.\* (= Akrahe 5\* with bibl., = Athena/Menerva 235, = Gigantes 415 with bibl.) Bronze lamina. Vienna, Kunsth. Mus. AM 123. From Monteromano. - Del Chiaro, *o.c.* 380, 352 fig. 5. - Beginning 5th cent. B.C. - As 380 but H. has arm instead of club in r.; Menerva (bow in l.), behind him; giants carry three-part boulders as on 378.

382.\* (= Gigantes 417\* with bibl.) Bronze lamina fr. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12280. From Bomarzo. - Giglioli 25 pl. 125 no. 6; Helbig I no. 718 with bibl. - Beginning 5th cent. B.C. - H. (lionskin tied about neck and waist, arm in r., bow in l.); similar to 381.

383. (= Athena/Menerva 229 with bibl., = Gigantes 434 with bibl.) Bronze cista, Praenestine. Rome, Villa Giulia 42223. From Palestrina. - Boosen, *o.c.* 319, 90 no. 2. - Early 3rd cent. B.C. - Similar to → Athena/Menerva 228 (there, no H.); Menerva fights fallen hoplite-dressed giant; H. (frontal, nude, assault type, club in r., bow in l., lionskin over shoulder and l. arm) fights fish-tailed giant (holds three-part boulder); woman (sword?) attacks giant from r.

## UNCERTAIN HERCULE AND TYPHON?

384. Amphora, bf. Rome, Villa Giulia 18597. - From Falerii Veteres. - Giglioli, G. Q., *StEtr* 20, 1948/49, 245-247 fig. 2 pl. 15, 1-2; Boosen, *o.c.* 319, 89-90 no. 1; 126. - C. 500 B.C. - Youth, H.? (nude, himation wrapped about l. arm, club? in raised r., assault pose) attacks frontal sea-demon, → Triton?, → Typhon? that has human upper body, bearded, bald, two legs are split fish tail, wields boulder above head.

385. Carnelian scarab. Leningrad, Hermitage. - Neverov, *o.c.* 94b, 17-18 pl. 5, 1; 6, 2-3 (Gigantomachy). - Early 5th cent. B.C. - H. (nude, bearded, long hair, club in raised r., grips hair of demon with l., as in Nessos combat) assaults sea monster, Typhon? (wings, human forepart, split, double-fish tail).

## V. Hercle's later life, death and apotheosis

## 1. With Hypnos/Thanatos

## UNCERTAIN

386. Agate scarab. Parma, Mus. Naz. - Richter, G. M. A., *AJA* 61, 1957, 265 n. 25 pl. 82, 9; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 96, 163 no. 646. - Late Etruscan free style, early 4th cent. B.C.? - Inscr. *Tieva*. H. (lionskin about legs, l. hand on club, r. on hip, head bowed, asleep) seated on rock. Man, → Hypnos/→ Thanatos? (nude, winged, bearded, branch in r.) stands behind H. - a) Sardonyx ringstone. - London, BM T 85. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 96, 163 no. 645; Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* pl. 3, 5. - Late Etruscan free style, early 4th cent. B.C. - b)\* Agate ringstone. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1941.658. - Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* 132 no. 9 pl. 3, 6; Boardman/Vollenweider, *CatGemsOxford* I 58 no. 238 fig. - 350-300 B.C. - c) Carnelian scarab. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. Formerly Shannon Coll. no. 10. Zazoff, *EtrSk* 95 pl. 36, 178. - Mid-4th cent. B.C. - d)\* Sard scarab. New York, MMA 55.128.1. - Richter, *MetMusGems* no. 177 pl. 29; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 96, 163 no. 647. - Early a globolo style, 4th-3rd cent. B.C.

## 2. On Oeta; self-immolation on funeral pyre

387.\* Agate scarab. London, BM 622. From near Viterbo. - Walters, *BMGems* no. 622 pl. 11; Richter, *EngGemsGE* no. 805; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 158 no. 567. - 450-400 B.C. - H. (nude, beardless, short hair, l. hand resting on club, lionskin knotted at neck) seated, bent wearily, on funeral pyre, lowest course burning.

## UNCERTAIN

388.\* Bronze mirror. Rome, Villa Giulia 1745. From Todi, necropolis La Peschiera. North Etruscan. - Bonfante, *o.c.* 152, 155 pl. 25a; Pfiffig 2, 98-99 fig. 32 (self-immolation); Hermansen, G., *StEtr* 52, 1984, 151 (reincarnation of H./Maris). - C. 300 B.C. - Exergue: H. (as a boy, nude, lionskin knotted about his neck, leans head on r. hand) seated on altar?, in flames?; in field: club, quiver. Main scene = Aphrodite/Turan 17\* with bibl., = Athena/Menerva 244 with bibl.: Judgment of Paris.

## 3. Journey to Olympus

## a) Raised up by women

389.\* Carnelian scarab. London, BM T 205. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 19, 64; Walters, *BMGems* no. 801 pl. 13; Bayet I, 145 X; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 158 no. 566. - Early a globolo, 4th cent. B.C. - H. (center) raised up by two draped women, one winged, → Nike?, → Lasa?, → Mean?; club and bow below.

## b) Departs in a chariot with others

390.\* Calyx krater, Faliscan rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. V.I.4556. - Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, 116 n. 13 pl. 4; GGG, *Führer Berlin* 101 pl.

94; Camporeale, G., *La caccia in Etruria* (1984) 163 no. 6 pl. 67a. - 400-350 B.C. - H. (lionskin cap, knotted at neck, club on l. shoulder, reins in r.) in quadriga (r. to l.) accompanied by Nike, Eros, other gods, satyrs below.

391. Silvered Phialai. Rome, Villa Giulia 2270. Former Castellani Coll. Several found, Falerii, Orvieto, Bolsena. Bolsena Group. - Pagenstecher, *Calen* 70-73; Richter, G. M. A., *AJA* 45, 1941, 363-389. - a) London, BM. - Walters, *BMSilverPlate* pl. 2. - b) Many black glaze examples, e.g. Orvieto, Faina Coll. 495; 496. From Orvieto. Heidelberg fr. (latter three are perhaps local imitations). - Pagenstecher, *l.c.*; Richter, *l.c.*; *EVP* 240. 292; *Artigianato artistico in Etruria* (Cat. mostra Volterra-Chiusi 1985) 185-186 no. 257. - End 4th/3rd cent. B.C. - H. (nude, club, dog as symbol of fleetness beneath his chariot) and Nike in quadriga; Menerva, warrior, (Ares/Laran?), Dionysos/Fufluns; all mount chariots. See → Herakles 2935-2937 and Schefold, *SB* IV 224 for Greek models.

## UNCERTAIN

392. Terracotta revetment. Naples, Mus. Naz. 21606. From Velletri. - Åkerström, K., *OpuscRom* 1, 1954, 205 ff. 207 fig. 21 (apotheosis); Andrén, A., *OpuscRom* 8, 1971, 10 (refuted); Cristofani, *L'arte, o.c.* 77, fig. 54; *idem*, in *Atti del Convegno della S. I. S. A. C.* 1981 (1982) 44 and n. 29 (Olympus or bridal procession). - C. 530-520 B.C. - Two chariots with two figures aboard, H.? and Menerva?

## c) Chariot pulled by Kentauroi

See 291.

## 4. Introduced to Tinia and/or with other deities

## a) Alone with Tinia

393.\* Bronze chariot relief cover fr. (side panel). Perugia, Mus. Naz. 1427. From Castel San Mariano (Perugia). Central Etruscan workshop. - SBH, *Etrusker* 109 pls. 108-109; Höckmann I, 111 ff. and n. 565 with bibl. pls. 26-28 (Olympus). - C. 530-520 B.C. - H. welcomed into Olympus by Tinia. Tinia and H. (bearded, lionskin cap, knotted in front and about body, over short chiton) face one another and clasp r. hands.

## b) With Tinia and/or with others

394. Cup, rf. (interior). Hamburg, Mus. KG 1966, 25. Clusium Group. - Hoffmann, H., *Vasen der klassischen Antike* (1969) no. 40; Hornbostel, *o.c.* 5c, 84-85 no. 102; Harari, *o.c.* 9, 36-37, 104, 119 no. 27 pls. 16, 2; 17 (Mean, Uni, Tinia): Tondo Group, Painter F. - C. 330-300 B.C. - H.? (no attributes) in Olympus with nude woman, Hebe? or Mean?, Uni, and Tinia.

395.\* (= Iuno 336 with bibl.) Bronze mirror, Praenestine. New York, MMA 96.18.16 (827). From Palestrina. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 147; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 74 (29); Pfiffig I, 344 (reconciliation be-

tween Uni and H.); *idem* 2, 66-67 fig. 18; Dury-Moyaers/Renard 189-190. - 4th cent. B.C. - Latin inscription: *Iuno, Iovei, Hercele*. Jupiter is enthroned between Juno and Hercules; Juno holds olive branch in r. and places l. on Jupiter's shoulder. H. (beardless, club up in l., chlamys over l. arm, r. extended). Female herm with uterus votive between Juno and Jupiter; between H. and Jupiter, a phallus. Olympus?, Deities of matrimony?, cf. Peter, *MLI* 2, 2260; cf. H. type, 52. 268. 393. 398.

396.\* (= Acheloos 117\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Rome, Villa Giulia 12988. From Palestrina. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 347; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III no. 2974: Olympus; before Zeus, Hera and Hebe. - 400-350 B.C. - H. as adolescent, lionskin knotted at neck, short chiton (or skin?) about hips, club down in r., l. on Tinia's knee, looks to Tinia (enthroned), a woman, Uni? leans on throne, woman at r.

397. (= Iolaos/Vile 18\*) Bronze mirror. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1283. Kranzspiegelgruppe. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV 91-92, pl. 346; Bayet 1, 48, 54, 171; Herbig, *StEtr* 24, 1955/56, 192 and n. 21; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 33-39, 471 ff. pl. 1 (Olympus); de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I, 78 (63). - 2nd cent. B.C. - Inscribed: *Hercle, Uni, Tinia, Aile* (Vile). Four-figure group. H. (l., beardless, nude, lionskin over his l. leg, club down in r., boots) with Tinia enthroned, Uni behind and Vile (Phrygian cap, chlamys over shoulder, boots) sits r.

#### UNCERTAIN ICONOGRAPHY

398. (= 322) Amphora, bf., La Tolfa Group. - C. 530 B.C. - A, H. (lionskin cap, forms mantle over short chiton, bow in l., raised r. greets man at l.) walks toward l. between two men facing him; l. man (Phrygian cap?, weapons, arrow in r., greaves) extends raised l. in greeting to H.; older, bearded man (enlarged head, chlamys, greaves, *calcei repandi*) behind H. gestures in a lively manner. B, H. and Triton (= 322).

398a)\* Bronze ovoid relief situla. Unknown whereabouts. Former Czartoryski Coll. Central Etruscan workshop? - de Witte, J., *GazArch* 7, 1881, 6 ff. pl. 1-2. - Late 4th cent. B.C.? - H. (beardless, nude, lionskin cap, knotted at neck and over l. arm, club rests up on l. shoulder) before man (mantle, scepter, wreathed), Tinia? or Laomedon/Lamtun?, clasps his hand (type: 52. 268. 393. 395); l.: sacrifice, youth (wreathed?) supports covered vessel on shoulder, altar, woman (chiton, bejewelled, holds ovoid situla in r. over altar, spindle in l.), Amphitrite?, Nethuns (half-nude, trident in l., r. on woman's shoulder), sea-mon-

ster, Ketos? and half-nude woman (bejewelled, sandals) seated on rock, Hesione?, half-nude woman (bejewelled, staff?) behind Tinia. Behind H. to the r.: Menerva (mantle, aegis, shield, lance) and half-nude male (sash? palm?).

#### UNCERTAIN HERCULE

399.\* Terracotta revetment. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Velletri. - Åkerström, *o. c.* 392, 205 ff. (apotheosis); Andrén, *o. c.* 80a, 412 I:6 pl. 128, 450 (two worshipers or ministrants approach six deities); Cristofani, *L'arte*, *o. c.* 77, fig. 56 (Olympus); *idem*, *Atti*, *o. c.* 392, 44 fig. 4. - C. 530-520 B.C. - H.? (short chiton, bow, arrows) and Menerva? (behind H., long mantle) stand before seated deities?

#### 5. Adopted, suckled by Uni

→ Hera 301\*. 454.

400. Terracotta medallion. Unknown whereabouts. From Palestrina. - Bayet 1, 151 G; Renard, M., in *Hommages à J. Bayet Coll. Latomus* 70 (1964) 613 no. 2. - 4th cent. B.C. - Not seen. H. suckled by Uni, flanked by two youths dressed in chlamydes, Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniai?, as in Bologna mirror composition, 402 with one youth.

401.\* Krater, Faliscan rf. Rome, Villa Giulia. - Schauenburg, *o. c.* 390, 129 ff. pl. V; Renard, *o. c.* 400, 615 fig. 8. - 375-350 B.C. - Adolescent H. (nude, wreathed, club in r., leaning against Uni) suckled by Uni, a youth, Eros?, and other figures near.

402. Bronze mirror. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. From Tarquinia, fondo Scataglini (Villa Tarantola) necropolis, Tomb 4883. - Serra Ridgway, F., in *Gli Etruschi di Tarquinia* (1986) 329. 332-333 no. 817 (fig.); 352 n. 95: 5th cent. B.C. - Adolescent H. nurses Uni while woman (veiled) and winged woman, Nike? (l., wreath in r., staff? in l.) look on. Bird? with wreath? flies toward H.? - a)\* (= Iolaos/Vile 20) Bronze mirror. Bologna, Mus. Civ. It. 1075. Vulci workshop. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 126; Bayet 1, 53-54. 150 ff.; Renard, *o. c.* 400, 611. 615 fig. 1; Dohrn, T., *RM* 73, 1966, 22 ff. fig. 2; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 517; Pfiffig 1, 345; Stibbe-Twist 93-96; Fischer-Graf 54-55 V 34 pl. 14, 2; Pfiffig 2, 28 (cover); Sassatelli, G., *CSE Bologna* 1 (1981) 37-38 no. 15 figs. 15a-f. - Mid-4th cent. B.C. - Adoption by Uni: youth H. (nude, lionskin loosely knotted at neck), nursed by Uni (enthroned); youth (chlamys) to r., his r. hand on Uni's shoulder, looks



Hercle 398a



Hercle 402a



Hercle 406

closely at scene, Vile? (Renard, Rebuffat-Emmanuel, Fischer-Graf), or Ares/Laran (Gerhard, Dohrn), or Aplu (Pfiffig).

403.\* (= Aphrodite/Turan 30 with bibl.) Bronze mirror. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Misc. 7769. From Vulci. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 59; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 73 (25). - Beginning 3rd cent. B.C. - Names inscribed: *Hercle* (adult, beardless, lionskin cap, about neck and around hips, club in r.) seated on her lap and nursed by *Uni* (seated, cornucopia? in l.) in presence of *Turan*, *Mean*, *Tinia* and *Mel[n]rva*.

404.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 56\* with bibl.) Bronze mirror. Florence, Mus. Arch. 72740. From Volterra. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 60; Bayet 1, pl. 4; *TLE*<sup>2</sup> 63 no. 399; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 76 (45); Stibbe-Twist fig. 9; Pfiffig 2, 68 fig. 19; De Grummond, N. T., *AntK* 25, 1982, 3-14, esp. 6 fig. 7; Massa-Pairault, *o. c.* 77, 38-41 fig. 9. - C. 300 B.C. - Retrograde inscription: *eca : sren : / tva : ichna : c : hercle : / unial : cl/an : thra : sce* (approximately: «this shows how the mortal Hercle became the legitimate son of Uni»). Center, H. (bearded) nursed by Uni. R., Tinia, l., Aplu, two goddesses in background; above, on architrave, supported by column, silenus, reclining, raises drinking cup to mouth; below, in exergue, boy (nude, winged, bulla about neck, egg in raised r.) sits on ground.

#### 6. Crowned by or with women on Olympus

##### a) With Hebe?

#### UNCERTAIN

405. Stamnos, rf. Hamburg, Mus. KG 1917.658. - *EVP* 32, 1: Pitt Rivers P.; Hoffmann, *o. c.* 394, no. 82-83. - C. 425-400 B.C. - H. (club up in l., patera in r.) crowned by woman, Hebe?; bearded man, Tinia? looks on.

406.\* Bronze mirror. Location unknown. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V p. 78 pl. 61, 1. - Late 4th-early 3rd cent.

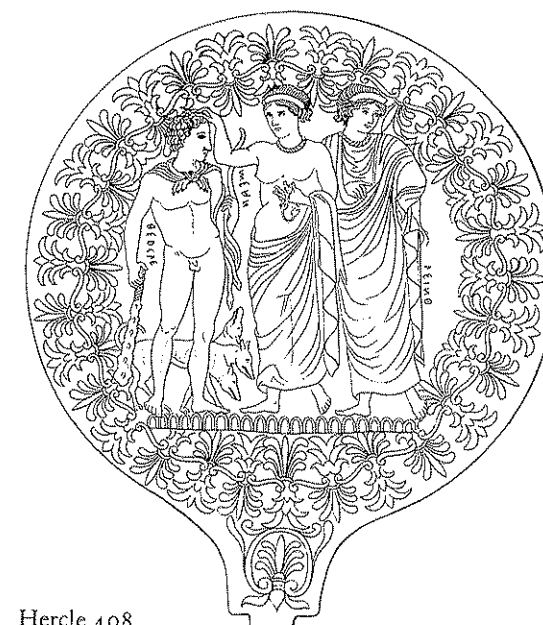
B.C. - H. (nude, fillet, club down in l., patera offered in extended r.) seated at l., looks toward woman, Hebe? (partially clothed, alabastron in r.) at center, Menerva seated at r.

407.\* Carnelian scarab. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1778. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 58 no. 72 pl. 19. - Severe style, 325-300 B.C. - H. (nude, club down in hand, sheathed sword, baldric) foot up on rock, faces woman, Hebe?, Mean?; Nike? (mantle, wingless), crowns him; two stars, ivy leaf in field.

##### b) With Mean (in Olympus?)

##### (i) Crowned by Mean

408.\* Bronze mirror. Perugia, Mus. Naz. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 141: Victor of the underworld; Mansuelli, *o. c.* 130, 22; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 71 (10). - 450-400 B.C. - Names inscribed: *Hercle* (beardless,



Hercle 408



lionskin knotted at neck, club down in r., bow and lionskin in l.) crowned by *Mean*, → *Leinth* stands to r. looking away; three-headed Kerberos behind H. – Modern replica: a) Mainz, RGZM 28841. Former Baron Maximilian von Heyl Coll. – Höckmann, *o.c.* 135, 68–69 no. 43 (pl.).

409. Bronze mirror, Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Fr 139. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 143; Pandolfini, M., *StEtr* 39, 1971, 372 no. 70 pl. 80 (erroneously no. 71); Martelli, *o.c.* 176f, 166 no. 3: before 350 B.C. – Names inscribed: [*Calajnice*], *Mean*. H. (nude, seated on lionskin, knotted at neck) at l., *Mean* (winged, mantle, wreath? in hand) crowns? H.

## (ii) With *Mean* and *Vile*

410. (= *Iolaos/Vile* 12) Bronze mirror, Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12639. From Vulci. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 142; Mansuelli, *o.c.* 130, 33, 53; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 74 (35). – 4th cent. B.C. – Names inscribed: *Hercle* (center, nude, frontal, beardless, lionskin knotted at neck, leans on club in l., patera in r.) extends patera toward seated *Vilae* and is crowned (wreath missing) by *Mean* (nude, winged).

## c) With winged woman

411. \* Faliscan rf. fr. Erlangen, Univ. I 1195, 33. Unpublished. – 400–350 B.C. – H. (nude, seated on rock?, club, down in l.); winged woman, Nike? approaches with wreath.

412. (= *Athena/Menerva* 185\* with bibl.) Krater, Faliscan rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 6364. From Corchiano. – *EVP* 70–73. – Beginning 4th cent. B.C. – H. (lionskin down his back, leans on club) seated in three-quarter view toward l., between winged woman, Nike? and *Menerva*; H. turns toward *Menerva*.

413. \* Bronze mirror, Norwich Park Coll., formerly Rome market (Basseggio). Vulci workshop (Fischer-Graf). – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 145 (Hebe, Nike or Iris?); Fischer-Graf 14–15 V 4 pl. 1, 3: 475–450 B.C. – H. (beardless, nude, standing, mantle

hangs from arms, club down in l., r. hand on hip) faces winged woman (mantle, earrings, boots) at r., Nike? who holds a flower? to his face.

413a) Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Stockholm, Medelhavsmus. NM 2123. Purchased, Rome. – Wieman, I. M. B., *MedelhavsmusB* 20, 1985, 66–68 figs. 5–7: c. 320 B.C. – H. (nude, beardless, lionskin over l. forearm, laurel wreath, holds club in both hands), crowned by winged woman (half-nude, jewelry, sandals), Nike? in the center; at l., *Tinia* (half-nude, bearded, scepter with dove in r., thunderbolt in l.), seated, looks on. Acheloos(?) mask, below.

414. \* Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Paris, Louvre Br 1743. – de Ridder, *BrLouvre* II no. 1743 pl. 85; Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 343; Bayet 1, 141 K. – Late 4th–early 3rd cent. B.C. – H. (nude, beardless, club in l., leaning against r. leg) crowned by winged woman, Nike? (sash? and branch? in l.).

415. Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Rome, Villa Giulia 13188. From Palestrina. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 342; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III no. 2943 (Dohrn: vegetation goddess); Stibbe-Twist 102 F; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 499; Adam, *o.c.* 63, 45 no. 31 (fig.). – C. 330–310 B.C. – H. (beardless, nude, baldric, quiver, club down at his r.) seated across from woman, *Turan*? (half-nude, bejewelled, wreath? sandals) and swan; in center: half-nude, wreathed, winged woman, Nike? serves plate to H. Nike rests l. arm on column, before it, a torch; foliage. (Klügmann, A., *AdI* 1871, 19 n. 3: only one bottle on the plate, the rest are fruit). – a) \* Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1286. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 151; Babelon-Blanchet, *BiblNat-Bronzes* no. 1286; Bayet 1, 220: *Turan* accompanied by a swan; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 47, 499–500 pl. 88. – Replica of previous. Modeled after scheme on silver relief phialai from Orvieto and Bolsena, 416.

416. (= *Aphrodite/Turan* 29\* with bibl.) Silvered relief phialai. Bolsena Group. a) Leiden, Rijksmus. K 1968/12. b) \* Rome, Villa Giulia 51938. c) Florence, Mus. Arch. 77648, from Poggio Sala (Bolsena). – *EVP* 291, 5–8; Mingazzini, *CollCastellani* II 265 no. 835 pl. 225, 3, 5: wedding of H. to Hebe?, winged woman (center) with patera, fruit; Rebuffat-Emmanuel, *MEFRA* 87, 1975/2, 583–590. – 275–250 B.C. – Woman (half-nude), *Turan*? and H. (unbearded, quiver) flank a nude, winged woman, Nike? offering fruit on a plate to H.

## COMMENTARY

All dates are B.C. unless otherwise stated.

### Type/attributes

Hercle is recognized earliest in narratives in the 1st third of the 6th cent. B.C. by costume (lionskin), weapons (club and bow), and action (245) borrowed from Greece and the East. During the 6th cent. influences from Greece and the East were incorporated in a new manner (cf. Bayet 1, 37–49; Höckmann 2, 189–193; Richardson 340–342).



Hercle 413

Four types of the standing figure were created during the Archaic period. The first (13, 14), the so-called «Cypriote H. type» adopted a stiff, hieratic pose in which he raises an upright club in his r. hand and extends his l. foot forward. The lion's head forms a cap about his head, and the skin, a mantle about his body. The latter may be cinched in front at the waist. He is either nude (12a, 14, 15) or wears a chiton beneath the skin (13, 13a, 13c, 13d). Paws are usually knotted across his chest but might be suspended from either shoulder (13d) and he sometimes carries a bow and/or tail in his l. hand (12a, 13? 14b). Contrary to Cypriote versions, he is usually clean-shaven (exceptions: 14, 36, 41, 77: with moustache, 78: as previous).

In a second form, he battles an unseen foe while striding or running (usually with club in r. and bow in l. hand) depicted between the last quarter of the 6th cent. through the 4th cent. (33–40 with lionskin or nude; with bow and arrows in l., 115, 220; lion's tail in l., 297) in a version that stems from Archaic Greek art (→ Herakles 20, 26, 35, 39, 1089, 1091, 1092, etc.). He may strike with a club in his l. hand (282, 363; once, it is omitted, 164), but his weapons may vary (sword: 201, 208, 266, 293, 309: two swords, 346, 355, 294: lance; and shield: 35, 346). He wears hoplite garb (294: sword, shield) in one example. In a third style, inspired by Greek prototypes (→ Herakles esp. 20, 28, 29), he is nude (no lionskin) (19–20, 33). In a fourth, considered a local innovation, he wears a *perizoma*, a costume that may consist of a lionskin, either with the head over his genitals, or the skin wrapped, tied or twisted about his waist (16–17, 39–40, 42, 132) in the final quarter of the 6th to mid-5th cent. Sometimes it is a kilt or short mantle (18, 43, cf. Adam 50–51; Bayet 1, 31; Galli, E., *StEtr* 15, 1941, 27 ff.; Höckmann 2, 194 nn. 16–18).

Vulca, who, sometime before 509 B.C., was called from Veii to Rome, executed a statue of H. in terracotta (79) for a sanctuary. His work may have taken a «Cypriote» (12–14) or *perizoma* (132) form (on the problem: André, A., *RendPontAcc* 49, 1976/77, 63–83; Colonna 2, *idem*, *PP* 36, 1981, 41–59; Cristofani, M., *Prospettiva*, *o.c.* 77, 2–3).

In a transitional work (15), one lion forepaw rests on his r. shoulder, and the animal's head, and the other forepaw, on his l. shoulder and arm, respectively. Early Classical specimens are clean-shaven, with or without a lionskin cap (15–21, 39–40, 42–43, 50) and weapons (bow, arrow, quiver and club). A *promachos* pose combined with his holding apples was a local creation c. 400 B.C. (27–29, for attribution to northern Italic workshops, cf. Gualandi, *o.c.* 27, 293–309, esp. 305 ff.; Colonna, *AnnFaina* 1, 1983, 176–177).

The bombarding scheme was modified in other ways: in one form, the lionskin cap extends over the l. shoulder (22–28) and/or l. arm (29–30) c. 375 B.C. (→ Herakles 15, 22, 23, 304–305, 404–405, 465–466, 614, 861) and evolved between the 5th and 1st cent. in schematic bronzes (ex votos). Eventually, the skin was reduced to a small kerchief suspended from his l. forearm (31, 32, cf. → Herakles 1097 [cf. discussion of problems of chronology and proven-

ance, Leibundgut, *o.c.* 31; 32, 66, → Herakles 614, 772, 774, 777–783, 835–839]). Numerous finds from Umbro-Sabellian and Samnite sanctuaries date between the end of the 6th cent. and late Hellenistic period (cf. votives in Bibl. esp. Colonna 1; Di Niro, *o.c.* 31, 9–26; Comella 770–771; and northern Italic regions, Tombolani, *o.c.* 31a, 68–69; Torcello near Venice, and Trieste, Este, Gurina).

Two further mutations of the lionskin cap occurred: a) the lion's jaws were enlarged to form a «collar» (26, 28a–b, 54a, b: many are Sabellian but found from Campania to northern Italy, perhaps dated from the 5th to 1st cent., → Herakles 614); and b) knobs (one to three) project from atop his head (32, 55).

Other head gear includes a diadem or wreath (9, 64, 101, 104, 123, 130, 375, 401, floral wreath: 66), a fillet (7, 41, 51a, 63, 74, 173, 188, 264, 406) and depend on Greece or S. Italy (cf. vases of c. 530 B.C. and S. Italian coin types, → Herakles 97, 98).

Between the 5th and 4th cent., a kneeling, assailing H. (33, → Herakles 34) was derived from a Greek source. The apples (sometimes pomegranate, 28, 28d, 54d) replaced the bow (34, 35, 258b) in the l. hand in the 4th cent. and he might hold a phiale or patera (114, 130, 258, 405, 406, 410), cup (65, 74), kantharos (64, 66, 66a), or drinking horn (62, 62a–e) (cf. Greek prototypes, → Herakles 757–758, 763–764, 769, 771, 782, 784, 822, 823).

Occasionally, he wore a cuirass in the 2nd half of the 6th cent. (41: differs from Greek models, → Herakles 48, 73, 1066, 1069, and Caeretan hydriae, Hemelrijk, *o.c.* 169, no. 23 pl. 88 and n. 284). Later, he was clad in a muscle cuirass in Central Etruscan and Praenestine 4th cent. images (67, 91, 180, 183, 242) with a lionskin outside and a short chiton beneath (cf. Archaic Greek forms → Herakles 54–56, 60–61, 1096).

The figure in repose in a variety of media made between the 5th and 1st cent. (a vase, mirror, gems, and terracotta votives, 44–45, 47–49, 50–54, 56–59, 60, 63–67) was also inspired by Classical or Hellenistic models. He is clean-shaven (48, cf. discussion Herakles 310, 319, 655 and Cherchel stance, → Herakles 428–430 p. 791) – usually with the weight on the r. leg (exceptions, 46, 48, 51, 56, 57a, 59), either with a lionskin cap or the skin suspended from the l. shoulder or forearm (44–67). A bearded image (47, 52, 60) re-emerged in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. From the 1st quarter of the 5th cent., variations include: the club in up in the r. hand, bow in the l. (43); r. hand on hip, l. extended (missing)? (44); r. hand on downed club, l. on hip (59, cf. → Herakles 603, 612–615 and p. 758, discussion of a Polycleitan H. with literature, 792) or reversed with the other hand extended or holding the bow, cup (63–66b, 74, cf. → Herakles 754–860), apples, or horn (45–67) (hand extended 52, cf. → Herakles 758, 763, 771, 769, 1345, bow or apples 45–51, cf. in S. Italy c. 385 B.C.: → Herakles 271–542, 770–773). Commonly, the club is down in his r. hand with or without a lionskin over the l. forearm in bronzes and gems (54–56, 58, 60) – often apples are in the l. hand (cf. Herakles «Al-

bertini», «Hope», → Herakles, *LIMCIV* 271. 310, and p. 792). Less frequently, the club is up, resting on a shoulder with the opposite hand extended (44. 57, in Greece, → Herakles 655 pp. 766. 792: introduced c. 400 B.C., and Staccioli, R. A., *ArchCl* 9, 1957, 26–43). A version with a cup or horn in the r. hand and club or apples in l. (62–67 cf. discussion and bibliography, → Herakles, *LIMCIV* p. 766).

A seated H. emulates Greek and S. Italian images (70. 318. 97, cf. → Herakles, *LIMCIV* pp. 773–774. 792: based on a 5th cent. Greek type) in which there too, he often holds a cup, horn or kantharos (72. 73. 101, → Herakles, *LIMCIV* 920, pp. 772. 792; for a connection with Dionysos, cf. 66. 75a. For 74. 75 cf. discussion of Lysippan Epitrapezios type in → Herakles, *LIMCIV* p. 774–775; De Visscher, F., *Héraclès Epitrapezios* [1962] [= *AntCl* 30, 1961, 167–129]).

A reclining symposiast H. dated in the 4th cent. (76) was found in context with a fertility and funerary cult dedicated to a female deity at the Cannicella sanctuary at Orvieto (cf. Colonna, *o. c.* 39, 17–19; for the type, → Herakles 1009. 1011. 1017–1025. 1049 and p. 777).

His head is represented on vases, bronzes, coins, and gems modeled after S. Italian and Greek works. A janiform head vase made in Volterra (9, c. 320 B.C.) is analogous to late 6th cent. Attic rf. works (cf. head vase. Matera, Mus. From Laterza. Neeracher, O., *Kunst und Kultur der Westgriechen* I [1971] 40 no. 69 fig.). Silver and bronze coinage with a facing (1. 2) or profile (2a. 3. 8) head are clean-shaven with the lion-skin cap or filleted (8) and are attributed to Populonia. Both (frontal and profile) coin types emulate S. Italian specimens (→ Herakles 115. 117. 120. 125; 97–98); «Hope Herakles» pp. 746. 791. Short curly hair is found on his head on a Volterranean kylix (3) and is related to Populonian coinage (cf. also → Herakles 92), while a three-quarter view on a Volterranean mirror (4) is close to late Classical Greek representations (→ Herakles 87). A bearded image, probably made in Bolsena, imitated Tarentine bronzes of the late Classical period (5, cf. → Herakles 218: late 4th cent., p. 792).

For a bust-hip herm (11) of the 2nd cent., → Herakles 1122–1124 and a gem, *ibid.*, 1120; cf. youthful herm with heavy mantle of the Genzano Group, → Herakles 1174. 1184. 1130.

### 1. Hercle at a fountain

See also the amphora raft (337–341).

H. as a god of wells and baths was a favorite iconographic motif; scenes of H. at a fountain, with or without an amphora on mirrors, gems, and bronzes, (81–83, → Herakles, *LIMCIV* p. 797: literature, bibl.; cf. 87 and → Herakles 1325) began at the end of the 5th cent. The common threads are the amphora (88–92), fountain, and the sacred gathering. Companions may include a youth, Menerva, Vile (88) and/or Turms (89. 90), all three (91), or once, Uni (92). Apoll. Rhod.'s (4, 1436–1449) report that he created a spring from stepping on or kicking a rock is suggested by the scheme with his foot on an amphora (81–82). The intent of the episode with winged women and the am-

phora (93) is unclear (→ Herakles *LIMCIV* p. 797). A satyr and winged woman (97) pouring liquid over a seated, weary H. on a late 4th cent. Praeneste cista foot (97) was proposed as a lustration or Dionysiac (cf. 66. 75a. 76), although the interpretation cannot be proven.

The incident of his drawing water from a lion-head spout on gems (84–86. 94; one West Greek: 84c = Herakles 1326. 1327) cannot be identified with any certainty with the story of his creating springs on his return journey from fighting Geryon. And no ancient source seems to explain his altercation against a fountain (95; see, however, Serv. *Aen.*'s story [7, 697] that he established a spring through driving an iron lever into the earth). Ex votos found at springs, lakes, and other water sources (selected: terracotta, 49. 76 and bronze, 12a–13. 17. 18–28. 30–31. 39. 44. 51–52. 54–55. 57. 59. 62. 64–66) leave no doubt of his importance for apotropaic and healing water cults. For the discussion of the theme of a sacred conversation with a youth, Vile and/or Turms, cf. Sassatelli (30–31) and 140: with Vile; 146: with Turms; 113–114. 145: Menerva and Turms; 135. → Athena/Menerva 191. 136: Menerva and Vile; → Athena/Menerva 193. 195\*.

### 2. Hercle sacrificing

See also with a boar 74. 159 and holding a patera, 114. 130.

H. leans over an altar perhaps at a louterion (99); and stands beside one (100), → Herakles, *LIMCIV* pp. 798–801.

### 3. Hercle with cornucopia

See also resting (70–72) and with an amphora or fountain (94. 97).

An incident (101) with a horn near his feet (and a satyr on the reverse) was inspired by S. Italian drinking or celebration scenes (→ Herakles, *LIMCIV* 1511 ff.; pp. 820–821; 1476).

### 4. Hercle with a woman

For narratives, see his family (→ Alkmene 19), his wives, Deianeira, in his altercation with Nessos (306–310), and with Hebe in apotheosis (405–407). Alkestis is uncertain (→ Alkestis 59), Auge is unknown in Etruscan art. He rescues Hesione (266–269), abducts Mlacuch (331), and is with Menerva in non-narrative (134) and narrative contexts with a child, Epiur, adolescent boy, Maris and other women (153–156). Turan also appears with him (360–361). For others, winged (389. 411–416) and unwinged (151. 394. 404. 408–410), crowning H., see the discussion on Olympus (405–416). He is paired with an unidentified woman on a janiform vase (9).

He accompanies anonymous women, seated (102–106. 108. 151. 367), leading (→ Alkestis 27. 29), walking or on horseback. He battles one (107) and rescues another (108, cf. 109. 361. → Herakles 1547–1556). For H.'s numerous Greek amorous affairs with women, → Herakles, *LIMCIV* p. 821; Brommer, *Herakles* II 117–129.

### 5. Hercle with a man

See Cacus, 276.

H. (110) converses with a man, once nude (146) and once with a seated bearded man (111). A bearded man and youth flank him in another unidentified encounter (112). → Herakles, *LIMCIV* pp. 824–825.

### 6. With deities, others

See also his apotheosis (393–399) and adoption (400–404).

a) Perhaps his earliest appearance in a non-narrative divine assembly is on a late 6th cent. Micali Group vase (122). The theme recurs on 4th–3rd cent. B.C. mirrors and Faliscan vases (116. 123). He is prominently paired with Menerva (113. 117–118. 133. 136, → Athena/Menerva 188), perhaps inspired by their close cult association (cf. for example, sculptural groups of the two at sanctuaries at Portonaccio in Veii [12. 132] and Sant'Omobono in Rome [131], perhaps a creation of Etruscan aristocracy [Colonna, → Athena/Menerva p. 1073; Colonna 3, 442 n. 84 bibl.]). Pfiffig (1, 349; cf. mirror, 120) suggested a love relationship between Menerva and H. Terracotta ex votos of each are found in the same cult contexts (deposits) with fertility and health associations from the 4th to 3rd cent. (e.g. Veii, Portonaccio sanctuary; Cerveteri, Vignaccia; and Minerva Medica in Rome, 49 and → Athena/Menerva 104. 125–126; Colonna 3, 429–431). They are in conversation together with an unidentified youth (91. 135. 136. 412, → Athena/Menerva 184. 188. 191). In two instances, the youth is named Vile; once he is with H. at the fountain (95 [v?jilece) and once in assembly with Laran (118). A youth, atypical for Vile, holds arrows on 136; for recent discussions, cf. Höckmann (*o. c.* 135, 41: Philoctetes) and Jurgeit (*o. c.* 97, 136–137). He is together with Vile (118, → Ares/Laran 26), Menerva and Laran which for some (→ Ares/Laran p. 505; Cristofani, *Bronzi*, 282) alludes to a military association. With Turms (113–114. 121–122), he is flanked by a Dionysiac group once (123), and is a bystander next to Turms (126) and on other examples (125. 124; → Aphrodite/Turan 33 = Apollon/Aplu 122; → Apollon/Aplu 60). He is paired with Turan and Aplu (115. 116). H. embraces Turan as Menerva looks on on one occasion (119).

### b) With Menerva

See the non-narrative and divine conversation above.

The Greek concept of the goddess his patron and protector is evident in labors and apotheosis representations from the last quarter of the 6th and beginning of the 5th cent. The former include the Hydra (203), Gigantomachy (376. 377. 378. 380. 381. 382), Kyknos (295), Nereus (305), Nessos (306), and with Uni (366?). M. accompanies him in what may be the chariot ride to Olympus (392), and perhaps introduces him to deities on Olympus on a Velletri architectural terracotta (399).

During the 5th cent., they are together in an incident with children (157) as well as labors which include the Lion (189), Bull (228), Hesperides (262.

263. 264), and an encounter with Alkyoneus (→ Alkyoneus 33\*).

In the 4th cent., they appear in love (406), abduction (351) and nurturing (154. 155. 156) incidents. There are fewer labors: the Lion (173. 174), Boar (209), Bird?, Amazon (244), and other adventures: Prumathe (318) and with the Minotaur (330), on Olympus (398a), with Hebe? (406) and with a winged woman on a Faliscan vase (412).

In the 3rd cent., narratives with a child(ren) continued. They are also together with women on Olympus (M. is present at his adoption by Uni, 403) and in one combat: Gigantomachy (383).

### c) With Vile

See also Vile with H. at the fountain (88–92. 95), in conversation (118–119. 135. 138. 140–141), and with a Maris youth (159).

H. and Vile fight snakes as babes, as Vile replaced Iphikles (152). Vile might be the unnamed youth with H. in narratives of the Lion conflict, 169. 185; Hydra fight, 199. 200. 203; Amazon struggle, 242; Geryon encounter, 246; Hesperides adventure, 265; killing of Alkyoneus, 274; Centaur battle, 278; Kyknos skirmish, 295. 296; altercation with Nessos, 315; with the Minotaur, 330; apotheosis, 396. 397; adoption, 402; and crowning, 410.

H. sits or stands conversing with a youth bearing weapon(s) 136. Twice the youth is named *Vilae* (140. 410). In other pictures in which Vile is named (88. 90. 95. 118. 140. 159. 330. 410), health (amphora), youth (Maris hercle), and victory are implied themes (cf. Eur. *Heraclidae* 6, for Vile's arrival in Sardinia with the Heraclidae, and, for his worship in Etruria, → Iolaos/Vile). The «Ficoroni Cista» foot (144) has been suggested as H. with Vile and a winged demon (recently, Jurgeit, *o. c.* 97, 64–65. 138–140).

See also → Iolaos/Vile and Del Chiaro, M. A., *AJA* 59, 1955, 281–285; *idem*, *Muse* 15, 1981, 54–57.

### d) With Turms

The pair converse in a landscape setting on a number of private monuments of the 5th–4th cent. in mirrors (145) and gems (146–147, cf. discussions by Del Chiaro 284–285 [144. 90a], Jurgeit 140–141, and Rebuffat-Emmanuel 43 ff. 513 ff.). Although the scheme lacks an amphora, the composition is similar to that with H. at the fountain, discussed above. See the bone relief of Turms, H. with the amphora, Menerva, and a warrior (91, Fischer-Graf 100 and Jurgeit, *o. c.* 97, 140–141).

Turms accompanies H. in the fight with the Bull (228), the Minotaur (328), and the Deer (222). Turms' presence with H. and Cerberos in one instance (256) may perhaps present the Greek report of his accompanying H. on the Hades adventure (Hom. *Od.* 11, 621 ff.). He is once depicted as a guide to Olympus (258) (cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 96–97).

### e) With Aplu

In addition to his accompanying H. in non-narrative divine assemblies (see section O.I.), Aplu is an

adversary in the Deer conflict (220. 221. 222) and tripod (357) contest on 6th cent. monuments. There is a 5th cent. Deer scuffle (218) without Aplu and, in addition, two illustrations of the tripod skirmish (355. 358). 4th cent. works show Aplu and H. at Prumathe's rescue (317) and the tripod quarrel (356).

H. runs away, with the tripod slung over his l. shoulder, his club in his raised r. as Aplu, chasing, attempts to clasp his precious attribute. The scheme on early 5th cent. vases (355) and a gem (→ Apollon/Aplu 16) resembles that on a metope from the Heraion at Foce del Sele in S. Italy (→ Apollon 1029\* = Herakles 2969; and a rf. Attic oinochoe by the Kleomelos Painter c. 490 B.C., → Herakles 3031). Zazoff (*EtrSk* 23) points to an Andokides Painter prototype.

On bronze cista feet, the pair are reversed as H. follows A. (358) where both hold the kettle (Brommer, *Herakles* II n. 58: *Vasenlisten* 40, 2, → Herakles 3007). They tug at the tripod while moving away from one another on a later 5th cent. gem (→ Apollon/Aplu 15) and 4th cent. krater (356). In an excerpt H. alone flees with the tripod on a 5th cent. vase (353) and gems (354).

#### f) With Juno/Uni

His kinship with → Juno Sospita is ambivalent; he is shown in altercations as protagonist as well as encounters at peace (362–367). She accompanies him on Olympus (395–397) and adopts (400–404) him.

There are non-narrative depictions of the two-some – Juno is dressed as Juno Sospita – between the 6th and 4th cent. (150–151).

She was first a foe, then later, a friend to H. The acrimony between the two is explained in literature from Homer to Ovid (cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 108). She watches as H., a child, strangles snakes sent by her on a Faliscan vase (152). Later, in his adult life, as Juno Sospita, she battles him on an amphora by the Paris Painter (362) and a fragment by a follower of the Caeretan hydriae workshop (363). Then, he rescues Juno from an onslaught of satyrs in 6th and 5th cent. scenes (366. 367) that depend on S. Italian prototypes (cf. metopes from the Heraion at Foce del Sele, c. 550/40 B.C. → Hera 328\* = Herakles 3348a; and the Attic rf. cup by the Brygos Painter, c. 490/80 B.C., → Hera 327 = Herakles 3348; and sculptural *columen* fr. from the Temple B facade at Pyrgi, 77). Their affable relationship is supported by his having founded a temple to Hera Lakinia (cf. Diod. 4, 24, 7; Serv. *Aen.* 3, 552) and their worship together at Pyrgi, Caere, Veii, Falerii, and Tarquinia (cf. Comella; Dury-Moyaers/Renard).

#### g) Eros

H. is crowned by male and female, winged and un-winged demons. Although H. crowned by Eros appears in Attic and S. Italian vase painting, in Etruria, a nude, winged youth in late 5th to mid-4th cent. works (368–370. 291) is similar but cannot be identified with any certainty as the Greek Eros. Crowning from behind occurs (368) and is similar on S. Italian vases and coins (→ Eros 913–919). For the figure riding on

H.'s back (370), cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 36 and n. 36 and → Eros 914.

#### h) Fufluns, satyrs, Pan, maenad

H.'s association with Fufluns is vague but known in the 4th cent. Satyrs masquerade as H. on an amphora raft (337–341) on 4th to 3rd cent. scarabs. Zazoff (*EtrSk* 122–123) saw the phenomenon as the influence of a S. Italian H.–Silen cult. H. parodies in satyr-plays were popular in S. Italy. They rob his weapons in Attic rf. and S. Italian vases of the late 6th–4th cent. (→ Herakles 3230–3238, cf. McPhee, I, *AntK* 22, 1979, 38–42). A robbery is possible in a scheme showing a youth who may be stealing the slumbering hero's quiver on a 4th cent. Praeneste mirror (372), and similarly, on an Apulian rf. oinochoe (→ Herakles 3498, c. 360 B.C.; an old enmity between H. and the *thiasos*? in Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, 118 n. 25). A celebration with Pan, a youth, and woman (maenad?) is depicted on a 2nd cent. Kranzspiegel-gruppe mirror (373) and may have been influenced by S. Italian satyr plays. There, Dionysos and H. stood together surrounded by a chorus (cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 102–103 nn. 62–63). Bound satyrs, on 374, are not repeated in Etruria, and the interpretation is uncertain (cf. the preparation of Silen prisoners led before king Midas with H. in Schauenburg, K., *RM* 90, 1983, 351 nn. 111–113 pl. 85, 4; others, without H.: Schefold, *SB* II 73 fig. 90; *idem*, *SB* III, 172–173 n. 337, see Marsyas seated, bound, *ibid.*, fig. 233).

Perhaps the reclining terracotta cult figure from the Cannicella sanctuary in Orvieto (76) refers to a kinship with Fufluns resembling their worship at Vulci (75a) where a cult of Dionysos seems to have been imposed in the 4th cent. after that of H. (cf. de Cazanove, o. c. 75a, 7–36).

#### i) Gigantomachy

The Gigantomachy with H. was depicted from the beginning of the 5th to early 3rd cent. H. fights toward the r., ahead of Menerva (376–378. 380–383). As a rule, his weapons are club and bow (376. 379. 380) but in two instances, a severed arm (381–382; used by Menerva, → Gigantes pp. 252. 256; a boulder on 377).

#### j) With the Tinas Cliniar

See *Castur* in H.'s rescuing Prumathe (316). A 3rd cent. mirror (→ Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 49\*) seems to present H. (winged) conversing with the twins. In decorative art, two youths are pendant with H. and a woman on 5th cent. bronzes (367, → Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 14–15; cf. terracotta vase handles [108] from S. Italy [151]; Jannot, J., *RA* 1977, 3–22; Adam 63–66).

#### 7. Family life, Hercle as an infant

Two 4th cent. vases (152. 152a) follow closely H. as a babe fighting the snakes on Greek vases (→ Herakles 1651). On one (152), Vile replaced the Greek Iphikles (→ Hera p. 713, → Herakles, *LIMC* IV pp. 827–828). Vile (portrayed as Iphikles), frightened,

moves away toward a woman (probably Alkmene) while H. fights the snakes. Menerva is missing on the first but present on the second. In both depictions, the babies are on the ground instead of a kline of Greek prototypes (→ Herakles, *LIMC* IV p. 831 for commentary). As an adult, he fights snakes in bronzes (342–347). The struggle, however, could demonstrate another (unknown) exploit.

#### 8. With wives

See Deianeira in → Nessos (306–310) adventure; Hebe is uncertain in Etruscan representations, cf. H.'s introduction into Olympus and adoption (394. 405–407). For lit. sources and bibl. → Herakles, *LIMC* IV pp. 821–824. 834–835. Iole, Megara and Omphale cannot be identified.

#### 9. With Epiur, Maris hercles

Menerva and H. are prominently together with a baby on a series of 4th–3rd cent. mirrors attributed to Vulci and North Etruria. The interpretation of the event is speculative and the relationship between H. and the child uncertain. In one instance, both Menerva and H. hold a child (155). In others, H. carries a child while Menerva looks on (154) or has her arm about H.'s shoulder (156). Menerva is missing in some (153. 154a). H. lifts an adolescent on one (157). In two occasions, once as a baby and again as an adolescent, Epiur is named (153. 157). Another child, Maris, is named on a mirror (338: H. is below the main scene on an amphora raft); three babies are named Maris with epithets, *husrana* (young) [1?/halna (uncertain = young?) and *isminthians*. In another (159), H. (a patera in his r. hand) is flanked by Vile, Aplu, Artumes and young *Maris Hercles* («Maris son of Hercle» cf. van der Meer, o. c. 159, 123: Maris is an assistant god). H.'s foot is on a dead boar. This, the patera, and his companions, Vile, Aplu and Artumes suggested an initiation of youth (Maris) to Versnel (*Visible Religion* 4/5, 1985/86). Pfiffig (I, 351–352) saw Epiur and Maris as iconographically similar. Both Pfiffig (I, 258: Menerva as a chthonic, fertility deity) and Hermansen (152–154. 156–157) thought of H. and Menerva as nurturers and parents of the child(ren). For these and other discussions see also → Maris.

#### 10. Dodekathlon and other exploits

The Dodekathlon in a series of episodes as a narrative cycle as it is known in Greek art is non-existent. However, at least two encounters, the Lion (162) and Bull (229: cf. Geryon, 247) decorated a large building at Acquarossa – perhaps under the inspiration of the S. Italian metopes from the Heraion at Foce del Sele, or Olympian shield bands.

Of the Twelve Labours, the Lion Labour is the most common. Deer, Hydra/snake?, Kerberos, Amazons, and Hesperides are popular, while the Boar, Birds, Bull, Geryon, and Horses of Diomedes are infrequent.

The earliest narratives cannot be certain without the god's attributes (lionskin, club, bow) and hints as to mythological context. Several representations from

the late 7th to early 6th cent. B.C. remain conjectural: the Hydra (204. 205), Bull (230), and Geryon (246). The first clearly identified skirmishes are Alkyoneus (274) and Geryon (245). Both were probably made at Vulci under inspiration from Corinthian vase painting. The iconographic types from the 1st half of the century are influenced by Peloponnesian as well as E. Greek sources perhaps with S. Italy (274?) as an intermediary.

In the 2nd half of the 6th cent., the number of canonic Labours increased to include the Lion, Hydra, Deer, Bull, Geryon and Kerberos. Visual narratives appeared in coastal centers as well as the interior (162–164. 169. 171. 182. 198–222. 229–230 = 246 = 274. 245. 247. 250: Acquarossa, Caere, Perugia, Pyrgi, Rome, Tarquinia, Veii, Velletri, Vulci, etc.).

The favored encounters accent his adversarial role and brute strength – many concern cattle or water themes (encounters other than Labours): Acheloos, Alkyoneus, Pholos, Kyknos, Nereus, Nessos, Triton, and the Gigantomachy. H. appears in place of Theseus with the Minotaur. Some altercations, as the unique melee with a rabbit monster, have no explanation. Others were of special local interest: Aplu and the tripod contest, Juno Sospita, and his introduction and journey to Olympus.

In the 5th cent. incidents illustrating the Labours include the Lion, Hydra, Deer, Bull, Horses, and Kerberos. The Boar and Hesperides were introduced, while Geryon was no longer represented (Augeias was never illustrated). The other narrative encounters are with Acheloos, Antaios, Pholos, Kyknos, Triton, Minotaur, the tripod contest, Gigantomachy, and on Olympus. Adventures with Juno Sospita, Mlacuch, Pakste (Pegasos), a snake, youths, infants or children, and the amphora raft are also depicted.

In the 4th cent. the Labours take in the Lion, Hydra, Boar, Deer, Birds, Horses, Amazon, Kerberos, and Hesperides. Other adventures represent Hesione, Acheloos, Kyknos, Nereids, Nessos, Triton, Prumathe (Prometheus), Strymon, Pakste, the amphora raft, snakes, satyrs, centaur chariot, the tripod contest, and the events that lead to and occur in Olympus (his self-immolation on Mt. Oeta, chariot ride, and adoption by Uni).

The Lion, Birds, Bull, Deer, Horses, Amazon? Kerberos, and Hesperides are illustrated in the 3rd cent. Other stories comprise the Kerkopes, Nessos, amphora raft, snake, satyrs, Gigantomachy, Hypnos/Thanatos, his adoption, and Olympus. Scenes with youths, Epiur, Maris, and victory are frequent.

In the 2nd and 1st cent. representations are rare (226: Birds; 288. 315?: Centaur battles; 321: Syleus adventure).

#### 11. Nemean Lion

The Lion was the most popular Labour (160–192). The thirty-two examples date from the 6th through the 3rd cent. Most were modeled from Greek sources, possibly via S. Italy. The earliest image, from the 3rd quarter of the 6th cent. (162), a mould-made architec-



tural terracotta, depicts H. tackling the beast from behind, seizing it about the neck in a parallel running arrangement that is the same as that on the contemporary Loeb tripod (163, cf. S. Italian terracotta antefix from Capua, 161 of the mid-6th cent., and a later Apulian vase derivation, 160). The composition is found in Argive-Corinthian models (Brommer, *Heracles* 9). The series of terracottas to which 162 belongs has been attributed to a Caeretan artistic circle (similar examples have been found at Castel d'Asso, Cerveteri, Tuscania, Tarquinia, Rome, Roselle, Veii, and Velletri [392, 399] and have been attributed by Cristofani, in *Gli Etruschi*, o. c. 30, 194; and Ricciardi, L., in *Archeologia nella Toscana. Primo incontro di studio Viterbo* [1980] 140-148). The popularity of Hercle iconography on these as well as bronze reliefs seem a result of an aristocratic political program emulating the Peisistratid association with Herakles (cf. Cristofani, o. c. 189-198, esp. 194 ff.; Colonna 3, 442 and n. 84). The Lion labour was also favored in 5th and 4th cent. works, both for public and private consumption - as architectural embellishment, chariot coverings, bronze furnishings, vases, mirrors, jewelry, and gems.

Vulci vase painters (of the Micali Painter circle) adopted a face-to-face confrontation (164, cf. Peloponnesian bronze in Vienna, Langlotz, E., *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* [1927] no. 41) but a weapon is overlooked. The scheme is found in 5th-3rd cent. gems (165a: club).

Wrestling holds which demanded athletic skill and trickery were promptly adapted from Attic Herakles-Lion skirmishes for late 6th to early 5th cent. Etruscan representations. A closed vertical (166-168), open triangular (169-172), horizontal (182-183), throttling from above or grasping in preparation for a throw over his back (174-181, cf. Szilágyi, o. c. 174, 9-24, who traced the latter scheme to Syracuse and Heraklea coins from the end of the 5th to early 4th cent.), and the throw over his back for a body slam (189-190). The last two were common in the 4th to 3rd cent., although there are 5th cent. gem examples (190, cf. a similar Andokides Painter's throw, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 4, 8). H. attacks a Lion downed on the ground on his back (186) in a 4th cent. example. The once vital throw gave way to inactive decorative motifs with the duo on two 4th to 3rd cent. gold rings (192b).

## 12. Lernaean Hydra

The Hydra fight is found on the facade of Temple B at Pyrgi (203), bf. vases (198-199), bronze cista feet (200) in the last third of the 6th to early 5th cent., and again, on gems of the 5th and 4th cent. (201-202). The terracotta facade *columen* at Pyrgi may have been created by Caeretan artisans. H. is bearded in Pyrgi terracotta sculpture, a Caeretan hydria, and two of the cista feet with the theme.

On a Pontic vase (198), H. enlists dogs as weapons (instead of a sword and torch in Hes. report: *theog.* 313 ff.). Vile assists H. on 199 and is pendant in a symmetrical composition on bronze cista feet. H. uses a club (199, 200) and Vile, a sword (200, harpé on 199). The artist omitted the crab, torch, and sickle of

Greek examples (cf. Caeretan hydria, Hemelrijk, o. c. 169, 41, no. 23 pl. 88-89, 207; for Attic comparisons, cf. Jurgeit, o. c. 97, 85 n. 66); both are nude on a Paris vase (199). H.'s lack of armor on cista feet may point to their dependence on Attic prototypes (cf. Jurgeit, o. c. 97; Adam 27-28). H. alone fights against the demon in representations of the 5th to 1st cent. - in gems (201-202) and a bronze statuette (206). Of the two gems, on the earlier (201), H. no longer actively engages in combat, holds a knife in hand and has a himation over one shoulder. A later 4th cent. gem (202) revives an altercation in which a club is the favored weapon.

## 13. Erymanthian Boar

The myth turns up on a bronze tripod(?), a mirror, and gems from the late 6th to late 4th cent. The incident seen on a Vulci tripod of c. 510-500 B.C. (211 = 171) is H. bringing the Boar to Eurystheus and identical to that on a northeastern Peloponnesian appliqué from Delphi (Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 35 n. 230; Amandry, P., *BCH* 66/67, 1942/43, 150-156) although a woman standing behind E. was added on the former. A different version, in a more static and compressed mode, is found on a north Etruscan mirror from the end of the 4th cent. (209). There, H.'s foot on the tethered Boar as Menerva watches underscores his victory. But essential elements for identifying the myth are missing on gems of the 5th-4th cent. (207-208) and could represent emblematic sacrifice scenes.

## 14. Kerynitian Deer

H. and the Deer occur in the late 6th to early 5th cent. on architectural terracottas (222), vases (220), and bronzes (218, 221) and gems from the mid-5th to 3rd cent. (213-217). There are various interpretations of the Portonaccio ridgepole group from Veii (222). H.'s foot is on a tethered Deer; Aplu challenges; Turns and a woman holding a child are present. Questions concerning the group still unresolved include: 1. was the intent mythological or decorative?, 2. does the Deer belong to Aplu or Artumes (Aplu's is unknown in the literary tradition, cf. Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 5, 3; Colonna 3, 431 and n. 51 *bibl.*), and 3. who is the woman holding a child? Leto, or Menerva? (Cf. discussions, → Artemis/Artumes 57; Colonna 3, 431-433, 435; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, o. c. 28, 69-97; Cristofani, M., in *Greci e Latini nel Lazio antico. Atti del Convegno della S. I. S. A. C.* 1981 (1982) 26-48). The compositional similarity between the Vulci helmet appliqué (221) and the Portonaccio group hints at a common model for the two examples.

A Micali Painter vase representation with the scuffle (220) is closer to Attic models (cf. bf. plate by Lydos of c. 560 B.C., → Herakles 2174); however, the figures are reversed, for Aplu pursues from the left while H. faces his adversary. The Deer, as in the Lydos picture, flees toward Aplu; Artumes is missing from the Etruscan work. The twosome, H. and the Deer are present in an excerpt (218, 217) in minor arts. The arrangement, one knee pressed against the downed ani-

mal's haunch while H. grips his horn, is seen in S. Italy and Greece; cf. the Archaic Bull metope from Selinus of c. 550 B.C. and Deer metope from the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, c. 490 B.C., → Herakles 1703; Brommer, *Heracles* fig. 8, 4th to 3rd cent. gems with the theme (213) adopt the old-fashioned Archaic tandem scheme (cf. Acquarossa architectural terracottas 162, 229). In these, H. generally seizes a horn (213-214, 216-217, 221) and wields a club (213-215, 217a, 221; in one case, a lance, 213e).

## 15. Stymphalian Birds

No early Stymphalian Birds are known. In a unique 4th cent. specimen (226) H., club in hand, strangles one bird and tramples another. Four 3rd to 1st cent. gems (226-227) follow the story (Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 5, 6) more closely and adapt the composition of Archaic Attic works (cf. bf. Attic Group E amphora, → Herakles 2241). H., bearded, however, kneels and shoots (two birds: 227; three: 226) with a bow instead of a sling as in the Greek scene.

## 16. Cretan Bull

The earliest scenes of a man with a bull from c. 580 B.C. to the mid-6th cent. lack the identifying attributes for the myth (230, 231). There is no doubt, however, about the incident on an architectural terracotta from Acquarossa (229) of the 3rd quarter of the 6th cent. H., bearded, grips the Cretan Bull's hoof while holding its horn (he has a quiver; a bow is in the field). The Archaic tandem scheme repeats that for the Lion (162) from the same structure.

In the Perugia Painter's late 5th cent. rendition (228), H. battles the animal with a club while clutching its neck, similar to Attic Thracian Horse conflicts of the 2nd half of the 6th cent. (cf. Hephaisteion metope, → Herakles 1706; Attic bf. Psiax cup, → Herakles 2414). The iconography can also be found on a silver didrachma from Selinus, mid-5th cent. B.C. → Herakles 2316.

## 17. Horses of Diomedes

H. brought the horses of D. to Eurystheus and consecrated them to Hera (Diod. 4, 15, 4). A single 6th cent. antefix fragment (336) from the decoration of Temple B at Pyrgi with the head of H. and confronting winged horses is not certain as this myth. H. between winged horses as Master of Animals has been reconstructed as a doublet to a similar group with a female, also found at Pyrgi (Uni?) (Hera as Potnia Hippon has been suggested; as for H. identified with the cult of Hera Hippias, cf. Zancani-Montuoro, P., *ArchCl* 13, 1961, 31 ff.; for Pyrgi, cf. Colonna, o. c. 203, 321; Massa-Pairault, o. c. 77, 10-13, 22-23). Other evidence for worship of H. and Uni has been found at Italic sanctuaries (Bayet 1, 146; Bayet 2, esp. pp. 74-78, 115, 170-173; Comella, A., *MEFRA* 93, 2, 1981, 717-803; Dury-Moyaers/Renard 188-201; Akten, o. c. 77, *passim*; Höckmann 1, 67-68; Adam 112-113). See H. with other winged horses below.

During the 5th to 3rd cent. the god is depicted with one (233-235) or two (236-239) horses on objects

made for private consumption - on gems, jewelry, and a cista. On one specimen (233), in a image dependent on Greek models, he fights with a club, while seizing the monster by the neck (cf. Attic bf. Psiax cup, → Herakles 2414, c. 510-500 B.C.; the metope on the Hephaisteion, → Herakles 1706). Another gem (234) shows H. over a tiny horse, and two others (235, 239), an inactive image. Action is revived in the bronze group, cista handle (238) from the late 4th to early 3rd cent. showing H. with a pair of horses. The composition is that for the Deer and Bull.

H. is with other winged and unwinged horses on mirrors and one gem of the 5th to 4th cent. On a mirror (332), he rides the horse, Pakste (Pegasos; unwinged) who is named. The connection between the two is unsupported in literary accounts. The scene bears similarity to Bellerophon on Pegasos (although reversed) on an Apulian Darius Painter calyx krater (c. 350 B.C., Schefold/Jung, *SB IV* 124 fig. 149) and may point to an adaptation from S. Italy and conflation of H. and Bellerophon in the Etruscan mirror. Still, in two others (333, 334), H. tugs at the reins of a winged horse in a composition resembling that of the Olympia Temple Thracian horse metope (→ Herakles 2419). The Etruscan image lacks the altercation (cf. Brommer, *Heracles* fig. 1; Dunbabin [o. c. 333] proposed → Areion, cf. Hes. *sc.* 120; according to Argive myth, cf. Paus. 8, 25, 7-10, and *Schol. Hom. Il.* 23, 346-347, H. had given Areion to Adrastus. There is no indication that Areion had wings, cf. *Stat. Theb.* 6, 307-309). An inactive stance is on a gem of the same date (335). H. is found with winged horses on an Attic lekythos of c. 490 B.C. (→ Herakles 2416) which Kurtz (*JHS* 95, 1975, 171-172 nn. 9-12 after Boardman) suggested might be due to another myth, but in Etruscan art the identification of the horses remains inconclusive.

## 18. Amazons

The Amazon battle was not illustrated in Etruria until the late 4th to early 3rd cent. and then on central Etruscan mirrors (242-244, → Amazones Etruscae 13, 15), cistas, bronze relief handles, and vases (241). This was long after it had disappeared from Attic art in the mid-5th cent. The motif may have been inspired in Etruria by its recent popularity in S. Italy (→ Amazones 778a: five examples of 3rd quarter of the 4th cent.; Schauenburg, K., *Philologus* 104, 1960, 1-13, suggests that the struggle may have been a later invention prompted by the theme's 4th cent. revival in Epicharmus' comedy, *Heracles' Journey to Fetch the Girdle of Hippolyte*).

Mirrors present a duel, often with an on-looker (however, cf. → Amazones Etruscae 13: solely H. and an A.). In one case, Vile is present (244, as in *Plut. de frat. amor.* 492c), and in others, a winged demon (243), Menerva (244), and Elina (Helen). The scene is a quarrel between H. and Hephelenta for her girdle, reported in Apollod. (*bibl.* 2, 5, 9). Her name is inscribed on two examples (244, → Amazones Etruscae 15; Fischer-Graf 93 n. 861; Matteucig, G., *AJA* 50, 1946, 63 fig. 2) and from this, the episode can be identi-

fied on three others (242. 243, → Amazonas Etruscae 13).

### 19. Geryon

A krater by a Vulci artist (245), made shortly after the mid-6th cent., presents the only certain Etruscan illustration of the incident. The scheme is close to Greek models. Geryon, however, has two instead of the three bodies of Greek literary and artistic accounts.

### 20. Kerberos

The story of H. and Kerberos occurs on three vases and eleven gems made between the 3rd quarter of the 6th and 3rd cent. (248–257, cf. Brize, *o.c.* 277, 28 and n. 207). The earliest images are a late Archaic scarab (250) and vase paintings (255. 256. 257). The episode on gems (248–253) is H.'s attack on the underworld hound, and on bf. S. Italian vases, the victory celebration before Menerva (256–257) – symbolic of H.'s victory over death itself (cf. Schauenburg, K., *Philologus* 104, 1960, 12; the victory incident resembles Attic [Peisistratid] prototypes, cf. Attic bf. vases, → Herakles 2850. 2852; and a related scene of H. crowned in Olympus on a 5th cent. mirror [408] accompanied by K.).

Earlier gem (249–251) schemes favor rapid action. The beast's three heads (in one case, two heads: 249, in two others, one: 251. 253) derives from E. Greece visual models. A row of curling snakes springs from his spine on an Archaic gem (250) resembling the Hunt Painter's monster on a Laconian cup of c. 560 B. C. (→ Herakles 2605) and that on two Caeretan hydriae (→ Herakles 2616, Hemelrijk, *o.c.* 169, nos. 4. 11 pls. 32–33. 54–55. Hemelrijk 77, however, suggests that both of the Caeretan vases may have been based on a common Attic model). The opponents bolt from one another violently on a gem (252) in a composition resembling that of the Olympia Bull metope (→ Herakles 2338).

The various schemes with the protagonists used between the 5th and 3rd cent. include: H.'s foot is on K.'s back (248); he rides the beast (249); they walk; H. leads K. (250); he drags the animal (251–252); they wrestle (as in the Lion struggle: 253 vs. 176c), and the duo stand, inactively (on 3rd cent. specimens: 254).

### 21. Apples of the Hesperides

The Hesperides story in Etruria and S. Italy deals with three mythological contexts:

1. Gems and mirrors (259. 260) treat the episode of H.'s meeting with Atlas/Aril. Of the differing traditions that developed in the 6th cent. (→ Atlas, pp. 3–4. 13–14, and → Herakles, section IV N), a 4th cent. gem (259), may be dependent on one of two: a) in one narrative, H. persuaded Atlas to retrieve the apples while he supported the firmament, and b) in another, he held up the firmament in Atlas' place. In the gem scene (259), H. is alone and staggers under the weight of the heavens with the Hesperides tree at his left. What Eur. reported took place after H. had left the garden. Thus, if it followed this account, the Hesperides tree illustrated on the gem would be impossible. The represen-

tation must therefore correspond with Apollod.'s explanation. It seems an excerpt that omitted Atlas and others in more complete Etruscan, Attic and S. Italian prototypes (cf. → Atlas 7. 13. \* 15).

2. An alternate version appears on two mirrors and a Messapian vase (261. 263. 264) and is perhaps based on another report (Soph. *Trach.* 1089–1100; Eur. *Herc.* 394 ff.) that tells how H. himself took the apples from the Hesperides garden (Paus. 5, 17, 2; 6, 19, 8; 6, 19, 12) with Athena's (263. 264) assistance. The Messapian trozzella (261) incident shows H. alone attacking a tree. No dragon is visible (cf. a parody with a satyr attacking the tree from which wine jugs are suspended, Attic rf. oinochoe, → Herakles 2736, and → Atlas p. 14). Two mirrors (263. 264) from the end of the 5th to after the mid-4th cent. illustrate the event, this time with Menerva. In the first (263), the duo rush away from the garden with the dragon near; and, in the second, they celebrate victory with a sacrifice in the garden. The latter with its goat (sacrifice), altar, and birds may make reference to a chthonic aspect of the Etruscan worship of H. and Menerva (cf. Pfiffig 1, 58. 76–79. 258; Colonna 3, 444–446: chthonic worship of Menerva at an underground altar equipped with a drain for libation at S. Marinella; and Hermansen 154. 158: Menerva and H. as chthonic deities). The Apple-bearing H. bronze votive statuettes beginning c. 400 B. C. from northern and Sabelian (27–29. 54–57, in gems, 34. 35. 53) contexts may have been inspired by this cult function.

3. Two mirrors and a cista (258. 262. 265) may treat the Hesperides victory: once, with Turms (258), again, with Menerva (262), and with Menerva and Vile (265). H. stands before Menerva on a Vulci mirror (262) in a scheme resembling that on the Hephaisteion metope (→ Herakles 2706, Brommer, *Heracles* fig. 2).

### 22. Hercle and the expedition to Troy

H.'s rescue of → Hesione from the sea monster, → Ketos (see also below, section 29), is depicted on at least one of several 4th to early 3rd cent. central Etruscan monuments (266–268). Each differs. H. draws a sword (cf. a stone and club in Val. Fl. 2, 451–578, and harpé, Attic bf. cup, Taranto 52. 155, Schefold, *SB* II 139 fig. 182) to cut off the tongue or hack the insides of Ketos on the obverse of a Volterra vase by the Hesione Painter (266). If H. embracing a nude woman can be interpreted as Hesione (cf. → Herakles 1544 and → Auge 9\*. 10\* for the typology), the story is continued on the reverse. A similar nude woman and defeated sea monster are together with H. on a 3rd cent. Perugian mirror (267) and probably compressed both scenes in order to stress the victory.

The incident on a late 4th cent. central Etruscan mirror (268) departs from the literary accounts (according to Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [135–136] 6, 4, H. was aided in the battle at Troy by Telamon. H. killed Laomedon and freed his daughter, Hesione, and Telamon was awarded Hesione as a prize for his assistance). H. shakes Lamtu's (→ Laomedon) (king of Troy) hand at the left while Hesione (inscribed *Vilia*, daugh-

ter of Ilion) is comforted on *Echpa*'s (Hecuba) lap. Hecuba, however, is impossible since she was wife of Priam (who was the son of Lamtu and brother to Hesione), a generation later (cf. discussion in Jucker, I., *AntK* 29, 1986, 126–136). Perhaps, then, the scheme depends on another explanation (in Diod. 4, 42, 6–7) which held that H. instead of Telamon took Lamtu's daughter as a wife. The motif of H. drawing a nude woman, pulling at a mantle, to him is on three other mirrors (266. 267. 269) (cf. → Auge 16–20, → Herakles *LIMC* IV pp. 822–823, 1543–1544) and thus, may be intended as the story of H. taking Hesione as his wife.

His cuirass in one case (267) probably corresponds with a report in Tzetz. *Lykophr.* 34 that H., in full armor, leaped into the sea monster's belly to hew his innards.

### Hercle, other principal adversaries

#### 23. Acheloos

The representation in Etruria, in vases, a mirror, gems, jewelry, and small bronzes between the late 6th and 1st half of the 4th cent., utilizes one of three compositions that were employed for Lion combat and other assaults: a) as a wrestling match (271. 272, → Acheloos 229. 236. 239. 240: standing, confronting, triangular Lion combat, cf. 169\*. 282: grips animal from above. 230: Olympia Horses metope formula, except H. grips horns); b) in a parallel, tandem, running motif; H. grips A.'s horn(s) (→ Acheloos 238, similar: 233. 273); and c) in a face-to-face fight (270. → Acheloos 234) in a recipe used for the Alkyoneus (274) and Pholos (277) adventures.

A terracotta pinax from the 2nd half of the 5th cent. (272a) from the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii was made at the same time as small bronze groups (→ Acheloos 139. 140) and displays a wrestling hold in which H. used both hands, similar to that on a 4th cent. mirror (→ Acheloos 230). The two examples may derive from a single model. A. seems to have been worshiped together with H. at Veii (cf. terracotta A. mask from Temple of the Campetti region, Ward-Perkins, J., *BSR* 29, 1961, 27. 31) and Metaponto (cf. Colonna 3, 437–441 and n. 79: coins).

#### 24. Alkyoneus

The earliest representation of H. and Alkyoneus (274) was created by a Vulci artist working under Peloponnesian influence c. 580–570 B. C. and is one of the earliest of all his myths. Although his attributes are missing in the Etruscan version, the contextual action, grotesque aspect and size of the giant harmonize with literary and later artistic accounts. Its (Peloponnesian) prototype must have been developed near the beginning of the 6th cent. In the nearest comparisons, Sicilian reliefs in Basel (Schmidt, M., in *Festschr. F. Brommer* [1977] 270–271 pl. 72, 3. 5) and a Caeretan hydria (→ Alkyoneus 31\*, Hemelrijk, *o.c.* 169, no. 21, esp. n. 132) of c. 550 and 520–510 B. C., respectively, H. is nude carrying a club and bow (Pind. *I.* 6, 31–35: he shot A. with a bow), is accompanied by Hermes, and

the action moves toward the right. The direction is the same on the Etruscan krater and the youth accompanying him, is Iolaos (Athena is mentioned in Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 6, 1; and Hypnos, or Hermes, Brommer, *Herakles* II 68–69 nn. 13. 14).

Hannestad (*The Paris Painter* [1974] 47) saw the story on a Pontic vase (→ Alkyoneus 34, with comm. p. 562). The scheme on early 5th cent. works (→ Alkyoneus 32) resembles Attic prototypes (cf. → Alkyoneus 29).

#### 25. Antaios

In an early 5th cent. gem (275), H. throttles the giant from above, in a scheme similar to but earlier than Etruscan Lion skirmishes (174–181). Attic examples with the type are limited to the period from 530–480 B. C. (→ Antaios I 7) and probably provided a model.

#### 26. The Cacus adventure

There is no compelling reason to identify the male figure bound to a tree on a late 6th cent. lebes (276) with Cacus; nearby H. drives cattle. For the Cacus myth and Roman representations → Cacus (see also → Cacu). The story was probably of local origin (Hardie, P. R., *Virgil's Aeneid, Cosmos and Imperium* (1986) 110 ff.: modeled from the Gigantomachy).

#### 27. Kentauroi

Centauromachies with H. in Etruria seem to be one of two adventures: either that concerning Pholos or → Nessos. For the Pholos adventure → Kentauroi. Etruscan artists depicted two episodes from the incident on late 6th to early 5th cent. ceramics: a) inside the cave, Pholos is beside the pithos, and H. confronts the attacking centaurs (277. 279), and b) H. routs the retreating centaurs while Pholos is missing (278. 282). For the latter, the essential elements of the myth missing still leave doubt as to the story intended.

The earliest Etruscan Pholoe Centauromachy (without Pholos) is by the Amphiaros Painter, c. 540 B. C. (282) – others (283–284) seem excerpts of this composition. The motif appears on several monuments (the frieze at Larisa, the metopes from the Heraion at Foce del Sele, four Pontic, an Orvieto vase, a relief stamped brazier of Caeretan manufacture (279), and two Caeretan Hydriae workshop pieces, Hemelrijk, *o.c.* 169, no. 25 and alabastron, New York, MMA 1981.11.7, v. Bothmer, D., in *Artibus Aegypti: Studia B. v. Bothmer* (1983) 18 figs. 13–16). As Isler, H. P., *Jdl* 98, 1983, 35 n. 76 (and L. Kjellberg, in *Larisa am Hermos* II [1940] 62. 156, before him) observed, the formula in Etruria may have been derived from E. Greece. In Etruscan art the centaur's form changed from human (278–282. 285–287. 289. 306. 307. 308. 313) to equine forelegs (277. 283. 284. 309. 312. 314. 315) in the later 6th and early 5th cent. – later than in Attic vase painting. Some 5th cent. works, however (inconsistently), continued to exhibit Archaic human forelegs (278. 286–288. 306). A similar inconsistency is found in the transition from equine to human ears and beard to beardlessness.

Of the two Centauromachies, the composition used for Pholos generally differs from that for Nessos in weapons, the number of centaurs, the action, and the direction of the onslaught. For the Pholos combat, H. often used the bow and club (277. 278) (in one case, the club: 282, and, in others, a bow: 279. 284) in close quarters against the centaur(s) onslaught (weapons: branches, uprooted trees [277. 279. 282-286. 288], boulders [278. 287]). Nessos representations are clear from Deianeira's frequent presence (306-310. 315?, sometimes in N.'s arms, 306. 309-310): H.'s weapons are the same as those for the Pholos conflict (306. 310. 314-315; N. rarely uses a weapon: 308, branch. 315, club, branch) but the arrangement differs: both protagonists usually move toward the right and H. attempts to overtake him from behind while N. flees and might turn back (306-307. 309) or plead (309. 313. 314). H. sometimes grips a tuft of N.'s hair (306. 314?).

H. is crowned by a winged, sandaled youth while driving a chariot drawn by game-bag and grape-bearing centaurs on a mid-4th cent. Praenestine mirror (291). The same scheme also appears on Attic bf. and rf. vases (→ Herakles LIMC IV pp. 808, bibl., 810, 1428. 1433; satyrs impersonate H. and Nike on centaur chariot, rf. oinochoe, → Aithiopes 22\* = Herakles 1429, Scheffold/Jung, SB IV 171 figs. 207/208). The theme in Etruscan art, however, is unique and the interpretation uncertain. The Dionysiac iconography: an Eros-like winged youth and grape-bearing centaurs hints at a Dionysiac and/or apotheosis reading. There are accounts that after the Gigantomachy, both H. and Dionysos celebrated together (→ Gigantes pp. 192. 195-196 for lit. sources). For H., Dionysos/Fufluns and the thiasos, see 371-375 (cf. Matz, F., in *Festschr. C. Weickert* (1955) 43 ff.; Dohrn, T., in *Helbig* III no. 2945, thought the Omphale theme). Cf. H.'s apotheosis in a chariot and crowning (390-391. 405. 407-412. 413a-414).

### 28. Kerkopes

As he slept under a tree, the two brothers, Kerkopes stole H.'s weapons (→ Kerkops, Kerkopes). Awakening, he captured them and bound them to a pole as animals from the hunt. The theme occurs only on 3rd cent. gems (292) and follows the compressed anecdotal form found two centuries earlier in Greek and S. Italian models (Scheffold, SB II 135; rf. krater, Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele* II, 195 fig. 46).

### 29. Ketos

See → Hesione, → Ketos, and section 22, above. H.'s fight against Ketos is illustrated on one side of a Volterra vase (293) and is uncertain on mirrors and a situla (267-269. 398a). The former emulates the menacing Archaic beast in Attic vase painting (cf. bf. cup, Taranto 52.155, Scheffold, SB II 139 fig. 182, c. 540 B.C.), although the Etruscan weapon is a sword instead of a harpe and H. does not grip the Ketos' tongue as described in Greek literary and visual reports. Ketos' visage differs on other works (267. 268, cf. Corinthian krater, Boston 63.420, Scheffold, SB II

139 fig. 181). The dolphin on one mirror (269) can hardly be K.

### 30. Kyknos

→ Kyknos I. Two incidents from the story appear on Etruscan monuments: a) the melee, and b) the killing of K. The first, found on a Pontic vase of c. 525 B.C. (294), depicts H. assailing from the r. (rare), pursuing a fleeing K. while Laran (presumably) stands at the l. The two also battle face-to-face (296. 301-303); in some (295. 298-300), K. has fallen but is not yet dead. H. is often dressed as a hoplite (294. 296. 303) (as reported in Hes. sc. 122-138), strikes with a sword (303), lance (294), club and bow (295. 297. 301. 302), or club (296. 298-300), and is beardless. K. (bearded) and Laran are armed with helmet, shield, and sword.

The fight on a bronze chariot relief from Castle San Mariano (301) of c. 500 B.C. and a Leningrad vase (297) dated c. 480 B.C. confirm the literary accounts (in Apollod. bibl. 2 [114] 5, 10 and Hyg. fab. 31. 3) that Zeus cast his thunderbolt between Ares and H. On the monuments, they appear between the foes (cf. Hes. sc. 383-385 and Attic vases, Höckmann I, 115. n. 592 for discussion). The bf. vase (297), a helmet appliqué (303), and gems (298-300) of the 5th through 4th cent., are reduced to the two protagonists in an excerpt of the scene. On the latter the enemies are usually nude but K.'s helmet and shield, or lance distinguishes him from H.

### 31. Nereids

On the way to the Hesperides, H. encountered Nereus. He wrestled with the old man of the sea in order to find the way while his daughters fled or looked on (cf. Brize, o.c. 277. 97-99). The Malacena vase illustrates H. flanked by the Nereids riding hippocamps (304) and lacks Nereus. The compositional symmetry indicates a decorative rather than narrative function. Flanking H., the N. bear the weapons of Achilles (→ Achilleus pp. 122-128).

### 32. Nereus

The sea monster was a symbol of immortality and the way to afterlife; H. wrestled with Nereus on his way to the Hesperides. N. would not give up the prize but mutated into water and fire as H. attempted to capture him (for lit. sources → Nereus). On a 6th cent. gem, one of the earliest in Etruria (305), H., face-to-face with the old man grasps his l. hand with his r. H. extends his l. hand behind the man who raises his r. hand (in greeting?, fending him off?). A woman behind the man holds up a flower. Menerva, behind H., holds a spear in her l. and raises her r. hand, index finger extended. The narrative has no comparison and is unclear. According to Beazley (o.c. 176a, 31-33), «from the attitude of (the man) ... the encounter is not amicable ...». His receding hair and H.'s grasping his l. hand suggests the old man of the sea, Nereus, resembling the full human form of Attic bf. vases, from c. 560 B.C. on (cf. discussion and list in Glynn, R., *AJA* 85, 1981, 125-126 nos. 7-9. 14-20; bf. oinochoe,

Berlin 1732, → Halios Geron 1\*, cf. Brize, o.c. 277. 153-154).

### 33. Nessos

→ Nessos. There are four Etruscan works illustrating the encounter between H. and Nessos with Deianeira (306-310) beginning in the 2nd half of the 6th cent. The scheme, H. pursuing a fleeing Nessos, who turns back toward his protagonist, follows Attic examples of c. 550 B.C. (cf. bf. hydria, Louvre E 803, Scheffold, SB II 148 fig. 196). Deianeira appears in one of two ways: a) carried by N., or b) running toward her rescuer (307? 308). She pleads for rescue (306. 309) in a gesture also used in Caeretan hydriae (Hemelrijk, o.c. 169, nos. 16. 17. 20) and assumed for Nessos on both Etruscan (313. 314) and a Caeretan hydria (*ibid.*). Her father, Oineus, is omitted in the Pontic and Micali Painter examples (cf. his appearance in Caeretan hydriae).

The scene of a satyr and maenads on the reverse with H. and N. on a 4th cent. Faliscan krater (310) suggests influence from S. Italian (cf. Lucanian rf. nestorides, Paris, Louvre K 537, LCS no. 960 pl. 75, 2-3. mid-4th cent.: Trendall thought of a connection with the satyr play).

H.'s hair-pulling (306. 314?) was perhaps derived from Attic or E. Greek models of the theme (cf. on a 7th cent. proto-Attic Nettos amphora, Fittschen, *Sagendarstellungen* 118 SB 24 and Caeretan hydria, Hemelrijk, o.c. 169, no. 7).

Contrary to most literary accounts that report his using a bow and arrow (cf. however, Bacchyl. frg. 64. 25-31 Snell/Maehler in which he used a club), he is usually seen with a club (306-307. 310. 314) as in Attic examples, or both a club and bow (308) or a sword (309). N. defends himself with a branch in one specimen (308) reminiscent of the metope at the Heraion at Foce del Sele and Attic scenes.

### 34. Prumathe

The theme of H. rescuing Prumathe (→ Prometheus) from his terrible fate is found on Etruscan mirrors, once with Aplu (317), with Castor (316), and with Esplace/Asklepios and Menerva (318) as companions. P. is the central figure in all three compositions and still captive in one (317). An eagle is below in two scenes (316. 318). In one, H. is called by the epithet, *Calanice* (316) (Etruscanized *Kallinikos*; for recent discussion of its use in Vulci between the 6th and 4th cent., cf. Martelli, M., *StEtr* 54, 1986 [1988] 165-170). The architectural setting with Menerva and Esplace on the Kranzspiegelgruppe mirror (318) suggests Olympus as the setting (cf. Scheffold, SB III 89 n. 190). The motif, Prumathe flanked by rescuers and bystanders, stems from Attic art of the 2nd half of the 6th cent. (Scheffold, SB II 52-53 fig. 57).

The connection between H. and Esplace/Asklepios (318) was known in Greece (cf. Robert, *Heldensage* 520 n. 4; Paus. 3, 14, 6-7; for possible introduction of Asklepios into Etruria in the 5th cent., → Esplace with bibl.).

### 35. Skylla

The only reference to H. fighting Skylla is Lykophr. 44-49. 651 and Tzetz. Lykophr. 45. Still, a S. Italian saga might have existed which Stesich. in his *Geryoneis* or *Skylla* could have mentioned. The combat might concern H.'s victory over Death, his journey into afterlife, his role as protector against sea danger, or as snake-slayer. Boosen (o.c. 319, 60-62) compared the beast to Charun, Vanth or Tuchulcha and suggested its reference to sea danger (cf. Ridgway, B. S., *JRA* 2, 1979, 174-175).

The theme is displayed on an early 1st cent. bronze candelabrum finial (319). A model for the Skylla image appears on 2nd cent. Etruscan sarcophagi (cf. Boosen, o.c. 319, pls. 6, 8; 7, 9-10: some are winged, carrying a boulder or rudder; Ridgway, o.c. 172-175).

### 36. Strymon

In Thrace, H. brought the cattle of Geryon to Hera but encountered the river Strymon which he filled with stones (Apollod. bibl. 2 [112] 5, 10, 12). There is no certainty that Etruscan gems of the 4th cent., showing H. lifting a massive boulder is this episode (320).

### 37. Syleus adventure

Euripides composed a satyr play (*Syleus*, TGF<sup>2</sup> frg. 687-694) about the incident. The walking, bearded, long-haired man, shouldering a double axe, and holding a vine on a 2nd cent. gem (321) is uncertain as H. in the story. His identification hinges on whether or not the slender wrap is a lionskin. On this as well as Greek representations (the hero is in at least one of the six Greek vases thought by Brommer, *JdI* 59/60, 1944/45, 69-78, and Scheffold/Jung, SB IV 204-207 figs. 251/252 n. 531, to illustrate the theme [opposed: Zazoff, *EtrSk* 114 and n. 31]), the figure carries a double axe. On a second example (321a) a beardless man may hold a vine branch with a fruit (grapes?) tree behind him.

### 38. Triton

H. with the Triton (for his iconography → Triton) are perhaps represented on five Etruscan works (322-326) made between the 2nd half of the 6th and 4th cent. The combat duo run in the same direction in two cases (322. 324), and, in one (323), the pursuit encircles the vessel. One late 6th cent. artist (325) adopted the triangular arrangement from Lion wrestling scenes. A late 5th to early 4th cent. gem (326) presents H. in repose and perhaps the tiny crumpled creature below is Triton.

### Hercle in other encounters

#### 39. With a Minotaur

On two vases (328-329), in which H. instead of Theseus has an altercation with a bull-headed beast, Schauenburg (*JdI* 85, 1970, 33 ff.) proposed a conflation of the two myths, H. and the Cretan Bull and Theseus and the Minotaur. In another instance (330), H. is in a divine gathering together with Minos, Me-



nerva and Vile. Rather than a local (lost) Etruscan legend, all are perhaps the result of the artist's imperfect knowledge of the stories.

#### 40. With Mlacuch

Neither the woman named Mlacuch nor the theme of H. carrying her, illustrated on an early 5th cent. Vulci mirror (331) have supporting testimony. Most recently, Colonna (o.c. 39, 20-21) proposed Mlacuch as Dea Bona at Orvieto (cf. also Delatte, A., in *Vol. offert à J. Capart* [1935] 124 n. 3; for Mlacuch see also Bayet 1, 199-217). The scheme was derived from Magna Graecia or Greece (cf. Eretria group of Theseus and Antiope: De Grummond, N., *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors* [1982] 118, 145-146 with bibl.) and was also employed for Epiur (157) on another 5th cent. Vulci mirror as well as an episode with a woman named Turan on a 4th cent. gem (360).

#### 41. With the amphora raft

From the beginning of the 5th to the 3rd cent. H. is portrayed on a raft made from amphorae (337-340; and once together with a Silen, on 341) on mirrors and gems. He is a youth and the amphora raft has a lionskin sail on two mirror exergues (337, bow and club; 338, club). No ancient account explains the incident. Gerhard (*EtrSp* IV p. 51 ff.) saw in it the drunken H., fetching more wine; Furtwängler (*AG* III 197), his transporting holy water as patron of springs; Beazley (o.c. 176a, 39), his journey to the West (Pind. N. 3, 20-26); Stiglitz (116-122, 130-131), and Pfiffig (1, 343-344), the influence of Italic mystery cults and the theme of afterlife and eternal youth; Zazoff (*EtrSk* 123-124), a H.-Silen cult of water. Perhaps a Hellenistic report (in Serv. *Aen.* 7, 662; 8, 299) in which on his return journey through Italy, H. is described as having taken a ship using the lionskin as a sail explains the scenes.

H.'s loading (350) and leaving (349) a ship may stem from the same theme.

#### 42. With snake(s)

H. fought serpents as a child, in the Hydra episode, and Ladon in the Hesperides adventure. An altercation between H. (club) and an anonymous snake is displayed on gems and bronzes (342-345) from the 2nd half of the 5th to the 3rd cent. Brommer (*Herakles* II 32) thought the theme unlikely to be his killing the snake at the river Sagaris while serving Omphale in Lydia in Hyg. (*astr.* 2, 14, 2), as its illustration is in Italic art and appears on lamps and coins as well, cf. Zazoff, *EtrSk* 23. S. Woodford (→ Herakles, *LIMC* IV p. 831-832) correctly saw it as emblematic.

#### 43. With a rabbit monster

H.'s attacking a gigantic, human-bodied, winged, rabbit monster on a gold ring (348) has no satisfactory interpretation. J. Boardman (*AntK* 10, 1967, 23) noted its resemblance to E. Greek creatures. Perhaps it communicated H.'s role as a god-hunter *par excellence* (cf. Burkert, W., *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* [1979] 94 ff.).

### Hercle's later life, death and apotheosis

#### 44. With Hypnos/Thanatos

An unidentified winged male demon appears behind a seated bent H. on early 4th to 3rd cent. gems (386). There are no direct parallels in Greek art and the inscription, *Tievta*, on one example cannot be interpreted. Furtwängler found the theme «inexplicable»; Richter (*EngrGemsGE* 199) suggested a legend (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5, 854-856 and Sil. 10, 356, where Hypnos used a twig dipped in a liquid to induce sleep) in which H. was put to sleep before his apotheosis; Zazoff (*EtrSk* 96 n. 145) compared the demon with a similar winged male that led or spoke with the deceased illustrated on a funerary stele of ca. 400 B.C. but concluded, it could not be Hypnos.

Hypnos is not represented in Etruscan art. H., moreover, is seen on his pyre in the same (exhausted) attitude (387). Owing to its similarity, Richter, o.c. 386, (and Brommer, *Herakles* II 115) thought the demon could perhaps be Thanatos. The question remains unresolved.

#### 45. On Oeta

H. is depicted at his demise on a funeral pyre on Mt. Oeta (387) on a late 5th cent. gem and perhaps a North Etruscan late 4th cent. mirror (388). Bent wearily, a young H. sits on a pyre that has started to burn at its lowest course (cf. Boardman, J., in *Festschr. K. Schauenburg* [1986] 127-132 for the iconography of the pyre before 460 B.C.). Brommer, *Herakles* II 93-95, thought it might have originated in a (lost) satyr play; Hermansen (o.c. 388, 147 ff.) theorized that it illustrates the reincarnation of a H.-Maris god.

#### 46. Journey to Olympus and introduction to Tinia and/or with other deities

The story of H.'s apotheosis was divided by Brommer (*Herakles* II 96-97) into: 1. the preparation for departure with a quadriga; 2. the departure itself; 3. the arrival in Olympus; and 4. the stay there. To this, Etruscan and S. Italian artists added 5. his adoption by Uni (400-404), and 6. his crowning by winged and unwinged creatures.

a) His departure with Menerva in a chariot could be conjectured on a Velletri architectural terracotta relief (399) of the 3rd quarter of the 6th cent. based upon their frequent appearance together (cf. 131, 132) and Greek prototypes of the two before a gathering of deities, however, lacks essential attributes to identify the two. A myth is indicated by the winged horses pulling the biga. Later representations dependent on Greek and S. Italian models are secure: a Faliscan calyx krater and silvered phialai (390-391) made between the late 5th and 2nd half of the 4th cent. The latter were inspired by Tarentine prototypes (cf. Schefold/Jung, *SB* IV 224-225 nn. 579-580).

A unique scene of two draped women (one winged) raising H. on a 4th cent. gem (389) may illustrate another (local) version of his apotheosis. Perhaps the women derive from the two nymphs who at the funeral pyre douse the flames on Attic and a Faliscan

vase (Attic rf.; → Herakles 2916, 2917, Brommer, *Herakles* II figs. 46-47; and Faliscan rf., *EVP* 103; Deppert, o.c. 104, 69 no. 1 pl. 54c. d.).

b) His arrival and introduction in Olympus may be among the earliest of the apotheosis series portrayed in Etruria (as in Greek art, cf. Brommer, *Herakles* II 95-98). In another illustration from Velletri (399) that resembles the theme in Greek examples, H. and Menerva (lacking attributes) may stand before seated deities on Olympus (Colonna 2 and 3 proposed the theme for the statue groups of H. and Menerva found at the Portonaccio sanctuary, 132, and Sant' Omo-bono, 131).

The same subject could be intended on a 6th cent. bronze chariot relief (393) as well as 4th and 2nd cent. vases and mirrors (394-397). Tinia and H. stand face-to-face at close range in an apparent introduction on the former (cf. Höckmann 1, 56-57). A mirror (394) may also recount the motif, derived from a scheme on Attic vases (cf. rf. bell krater, near the Talos Painter, of c. 400 B.C., → Herakles 2870). Both H. and Tinia are wreathed (and Juno diademed) as in Attic vases, although other essentials (H. embracing a nude woman, costumes, and furnishings) differ. The topic is less certain on a 4th cent. Praeneste mirror (395) showing *Iuno, Iovei* and *Hercle*. The deities names are inscribed in Latin and Tinia sits on an altar beside which are models of a uterus and phallus. Peter (2260) suggested H. and Iuno as male and female deities of matrimony. For Pfiffig 1, 344, it represented the reconciliation of the two former foes in Olympus; he connected it with H.'s adoption (400-404) (cf. Richter, *MetMusBronzes* 286 and de Grummond, *AntK* 25, 1982, n. 24 for a discussion of the setting). His appearance as an adolescent on another Praeneste mirror (396) with Uni and a woman suggests possible references to themes of youth, immortality, and adoption.

#### 47. Adoption, suckled by Uni

An adoption story is reported in Diod. (4, 39, 2-3) and is demonstrated on 5th to 3rd cent. vases and mirrors (400-404). Diod. related that after H. had arrived in Olympus, Zeus persuaded Hera to adopt him as her son. On a 5th cent. mirror (402) H. is young and later, an adult (403-404: 3rd cent.) either bearded or clean-shaven. An inscribed Volterra mirror of c. 300 B.C. (404, «This shows how the mortal Hercle became the legitimate son of Uni») shows an adult H. nursed by Uni in what seems a ritual reenactment of the reported adoption, confirming Diod.'s account. There is a close correspondence between the adolescent H. nursed by Uni and Eros nursed by Aphrodite on a Faliscan (401) and Apulian vase (from Taranto, c. 380 B.C., Schefold, *SB* III 198 fig. 270), respectively. Bystanders may differ and include winged and unwinged women (402) a youth(s) (400-402a), Turan, Mean, Tinia and Menerva (403), or Tinia, Aplu, and other deities (404).

#### 48. Crowned / with women on Olympus

Between the 5th and 3rd cent., H. is illustrated crowned or wreathed by an unwinged woman (405.

407). There is no indication that she is Hebe. Other anonymous winged women may hold a wreath, a flower bud, a sash or serve him on Faliscan wares, mirrors and silvered phialae (411-416). In some, the god rests near Minerva, or other companions such as Tinia, Vile, Leinth, or possibly Turan. The inscribed name, Mean identifies a half or fully nude woman (408: un-winged. 409, 410: winged) about whom we know little else (cf. Martelli, o.c. 176f, 166). On one mirror (413a) in which a half-nude winged woman crowns a youthful H. who stands before an enthroned Tinia, his victory celebration on Olympus is clearly demonstrated. Thus, in Etruria, anonymous female demons and Mean appear to have replaced the S. Italian Nike figure in apotheosis compositions (cf. Schauenburg, K, *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, 119-120, 122-123 pl. 6, 1-2; → Herakles, *LIMC* IV 1535\* and p. 824: Nike or Athena).

SHIRLEY J. SCHWARZ

### HERCULES ITALICUS → Herakles/Hercle

### HERCULES (IN PERIPHERIA OCCIDENTALI)

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## CATALOGUE

Several items in the main Herakles/Hercules article are also alluded to or repeated here if they appear to be of local production or in a distinctive local style.

## I. Hercules alone

## A. Head or bust

## BRITANNIA

1. AR coin, Epaticus (A.D. 35-43) and Caratacus (A.D. 43-51). – Toynbee 29; van Arsdell, R. D., *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (1989) 180, 580; 183, 593. – Obv.: bust of young H. (?) to r. wearing lionskin. This resembles Republican types, but «the creature's tail seems to be added as an extra, original embellishment» (Toynbee). Rev.: eagle.

## HISPANIA

2. Marble head. Murcia, Arch. Mus. From Los Torrejones (Yecla, Murcia). – Fernández de Avilés, A., *Memorias de los Mus. Arq. Provinciales* 2, 1941, 110 pl. 43, 1; García y Bellido 1, no. 78 pl. 68b. – Roman imperial? – Lower half missing. Thick curly beard and hair, wearing lionskin as toga, his r. hand emerging holding one of the paws; the l. hand seems to hold an apple.

## B. Standing

## NORICUM

3. Clay tegula fr. From Aguntum (Ost-Tirol), excavated 1961. – Langmann, G., «Herakles Domesticus – Behüter eines Hausdaches in Aguntum», *AntW* 9, 1, 1978, 58-59. – Arms and legs spread, disproportionate head and nose, eyes marked by small hollows. R. hand on club, lionskin over l. arm.

## BRITANNIA

4. Stone relief altar. From Castlesteads, Cumberland. – Ross 381 fig. 207. – As in a niche, young H., torque at neck, r. hand on club.

5. Stone relief. Newcastle upon Tyne, Univ. From Bremenium (High Rochester), Northumberland. – Ross 381 pl. 94a; Smith, D. J., *Mus. of Ant., Newcastle upon Tyne, An Illustrated Introduction* (1974) no. 15. fig. – 3rd cent. A.D. – Naked, lionskin over shoulder and l. arm, r. hand on huge club; protuberant eyes and broad nose – a generally fierce aspect. With Mars.

5a) AR coin, Cunobelinus (A.D. 20-43). – Toynbee 29; van Arsdell, o. c. 1, 417, 2061. – H. naked, to r., l. hand on club, r. hand holding lionskin. Type adapted from Roman denarius of C. Vibius Varus. Rev.: Celtic woman on horse.

## GALLIA

6.\* Stoneware stele. Strasbourg, Mus. Arch. 2432. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* VII no. 5512; Hatt, J.-J., *Mus.*

*Arch., Sculpt. régionales* (1964) no. 189 fig. – In a semi-circular niche H., naked, lionskin on l. shoulder, l. hand on club, kantharos in r. hand.

7.\* Bronze statuette. Avignon, Mus. Calvet J 123A. – Rolland, H., *Bronzes antiques de Haute Provence* (1965) 69 no. 100. – 4th/3rd cent. B.C. – H. half turned to r., r. hand behind hip, l. arm raised with hand on a large club.

8. Bone statuette. St-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. From Clermont-Ferrand. – Reinach 133 no. 141. – The feet missing. H. naked, faces l., r. hand behind back, l. holding a fruit close to his chest. Lionskin or cloak at l. shoulder.

9. Group of stone stelai and votive altars. Deneuvre. From Deneuvre (Lorraine). – Billoret, R., *Gallia* 34, 1976, 353-356 pl. 3B. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – H. naked, lionskin over l. arm, r. hand on club.

## HISPANIA

10. Gem, cornelian. Seville Mus. From Itálica. – Fernández Chicharro, C., *Memorias de los Mus. Arq. Provinciales* 11/12, 1950/51, 61 ff.; García y Bellido 1, 169 pl. 57, 8. – H. naked, looking l., with stylised lionskin over l. shoulder and arm, r. arm extended, club on l. arm; disproportionately large head.

## C. Attacking

## BRITANNIA

11. «The Cerne Abbas Giant», cut in the chalk hillside at Cerne Abbas, Dorset. – Piggott 327 f.; Ross 381 fig. 205; Croon, J. H., *Mnemosyne* 6, 1953, 295-296 (? 2nd cent. A.D., pre-Christian cult of «Helith»). – Roman or Celtic? – Crude frontal figure, grossly phallic, l. arm extended possibly once holding a hanging object (lionskin?), r. arm raised with club. Height 55 m.

12. (= Herakles 861\* with bibl.) Gilt bronze statuette. London, BM. From near Birdoswald, Hadrian's Wall. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – Young H. wears lionskin over head, tunic and belt, club (missing) in raised r. hand.

## GALLIA

13. Bronze statuette. Marseille, Coll. André Brun. From Saignon. – Rolland, o. c. 7, 64 no. 88; Boucher 35 fig. 32. – 4th/3rd cent. B.C. – H. naked with club raised in r. hand, small squared lionskin on l. arm, strip of hair around head, large face, earless, almond-shaped eyes.

14.\* Bronze statuette. Laon, Mus. Arch. (Aisne). – Boucher 35 fig. 34. – 4th/3rd cent. B.C. – Young H., arms away from body, lionskin over l. arm, r. raised to hold club (missing). Flat treatment of body, scalloped edge to hair and lionskin.

15.\* Clay relief bowl. From Lezoux. – Déchelette, J., *Les vases cér. ornés de la Gaule romaine II* (1904) 460; Oswald, *Index* no. 760 pl. 37. – Trajanic? – Naked H. moves r., body frontal, stone in raised r. hand (so Déchelette), club in l. and lionskin over l. arm.



Hercules (in peripheria occidentali) 15



Hercules (in peripheria occidentali) 22

16. Group of stone stelai and votive altars. Deneuvre, Mus. From Deneuvre (Lorraine). – Billoret, o. c. 9, 353-356 pl. 3C. – 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – Naked H., club held behind his head, lionskin held out in defence.

17. Stone statue. From the fountain of La Vacherie (Thil). – Burnand, Y., *Gallia* 42, 1984, 356 fig. 20. – Incomplete. Lionskin over bent l. arm partly hiding the club, r. arm raised to hold a weapon; muscled body, torque at neck?

## GERMANIA

18.\* Clay relief bowl. From Rheinzabern. – Oswald, *Index* no. 765 pl. 37. – Antonine. – H. moves r. with bent legs, wearing lionskin and shoes, club held in r. hand behind head.



Hercules (in peripheria occidentali) 18



Hercules (in peripheria occidentali) 24

## HISPANIA

19. Bronze statuette. Seville, Arch. Mus. ROD 30. Probably from Seville prov. – Fernández Gómez, F., in *Homenaje al Prof. Martín Almagro Basch II* (1983) 369-375 pl. 1. – 550-500 B.C. – Naked H. wears lionskin over head (ears folded); l. leg advanced, r. arm raised (for club), l. arm extended (for bow?). Disproportionate head, nose and almond-shaped eyes.

20. Bronze statuette. Granada, Coll. Gómez-Moreno. – *El Legado Gómez-Moreno* (1973) 55 pls. 72c. 122c. – 3rd-1st cent. B.C. – Iberian style. Naked, with legs separated, swings club in r. hand, lionskin on l. arm. Large disc eyes.

21. Vacat.

## D. Resting

## GALLIA

22.\* Clay relief bowl. From Lezoux. – Déchelette, o. c. 15 451; Oswald, *Index* no. 759 pl. 37. – Tra-

janic-Antonine. – Naked, with r. leg advanced, l. hand on club and r. raised to his head.

23. Clay relief bowl. La Graufesenque D 30 (style of Germanus). D 37. – Hermet pls. 79, 3; 88, 4; Oswald, *Index* no. 752B sheet 36; Hedan/Vernhet 294 no. 5 fig. 27. – Flavian. – H. naked, sitting on lionskin, l. hand on club, r. hand on thigh. Wears a torque or knotted lionskin?

## E. Stepping forward

## GALLIA/GERMANIA

24.\* Clay relief bowls. La Madeleine D 30 (style of Albillus) and Rheinzabern D 37 (Cerial F. et al.). – Oswald, *Index* no. 762 pl. 37. – Hadrianic; Antonine. – H. naked, l. hand holding club at his back.



Hercules (in peripheria occidentali) 24

## F. Bibax

## GALLIA

25.\* Clay relief bowls. Lezoux D 37. – Déchelette, o. c. 15, 74 no. 449a; Oswald, *Index* no. 775 pl. 37. – Trajanic-Hadrianic. – Naked, seated facing l. with cup in l. hand, on his thigh, club under r. armpit.



Hercules (in peripheria occidentali) 25

## G. Mingens

## GALLIA

26. Clay relief bowls. La Graufesenque and Le Rozier. – Oswald, *Index* no. 766B pl. 37; Hedan/Vernhet 296 no. 10 fig. 32. – Claudian to Hadrianic. – To l.; lionskin or cloak over shoulders, in l. hand club, deeply grooved and with a knob head. Oswald's identification of H. with Iole is incorrect (see Hedan/Vernhet).

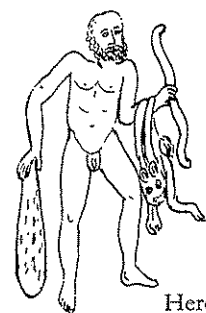
## H. Herakles Ogmios

27. Celtic painting. Lucian *Hercules* has a Greek describing a Celtic painting, perhaps seen in Massilia. H. is old, bald, with white hair behind, rugged sunburnt skin, lionskin and club in r. hand, quiver on back, bow in l. hand. H. leads an admiring group of men who are bound to him by chains of gold and amber which pass through their ears and are fastened to H.'s tongue. This was explained by the fact that the Celts regarded H., not Hermes, as the patron of the arts of speech, perfection in which comes with old age, and believed that, as a wise man, he accomplished his deeds through persuasion: his arrows are mordant, swift words that wound the soul ...

## GALLIA

28. Bronze statuette. St-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. From Châtelet, near Saint-Dizier. – Reinach 129 no. 135; Boucher 146. – Local work. H. is bent with age, r. hand on club, cloak on l. shoulder. Reinach (following Longperier) sees H. Ogmios; Boucher, the ineptitude of a local craftsman.

29. • Clay relief bowls. Lezoux D 37 (style of Doecus). – Déchelette, *o. c.* 15, no. 443; Oswald, *Index* no. 746 pl. 36; Duval 79 fig. 79. – Antonine. – Naked, with bent l. leg, r. hand on club, bow in l. hand and lionskin over arm; apparently bald.



Hercules (in periphéria occidentali) 29

## II. Hercules in action

## A. Fights the snakes

30. (= Herakles 1644\* with refs.) Bronze jug handle. Cardiff, Nat. Mus. From Welshpool. – Toynbee 324–325 pl. 74b (rejects identification as Bacchus, as *RA* 1962, 97–101 fig. 4–10). – 1st cent. A.D. –

Child H. wearing lionskin on head, dead snake in hands, another at feet.

## GALLIA

31. • Clay relief bowls. Lezoux D 37. – Déchelette, *o. c.* 15, no. 464; Oswald, *Index* no. 783 pl. 38. – Hadrianic–Antonine. – Naked man holds snake in l. hand, smaller snake in r. On a fr. described by Déchelette (76) Cupid at r. holds the second snake by the tail.



Hercules (in periphéria occidentali) 31

## B. Hercules and the Lion

## AFRICA

32. Stone stela. Tunis, Bardo. From La Ghorfa, near Tunis. – Picard, C. G., *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* 270 Cb-971 (C 751); Picard 1, 128. – Late 2nd cent. A.D. – Below panels with the Genius of Caelestis, an empty cart and a temple. H. straddles the animal which he pulls behind him.

## GALLIA

33. Stone relief fr. Avignon, Mus. Lapidaire. From Vaison-la-Romaine. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* I no. 274; Bianchi-Bandinelli, *RFAA* 169 fig. 160. – 2nd cent. A.D. – H. naked, attacks from behind, hands in the beast's jaws, its head turned to him. (Also H. and Antaios, Hydra, Geryon).

34. Stone altar. Lost (discovered in 1772). From Le Châtelet (Aube). – Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 4726. – H. holds the lion by the mane and attacks with his club. A raven on his l. shoulder. (Other sides – Victoria, Copia, and Cernunnos or Mercury [→ Cernunnos, after 14]).

## C. Hercules and the Hydra

See also 33. 59. 64; and → Herakles 2069 (relief from Corbridge).

## BRITANNIA

35. Base relief. Bedford Mus. From Whitley Castle. – Piggott 325 pls. 2. 3. – Frontal H. naked holds club in r. hand attacking the Hydra whose head appears at his l., its tail around his leg. Other side, H. and snake of Hesperides? (= Herakles 2753).

36. Castor ware fr. From villa at Welney, Norfolk. – Phillips, C. W., *Antiquity* 10, 1936, 94–96 pl. 3; Toynbee 414–415. – H. wields a club holding one of the Hydra's many heads.

## GALLIA

37. (= Herakles 2079) Relief medallion, fr., Gallo-Roman. Coll. Chaumartin. From Sainte-Colombe. – Willeumier/Audin, *Médailles* 65 no. 90 (Latinus). – Late 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. – H. in lionskin with bow and quiver, holds the female Hydra head, with snake locks, in r. hand.

38. • (= Herakles 2078) Clay relief bowls. Lezoux D 37 (Curmilli). – Déchelette, *o. c.* 15, no. 458; Oswald, *Index* no. 782 pl. 38. – Hadrianic. – H. naked holds club and lionskin in l. hand, in his r. the cut female Hydra head with two snake locks. Cf. → Herakles 2077.



Hercules (in periphéria occidentali) 38

39. • (→ Herakles 2068) Stone stela. Meaux Mus. 48–5. From Meaux. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 3212; *Collections du Mus. de Meaux. Préhistoire, Protohistoire, Gallo-romain* (1983) 74 no. 173 pl. 4 with bibl. – Naked young H. with club in r. hand, Hydra held by l. Beardless head between his legs.

## D. Hercules and Horses of Diomedes

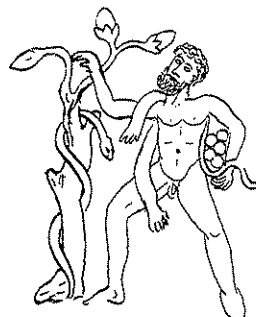
## GALLIA

40. Clay relief bowls. La Graufesenque D 37 (M. Crestio). – Hedan/Vernhet 292–293, 6 figs. 17. 18. – A.D. 70–90. – Naked male taming a horse held on a large torque-like hoop. Hedan/Vernhet suggest the identification.

## E. Hercules and Hesperides

## GALLIA

41. • Clay relief bowls. Lezoux D 37 (Drusus F.). – Déchelette, *o. c.* 15, nos. 469. 469A; Oswald, *Index* no. 784 pl. 38. – Hadrianic. – Naked H. takes the ap-



Hercules (in periphéria occidentali) 41

ples from the tree, the snake around it. Lionskin on r. shoulder, five apples on l. arm. Cf. → Herakles 2760.

42. • Clay relief bowls. Lezoux D 30 (Cinnamus). D 37. – Déchelette, *o. c.* 15, no. 467; Oswald, *Index* no. 785 pl. 38. – Antonine. – Naked H. fights the small snake, held by its neck. Lionskin on l. arm, r. arm missing. The snake seems to be crowned with two sheep horns, like the Gallic serpent (so Déchelette).



Hercules (in periphéria occidentali) 42

## F. Hercules and Hesione

## BRITANNIA

43. Castor ware fr. From Northamptonshire. – Haverfield, F., *The Romanisation of Roman Britain* (1923) 51 fig. 20. – H. approaches from the l. swinging club and extending lionskin; Hesione is frontal, naked, hands behind back, chained to rocks on the ground beside her.

44. • Stone relief. Chester, Grosvenor Mus. From Chester. – Wright, R. P./Richmond, I. A., *Cat. of Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Grosvenor Mus.* (1955) no. 138 pl. 35. – At l. naked Hesione frontal, hands behind back; H. frontal, club raised, lionskin over l. arm.

## G. Struggle of Hercules and Apollo for the tripod

→ Herakles 3069 (relief from Trier) and 3065 (Gallo-Roman medallion).

## H. Other monsters and figures

## AFRICA

45. (= Herakles 1726\*/2841) Pilaster relief. Lep-tis Magna, Severan basilica, on left of east apse. – Floriani Squarciapino 112 pl. 36. – A.D. 210–216. – Naked man fights a rearing griffin, his arm raised (with a club?). Certainly H. who is the subject of the adjacent reliefs.

## GALLIA

46. Clay relief bowls. Lezoux D 37 (free style). – Toynbee 388. – 2nd cent. A.D. – H. tying a monster.

47. Clay relief bowls. La Graufesenque D 37 (style of L. Cosius). – Hedan/Vernhet 294 no. 1 fig. 23. – Naked H. to l. raises club to shapeless animal held with l. hand and r. knee.



## GERMANIA

48.\* Clay relief bowls. Blickweiler D 37. - Oswald, *Index* no. 791 pl. 38. - Hadrianic. - Young naked man with club and lionskin or cloak over l. arm holds by the belt a smaller figure, kneeling, who tries to escape. H. with Cacus, Kyknos, Diomedes?



Hercules (in peripheria occidentali) 48

## III. Hercules with other gods

## A. Mithraic context

## BRITANNIA

49. Castor ware fr. St Albans, Verulamium Mus. - Toynbee, J. M. C., *Art in Roman Britain* (1962) no. 157 pl. 190. - Late 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. - H. with bow and lionskin beside Mithras and Mercury.

## GALLIA

50.\* (= Dionysos/Bacchus [in peripheria occ.] 183, = Dodekathēoi 43 with bibl., = Gigantes 514 with bibl.) Stone relief fr. Metz Mus. From Sarrebourg (Pons Saravi), Mithraic temple. - Cumont, *MMM* 473 no. 491a; 513 pl. 9; Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 4563. - Above a Mithraic relief a frieze with gods, flanked by Sun and Moon: Vulcan, a young god, Mercury, Mars, Juppiter, H. with lionskin, apple in l. hand, r. hand on club, Neptune, Bacchus.

## GERMANIA

51.\* (= Atlas 46, = Dodekathēoi 47\* with bibl.) Stone relief. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. From Osterburken. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* no. 200. - Over a Mithras relief an assembly of gods around Juppiter enthroned: H., Apollo, Mars, Juno, Minerva, Venus.

52. Sandstone relief fr. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. From Neuenheim, Mithraeum (?). - Cumont, *MMM* 347 no. 245f; Espérandieu, *Germanie* no. 444; *CIMRM* II no. 1284. - Very worn. On one side H.; on others Minerva, Mercury.

53.-55. Vacant.

## B. Bacchic context

## AFRICA

On mosaics and reliefs. See → Auge 16\*. 17\*.

## C. Hercules with gods, Gallic

56. (= Cernunnos 16\* with bibl.) Sculpture group in white shelly stone. St-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 1319. - Seated gods and goddesses with various attributes, identified as local Gallic deities. To the l. of a seated god H. standing on a pedestal, naked, r. hand on club, apple (?) in l. hand.

57. Stone altar fr. Destroyed. From Domburg. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 6645. - On one side H. standing and in a lower register a table laden with food including a boar's head and a bucket; craters on floor. (Other sides - Nehalennia; Neptune).

58. Stone altar fr. Once Middelburg, Zeeuws Mus. (lost). From Domburg. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 6647. - On one side two panels with H. seated; with kantharos above, with club below. (Other sides - Nehalennia; Neptune twice.)

## D. Hercules with Dioscuri

## GERMANIA

59. (= Dodekathēoi 46\* with bibl.) Stone relief. Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 401. From Marbach. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* no. 695; Philzinger, Ph., *Hic saxa loquuntur* (1980) 102 no. 54 fig. - Mercury flanked by two registers of smaller deities including H. (holding apples of the Hesperides) with a Dioscurus.

## E. Hercules and Mars

## BRITANNIA

60. Stone relief. Newcastle upon Tyne, Univ. From Risingham. - Ross 381; Richmond, I. A., *History of Northumberland* XV 147.

## GALLIA

61. (= Ares/Mars 494\* with bibl.) Clay relief medallion. London, BM M 121. - H. disputes with Ares before the tribunal of Juppiter, Victoria, Minerva.

## F. Hercules before a goddess' statue

62. AR coin, Segusiavi, latest Gallic issue. - De la Tour, *Cat. Cab. Méd.* 4622-4627; Blanchet 425 fig. 468; Allen, D. F., *The Coins of the Ancient Celts* (1980) 94 pl. 23, 335. 336. - Rev.: Naked H. (?) with club in r. hand stands before goddess on pedestal. Below his arm inscr. *ARUS*. Obv.: helmeted head.

## G. Hercules and Victoria

## GALLIA

63. Four-sided stone relief. Lost. From Lisieux, cathedral (found in 1619). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 8324. - On one face naked H. frontal with club in r.

hand; Victoria crowning him from top l. with palm and crown. (Other sides - Judgement of Paris; Mercury; H. and Erymanthian boar.)

## H. Hercules and Minerva

## BRITANNIA

64. (= Herakles 2069\* with bibl.) Stone relief. Corbridge Mus. From Corbridge (Corstopitum), Northumberland. - Ross 381 fig. 206; Toynbee, *o. c.* 49, no. 62 pl. 71. - Naked H., frontal, a couple of Hydra's coils on l. upperarm, with club raised over head in r. hand. Smaller figure of Minerva at l. with arm raised to him; r. of relief with Hydra missing.

## IV. Viergöttersteine

See Bauchhenß/Noelke. Late 2nd/early 3rd cent. A.D.

## GERMANIA

See also → Herakles 474. 510. 786, and the apotheosis on the Igel column, → Herakles 2938.

65. Stone block. Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 210. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* no. 477; Bauchhenß/Noelke no. 378. - H. naked with lionskin on l. shoulder and arm, club in r. hand. (Other sides - Minerva; Juno; Victoria.)

66. (= Gigantes 603) Stone block. Wiesbaden Mus. 376. From church at Liederbach near Höchst. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* no. 78; Bauchhenß/Noelke no. 176. - H. with lionskin on l. arm. (Other sides - Minerva; Mercury; anguiped.)

67. Stone block supporting column and statuary group. Wiesbaden Mus. 14193. From Schierstein. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* no. 31; Bauchhenß/Noelke no. 557 pl. 53, 3. - Early 2nd cent. A.D. - H. frontal with lionskin on l. arm, r. hand on club. (Other sides - dedication to Juppiter; Mercury; Minerva.)

68.\* (= Athena/Minerva 325) Stone block from monument with column, capital and sculpture group. Frankfurt, Mus. für Vor- und Frühgesch. X 8384. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* no. 101; Bauchhenß/Noelke no. 143. - 1st half 3rd cent. B.C. - H. with lionskin at back and over l. arm holds three apples in l. hand, r. hand on club. (Other sides - dedication to Juppiter and Juno; Minerva; Juno.)

69. Stone block. Darmstadt Mus. II.A.1. Once at Radheim. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* no. 194; Bauchhenß/Noelke no. 433. - 170-180 B.C. - H. naked with lionskin on l. arm, quiver, three apples in l. hand, club in r. hand. (Other sides - Juno; Minerva; Mercury.)

70.\* (= Athena/Minerva 396 with further refs., = Dionysos/Bacchus [in peripheria occ.] 74 with further refs., = Iuno 317) Stone «Juppiter column». Mainz, Mittelrhein. Landesmus. S 137. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 5887; Hatt 113; Bauchhenß/Noelke no. 272; Bauchhenß, G., *CSIR Deutschland* II 2 (1984) 3-4 pl. 3. - A.D. 66. - H. standing naked, lionskin on l. arm, club on l. shoulder, r. hand holding

cup. (Other sides - Mercury; Minerva; Fortuna; goddess.)

71.\* (= Athena/Minerva 321 with bibl.) Stone block. Alzey Mus. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 7750; Hatt 115. - Flavian. - Gods in niches. H. naked, lionskin on shoulder, quiver, club raised, leading Kerberos. (Other niches - Juno; Minerva; Vulcan.)

72. (= Herakles 2633\*/2830 with bibl.) Stone relief base. Alzey Mus. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 7755. - A.H. at the tree of the Hesperides with the snake. B. H. fights the Hydra. C. H. drags Kerberos. D. Juno. Perhaps a base for a statue of H.

## GALLIA

73.\* Stone «giant-column» fr. Treves, Rhein. Landesmus. From Ehrang. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 5233; Hatt 133 ff. - Pre-68 A.D. - H. with lionskin on l. shoulder and arm, quiver at back, bow in l. hand, r. hand on club. (Other sides - Mercury; Minerva; Juno or Ceres.)

74.\* (= Apollon/Apollo 557) Stone relief frs. Metz Mus. From Merten. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 4425. - On lower pedestal H., Minerva, Apollo, Juno, in niches.

75. Stone block. Reims, Hôtel-Dieu. From Reims. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 3664. - H. standing naked, r. hand on club, embracing goddess with l. arm, probably Hebe, veiled. (Other sides - Mars; goddess; Vulcan and goddess; Mercury and Rosmerta?)

76. Stone altar. Bordeaux, Mus. d'Aquitaine. 60.1.23. From Bordeaux. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 1077. - Busts of gods in niches. H. with raised club; Mercury; Mars; goddess, possibly → Sirona.

77. Stone altar. Rouen, Mus. Arch. From Liffremont. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 3076. - H. stands naked, r. hand on club, holding small pot to chest with l. hand. (Other sides - Venus and Cupid; Mars.)

78. Stone altar. Dijon Mus. From Dijon. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 3442; Hatt 112; Deyts, S., *Dijon, Mus. Arch., Sculpt. gallo-rom. mythologiques et religieuses* (1976) no. 114 figs. - Neronian. - H. standing with lionskin on l. shoulder, holding a pot. (Other sides - Juno; Mars or Mercury.)

79. Stone altar. Luxembourg, Mus. d'Hist. et d'Art. From Luxembourg. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 4187. - H. with lionskin on l. shoulder, apple (?) in l. hand, r. hand on club, wears bow and quiver. (Other sides - Mercury; two goddesses.)

80.\* Stone block. Treves, Rhein. Landesmus. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 5032. - H. with lionskin on l. arm, quiver, r. hand on club. A bird on his r. shoulder. (Other sides - Apollo; Juno.)

81. Stone block. Lost. Once in church at Ethe. From Ethe. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* no. 4127. - H. stands naked, lionskin on shoulders, r. hand on club, cup in l. hand. Raven over r. shoulder. (Other sides - Mercury; Minerva.)

## V. Pseudo-Hercules

82. Clay relief bowls, Gallo-Roman. - 1st cent. A.D. - Several show warriors performing H.-like

deeds, fighting a snake, sometimes multi-headed, a boar or lion. Assimilation to H. or performances recalling his deeds are suggested by the adversaries and the accompanying inscriptions (*ERCULE; ACTA ER-CULENTIS*). Hedan/Vernhet 288 ff. figs. 1. 7. 14. 21; Hermet pl. 109, 1; Déchelette, *o. c.* 15, 216.

## VI. Uncertain

83. Stone relief stele. Tunis, Bardo. From La Ghorfa. – Picard, C. G., *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* 270 Cb-970 (C 750); Picard 1, 128. – Late 2nd cent. A.D. – Lower register has a figure squatting frontally holding two snakes. Picard suggests H. with the snakes, or Eshmun or some other chthonic god.

84. (= Cernunnos 6 with bibl.) Bronze relief bowl, «Gundestrup cauldron». Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. From N. Jutland. – Hatt 99 ff. pl. 9; Varagnac, A., *et al.*, *L'art gaulois* (1956) pl. 9; Klindt-Jensen, O., *Gundestrupkedelen* (1961); Duval 96 f.; Bergqvist/Taylor, T., *Antiquity* 231, 1987, 10–24. – 1st cent. B.C.? – To the r. of the bust of a goddess a man fighting an animal rearing before him; to the l. a similar figure jumping or dancing. The god Smertrios (? Hatt), or perhaps a distant echo of H.

85. Stone stele. From Vignory (Haute-Marne). – Reinach, A. J., «Divinités gauloises au serpent», *RA* 18, 1911, 221–256. – Antonine. – Under the pediment the «Gallic serpent god» holding a small snake which seems to have a sheep's head. The god has a club in his l. hand, a tri-partite crown, torques, trousers beneath a knee-length tunic.

86. Clay relief bowls. La Madeleine D 37. – Oswald, *Index* no. 766C pl. 37. – Hadrianic. – Half-naked man runs holding in his arms a naked girl with arms raised. The man wears a lionskin (?) on his shoulders, its tail flying behind. H. with Auge or Iole?

87. Clay relief bowls. La Graufesenque (Lupus style). – Hermet 185 sheet 94, 1; Oswald, *Index* no. 752C pl. 36; Hedan/Vernhet pl. 298, 3 fig. 36. – Vespasianic. – Male, three-quarters to l. holding on raised r. arm an object, in l. hand a club; lionskin baring r. shoulder. Dress and non-athletic physique make him unlike H. (Hedan/Vernhet).

## VII. False identifications

88. Clay mould. From Corbridge (Corstopitum). – Ross 379 pl. 65a. – Late 2nd cent. A.D. – Helmeted man with oval shield and crude club; at the side a wheel. Confusion between club and the thunderbolt of Taranis; cf. Duval 155, 165 no. 51.

89. Clay relief bowls. Banassac D 37 (style of Mercator and Natalis). – Oswald, *Index* no. 754 pl. 36; Hedan/Vernhet 298 no. 4 fig. 39. – Domitianic. – Naked man on pedestal holding club (?) and another large object. A fisherman (Hedan/Vernhet, since Germanus uses this motif in fishing scenes)?

## COMMENTARY

### PUNIC WORLD AND AFRICA

H. had been assimilated to Melkart in Phoenicia and his worship was widespread in the Punic west. This did not impose a different iconographic pattern from the Greek or Roman for H./Melkart because the Phoenician god was basically represented by aniconic symbols, and later by an irregular iconography. The figure appears commonly on green «jasper» (and sometimes cornelian) scarabs in the Punic world. These may have been made in the west, though this remains uncertain, and the types are common to different centres: notably, Carthage itself, Ibiza and Sardinia. The principal types have been listed already under →Herakles – 4 (head); 19. 21. 22 (striking); 41. 43. 46 (kneeling). There are also action scenes in this series: →Herakles 1859. 1885. 1903 (with lion); 2250? (with birds); 2814. 2815 (fights a man); 2825 (fights a snake).

In the later period other exploits may have been attributed to the hero; thus, it has been suggested that the fight with a griffin on the Leptis pilaster (45) may be an exploit of a Phoenician god since the beast was a common opponent of heroes and gods in the east. This might then allude to H.'s fight with monsters of the Libyan desert alluded to by some authors but variously located.

There are some portrait assimilations to H. not listed above. Silver Hispano-Carthaginian coins (of Cartagonova?) have a male bust with club and may show Hamilcar Barca and Hannibal (beardless): 236–206 B.C. For these see Vives y Escudero, A., *La Moneda Hispanica* (1924) I 37 ff.; Robinson, E. S. G., «Punic coins of Spain», in *Essays in Roman Coinage* (1956) 39 ff. 50 pl. 2, 6b; Richter, *Portraits* fig. 2018; Villaronga, L., *Las monedas hispanocartaginesas* (1973) 145 ff. class III (with discussion and bibl.); Blazquez 32–41 pl. 7bis.

Sallust (*Iug.* 89, 4) records that the court of Juba regarded Numidian H. as assimilated to Melkart. Juba II believed himself a descendant of Sophax, son of H. and Tingē (formerly Antaios' wife). His coins show him with lionskin and club, and the reverses a lion, temple, skyphos or other symbol of H. In this he follows the Hellenistic tradition begun by Alexander. For the coins see Mazard, *CNNM* 139. 145. 149. 150. 166. 169. 176. 177.

Rather different is the «H. of Massicault» in Tunis (Bardo Mus.), the realistic funerary marble portrait of an elderly man, holding corn and poppies, with his dog, wearing a lionskin and probably holding a club (*De Carthage à Kairouan. Cat. exp. Paris, Petit Palais* [1982/83] 123 no. 174). He seems assimilated to the virtuous and suffering hero, and an Eleusinian initiate like H. (whence the corn and poppies; mystery cults were popular in 3rd cent. A.D. Africa) who might thereby, like the hero, overcome the power of Hades.

Funeral stelae (32. 85) of the late 2nd cent. A.D. place H. scene in areas usually reserved for gods of the underworld or scenes of sacrifice. These show the continuity of the cult of H. as an underworld hero in

N. Africa, and his association with Tanit and Caelestis, other indigenous deities who appear on the stelae.

H. appears in a Bacchic context in many N. African mosaics and other monuments which are listed in the main H. article and are in a metropolitan style.

The possibility of H. as an indigenous African deity has been proposed (Corbier, P., *DHA* 1, 1974, 95–109) but without iconographic support, and based on an inscription invoking H. as genius of the *Saburienses*, not far from Hippo Regius.

### HISPANIA

The principal cult was at the Melkart sanctuary at Gades (Cadiz), founded in the early years of the city, with buildings and ritual of Phoenician type. There was no Melkart or H. image but in the Hellenistic period, under Carthaginian influence, the iconography of H. is introduced and a Tyrian-Greek duality can be perceived in the Herakleion of Gades, with altar, images and exploits of H. depicted (→Herakles 1751; described by Sil. *Pun.* 3, 32–44).

Trajanic and Hadrianic coins of Rome refer to H. Gaditanus (→Herakles 480) showing the hero with club and lionskin in the Greco-Roman manner and hinting at Gades only in the figure of reclining Okeanos and two Hesperids (?) (→Herakles 3415). A portico discloses the cult image. Both emperors were born in Spain (Baetica). H. Gaditanus is also suggested on the Beneventum arch where he is shown with dog, olive tree and horse (but see Hassel, F. J., *Der Trajansbogen in Benevent* [1966] 12 n. 71 pl. 6, 2); and on a denarius of Postumus (A.D. 259–268) inscribed *HERCULI GADITANO* he is shown fighting Geryon (Bastien, P., *RNum* 1958, 77 nos. 45–46 pls. 6–7). H. as priest of H. Gaditanus is shown in a relief from Tivoli (→Herakles 872a).

The Hamilcar Barca and Hannibal portraits with H. attributes on Spanish coins (see last section) reflect the importance of the H. cult in Spain and the oriental practice of veneration of rulers spread by the Hellenistic kings; but there has been long argument about whether these are truly portraits (Villaronga *o. c.*).

The striking H. statuettes (19. 20) differ considerably from the Roman pattern as seen in south Gaul. 19 seems a primitive Iberian version of the eastern «smiting god», once Reshef or Baal-Melkart (Almagro-Basch, M., *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 37, 1980, 283), invested with the Greek hero's pose and attributes and spread to the west with various local interpretations. 20 is markedly schematic and although the hanging lionskin suggests Italic inspiration the style is closer to that of late Iberian toreutic.

The Murcia marble (2) may be a late derivative from the Hermerakles type studied by J. Schwartz (*ASAE* 45, 1947, 37–49) known in an impression from Hermoupolis where the figure holds a cornucopia (→Herakles 926a); here, it seems he holds an apple. The type was derived in Egypt from Syrian sources, according to Schwartz, and has funerary associations. The Dodekathlos also appears on a series of picked stone reliefs from Italica (→Herakles 1748).

### GALLIA

H. figures of the 4th/3rd cent. B.C. (7. 13. 14) resemble the Italic. 13 has a characteristic head with flat crown, large nose and no ears, non-Italic features that may indicate Celtic influence beyond the Alps. The coin 62 also has Celtic traits. H. stands before a statue in a classical group but Blanchet points to the relationship of H. with thermal waters of the Segusiavi area where the coin was struck. The Deneuvre altars, statues and stelae (16) relate to the therapeutic mineral waters of the locality, as does the statue from the La Vacherie fountain (17). Here he wears a torque which according to Hatt (*o. c.* 102) was reserved for infernal gods in Gaul. Duval (*o. c.* 85) holds that H. was invoked in Glanum as curator and elsewhere (Dacia and Italy) he appears associated with thermal springs, an indication of the general belief that such places led from the underworld (Bayet 82 ff.). Cf. →Herakles 1322–1328 and →Herakles/Hercle 81–97. M. Dayet (*RA* 1963, 167–178) analyses votive statuettes from Aix-les-Bains, relating them to other finds and inscriptions naming H. (*Herculi Genio loci Fontibus calidis*, *CIL* III 1566), inferring assimilation to the Celtic god Borvo although this god was generally associated with Apollo.

The links with Smertios, usually shown attacking a snake with a club, and with Ogmios are stronger. Lucian's description of the latter (27) does not match any representation but the bald (29) and elderly (28) might recall H. Ogmios (following Reinach).

Various monuments show H.'s acceptance into the Celtic pantheon, as in the sculptural group with Gallic gods (56) and on altars (57. 58) where he is shown with Nehalennia and Neptune, the former a goddess of good fortune, invoked for sea voyages. In a different category are the Viergeöttersteine and the reliefs decorating the pillars of «Juppiter columns», columns supporting a riding god attacking an anguiped. They appear in the Rennes area in association with Roman camps. Other deities on the bases are usually Mercury, Juno and Minerva (see Bauchhenß/Noelke). The column derives from Roman practice but the Gauls crowned it with a figure of a god, similar to Roman Juppiter. 73–81 have been chosen to show the variety of H.'s attributes. The raven on his shoulder (81) alludes (Hatt 95) to his divinatory function for the Celts. Earliest is the Mainz column (70) and most of the stones are 2nd cent. A.D. Relief slabs from Chiragan (→Herakles 1749) show the cycle of H.'s labours.

The terra sigillata figures, especially from La Graufesenque workshops of the potters Germanus and Crucuro, are varied. Most are of the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. and the degree of their originality and sources of inspiration has still to be properly explored (Hedan/Vernhet 301). On 15 H. walks with club raised before him and preparing to throw a stone, a variant on the commoner walking posture with club on shoulder (24). Other isolated figures present problems of interpretation. Déchelette (p. 75) was puzzled by the piece from Lezoux (38) where H. seems to hold a gorgon head and speculates whether Minerva could

at any time have given her protégé H. the Medusa head as protection. It is more probably the female head of the Hydra, the immortal head that H. severed and buried. This seems confirmed by the medallion (37) where the Hydra has a female head. On another Lezoux figure (42) Déchelette sees on the head of the Hesperides snake horns, as on a snake in Gallic myth (Duval 17. 38-39). The contamination is greater on the Vignory stela (85) if this is H. and not a Celtic god: the trousers, tunic and sheep-headed snake are far from the classical. On 47 H. fights an unrecognisable animal in a scheme resembling his fight with the hind; 48 is comparably confusing and it is not clear whether H. is thought to be dealing with → Cacus or → Kyknos (I), or even Diomedes as he is shown on some Roman sarcophagi. Lack of attributes on 86 makes it difficult to be certain whether this is H. carrying off a woman, and on 87 the long figure may not be H., despite the club and apple. The potter Crucuro made various circus scenes (82) where a figure, half-gliadiator, half-hero, fights Heraklean animal adversaries. The identification is helped by the inscriptions but the equipment is that of the circus arena. The more elaborate applique 61 has the final scene of the encounter with Kyknos, with H. and Mars before Juppiter.

The Avignon frieze (33) with two H. episodes combines bare torso with long tunic, a provincial interpretation of the exploits from an artistic milieu only just awakening to the new manners of late imperial art.

## BRITANNIA

On coinage we see H. or the local god assimilated to him with club on shoulder (21), a type not derived from Roman coins, though the Epaticcus and Caratacus from (1) more closely resemble classical models. The Cerne Abbas giant (11) is included for his attributes (club and traces of lionskin?). Piggott associates this with a possible H. sanctuary in the hills. The ithyphallic figure, basically an apotropaic symbol, emphasises either his fecundity or lust, well attested in myth.

The reliefs 4. 5 present his Celtic aspect, stressing his physical strength, wearing torques, while the bronze 12 may be imported from Gaul and intended for a military sanctuary. The child H. on the Welsh pool handle (30) offers an unusual version of the fight with the snakes: the figure is not a baby and already wears the lionskin. Reliefs have him with Hesione and Mithras (44. 49). An H. with grotesquely large head appears on the Whitley Castle relief (35) and with the Hydra and Hesione again on Castor ware (36. 43). 88 has been falsely taken for H. because of the club but the wheel shows that this is not the Greek hero.

For H. in British cult see Green, H. J. M. in *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire* (edd. Henig, M./King, A., 1986) 44-45.

## GERMANIA

The presence of H. on Mithraic reliefs in Germania and Gaul (50) poses unresolved questions. He appears with other Roman gods (50. 51. 52). They are asso-

ciated with Roman military presence, as were the Viergöttersteine. Of these examples are chosen for different poses or attributes (65-72).

The clumsy figure on the tile from Aguntum (3) displays the *H. domesticus* function better by its inscription than its action. The lion fight on the Gundestrup cauldron (84) recalls the iconography of H. and the lion, and if there are any classical motifs on the vessel (pace Hatt) could reflect the classical story.

LUIS J. BALMASEDA

HERCELE → Herakles/Hercle

HERCHLE → Herakles/Hercle

HERCLE → Herakles/Hercle

HERCLES → Herakles/Hercle

HERCULES → Herakles

HERECELE → Herakles/Hercle

## HERECURA

Unterweltsgöttin, vor allem des Decumatlandes, deren Name in mehreren Varianten, darunter auch → Aeracura, erscheint (zu den Namensformen s. u.). H. wird in der antiken Literatur nicht erwähnt, so sind Inschriften und Darstellungen zusammen mit archäologischen Befunden die einzigen Quellen für die Göttin.

EPIGRAPHISCHE QUELLEN: Während sich in Obergermanien der Bestand an Inschriften und Bildwerken in den letzten Jahrzehnten noch vermehrt hat, bedürfen einige Zuschreibungen von Inschriften an H. der Überprüfung, weshalb hier eine neue Liste gegeben werden soll, gegliedert nach Provinzen des Reiches:

GERMANIA SUPERIOR: CIL XIII 6438 (1); 6439 (2); *AEpigr* 1931 Nr. 67 (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt). - CIL XIII 6359; 6360; 6363 (Rottenburg). - CIL XIII 6631a (Stockstadt). - CIL XIII 11695a (Freinsheim). - *AEpigr* 1956 Nr. 89 (Mainz). - CIL XIII 6322 (4; Sulzbach).

GALLIA LUGDUNENSIS: CIL XIII 2539 (= Allmer, A., *Inscr. de Vienne* 385 Nr. 698) (Belley).

VENETIA: CIL V 725 (Aquilaia).

PANNONIA SUPERIOR: CIL III 4395 u. 11087; *AEpigr* 1929 Nr. 228 (= Egger, R., *Der röm. Limes in Österreich* 16, 1926, 135-156 Nr. 72) (Carnuntum).

NORICUM: *AEpigr* 1950 Nr. 112 (Egger, R., *Oefh* 37, 1948, 112-120) (Mautern/Favianae).

ROM: CIL VI 142 (3).

AFRICA PROCONSULARIS: *Inscr. Lat. Algérie* II 4646 (= CIL VIII 5524); 4647 (Thibilis).

Ausscheiden müssen folgende Inschriften: Allmer, A., *Inscr. de Vienne* Nr. 385; CIL V 8126; 8200; 8970a (nicht beweisbar, daß Hera, Era oder Haera Domina mit H. identisch! Einer Unterweltsgöttin wird man sicher auch nicht *pro salute et reditu* [so CIL V 8200] eine Weihung darbringen); CIL VIII 6962 (wieder herangezogen von Morano-Rodriguez; *Aerucina* in Zeile 10 meint Venus Aerucina).

Wie bei anderen keltischen oder germanischen Göttern schwankt die Namensform H.s beinahe von Inschrift zu Inschrift: Aeracura (CIL VI 142); Aerocura (CIL V 725; VIII 5524; XIII 2539); Aerocura (CIL XIII 6322); Eracura (*AEpigr* 1950 Nr. 112); Eraecura (CIL XIII 6631a; *Inscr. Lat. Algérie* II 4647); Erecura (CIL XIII 6363; *AEpigr* 1931 Nr. 67); [Ha]erocura (*AEpigr* 1956 Nr. 89); Herecura (CIL XIII 6359; 6438; 6348[?]; 11695a[?]); Herecura (CIL XIII 6360); Vera-cura (*AEpigr* 1929 Nr. 228).

Ebenso vielfältig wie die Namensformen sind die Versuche, den Namen H. etymologisch zu erklären, wobei bisher noch nicht einmal Einigkeit darüber besteht, aus welcher Sprache der Name stammen könne: Aeracura von lat. *aera curans*, «Geldschafferin» (Mommmsen); Hericuris, verwandt mit deutsch «Harke», «Herke», also germanisch (Becker, J., *BonnJbb* 42, 1867, 111-115; zu «Harke» vgl. Grimm, J., *Deutsche Mythologie* I<sup>4</sup> [1875 = 1968] 210); Hera-cura von *Ἥρα κούρη* (Gaidoz) oder von *Ἥρα κούρη* (Sext bei Haug/Sixt; Riese; Morano-Rodriguez); Aeracura venetisch (Conway/Watmough/Johnson; Radke). Von diesen Ableitungen fand in jüngerer Zeit vor allem die von Gaidoz weitere Beachtung. Sie scheitert daran, daß die als Ursprung vermutete Form *Ἥρα κούρη* in den griechischen Inschriften nicht nachweisbar ist, sondern höchstens *Κούρη* *Ἥρα*. *Κούρη*, -α scheint bei Götternamen immer dem Namen voranzugehen (vgl. Gaidoz 205; vgl. auch *AEpigr* 1940 Nr. 30 und Danov, Ch. M., *BullInstArchBulg* 11, 1937, 198-199). Die Herleitung von *Ἥρα κούρη* wurde jüngst von Morano-Rodriguez wieder aufgenommen, allerdings mit völlig in die Irre gehender Begründung. H. muß in Thibilis als Namensbestandteil der Terra Mater Magna Idaea aufgefaßt werden (so Gsell, St./Joly, Ch. A., *Khanissa, Mdaourouch, Announa* III [1918] 41 und Gsell, St., *CRAI* 1931, 265-267). Auch hier gilt, daß *Ἥρα κούρη* in den griechischen Inschriften nicht nachgewiesen werden kann. Außerdem weist nichts darauf hin, daß die Übernahme des Namens aus dem Griechischen in Nordafrika erfolgt sein kann.

Mehr als die Hälfte der H.inschriften stammt aus Obergermanien, mit deutlichem Schwerpunkt im rechtsrheinischen Gebiet, aus dem auch drei der vier inschriftlich benannten Bilder der Göttin stammen. Man wird hier den Ursprung der Göttin suchen müssen, ihr Name sollte demnach eher aus keltischem Sprachgut erklärt werden, was bisher noch nicht ernsthaft versucht worden ist. Das vereinzelte Vorkommen H.s in anderen Provinzen läßt sich leichter mit der Wanderung Einzelner aus Obergermanien dorthin erklären, als mit massiver Einwanderung von H.verehrnern ins Decumatland.

Aus Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt und Rottenburg stam-

men auch Befunde, die, neben der gemeinsamen Nennung H.s zusammen mit Dis pater (3. 4), ihre Funktion als Toten- und Unterweltsgöttin sichern: Die Inschriften aus Rottenburg und die Inschriften und Bildwerke aus Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt (1. 2. 5-7) stammen von den antiken Gräberfeldern (vgl. Haug/Sixt 212 und 363-364; vgl. auch den Fundort von 81).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conway, R. S./Whatmough, J./Johnson, S. E., *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* I (1933) 246; Gaidoz, H., *RA* 20, 1892, 198-214; Le Glay, M., *LIMC* I (1981) 243-244 s. v. «Aeracura» mit Lit.; Mommmsen, Th., *AA* 1865, 88 ff.; Morano-Rodriguez, C., *Oxford Classical Monthly* 5, 1980, 239-242; Radke, G., *Die Götter Altitaliens* (1979) 56-57 s. v. «Aeracura»; Riese, A., *Westdeutsche Zeitschr. für Geschichte und Kunst* 17, 1898, 26 Anm. 47; Haug, F./Sixt, G., *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs* (1914); Toutain, J., *Bull-SantF* 1943/44, 343-353.

## KATALOG

Als sichere Darstellungen H.s können nur die wenigen inschriftlich benannten Bilder betrachtet werden (A), als zweite Gruppe Darstellungen, die zusammen mit Inschriften gefunden wurden (B), und schließlich alle Reliefs und Statuetten, die dem Typus entsprechen und aus dem Hauptverbreitungsgebiet der Inschriften (vgl. oben) stammen (C). Verläßt man diesen Raum, das Decumatland, wird es unmöglich, Darstellungen H.s von denen anderer keltisch-germanischer Göttinnen zu trennen, die meist unbenannt sind, im gleichen Typus (matronal, thronend) dargestellt werden, aber teilweise abweichende Attribute tragen. Dies trifft auch für die im Artikel → Aeracura genannten Statuetten und Reliefs aus Trier (3e\*, f\*), Bad Kreuznach, Kr. Bad Kreuznach, und Alesia zu.

Alle Kat.-Nr. außer 3 (Katakombenmalerei) sind aus Sandstein.

## A. Deutung durch Inschrift gesichert

Herecura allein:

1.\* (= Aeracura 3b) Statuette. Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 232. Aus Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt. - CIL XIII 6438.

2. (= Aeracura 3a\*) CIL XIII 6439.

Herecura mit Dis pater:

3. (= Aeracura 1\*, = Alkestis 50\*, = Dis pater 1) CIL VI 142.

4. (= Aeracura 2\*, = Dis Pater 2) CIL XIII 6322.

## B. Benennung aufgrund des Fundortes sicher

5. (= Aeracura 3c\*) Gefunden mit 1.

6. Relief. Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 385. Aus Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt. Gefunden mit 1. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* Nr. 566. - H. thronend in Mantel und Untergewand auf blockförmigem Thron mit bogenförmiger Lehne; im Schoß Fruchtkorb. - Möglicherweise zu einem weiteren Bild der H. gehörte ein



Frauenkopf und ein Oberleibfragment, die ebenfalls mit I gefunden wurden: Haug/Sixt 394 Nr. 275.

7. (= Aeracura 3d\*) Gefunden mit I.

### C. Benennung aufgrund des Fundgebietes wahrscheinlich oder möglich

8. a)\* Relief. Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 266. Aus Rübgarten, Gem. Pliezhausen, Kr. Reutlingen. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* Nr. 634. - b) Relief. Stuttgart, Landesmus. Aus Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt. - Haug/Sixt 406 Nr. 552. Ebenfalls aus Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt das Relieffr. Haug/Sixt 386 Nr. 269. - c)\* Relief. Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 65, 14.13. Aus Hausen a. d. Zaber, Kr. Heilbronn. - Klumbach, H., *Der röm. Skulpturenfund von Hausen an der Zaber (Kr. Heilbronn)* (1973) 22-23 Nr. 14 Taf. 30, 1. 3. - d) Relief. Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 64, 14.12. Gefunden wie 8c. - Klumbach 23-24 Nr. 18 Taf. 3. - e) Relief. Stuttgart, Landesmus. Aus Kochertürn, Stadt Neuenstadt, Kr. Heilbronn. - *Fundberichte aus Schwaben* N. F. 2, 1924, 25. - f) Relief. Mühlacker, Heimatmus. Aus Mühlacker, Enzkreis. - *Fundberichte aus Schwaben* N. F. 16, 1962, 258 Taf. 68, 1. - g) Frauenfigur. Aus Köngen, Kr. Esslingen. - *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 5, 1980, 182 Abb. 129. - h) Fragmente. Stuttgart, Landesmus. Aus Offenau, Kr. Heilbronn. - *Fundberichte aus Schwaben* N. F. 3, 1926, 108 Nr. 2. 6. - i) Fragmente. Stuttgart, Landesmus. Aus Waiblingen, Rems-Murr-Kreis. - *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 2, 1975, 227-228 Abb. 135-136. Von derselben Fundstelle, bei der Reste eines Gräberfeldes gefunden worden sind, ein Pluto- oder Dis-pater-Relief: *Fundberichte aus Schwaben* N. F. 2, 1924, 27. - j) Fragment. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. - *Fundberichte aus Baden* 19, 1951, 202. - k) Relief. Mannheim, Reißmus. Gefunden in Schriesheim, Rhein-Neckar-Kreis. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* Nr. 198. - l) Statuette. Mannheim, Reißmus. 23. Herkunft unbekannt. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* Nr. 442. - m) Statuette. Aus Ladenburg, Rhein-Neckar-Kreis. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* Nr. 328. - n) Relief. Miltenberg, Heimatmus. Aus Miltenberg, Kr. Miltenberg. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* Nr. 211. - o) Relief. Wiesbaden, Städt. Mus. Aus Holzhausen a. d. Haide, Rhein-Lahn-Kreis. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* Nr. 44.

### KOMMENTAR

Die Ikonographie H.s arbeitet mit einem einzigen Typus, der in den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen allgemein für die Darstellung matronaler Göttinnen verwendet wurde: H. thront frontal und hält im Schoß einen flachen Korb mit Früchten (bei I Ähre in der Hand?). Diese Darstellungsform ist auch bei den beiden Gruppen H.-Dis pater beibehalten, obwohl hier die römische Darstellung (3) Abweichungen aufweist: H. fehlt hier der Fruchtkorb und ihr Mantel ist als Schleier über den Kopf gezogen.

GERHARD BAUCHHENS

### HERILLOS

Der von Fränkel, *Namen* 72. 106 Nr. χ aufgeführte Krater mit dem Satyrnamen H. in Gela, Slg. Ruggieri, aus Terranova bei Gela (Petersen, E., *RM* 7, 1892, 184 Nr. 21) ist - in der Literatur bisher nicht vermerkt - identisch mit dem att. rf. Volutenkrater New York, MMA 24.97.25 (Richter/Hall 161-163 Nr. 128 Taf. 127. 171, = Chorillos 3\*). Die von Petersen und Fränkel angegebenen Namen H. und Saon sind dann vielmehr Chorillos und -> Sathon zu lesen.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

### HERKLE -> Herakles/Hercle

### HERKYNA

(Ἑρκυννα, Ἑρκυννα, Hercynna) Nymph of the homonymous spring and river of Levadeia in Boeotia. The story of H. offers the *aition* for the creation of the spring and river: H. was once playing with -> Persephone in the grove of -> Trophonios when a goose she was holding escaped and hid in a cave under a stone. When Persephone raised the stone water sprang. H. is mentioned as Trophonios' daughter and was worshipped in his sanctuary: There was a temple of H. by the river and statues of H. and Trophonios in the cave. Worshippers coming to consult the oracle washed in the river. H. was also associated with -> Demeter who appears in Levadeia with the epithet Herkyna.

LITERARY SOURCES: Our sources for H. are all late. The story of the creation of the spring and river is told by Pausanias (9, 39, 2) who also mentions the temple of H. by the river and the statues of H. and Trophonios in the cave (9, 39, 3). Livy (45, 27, 8) speaks of a temple of H. and Zeus Trophonios in the latter's grove. H. is mentioned as Trophonios' daughter by Tzet. Lykophron 153 who also ascribes to her the introduction of the cult of Demeter Herkyna in Levadeia. The festival of Herkynia in Levadeia is mentioned by Hesychios (s. v. Ἑρκυννα) as a festival of Demeter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bölte, F., *RE* VIII 1 (1912) 690-691 s. v. «Herkyna»; Metzger, I., «Das Mädchen mit der Gans», *Arch-Delt* 34, 1979, A', 62-69; Schachter, A., *Cults of Boiotia* I (1981) 156-157; II (1986) 38-39; Stoll, H. W., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2300 s. v. «Herkyna».

### CATALOGUE

#### A. Lost works

1. Statue of H. in her temple by the river in Trophonios' sanctuary. - Mentioned by Paus. 9, 39, 3. - H. as a girl carrying a goose.

2. Statues of H. and Trophonios in the cave where the sources of the river. - Mentioned by Paus. 9, 39, 3. - H. and Trophonios in the type of -> Asklepios and -> Hygieia, holding sceptres surrounded by snakes.

#### B. Uncertain (3-4) or improbable (5) representations

3. Boeotian clay figurines of a woman with voluminous headdress who stands quietly carrying a goose. - E.g., Winter, *Typen* I 69, 2 (= Aphrodite 132); Mollard-Besques I C 63 pl. 66 (= Aphrodite 131\*); carrying different or no attributes: -> Aphrodite 130\*; Mollard-Besques I C 59-65 pl. 66. - Late 5th cent. B.C. - Cf. Boeotian clay figurines of a woman without a «wig» carrying a goose: Higgins, *BM Terracottas* nos. 863, 877, 878 pls. 123, 127 and more examples from Eretria in Metzger pl. 19a-d. - It is possible that the Boeotian clay statuettes of a woman carrying a goose are intended to show the local nymph H., as E. Simon, *RA* 1972, 218 n. 6, suggested (Leda: Mollard-Besques, Higgins; Aphrodite: -> Aphrodite 131\*. 132; Persephone: Metzger).

4.\* Limestone relief. Athens, NM 3942. From Levadeia. - Walter, O., *ÖJh* 31, 1939, 59-70 fig. 23; Nilsson, *GrRel* 11 642 pl. 10, 3. - 3rd cent. B.C. - In the centre, among other deities and worshippers, a man holding a *keras* with snakes beside him, and a woman carrying torches, possibly H. and Trophonios (Metzger).

5. Rhyton, Tarentine rf. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1405. - Avellino, T., *BullNap* n.s.4, 1856, 114-115 pl. 11, 1-3; Stephani, L., *CRPetersb* 1863, 94; Hoffmann, H., *Tarentine Rhyta* (1966) no. 42 pl. 8, 1-2. - About 350 B.C. - On one side, woman chasing a goose; on the other, Zeus seated. The interpretation of the figures as H. and Zeus-Trophonios (Avellino, followed by Stephani) is not plausible.

### COMMENTARY

There are no certain representations of H. in art. It is possible that the Boeotian clay figurines of a woman carrying a goose (3) show the nymph with her characteristic attribute. Other Boeotian figurines of a woman with elaborate hairstyle, carrying different or no attributes, might also be regarded as the local H., since they are probably anonymous nymphs.

On 4 we might have H. and Trophonios shown in the type of -> Persephone and Plouton (-> Hades). The chthonic character of both H. and Trophonios (H. was associated with Persephone and the underworld goddess Demeter Herkyna), as well as the provenance of the relief, would support the identification.

MARIA PIPILI

### HERMANUBIS

(Ἑρμάνουβις) Nom par lequel on désigne conventionnellement une forme entièrement anthropomorphe et hellénisée du dieu égyptien Anubis. Cette forme, propre à l'Égypte romaine des II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., voulut sans doute traduire l'aspect universel du dieu. Elle ne saurait être confondue avec l' -> Anubis des cultes isiaques qui, quant à lui, fut parfois effectivement nommé H. pour mettre en exergue sa fusion avec -> Hermès due essentiellement à leur fonction commune de divinités psychopompes dans leurs mythologies respectives.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Le vocable H. n'apparaît que deux fois dans les textes littéraires: chez Plutarque (*de Is. et Os.* 375e-f) et dans une citation de Porphyre rapportée par Eusèbe de Césarée (Bidez, J., *Vie de Porphyre* [1913] 17\*-18\*, *de imaginibus* frg. 8). Il convient cependant de remarquer que Plutarque qui donne le nom d'H. à l'aspect proprement chthonien d'Anubis semble faire plutôt allusion à l'H. psychopompe des cultes isiaques. En revanche, le texte de Porphyre consacré à l'aspect universel d' -> Hermès manifesté par H. en Égypte semble quant à lui évoquer la divinité qui nous intéresse ici en la qualifiant de «composite» (σύνθετος) et de «à moitié grecque» (μυξέλλην).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Adriani, A., *AMAlex* 1935-1939 (1940) 142-143; BMC Alexandria lxviii-lxix; Drexler, W., *ML* 12 (1886-1890) 2300-2314 s. v. «Hermanubis»; ExpSieglin II 1 B (1927) 121-123; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen*; Leclant, J., *LIMC* I (1981) 873 s. v. «Anubis»; Milne, J. G., *Cat. of Alexandrian Coins* (1971) xxx; Perdrizet, P., *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la coll. Fouquet* (1911) 29-30; Schwartz, J., «Herméraklès et les syncrétismes religieux en Égypte romaine», *ASAE* 47, 1947, 235-239; Vogt, *AlexMünzen* 191.

### CATALOGUE

H. se présente sous l'aspect d'un jeune homme imberbe à l'abondante chevelure formée de grosses mèches séparées par une raie médiane. Il est vêtu d'un himation qui, ordinairement, lui enserrant le bas du buste et les cuisses et dont un pan passé dans le dos retombe en avant par-dessus son épaule gauche. Sa coiffure est le modius souvent orné d'un pétale de lotus plaqué sur le devant. Ses attributs sont la palme et le caducée. Normalement, H. porte la palme à la main g. et le caducée à la main dr. Cependant, quand sur les monnaies son buste seul est visible, ces deux attributs sont généralement confondus: le caducée est alors surmonté de la palme à laquelle il sert de tige et cet ensemble se place d'ordinaire à la g. d'H. Enfin, lorsqu'H. est représenté en pied, il est fréquent qu'un chien l'accompagne assis à terre ou passant.

1.\* Bas-relief fr. en marbre. Dresde, Staatliche Kunstslg. ZV 2600 A 134. D'Égypte (Alexandrie?). - Rubensohn, O., *AA* 20, 1905, 68 et *AA* 21, 1906, 142 fig. 13; ExpSieglin II 1 B (1927) 121-123 pl. 44, 2; Adriani, A., *AMAlex* 1935-1939 (1940) 143. Fin II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Seule reste la tête d'H. Chevelure à grosses mèches séparées par une raie médiane. Modius avec pétale de lotus. A la g. d'H., restes de palme et

HERMAIOS -> Menses/Menes

torche faite d'éléments emboîtés avec flamme au sommet. Partie droite détruite.

2. Moule en terre cuite. Loc. inc. D'Égypte (Memphis). - Hauser, F., *Oefh* 8, 1905, 85; Edgar, C. C., *Oefh* 9, 1906, 27; Furtwängler, A., *BonnJbb* 114, 1906, 195; Perdrizet, P., *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la coll. Fouquet* (1911) 29. - II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. avec modius, himation, caducée dans la m. dr., palme dans la g.

#### Monnaies impériales d'Alexandrie

Hermanubis debout

3.\* AE, nome Cynopolite. Trajan, 108/109 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 6232. - Rv.: H. marchant à g., tête tournée à dr. Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus. Himation avec pan sur épaule g. Palme dans la dr., caducée dans la g. (sic). Chien marchant devant H.

4.a) AE, Trajan, 108/109 ap. J.-C. et deux types analogues (AE) sous Caracalla. - BMC Alexandria 1476; Dattari 918, 4061; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* I 490; III 2293. - Rv.: H. debout avec modius. Himation avec pan sur épaule gauche. Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g. Chien à terre. Mobilier cultuel (base supportant une barque sacrée montée sur roues et contenant trois personnages, cénocloé sur une autre base).

Variante: b) Barque sacrée avec un naos abritant → Osiris et deux oiseaux (Caracalla). - c) Barque sacrée contenant un → Osiris-Canope et deux personnages. Sous la barque, → Agathodaimon et un modius. Pas de chien. Un griffon derrière H. (Caracalla).

5.a)\* AE, Trajan, 109/110 ap. J.-C. et types analogues (AE) sous Antonin le Pieux. - BMC Alexandria 1196, 1197; Dattari 1137, 1138, 3034-3038; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1418, 1453; Milne 1728, 1771. - Rv.: H. debout avec modius, à l'intérieur d'un temple. Himation avec pan sur épaule g. Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g. Chien à terre.

Variante: b) Statuette d'→ Elpis à côté d'H. (Antonin).

6.a) AE, Trajan, 112/113 ap. J.-C. et type analogue (AE) sous Hadrien. - BMC Alexandria 748; Dattari 1030, 1845; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* I 736. - Rv.: H. debout vu de face, avec modius. Himation avec pan sur épaule g. Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g. H. fait face à → Sarapis trônant.

Variante: b) Présence de Cerbère (→ Kerberos) près du trône de → Sarapis (Hadrien).

7.a)\* AE, Hadrien, 120/121 ap. J.-C. et types analogues (Bi et AE) sous Hadrien lui-même puis sous Antonin le Pieux, Marc Aurèle, Lucius Verus, Commode, Macrin, Alexandre Sévère, Maximin, Gordien III, Philippe II. - BMC Alexandria 1138, 1248; Dattari 1744, 2249, 2627-2632, 3466-3468, 3727, 3727 bis, 4300, 4728-4730, 4982, 5028, 5029, 5053, 5054; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1077, 1146, 1829-1832, 1882; III 2101, 2229, 2304, 2591, 2790, 2795, 2796; Milne 1723, 2389-2391, 3253, 3333, 3362, 3676, 3677, 3722, 3723. - Rv.: H. debout avec modius. Himation avec pan sur épaule g. Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g. Chien à terre. - b) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus (Philippe II). - c) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus et couronne radiée

(Maximin). - d) Himation uniquement bas du buste et jambes. Pas de chien (Hadrien, Antonin le Pieux, Lucius Verus, Alexandre Sévère). - e) Palme dans la main dr., caducée dans la g. (Antonin le Pieux).

#### Buste d'Hermanubis

8.a)\* Bi, Hadrien, 123/124 ap. J.-C. et types analogues (Bi et AE) sous Antonin, Commode, Elagabal, Alexandre Sévère, Maximin, Gordien III, Trajan Dèce, Claude II, Maximien. - BMC Alexandria 770, 1135, 1505, 1586, 1677, 1678, 1984, 2030, 2081, 2327; Dattari 1742, 1743, 2247, 2622-2625, 2759-2761, 4117, 4117 bis, 4118, 4177, 4221 bis, 4243, 4299, 4430, 4547, 4576, 4625, 4626, 4726, 4727, 4821, 4879-4883, 4981, 5080, 5081, 5392, 5393, 5920; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1704, 1791; III 2211, 2311, 2312, 2456, 2590, 2674, 2693, 2718; IV 3037, 3038; Milne 1721, 1722, 2344-2348, 2759-2761, 2826-2831, 3121, 3122, 3250-3252, 3393, 3427, 3488-3490, 3626, 3806, 3807, 4240-4243. - Rv.: buste d'H. avec modius. Pan d'himation sur épaule g. Ensemble caducée-palme devant H.

Variante: b) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus (Antonin le Pieux, Commode, Elagabal, Alexandre Sévère, Maximin, Gordien III, Philippe I<sup>er</sup>, Trajan Dèce, Claude II). - c) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus et lauré (Elagabal, Alexandre Sévère). - d) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus et orné d'un disque solaire (Elagabal, Claude II). - e) H. coiffé du modius et de la taenia (Antonin le Pieux, Elagabal, Philippe, Trajan Dèce, Claude II). - f) H. coiffé du modius et tête laurée (Alexandre Sévère, Maximin). - g) H. coiffé du modius et de la couronne radiée (Elagabal, Alexandre Sévère, Philippe). - h) Buste nu (?) (Alexandre Sévère, Maximin, Gordien III, Philippe, Trajan Dèce, Claude II, Maximien). - i) H. sans attributs (Antonin le Pieux). - j) Seulement palme devant H. (Hadrien, Alexandre Sévère). - k) Palme devant H. et caducée derrière (Antonin le Pieux, Commode). - l) Ensemble palme-caducée devant H. et une autre palme derrière (Elagabal, Alexandre Sévère).

9.\* AE Antonin le Pieux, 141/142 ap. J.-C. - Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* 1413; Milne 1681. - Rv.: bustes accolés de → Sarapis (modius et himation) et d'H. coiffé du modius et ayant une palme devant lui.

10.a) Bi, Commode, 184/185 ap. J.-C. et type analogue (Bi) sous Elagabal. - BMC Alexandria 1506; Dattari 3943. - Rv.: buste nu d'H. avec modius et couronne radiée. Corne d'→ Ammon autour de l'oreille. Palme devant H.

Variante: b) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus et orné d'éléments floraux. Pan d'himation sur l'épaule g. Ensemble caducée-palme devant H. (Elagabal).

#### Monnaies de plomb (Égypte, ateliers provinciaux)

11. Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 3600-3602; Milne 5342, 5343. - Av.: buste d'H. avec modius. Caducée sur l'épaule g.; rv.: → Dikaiosyne.

12. Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* 3616-3618; Milne 5426, 5427. - Av.: buste de → Sarapis (modius et himation); rv.: buste d'H. Modius décoré d'un pé-

tales de lotus. Pan d'himation sur l'épaule g. Palme devant H.

13.a) Milne 5432. - Av.: buste d'H. coiffé du modius faisant face à celui d'→ Harpocrate coiffé du pschent; rv.: → Nikè. - b) Milne 5433. - Av.: identique à a; rv.: le Nil (→ Neilos) et → Euthénia. - c) Milne 5434. - Av.: identique à a; rv.: temple de → Sarapis et figuration des → Dioscures.

#### Statues de pierre

14.\* Marbre. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-rom. P 442. D'Égypte (Ras el-Soda, faubourg d'Alexandrie). - Adriani, *o. c.* I, 142-143 pl. 55, 2. - Fin II<sup>e</sup> s./début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. debout. Modius avec pétale de lotus. Tête bandée de la taenia. Himation avec pan sur l'épaule. Sandales à courroies. Bague à l'annulaire g. Bracelet au bras dr. Main dr.: caducée (brisé) baissé vers un chien assis à terre qui lève vers H. sa tête au cou enserré par un collier et qui appuie sa patte avant g. sur la jambe du dieu. Main g.: palme dont la partie feuillue est décorée d'un disque solaire (avec uraeus en relief) au niveau de la jonction avec la tige. Ag. d'H., un tronc d'arbre (palmier?) sert de soutien à la statue.

15.\* Tête en marbre recouvert de dorure. Alger, Mus. Nat. De Carthage (Sarapieion). - Pricot de Sainte Marie, E., *Mission à Carthage* (1884) 16, 18, 133; Doublet, G., *Musée d'Alger* (1890) 38 fig.; Audollent, A., *Carthage romaine*, BEFAR 84 (1901) 649; Perdrizet, P., *RA* 4<sup>e</sup> série, I, 1903, 394-395 fig. 1 et *o. c.* 2, 29. - Début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Tête d'H. Chevelure à grosses mèches séparées par une raie médiane et ceinte d'une couronne de feuilles de chêne. Modius décoré de rameaux d'olivier avec pétale de lotus.

16. Tête en calcaire. Loc. inc. D'Égypte (Medinet Maadi, Fayoum). - Vogliano, A., *Mostra delle Antichità rinvenute nelle campagne d'Egitto condotte dalla Missione della R. Univ. di Milano 1934-1937* (1938) 34-35 n° 9; Adriani, *o. c.* I, 143 n. 1. - II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Tête d'H. Chevelure à grosses mèches séparées par une raie médiane. Emplacement du modius travaillé à part. Pétale de lotus solidaire de la chevelure.

#### Statuettes en terre cuite

17. Dresden, Staatl. Kunstslg. ZV 2600 L 329. D'Égypte (Alexandrie). - *ExpSieglin* II 2 (1924) 14 pl. 4, 8. - II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. debout. Modius avec pétale de lotus. Himation ne couvrant que le bas du buste et les jambes. Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g. Chien à terre.

18. (= Isis 192a) Loc inc. D'Égypte (Alexandrie). - *O. c.* 17, 14 fig. 1. - II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur une *klinè*, un groupe de cinq divinités: → Sarapis, → Harpocrate, → Isis, → Anubis et H. coiffé du modius et vêtu de l'himation. Sous cette *klinè*, trois niches: celle du centre occupée par → Harpocrate, les deux autres par deux → Osiris-Canope.

19.\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 27163. D'Égypte (Fayoum?). - Dunand, F., *Religion populaire en Égypte romaine*, EPRO 76 (1979) 275 n° 368. - II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur une *klinè*, un groupe de quatre divinités: deux figures détruites et → Déméter (modius et torche dans la main dr.) puis H. (modius, himation avec pan

sur l'épaule g., palme dans la main dr. Sous la *klinè*, trois niches: celle du centre occupée par un → Osiris-Canope, les deux autres par des taureaux → Apis.

#### Statuettes en bronze

20. Loc. inc. D'Égypte (Alexandrie). - Schreiber, Th., *Studien zum Bildnis Alexanders des Großen* (1903) 145 fig. 12; Reinach, S., *RA* 4<sup>e</sup> série, 5, 1905, 36 fig. 3; Perdrizet, P., *o. c.* 2, 29-30. - II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. debout. Modius avec pétale de lotus. Himation avec pan sur l'épaule g. Sandales à courroies. Caducée dans la main dr. tenue baissé, palme dans la g.

21.\* Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-rom. 25640. D'Égypte (Alexandrie). - Adriani, *o. c.* I, 143 n. 1 et 140 pl. 1, 3. - II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. debout. Modius avec pétale de lotus. Himation avec pan sur l'épaule g. Main dr. disparue, palme dans la g.

#### REPRÉSENTATIONS INCERTAINES

Diverses objections d'ordre iconographique (nudité totale, absence du modius, etc.) peuvent empêcher de reconnaître avec certitude H. dans quelques documents d'Égypte où il est peut-être préférable de voir simplement → Hermès. Le doute cependant peut rester permis pour les deux revers monétaires 22 et 23 datés de Domitien et qui pourraient bien être les premières attestations du type iconographique d'H.

#### Monnaies impériales d'Alexandrie

22.\* AE, nome Hermopolite (?) ou Cynopolite (?), Domitien, 91/92 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 6265; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 3372. - Rv.: H. (?) debout. Tête nue (?). Himation autour des hanches. Caducée dans la main dr. et rien (?) dans la g. Chien (?) à terre. Légende illisible.

23. AE, Domitien, 94/95 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 501. - Rv.: H. (?) debout, nu (?). Tête nue (?). Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g.

24. AE, Trajan, 110/111 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 1035; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* I 562. - Rv.: H. (?) nu, coiffé d'un pétale de lotus, aphlaston dans la main dr. et palme dans la g., debout à g. de → Sarapis trônant; à la dr. de ce dernier → Harpocrate.

25. Bi, Hadrien, 126/127 ap. J.-C. - Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 946; Milne 1206, 1207. - Rv.: buste nu d'H. (?) coiffé de la taenia avec pétale ou bouton de lotus. Palme.

26. AE, Antonin le Pieux, 146/147 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 2626; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 3476. - Rv.: buste nu d'H. (?) coiffé de la couronne laurée avec pétale de lotus. Ensemble caducée-palme.

#### Monnaies de plomb de l'atelier d'Hermopolis

27. Milne 5345. - Av.: H. (?) debout, nu (?), tête nue (?). Main dr. tendue, caducée dans la g. Chien à terre; rv.: éléphant.

28. Milne 5346. - Av.: H. (?) debout, nu (?), tête nue (?). Main dr. appuyée sur la hanche, caducée dans la g.; rv.: tête d'→ Ammon dans un bateau.

#### Ronde bosse

29. Buste en marbre. Loc. inc. - Rubensohn, O.,

torche faite d'éléments emboîtés avec flamme au sommet. Partie droite détruite.

2. Moule en terre cuite. Loc. inc. D'Égypte (Memphis). – Hauser, F., *Oefh* 8, 1905, 85; Edgar, C. C., *Oefh* 9, 1906, 27; Furtwängler, A., *BonnJbb* 114, 1906, 195; Perdrizet, P., *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la coll. Fouquet* (1911) 29. – II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – H. avec modius, himation, caducée dans la m. dr., palme dans la g.

#### Monnaies impériales d'Alexandrie Hermanubis debout

3.\* AE, nome Cynopolite. Trajan, 108/109 ap. J.-C. – Dattari 6232. – Rv.: H. marchant à g., tête tournée à dr. Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus. Himation avec pan sur épaule g. Palme dans la dr., caducée dans la g. (sic). Chien marchant devant H.

4.a) AE, Trajan, 108/109 ap. J.-C. et deux types analogues (AE) sous Caracalla. – BMC Alexandria 1476; Dattari 918. 4061; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* I 490; III 2293. – Rv.: H. debout avec modius. Himation avec pan sur épaule gauche. Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g. Chien à terre. Mobilier cultuel (base supportant une barque sacrée montée sur roues et contenant trois personnages, cénocloé sur une autre base).

Variante: b) Barque sacrée avec un naos abritant → Osiris et deux oiseaux (Caracalla). – c) Barque sacrée contenant un → Osiris-Canope et deux personnages. Sous la barque, → Agathodaimon et un modius. Pas de chien. Un griffon derrière H. (Caracalla).

5.a)\* AE, Trajan, 109/110 ap. J.-C. et types analogues (AE) sous Antonin le Pieux. – BMC Alexandria 1196. 1197; Dattari 1137. 1138. 3034-3038; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1418. 1453; Milne 1728, 1771. – Rv.: H. debout avec modius, à l'intérieur d'un temple. Himation avec pan sur épaule g. Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g. Chien à terre.

Variante: b) Statuette d'→ Elpis à côté d'H. (Antonin).

6.a) AE, Trajan, 112/113 ap. J.-C. et type analogue (AE) sous Hadrien. – BMC Alexandria 748; Dattari 1030. 1845; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* I 736. – Rv.: H. debout vu de face, avec modius. Himation avec pan sur épaule g. Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g. H. fait face à → Sarapis trônant.

Variante: b) Présence de Cerbère (→ Kerberos) près du trône de → Sarapis (Hadrien).

7.a)\* AE, Hadrien, 120/121 ap. J.-C. et types analogues (Bi et AE) sous Hadrien lui-même puis sous Antonin le Pieux, Marc Aurèle, Lucius Verus, Commode, Macrin, Alexandre Sévère, Maximin, Gordien III, Philippe II. – BMC Alexandria 1138. 1248; Dattari 1744. 2249. 2627-2632. 3466-3468. 3727. 3727 bis. 4300. 4728-4730. 4982. 5028. 5029. 5053. 5054; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1077. 1146. 1829-1832. 1882; III 2101. 2229. 2304. 2591. 2790. 2795. 2796; Milne 1723. 2389-2391. 3253. 3333. 3362. 3676. 3677. 3722. 3723. – Rv.: H. debout avec modius. Himation avec pan sur épaule g. Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g. Chien à terre. – b) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus (Philippe II). – c) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus et couronne radiée

(Maximin). – d) Himation uniquement bas du buste et jambes. Pas de chien (Hadrien, Antonin le Pieux, Lucius Verus, Alexandre Sévère). – e) Palme dans la main dr., caducée dans la g. (Antonin le Pieux).

#### Buste d'Hermanubis

8.a)\* Bi, Hadrien, 123/124 ap. J.-C. et types analogues (Bi et AE) sous Antonin, Commode, Elagabal, Alexandre Sévère, Maximin, Gordien III, Tranquilline, Trajan Dèce, Claude II, Maximien. – BMC Alexandria 770. 1135. 1505. 1586. 1677. 1678. 1984. 2030. 2081. 2327; Dattari 1742. 1743. 2247. 2622-2625. 2759-2761. 4117. 4117 bis. 4118. 4177. 4221 bis. 4243. 4299. 4430. 4547. 4576. 4625. 4626. 4726. 4727. 4821. 4879-4883. 4981. 5080. 5081. 5392. 5393. 5920; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1704. 1791; III 2211. 2311. 2312. 2456. 2590. 2674. 2693. 2718; IV 3037. 3038; Milne 1721. 1722. 2344-2348. 2759-2761. 2826-2831. 3121. 3122. 3250-3252. 3393. 3427. 3488-3490. 3626. 3806. 3807. 4240-4243. – Rv.: buste d'H. avec modius. Pan d'himation sur épaule g. Ensemble caducée-palme devant H.

Variante: b) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus (Antonin le Pieux, Commode, Elagabal, Alexandre Sévère, Maximin, Gordien III, Philippe I<sup>er</sup>, Trajan Dèce, Claude II). – c) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus et lauré (Elagabal, Alexandre Sévère). – d) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus et orné d'un disque solaire (Elagabal, Claude II). – e) H. coiffé du modius et de la taenia (Antonin le Pieux, Elagabal, Philippe, Trajan Dèce, Claude II). – f) H. coiffé du modius et tête laurée (Alexandre Sévère, Maximin). – g) H. coiffé du modius et de la couronne radiée (Elagabal, Alexandre Sévère, Philippe). – h) Buste nu (?) (Alexandre Sévère, Maximin, Gordien III, Philippe, Trajan Dèce, Claude II, Maximien). – i) H. sans attributs (Antonin le Pieux). – j) Seulement palme devant H. (Hadrien, Alexandre Sévère). – k) Palme devant H. et caducée derrière (Antonin le Pieux, Commode). – l) Ensemble palme-caducée devant H. et une autre palme derrière (Elagabal, Alexandre Sévère).

9.\* AE Antonin le Pieux, 141/142 ap. J.-C. – Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* 1413; Milne 1681. – Rv.: bustes accolés de → Sarapis (modius et himation) et d'H. coiffé du modius et ayant une palme devant lui.

10.a) Bi, Commode, 184/185 ap. J.-C. et type analogue (Bi) sous Elagabal. – BMC Alexandria 1506; Dattari 3943. – Rv.: buste nu d'H. avec modius et couronne radiée. Corne d'→ Ammon autour de l'oreille. Palme devant H.

Variante: b) Modius décoré d'un pétale de lotus et orné d'éléments floraux. Pan d'himation sur l'épaule g. Ensemble caducée-palme devant H. (Elagabal).

#### Monnaies de plomb (Égypte, ateliers provinciaux)

11. Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 3600-3602; Milne 5342. 5343. – Av.: buste d'H. avec modius. Caducée sur l'épaule g.; rv.: → Dikaioyne.

12. Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* 3616-3618; Milne 5426. 5427. – Av.: buste de → Sarapis (modius et himation); rv.: buste d'H. Modius décoré d'un pé-

tales de lotus. Pan d'himation sur l'épaule g. Palme devant H.

13.a) Milne 5432. – Av.: buste d'H. coiffé du modius faisant face à celui d'→ Harpocrate coiffé du pschent; rv.: → Nikè. – b) Milne 5433. – Av.: identique à a; rv.: le Nil (→ Neilos) et → Euthénia. – c) Milne 5434. – Av.: identique à a; rv.: temple de → Sarapis et figuration des → Dioscures.

#### Statues de pierre

14.\* Marbre. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-rom. P 442. D'Égypte (Ras el-Soda, faubourg d'Alexandrie). – Adriani, *o. c.* I, 142-143 pl. 55, 2. – Fin II<sup>e</sup> s./début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – H. debout. Modius avec pétale de lotus. Tête bandée de la taenia. Himation avec pan sur l'épaule. Sandales à courroies. Bague à l'annulaire g. Bracelet au bras dr. Main dr.: caducée (brisée) baissée vers un chien assis à terre qui lève vers H. sa tête au cou enserré par un collier et qui appuie sa patte avant g. sur la jambe du dieu. Main g.: palme dont la partie feuillue est décorée d'un disque solaire (avec uraeus en relief) au niveau de la jonction avec la tige. Ag. d'H., un tronc d'arbre (palmier?) sert de soutien à la statue.

15.\* Tête en marbre recouvert de dorure. Alger, Mus. Nat. De Carthage (Sarapieion). – Pricot de Sainte Marie, E., *Mission à Carthage* (1884) 16. 18. 133; Doublet, G., *Musée d'Alger* (1890) 38 fig.; Audollent, A., *Carthage romaine*, BEFAR 84 (1901) 649; Perdrizet, P., RA 4<sup>e</sup> série, I, 1903, 394-395 fig. 1 et *o. c.* 2, 29. – Début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Tête d'H. Chevelure à grosses mèches séparées par une raie médiane et ceinte d'une couronne de feuilles de chêne. Modius décoré de rameaux d'olivier avec pétale de lotus.

16. Tête en calcaire. Loc. inc. D'Égypte (Medinet Maadi, Fayoum). – Vogliano, A., *Mostra delle Antichità rinvenute nelle campagne d'Egitto condotte dalla Missione della R. Univ. di Milano 1934-1937* (1938) 34-35 n° 9; Adriani, *o. c.* I, 143 n. 1. – II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Tête d'H. Chevelure à grosses mèches séparées par une raie médiane. Emplacement du modius travaillé à part. Pétales de lotus solidaire de la chevelure.

#### Statuettes en terre cuite

17. Dresden, Staatl. Kunstslg. ZV 2600 L 329. D'Égypte (Alexandrie). – ExpSieglin II 2 (1924) 14 pl. 4, 8. – II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – H. debout. Modius avec pétale de lotus. Himation ne couvrant que le bas du buste et les jambes. Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g. Chien à terre.

18. (= Isis 192a) Loc inc. D'Égypte (Alexandrie). – *O. c.* 17, 14 fig. 1. – II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Sur une *klinè*, un groupe de cinq divinités: → Sarapis, → Harpocrate, → Isis, → Anubis et H. coiffé du modius et vêtu de l'himation. Sous cette *klinè*, trois niches: celle du centre occupée par → Harpocrate, les deux autres par deux → Osiris-Canope.

19.\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 27163. D'Égypte (Fayoum?). – Dunand, F., *Religion populaire en Égypte romaine*, EPRO 76 (1979) 275 n° 368. – II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Sur une *klinè*, un groupe de quatre divinités: deux figures détruites et → Déméter (modius et torche dans la main dr.) puis H. (modius, himation avec pan

sur l'épaule g., palme dans la main dr. Sous la *klinè*, trois niches: celle du centre occupée par un → Osiris-Canope, les deux autres par des taureaux → Apis.

#### Statuettes en bronze

20. Loc. inc. D'Égypte (Alexandrie). – Schreiber, Th., *Studien zum Bildnis Alexanders des Großen* (1903) 145 fig. 12; Reinach, S., RA 4<sup>e</sup> série, 5, 1905, 36 fig. 3; Perdrizet, P., *o. c.* 2, 29-30. – II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – H. debout. Modius avec pétale de lotus. Himation avec pan sur l'épaule g. Sandales à courroies. Caducée dans la main dr. tenue baissée, palme dans la g.

21.\* Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-rom. 25640. D'Égypte (Alexandrie). – Adriani, *o. c.* I, 143 n. 1 et 140 pl. 1, 3. – II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – H. debout. Modius avec pétale de lotus. Himation avec pan sur l'épaule g. Main dr. disparue, palme dans la g.

#### REPRÉSENTATIONS INCERTAINES

Diverses objections d'ordre iconographique (nudité totale, absence du modius, etc.) peuvent empêcher de reconnaître avec certitude H. dans quelques documents d'Égypte où il est peut-être préférable de voir simplement → Hermès. Le doute cependant peut rester permis pour les deux revers monétaires 22 et 23 datés de Domitien et qui pourraient bien être les premières attestations du type iconographique d'H.

#### Monnaies impériales d'Alexandrie

22.\* AE, nome Hermopolite (?) ou Cynopolite (?), Domitien, 91/92 ap. J.-C. – Dattari 6265; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 3372. – Rv.: H. (?) debout. Tête nue (?). Himation autour des hanches. Caducée dans la main dr. et rien (?) dans la g. Chien (?) à terre. Légende illisible.

23. AE, Domitien, 94/95 ap. J.-C. – Dattari 501. – Rv.: H. (?) debout, nu (?). Tête nue (?). Caducée dans la main dr., palme dans la g.

24. AE, Trajan, 110/111 ap. J.-C. – Dattari 1035; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* I 562. – Rv.: H. (?) nu, coiffé d'un pétale de lotus, aphlaston dans la main dr. et palme dans la g., debout à g. de → Sarapis trônant; à la dr. de ce dernier → Harpocrate.

25. Bi, Hadrien, 126/127 ap. J.-C. – Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 946; Milne 1206. 1207. – Rv.: buste nu d'H. (?) coiffé de la taenia avec pétale ou bouton de lotus. Palme.

26. AE, Antonin le Pieux, 146/147 ap. J.-C. – Dattari 2626; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 3476. – Rv.: buste nu d'H. (?) coiffé de la couronne laurée avec pétale de lotus. Ensemble caducée-palme.

#### Monnaies de plomb de l'atelier d'Hermopolis

27. Milne 5345. – Av.: H. (?) debout, nu (?), tête nue (?). Main dr. tendue, caducée dans la g. Chien à terre; rv.: éléphant.

28. Milne 5346. – Av.: H. (?) debout, nu (?), tête nue (?). Main dr. appuyée sur la hanche, caducée dans la g.; rv.: tête d'→ Ammon dans un bateau.

#### Ronde bosse

29. Buste en marbre. Loc. inc. – Rubensohn, O.,



AA 20, 1905, 68; *ExpSieglin*, o. c. I, 122 n. 3; Adriani, o. c. I, 143 n. 4. - II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Buste viril. Tête coiffée de la taenia. Chevelure à grosses mèches avec raie médiane. Pas de traces d'emplacement d'un modius qui aurait été travaillé à part.

30. Statuette en bronze. Loc. inc. D'Egypte (?). - Graindor, P., *BCH* 39, 1915, 256 fig. 2. - II<sup>e</sup> s./III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. (?) debout, vêtu d'un himation, chevelure à grosses mèches. Palme dans la main g., main dr. disparue.

#### REPRÉSENTATIONS À ÉCARTER

Il convient de ne pas retenir certaines représentations entièrement anthropomorphes d'Anubis (?) qui ne sauraient être confondues avec H. tel qu'il est défini ici: cf. par ex. le personnage coiffé d'un *pschent* mis devant derrière, et muni d'un aileron apparaissant avec Sarapis, Isis et Harpocrate sur le disque d'une lampe trouvée à Rome sur l'Esquilin (Rome, Antiquarium Comunale 5237. - Tran Tam Tinh, V., *RA* 1970, 1, 76 fig. 22) de même que l'homme voilé (?) tenant sistre, caducée et situle dans deux peintures pompéiennes montrant la réception d'Isis par Isis (Naples, Mus. Naz. 9555 et 9558. - Tran Tam Tinh, V., *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi* [1964] 128 n° 14 pl. 16, 2 [Isis 266] et 138 n° 40 pl. 6 [Isis 265]).

#### COMMENTAIRE

C'est dans l'iconographie monétaire alexandrine qu'H. apparaît pour la première fois. Peut-être dès Domitien (22), en tous les cas sous Trajan (3), l'image d'H. sert à personnifier le nome Cynopolite (XVII<sup>e</sup> nome de Haute Egypte, constituant le territoire sacré du dieu Anubis depuis la plus haute antiquité) dans les deux premières séries de monnaies ornées d'effigies hellénisées des nomes d'Egypte. Toujours sous Trajan, H. apparaît sur trois autres types monétaires: le premier (4a) le campe en tant que protecteur et gardien d'un mobilier sacré osirien bien explicité par deux autres types émis sous Caracalla (4b, c), le second (5a) atteste qu'il possédait un temple ou une chapelle à Alexandrie, le troisième (6a) l'associe étroitement à Sarapis.

Les types monétaires émis sous Trajan fixèrent l'iconographie d'H. aussi bien pour l'imagerie numismatique jusqu'à la fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (7-13) que pour les autres types de documents (statues, statuettes) qui s'en inspirèrent visiblement et dont aucun n'est antérieur à la fin du II<sup>e</sup> voire au début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (1. 2. 14-21).

Comme l'Anubis des cultes isiaques, H. est bien l'expression d'une fusion entre Hermès (palme et caducée) et Anubis (chien). Cependant, aux caractères essentiellement funéraires de l'Anubis des cultes isiaques qui avait conservé la tête de chien du momificateur ritualiste du mythe osirien et qui n'avait pris d'Hermès que la palme du triomphe sur la mort et le caducée du psychopompe, H. ajoute une dimension nouvelle: il entre dans la catégorie des dieux à «tendance universaliste» pour reprendre l'heureuse ex-

pression de J. Schwartz. Ce n'est pas que l'on ne puisse pas déceler cette «tendance universaliste» chez l'Anubis des cultes isiaques mais elle restait un caractère secondaire alors qu'elle devint l'élément, semble-t-il, essentiel d'H. L'aspect universel d'H. se manifeste par le total anthropomorphisme et le port du modius. Il fut sans doute traduit par le vocable *Hermanubis* selon un procédé bien attesté dans l'Egypte romaine consistant à associer le nom *Hermès* considéré en ce cas en tant que «principe universel» à celui de la divinité dont on voulait souligner l'universalité (cf. les noms divins Hermammôn, Hermantinoos, Herméraklès, etc.). Il est intéressant de constater que son anthropomorphisme fait d'H. une sorte de doublet de Sarapis: le visage du jeune homme à la lourde chevelure coiffée du modius semble avoir été conçu à dessein pour lui donner l'aspect d'un «Sarapis jeune» (cf. surtout 1. 14-16 et les revers monétaires 8-13). De fait, souvent associé à Sarapis (6a-b. 9. 12. 13c), H. comme le grand dieu alexandrin doubla sa nature chthonienne (entre autres bien précisée par son association avec Déméter [19] dont une fois [1] il tient la torche) de caractères solaires bien marqués: couronne radiée (7c. 8g. 10a), tête aurée (8f. 15), disque solaire décorant le modius (8d) ou la palme (14), corne d'Ammon (10a), visage doré (15). Ce sont là autant d'éléments que résume parfaitement un graffiti des carrières du Gebel Toukh proclamant: «Un même dieu est Zeus-Sarapis et Helios-Hermanubis» (Preisigke, F., et al., *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* I [1913] 238).

Il se peut que cette promotion d'Anubis au rang de divinité universelle par le biais d'H. ait eu pour but de préciser son rôle au sein de la famille alexandrine (où il n'était qu'un acolyte à l'instar de sa fonction dans le mythe osirien) en créant avec Sarapis une relation semblable à celle qui unissait Harpocrate à Isis. Cependant, H. demeura toujours une divinité «officielle». Malgré l'intense propagande dont il bénéficia (abondance des revers monétaires) et l'existence de statues de culte à son image (14-16 et peut-être 29), son impact dans la religion populaire semble être resté limité (rareté des terres cuites [2. 17-19] et de la petite statuaire [20. 21. 30?]) et sans doute il ne supplantait pas le vieil Anubis (la terre cuite 18 montre à la fois H. et Anubis dans la famille alexandrine). De plus, il ne semble pas être vraiment sorti des frontières de l'Egypte sinon, encore une fois, uniquement en tant que divinité officielle comme l'atteste la tête de Carthage (15) provenant du Sarapieion de cette ville.

JEAN-CLAUDE GRENIER

#### HERMAPHRODITOS

(*Ἑρμαφρόδιτος*, Hermaphroditus) H., the personage in Greek and Roman myth and iconography possessing both male and female sexual features, first appears

in Greek literary and epigraphical sources in the 4th cent. B.C., although a pedigree as the offspring of Hermes and Aphrodite is not provided before the mid-1st cent. B.C. In addition to the proper name H., the term used generically, along with its adjectival form describes these *Mischwesen* as they are reported by various authors to occur in nature.

LITERARY SOURCES: Earliest mention of the name Hermaphroditos occurs in Theophr. (370-288 B.C.) *char.* 16, 10 (written after 319 B.C.): The Superstitious Man, in addition to many other compulsive acts of piety, hangs garlands on H. on the fourth and seventh days of each month. The fourth day of the month, according to Hom. *h. Merc.* 19 and *Schol. Hes. erg.* 700a. 800b (Mikalson, J. D., *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* [1979] 16-17) was considered by the Greeks sacred to both Hermes and Aphrodite. The seventh day of the month, however, is dedicated only to Apollo, and the Superstitious Man's activities on this extra day have been interpreted as another instance of his excessive religious zeal. It has been argued (Kieseritzky, C., *Adl* 54, 1882, 264) that in fact the Superstitious Man did not actually honor the image of a bisexual divinity but a herm of Aphrodite, on analogy with other - considerably later - compound names referring to hermaic sculptures with the heads of divinities: Hermathena (Cic. *Att.* 1, 1, 5; 1, 4, 3); Hermeros (Plin. *nat.* 36, 33); Hermerakles (Cic. *Att.* 1, 10, 3; *Milet* 17, 354 no. 305) (but see Harrison, E., *Agora* XI [1965] 125, who suggests that such combinations may have been created to Roman taste and specifications). Other editors of Theophr. avoid the problem altogether: Steinmetz (1960, 197) reads 16, 10 *Ἑρμᾶς, ἀφροδῖτον* and Diels (1909, 16, 11 n. 24) had suggested *Ἑρμᾶς ῥοδίονος*. Other editors (Jebb 1909, Ussher 1960), however, accept the reading *Ἑρμαφρόδιτος* which is supported not only by the devotions of the Superstitious Man on the fourth day of each month, with its special association with Hermes and Aphrodite, but also by a votive dedication to H. that has been dated by letter forms early in the 4th cent. B.C. (see Epigraphical Evidence, below).

All other sources mentioning H., like most of the preserved representations, are fairly late, except for a lost play entitled *Ἑρμαφρόδιτος*, by the Greek comic writer Poseidippus, active during the 1st quarter of the 3rd cent. B.C. (*CAF* III 338-339 *frag.* 11; only title and one couplet preserved). After this drama, there is apparent silence on the subject until Diod. (4, 6, 5), writing in the mid-1st cent. B.C., provides the first genealogy for H., not surprisingly the offspring of Hermes and Aphrodite.

The best known discussion of H. is Ovid's lengthy aetiological tale (*met.* 4, 285-388). H. here is the male child of Aphrodite and Hermes who leaves his native Mount Ida on Crete as a youth and travels through Asia Minor. In Caria the nymph of a spring called Salmacis (nymph and spring share this name with an actual ancient site not far from Halicarnassus) falls in love with the boy, who rejects her advances. One day as H. swims in the spring, Salmacis dives in too and surrounds the boy in an inextricable embrace, entreat-

ing the gods as she does so that the two might never be parted. They grant her prayer; boy and nymph are fused, creating a new, bisexual persona. That H. retains something of his old nature, however, seems clear from his subsequent prayer to the gods, that the waters of the spring Salmacis thereafter have an enervating effect on any man who enters them; and in fact, Ovid begins his narrative about H. by promising to explain the cause of this phenomenon, apparently well known in antiquity. These weakening properties of the spring Salmacis are also discussed by Vitruvius (2, 8, 11-12), who says that a temple of Mercury and Venus was located nearby, although he does not mention H. No trace of such a temple has been found at the ancient site of Salmacis.

A cluster of later authors was intrigued by the paradoxical nature of this half-male, half-female creature. On Martialis 14, 174 see 2. Elsewhere, Martialis (6, 68) mentions H. and Salmacis, and at 10, 4 he includes H. in a list of characters from mythological tales.

Lukianos in the *dialogi deorum* mentions H. twice: 17, 2 Apollo and Hermes discuss H.'s parentage and 3, 1 Apollo and Dionysos compare Aphrodite's offspring, Priapos, Eros, and H., each of whom had a different father.

According to Alkiphron *epistulae rusticae* 2, 35, there was a rural shrine to H. at Alopeke near Athens at which a widow placed wreaths of flowers in honor of her dead husband. Emendations have been suggested for this passage as well: Lobeck, C. A., *Aglaophamus* (1829) II 1007 n. [b] suggested that H. was in fact the name of the deceased; others read *Ἑρμα Φαίδριον* (Meineke, Schepers).

H. makes an appearance in Hyginus's list of the most beautiful young men (*fab.* 271), which provides the only other instance of H.'s alternate name Atlantes (Wernicke, K., *RE* II 2 [1896] 2109 s. v. «Atlantes»).

Interest in H. had not abated at the end of the 4th cent. A.D. Ausonius, in *epigr.* 102, sees H. as a neutral creature, unable to enjoy passion either as a man or a woman, but in the next epigram, where the poet discusses Salmacis, he seems to contradict himself. Here, both Salmacis and H., are said to achieve an especially intense degree of sexual pleasure.

An epigram in the *Anth. Pal.* (9, 783) is spoken by a sculpture of H. him/herself, presiding over a bath used by both men and women. *Anth. Pal.* 9, 317 takes the form of a dialogue between H. and Silenus (→ Silenos, Silenoi), and may reflect a tradition now preserved only in wall paintings from Pompeii. Here Silenus boasts to a goatherd that he had made love to H. three times that day, and H. protests, swearing by Hermes that this had not occurred; Silenus retorts by swearing by Pan that indeed it had.

Finally, Ps.-Lukianos *philopat.* 24, in the 10th cent., once again refers to H.'s parentage.

EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE: Only two inscriptions mention H. (also see 4): The earlier inscription, on a small inscribed base found in Attic Vari, has been dated by letter forms to the early 4th cent. B.C., and

bears a votive inscription to H.: [Φ]ανὸν Ἑρμαφροδίτην (sic) ταῖς εὐχαρίστησιν. This modest, roughly lettered base probably supported a small sculpture or herm, now missing, and not a stele, because the cutting is square rather than rectangular, and demonstrates that as early as the 4th cent. B. C. there was some form of cult activity involving H. (Threatte, L., *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I [1980] 51 no. 7; Kirchner, J./Dow, S., *AM* 62, 1937, 7-8 no. 5 pl. 4, 3).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Ajooutan, A., «Ex utroque sexu: The Sleeping Hermaphrodite and the Myth of Agdistis», *AJA* 92, 1988, 275-276; Bremmer, J., *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (1987) 114-118; Brissson, L., «Bisexualité et méditation en Grèce ancienne», *Nouv. Rev. Psychoanal.* 7, 1973, 27-48; Brothwell, D./Snodson, A. T., *Diseases in Antiquity* (1967) 516-517; Collomb, J., «A propos de l'art plastique Minoen», *RA* (1978) 205-226; Couve, W., *DA III A* (1899) 135-139 s.v. «Hermaphroditus»; Delcourt, M., *Hermaphrodite* (1961) (= Delcourt); eadem, *Hermaphroditea* (1966); eadem/Hoheisel, K., *RAC XIV* (1988) 650-682 s.v. «Hermaphrodit»; Dieg, E., *OeJh* 41, 1954, 90-96; Deonna, W., «Fontaines anthropomorphes: la femme aux seins jaillissants et l'enfant «mingens»», *Genava* 6, 1958, 263-264; Fauth, W., *KlPauly II* (1967) 1066-1067 s.v. «Hermaphroditos»; Herrmann, P., *ML I 2* (1886-90) 2314-2342 s.v. «Hermaphroditos»; Holländer, E., *Plastik und Medizin* (1912) 251-255; Hornbostel, W., *JbHamburg* 3, 1984, 143-198; Jessen, O., *RE VIII I* (1912) 714-721 s.v. «Hermaphroditos»; Kenner, H., *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (1970); Klimowsky, E. W., *Das mann-weibliche Leitbild in der Antike* (1972); Laurenzi, L., *EAA III* (1960) 421-424 s.v. «Ermafrodito»; Meyer, H., *Der weiße und der rote Marsyas* (1987) 24, 29; Mittwoch, U., «Males, Females and Hermaphrodites», *Annals of Human Genetics* 50, 1986, 103-121; Pfiffig, *RelEtr* 224-230; Ramsay, W. M., «Studies in Asia Minor», *JHS* 3, 1882, 54; Robert, C., «Der Bildhauer Polykles und seine Sippe», *Hermes* 19, 1884, 300-315; Schauenburg, K., *LAW* 1267-1268 s.v. «Hermaphrodit»; Schefold, SB III 17, 211, 304-305, 339, 341; Stevenson, W. E., *The Pathological Grotesque Representations in Greek and Roman Art* (Diss., Univ. of Penn., 1975) 107, 123, 180, 189-190, 247-248; Trojani, M., «La statuetta n. 49 e il tipo classico della figura in appoggio al plastrino», in *Atti della giornata di Studio, Padova* (1984) 37-57.

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## I. Literary and epigraphical sources referring to sculptures of Hermaphroditos

I. Plin. *nat.* 34, 80 provides the only reference in ancient testimonia to the sculptor of an hermaphrodite. According to him, an artist called Polykles created a bronze *Hermaphroditus nobilis*. But it is not clear from this passage which of three artists with this name mentioned by Plin. is meant here. The earliest Polykles flourished in the 102nd Olympiad, 372-369 B. C. (Plin. *nat.* 34, 50). A Polykles of Athens (Plin. *nat.* 34, 52) was active in the important 156th Olympiad (156-153 B. C.) and apparently played a role in the artistic revival of that period. It is to this artist that modern critics have generally attributed the bronze *Hermaphroditus nobilis*. Polykles' son Timarchides also had a son called Polykles, who is by Plin. *nat.* 36, 35 said to have worked in Rome during the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. B. C., so there are really two 2nd cent. candidates for the authorship of the *Hermaphroditus nobilis*: Polykles, and his grandson of the same name (on the complicated stemma of Polykles see Pollitt, J. J., *Art in the Hellenistic Age* [1986] 174, 313 n. 12; Stewart, A., *Attika* [1979] 42-46; Coarelli, F., «Polykles», *StudMisc* 15, 1969, 175-89; Becatti, G., *RivIstArch* 7, 1940, 7-116). Among the sculptural types of H. the Sleeping Type (Section IV A) is most often associated with the *Hermaphroditus nobilis* by Polykles, although the so-called Berlin hermaphrodite (5-5c) has also been proposed.

2. Martial's *apophoreta*, a collection of epigrams each describing a sculpture or painting, includes one (14, 174) addressed to a marble sculpture of H. (Lehmann, K., «A Roman Poet Visits a Museum», *Hesperia* 14, 1945, 259-269).

3. Christodoros of Thebes, *Anth. Pal.* 2, 102-107, provides the latest evidence for the existence of a sculpture of H., a bronze work in the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople. This sculpture, along with a great many others described by Christod., was burned in A. D. 532 (Stupperich, R., «Das Statuenprogramm in den Zeuxippos-Thermen», *IstMitt* 32, 1982, 210-235).

4. A fragmentary inscription found in the Athenian Agora has been interpreted as an inventory of the sculptures of gods and other mythological figures that stood in various areas of a gymnasium. It has been dated by letter forms to the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. B. C. The name H. occurs toward the end of the inscription and has been understood as referring to one of the sculptures. What is important here is the evidence that in the 2nd cent. B. C. there was a sculpture of H., and that it was appropriate decoration in presumably an Athenian gymnasium (Clay, D., *Hesperia* 46, 1977, 259-267).

## II. Hermaphroditos alone, nude or semi-draped

H. appears in a variety of frontal, standing compositions, nude, or semi-draped and in iconography and pose closely allied with Aphrodite. 5-5c below are completely nude, except for a feminine headdress. Elsewhere, H. fastens on a *strophium*, holds a mantle up behind forming a screen for the body, or wears a swath of mantle draped across the hips, revealing the male genitals. Most abundant of all types are images of H. *anasyromenos*, where the formal gesture of «lifting up» reveals the often erect phallus.

## A. Hermaphroditos, nude, standing

## ROMAN

The so-called Berlin H. (5) is the best preserved example of H. nude except for short, folded veil. H. stands with weight on l. leg, r. leg drawn back, l. arm lowered at side, r. raised and held out. A head of the same type, a torso, and a bronze figurine have been grouped with this figure. The veil has variously been called *klaft*, *kalvatica*, *kekryphalos* or *mitra* and is worn by women on gems of the early 3rd cent. B. C., and by the Horae (→ Horai/Horae), for example on 3rd cent. terra sigillata. It should be noted that a similar short, handkerchief-like headdress is worn by later figures as well: the bronze figurine of a dancing dwarf from the Mahdia shipwreck, an old woman captive on the Column of Trajan in Rome, and the seated old woman with lagynos by «Myron». E. Simon has suggested, in fact, that the short veil worn by the old drunken woman is the emblem of her role as priestess/nurse of Dionysos (GGA 236, 1984, 32-33). Whether the head covering here has cult meaning or would have been immediately recognizable as a female garment, worn as a contrast to the youthful male body, is unclear (for headdress see Wrede, H., *RM* 95, 1988,

100-101; Marabini Moevs, M. T., *BollArte* 42, 1987, 17-18; Kurtz, D. C./Boardman, J., *GettyVases III* [1986] 50-56; Brandenburg, H., *Studien zur Mitra* [1966] 94). Besides the distinctive Berlin type, other varieties of H. nude are represented here.

## Marble statues (except 5c)

5.\* Berlin, Staatl. Mus. SK 193. - Wrede, H., *Boreas* 9, 1986, 130-135; Delcourt fig. 1; *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen* (1891) Nr. 193; Furtwängler, A., *AbhMünchen* 20, 1897, 582-585 pl. 12. Restoration to face, l. arm, r. underarm, r. lower leg and base. With plinth 1.73 m. high. - 5a)\* Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. I 131. - Schneider, R., *Album auserlesener Gegenstände der Antiken-Sammlung des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (1895) 4 pl. 8, 1. - Head of same type as 5. - 5b)\* Deepdene LLAG 13. - Waywell, G. B., *The Lever and Hope Sculptures* (1986) 19-20 no. 2. - Flavian. - Torso (head and limbs modern) in pose probably similar to 5. - 5c)\* Bronze support from candelabrum. Florence, Mus. Arch. 552. - Milani, L. A., *Mus. Arch. di Firenze* (1921) 142 pl. 36, 1. - R. hand raised, l. held out; nude except for short veil, as 5.

6. Madrid, Prado 12-E. - Blanco, A., *Mus. del Prado. Cat. de la Escultura* (1957) 22 pl. 3; EA 1577. - Mid-1st cent. A. D. - Nude torso of H. lacks head, arms, both lowered missing just below shoulders, both legs below knees; male genitals largely broken away. Weight on r. leg.

7. Marble figurine. Nîmes, Maison Carrée. - Espérandieu, *Recueil III* no. 2662. - Nude H. lacks head, both lowered arms below shoulders, l. leg at knee, r. leg at mid-calf.

## Bronze figurines

8.\* Support for candelabrum. Rome, Pal. Cons. - Delcourt 28 pl. 2; Stuart Jones, *SculptPalCons* 288-289 pl. 115. - Nude, frontal H., legs flexed, arms outstretched, hands positioned to support object; distinctly female breasts, erect phallus.

9.\* Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Mus. Carnuntinum 11950. From Carnuntum? - Fleischer, R., *Die römischen Bronzen aus Österreich* (1967) no. 185 pl. 98; Swoboda, E., *Carnuntum* (1964) 98 pl. 13, 1. - Both hands missing. Nude H. stands with weight on r. leg, l. flexed, raises l. hand, r. arm at sides. On head, animal ears(?) or horns(?), with two holes pierced in crown of head.

10. Senlis, Priv. Coll. From the shore of the Oise. - Espérandieu, *Recueil V* no. 3862; Reinach, S., *RA* 32, 1898, 321-335. - Standing, nude H., l. arm missing, bends forward slightly at waist, weight on r. leg, l. drawn back, only toes of l. foot touch plinth. Hole for addition on top of head; both ears pierced. Support for a candelabrum?

11. From Ruscino. Reinach, S., *RA* 1913, 390-392. - H. arranges a strophium over breasts; weight on l. foot; r. leg (missing below knee) flexed; male genitals preserved, not ithyphallic. On head H. wears a cone-shaped attachment for a mirror or toilette instrument, atop centrally parted hair drawn back and fastened in a knot at the nape of the neck.

**B. Hermaphroditos nude, kallipygos/dancing**

Representations of H. *kallipygos* are restricted to a small group of bronze figurines and Neo-Attic reliefs; there are apparently no large scale sculptures in stone with this motif. Characteristic of the type is its torsional pose, usually understood as a dance movement. H. steps forward on the r. foot, with head turned back, usually over the r. shoulder, r. arm lowered, l. arm held up. These figures are usually compared with those of Aphrodite Kallipygos (→ Aphrodite 765-771), who raises her garment and looks back over her r. shoulder, drawing attention to her bared buttocks. Four small bronzes of H. provide an additional motivation for this pose. Here H. holds a folding mirror open in the lowered r. hand and secures the ends of a short headdress with the l. hand. Glancing over its shoulder, H. can glimpse not only its own buttocks, but perhaps also its face reflected in the mirror. These figures are all ithyphallic, the conceit of the type being perhaps that H.'s male aspect is aroused by its female attributes. Not all figures in this general pose hold a mirror but this same effect is really achieved in a more direct way by the examples where H., like Aphrodite, simply looks back over its shoulder. H. similarly posed in Neo-Attic reliefs has been generally interpreted as a dancer, but here too a round object is occasionally held in the r. hand.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hornbostel, W., in *Antidoron, Festschr. J. Thimme* (1983) 101-110; Säfliund, G., *Aphrodite Kallipygos* (1963).

## ROMAN

*Bronze figurines*

12. Hamburg, Mus. KG 1917.1309. - Hornbostel figs. 1-4.

12a)\* Paris, Cab. Méd. Br 307. - Hornbostel figs. 5-6.

12b) Once Paris, Coll. Alcohète. From Alexandria. - Hornbostel 108 n. 13b; EA 1381; Reinach, *RépStat* II 1, 176, 3; Blanchet, J.-A., *RA* 28, 1896, 160-162 pl. 4.

12c)\* London, BM 48.8-3.44. From London, the Thames. - Hornbostel 108 n. 13d figs. 117-118.

12d) Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 2429. From Pola. - Hornbostel n. 13e figs. 9-10; AA 1892, 51 no. 79 fig.

13. Epinal, Mus. From near Mirecourt. - Hornbostel 108 n. 13; Neugebauer, K. A., *Antike Bronze-statuetten* (1921) 82-83 fig. 45. - H. without headdress, no mirror preserved in r. hand.

*Reliefs*

The same Dionysiac scene with H., a bearded, drunken Dionysos and dancing companions is reproduced in at least three Neo-Attic krater reliefs: two fr. examples from the Mahdia shipwreck, and the better preserved 14b in Pisa. The existence of the Camposanto krater presupposes other models of this same type, since the Mahdia examples were submerged ca. 100 B.C. H. similarly posed also appears alone in a panel, as in 14. 14d. 14e. In these two-dimensional

examples, the use of extreme torsion and of features rendered in profile effectively compresses this image of H.

## GREEK

14. Marble relief. Athens, Acropolis Mus. 3356. From Athens. - Fuchs, W., *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 20. Erg.-H. *JdI* (1959) 167 no. 25; Walter, *RelAkr* 222 Nr. 451; Casson, S., *Cat. of the Acropolis Mus.* II (1921) 273-274 fig. - Late Hellenistic. - Two non-joining fragments of a relief panel with projecting ledge along bottom, surface badly worn. H. steps forward on r. leg, in stiff archaizing pose, with heel of l. foot lifted from ground. H. raises l. arm (hand missing) r. arm lowered (hand missing), turns head back in r. profile. Body to waist in r. profile with male genitals clearly visible; upper torso nearly frontal. Thin band of drapery with pronounced swallow-tail on l. side is draped over H.'s r. arm and over raised l. arm. H. holds thyrsus in l. hand (now missing). Hair bound up, with bun on top of head. Element in upper l. corner of relief now illegible (Eros?).

14a) (= Dionysos/Bacchus 81 with bibl.) Marble krater fr. Tunis, Bardo C 1204, C 1205. From Mahdia. - Yacoub, M., *Mus. du Bardo. Mus. antique* (1982) 84; Fuchs, W., *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia* (1963) 45-46 pl. 74; idem, *o. c.* 14, 167 no. 26; 183-186. - Late Hellenistic.

## ROMAN

14b)\* (= Dionysos/Bacchus 82 with bibl.) Marble krater. Pisa, Camposanto C 24. - Arias, P. E./Cristiani, E./Gabbia, A., *Camposanto Monumentale di Pisa: Le Antichità I* (1977) 155-156 figs. 207-211; Fuchs, *o. c.* 14, 167 no. 26. - Ca. A.D. 110. - H. with strip of swallow-tailed mantle draped over arms and across front of chest.

14c) Marble krater fr. Rome, Barracco Mus. 170. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> II no. 1919; Pietrangeli, C., *Mus. Barracco di scultura antica* (1963) 113 no. 170; Kieseritzky, G., «L'ermafrodita Costanzi», *AdI* 54, 1882, 245-273. - Augustan. - H. with strip of drapery over arms and between breasts. To lower r. of figure Eros holds torch upside down in r. hand, l. hand on hip.

14d)\* Marble candelabrum base. Trento, Mus. Naz. 5299. From near Trento. - Cain, H.-U., *Römische Marmorkandelaber* (1985) 131. 192 no. 113 pl. 65, 4; Montanari, G., *ArtAntMod* 1959, 164 ff. pl. 77-79; Weege, F., *Der Tanz in der Antike* (1926) 96 pl. 147; EA 1381. - 2nd half 1st cent. B.C. - H. alone on one panel of candelabrum base. Strip of drapery with swallow-tail ends draped over r. arm, r. shoulder, between female breasts and over l. outstretched arm. In lowered r. hand H. holds folding mirror with cover flipped back toward edge of panel. Hair bound up.

14e) Stone. Sens, Mus. 116. From Sens. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IV no. 2797. - On short end of what has been identified as a Gallo-Roman funerary monument, H. with erect phallus in profile, back to viewer, turns to l., r. arm raised over head, lowered l. hand holds round object (mirror? tympanum?). H. poised just above floral motif on lower (broken) edge of slab.

On front of the relief slab three now damaged draped figures.

**C. Hermaphroditos nude, kneeling**

## ROMAN

15.\* Bronze figurine. Paris, Cab. Méd. Br 308. - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* 137 Nr. 308. - Roman. - Nude H. kneels, holds arms by sides with palms facing out. Wears diadem over centrally parted hair with long locks falling onto shoulder and chest; female breasts, male genitals.

**D. Hermaphroditos semi-nude, standing**

H., like Aphrodite (→ Aphrodite 774-783), occasionally poses with drapery held out behind, providing a backdrop for the body. But → Narkissos also holds his mantle in this fashion, and when the motif appears on gems, it is sometimes difficult to identify the figure either as H. or Narcissus, since both are usually rendered with immature, fleshy male physiques (Zanker, P., *BonnJbb* 166, 1966, 166). H. is recognizable in 16, but other examples are more ambiguous (80, for example).

## ROMAN

*Gems*

16. Carnelian. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 6820. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 43, 54. - H. ithyphallic, holds edge of drapery in each hand.

## GREEK

*Sculpture in the Round*

17.\* Marble figurine. London, BM 1682. - From Kos. - Kabus-Preißhofen, R., *Die hellenistische Plastik der Insel Kos AM* 14. Beih. (1989) 275-276 no. 75 pl. 24, 1-2; Smith, *BMSculpture* III 69 no. 1682. - 3rd cent. B.C. - Small (0.392 m. preserved height) frontal torso lacks inserted head, r. arm at shoulder, added draped portions on l. side; both legs above knees. Mantle worn across upper chest and draped behind figure exposes female breasts and male genitals.

18.\* Marble statue. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. From Pergamon. - Kabus-Preißhofen, *o. c.* 17, 128; Dieichs, A., *AntW* Sondernummer 1988 12 fig. 9; Morrow, K., *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* (1985) 137-140; Dickins, R., *Hellenistic Sculpture* (1972, rev. ed.) 5. 65 fig. 1; Ohlemutz, E., *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* (1938) 266; *An Illustrated Guide to the Greek, Roman and Byzantine Architecture and Sculptural Coll. in the Arch. Mus. of Istanbul* (1968) 66 Nr. 363; Bieber, *SculptHell* 124-125; Mendel, *Sculpt* II (1914) 368 Nr. 624; Winter, F., *Pergamon VII* 1 (1903) 132-134 fig. 4 pl. 10; Farnell, L. R., *JHS* 11, 1890, 188. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. B.C. - Large (1.85 m. with plinth) semi-draped H., weight on r. leg, l. knee forward, rests l. arm on top of tree trunk support. Torso bare, mantle draped over l. arm and support, curves down below groin to reveal male

genitals. In pose and arrangement of drapery this type is closely allied with types of Aphrodite, Dionysos and Apollo. The bisexual nature of this figure is reflected in the imaginary sandal type that combines elements of both male and female footwear.

18a) Marble figurine. New York, Priv. coll. From Rhodes? - Bieber, *SculptHell* 125, n. 10 fig. 492. - Same pose and drapery as 18.

*Terracotta figurines*

19. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. From Thessaloniki. - Θεσσαλονίκη (1986) 108. 119 fig. 97. - 3rd-2nd cent. B.C. - Frontal H. wearing wreath and mantle draped over arms forming a screen behind the body leans to r. against pilaster with weight on l. leg and r. foot resting on base of support.

20. Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz. From Locri. - *Il Mus. Naz. di Reggio Calabria* (1987) 76-77; Arias, P. E., «La fonte sacra di Locri dedicata a Pan e alle Ninfe», *Le Arti* 3, 1941, 177-180; idem, *NSe* 1946, 148 fig. 16a. - Hellenistic. - Nude H. with mantle draped behind holds bowl of fruit in l. hand.

21.\* Paris, Louvre D 3451. From Centuripe. - Besques IV 27 no. 10 pl. 22b. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. B.C. - H., weight on r. leg, l. leg flexed, wears end of mantle over l. shoulder, draped in back and over r. hip, holding out an edge of fabric in r. hand (now broken). Torso bared, with female breasts and male genitals; hair pulled back and secured in knot on top of head.

## ROMAN

*Marble statues and figurines*

22. (= Aphrodite 725\* with bibl.) Rome, Villa Doria Pamphilj. - Bober, Ph. P./Rubinstein, R., *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (1986) 129-130 no. 197; Calza, R., *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphilj* (1977) 74 no. 75 pl. 50; Clarac IV (1853) 667, 1578b. - Originally H., reworked as Aphrodite. Figure holds edge of drapery up over l. shoulder. It billows around back and r. shoulder and adheres and covers r. thigh and leg. At some point the male genitals were removed, and a fold of drapery added over genital region. Original state preserved in 15th and 16th cent. drawings (Bober, *o. c.* 130) and in Clarac.

23.\* Rome, Pal. Valentini MD 771. - Farina, G., ed., *Palazzo Valentini* (1985) 242; EA 2382-2385. - 1st cent. A.D. Lacks head, l. hand, r. foot; wears mantle rolled and wrapped around waist with ends hanging down on each side of body; some bronze figurines of Mars (→ Ares/Mars 112. 118-119. 121. 124) and Greek terracotta figurines of Eros (→ Eros 48d. 123) have similarly arranged drapery.

24. Figurine. Klagenfurt, Landesmus. für Kärnten 314 (3276) + 7902. From Virunum. - Kenner, H., *OeJh* 58, 1988, 78 fig. 4; Piccottini, G., *CSIR* II 1 (1968) no. 10 pl. 12; Kenner, H., *OeJh* 43, 1958, 99-100; Praschniker, C., *Der Bäderbezirk von Virunum* (1947) 69-73 figs. 60-62; Görlich, N., *Der Hermaphrodit von Virunum* (Diss. 1941). - Lacking head, l. arm at elbow, r. arm between shoulder and hand. H. with weight on r. leg, l. leg flexed leans against pilaster to l. Edge of mantle draped over l. shoulder and held



out behind body with the lowered r. hand; folds of the garment drape over the support.

25. Figurine, fr. Tetouan (Morocco), Arch. Mus. From Lixus. - Lacks head, arms, legs. Upper torso and female breasts uncovered, drapery around hips, male genitals exposed.

#### Terracotta figurine

26. Alexandria, Greco-Roman Mus. 18903. From a grave at Sciatbi. - Breccia, E., *Musée d'Alexandrie, La nécropole de Sciatbi* (1912) 151 no. 490 pl. 75, 239. - Figure missing head and portion of l. side. H. similar to 21, mantle held out behind body on l. side, folds of garment cover r. leg, but front of body, with its female breasts and male genitals is exposed.

### E. Hermaphroditos semi-nude, seated

27. Sardonyx cameo. Ionides Coll. (ex Coll. Marlborough). - Boardman, J., *Engraved Gems. The Ionides Collection* (1968) No. 62. - H. seated, legs crossed at ankles, holds up edge of drapery away from body, revealing female breasts and erect phallus. For H. in a similar pose, surrounded by Erotes, see 61-62 below.

### F. Herm of Hermaphroditos semi-nude

28. Marble. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. From Pergamon. - Wrede, H., *Die antike Herme* (1986) 26; Ohlmutz, o.c. 17, 266; Winter, F., *Pergamon VII* 2 (1908) 221. - Nude torso with female breasts, male genitals; head and arms dowelled on, now missing. Edge of mantle slung over l. shoulder, the rest draped behind figure. Division of legs below the genitals indicated on herm shaft.

### III. Hermaphroditos alone, draped

#### A. Standing

29. Marble figurine. Kos, Mus. From Kos. - Kabus-Preißhofen, o.c. 17, 159; Linfert, A., *Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit* (1976) 77 n. 271b; Laurenzi, L., in *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni III* (1956) 184 figs. 1-2. - Mid 2nd cent. B.C. - Figure lacks head and arms (dowelled on); wears high belted chiton and mantle draped around hips. Edges of garment part on r. side revealing r. female breast and male genitals.

#### B. Hermaphroditos anasyromenos

Representations of H. in the so-called *anasyromenos* pose constitute the largest single group of figures and some of these are among the earliest depictions: large scale marble works and many marble, terracotta, and bronze figurines. Drawing on a tradition of pose and iconography associated also with Aphrodite and shared by several other mythological figures -> Attis,

-> Baubo, -> Isis, -> Priapos - this formal gesture of exhibiting and emphasizing the genitals has here the additional function of clarifying an otherwise ambiguous situation (King, H., «Agnodike and the Profession of Medicine» *Proc. Cam. Phil. Soc.* 32, 1986, 53-77; Herter, H., *De Priapo* [1932] 8, 20. 180-182. 288, 302). H's costume is fairly standard: high belted chiton, sleeveless or with short sleeves, often a mantle, draped over both shoulders or arms, sometimes also covering the head. Both breasts are usually draped, but in one type, found both in Alexandria and Southern Italy, the slipped sleeve or strap (usually the l.) exposes the female breast. H. raises the skirt of the garment with one or both hands revealing the phallus, generally erect. Priapos often appears in a similar costume, even with what seem to be feminine breasts beneath the chiton, although this could be a representation of his generally corpulent body. Like Priapos, H. occasionally holds fruit in the raised folds of the skirt and, in at least two instances a small Eros. Priapos also appears with Erotes or babies in a similar pose.

#### GREEK

##### Relief

30.\* Marble plaque. Delos, Mus. A 4016. From Delos. - Marcadé, *MusDélôs* 402 n. 6; 440 n. 2; *idem*, *BCH Suppl.* 1, 1973, 342 no. 8 fig. 15. - Hellenistic. - Relief plaque with ledge at bottom shows H. wearing the usual high belted chiton, with mantle over head and ends draped over shoulders and hanging down between arms and body. H. raises garment with both hands to reveal erect phallus.

##### Marble figurines

31. Torso. Delos, Mus. A 2402. From Delos. - Marcadé, *MusDélôs* 206 pl. 26. - Hellenistic. Lacks head and lower arms, groin and legs. H. with high belted, sleeveless chiton, strap slipped from l. shoulder reveals female breast; garment raised in front, but male genitals missing.

32. Athens, Agora S 1235. - From Athens, Agora. - Harrison, E., *Agora XI* (1965) 173 n. 111; Thompson, H. A., *Hesperia* 17, 1948, 180 n. 59. - Hellenistic. - H. with high belted chiton, mantle over r. shoulder and wrapped around l. arm, raises skirt with both hands to reveal erect phallus.

33. Athens, Agora A 2068. - From Athens. - Unfinished, roughly carved H. raises skirt with both hands.

34. Volos, Arch. Mus. 546. From Agnosesos. - *Θεσσαλικά* 1, 1955, 57 fig. 4. - H. with high belted chiton raises skirt to reveal erect phallus.

35. Izmir, Arch. Mus. 592. - H. wears high belted chiton and mantle draped over both arms; raises skirt with both hands to reveal erect phallus.

##### Terracotta figurines

36. Mould fr. Athens, Agora T 1808. From Athens. - Thompson, D. B., *Hesperia* 21, 1952, 162 no. 50 pl. 37. - Last quarter of 4th cent. B.C. - The fr. preserves edges of hands and raised garment, groin and upper thighs.

37. Athens, Agora T 3002. From Athens. - Thompson, o.c. 36, 145 n. 143. - Late 2nd-early 1st cent. B.C. - H. in high belted chiton raises skirt with both hands to reveal erect phallus.

38. Patras, Mus. From Patras. - *BCH* 108, 1984 771 fig. 61. - 1st cent. B.C. - H. wearing high belted chiton raises skirt with both hands to reveal male genitals.

39. Alexandria, Greco-Roman Mus. 20695. - Breccia, E., *Monuments de l'Egypte Gréco-Romaine II* (1930) 41. 153 pl. 47, 15. - H. with veil wears chiton, high belted and slipped off r. shoulder to reveal r. breast; raises skirt to reveal male genitals.

40. Paestum, Mus. From Paestum. - Sestieri, P. C., *MEFRA* 67, 1955, 40; *idem*, «Iconographie et culte d'Héra à Paestum», *La Revue des Arts* 5, 1955, 149-158. - Hellenistic. - Lacks head. H. with strap of chiton slipped off l. shoulder revealing breast raises skirt with both hands to expose erect phallus.

##### Bronze figurines

41.\* Paris, Louvre Br 390. From Tell Ramses near Damanhour. - de Ridder, *BrLouvre I* 61 no. 390; Perdrizet, P., *Bronzes grecs d'Egypte de la coll. Fouquet* (1911) 6 pl. 3a. c. - Hellenistic. - Weight on l. leg, r. bent, r. foot drawn back, head turned and lowered r. H. in sleeveless chiton, l. strap slipped off shoulder reveals female breast; raises garment in stylized arc exposing male genitals. Long hair, parted in middle, pulled back with top knot on crown of head.

42. Paris, Louvre Br 391. From Memphis. - de Ridder, *BrLouvre I* 61 no. 391 pl. 32; Perdrizet, o.c. 41, 6 pl. 3b. - Hellenistic.

Similar to 41 and 42: Perdrizet, o.c. 41, 6-9 pl. 2, from Lower Egypt.

43. Paris, Cab. Méd. Br 310. - From Athens. - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* 137 no. 310; de Witte, J., *RA* 25, 1873, 149 Nr. 10. - H. raises garment, revealing male genitals; holds fruit in the «kolpos» formed by the lifted folds of drapery.

#### ROMAN

44.\* Marble statue. Rome, Torlonia Mus. 466. - Gasparri, C., *Materiali per servire allo studio del Museo Torlonia di scultura antica* (1980) 209; Clarac IV 667. - Legs restored below middle of thighs. H. wears heavy fringed mantle covering both prominent breasts; raises it with both hands to reveal male genitals.

45. Marble statue. Once Rome, Art Market. - H. wears high belted, sleeveless chiton, mantle draped over right shoulder and left arm, raises skirt with both hands to reveal erect phallus. Head lowered slightly, hair drawn back from central part, bound with fillet, ends gathered at back of head.

46. Marble figurine. Philadelphia, Univ. Mus. MS 5970. - Imperial. - H. wearing high belted chiton raises skirt with both hands.

47. Bronze figurine. Bordeaux, Coll. Mateo Petit. From Bordeaux. - Perdrizet, o.c. 41, 6 pl. IV; Reinach, *RépStat II* 1, 337, 4. - Surface badly eroded. Weight on l. leg, right bent, head inclined slightly to r. H. with long chiton, short sleeve slipped off l. shoulder, re-

vealing l. female breast; holds skirt up in both hands exposing male genitals. Hair centrally parted and pulled back, knot on crown of head and bun at nape of neck.

### C. Herms of Hermaphroditos anasyromenos

Most herms of H. are of *anasyromenos* type and nearly all are small, with the exception of 48 from Pergamon. Two *anasyromenos* varieties have been recognized (Wrede, H., *Die antike Herme* [1986] 25-26). The more common form has a tapering shaft, and H. usually wears the traditional high belted chiton and mantle, with arms carved away from the shaft, raising the front of the garment. H. occasionally wears a polos or a mantle or veil over the head, with the ends hanging down along the sides of the herm shaft. The second type (52-54), apparently carved without arms, has all details rendered directly onto the rectangular shaft. Female breasts draped but evident, the front of the garment here is raised and tucked behind the erect phallus itself. A few examples of a third herm variety, semi-nude, are known (28 above). Also see V A below, for *anasyromenos* herms of H. used as supports in groups with Aphrodite.

#### GREEK, TYPE 1

48. Marble. Pergamon, Mus. From Pergamon. - Wrede 25; Ohlmutz, o.c. 17, 266; Winter, o.c. 28, 220-221 fig. - Measuring 1.24 m. this is the largest herm of H. *anasyromenos*. H. (head with neck and shoulders, l. arm, phallus dowelled on but now missing) wears high belted, short sleeved chiton; raises garment with l. hand only. Wears mantle over shoulders, ends of this along with folds of chiton carved in high relief on both sides of herm shaft.

49.\* Miniature herm, marble. Athens, Agora S 1234. From Athens, Agora. - Wrede 25; Harrison, o.c. 32, 140. 173. no. 231, pl. 60; Thompson, o.c. 32, 180 n. 59. - Late Hellenistic-early Roman. - Head and lower end of shaft missing. H. wears high belted chiton, mantle draped over both arms is also carved across lower back of figure, ends hang down on each side of herm shaft. H. raises front of garment with both hands revealing erect phallus. Shaft modelled slightly below genitals to indicate the contour of the legs.

#### ROMAN, TYPE 1

50.\* Marble. Once Rome, Art Market. - Wrede 25; EA 185; Reinach, *RépStat II* 2, 526, 1. - H. in high belted chiton raises it with both hands to reveal the erect phallus. Mantle draped over both shoulders (arms below shoulders now missing) with ends hanging down on both sides of shaft. Hair with central part pulled back, fillet, topknot, a lock rests on each shoulder.

51. Marble. Stockholm, Mus. - Wrede 25; Delcourt 64-65 pl. 6; Reinach, *RépStat I* 371, 7. - H. wearing high belted chiton, mantle on both shoulders, ends hanging down on both sides of herm shaft; phal-

lus erect, separation of legs below genitals indicated on shaft; feet added at bottom of shaft. H. holds fruit in pouch formed by raised draperies, and on head a high fruit-filled polos.

#### GREEK, TYPE 2

52. Miniature herm, marble. Rome, Barracco Mus. - Wrede 25; Robert, C., *AdI* 1884, 88-89 pl. L. - Late 1st cent. B.C. - early 1st cent. A.D. - Rectangular herm shaft, no arms. H. wears garment belted on top of overfold just below breast. Front of garment draped to reveal erect phallus.

53. Miniature herm, marble. Pompeii, Antiquarium. From Pompeii. - Wrede 25; Sogliano, A., *NSc* 1905, 175 fig. 276. - As 52.

#### D. Hermaphroditos on table legs

54.\* Marble. Delos, Mus. A 3867/A 466. From Delos. - Deonna, W., *EADélos* XVIII (1938) 36 fig. 46 pl. 17, 119; Marcadé, *MusDélôs* 464-465 pl. 19; Wrede 25. - Late 1st cent. B.C. - early 1st cent. A.D. - Support for a one-legged table. No arms, high belted chiton in low relief; garment raised and tucked behind the erect phallus. H. wears short veil over centrally parted hair drawn back. Tenon behind head and shoulders.

55.\* Marble. Delos, Mus. A 3868. From Delos. - Deonna, *o.c.* 54, 36 pl. 17, 116. - As 54, but head now missing. H. armless, with high belted chiton, front of costume raised and secured behind phallus.

See also Deonna, *o.c.* 19 n. 2 fig. 16.

#### IV. Hermaphroditos reclining

##### A. Hermaphroditos recumbent on stomach

The so-called Sleeping Hermaphrodite, one of the most frequently illustrated and best known of all H. sculptural types is represented by six relatively complete replicas, one fragment and three variants. The Greek inspiration of these works is often associated with the bronze *Hermaphroditus nobilis* usually attributed to the 2nd cent. Polykles (see I). However, Plin. does not say that Polykles, whichever one he meant, made a sleeping figure, so this attribution remains at best highly tentative. All the figures, except for the smaller 56g, measure approximately 1.48 m. in the contracted pose. Hairstyle is complex and distinctive, with a central parting and braid decorated with an oval jewel, a fillet securing long, rolled locks, and a bun at the nape of the neck from which some locks and wisps of hair escape. The figure lies asleep on its stomach, but its restless torsion twists the upper body and head to the r., and shifts the hips in the opposite direction, raising the l. side enough so that the erect phallus and the swelling l. breast are visible. Straightening, the r. leg stretches taut an edge of drapery around the flexed r. foot. The l. leg weighs down a section of fabric, drawing it back over the r. calf. In its sleeping move-

ments the creature, entangled in the drapery, thrusts the l. leg free of this constriction. Muffled in folds of fabric, the l. arm cushions the head, but the bent r. arm is free, corresponding in horizontal chiasmus to the bare, projecting l. foot. The visual impact of this work derives from its disregard for frontality and its manipulation of front and back; both sides convey essential information. It has been suggested that the viewer was intended to approach the sculpture from behind, first seeing what he thought was a sleeping woman, and then discovering the truth by circling around the figure. That the back of the figure was in fact the point of primary approach is supported by the appearance of 56b. Enough of the rocky plinth is preserved here to show that it is thicker on the side supporting the back of the figure, with the details of the rock more carefully worked than on the other side, where the front of the figure is revealed. Here the plinth is distinctly thinner and less detailed. In general, the proportions of these figures emphasize the buttocks, with relatively narrow shoulders, and, for the length of the body, a small face (ca. 0.13 m). For pose, parallels from the 2nd cent. B.C. include most notably the terracotta figurine of a woman, found in a 2nd cent. B.C. grave in Taranto (De Juliis, E./Loiacono, D., *Taranto: Il Mus. Arch.* [1985] 386 no. 474), who sleeps on an animal skin in virtually this same pose. Also illuminating are the fragments of terracotta pedimental scenes dated within the 2nd cent. B.C. and found at Civitalba (Andrén, A., *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* [1940] 298-300 no. I.1; I.3 pls. 98, 100). These groups include a satyr lifting the drapery from a sleeping woman, probably Ariadne, shown from the front. In another fragment with a similar scene the lifted drapery reveals the back of the woman. While all the marble replicas of this Ariadne type, and those of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type have been dated in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D., the terracotta figurine, with its secure early context, along with the terracotta pedimental groups, provides evidence for a late Hellenistic prototype. It has been assumed that this figure is part of a genre group of Dionysiac sleepers - nymphs or maenads, satyrs and Eroses - and has not been identified with a specific mythological character, like some Roman works thought to represent the sleeping Endymion or Ariadne. It is at least a possibility that the Sleeping H. type might reflect some version of the story of the androgynous Agdistis, in a drunken sleep at the moment before the emasculation discussed below (Commentary). Such a narrative setting for the composition would account for the often noted restlessness of pose, the erect phallus, and the rocky landscape plinth. While the group of preserved replicas is relatively small, most of these works are from Italian, primarily Roman, contexts, and one at least is said to come from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Both replicas found in Greece are variants of the type, a reduced version found at Kos, and a sleeping woman found on the South Slope of the Athenian Akropolis. The confined distribution and dating suggest some specific impulse for the generation of the type primarily for a Roman clientele.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ajootian 275-276; Ashmole, B., *JHS* 42, 1922, 244-246 fig. 10; Bieber, *SculptHell* 112, 124; BrBr 505; Dickens, G., *Hellenistic Sculpture* (1972 ed.) 57-58; Dierks-Kiehl, Ch., *Zu spätellenistischen bewegten Figuren der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.* (1973) 90-93; Haskell, F./Penny, N., *Taste and the Antique* (1981) 234-236 no. 48 fig. 12; de Lachenal, L., in *MusNazRom*, *Le sculpture* I 1, 123-126; Lawrence, A. W., *Later Greek Sculpture* (1927) 23, 114 pl. 40; McNally, S., 'Ariadne and Others: Images of Sleep in Greek and Early Roman Art', *ClAnt* 4, 1985, 174-175; Palma, B., in *MusNazRom*, *Le sculpture* I 6, 105-107; Pollitt, J. J., *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (1986) 149 fig. 160; Robertson, *HGA* 551-553.

#### Sculpture in the round, marble

56.\* Paris, Louvre MA 231. From Rome. - Haskell/Penny 234; Charbonneaux, *SculptLouvre* pl. 45-46; *EncPhotLouvre* III figs. 230B, 231C. - Most familiar of all the replicas, this figure rests upon the famous tufted cushion sculpted for it by Bernini.

56a) Paris, Louvre 461. From Velletri. - Froehner, W., *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée du Louvre* (1869) 346 no. 375.

56b) Florence, Uff. 1914.343. From Rome(?). - *MusNazRom* I 6 105-107 no. III 4; Saladino, V., *Musei Gallerie Firenze, Gli Uffizi* (1981) 62 no. 26; Mansuelli, *SculptUff* I 82-83 no. 53.

56c)\* Rome, Mus. Naz. 1087. From Rome. - *MusNazRom* I 1, 123-126 no. 89; BrBr 505; Visconti, E. Q., *Illustrazioni dei monumenti scelti Borghesiani* (1821) I pl. 27. - Antonine. Portion of erect phallus preserved. R. hand and lower l. leg originally doweled on, now missing; lacks plinth.

56d) Fr. Rome, Mus. Naz. 128037. From Rome. - *MusNazRom* I 1, 124; I 6 106; unpublished. - Preserves lower portion of figure from below upper r. thigh and l. knee; animal skin covers rock plinth.

56e) Rome, Villa Borghese 749. Haskell/Penny 235 no. 2; Helbig II no. 1978. - Lacks original plinth; head, mattress and sheets sculpted by Bergondi in the mid-18th cent.

56f) Leningrad, Ermitage A 374. From Tivoli, Villa of Hadrian. - 1st-2nd cent. A.D. - Waldhauer, *Skulpt* II 52 no. 166 fig. 54. - Animal skin draped over plinth.

56g) Kos, Mus. 66. From Kos. - Laurenzi, L., *ASAtene* 17/18, 1955/56, 113 Nr. 104. - Replica in reduced scale (0.41 m. preserved length) with erect phallus intact.

56h) Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute Mus. 72.42.2 (formerly Coll. Canessa). From Rome. - Vermeule, C., *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections* (1981) 181 no. 148 fig. - Upper part of figure preserved to waist, with original plinth. This is the only replica in which the l. hand holds a branch bearing poppies or pomegranates. Like 56d the identity of this work as H. remains uncertain because the lower portion of the body is lacking, but matches the type in details of hairstyle and pose.

56i) Athens, Nat. Mus. 261. From Athens. - Kavvadias, P., *Γλυπτά του Εθνικού Μουσείου* (1890-92) 211-212, no. 261. - Alike in pose and coiffure to the other replicas, but this example lacks male genitals.

56j) Aix, Mus. - *MusNazRom* I 1, 124; I 6, 106. - Included in *MusNazRom* entries as replica of Sleeping H. type, but not ancient.

#### B. Hermaphroditos recumbent on back

Another group of reclining figures corresponds closely in pose to numerous Roman sculptures of sleeping nymphs (on these works see Fabbriotti, E., 'Ninfe Dormienti: Tentativo di Classificazione', *StudMisc* 22, 1974/75, 65-71). H. sleeping alone is included here; for other examples originally surrounded by infants, see Section V G below.

#### Gems

57.\* Sardonyx. London, BM. - Walters, *BMGems* no. 3482 pl. 34. - H. reclines on rocks covered with animal skin; beside, a herm; in background, branches of a tree.

58.\* Glass. Munich, Münzslg. A 2895. - *AGDI* 3, no. 3506 pl. 330. - Imperial. - H. reclines on back, one hand on thigh, holds thyrsus.

#### Sculpture in the Round

59. Marble. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6352. From Pompeii. - *GuidaRuesch* 125 no. 655. - Missing r. leg below knee, l. leg from below mid-thigh. Partially draped H. clasps hands behind head. Mantle drapes below male genitals and covers l. arm. Torso bare, with female breasts.

#### V. Hermaphroditos with others

##### A. Aphrodite

60. Relief. Delos, Mus. A 4017. From Delos. - Marcadé, *MusDélôs* 402 n. 3; 440 n. 2; *idem*, *BCH Suppl.* 1, 1973, 342 no. 9 fig. 22. - Hellenistic. Relief plaque with projecting ledge along bottom. Central, nude Aphrodite in Cnidia's pose with weight on r. leg, l. flexed, lowers drapery held in l. hand over vessel, covers genital area with lowered r. hand. To A.'s r., small Eros, head turned toward A. holds alabastron in r. hand, supports large shell in l. To l. of A., herm of H. on base, nude, phallus erect.

61.\* Marble figurine fr. Delos, Mus. A 5002. From Delos. - Marcadé, *MusDélôs* 235 n. 2 pl. 45; *idem*, *BCH Suppl.* 1, 1973, 346 fig. 20. - Late 2nd cent. B.C. - Statue of H. in sleeveless, high belted chiton and polos stands on base, raising garment with both hands to reveal erect phallus. Probably goes with A 5001, nude figurine of Aphrodite (→ Aphrodite 518\*) as support.

62.\* Marble figurine. Corfu, Gymnasium. - *EA* 604b. - Aphrodite leans to her l. on statuette of H. *anasyromenos* wearing kalathos and standing on pedestal. H. with weight on l. leg, r. leg bent, wears chiton covering both breasts, raises skirt with both hands to reveal genitals.

## B. Satyr

## a) Satyr as aggressor

Represented by at least twenty-seven replicas, this group of struggling satyr and H. is the most frequently produced large-scale sculptural type in the H. assemblage. Best known is the example in Dresden (63d). The composition, with tangled limbs and off balance poses, is complex. It is related to, but not the same as, the group of sculptures depicting a struggling nymph and satyr. Here, the bearded satyr, seated and leaning back on a small rocky outcropping, surrounds H. with his arms and legs. H., struggling against him, pushes the satyr's head back with the l. hand, and grasps his r. foot with the r. hand in an attempt to free its hips from the satyr's ensnaring legs. The limbs of the opponents, intricately engaged, jut out into space and at the same time provide a system of supports to sustain a composition with relatively few points of contact with the plinth. The satyr's rocky seat is generally small, and the l. knee and l. toes of H. are the only places, in some replicas, where this figure makes contact with the plinth. For these Roman replicas a Hellenistic, probably sculptural prototype has been assumed, although Schmidt (1925) argued for a painted inspiration. The scene is also rendered two-dimensionally, on a gem, on a clay sealing, in a painting, and a mosaic. The scenes on the gem, the sealing and in the painting have been identified as Satyr and H. through the similarity in pose with three-dimensional renderings since, in both, H. is shown from the rear and it is thus impossible to make an identification by attributes. Questions concerning the correct point of view for this work were raised by Schmidt, Krahmer, and Levi, but that the composition is legible only from certain angles now seems less certain than once was suggested. Levi proposed that the two mosaic panels from the paving of the colonnade at the House of the Boat of Psyche at Daphne, one showing a front view of the group, one a back view, draw upon two sculptural works, one intended to be viewed from the front, the other from the back. In fact, fragments of at least two such groups (63n-o) were excavated in the Theater at Daphne. The composition was produced in three distinct scales. 63d-p are the largest, preserved height approximately 1.00 m., 63q-u have a preserved height of ca. 0.60 m., and there are at least two bronze figurines of the subject (63v-w). This group, and the nymph vs. satyr groups have been tentatively associated with a type of sculpture called a *symplegma* by Plin. One of these compositions created by Kephisodotos, the son of Praxiteles, stood at Pergamon, and according to Plin. *nat.* 36, 24, involved the pressing of fingers into flesh. Heliodorus (ca. 100 B.C.) according to Plin. *nat.* 36, 35 made a group of Olympus fighting with Pan. The second most famous *symplegma* in the world, says Plin., this work could be seen in the Porticus Octavia in Rome. These references, along with epigram 12, 43 of Martialis, where the word *symplegma* is clearly used in an erotic context, have supported the assumption that *symplegmata* were probably sculptural compositions involving more than one person in an entangled,

probably active pose, erotic in theme. The attribution of any of these groups of wrestling satyrs and nymphs or H. to Kephisodotos or Heliodoros must remain highly speculative.

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## ROMAN

63. Gem, carnelian. Munich, Münzslg. A 1952. - *AGD* I 3, no. 2303 pl. 204; Kuthmann, H., *MJBK* 9/10, 1958/59, 429 pl. 2, 5. - 1st-2nd cent. A.D. - Since H. here is shown from the back, the scene is identified as H. wrestling with satyr on the basis of similarities in pose to the sculptural examples listed below.

63a) Terracotta sealing. From Cyrene. - Maddoli, G., *ASAtene* 41/42, 1963/64, 63-64. 89 no. 328 pl. 20. - Early 2nd cent. A.D. - Shows back view of H.

63b)\* Wall painting. Naples, Mus. Naz. 110878. From Pompeii. - Gercke 233; *Le Collezioni del Mus. Naz. di Napoli* (1986) 138 no. 101; Grant, M., *Eros a Pompei* (1974) 158-159 with fig. on p. 159; Marini, G. L., *Il Gabinetto Segreto del Mus. Naz. di Napoli* (1971) 43 pl. - Illrd Style. - View of wrestling group, same as 63, again back view of struggling figure is shown; identification as H. based on pose. Color conventions for male and female figures are respected: satyr's skin is a deep, reddish brown, H.'s is light.

63c) Mosaic pavement. Antakya, Hatay Mus. 840. From Daphne, House of the Boat of Psyche. - Stillwell, R., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes II* (1938) 185 no. 49 pl. 37; Levi, *Antioch* 183-185 figs. 39a. 69 pl. 40. - 3rd cent. A.D. - Two panels from this mosaic pavement of a colonnade partially preserve front and back views of what appears to be this sculptural type. The Satyr's skin is a deep yellow, H.'s is white.

Sculpture in the Round  
Marble

63d)\* Dresden, Staatl. Kunstslg. 155. From Rome. - Schefold, *SB III* 304-305 fig. 440; BrBr 731, figs. 9-10; Herrmann, P., *Verzeichnis der antiken Originalbildwerke der Staatl. Skulpturensammlung zu Dresden* (1925) 45 no. 155; Schmidt figs. 5-8; Arndt, P., *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* (1912) 192-193 pl. 139; Clarac 722, 1733. - Restorations to arms and legs of both figures; H. lacks crown of head.

63e) Dresden, Staatl. Kunstslg. 156. From Rome. - BrBr 731, no. 2; Herrmann, o.c. 63d, 45 Nr. 156. - Lacks heads, arms, lower legs.

63f) Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery. From Rome. - Neudecker, R., *Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien* (1988) 179-180 no. 33.7; Ashmole 86-87 no. 30 pl. 21. - 2nd cent. A.D. - H.'s l. arm restored below elbow, r. leg below knee; restorations to top of Satyr's head, both legs; plinth may be completely restored.

63g) London, BM. From Rome. - Smith, *BMSculpture III* 58-59 no. 1657; Clarac 730A, 1755A. - Satyr with lower legs and parts of arms restored; no trace of H. except for its fingers on satyr's bearded face.

63h) Rome, Barracco Mus. 1730, 1731, 1733, 1734. From Rome. - *Helbig* II no. 1715; Boardman, J./La Rocca, E., *Eros in Greece* (1978) 151 (nos. 1731, 1733). - Four fr. of two groups; two satyr torsos, a torso of H., and a non-joining head of H.

63i)\* Venice, Mus. Arch. 198. - Traversari, G., *La statuaria ellenistica del Mus. Arch. di Venezia* (1986) 119-120 no. 39; EA 2562. - Hadrianic. - Torso of H. lacks arms below shoulders and legs below mid thighs. Portion of male genitals preserved, and a carved groove just above them that appears to represent female genitals.

63j) Eichenzell bei Fulda (Adolphseck), Mus. Schloß Fasanerie. From Grottarossa. - Gercke 232-234 pl. 63-64; BrBr 731 figs. 3-4. - Found with 63k. H. lacks head, lower arms and lower legs, Satyr missing upper torso and lower legs; portion of plinth also lacking.

63k) Eichenzell bei Fulda (Adolphseck), Mus. Schloß Fasanerie. From Grottarossa. - Gercke 232-234 pl. 65; BrBr 731 figs. 5-6. - H. lacking head; Satyr r. arm and top of head. Found with 63j.

63l) Rome, Mus. Naz. 124502. From Tivoli. - Neudecker, o.c. 63f, 235 no. 67.4; Felletti Maj, B. M., *NSc* 1947, 75-77 fig. 1. - H. lacks head, both arms, low r. leg; Satyr lacks head, r. arm, legs below knees.

63m) Vienna, Gallerie Liechtenstein 44. - BrBr 731 no. 9. - Head of H.

63n) Antakya, Hatay Mus. 4725-S 234. - From Daphne, theater. - Stillwell, o.c. 63c, 173 no. 161 pl. 13. - Upper torso and head of satyr with H.'s hand on face. With 63o below, many other fragments of at least two H. and Aggressive Satyr groups found at the Theater at Daphne.

63o) Princeton, Art Mus. From Daphne, theater. - Stillwell, o.c. 63c, 174 no. 163 pl. 14. - Fr. of satyr's head with H.'s hand on bearded face.

63p) Oplontis. From Oplontis. - De Caro, S., «The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis», in *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens* (1987) 98-100 no. 12 figs. 15a-b. 16a-b. 38. - Satyr lacks r. arm from just below shoulder to wrist, and part of his r. leg (once dowelled on). H. missing fr. between head and neck, and part of its l. leg, once dowelled in place.

63q) Side, Mus. 464. From Side. - Inan 123-125 no. 56 pl. 59, 1-3; - Fragmentary H. preserves torso, upper l. arm. Portion of satyr's l. leg adheres to its r. calf.

63r) Toulouse, Mus. St-Raymond. From Chiragan. - Espérandieu, *Recueil II*, no. 941; Joulin, L., *Les*

*établissements gallo-romains de la Plaine de Martres-Tolosanes* (1901) 101 no. 173E pl. 12; Reinach, *RépStat III* 40, 1. - Fr. group preserves leg and lower torso of satyr and headless torso of H.

63s) Trieste, Mus. Civ. - EA 581-582. - Satyr only; lacks head, arms and legs.

63t) Copenhagen, Glypt. 540. - Poulsen, *CatNy-Carlsberg Glypt* 348 no. 488a. - Only the torso of H.

63u) Izmir, Arch. Mus. (?). - BrBr 731 no. 17; Bieber, M., *Jdl* 38/39, 1923/24, 268 n. 1. - Small head of Satyr with hand of H. on face.

## Bronze figurines

63v) Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. C 637. - Boardman/La Rocca, o.c. 63h, 150, with fig. on p. 151; *Antiken aus dem Akademischen Kunstmuseum* (1971) 32 no. 28 pl. 19. - Small replica of H. and Aggressive Satyr group measures 0.05 m. Erect phallus of Satyr preserved here.

63w) Prague, Mus. - *Anticke Umeni: v Ceskoslovenskych Sbirkach* (1979) 70 no. 270. - Miniature replica of H. and Aggressive Satyr type.

## b) Hermaphroditos as aggressor

Twelve replicas have been recognized of another sculptural group with wrestling H. and satyr, but here, H. is the aggressor. Seated on a rock, facing to its r., H.'s lower limbs are partially draped, erect phallus exposed. With the l. hand H. grasps a small bearded satyr's r. hand, twisting his r. arm behind his head. With both legs H. pinions the satyr's r. leg at the thigh. The tangling of limbs once again provides support for legs that extend freely into space. The plinth in this composition is generally decorated with an assortment of bucolic accoutrements: cymbals, lagobolon, Pan pipes, goat skin, and in some examples, carved at the base of H.'s rocky seat, a rabbit crouching in a hollow surmounted by an eagle in heraldic pose. One example substitutes for this pair a fighting snake and lizard. In addition to the sculptures, at least eight examples of a very similar motif have been collected among relief medallions from Calenian cups dating to the mid-2nd cent. B.C. In these scenes some variation in pose can be noted: the Satyr's l. arm extends in front of H.'s body, with H. grabbing the Satyr's l. hand with its l. In the background to the r. of the figures is a small draped and bearded statue of Priapus(?) holding torch or thyrus, on a round, profiled base. The details of H.'s legs and drapery over its seat are not clear, but the satyr's l. leg does appear to be engaged, with his weight upon the free r. leg. Whether or not these relief scenes inspired the later three-dimensional works, or whether the medallions and the Roman works drew on a common Hellenistic sculptural prototype remains unclear, but what is more certain is that by the mid-2nd cent. B.C., H. in this struggling pose was well established, at least in the repertoire of Campanian relief vessels.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Marconi, J., «Gruppi erotici dell'ellenismo nei musei di Roma» *BullComm* 51, 1923, 225-298, esp. 252-257; Pagenstecher, *Calen* 37-38.



## Gem

64. Glass. Braunschweig, Mus. 337. – Pagenstecher 38; *ML II* 1 2339, fig.

## Italian Hellenistic relief ware

64a) Calenian relief medallion. Boston, MFA 08.331. – Boardman/La Rocca, *o.c.* 63h, 153 with fig. on 152.

64b)\* Calenian relief medallion. London, BM. – Walters, *BMVases IV* 259–261 G 138 (here wrongly identified as a nymph and Hylas).

## Sculpture in the round, marble

64c)\* Rome, Torlonia Mus. 151. From Rome. – Gasparri, C., *Materiali per servire allo studio del Museo Torlonia* (1980) 174 no. 151; Visconti, P. E., *Cat. del Mus. Torlonia* (1883) 86–87 no. 151; Marconi 253. – Found together with 64d. Restorations to r. arm and l. of satyr, head and r. arm of H. Plinth includes eagle perched above rabbit in lair.

64d)\* Rome, Torlonia Mus. 157. From Rome. – Gasparri, *o.c.* 64c, 175 no. 157; Visconti, *o.c.* 64c, 86–87 no. 157; Marconi 253. – All of satyr restored except for l. leg and r. foot; lower half of H.'s body also is restoration. Plinth lacks eagle.

64e) Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. SK 195. From Rome. – Licht, H., *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands II*, 96; *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen* (1891) 83–84 no. 195 fig. 3; Marconi 253. – Has turtle on plinth.

64f) Cherchel, Mus. 110. From Cherchel. – Manderscheid, H., *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen* (1981) 127 no. 520 pl. 50.; Boucher-Colozier, E., *MEFRA* 66, 1954, 125. 137. 142 no. 110. – H. lacks head, r. arm below shoulder, l. arm just above elbow; both legs missing below knees; wears bracelet on upper l. arm. Satyr lacks head, both arms at shoulders, legs at knees, upper l. arm. Eagle in relief on side of plinth.

64g) Algiers, Mus. From Cherchel. – Manderscheid, *o.c.* 64f, 127 no. 521 pl. 50; Leglay, M., *La sculpture antique du Mus. Stéphane Gsell* (1957) 29–32. – 2nd–1st cent. B.C. – Fr. group preserves seated H., lower torso to knees of struggling satyr; H. lacks head, r. arm; eagle and snake on plinth.

64h) Cherchel, Mus. From Cherchel. – Manderscheid, *o.c.* 64f, 25 with n. 256; Gauckler, P., *Mus. de Cherchel* (1895) 124. – 2nd–1st cent. B.C. – Gauckler mentions fragments of yet another Aggressive H. and Satyr group in the Mus. at Cherchel. These he assumed were also found in the West Baths along with 64f–g, and proposed a fourth group as part of the decoration of a single area in the bath. Manderscheid points out however that the findspot of these pieces is unknown and questions the validity of postulating a fourth group.

64i) Tunis, Bardo. From Carthage. – Du Coudray la Blanchère, R. Gauckler, P., *Cat. du Mus. Alaoui* (1897) 49 no. 17. – Mutilated fr. of the group.

64j) Nicosia, Cyprus Mus. From Salamis. – Karageorghis, V., *Sculptures from Salamis I* (1964) 29–30 no. 21; Dikaio, P., *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*

(1961) 197 no. 8. – Torso of H. sits on plinth with relief of snake biting lizard.

## C. Pan

Some scenes involve H. and Pan instead of satyrs, although there are not nearly as many representatives of these types. Most familiar are the wall paintings from the House of the Dioscuri and the House of the Vettii in Pompeii (66. 67) where a venerable motif is reworked; Pan lifts the drapery from what he thinks is a sleeping nymph and is greeted by the sight of H.'s male genitals and beckoning gesture; a surprise for both Pan and perhaps the viewer as well.

## Wall paintings

65. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9264. From Pompeii VI 9, 2 (13) (House of Meleager). – Grant, *o.c.* 63b, 147; Schefold, *WP* 112; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1371 pl. 13. – Vespasianic. – H. leans to l. against pillar holding edge of drapery in upraised r. hand, revealing female breasts and male genitals. Small Pan to H.'s l., in foreground moves to his l., looking back at H. and gesturing with both hands held up, palms out.

66. Naples, Mus. Naz. 27700. From Pompeii VI 9, 6, atrium (37) (House of the Dioscuri). – *Le Collezioni*, *o.c.* 63b, 160 no. 265; Kraus, T., *Pompeii and Herculaneum* (1975) fig. 276; Schefold *WP* 116. – IVth Style. – Reclining H. supporting body on l. arm grasps Pan's l. arm who grasps an edge of H.'s mantle, pulling it away to expose the male genitals. Pan turns his head away to r. but gestures back toward H. with l. hand held up, palm facing H.

67. Pompeii VI 15, 1 (p) (House of the Vettii), *in situ*. – Schefold, *WP* 145; *MonAnt* 8, 1898, 307 fig. 32. – H. reclines, resting l. arm on tambourine, looks back to l. and holds out edge of drapery above head with r. hand. Pan to H.'s r. pulls away drapery from H.'s r. leg and torso, gesturing with his l. hand, held up, with palm toward H.

## Marble figurine

68. Florence, Uff. 309. – Mansuelli, *SculptUff* I 157 no. 129. – Pan completely restored except for his r. arm where it touches H.'s l. side, and a small portion of the r. hoof; additional restorations to H.'s r. hand and the section of rock on which it rests l. arm, both feet and penis. Head ancient, but does not belong. Modern base supports plinth. H. sits in the pose of a nymph or muse, crossing l. leg in front of r., and turns to its l. to fend off Pan with the upraised l. arm. So little of the antique Pan remains that it is difficult to be sure exactly how the two figures interacted.

## D. Silenus

H. and Silenus appear together chiefly in Pompeian wall paintings, and their relationship, along with the tenor and mood of these works is markedly different from the torsional, active compositions described

above. Silenus here is bearded, balding and overweight, in contrast with the hirsute, yet sinewy creatures who wrestle with H. in the sculptural groups. The two characters in these paintings appear to have reached an accord of some kind, and it is perhaps worth keeping in mind the brief dialogue of Lukianos between H. and Silenus (see Literary Sources). Perhaps the epigram and the paintings echo some common tradition of a relationship between these two figures.

## Wall paintings

69.\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 27875. – Pompeii IX 1, 22 (House of Epidius Sabinus). – IVth Style. – *Le Collezioni*, *o.c.* 63b, 160 no. 261; *Il Gabinetto segreto*, *o.c.* 63b, 15; Schefold *WP* 237. – IVth Style. – H. with erect phallus, seated, pulls back edge of drapery exposing torso; grasps beard of draped Silenus behind with l. hand. Silenus grips H.'s l. wrist, and extends r. arm. To r. stands maenad holding kantharos in r. hand, thyrsus and tympanum in l.

70.\* Pompeii VI 15, 1 (q) (House of the Vettii), *in situ*. – Schefold, *WP* 149; Rizzo, *PER* pl. 117. – IVth Style. – H. seated, wearing necklace, holds out edge of mantle in r. hand, exposing breasts and male genitals, and looks back to l. at draped Silenus who stands behind with r. hand outstretched, grasping H.'s l. wrist with his l. hand. In background to l. of H., thyrsus, to r., tree.

71. From Pompeii V 1, 26 (t) (House of Caecilius Iucundus), now destroyed. – Schefold, *WP* 68. – IVth Style. – H. standing, weight on r. leg, l. leg bent leans with l. arm against r. shoulder of Silenus wearing mantle and holding tambourine.

## E. Pan and Silenus

72.\* Glass gem. London, BM. – Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 3768. – H. reclining on rock, head turned back, drapery around lower legs. Pan at side of H., Silenus behind. In background, tree.

## F. Eros/Erotes

## Gems

73.\* Carnelian. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IX B 1346. – *AGOe I* no. 223 pl. 38. – 3rd quarter 1st cent. B.C. – H. reclines on rocky ledge draped with fabric, one arm supports head, the other extended at side. Eros holding bow stands behind, grasps H.'s arm. Beside, tree with bird on branch and Pan pipes hanging from another branch.

73a) Sardonyx. Paris, Cab. Méd. 272. – Babelon, *BiblNatCamées* no. 48 pl. 7. – H. reclines supporting head on hand, surrounded by three erotes; tree in background.

73b) Glass. London, BM. – Walters, *BMGems* no. 3878. – H. reclines, supporting head on one hand, drapery over leg, surrounded by three erotes.

73c) Sardonyx. Paris, Cab. Méd. – Babelon, *Bibl-*

*NatCamées* no. 49 pl. 7. – H. reclines, head resting on one hand, flanked by two Erotes. Tree in background.

73d)\* Onyx. London, BM. – Walters, *BMGems* no. 3481 pl. 34; Furtwängler, *AG II* 262 pl. 57, 23. – H. reclining on rock supports head with one hand. Eros in front holds cithara, another behind plays syrinx, a third holds a fan. In background a tree.

73e) Sardonyx. London, BM. – Walters, *BMGems* 1535 pl. 20. – Imperial. – H. reclines on animal skin, rests head on hand. The other arm extends along side, hand grasping edge of fabric. In front, Eros with cithara, two more behind, one holds a fan, the other plays syrinx. Tree in background.

## Relief

74. Marble panel. Rome, Pal. Colonna. – Wrede, H., «Zu Antinous, Hermaphrodit und Odysseus», *Boreas* 9, 1986, 131 pl. 17, 3; Sampson, J., *BSR* 42, 1974, 30 no. 15; BrBr 628a; Schreiber, *HR* pl. 15. – H. in center of panel puts weight on l. leg, flexes r.; wears short veil over centrally parted hair pulled back, with some long locks escaping onto the shoulders. H. wears mantle draped over both arms and fastened on l. shoulder with large button, r. breast partially and l. breast fully exposed. In l. arm, H. supports baby Eros who crowns bearded herm to l. H. rests r. arm against pillar supporting figurine of Artemis.

## Marble figurines

75. Rome, Cap. Mus. From Tor Marancia? – Delcourt 21–23 pl. 1; Stuart Jones, *SculptMusCap* 181 no. 109a pl. 42. – So-called H. Chablais rests weight on l. leg, with r. drawn back and to side, wears mantle draped across chest and l. shoulder revealing l. breast; raises garment to expose male genitals, and cradles small Eros in gathered folds of drapery.

75a) From Pompeii. – Neudecker, *o.c.* 63f, 179–180 no. 33.7; Paribeni, R., *NSc* 1902, 576 fig. 4. – H. stands frontal on base. Mantle draped over r. shoulder slips down on l. arm to reveal female breast; drapery hanging over r. arm uncovers male genitals; H. supports small Eros on its l. arm, wears short veil.

## G. Infants

76. Marble. Liverpool, Walker Art Gall. – Howard, S., «Henry Blundell's «Sleeping Venus», *ArtQ* 31, 1968, 405–420; Ashmole, B., *A Cat. the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (1929) 4 no. 25 pl. 24. – Sleeping (now) female rests on back, wreathed head fallen back, lips slightly parted; l. arm resting against thigh, relaxed r. arm extends out above plinth. Drapery covers lower legs; upper body nude. Bracelet worn on upper l. arm. Hair with central part, drawn back; a wreath worn on the back of the head. Original state of this work is known from a drawing in the Towneley coll. and from an entry written by Henry Blundell in the cat. of his coll. published in 1809 (*Engravings and Etchings of Sepulchral Monuments... in the Coll. of Henry Blundell Esq., at Ince*, pl. 41, no. 531). This sculpture was originally of H. nursing a baby at its l. breast, with

two more infants supported against its r. side on folds of drapery. Sometime probably between 1804 and 1809, the babies and male genitals were removed, producing, according to Blundell «a sleeping Venus and as pleasing a figure as any in this collection.» Similar in pose to 59.

76a) Marble. Bowood (near Calne, Wiltshire). – Howard, *o. c.* 76; Vermeule, *C. C./v.* Bothmer D., *AJA* 59, 1955, 131; Clarac 1329b. – Scars on the torso of this recumbent female figure suggest that it too underwent a metamorphosis at human hands from H. with infants to reclining female.

### H. Dionysiac companions

77. (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 675 with bibl.) Wall painting. Pompeii VIII 4, 4 [28]. – Schefold, *VergP* 171 pl. 171, 3. – IVth Style. – The large central figure of H. dominates this scene filled with a variety of Dionysiac characters. H. nude except for drapery over l. arm and across l. knee, stands with weight on r. leg, l. leg bent and brought forward, r. foot resting on edge of the platform upon which all the figures stand. H. rests its l. elbow against the r. shoulder of a small Silenus playing the cithara. Between H. and Silenus Eros plays the double pipes. To H.'s r., stands a maenad holding thyrsus; in front of her a small Pan moving to his r. looks back at H.

78.\* Small bronze group. Paris, Louvre Br 788 (MNC 1335). – de Ridder, *BrLouvre* I no. 788 pl. 54. – H. with draped hips, bared female breasts and male genitals rests l. arm on head of herm, r. hand placed on head of small male(?) or H.(?) holding Pan pipes(?).

### I. Women

79. Mosaic pavement. Timgad, Mus. 71. From Timgad, House of the Hermaphrodite. – Germain, S., *Les mosaïques de Timgad* (1969) 67–68 Nr. 82 pl. 30; *InvMos* III 179; Ballu, A., *Les ruines de Timgad II* (1903) 92–94. – Fr. panel with the remains of three standing figures. Central one lacks head and the portion with the genitals. This figure has been identified as H. on the basis of pose. Figure with heavy green mantle over sleeved, square necked garment with fringed edge raises front of skirt in *anasyromenos* gesture; stands on low plinth. A female attendant(?) flanks H. on either side.

### VI. Uncertain identifications

80. Gem, glass. Munich, Münzslg A 706. – *AGDI* 3, no 3189. pl. 307. – Roman Imperial. – H.(?) or female reclines on draped rock, two erotes behind. To l. a seated man touches the chest of the recumbent figure with left hand.

81. Gem, glass. Munich, Münzslg. A 2880. – *AGDI* 3, no. 3501 pl. 329. – Roman Imperial. – Nude

H.(?) or male(?) stands, holding out mantle behind body with both hands.

82. (= Ares/Mars 512 with bibl.) Relief, stone statue base. Bourges, Mus. des Antiquaires du Centre. From Bourges. The front of the base bears an inscription. On the sides, reliefs of nude, seated H.(?) or female, Eros flies toward the figure. Surface of the relief is so worn that positive identification of seated figure as H. is difficult.

83. Marble sarcophagus. Pisa, Camposanto B 4 est. – Gabba, E., in Arias *et al.*, *o. c.* 14b, 117–119 figs. 122–125. – A.D. 120–125. – Garland sarcophagus with semidraped figure reclining on rocky ledge; drapery reveals male genitals, but female breasts are not evident; Pan stands, gesturing, to the r. Pose and companion are appropriate for Dionysos as well as H.

84. Marble group with figure seated on dolphin. – Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 1926.120. – Ridgway, B., *Sculpture Cat.* 58–60 no. 21; 174–175 figs. a–d. – Ca. 160 B.C. – Lower half of male figure seated sidesaddle on a dolphin. Mantle draped over dolphin's back and over r. leg of rider exposes male genitals. Unusual pose, soft modelling of the human figure, and the arrangement of the mantle in a way that reveals the genitals suggest that this figure might be H. and not Eros or Melikertes.

### VII. Incorrect identifications

85. Gem, agate. Mainz, RGZM O.12703. – Depert-Lippitz, B., *Röm. Goldschmuck im RGZM* (1985) no. 185. – Mid 1st cent. B.C. – Nude figure reclines on rocky ledge. Above, bunch of grapes. Male, not H.

86. Silver spoon. Cleveland, Mus. of Art 1964.39. From N. Syria? – Weitzmann, *Spirituality* 336–337 no. 316. – 4th cent. A.D. – Engraved, gilded figure of youth on interior of spoon; although pectorals are engraved in a full, fleshy manner, this is probably a young male and not H. Holds shaft of grain in l. hand; crowns himself with r. hand.

87. Terracotta lamps. Nicosia, Cyprus Mus. From Salamis. – Oziol, T., *Salamine VII, Les lampes du Mus. de Chypre* (1977) 246–249 nos. 746–755. – Ten Cypriote lamps have figure in medallion standing with legs apart, arms outstretched, holding in l. hand what appears to be an amphora; some of these figures have breasts delineated by small raised circles – male(?) or H.(?)

88. Wall painting. Tarquinia, Tomb of the Lionesses. Caffarello, N., «Ermafrodito», *Sileno* 7, 1981, 87–98 figs. 1–4; Pfiffig, *RelEtr* 227–228 fig. 99; Steingraber, St. (ed.), *Etr. Wandmalerei* (1985) 324–325 no. 77 colour pl. 102. – Late 6th cent. B.C. – Small, nude male figure outlined in black at foot of kline on west wall identified by Pfiffig and Caffarello as H., because of full, curving line of pectoral, partially concealed by raised l. arm. Although the identity of this figure remains unclear, it is almost certainly not H., but a young male, cf. Simon, *GGA* 232, 1980, 209.

89. (= Apollon/Apollo 287a with bibl.) Wall painting. Rome, Barracco Mus. 214. – Apollo, in Lykeios pose with r. hand resting on head, l. supporting lyre. Tree in background, bird to l. on ground. Although the figure has prominent pectorals and a generally fleshy physique, with undeveloped musculature, it should probably be identified as Apollo, and not H.

90. Marble sarcophagus (Attic). Rome, Mus. Cap. 1884. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 416; *SarkRel* IV 1, no. 10 pl. 16, 3. – 2nd quarter 3rd cent. A.D. – Corner figure, nude, dancing(?); damaged face, chest, groin. Identified as H.; trace of male testicles remains, but chest, despite breaks, appears to be male, even though hair is pulled back from face and fastened in a knot at nape of neck. Not clearly H., unless conventions for rendering at this fairly late period are considerably different from earlier examples. It should be noted that the figure at the opposite front corner is elderly and bearded, and clearly male, a chronological contrast to the very youthful, almost certainly male figure at the «beginning» of the frieze.

### COMMENTARY

Representations of H. occur in large and small scale stone sculpture and reliefs, in marble, bronze and terracotta figurines, wall paintings, in a few mosaics and on gems. The distribution of these objects ranges from points in Italy, Austria, France and England to Greece, Cyprus, Asia Minor and North Africa. According to literary and epigraphical evidence, images of H. may have existed in Greece in the 4th cent. B.C., and in fact, the earliest example securely dated is a fragmentary mould for a figurine of H. (36), from the so-called Coroplasts' Dump in the Athenian Agora. This deposit is now dated to the last quarter of the 4th cent. B.C. (Thompson, H. A./Thompson, D. B., *Hellenistic Pottery and Terracottas* [1987] 184). The mould, in fresh condition, was apparently pressed carelessly against its model, and may have been intended for study purposes, according to D. B. Thompson. At any rate the existence of the mould presupposes both a prototype and a series of figurines, as well as a demand for such renderings of H. already in the 4th cent. B.C. Third cent. evidence is scarce but a recently excavated grave dating to the late 3rd, early 2nd cent. B.C. in Thessalonike (19) contained a terracotta figurine of H., and a small marble figure from Kos (27) has been dated to the 3rd cent. B.C. In the 2nd cent. B.C. the evidence is much richer, and includes marble relief plaques and figurines on Delos (30, 31), votive terracottas from two sites in Southern Italy (20, 40), a group of Calenian relief ware vessels (64a–b), and marble sculptures on Kos (29) and from Pergamon (17). The latest well dated works are the mosaic panels from the House of the Boat of Psyche at Daphne near Antioch (63) and the mosaic floor from Timgad (79) both dated in the 3rd cent. A.D. In addition, Christodoros mentions a bronze H. still decorating the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople sometime be-

fore A.D. 532 (3), when the complex burned, but when this figure was made we have no way of knowing.

Ancient testimonia, an inscription, and some find-spots indicate that images of H. were appropriately placed in gymnasia, baths, theaters and domestic settings. That terracotta figurines were used as votives in Hellenistic deposits is conclusively demonstrated by those found at Paestum and Lokroi (19, 40), and such figurines were deposited as grave goods in Hellenistic burials on the Greek mainland. Possibly some of the many other figurines in marble, terracotta, and bronze served the same functions. An unfinished marble figurine found at the Athenian Agora (33), along with the terracotta mould mentioned above suggests a local supply and demand for such objects in the Hellenistic or early Roman period.

Common to all representations of H. is the clear delineation of female breasts and male genitals, although female genitals were sometimes indicated as well. The main criterion, in fact, for identifying images of H. should be the unambiguous rendering of dual sexual features. If there is uncertainty in this regard, the figure should probably be discounted as a representation of H. (see Sections VI and VII for uncertain and incorrect identifications). As for body type, H. usually is shown with the fleshy physique and undeveloped musculature of a young boy, sometimes with a prepubescent fold of flesh just above the genitals. However H. occasionally appears with a distinctly female body to which male genitals have been appended. In these works, notably the Sleeping H. (56) and the group with H. and Aggressive Satyr (63), H.'s body, from certain angles, is indistinguishable from that of a woman's, and this visual bifurcation appears to be an intentional effect in the compositions.

Representations of certain other divinities, Attis and Eros, for example, are sometimes termed hermaphroditic because of the markedly feminine rendering of body and attributes. The pectorals, for example, may be fleshy and developed, the physique generally proportioned and delineated like that of a woman. But as has already been remarked in this series (→ Eros, pp. 940–941) it is unlikely that Greek or Roman artists would have confused H. with Eros or Attis, or created a synthetic personage. Rather, the iconographic repertoire for these figures developed certain traits and features based on their characteristic youth. Eros, of course, often appears as an infant or toddler; he is the child of Aphrodite and this connection was expressed through his appearance. Thus, Eros often looks effeminate and physically immature, wearing amulets or jewelry, his mother's attributes. And Attis too is a very young figure, often depicted as a youth or child, so his physique as well reflects the artistic conventions for rendering immature physical development, rather than hermaphroditic traits (→ Attis 145, 338\*, 339\*). Images of the Egyptian god Bes, however, occasionally demonstrate what may more properly be termed an hermaphroditic appearance. A figurine of this god in Hildesheim (Pel.-Mus. 248, Jesi, F., «Bes Bifronte e Bes Ermafrodito», *Aegyptus* 43, 1963,

239 fig. 4), for example, cradles a small image of himself in the left arm and with his right hand holds his clearly female breast. (For another representation of Bes identified as hermaphroditic, → Bes 90b\*.)

H.'s costume is most elaborate in the *anasyromenos* representations, where chiton, mantle, and the occasional feminine headdress are worn. Elsewhere the garment, partially or entirely removed, appears to be a mantle. Two *anasyromenos* figures, a large sculpture now at the Torlonia Museum in Rome (43), and H. in a fragmentary mosaic pavement in Timgad (79), wear heavy fringed drapery. H.'s hairstyle is consistently similar to that of Aphrodite, Apollo and Dionysos, with central parting, long locks drawn back and sometimes rolled under, away from the brow, and fastened in a bun at the nape of the neck, a stray lock or two escaping onto the shoulders. H. of Sleeping Type has the most elaborate coiffure of all. The combination of central braid, sometimes braided fillet, and jewelled fastener has no real parallel, but some of the individual elements can be recognized from other hairstyles. Children and youths were often depicted wearing their long front hair braided, and the similarity was observed long ago between the arrangement of the Sleeping H.'s hair and that of the numerous sculptures of sleeping Erotes (Ashmole, B., *JHS* 42, 1922, 244-246).

Representations of H. form two distinct compositional groups. One includes the many *anasyromenos* figures (III B), where H.'s identity is clear at a single glance, and where details of costume and gesture contribute to this immediate recognition. The second group includes the more torsional figures, where the position of viewer and sculpture alike appears to have been carefully manipulated. The sleeping H. (56) and groups where H. struggles with a satyr (63) are the main representatives of this type, but *kallipygos* bronzes and dancing H. on Neo-Attic reliefs (II B) also exploit the torsion of the body to express in two, as well as three dimensions, H.'s special attributes.

It appears to be the case that in Italy at least, both *anasyromenos* (III B) figures and one of the more complex group compositions, Aggressive H. and satyr, were roughly contemporary (64a-b). In Greece, a similar variety of types also can be documented during the 2nd cent. B.C.: *Anasyromenos* figurines and reliefs at Delos (30. 31), the figurines from Kos (29) and Thessalonike (18), and whatever form, according to an inscription (4), ornamented an Athenian gymnasium.

There apparently are no ancient works that clearly depict the story of H. and Salmacis told by Ovid, although in the Renaissance and in later periods, the scene was rendered in a variety of media. Plin. described a sequence of developments in the popular perception of hermaphrodites in nature; first they were feared and considered portents, but in his day they were viewed as a source of amusement. But that the divinity H. could have been perceived with humor already by the 2nd cent. B.C. seems likely, to judge from the Hellenistic relief ware scenes (64a-b) where H. appears to be winning an amorous wrestling match.

H.'s close iconographical connection with Aphrodite and Priapus suggests a shared meaning and func-

tion with these divinities as well; the exposed, often erect phallus a proponent of fertility, the combination of sexual features embodying a higher, more complete form of existence, rather than an abnormal one. The wrestling groups may also have conveyed a message about the potential of unrestricted nature.

That H. was considered a divinity with powers of some kind is supported by the activities of Theophr.'s Superstitious Man, and by the modest votive base found at Vari. But bisexual creatures were also perceived by the Greeks and Romans to have a dangerous side. Agdistis, in the accounts of Paus. and Arnob., is destructive and violent, and the infants in Rome identified as androgynous were feared and destroyed from the late third to the early first cent. B.C.

H. may have had also funerary connections; the strongest evidence is the deposition of terracotta figurines in Greek and Alexandrian graves (19. 26), the appearance of H. *kallipygos* on a Gallo-Roman funeral monument (14e), and perhaps by the popularity of sleeping types, since the sleepers Endymion and Ariadne played an important role in the repertoire of Roman funerary iconography. A fragmentary version of the Sleeping H. type actually holds pomegranates or poppies (55h). It is probably significant that the terracotta figurine of a woman sleeping in virtually the same pose as H. of Sleeping type was found in a Tarentine grave. But on Attic and Roman sarcophagi, where we might expect to find confirmation and illumination of H.'s role in funerary iconography, the evidence is inconclusive. Several figures previously identified as H. dancing or reclining in reliefs decorating sarcophagi are probably male figures instead (90. 91). Only one, reclining and observed by Pan on a sarcophagus in Pisa might be H. (79).

#### *Hermaphroditos the divinity and Hermaphrodites in nature*

Diod. (4, 6, 5) articulates the distinction between H. the divinity and humans with both male and female genitals, considered by some people to be monsters. Elsewhere (32, 10, 2-9) Diod. describes the case of a woman called Heraïs who suddenly sprouts male genitals. At first she keeps this condition a secret, but when her husband brings her to trial for refusing to sleep with him, Heraïs lifts her dress to reveal her altered state, a literary counterpart of the numerous sculptures and figurines of H. *anasyromenos* (Section II B). These sexual alterations, and similar cases discussed by Plin. and Phlegon (*mir.* 6 = *FGrH* 256 F 36, p. 1178-1179), were considered portents by Livy and Julius Obsequens, who also reported a series of androgynous births occurring in Rome and elsewhere in Italy between 209 and 92 B.C. At least sixteen of these *monstra* were identified and drowned at sea in the course of rituals that required joint action by both the Roman *decemviri* and the *haruspices* (MacBain, R., *Prodigy and Expiation: A Study in Religion and Politics in Republican Rome* [1982] 126-135). Plin. probably alludes to these expiations at *nat.* 7, 34: «Gignuntur et utriusque sexus quos hermaphroditos vocamus, olim androgynos vocatos et in prodigiis habitos, nunc vero in deliciis.» It

should be noted that these expiatory periods occurred during a time when many images of H. the divinity were produced, both in Greece and Italy.

#### *Androgynos*

Plin., as mentioned above, suggests that the term *ἀνδρόγυνος* was in use before *ἐρμαφρόδιτος*. While this chronology may not be supported by the textual and inscriptional evidence, it is clear that in its adjectival forms the term could be used to describe a creature possessing elements of both sexes, in nature and in an extended sense.

The most familiar use of *ἀνδρόγυνος* to mean a combination of the sexes occurs in the speech of Aristophanes in Plato's *symposium* (189e-193a), where the first human beings are globe-shaped *ἀνδρόγυνα*, later cut in half.

Elsewhere, the epithet *ἀνδρόγυνος* indicates the debilitation of masculine virility rather than sexual completeness, as in Hdt. (4, 67) where the Scythian Enarees are described as *οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι* (cf. 1, 105 for the *ἡλέια νοσος*, i. e. impotence, of Scythians, as punishment of Aphrodite).

H. is not the only bisexual creature in the Greek mythological tradition. Playing a central role in Orphic cosmology is the being variously called Phanes, Protogonos, Bromios, Zeus, and Eros. → Phanes, possessing both male and female genitals, by himself produces Night and several other divinities (West, M. L., *The Orphic Poems* [1983] 70. 90. 202-220).

Another divinity with a bisexual aspect should be considered here, the Phrygian Agdistis, better known as a female deity akin to Cybele. But in an aetiological myth of Attis (→ Attis, p. 22) presented in its fullest form by the Christian Apologist Arnobius (late 3rd-early 4th cent. A.D.) and in Paus.' abbreviated version, Agdistis' earlier, bisexual nature is described. According to Arnob., Jupiter tries to seduce the Phrygian mountain Agdus as she lies asleep in the form of a woman. Unsuccessful in the attempt, Jupiter lets sperm fall on the mountain itself, and after a ten month gestation, Agdus produces a wild, androgynous offspring called Agdistis. Because Agdistis is so destructive, the gods decide to take action and Liber fills with wine the spring from which Agdistis always drinks. Later the drunken hermaphrodite falls asleep beside the spring, Liber attaches the creature's genitals to a tree, and when Agdistis awakens he emasculates himself. Attis, in this account, is produced from the seeds of a tree that grows up from Agdistis' blood. But Agdistis' association with Attis does not end with this catastrophe. Agdistis subsequently assumes a female persona similar to that of the Mater Magna and after the death of Attis establishes a cult in his memory. Epigraphical evidence for cults of Agdistis is found not only at Phrygian sites, but also at the Piraeus in Athens, where an inscribed relief stele is dedicated to Agdistis and Attis and bears a representation of Agdistis the female deity (→ Attis 416\*). No images of the bisexual Agdistis have been identified, but it is possible that some form of this story might have been known in Greece as early as the 4th cent. B.C., since Arnob. says

that for his Phrygian material he drew on the work of Timotheus, a Eumolpid priest and exegete at Eleusis (cf. *FGrH* 800 F 8c), active around 300 B.C., and from other sources we know that this man was considered an authority on religions and oracles (on Agdistis: Garland, R., *The Piraeus* [1987] 105; Vermaseren, M. J., *CCA I: Asia Minor* [1987] Nrs. 84. 148. 149. 167. 489. 761. 777. 888; Meslin, M., «Agdistis ou androgynie malséante», in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* II [1978] 765-776; Vermaseren, M. J., *Cybele and Attis* [1977] 35. 90-91 pl. 24; Roussel, P., «Un sanctuaire d'Agdistis à Rhamnonte», *REA* 32 [1930] 5-8).

AILEEN AJOOTIAN

#### HERMES

(*Ἑρμῆς*, -ος en ion.-att., dans l'épopée *Ἑρμείης* ou *Ἑρμείας*, *Ἑρμῆς* en béot., *Ἑρμῆν*, -ἄνος en lacon. et arc., *Ἑρμαος* en thess., pour d'autres graphies et formes dialectales cf. Chantraine s. v. *Ἑρμῆς*. Nom commun, le mot *Ἑρμῆς*, plur. *Ἑρμαῖ*, lat. *herma*, -ae, désigne un pilier hermaïque: cf. *infra*, Cat. II; étr. → Turms, lat. → Mercurius) Fils de → Zeus et de la Nymphé arcadienne → Maia, il est l'un des douze Olympiens (→ Dodekathēoi), mais apparaît dès le II<sup>e</sup> millénaire comme une divinité du panthéon mycénien.

#### TABLETTES MYCÉNIENNES EN LINÉAIRE B

La forme *e-ma-a2* revient cinq fois dans les tablettes en linéaire B: trois fois à Pylos (PY Nn 1357, 1; PY Tn 316 v. 7; PY Un 219, 8), une fois à Cnossos (KN D 411), une fois à Thèbes (TH Of 31), sans qu'il s'agisse nécessairement du théonyme dans tous les cas. Mais c'est bien le dieu H. qui figure sur la tablette de Pylos Tn 316 (Ventris, M./Chadwick, J., *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* 2 [1973] n° 172), calendrier religieux où est mentionné l'envoi à diverses divinités de vases en or, d'hommes ou de femmes. A la ligne 7 du verso le groupe *e-ma-a2 a-re-ja* (si *A-re-ja* n'est pas un toponyme) pourrait indiquer un lien entre H. et → Ares. De même à Thèbes (Chadwick, J., *The Thebes Tablets* II [1975] 91.105) H. bénéficie d'allocations de laine, comme d'autres divinités et comme le personnel des sanctuaires. A Cnossos enfin c'est probablement au dieu H. (plutôt qu'à un propriétaire de ce nom) qu'appartient le troupeau sacré enregistré par la tablette. H. est moins fréquemment mentionné dans les textes en linéaire B que → Poseidon ou → Potnia, mais aussi souvent que Zeus ou → Hera et plus qu'→ Artemis ou que → Dionysos. Sa présence dans trois archives palatiales suggère qu'il avait déjà le statut d'un dieu panhellénique. Dans le sanctuaire crétois de Katô-Symi, qu'H. partage avec → Aphrodite et où des *pinakes* du



VII<sup>e</sup> s. le représentent selon une iconographie locale traditionnelle, les couches archéologiques les plus anciennes remontent au milieu du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire et la continuité du culte est vraisemblable entre l'Âge du Bronze et le haut archaïsme (308; Lembési 17-18. 221). Les textes palatiaux ne fournissent toutefois aucune information ni sur l'aspect, ni sur la théologie, ni sur les légendes de celui qui, de l'époque archaïque à l'époque hellénistique, fut l'un des dieux grecs les plus souvent représentés et le plus populaire. De l'H. grec, sans doute assez différent de l'Hermahs mycénien, la poésie homérique reflète une image d'une extraordinaire complexité à laquelle les écrivains postérieurs n'apporteront que des retouches. Nous nous en tiendrons donc, pour l'essentiel, au portrait d'H. par Homère à travers l'épopée et les *Hymnes*.

#### SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES

Pas plus que d'autres divinités grecques H. ne présente l'unité psychologique et morale d'une «personne»: beaucoup plus que d'autres, il se caractérise par une variété de fonctions dont on peut rechercher le dénominateur commun (on ne citera que pour mémoire le dieu météorologique de Scherer; pour Kahn 165-186, H. est le dieu de la «médiation»), mais qui se laissent difficilement réduire à une définition tout à fait cohérente. Protéiforme par nature, l'H. homérique est aussi le produit d'une histoire millénaire. Les traits et les fonctions que le portrait littéraire fait ressortir sont les uns à l'origine d'une importante iconographie, les autres iconographiquement moins féconds ou stériles. On soulignera, pour les expliquer dans la mesure du possible, ces rencontres et ces discordances entre écrivains et imagiers. Mais le foisonnement des images hermaïques débordent de beaucoup la tradition écrite. L'articulation du catalogue mettra en évidence la diversité des interventions et l'omniprésence d'H. dans tous les cycles héroïques et divins de la mythologie et dans de très nombreuses circonstances de la vie des Grecs.

#### 1. Le récit des enfances

L'*Hymne* homérique à H. (h. Merc.), composé probablement par un poète béotien dans le dernier tiers du VI<sup>e</sup> s. (avec une «suite» aux v. 513-518), donne des enfances un récit dont on a relevé les contradictions (Humbert, J., *Homère, Hymnes*, éd. Les Belles-Lettres [1936] 103-115). Apollodore (Apollod. bibl. 3 [112-114] 10, 2) connaît un état plus rationnel de la légende qui organise autrement les épisodes et occulte, p. ex., les fantastiques femmes-abeilles (h. Merc. 552-564). Les imagiers non plus ne se sont pas intéressés à l'oracle de Thies ni à un H. oraculaire. D'autres évocations du texte ont, en revanche, inspiré les peintres, parfois les sculpteurs: l'enfant faussement endormi dans la grotte du mont Cyllène (241-242); l'inventeur de la lyre et de la syrinx (Cat. VII A); le poète lyrique et le musicien pastoral (Cat. VII B-D); le magicien spécialiste des liens et des nœuds de l'épisode du gattilier, armé de la *rhabdos* merveilleuse; le maître du bétail, dieu des animaux en général (Cat. V); le guide «opulent et glorieux» (h. Merc. 461) dont la

baguette «en or et à triple feuille» (h. Merc. 529-530) n'évoque guère le caducée du héraut (cf. *infra* p. 385). L'enfant de l'*Hymne* homérique se caractérise par des fonctions et des qualités qui sont constantes chez le dieu dans la poésie homérique toute entière.

L'épisode d'H. volant le bétail d'Apollon se retrouve également chez [Hes.?] *frg.* 256 Merkelbach/West; Alk. *frg.* 308 Voigt; Soph. *Ichneutai*, TrGF IV F 314.

#### 2. Le dieu serviteur

Admis au rang des Olympiens (h. Merc. 313-394. 399-575), H. fait cependant figure de dieu subalterne, respectueusement aux ordres de Zeus (l. c. 395) dont il exécute les volontés et auquel il rend les services les plus divers (cf. Hom. *Od.* 5, 29). L'imagerie retient avec insistance cet aspect de sa personnalité. Des siècles après l'épopée, Lucien le montre besognant dès l'aube, balayeur de la salle de festin, échanton, messager, guide des morts, professeur d'éloquence, maître de palestre (Lukianos *d. deor.* 4 [24] 1-2). Chez Eschyle, cette subordination lui vaut le mépris de Prométhée (→Prometheus) (Aischyl. *Prom.* 941-942), mais chez Aristophane il est l'ami des hommes dont il prend le parti, au besoin contre les Immortels (Aristoph. *Pax* 361-425). La condition intermédiaire d'H., comparable à celle des héros (mais sans rien d'«héroïque»), a été soulignée par Brelich (357-360).

#### 3. Le messager et le guide

Ces deux fonctions, souvent complémentaires, relèvent d'attributions majeures d'H. dans l'*Iliade* et dans l'*Odyssée*. L'*ἄγγελος* ne se distingue pas du *κῆρυξ* que Zeus pressent dans l'enfant qui comparait devant son tribunal (h. Merc. 331: *παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα, φῆν κῆρυκος ἔχοντα*). Dans la suite des poèmes le messager intègre le héraut, mais dans l'imagerie le *κῆρυξ* est l'insigne quasi permanent d'H., qu'il agisse ou non en *κῆρυξ*; inversement, l'équipement vestimentaire d'H. (coiffure, chlamyde, himation court) caractérise les hérauts et il arrive même, dans l'épisode de Briséis, que Talthybios porte à son pétase les ailerons hermaïques (mosaïque de la Maison d'Aïôn à Antioche: →Briséis 5\*). Dans l'épopée, et jusque dans l'art classique, H. partage ses fonctions avec →Iris, la «chienne d'Héra» (Kall. *h.* 4, 228-239), elle aussi rapide messagère.

Les épicleses d'H. mettent l'accent sur la célérité, la force, les bienfaits du messager dans l'accomplissement de ses missions: *θοὸς ἄγγελος* (Hom. *h.* 19, 29), *εἰσιόνιος ἄγγελος ὤκως* (Hom. *h.* Cer. 407), sans parler de l'énigmatique *Ἀργεῖφόντης* quelquefois qualifié de *κρατὺς* (h. Cer. 346. 377), que l'on a voulu expliquer par *ἀργός* au sens de *ταχύς* (Jessen, O., *RE* II 1 [1895] 703 s. v. «Argeiphontes»). Ailleurs ce sont les images du vent et de la mouette fendant les flots (Hom. *Od.* 5, 43-54) qui évoquent le dieu. Toutes ces qualités vantées par les poètes sont transcrites iconographiquement au moyen d'attitudes, de gestes, d'actions: courses sur terre et sur mer, fébrilité d'un personnage en mouvement ou sur le qui-vive, même quand son entourage observe le repos.

Guide par excellence (*τοῖος πομπός*, *Il.* 24, 153. 182; *πομπός*, *Il.* 24, 437. 439. 461), il est bien celui qui fait passer de dangereuses frontières (Kahn, L., «Hermès et la frontière ambiguë», *Ktéma* 4, 1979, 201-211), l'«ange» protecteur «qui aime au plus haut point à servir de compagnie à un mortel» (*Il.* 24, 334-335), selon le témoignage constant des textes et des images. Dans les *Euménides*, il est pour Oreste *Ἑρμῆς Πομπάτος* (Aischyl. *Eum.* 89-93). Notons pourtant que s'il est le dieu du *nostos* d'Ulysse (*Od.* 1, 84-87; 5, 29-31; 14, 435-436), l'iconographie homérique l'a rarement montré dans ce rôle. Absent d'épisodes dramatiques comme celui du Cyclope (→Kyklops, Kyklopes), il assiste le héros aux Enfers, mais n'intervient qu'une seule fois contre Circé (→Kirke) et sur un document tardif (585bis). Sa sollicitude se manifeste particulièrement à l'égard des enfants (H. pédophore, Cat. VIII A) et d'abord à l'égard de son propre fils →Pan qu'il enveloppe de fourrures pour le porter aux Immortels (Hom. *h.* 19, 42-43).

L'image du guide qui se laisse reconstruire, accompagnant le pas du voyageur, précédant ou menant l'attelage (Cat. VIII C) est d'une grande cohérence, mais elle se manifeste dans une multitude de registres: le pousseur de bétail (*ἐλατῆρα βοῶν*, h. Merc. 14) se fait passeur de frontières cosmiques. La fonction de psychopompe, illustrée aussi bien par l'iconographie des mythes que par celle des rites et des cultes funéraires, en est une ancienne et durable spécialisation. Des stèles thessaliennes sont inscrites *ΕΡΜΑΟΥ ΧΘΟΝΙΟΥ* (IG IX 2, 638, index; cf. Aischyl. *Choeph.* 1: *Ἑρμῆ χθόνιου*). La prairie d'asphodèles de la première *νέκυια* que traverse l'ombre d'Achille (*Od.* 11, 538-540), celle de la seconde *νέκυια*, «séjour des âmes», où H. fait descendre les prétendants (*Od.* 24, 13-14) est aussi la retraite où le brigand de l'*Hymne* conduit le troupeau d'Apollon (h. Merc. 221). L'H. armé de la *ράβδος* magique, maître des *εἰδωλα*, poussant devant lui les fantômes comme une nuée de chauves-souris (*Od.* 24, 1-14), conduisant des homoncles (h. Merc. 259), «seul messager accrédité auprès d'Hadès» (h. Merc. 572), est celui que les décorateurs de lécythes ont imaginé à la lecture d'Homère (Cat. IX F).

Un dernier texte confère leur portée aux fonctions décrites ici: celui de la transmission du sceptre des Attrides (*Il.* 2, 100-108). H., comme un maillon dynastique, le reçoit de Zeus pour le remettre à →Pelops. Nul autre que le dieu de la communication n'était mieux qualifié pour garantir la continuité du lien royal. Par un *hapax* plein de sens, lui-même qui règne sur le Cyllène (mais au début de l'*Hymne* [h. Merc. 2] son «règne» est simplement exprimé par le verbe *μεδέω*; également Alk. *frg.* 308 Voigt) porte pour la circonstance le titre de prince, généralement réservé à Zeus et à Apollon: *Ἑρμῆας ἀναξ* (*Il.* 2, 104). Il est possible que certaines images où H., au lieu de son costume de voyage, porte un somptueux manteau rappellent son occasionnelle royauté.

#### 4. Le dieu de l'abondance

C'est lui que saluent les auteurs du second *Hymne* à H. (Hom. *h.* 18, 12), de l'*Hymne* à Hestia (Hom. *h.* 29,

8) et, dans l'*Odyssée* (8, 335), Apollon en personne: *Ἑρμῆς χαριδότης, δώτωρ ἐάων*, le Dispensateur de grâces et de biens, le dieu à la baguette d'opulence et de richesse (h. Merc. 529), représenté sans cesse et de cent façons par les imagiers. Cette richesse, pastorale à l'origine, est fondée sur la fécondité des troupeaux que multiplie le dieu de l'Arcadie «abondante en moutons», lui-même bouvier (h. Merc. 491-494) et berger, «tout dieu qu'il fût» (h. Merc. 314; h. 19, 32-33), amant de la Troyenne Polymélè (*Il.* 16, 180) à qui il donne un fils Eudôros, au nom tout aussi transparent. Chez Hésiode (Hes. *theog.* 444-447) il partage avec Hécate (→Hekate) le soin d'accroître le nombre des bœufs, des chèvres et des brebis. L'H. pastoral, chanté aussi par Simonide d'Amorgos (West *IEG* II *frg.* 20), représenté dès l'art archaïque par des séries nombreuses et variées (Cat. V) devient plus généralement le dieu de toute prospérité lorsque la richesse en pays grec revêt des modalités nouvelles. Le phallus du pilier hermaïque (Cat. II) continue de rappeler le pouvoir fécondant d'H., même quand son symbolisme d'*apotropaion* et de porte-bonheur garantit d'autres formes de réussite. Du reste le dieu à la bourse de l'iconographie romaine (→Mercurius) n'est-il pas préfiguré dans l'*Hymne* homérique qui fait d'H. le fondateur de l'échange (*ἐπαμοιβῖμα ἔργα*, h. Merc. 516-517), d'abord par le troc, plus tard par la monnaie? Sa lyre est estimée à cinquante vaches (h. Merc. 437) et il est chargé de remettre à Trôs des chevaux au pas fringant pour le prix de son fils Ganymède (→Ganymedes): Hom. *h.* Ven. 210-211; *Il.* 5, 265-267.

On ne s'étonnera pas que l'empire d'H. s'étende aux équidés, à ces chevaux et ces mules qu'il dirige pour Priam (*Il.* 24, 440-442; →Priamos) et qu'il attelle à son char (*Il.* 24, 690-691) ou qu'il dirige pour reconduire →Persephone (h. Cer. 377-379). Dans certaines scènes de départ (408-451) le guide fait office de palefrenier. Les vers 567-571 de l'h. Merc. lui accordent plus étrangement pouvoir sur les lions et les sangliers, ainsi que sur les chiens. L'imagerie n'a pas retenu ces associations, sauf pour les chiens dont la présence n'est pas surprenante auprès du dieu des bergers. La petite tête de sanglier en bronze, inscrite *ΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ ΦΕΝΕΟΙ* semble être l'ex-voto d'un chasseur au dieu du Cyllène (Jost 29. 448). L'image d'un Maître des fauves (Chittenden 1) renvoie peut-être, dans la poésie homérique, au parèdre d'une *Πόρνια* de l'Âge du Bronze (Pestalozza, U., *L'éternel féminin dans la religion méditerranéenne* [trad. fr. 1965] 16. 27. 31). Elle ne correspond plus à l'H. de la religion et de l'iconographie poliades. Un problème connexe est posé par les pouvoirs et les connaissances du dieu en matière de végétation. C'est une Nymphe du chêne qui lui donne un fils (Hom. *h.* 19, 33-37); il commande au gattilier (h. Merc. 409-413) et il livre à Ulysse le secret du *μῶλυ* contre les sortilèges de Circé (*Od.* 10, 287-306). L'imagerie a transmis, au moins en Crète, des figurations d'un H. lié aux arbres et aux plantes (Lembési n<sup>os</sup> A 21. A 58), invoqué sous le nom d'H. *κεδρίτης*. Mais par la suite rien ne révèle entre H. et la végétation un lien comparable à celui qui unit Déméter au blé, Dionysos à la vigne et au lierre. La légende de l'H. Poly-

gios de Trézène (8e), encore entendue par Pausanias, est le témoignage isolé d'une magie végétale que l'H. des temps historiques a largement perdue.

### 5. Hermès l'industriel, le magicien, le pacifique

H. manifeste une personnalité à deux versants au clivage abrupt. Le dieu bienfaisant et amical est en même temps, et dès le jour de sa naissance, expert en ruses, dols et sortilèges. Les traditions littéraire et iconographique ont inégalement retenu cette image du dieu trompeur et voleur, «prince des brigands» (*h. Merc.* 292), patron et complice de mauvais garçons, protecteur d'Autolykos (I), le parangon des voleurs et des parjures (*Od.* 19, 395-396), *πολύτροπος* et *πολύμητις* comme Ulysse, son pendant humain.

A cette vision péjorative (*αἰνολομήτης, ληϊστήρ, h. Merc.* 14), vision franchement pessimiste d'un H. nocturne, «aux bienfaits rares», dans les derniers vers de la «suite» de l'*Hymne* (557), poètes et imagiers ont presque toujours préféré celles de l'espièglerie et de la mystification, de la bonne humeur sensible même dans les mauvais coups (*cf.* l'image de la fraude sacrificielle: 820). Il y avait à Chios un culte d'H. *Κλέπτης* (*EpGr* 1108); à Samos, quand on sacrifiait à H. *Χαριδώτης* (*cf.* *Hom. h.* 18, 12), on pouvait voler, détrousser (*Plut. quaest. Graec.* 303 d). Sur la route de Pellène on rencontrait un hermès d'H. *Δόλιος* toujours prêt à exaucer les prières des passants (*Paus.* 7, 27, 1)!

Dans ses inventions et ses interventions H. joue simultanément de la technique et de la magie. On le décrit (*h. Merc.* 24-51) et on le montre (312) fabricant de lyres et Ulysse se réclame de lui pour l'habileté manuelle (*Od.* 15, 319). Mais ses sandales qui évitent la fatigue et brouillent la piste sont *θαυματὰ ἔργα* (*h. Merc.* 79-86) et dans l'épisode de Circé, il engage un duel de sortilèges: le *μῶλυ* contre «la très longue baguette» de Circé (*Od.* 10, 293). Expert en liens et en nœuds, ce n'est pas lui qui craint les mailles du filet où → Hephaisstos a enfermé Aphrodite et Arès (*Od.* 8, 335-342), Arès que précisément il délivre de la jarre des Aloades (→ Aloadaï; *cf.* *Il.* 5, 385-391). Enfin, le feu prométhéen, qu'il semble inventer avant Prométhée (*h. Merc.* 111), est issu à la fois de gestes techniques et d'un miracle d'→ Hephaisstos, tout comme Pandora (→ Pandora) à qui H. confère la parole et un cœur artificieux (*Hes. erg.* 77-80).

Dieu de la bonne et de la mauvaise *metis* (Kahn 182), H. possède par corollaire une qualité que ne démentent presque jamais l'imagerie et les textes: celle de la non-violence. Par solidarité olympienne il est certes entraîné dans les Gigantomachies (*Cat.* XII A, → Gigantes), mais dans l'*Iliade* c'est le moins guerrier des dieux. Sans aucun souci de gloire militaire, il cède sans combattre devant → Leto (*Il.* 21, 498-501) et c'est lui qui l'empporte «par la sagesse et l'esprit» (*Il.* 20, 35) quand les Olympiens se divisent en camps partisans. L'épisode du meurtre d'Argos (qu'Homère semble ignorer malgré l'épiclese d'Argeiphontès), si bien représenté dans l'imagerie (*Cat.* XII B; → Io I), est de ce point de vue si aberrant que les mythographes ont apporté des corrections à la version majeure (*cf.* 852). Car les armes d'H. sont constamment la persuasion sans la

force et parfois le charme de la musique qui apaise la colère d'Apollon (*h. Merc.* 447).

### 6. Le dieu de la musique, de la danse et de l'amour

Après le partage des compétences avec Apollon et le renoncement à la lyre, H. invente la syrinx pour devenir le dieu de la musique agreste se mêlant aux danses des Nymphes (→ Nymphai) et des Charites (→ Charis, Charites), quelquefois en compagnie des Muses (→ Mousa, Mousai) et d'Apollon citharède (*Hom. h. Ap.* 194-202). Dans l'*Œuf*, le poème figuré de Simias de Rhodes (Legrand, Ph. E., *Bucoliques grecs* II [1927] 229-231), il exécute une danse solitaire. Musique, danse et amour sont des activités connexes dans les épopées et dans les hymnes homériques. Polymélès est une danseuse de la suite d'Artémis. En compagnie des Silènes, H. s'unit aux Nymphes «qui dansent gracieusement en chœur avec les Immortels» (*Hom. h. Ven.* 261-263), au fond des grottes comme l'avaient fait ses parents sur le mont Cyllène. Ces scènes bucoliques n'ont pas leurs pendants dans l'imagerie, mais elles expliquent les images de poursuite amoureuse fréquentes dans la peinture de vases attique (*Cat.* XIII). Dieu aux nombreuses conquêtes (*cf.* liste: Eitrem 774), plein d'affinités avec Aphrodite et → Eros, son pilier, rencontre de bon augure, se trouve sur le passage du cortège nuptial (103). Toutefois rien ne désigne H. comme une divinité du mariage. Il est l'amant ou l'époux passager, qu'il chasse pour son propre compte ou qu'il serve de rabatteur à Zeus. Dans l'*Hymne à Aphrodite* il enlève pour Anchise (→ Anchises) la déesse qui le séduit tant lui-même (*h. Ven.* 117-127; *Od.* 8, 335-342), comme il favorise sur la fresque de Vergina le rapt amoureux d'→ Hades (440).

### 7. Le barbu et le kouros

Quel est l'aspect d'H.? Dans la poésie homérique, ses qualités d'esprit et ses traits de caractère ressortent beaucoup plus clairement que son apparence physique et vestimentaire (sur ce dernier point *cf.* Commentaire). Pas plus qu'Iris il ne porte le caducée qui dans toute l'imagerie grecque sera son principal attribut. C'est la *πάβδος* qui le distingue. Il ne semble jamais tenir la *μάστιγ* du bouvier que lui remet Apollon (*h. Merc.* 497), mais il manie le fouet dans des scènes d'*anodos* (*Cat.* IX F) et pour faire tourner une toupie (*Cat.* XV). Les sandales ailées qui font partie de sa silhouette sont chez Homère belles, divines, en or, mais elles ne sont jamais expressément des *πέδιλα πτερόεντα* (première mention dans Ps.-Hes. sc. 220, pour l'équipement de Persée; vers 590-560 av. J.-C.). Point non plus de pétase, avec ou sans ailes. Tout se passe comme si les peintres de vases du haut archaïsme avaient construit l'image d'H., parfaitement formée dès la fin du VII<sup>e</sup> s. (*Cat.* III), à partir de traits poétiques (le dieu «ailé») et psychologiques (le dieu subtil, en perpétuel mouvement), mais aussi à partir du modèle du héros épique: un homme solide et raisonnable, d'âge mûr (comme Talhybios et Idée [→ Idaios] en *Il.* 7, 276), forcément barbu. Le *ἄρνυξ* que reconnaît Zeus dans l'enfant de l'*h. Merc.* (v. 331), texte postérieur aux plus anciennes représentations, est déjà l'H. des imagiers.

Le personnage à la barbe pointue qu'évoque Pollux (4, 138: *σφηνοπώγων*) est conforme à un type alors multiséculaire.

On rencontre pourtant dans l'art classique et hellénistique un H. juvénile qui ne l'était pas seulement devenu par un phénomène de mode et de style, par l'effet d'un rajeunissement sensible chez d'autres dieux, mais qui l'était par nature. H. n'est jamais décrit physiquement par Homère, si ce n'est quand il apparaît à un mortel. Il revêt alors la forme d'un kouros, d'un prince adolescent à la barbe naissante (*Il.* 24, 347-348) qui suscite l'admiration de Priam (*ibid.* 376-377) et qui souligne lui-même sa jeunesse (*ibid.* 433). L'épiphanie d'H. à Ulysse au pays de Circé est évoquée dans des termes quasi identiques (*Od.* 10, 277-279). Si le poète a choisi cette apparence pour son personnage, c'est parce que le charme de la jeunesse favorisait le succès de missions ponctuelles d'H., parce qu'elle correspondait aussi à une de ses fonctions essentielles (communiquer, plaire) et à une virtualité de sa nature (Robert, F., *Homère* [1950] 203). Les sculpteurs et les peintres des époques postérieures n'ont fait qu'exprimer à leur manière cette vigueur et cette grâce juvéniles de l'H. homérique. L'image du dieu des athlètes ne connaît cependant toute sa fortune que dans la Grèce des cités, à partir du V<sup>e</sup> s. Cet H.-kouros est celui des légendes et des rites de Tanagra: à sa fête, le plus beau des jeunes gens l'incarne dans le rôle de criophore. Quant à l'H. Promachos, c'est strigile au poing qu'il a conduit la jeunesse de la ville à la victoire contre les Eubéens (*Paus.* 9, 22, 2). Si elles sont rares à l'époque archaïque (à Tégée: *IG V* 2, 95), les consécration palestriques et les inscriptions relatives à l'H. des athlètes se multiplient à partir de la haute époque hellénistique dans l'ensemble du monde grec. L'H. de la jeunesse sportive est alors fréquemment associé à Héraclès (→ Héracles; voir Delorme, J., *Gymnasion* [1960] 339-340).

### Cultes et fêtes d'Hermès

C'est dans sa patrie arcadienne qu'H. est particulièrement honoré, encore qu'inégalement selon les cantons. Les *testimonia* archéologiques, épigraphiques et littéraires ont été rassemblés et analysés par Jost. Pour les autres régions du monde grec, *cf.* Eitrem 738-757; Scherer 2342-2358 et Farnell, *Cults* V 1-61 où les documents sont classés par ordre géographique. Le lecteur de Pausanias est frappé par la fréquence des mentions que fait le Périégète de légendes, rites, cultes, monuments hermaïques dans tout le Péloponnèse. Nous avons regroupé (8) les statues cultuelles les plus vénérables par leur antiquité. Les piliers hermaïques, dont l'origine est attique, connaissent dans les villes péloponnésienes une très grande faveur et Strabon souligne leur densité dans le sanctuaire à l'embouchure de l'Alphée: *συχνά δὲ καὶ ἑρμῆα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς* (Strabon 8, 3, 12 p. 343). La liste des principaux hermès vus par Pausanias est dressée à la rubrique II J du Catalogue.

Comme divinité agonistique des époques récentes H. se trouvait associé en Laconie, en Messénie, en Argolide, en Achaïe aux Dioscures (→ Dioskouroi) et à Héraclès, dont il partage les ex-voto et les fêtes. Mais

d'autres cultes péloponnésiens impliquent H. dans des mystères: des plaquettes en terre cuite ornées de caducées ont été découvertes dans le mégaron de Lykosoura (Jost 451); dans le *Καρνάσιον ἄλσος* de l'ancienne Oichalia de Messénie, H. apparaissait dans des cérémonies de type éleusinien en l'honneur de → Demeter et de Hagné Coré et sa statue en criophore jouxtait celle d'Apollon Karneios (*Paus.* 4, 33, 4); sur l'agora de Phares en Achaïe, des rites oraculaires étaient accomplis devant un hermès accosté d'un foyer en marbre où brûlaient des lampes (*Paus.* 7, 22, 3) et, dans la même ville, une source à poissons sacrés lui appartenait (*Paus.* 7, 22, 4).

Ces rites régionaux n'ont pas laissé de trace dans l'iconographie. Quant au texte sacré des Pélasges et des rites cabiriques de Samothrace où Hérodote voit la source de l'image du pilier hermaïque (*Hdt.* 2, 51), on ne peut les utiliser qu'avec prudence, puisque l'origine attique de l'hermès (*Paus.* 4, 33, 3) paraît assurée (*cf.* Commentaire). Le xoanon hermaïque de l'Erechthéion, ex-voto de Cécrops (→ Kekrops) (8a), témoigne seulement de l'ancienneté du culte d'H. dans la mémoire des Athéniens, comme le fait aussi sa statue dans le sanctuaire des *Semnai* sur l'Aréopage, à côté de celles de Gaia et de Pluton (*Paus.* 1, 28, 6; → Ge, → Hades). C'est comme *Chthonios* qu'H. connaît une imagerie cultuelle à Athènes, avec le lécythe des Anthesières à Iéna (630).

Pour le reste, H. était devenu le fétiche de la ville où son pilier omniprésent faisait partie de la religion et de la vie populaires (*Cat.* II i), où il était fêté aux *hermaia* et où il avait donné son nom au gymnase du Céramique (*Paus.* 1, 2, 5; Travlos, *TopAth* 42-43). A Délos, au temps de la colonie athénienne, c'est encore sous cet aspect de patron de l'athlétisme et de la jeunesse qu'il est le mieux connu, sous celui également de protecteur du négoce, sans que ces fonctions n'engendrent ni à Délos, ni ailleurs une imagerie particulière (Bruneau, *Cultes* 349-354, 604-605). Dans les peintures liturgiques des *Compitalia* le Mercure du collège des Hermaïstes latins ne revêt pas un aspect différent de celui du dieu grec, dont le caducée ornait l'intervalles des mutules au portique de l'Agora des Italiens (*EADélos* XIX 24 pl. 8, 6 fig. 23) et servait d'insigne à l'un des petits cavaliers de la mosaïque des dauphins (*EADélos* XXIX 232-234). Cette banalisation du culte et de l'imagerie d'H., en dépit de variantes régionales difficiles à évaluer, se laisse alors constater à l'échelle du monde gréco-romain.

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## CATALOGUE

## I. Représentations primitives

## A. Hermès aniconique?

1. «Pierres brutes». Tout près de l'H. Agoraios de Phares en Achaïe se dressaient trente pierres carrées (*τετράγωνοι λίθοι*) que les habitants vénéraient chacune sous le nom d'un dieu, selon la vieille tradition des représentations aniconiques: *τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι* (Paus. 7, 22, 4). On peut admettre que certains de ces bêtes, à Phares et ailleurs, désignaient H.

2. *Ἑρμαῖοι λόφοι* (Hesych. s. v. *Ἑρμαῖος λόφος*), tas de pierres, «hermès» constitués sur les routes en l'honneur d'H. Enodios, comme ceux découverts à la frontière de la Laconie, de la Tégéatide et de l'Argolide

(Jost 162. 453-454). La lecture du nom d'H. sur les tablettes mycéniennes a rendu désuète l'explication par *ἔρμα*, tas de pierre (Chantraine s. v.). Plutôt qu'une représentation du dieu, l'*ἑρμαῖος λόφος* est le produit d'un rite de voyage encore attesté à l'époque hellénistique (Anth. Pal. 6, 253, 5-6). Cf. etiam l'explication étiologique dans Schol. Hom. Od. 16, 471: le monceau de pierres est celui des jetons de vote des dieux absolvant H. du meurtre d'Argos.

3. Plaque en pierre rude, inscr. *Ἑρμᾶνος*. Local. inconnue. De Pikromygdalia en Laconie, au sud de Chrysapha (relation incertaine avec une tombe et l'un des reliefs de Chrysapha). - Dressel, H./Milchhöfer, A., *AM* 2, 1877, 303. 434 n° 4; Chittenden (1947) 94. pl. 15d. - Date inconnue.

4. «Les hermès arcadiens». Certains de ces piliers (une cinquantaine d'exemplaires complets ou fr. au Mus. de Tégée) sont surmontés d'un pyramidion, sans les caractères anthropomorphes de la tête et du sexe. Les inscr. désignent diverses divinités, jamais H. Mais Pausanias souligne le goût des Arcadiens pour l'*ἀγάλμα τετράγωνον* (Paus. 8, 48, 6). - Rhomaios, K. A., *ArchEph* 1911, 148-159 fig. 1-12; Wrede 50-52; Jost 233 n. 3; 453 n. 8 pl. 38, 6. - Pas antérieurs au IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

## B. Xoana d'Hermès

5. H. Perphéaios. Monnaies d'Ainos (Thrace). a) AR tétradrachmes, vers 455/4-453/2 av. J.-C. - May, J. M. F., *Ainos, its History and Coinage* 474-341 B. C. (1950) n° 71; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze* 2 n° 419. - Av. Tête d'H. à dr., avec pétase, cheveux tressés sur la nuque (= 220a) Rv. Devant un bouc vers la dr., pilier-xoanon (fût ponctué) sur un trône; tête barbue coiffée du pétase; caducée devant le pilier. Motifs analogues sur les tétradrachmes frappés à Ainos de Lysimache et des Ptolémées: Lacroix, *Reproductions* 46 n. 4-6. - b) AR drachmes, vers 357-342 av. J.-C. - May, o. c. n° 438; Jenkins, J. K., *Monnaies grecques* (1972) 130 fig. 276-277. - Av. Tête d'H. avec pétase de trois quarts à dr. Rv. Pilier-xoanon vers la g. sur un trône richement décoré; canthare dans le champ. Mêmes types, autres symboles = Lacroix, *Reproductions* 45 n. 2. - Av. Tête d'H. à dr. Rv. Dans un carré creux, bouc vers la dr.; devant lui, en symbole, pilier d'H. barbu vers la g. - d) AU, 365-341 av. J.-C. - Babelon, *Traité* n° 1508 pl. 345, 14; Lacroix, *Reproductions* 45 n. 3 pl. 1, 2. - Av. Tête d'H., à g. Rv. Pilier-xoanon vers la g. sur un trône; caducée devant le trône. - e) AE, 365-341 av. J.-C. - Strack, M. L., *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands* II 1 (1912) 188 n° 369 pl. 5, 10. - Av. Xoanon-pilier de face, sur un trône. Rv. Corne d'abondance. - f) AE, 280-200 av. J.-C. - Strack, o. c. 195 n° 393 pl. 5, 22. - Av. Tête de Zeus à dr. Rv. Pilier avec phallus et tête imberbe vers la dr., sur un socle bas; symbole du caducée.

L'idole figurée, avec des variantes, dans le monnayage d'Ainos est un xoanon sculpté par Epeios. Selon la légende rapportée par Callimaque, des pêcheurs

l'avaient pris dans leurs filets et Apollon ordonna de lui rendre un culte sous le nom d'H. Perphéaios (bibl.: Lacroix, *Reproductions* 47 n. 1).

6. H. Xoana d'H. en symboles sur les monnaies stéphanéphores d'Athènes: AR tétradrachmes, 183/2 et 151/0 av. J.-C. - Thompson, M., *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (1961) n° 86-92 pl. 11 (183/2); Boehringer, Chr., *Zur Chronologie mittelhellenistischer Münzserien 220-160 v. Chr.* (1972) 200 (151/0). - Av. Tête d'Athéna Parthénos à dr. Rv. Chouette sur amphore; derrière l'aile, xoanon d'H. de face, le caducée dans la main g.; le fût se rétrécit en gaine; «Hüftenherme des H.» (Boehringer 200). Référence possible à une idole primitive à Athènes: *NumCommPaus* 148-149 n° 12 pl. DD 19.

7. H. Imbramos sur des monnaies d'Imbros où l'idole «pélasgique» est toutefois anthropomorphe (Hemberg, B., *Die Kabiren* [1950] 37-43). - a) AE, ép. hellénistique? - Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 48-50 pl. 1, 10. - Av. Tête d'Artémis à dr. Rv. H. barbu, ithyphallique, la jambe g. surélevée, un rameau dans la main dr. baissée, une phiale dans la main g. avancée, est tourné vers un autel; caducée dans le champ. - b) AE, ép. hellénistique? - Conze, A., *Reisen auf den Inseln des thrakischen Meeres* (1860) 84 pl. 20, 11. - Av. Tête féminine à dr. Rv. H. coiffé du pétase, ithyphallique, de trois quarts vers la dr., un rameau(?) dans la main dr. baissée, une patère dans la main g. avancée. - c) AE, monnaie des clérouques athéniens, 87/6 av. J.-C. (siège de Sylla)? - Imhoof-Blumer, F., *AM* 7, 1882, 146-149. - Av. Tête d'Athéna casquée à dr. Rv. H. en pétase, un rameau dans la main dr. baissée, une phiale dans la main g. avancée, tourné vers un thymiatérion à dr.

8. Xoana d'H. décrits ou mentionnés par Pausanias.

a) Athènes: ex-voto en bois, ithyphallique et couvert de myrte, consacré par Cécrops dans le temple d'Athéna Poliade, c'est-à-dire dans la chambre nord de l'Erechthéion (1, 27, 1). - b) Argos: xoana d'H. et d'Aphrodite associés dans le temple d'Apollon Lykeios (2, 19, 6). - c) Mégalopolis: xoanon d'H., œuvre de Damophon, dans le temple d'Aphrodite, à côté d'une Aphrodite Machanitis acrolithe (8, 31, 6). - d) Las (Laconie): un *ἀγάλμα ἀρχαῖον* d'H. dans le gymnase (3, 24, 7). - e) Trézène: statue d'H. Polygios en bois d'olivier sauvage qui a repris racine pour reverdir. Hé-racclès y a déposé sa massue (2, 31, 10). - f) Cyllène d'Elide: *agalma* d'H. en forme de membre viril dressé sur une base (6, 26, 5). - g) Mont Cyllène: parmi les xoana, une idole d'H. en bois de thuya, haute de huit pieds (8, 17, 2).

## II. Le pilier hermaïque

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périale», *BCH* 98, 1974, 397-498; Crome, J. F., «III-ΠΑΡΧΕΙΟΙ ΕΡΜΑΙ», *AM* 60/61, 1935/36, 300-313; idem, «Nachtrag», *AM* 62, 1937, 149; Curtius, L., *Die antike Hermé* (1903); idem, *Zeus und Hermes. Studien zur Geschichte ihres Ideals und seiner Überlieferung* (1931); idem, «Die Wissenschaft am Scheidewege von Leben und Geist», dans *Festschr. L. Klages* (1932) 19-29; Delorme, J., *Gymnasion* (1960) 364-365; Deubner, L., «Der ithyphallische Hermes», dans *Corolla L. Curtius* (1937) 201-204; Devambez, P., «Piliers hermaïques et stèles», *RA* 1968, 139-154; v. Domaszewski, A., *Die Hermen der Agora zu Athen*, *SbHeidelb V* (1914); Eitrem, S., *RE* VIII (1913) 696-708 s. v. «Hermai»; Ferri, S., «Busti fitili di Magna Grecia e l'origine dell'ermai», *RendLincSer. VIII* 18, 1963, 29-42 pl. 1-8; Franzoni, L., *Atti Acc. Roveretana degli Agiati (Sc. Umane)* 229, 1979, 311-326; Frel, J., «Dionysos Lénaïos», *AA* 1967, 28-34; Frontisi-Ducroux, Fr., «Les limites de l'anthropomorphisme. Hermès et Dionysos» dans Vernant, J.-P./Malamoud, Ch., *Le corps des dieux* (1986) 193-211; Giumlia, A., *Die neuattischen Doppelhermen* (1983); Goldman, H., «The Origin of the Greek Herm», *AJA* 46, 1942, 50-68; Graindor, P., «Les cosmètes du Musée d'Athènes», *BCH* 39, 1915, 241-401; Harrison, E. B., *Agora XI, Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (1965) 108-176; Herdejürgen, H., «Archaistische Skulpturen aus frühromischer Zeit», *Jdl* 87, 1972, 299-313; Hermay, A., «À propos de l'Hermès Propylaios de Délos», *BCH* 103, 1979, 137-149; Herter, H., *De Priapo* (1932); idem, *REXIX* 2 (1938) 1681-1748 s. v. «Phallos»; idem, *REXXII* (1954) 1914-1942 s. v. «Priapos»; van Hoorn, G., «L'idole de Dionysos Limnaïos», *RA* 1927, 104-120; Kirchner, J./Dow, St., «Inchriften vom attischen Lande», *AM* 62, 1937, 1-3; Lavelle, B. M., «Hipparchos' Herm», *Echos du monde classique* 4, 1985, 411-420; de La Genière, J., «Une péliké inédite du Peintre de Pan au Musée du Louvre», *REA* 62, 1960, 249-253; Lullies, R., *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* (1931) (= Lullies 1); idem, «Hermenfragen», *WürlzJbb* 4, 1949-50, 126-139 (= Lullies 2); Marcadé, J., «Hermès doubles», *BCH* 76, 1952, 596-624; idem, «Les trouvailles de la Maison dite de l'Hermès, à Délos», *BCH* 77, 1953, 500-528; Marcadé, *MusDélos* 146-158; Metzger, *Recherches* 77-91; Oliva-Rodriguez, P., «Un nuevo testimonio de los hermes retrato en la Boetica. La pilastra hermaica de Osqua», *BSocACham* 79, 1986, 45-49; Osborne, «The Erection and Mutilation of the Hermai», *Proc. of the Cambridge Philological Soc.* 211, 1985, 47-53; Pfuhl, E., «Das Beiwerk der ostgriechischen Grabreliefs I. Die Denkmäler», *Jdl* 20, 1905, 76-84; Pfuhl, E./Möbius, H., *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs I* (1977), II (1979); Poulsen, V. H., *From the Coll. II* (1939) 65-113; Praschniker, C., «Der Hermes des Alkamenes in Ephesos», *Oefh* 29, 1935, 23-31; Ritsonis, A., «Eine Herme aus Eretria», *AAA* 17, 1984, 141-147; Rhomaios, K. A., «*Ἀρχαῖοι ἑρμαῖ*», *ArchEph* 3, 1911, 149-159; Robinson, D. M., «Unpublished Sculpture in the Robinson Collection», *AJA* 59, 1955, 20-24; Roux, G., «Qu'est-ce qu'un *κολοσσός*», *REA* 62, 1960, 5-40; Seiler, S., *Beobachtungen an Doppelhermen* (1969); Tomasello, E., «Doppia erma con hermes e testa giovanile», *ArchCl* 20, 1968, 288-295; Verneisel-Schlörb, *KatSkulptMünchen* II 49-57; Walter-Karydi, E., «Die Herme des Euphrôn», *Pro arte antiqua* 2 (*Festschr. H. Kenner*) 1983, 344-350; Wilhelm, A., «Simonideische Gedichte», *Oefh* 2, 1899, 221-244; Willers, D., «Zum Hermes Propylaios des Alkamenes», *Jdl* 82, 1967, 37-109 (= Willers 1); idem, *Zu den Anfängen der archaischen Plastik in Griechenland* (1975) (= Willers 2); Wrede, H., *Die spätantike Hermengalerie von Welschbillig, Röm.-Germ. Forsch.* 32 (1972); idem, *Die antike Herme* (1985) (= Wrede); Wünsche, R., *MJBK* 31, 1980, 13-34; Zanker, P., *Klassizistische Statuen* (1974).

## A. Les hermès d'époque archaïque

Ronde bosse: pierre

9. Tête en marbre insulaire. Athènes, Mus. Acropole 642. - Schrader, H./Langlotz, E./Schuchhardt,

W. H., *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (1939) n° 461 pl. 163; CMV, *GrA* 252 fig. 291; Brouskari, *CatAcr* 107 pl. 196; Willers 2, 34 pl. 11, 1. – Vers 520/510 av. J.-C. – Travail attique. Chevelure retenue par un strophion, bouclée sur le front, gaufrée en nappe dans le dos. Moustache et barbe peignées.

10.\* Tête en marbre pentélique. Cincinnati, Art Mus. 1962.390. D'Attique. – Crome 301 pl. 102; *idem* (1937) 149 pl. 67; Willers 2, 34 pl. 11, 2. – Vers 510 av. J.-C. – Œuvre stylistiquement proche de 9, mais chevelure bouclée en vagues.

11.\* Tête en marbre. Copenhague, Glypt. 1560. De Béotie. – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* n° 1; Willers 2, 35-36 pl. 12, 1-2. – Vers 500 av. J.-C. – Type attique. Surface érodée. La chevelure devait être détaillée à la peinture.

12.\* Hermès de Siphnos. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 3728. De Kastro (Siphnos). – Crome 300-301 pl. 101. 103-104; Lullies 2, 11 n° 3; 36 n. 14; 44; Willers 2, 35-37. – Vers 490 av. J.-C. – Tête et fût conservés. Travail insulaire, type attique. Chevelure rayonnant depuis le vertex, serrée par un strophion, ordonnée sur le front en une double rangée de bouclettes coquillées; parotides gaufrées et nappe dorsale. Légère inclinaison de la tête vers la dr.

13.\* Tête sur fût fr. en marbre. Mariemont, Mus. B 8. De la région du Pirée. – Lévêque, P., *Les antiquités du Musée de Mariemont* (1952) G2 pl. 19; Lévêque, P./Donnay, G., *L'art grec du Musée de Mariemont* (1967) 60 n° 21; Willers 2, 35 pl. 16, 1-4. – Calotte crânienne lisse (certainement peinte), double rangée de bouclettes sur le front, parotides gaufrées.

14.\* Tête en calcaire et amorce du fût. Erétirie, Mus. Du temple d'Apollon(?). – Pétrakos, B., *ArchDelt* 17, 1961-62, 156 pl. 167e; Willers 2, 35 pl. 14-15. – Vers 500-490 av. J.-C.? – Double rangée de bouclettes sur le front, parotides incisées, nappe dorsale lisse. Les détails (chevelure, mais aussi démarcation de la barbe et des joues, cils) étaient peints.

15. Tête en marbre (pentélique?) brisée au cou. Anc. Vienne, coll. privée. D'Attique. – Crome 301-302 pl. 105-106; Willers 2, 35. – Vers 490 av. J.-C.? – Fortement corrodée, le cou retailé à l'horizontale (intervention moderne). Barbe et moustache peignées. A l'avant d'un large strophion, chevelure en mèches côtelées.

16. Tête en marbre. Eleusis, Mus. 5229. D'Eleusis. – Inédite. – Visage mutilé, barbe effritée. Un mince bandeau serre la chevelure à nappe dorsale, bouclée sur le front.

#### Petite plastique en bronze

17. «H. Warren». Petit pilier en bronze. Kings Point (Long Island), coll. N. Schimmel. De Hagios Sostis (Arcadie). – Hoffmann, H., *The Beauty of Ancient Art. Norbert Schimmel Collection* (1964) n° 14. – Vers 490 av. J.-C. – Base plate à deux degrés, tenon g. perforé. Toison pubienne stylisée au-dessus du sexe dressé en se détachant du fût. La barbe est striée de même que la chevelure qui se gonfle en couronne au-dessus du front et retombe en nappe dans le dos, en tresses sur les épaules.

#### Petite plastique en terre cuite

18.\* Paris, Louvre CA 1298. De Clazomènes. – Mollard-Besques I 51 n° B333 pl. 36. – Début V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Modelé sommaire. Cheveux en bourrelet au-dessus du front.

19.\* Washington, Corcoran Gall. 26.517. – Fin VI<sup>e</sup>-début V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Pilier complet. Brisure à l'extrémité de la barbe.

### B. Les hermès d'époque sévère

#### Ronde bosse: marbre

20. (= Dionysos 7 avec bibl.). Athènes, Mus. Nat. 96. Du versant sud de l'Acropole. – Harrison 143. 147 pl. 65 b; Karouzou, S., *Arch. Nationalmuseum. Antike Skulptur* (1969) 41 n° 96; Willers 2, 41-42 pl. 23. – Vers 480 (Willers) ou 470 (Harrison) av. J.-C. – Visage de structure sévère (pommettes, rendu plastique des paupières). Calligraphie archaïque de la barbe, couronne de bouclettes sur le front, chevelure côtelée. Mutilations au front et à la barbe. «Dionysos» (Wrede, W. [1928] 78), «H.» (Harrison 143, Karouzou).

21.\* Tête en marbre insulaire. Athènes, Agora S 211. De l'Agora, région de la Tholos. – Harrison 142-144 n° 156 pl. 40; Willers 2, 36 pl. 20, 3; 21, 1-2. – Vers 480-470 av. J.-C. – Large strophion serrant les cheveux peignés depuis le vertex et ramenés en bandeau. Barbe à mèches ondulées. Profondes mutilations d'une sculpture de grande qualité, que l'on a songé à rapporter au monument de Cimon commémorant la victoire d'Eion. Réparations antiques au nez et, peut-être, à la base du cou.

22.\* Tête en marbre pentélique, brisée à la barbe. Copenhague, Glypt. 2822. – Poulsen, V. H., *From the Coll.* (1939) 71-79 fig. 8-10; Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 30-31 n° 12a; Willers 2, 36 pl. 18-19. – Visage proche de celui de la tête cimoniaenne 21, mais la chevelure n'est sculptée qu'à l'avant du strophion, en mèches courtes et couronne frontale de boucles. Barbe à mèches ondulées.

23.\* Tête, brisée au cou. Mariemont, Mus. B7. – Lévêque, o. c. 13, 65 n° G3 pl. 19; Willers 2, 36 pl. 17. – Vers 480 av. J.-C. – Visage érodé. Barbe à mèches ondulées. Chevelure striée sur le crâne, serrée par un large strophion. Mèches ondulées sur la nappe dorsale; parotides et bouclettes sur le front.

24.\* Tête en marbre pentélique. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. SK 1877. D'Olympie? – Blümel, *Arch-SkulptBerlin* n° 13 fig. 34; Willers 2, 36 pl. 20, 1-2. – Ep. sévère. – Type attique de facture artisanale.

25.\* Tête, brisée au cou. Volos, Mus. 510. De Larisa. – Biesantz, H., *Die thessalischen Grabreliefs* (1965) 29 n° 14 pl. 33. – Vers 450 av. J.-C. – Visage et barbe effrités. Mèches recourbées en crochets sur les joues. Bouclettes sur le front, perforées (comme aussi des mèches de la barbe). Strophion en boudin retenant une chevelure ondulée sur le crâne, retombant dans le dos sous forme de large tresse.

26.\* Pilier hermaïque. Volos, Mus. 503. De Iolkos. – Biesantz, o. c. 25, 29 n° 15 pl. 32. – Vers 450-425 av. J.-C. – Epaufrures au visage (nez raboté). Barbe à mèches courbes entrecroisées. Chevelure pei-

gnée en stries sur le crâne, avec des mèches plus épaisses entre les oreilles et la nuque. Sur le front les cheveux débordent en mèches sous le mince strophion.

27.\* Tête, brisée au cou. Athènes, Agora S 539. De l'Agora. – Harrison 132. 146-147 n° 161 pl. 43; Willers 2, 42. – Copie du début de l'ép. impériale d'un original des années 470-460 av. J.-C. – Visage sévère. Barbe stylisée en vaguelettes fines. Boucles du front sculptées une à une.

28.\* «Hermès Speier». Tête en marbre pentélique(?), brisée à la barbe. Rome, coll. H. Speier. – Willers, D., *RM* 76, 1969, 316-319 pl. 100-102; Willers 2, 42 pl. 24, 1-2. – Copie romaine(?) d'un original des années 450 av. J.-C. – Chevelure ordonnée en vagues, avec boucles frontales, sans strophion.

#### Petite plastique: piliers en terre cuite

29.\* Base carrée. Paris, Louvre N III 2431. De Rhodes. – Mollard-Besques I 107 n° C 139 pl. 77. – Style sévère. – Couronne de bouclettes sur le front.

30. Base carrée profilée. De l'acropole de Lindos. – *Lindos* I 567 n° 2340 pl. 110. – Style sévère? – Cheveux en bourrelet sur le front. Barbe étagée en registres.

31. Brisé à mi-fût. Londres, BM 254. – Higgins, *BM Terracottas* I n° 254 pl. 44. – Vers 450 av. J.-C. – Chevelure en bourrelet sur le front, partagée par une raie.

32. Sur base carrée, sans le haut du visage. De l'acropole de Lindos. – *Lindos* I 566 n° 2838 pl. 109. – Style archaïque ou sévère. – Malgré la figuration du sexe dressé, un himation paraît couvrir le fût et une *chlaina* retombe en gouttière sur les épaules. Pieds dépassant sous le vêtement. Cf. *etiam* 280.

### C. Les hermès classiques non alcaméniens

#### Ronde bosse: marbre

Pour cette série, qui ne comprend aucun original du V<sup>e</sup> s., on se reporte généralement à la typologie de Curtius (1903): types A et D (Curtius 48-54. 62-68) qui sont à cheveux courts et proches des effigies de Zeus; types B et C (54-62) qui sont à cheveux longs et proches des effigies de Dionysos.

33.\* Tête. Copenhague, Glypt. 447. Du Pirée(?). – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 359-360 n° 514; Harrison 131-132 n. 174; 149 pl. 66, b. – Copie hellénistique (Harrison: vers 100 av. J.-C.) d'un original des années 450-430. – Cheveux et barbe bouclés en vagues. Visage phidiesque. Type A.

34.\* Tête. *Ibidem* 445. Du Pirée(?). – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 183-184 n° 241; Curtius 6 fig. 6; 8 fig. 8; 10-14; Harrison 131-132. – Cheveux retenus par un large bandeau, sous lequel des mèches dépassent en vagues. Mêmes mèches pour la barbe. Type et date: cf. 33.

35.\* Tête. *Ibidem* 446. Du Pirée(?). – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 119-120 n° 149; Harrison 131 n. 174. – Au-dessus des mèches en vagues sur le front, boucles coquillées de tradition archaïque. Visage phidiesque. Type et date: cf. 33.

36.\* Tête. New York, MMA 13.231.2. – *BullMMA* 9, 1914, 64 fig. 65; Chase, G. H., *Greek and Roman Sculp. in Am. Colls.* (1928) 71 fig. 80; Harrison 130 pl. 66, a. – Copie romaine d'un original des années 450-440 av. J.-C. – Visage phidiesque. Type A. Cf. *etiam* Harrison n° 177.

37.\* Tête. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 332. Du Pirée. – Karouzou, Chr., *BCH* 70, 1946, 263-270 pl. 13; Harrison 131. 153-154 pl. 66, e. – Copie romaine d'un original du milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Harrison 121 n. 103), encore que l'on ait attribué la tête à l'hermès consacré par Python d'Abdère et signé par le sculpteur parien Euphrôn (Karouzou). – Forte plasticité des boucles en avant du strophion et dans la barbe. – Type D. Cf. *etiam* Harrison n° 178-179 pl. 49.

38. Pilier hermaïque. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 2812. De la région de Bursa. – *AA* 1905, 55-56; Harrison 131 pl. 66, d. – Copie romaine d'un original du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Type C. Consécration à H. par Artémidoros, secrétaire du Démos.

39.\* Tête, Copenhague, Glypt. 450. D'Athènes(?). – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 120 n° 150. – Copie romaine d'un original du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Type C. Cf. *etiam* Harrison n° 181-186 pl. 50-51.

40. a) Tête. *Ibidem* 564. De Rome, marché de l'art. – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 360-361 n° 516. – Copie romaine d'un original du milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Chevelure rappelant celle de l'Apollon de Cassel. Type B. – b) Analogue: Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 120 n° 152.

41.\* Tête. Madrid, Prado 98E. – Blanco Freijeiro, A., *Cat. de la escultura* (1957) pl. 49. – Copie romaine d'un original du milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Type B.

### D. L'Hermès Propylaïos d'Alcamène

#### Ronde bosse: marbre

42. Pilier hermaïque sur une base inscrite. Izmir, Mus. Basmahane 675. Du Gymnase de Védus à Ephèse. – Willers 1, 42-44 fig. 1-4. – Sur l'inscr., cf. Praschniker, C., *OeJh* 29, 1935, 23-31; Bousquet 568 n. 1; Willers 1, 39-41; *Inscr. von Ephesos* II (1979) 515. Texte: *Ὁὐκ εἰμι τέχνη τοῦ τυχόντος, ἀλλὰ μου|μορφὰν ἐτενέξεν|, ἢ ἡν σκοπῆς, Ἀ[λκα]μένης.* – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Le pilier d'Ephèse est très mutilé et les traits distinctifs du type se laissent mieux vérifier sur d'autres bonnes copies de l'original. Les hermès alcaméniens s'opposent aux monuments antérieurs par la retombée sur les épaules de longues parotides. Le «type d'Ephèse» diffère du «type de Pergame» par la qualité stylistique et, principalement, par les traits iconographiques suivants qui permettent de constituer la série (21 exemplaires réunis par Willers 1, 42-71. 109): pour les boucles frontales, mèches bouclées courtes (au lieu de longues boucles «en tire-bouchons»), dont la triple couronne serre étroitement la tête (au lieu de s'échafauder en perruque); pour la barbe, forme simplement ovale, avec axe de symétrie définissant l'orientation des mèches (au lieu d'une forme anguleuse, sans axe de symétrie, tendue vers l'avant à la façon d'un masque). Cf. *etiam* 345.



43. Pilier hermaïque double (tête d'Apollon sur l'autre face) en marbre pentélique. Athènes, Stade, «pilier A». Du Stade. – Willers 1, 56–59 fig. 18–20. 25; Willers 2, 33. 43 pl. 27, 2; Gasparri, C., *ASAtene* 52/53, 1974/75 (1978), 363 E 3 fig. 60. – 140–144 ap. J.-C. – Le meilleur exemplaire du groupe.

44. \* Tête en marbre pentélique(?), brisée au menton. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 121008. D'une villa au sud de Rome. – Willers 1, 49–51 fig. 12–13. 16; Willers 2, 33. 43 pl. 26; Helbig\* 2249 (v. Steuben, H.; avec bref aperçu sur les principales questions du pilier hermaïque). – Peut-être attique.

45. \* Fr. de pilier. Leningrad, Ermitage A 26. De Tivoli, Villa Hadriana. – Willers 1, 44–48 fig. 5. 7. 9; Willers 2, 33. 43 pl. 27, 1. – Travail d'un atelier urbain de Rome, ép. d'Hadrien. – Forme classique des yeux, grands ouverts, dont la paupière supérieure recoupe la paupière inférieure.

46. «H. Simonetti». Tête en marbre pentélique, brisée au cou. Munich, Glypt. DV 37. – Willers 1, 51–56 fig. 14–15. 17; Vienne-Schlörb, *KatSkulpt-München* II 49 fig. 27–30. – Époque d'Hadrien. –

#### E. Variations archaïsantes sur l'hermès alcaménien.

Pour conserver la cohérence des types, on dérogera à l'ordre chronologique en présentant aussitôt après l'H. Propylaios des variations archaïsantes qui ne sont pas antérieures au I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.

#### 1. Le type de Pergame

Ronde bosse: marbre

47. \* Pilier hermaïque, brisé sous le sexe. Istanbul, Mus. Arch 1433. Du Gymnase de Pergame. – Willers 1, 75–78 fig. 49–51; Harrison, 122–124 pl. 66 c; Hermary 137–149. – Sur les traits distinctifs du type, cf. 42. Sur l'inscr., cf. Bousquet, J., *BCH* 80, 1956, 565–579. Distique gravé sur le fût: *Εἰδήσεις Ἀλκαμένεος περικαλλῆς ἀγάλμα, Ἐρμῆν τὸν πρὸ πυλῶν εἰσάτο Περγᾶμιος*. En dessous la maxime *Γνωθι σαυτὸν*. L'arrière du pilier et de la tête est seulement dégrossi. Plutôt qu'à un original de la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. (Hermary 146) le type de Pergame se rattache à l'œuvre d'un atelier néo-attique recomposant des traits classiques (Willers 1, 85. 88; Vienne-Schlörb 50). – Série de 5 répliques, celle de Pergame datant au plus tôt de l'ép. d'Hadrien.

48. \* Buste hermaïque. Rome, jardin Barberini. – Willers 1, 78 fig. 52–54. – Par rapport à la tête du pilier de Pergame, allongement du visage et de la barbe ainsi que traitement plus plastique de la coiffure. Meilleur exemplaire du groupe.

49. Fr. de pilier hermaïque. Ostie, Tenuta Aldobrandini A. S. 35. D'Ostie. – Willers, o.c. 28, 315–316 pl. 98–99. – La 5<sup>e</sup> réplique connue, mais très mutilée, du type de Pergame.

50. Tête en marbre pentélique. Athènes, Mus. Acropole 2281. De l'Acropole. – Brouskari, *CatAcr*

22–23 fig. 10. – Reprend des traits distinctifs du type (système pileux), mais sans en constituer une réplique.

51. \* Tête. Venise, Mus. Arch. 70. – Willers 1, 93 fig. 63. 65. 67; Traversari, G., *Sculture del V-IV sec. a. C. del Mus. Arch. di Venezia* (1973) 20 n° 5; Hermary 143 fig. 9. – Les traits pergaméniens sont stylisés en masque.

#### 2. Le type Warocqué

52. Tête en pierre sombre. Bâle, coll. privée. – Willers 1, 92–93 fig. 60–62. – Série de 9 répliques (Willers 1, 91–95). – Très haute calotte crânienne, en sorte que les boucles en tire-bouchons, horizontales dans le type de Pergame, s'inclinent ici vers le visage. Disposition très régulière des mèches de la barbe.

#### 3. Type Athènes/Eleusis

Ronde bosse: marbre

53. Buste formant la moitié d'un hermès double. Vatican 129. – Lippold, *SkulptVatMus* 12–13 pl. 7; Willers 1, 97 n° 23. – Exemplaire le plus complet d'une série de 7 répliques, remontant à un modèle de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.

54. Tête. Eleusis, Mus. 5118. D'Eleusis. – Inédite. – Par rapport à 53, la barbe comporte des mèches en flammèches sans enroulements.

#### 4. Types «alcaménoïdes»

55. \* Tête en marbre pentélique. Athènes, Agora S 1077. D'une citerne à l'ouest de l'Agora. – Harrison 127. 131. 134. 148–149 n° 163 pl. 44. – Exemple d'H. «alcaménoïde» (Harrison) caractérisé par de multiples contaminations entre des traits classiques et des traits archaïsants empruntés au modèle alcaménien. Le type évoque celui de Pergame, mais la barbe à flammèches est ovale. Le visage évoque celui de Copenhague 447 (33), mais l'expression est modifiée par la perruque.

#### 5. Type à pilos

56. \* Tête en marbre grec. Copenhague, Glypt. 429. Du Pirée(?). – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 43–44 n° 25; Willers 1, 99 n. 140. – Meilleur exemplaire d'une catégorie caractérisée par le couvre-chef posé sur la couronne de boucles. La barbe peignée s'inspire d'un modèle de la fin de l'archaïsme (cf. 27). Joues d'un réalisme plus tardif.

Gemmes

57. a) Cornaline rectangulaire. Boston, MFA 95.85. D'Athènes. – Furtwängler, *AG* II 45 n° 25 pl. 29; Lippold, *Gemmen* pl. 10, 10; Boardman, *GGFR* n° 515. – Style classique (V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.). – Pilier hermaïque de face, flanqué d'un caducée. Barbe et cheveux courts. Couvre-chef (*modius*?). – b) Cornaline ovale. Munich, Münzslg. A 2009. – *AGDI* 3, n° 2206 pl. 192. – I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Sur une base à deux degrés, hermès phallique, barbu, coiffé d'un bandeau, avec

boucles parotides, de profil à g.; dans le champ, caducée et palme avec *taenia* croisées.

#### F. Les hermès du IV<sup>e</sup> s. et de la haute époque hellénistique

Ronde bosse: marbre

58. \* «H. Propylaios». Pilier. Délos, Mus. De l'entrée du sanct. d'Apollon. – Marcadé, *MusDélos* 151 pl. 10; Hermary 137–142 fig. 1–3. – Consécration des Amphictyons en 341/40 av. J.-C. (inscr. de la base). – La tête très rongée se laisse reconstruire d'après une autre tête délienne A 6558 (Hermary fig. 4–6), dont les traits présentent des affinités avec le type de Pergame élaboré par un sculpteur néo-attique. Cf. 47. Cf. Commentaire, p. 374.

59. \* Pilier hermaïque servant d'appui à la statue de Sisyphe II dans l'ex-voto de Daochos à Delphes. Delphes, Mus. – Dohrn, T., dans *API* VIII (1968) 41–42 pl. 35; Hermary 144 fig. 10–11. – 337/6 av. J.-C. – Avec 58, la plus ancienne attestation des boucles en tire-bouchons, d'une élégance maniériste comme la barbe aux mèches ondulées parallèles.

60. \* Pilier hermaïque. Délos, Prytanée, *in situ*. – Marcadé, *MusDélos* 146–147 pl. 11; Hermary, A., *EADélos* 34. *Cat. des sculpt. classiques* (1984) 60 n° 37 pl. 26, 7–10. – IV<sup>e</sup>–début III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. ? Les inventaires athéniens signalent la présence ancienne d'hermès dans le vestibule de la cour du Prytanée (*ID* 1416 A I col. 85–95; 1417 B I col. 91–102). – Chevelure plaquée sur le crâne par un mince strophion et revenant en bandeaux ondulés sur les tempes. Chignon sur la nuque. Lassitude du regard et lèvres entrouvertes.

61. \* Tête. Délos, Mus. A 6558. Du Prytanée. – Marcadé, *MusDélos* 149 pl. 10; Hermary 141 fig. 4–6. – Ép. de l'Indépendance, III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – En avant du strophion, triple rangée de boucles coquillées dont les interstices sont creusés au foret. Barbe carrée à flammèches.

62. Tête, Athènes, Mus. Nat. 49. Du Prytanée de Délos. – Marcadé, *MusDélos* 150. 152. 155. 297. 299–300 pl. 12. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Audessus d'un front très dégagé, triple rangée de boucles courtes coquillées. Longue moustache à crochets. Barbe à mèches dont les enroulements sont ponctués au foret. Petitesse des yeux.

63. \* Tête. Délos, Mus. A 6960. De la région de l'Agora des Compétaliastes. – Marcadé, *MusDélos* 155. 298–299 pl. 11. – Ép. de l'Indépendance? – Chevelure partagée au milieu du front. Mèches bouclées sur les tempes. Visage classique de type Zeus.

64. \* Tête. *Ibidem* A 5996. De Délos. – Marcadé, *MusDélos* 154 pl. 11. – III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. ? – Diadème sur les cheveux partagés par une raie médiane, peignés en boucles vers les tempes. Visage classique, mais avec un air de fatigue et des yeux «farouches».

Petite plastique en bronze

65. Pilier hermaïque. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. 145. De Samothrace. – Lullies 1, 14. 44 pl. 4, 1. – III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Tête coiffée du pilos. Barbe courte. Sur le fût, inscr. votive en lettres ponctuées du III<sup>e</sup> s.

#### G. Les hermès du II<sup>e</sup> et du I<sup>er</sup> s.

Ronde bosse: têtes en marbre

66. \* Délos, Mus. 5617 (anc. n°). – Marcadé, *MusDélos* pl. 13 (non commentée dans le texte). – II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. ? – Cheveux divisés par une raie et peignés en boucles vers les oreilles. Barbe à mèches recourbées. Bouche entrouverte. Les yeux sont un peu ombrés par les arcades.

67. \* *Ibidem* In 15 (anc. n°). De Délos. – Marcadé, *MusDélos* 156 pl. 13. – II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. ? – Bipartition axiale des cheveux et de la barbe. Mèches creusées au foret.

68. \* *Ibidem* A 1866. De la région du Musée (1911). – Marcadé, *MusDélos* 153. 157. 258. 295. 378. 385. 399. 401. 437 pl. 13. – II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Les coquilles des boucles du front sont stylisées en rosettes et trois courtes «anglaises», de type alexandrin, recouvrent les tempes. Barbe ordonnée en trois registres: mèches striées sous les pommettes, large mouche arrondie, boucles raides obliquement incisées sous le menton. Cf. 67.

69. \* *Ibidem* A 4118. De la Maison de l'Hermès. – Marcadé (1953) 500–512; Marcadé, *MusDélos* 35. 112. 152. 157. 293. 297. 300. 492 pl. 14. – I<sup>er</sup> quart du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. (inscr. de la base correspondante). – Coiffure alcaménienne et barbe archaïsante à mèches parallèles ondulées.

70. \* *Ibidem* A 5594. D'un puits près du Portique d'Antigone. – Marcadé, *MusDélos* 157. 299 pl. 13. – II<sup>e</sup>–I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Au lieu de la couronne de boucles sur le front, mèches ordonnées en triangle. Chevelure nervurée sur le crâne et la nape dorsale, avec des «anglaises» torsadées. Longues moustaches se mêlant aux mèches de la barbe réparties de façon axiale.

Plastique en bronze

71. (= Agon 14, = Dionysos 170\* avec bibl., = Eros 712) Pilier hermaïque servant d'appui à la statue d'Eros *Enagonios*. Tunis, Bardo. Du navire naufragé de Mahdia. – Fuchs, W., *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia* (1963) 12–14 pl. 8. – Vers 130–120 av. J.-C. – La barbe est sculptée en trois parties bien différenciées: ailes des favoris, grande mouche ovale sous la lèvre, rabat carré avec des mèches tressées en cordes. Triple rangée de boucles perlées sur le front et parotides retombant bas sur les épaules. Un voile chiffonné recouvre la tête, pour le contact du coude d'Eros. Signature de Boéthos de Calcédoine (Bithynie).

72. a) \* Fr. d'un hermès-support. New York, MMA 1897.22.13. – Richter, *MetrMusBronzes* 121–122 n° 235; Marcadé (1953) 506–507 fig. 11. – Ép. romaine? – Le trou au sommet du crâne autorise l'identification comme support. Coiffure durement sculptée en casque. Tripartition de la barbe en registres superposés de mèches. – b) Buste. New York, MMA 1919.192.1. – Inédit? – Ép. gréco-romaine. – Haut de pilier hermaïque. La perruque de boucles renvoie globalement au type de Pergame.

73. Pilier hermaïque. Paris, Petit Palais DUT 12. – Petit, J., *Bronzes ant. de la coll. Dutuit* (1980) 106–107 n° 41. – Ép. gréco-romaine. – Sur un très long fût,

orné du phallus et s'amincissant vers le bas, la tête se caractérise par une barbe carrée et par une coiffure en bourrelet sur le front, en chignon sur la nuque, avec deux rubans retombant sur les épaules.

#### Terres cuites

74. Pella, Mus. E 1007. - Inédit. - Ep. hellénistique. - La tête est coiffée d'un diadème qui surmonte une couronne de boucles à trois rangées. Parotides sur les épaules. Barbe carrée à mèches lisses.

75. \* Délos, Mus. A 3365. Du quartier du théâtre. - Laumonier, A., *EADélos* XXIII. *Les figurines de terre cuite* (1956) 127 n° 324 pl. 37. - Pilier. Tête coiffée d'un polos.

76. \* Paris, Louvre D 277. D'Eléonte. - Besques III 148 pl. 57 a. - Fin I<sup>er</sup> s. av. - début I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Pilier sur base moulurée. Coiffure côtelée, parotides torsadées. «Dionysos» (Besques).

77. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 1556. De Priène. - Mendel, G., *Mus. Imp. Ottomans. Cat. des figurines gr. de terre cuite* (1908) n° 2088 pl. 6, 2. - II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Pilier au fût orné d'un phallus ailé et d'un caducée en relief. Tête couronnée de trois rangées de bouclettes et d'un strophion avec lemnisque retombant vers l'avant. Barbe à huit boucles torsadées.

78. \* Délos, Mus. A 3303. Du quartier du théâtre. - Laumonier, o. c. 75, 126 n° 319 pl. 35. - II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Pilier sur une base moulurée à degrés. Le fût est orné d'un caducée en relief. Les testicules sont noués par un ruban. Chevelure ceinte d'une couronne en bourrelet avec lemnisque retombant sur les épaules.

79. \* *Ibidem* A 3370. De l'Etablissement des Posédoniastes. - Laumonier, o. c. 75, 126-127 n° 320 pl. 25. - II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Pilier avec les mêmes ornements que 78. Au-dessus de la couronne qui ceint la tête, pétale égyptien.

80. Fr. de pilier. *Ibidem* A 3401. De la région entre le Portique d'Antigone et l'Agora des Italiens. - Laumonier, o. c. 75, 129 n° 334 pl. 36. - II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête brisée. De longues parotides ondulantes sur les épaules. Tenons garnis d'offrandes (galette et fruits). «Hermès dionysiaque» (Laumonier).

#### H. Les hermès juvéniles

Cf. *etiam* «Mantelhermen», Commentaire p. 374.

#### Ronde bosse

81. \* Pilier hermaïque en marbre de Paros. Délos, Mus. A 5637. De la Maison de l'Hermès. - Marcadé (1953) 512-527 fig. 15-17. - II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Le fût était décoré d'ornements polychromes aujourd'hui évanides: sous le sexe (qui était en bronze et rapporté), nœud de ruban (cf. 78-79) et caducée enrubanné; bandeau et frise de postes rouges tout en bas. Traces de couleurs à la tête qui est d'un jeune athlète imberbe idéalisé portant un strophion arrondi sur une chevelure courte et bouclée.

82. \* Les hermès du Gymnase de Délos. Retenons deux des six exemplaires recueillis: a) \* Petit buste.

Délos, Mus. Du Gymnase (derrière la salle G). - Michalowski, C., «Les hermès du Gymnase de Délos», *BCH* 54, 1930, 137-138 pl. 5. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête idéalisée de jeune athlète, portant un bandeau dans une chevelure courte. - b) \* Tête en marbre. *Ibidem* A 3862. De la région au S.-O. du Gymnase. - Michalowski, C., *EADélos* XIII. *Les portraits hellénistiques et romains* (1932) 55-56 pl. 39. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête d'athlète ceinte d'un bandeau arrondi serrant une chevelure à mèches bouclées. Les yeux (pièces rapportées, du même marbre, où manquent l'iris et la pupille) sont enfoncés sous les arcades.

83. \* Pilier en marbre. *Ibidem* A 6992. De la région au sud de l'Agora des Compétaliastes. - Marcadé, *MusDélos* 158 n. 3; 421 n. 1 pl. 16-17. - Tête juvénile d'athlète lysippique, sans strophion ni bandeau dans les cheveux.

84. \* Pilier en marbre. *Ibidem* A 6888. - Marcadé, *MusDélos* 109. 158. 208 n. 1 pl. 16. - Sculpture inachevée. Fût drapé. Tête aux yeux petits, aux cheveux fournis (type Satyre?).

85. \* Pilier en marbre de Paros. *Ibidem* CLXXII. Du quartier du théâtre. - Michalowski, o. c. 82b, 56-57 fig. 35 pl. 40. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Le sexe et les tenons étaient rapportés. Tête à traits réalistes (cf. *etiam* Marcadé [1953] 520).

86. Tête en marbre. Athènes, Agora S 1021. De la région du portique N.-E. - Harrison 162 n° 209 pl. 55. - Ep. antonine. - Tête juvénile idéalisée à courtes mèches bouclées serrées par un bandeau.

#### Terres cuites

87. \* Petit pilier sur base quadrangulaire moulurée, chargée d'offrandes et munie d'une fente de tirelire. Délos, Mus. A 3386. De la région entre le Portique d'Antigone et l'Agora des Italiens. - Laumonier, o. c. 75, 128-129 n° 331 pl. 36. - Chevelure courte ceinte d'une couronne en bourrelet. Lemnisque descendant sur les tenons.

88. Groupe sur base ronde. Paris, Louvre B 130. De Myrina. - Mollard-Besques II 130 pl. 156 b. - Un enfant dont les longues draperies découvrent le ventre prend appui sur un hermès phallique imberbe à la tête couronnée. Cf. *etiam* un petit hermès en bronze. Délos, Mus. A 723. - Deonna, o. c. 290, 307 pl. 90, 795. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Le pilier phallique est surmonté d'une tête enfantine (peut-être d'Eros).

#### Reliefs: stèles funéraires

89. \* Délos, Mus. De Délos. - Couilloud 123 n° 167 pl. 39. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A l'arrière-plan de deux personnages drapés figurés dans un naiskos, pilier hermaïque de trois quarts à dr., non ithyphallique. Tête juvénile avec bandeau dans les cheveux.

90. \* Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. I 1061. De Rhénée? - Couilloud 96-97 n° 90 pl. 20. - Fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Scène de *dexiosis*. A l'arrière-plan du couple, hermès juvénile vers la g. Un jeune garçon, de trois quarts face, s'appuie contre le pilier.

91. \* *Ibidem* I 753. De Rhénée? - Couilloud 155-156 n° 297 pl. 58. - Fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Au

centre d'un naiskos un personnage drapé tient d'une main un rouleau et saisit de l'autre le tenon d'un hermès juvénile figuré de face à sa dr.

#### I. L'imagerie du pilier hermaïque

Vases attiques (à f. v. sauf mention contraire)

##### 1. L'hermès devant un autel

92. \* Skyphos. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2594. De Nola. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 367, 104: P. de Triptolème; *CVA* 3, pl. 141, 1. 3. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - A et B: hermès vers la dr. et la g.

93. \* Amphore de Nola. Boston, MFA 68.163. - *Para* 402: P. de Nikon; Boardman, *ARFH* 195 fig. 364. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - A: hermès vers la g.; sur le fût inscr. ΓΑΛΥΚΩΝ, ΚΑΛΟΣ. B: femme avec oenochoé et phiale.

94. \* Péliké. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2172. D'Etrurie. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 581, 4: P. de Persée; Boardman, *ARFH* 180 fig. 330. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - A: hermès à g.; un oiseau perché sur le sexe l'embrasse sur la bouche. B: hermès et acolyte, = 156.

##### 2. L'hermès devant un autel dans un décor de sanctuaire

95. \* Trois lécythes attribués au P. de Bowdoin (480-470 av. J.-C.): a) Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. 85/1. D'Italie. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 685, 164; Simon, *Götter* 308 fig. 294; Vernant, J.-P., et al., *La cité des images* (1984) 57 fig. 86. - Hermès vers la g. (fût du pilier couvert d'une résille et orné d'un caducée); lièvre accroché à une colonne; dans le champ, pinax avec Silène. - b) \* Palerme, Mus. Reg. V 687. De Géla. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 685, 163; *CVA* 1, pl. 23, 4. - Hermès vers la dr. (fût décoré: résille, «bâton»); colonne; pinax dans le champ. - c) \* Londres, BM E 585. De Nola. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 685, 162; Goldman 65 fig. 8. - Hermès (fût à résille) vers la dr.; colonne derrière l'autel; dans le champ, deux pinakes: Silène et un hermès vers la g.

96. Lécythe. Tübingen, Univ. S/10 1386 (E 80). D'Athènes. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 734, 84: P. de Karlsruhe; *CVA* 5, pl. 39, 1. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - Hermès (caducée sur le pilier) vers la dr.; dans le champ, cornes et pinax avec capridé.

97. \* Deux lécythes sur lesquels le sanctuaire comporte un arbre: a) \* Tübingen, Univ. 5606. - *CVA* 5, pl. 42, 9-10: manière du P. d'Icare. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - Derrière l'hermès de profil à dr., un palmier. - b) Local. inconnue. - Gerhard, E., *Akad. Abh. u. kleine Schriften* (1868) pl. 63, 1. - Derrière l'hermès de profil à dr., un arbre dénudé. Dans le champ, bucrane et pinakes.

##### 3. L'hermès devant un loutéron

98. \* Skyphos. Paris, Cab. Méd. 839. De Nola. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 367, 97: P. de Triptolème; Durand, J.-L./Lisarrague, Fr., *Arts et légendes d'espaces* (1981) 130 fig. 5. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - Hermès à dr. en avant d'un loutéron. Dans le champ, deux pinakes avec piliers hermaïques à g. Pour un pilier hermaïque sous forme de

statuette dans le champ, cf. *etiam* 817; pinax avec hermès de face entouré de Silènes dansants: cf. 111.

##### 4. Pilier hermaïque dans un naiskos

99. (= Dionysos 162\* avec bibl.) Olpé. Francfort, Mus. f. Kunsthandwerk KH 577. - Milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. plutôt que Dionysos. Cf. *etiam* le cratère en cloche 121.

##### 5. Processions sacrificielles devant un hermès

100. \* Cratère à colonnettes. Naples, Mus. Naz. H 3369. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 523, 9: P. des Vergers. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - Cortège de trois femmes et d'une petite fille (portant kanoun et rameaux) vers un hermès en avant d'un autel (fût avec caducée).

101. \* Coupe. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 305. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 416, 3: P. du Louvre G 265; *CVA* 1, pl. 2, 3; 7, 1-2; Boardman, *ARFH* 137 fig. 278. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - I: femme courant; A: aulète et garçon devant un hermès; B: homme assis et jeunes gens.

102. \* Canthare f. n. du type Cabirion. Kassel, Staatl. Kunstslg. T 424. - *CVA* 1, pl. 48, 4-6; Simon, *Götter* 305 fig. 291; Braun, K., dans *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben IV, Bemalete Keramik* (1981) 66 n° 389. - Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Cortège de personnages drapés conduisant un taureau vers un hermès.

102bis. \* Cratère en cloche. Ferrare, Mus. Naz. 42888. De Spina (T. 870B VP). - *Dionysos, mito e mistero*, Cat. exp. (1989) 120 n° 55. - Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: un éphèbe conduit un taureau devant un pilier hermaïque flanqué d'un autel. Dans le champ, pinax avec ménade (→ Mainas)? B: trois éphèbes en manteau.

##### 6. Cortège nuptial passant devant un hermès

103. Loutrophore. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. 69/78. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1102, (iii) 2: proche du P. de Naples; *Para* 451; Weiß, C., *AGRP* (Copenhague) 652-662 fig. 1-14. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - Devant une porte joutée d'un autel, hermès de trois quarts face. Passe une aulète suivi d'une porteuse de loutrophore et d'autres personnages.

##### 7. Libation à l'hermès

104. \* Petite amphore à col f. n. Londres, BM 1856.12-26.220. - Haspels, *ABL* 219, 65: P. d'Edimbourg; Boardman, *ABFH* 147 fig. 243. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - Homme drapé tenant un rameau et faisant une libation sur l'autel devant un hermès.

105. \* (= Kaineus 5 avec bibl.) Oenochoé f. n. Francfort, Mus. f. Vor- u. Frühgesch. VF 307. - *ABV* 528, 46; *Para* 264, 46: atelier du P. d'Athènes; *JdI* 25, 1910, 457 fig. 1. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - Libations sur un autel devant un hermès de face, environné de rameaux, tournant la tête vers la jeune femme au panier sacrificiel.

106. \* Deux fr. de cratères en cloche conservant le geste de la libation devant un hermès: a) \* Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 2477. De Tarente. - *CVA* Scheerleer 2, pl. 4, 8. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - Homme barbu devant un hermès, bucrane dans le champ. - b) Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. 1216, 43. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1181, 32. 1685:

P. du dinos d'Athènes; CVA 1, pl. 34, 10. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - Phiale tendue vers un hermès (caducée sur le fût) en avant d'un autel.

107.\* Olpé. Francfort, Mus. f. Vor- u. Frühgesch. VF 414. - CVA 2, pl. 79, 5-6. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Femme drapée aux hanches versant une libation sur l'autel devant un hermès; éphèbe avec phiale se retournant.

## 8. Offrandes à l'hermès

108.\* Coupe. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 6327. De Capoue. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 413, 16: P. de la Dokimasie de Berlin; CVA 3, pl. 143, 1 b. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - A et B: chasses. I: à côté d'un *terma* un jeune homme couronne un hermès.

109. (= Eros 449\* avec bibl.) Coupe. New York, MMA 57.12.21. - Vers le milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Eros de trois quarts face porte une main sur l'épaule d'un hermès, en tenant de l'autre une bandelette.

110. Lécythe aryballisque. Kassel, Staatl. Kunstslg. 356. - Metzger, *Recherches* 83 n° 21 pl. 33. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Eros couronne un hermès imberbe juché sur une colonnette. Jeune femme apportant un plateau de fruits et un collier, autre jeune femme appuyée contre un tympanon.

111.\* (= Eros 451\* avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 725. - Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Eros dans l'attitude du vol présente un plateau de fruits et une bandelette à un hermès imberbe coiffé d'un pétase; autel et *pinax* (cf. 98).

112. (= Aphrodite 1334\*) Cratère en calice. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1669 (CC 1914). - Metzger, *Recherches* 83-84 n° 23 pl. 31, 2. - Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Eros couronné dépose une phiale aux pieds de deux hermès (d'H. et d'Aphrodite?) montés sur le même socle.

113.\* Cratère en calice. Leningrad, Ermitage B 4543. - Metzger, *Recherches* 85 n° 25 pl. 38, 1. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Voyageurs autour d'un hermès. L'un d'entre eux insère un rameau dans la couronne du dieu.

### Vases italiotes (à f. r.)

114.\* Cratère en cloche lucanien. Trieste, Mus. Civ. 1694. - LCS 24, 73 pl. 6, 4: P. de Pistici; CVA 6, pl. 233, 2 a-b. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - Offrande d'un rameau par un personnage drapé et couronné portant un bâton; spectateur derrière l'hermès (caducée sur le fût). Bucrane dans le champ.

115.\* Cratère en cloche apulien. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. B 774. - RVAp I 132, 290: P. de Leesen; CVA pl. 80, 3. - Vers le milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Sous un arbre, un hermès imberbe coiffé du pétase (figuration quasi caricaturale de la tête) se présente de face, entre deux autres personnages aussi de face: femme debout présentant un coffret; homme assis sur un rocher, tenant d'une main une lance et désignant de l'autre le pilier.

116.\* Hydrie campanienne. Genève, Mus. 15029. - LCS 467, 136: atelier du P. CA (Cumes); Schauenburg (1983) 47 pl. 18, 37. - 3<sup>e</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Femmes et Eros autour d'un pilier hermaïque très bas que l'une des femmes couronne.

### Relief en marbre

117. Munich, Glypt. 264. - Fuchs, W., *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs. JdI Erg.-H. XX* (1959) 8-12 pl. 1 a. - Fin de l'époque d'Hadrien (atelier néo-attique). - Une jeune fille couronne un hermès (schéma du «couronnement du trophée», mais par l'arrière); devant le pilier, autre jeune fille inspirée de la → Nike attachant sa sandale.

## 9. Rôtissage sacrificiel devant l'hermès

118.\* Cratère att. à colonnettes f. n. Londres, BM B 362. - Durand, J.-L., *Sacrifice et labour en Grèce ancienne* (1986) 117-118 fig. 38. - Vers la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Autel embrasé devant un hermès de profil à g., *splanchnoptès* et *mageiros*, *kanoun* sur un support. Dans le champ, bandelette et quartiers de viande.

### Vases attiques à f. r.

119. Cratère à colonnettes. Naples, Mus. Naz. 127929 De Cumes. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 551, 15: P. de Pan; Beazley, J. D., *Der Pan-Maler* (1931) pl. 30; Boardman, *ARFH* I 180-181 fig. 340; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 124 pl. 173. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - A: devant un hermès de face, couronné: *splanchnoptès*, porteur de *kanoun*, homme drapé portant un bâton et versant une libation sur l'autel embrasé. B: *kômos*.

120.\* Fr. d'oenochoé. Paris, Louvre CA 1860. De Grèce. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1172, 17: Polion; Metzger, *Recherches* 80 n° 8 pl. 29, 2. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - *Splanchnoptès* devant hermès à g.

121.\* Cratère en cloche. Kiel, Kunsthalle Ant.-Slg. 54. D'Athènes. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1334, 14: P. de Nicias; Lullies 1, 30 n° 78; Metzger, *Recherches* 80 n° 9; Schauenburg, K., *AA* 1981, 348 fig. 348. - 420-410 av. J.-C. - A: scène sacrificielle avec *splanchnoptès* autour d'un autel. A dr. hermès couronné, sur une haute base, dans un *naïskos* (cf. sous 99). B: jeunes gens autour d'un *terma*.

122.\* Cratère en cloche. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 17924. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1334, 15: P. de Nicias; Metzger, *Recherches* 80 n° 10 pl. 32, 1. - 420-410 av. J.-C. - A: trois *splanchnoptai* (l'un d'eux porte un plateau) autour d'un autel bas en forme d'omphalos. A dr. hermès imberbe de profil sur une colonnette. B: deux jeunes gens.

123.\* (= Hera 412 avec bibl. et renvois) Cratère à volutes. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1093. De Ruvo. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1184, 1: P. de Cadmos; Para 460; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* 20-21 K 10 pl. 14. - 410-400 av. J.-C. - A: assemblée autour de Dionysos. B: Apollon et Marsyas. Sur le col de A: scène sacrificielle avec *splanchnoptès*, aulète, prêtre avec phiale, spectateurs. A g., de profil, hermès (caducée sur le fût) avec pétase ailé et rameau piqué dans le tenon.

## 10. Scènes culturelles diverses

124. (= Herakles 1336\* avec bibl.) Skyphos f. n. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 12626 (N 922). - Ure, A. D., *JHS* 75, 1955, 92 n° 10 pl. 6, 4; 7, 5: «Sub-Krokotos Group», P. de l'hermès. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: Jugement de Pâris. B: Héraclès, en présence d'Athéna, dé-

coupe un bélier devant un hermès. *Kanoun* posé sur la base d'un pilier, cratère derrière Héraclès.

125. Péliké f. r. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. 1962.62. - Para 386, 91 bis: P. de Pan; Durand, *o. c.* 118, 135 fig. 59. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - A: jeune homme (pagne, pilos) saisissant par la patte un porcelet devant un hermès de face. B: deux hermès, = 142.

### Reliefs

126. *Pinax* en terre cuite. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. D'Olynthe. - *Olynthus* VII 94-95 n° 374 pl. 47. - Fin V<sup>e</sup>-début IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A côté d'un hermès barbu de face (caducée en relief sur le fût), personnage juvénile drapé aux hanches, une phiale dans la main g., flanqué d'un caducée en relief dans le champ, posant la main dr. sur la tête d'un bélier. Deux bucranes dans le champ. Cf. *etiam* 301.

127. Stèle-naïskos en marbre. Bursa, Mus. 4291. De la région de Milétopolis. - Pfuhl/Möbius II 330 n° 1377 pl. 200. - III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Cavalier avançant vers un autel orné d'un bélier en relief, sur lequel une femme verse une libation. A l'arrière-plan, sous un arbre à serpent, hermès imberbe vers la g. Scène de culte funéraire (inscr.).

Cf. *etiam* Pfuhl/Möbius n°s 1357, 1375.

128. Relief en marbre. Erésos, Coll. Arch. 137. D'Erésos. - Pfuhl/Möbius II 351 n° 1382 pl. 214. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Couple de face encadrant un autel rond, à l'arrière duquel se dresse sur une base un petit hermès de face (coiffé d'un *modius*?). L'homme tient par les cornes un bélier qui pose les pattes sur l'autel. Sacrifice funéraire.

## 11. Le pilier hermaïque et le thiasé

129. Lécythe att. f. n. Tarente, Mus. Naz. 6250. De Satyrion. - Para 215: P. de Géla; *NotSc* 1964, 269. - 490-480 av. J.-C. - Satyres (→ Silenos, Silenoi) avec cithare près d'un hermès.

### Vases attiques à f. r.

130.\* Péliké. Dresde, Staatl. Kunstslg. ZV 2335. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 531, 25; 1658: P. d'Alkimachos; Brommer, *Satyrspiele* 65 fig. 64. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - A: Satyre drapé portant bâton et levant la main vers un hermès. B: Niké avec torche et thymiatérion.

130 bis.\* Cratère à colonnettes. Genève, Mus. HR 85. - Chamay, J., *QuadTic* 17, 1988, 125-126 pl. 1, 1a: P. de Géras. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - A: Satyre vêtu en citoyen, présentant un rameau à un hermès de profil à g. B: hoplite s'armant devant Athéna.

131. Cratère en cloche. Varsovie, Mus. Nat. 142355. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1045, 6: P. de Lykaon; CVA Goluchow pl. 24. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - A: Dionysos et thiasé. B: assemblée de deux Satyres drapés portant bâtons et d'une Ménade autour d'un hermès de face. Bucrane dans le champ.

131 bis.\* Cratère en cloche. Ferrare, Mus. Naz. 8149. De Spina (Valle Pega T 142 B). - *Dionysos*, *o. c.* 102 bis, 121 n° 57. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: cortège sacrificiel se dirigeant vers un hermès de profil à g.: éphèbe avec phiale, jeune femme portant un coq, Pan tenant le *kanoun*. B: trois éphèbes en manteau.

132.\* Cratère en calice. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 22934. De Camarina. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1050, 4: Gr. de Polygnotos, P. de Pantoxéna; CVA 1, pl. 12. - Vers 430 av. J.-C. - A: de profil à g., un hermès anthropomorphe entièrement drapé d'un chiton brodé. Les pieds apparaissent au bas de la gaine. Couronné, barbu, phallique, il lève un skyphos d'une main et le caducée de l'autre. Derrière lui, Satyre dadophore se retournant; en face de lui, Ménade au thyrsé. B: trois éphèbes.

133. Fr. de cratère. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 723. D'Olynthe. - *Olynthus* V 160 n° 294 pl. 132. - 350-325 av. J.-C. - Thiasé passant devant un hermès de trois quarts à dr. Dionysos sur un bouc, Satyre se retournant en saluant le pilier.

134. Cratère en calice. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 12909. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1460, 56: Gr. des Cratères en calice tardifs; Metzger, *Recherches* 87 n° 35 pl. 39, 1-2. - 325-300 av. J.-C. - A l'intérieur d'un sanctuaire (colonnes), deux Ménades (thyrsé et tympanon) dansent autour d'un hermès de profil à g. Contre le pilier est appuyé un *obélaios ápros*. Cf. *etiam* Metzger, *Recherches* 88 n° 38 pl. 42, 1-2.

### Vases italiotes (f. r.)

135.\* Cratère en cloche lucanien. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 724. - LCS 34, 118: P. de Pistici; CVA 2, pl. 4, 3. - 440-430 av. J.-C. - A: une femme présente une bandelette à un hermès de profil vers la g. Derrière le pilier, un Satyre, le pied sur un rocher. B: trois éphèbes drapés.

136.\* Deux cratères en cloche lucaniens, à composition semblable inverse: a)\* Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 3631. - LCS 24, 72: P. de Pistici; CVA 6, pl. 233, 2 a-b. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - A: hermès (caducée sur le fût) accosté d'un autel, de profil à dr. Derrière lui, Ménade au thyrsé; devant lui, un Satyre lève un rhyton. B: trois éphèbes drapés. - b) Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. 942. - LCS 28, 98 pl. 8: P. du Cyclope. - 420-410 av. J.-C. - La Ménade derrière le pilier, à dr.; le Satyre levant le rhyton, devant le pilier, à g.

137. Deux autres cratères en cloche avec scènes du thiasé: a) Local. inconnue. - *MuM Aukt.* 56 (1980) n° 111: P. de Pistici. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - A: hermès (caducée sur le fût) de profil à dr. Derrière lui, Ménade; devant lui, Satyre présentant une grappe. - b) Cratère apulien. Lecce, Mus. Prov. 772. - CVA 2, pl. 20, 1. 3; Bernardini, M., *Il Mus. Prov. di Lecce* (1958) 43. - Sous une treille, personnages du thiasé (thyrses, canthare, tympanon) autour d'un petit pilier hermaïque sur lequel a grimpé un Pan pour cueillir une grappe.

### Monnaies

138. AR didrachmes, Naxos (Sicile), 420-403 av. J.-C. - Cahn, H. A., *Die Münzen der sizilischen Stadt Naxos* (1944) 62-87, 134-136, pl. 5. 12. Type 107/R 89; Rizzo, *MGS* pl. 28, 25-28. - Av. Tête d'Apollon à dr. Rv. Silène au canthare accroupi de trois quarts face près d'un pilier hermaïque de trois quarts profil à g.

## 12. L'hermès des places et des rues

139. Olpé f. n. Paestum, Mus. Naz. - Wrede



(1972) 143-144 pl. 78; Lehnstaedt, K., *ProceSSIONsdarstellungen auf attischen Vasen* (Diss. München 1970) 28. 129 pl. 3, 3. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - A: un paysan barbu, portant un *kanoun*(?) conduit un bélier dans une rue bordée d'hermès: à g. un pilier orné d'un rameau, à dr. une enfilade de trois autres piliers. Rue aux hermès débouchant à l'angle N. O. de l'Agora? B: joueuse de flûte suivie d'un homme barbu brandissant un bâton (AJA 60, 1956, 391 n. 12 pl. 128, 3).

#### Vases attiques à f. r.

140.\* Skyphos fr. (type corinthien). Thasos, Mus. De Liménas. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1627: P. de Nikosthénès (sign. du potier); Poursat, J.-Cl., BCH 92, 1968, 555-558 fig. 1. 5. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - La partie conservée du pilier, avec deux phalloi contigus, autorise à restituer un pilier tricéphale ou tétracéphale. Il s'agit vraisemblablement de ce dernier cas: l'hermès tétracéphale du Céramique. A l'entour, danse armée.

141.\* Péliké fr. Paris, Louvre Cp 10793. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 555, 92: P. de Pan; La Genière 249-253; Simon, Götter 308 fig. 295. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - A: trois hermès, celui du milieu de face et les deux autres de trois quarts. B: procession sacrificielle. Hermès du monument de Cimon?

142. (= 125 [A]) Péliké. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. 1966.62. - B: deux hermès de face.

#### 13. Conversations avec un hermès

143.\* Olpe f. n. Paris, Louvre F 325. - ABV 448, 2: Dot-Ivy Gr.; Pottier, Vases Louvre II 129-130 pl. 85. - Vers la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Ephèbes en manteau devant deux hermès, l'un de face, l'autre de profil et comme penchés l'un vers l'autre. Geste des deux mains levées du premier éphèbe. Cf. etiam 105.

#### Vases attiques à f. r.

144.\* Coupe. Genève, Mus. I 529. - Para 336: P. de Berlin 2268; CVA 1, pl. 7, 1. 3-4; 9, 5. - Vers 510-500 av. J.-C. - I: Satyre portant deux outres. A-B: scène de palestre. Ephèbes devant et derrière un hermès de profil à g. Attitudes et gestes de conversation.

145. Amphore. La Haye, Gemeente Mus. M 2026. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 292, 32: P. de Tyszkiewicz; Gerhard, AV pl. 276, 1-2; BurlMag 1903, pl. 99 n° 83. - 500-490 av. J.-C. - Un homme drapé, penché sur son bâton, accompagné d'un chien, lève la main vers un hermès de profil à g. Vase restauré.

146.\* Coupe. Paris, Louvre Cp 10994. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 824, 23: P. d'Orléans; Vernant, o. c. 95a, 31 fig. 43. - Vers 440-430 av. J.-C. - I: devant un hermès de profil, un éphèbe nu, de face, puise dans un loutéon. Cf. 98.

147.\* Coupe. Altenburg, Mus. 229. De Vulci. - CVA 2, pl. 70. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Dans un sanctuaire (autel, bucrane), face à face d'un hermès et d'un éphèbe drapé.

148.\* Cratère à colonnettes. Palerme, Mus. Reg. V 790. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 563, 12: Pig P.; CVA 1, pl. 42. - 460-450 av. J.-C. - A: deux éphèbes drapés encadrent

un hermès de profil à dr.; celui de g. lève la main. B: hommes et éphèbes.

149.\* Coupe. - MuM Sonderliste N (1971) n° 83: P. de Veis (atelier du P. de Penthésilée). - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - I: face à face d'un hermès et d'un éphèbe drapé appuyé sur son bâton.

150. (= Dionysos 172\* avec bibl.) Oenochoé. Paris, Louvre CA 1683. - Vers 425 av. J.-C. - Enfant avec voiturette levant la main vers un hermès imberbe (de Dionysos? d'H.) accosté d'un autel.

151. Péliké, Leningrad, Ermitage B 2709. - Metzger, Recherches 84 n° 24 pl. 30, 2. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Un voyageur pose le pied sur le degré inférieur d'un triple socle où se dresse un hermès (caducée sur le fût) coiffé d'un polos. Un objet rond (petit vase ou sac?) est suspendu au sexe. Schéma du face à face d'Oedipe et de la Sphinx (→ Oidipous).

152. Cratère en calice. Paris, Mus. Rodin TC 966. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1449, 6: P. de Rodin 966; Metzger, Recherches 85 n° 27 pl. 38, 2. - Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Hermès imberbe de profil à dr. sur un haut socle à deux degrés. Voyageurs: celui de g. assis (un Eros vole vers lui), celui de dr. s'éloigne en levant la main vers le pilier.

#### 14. Scènes de supplication et d'attouchement d'un hermès

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

153.\* Cratère à colonnettes. Bologne, Mus. Civ. 206. De Bologne. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 537, 12: P. de Borée; CVA 1, pl. 27; Simon, Götter 309 fig. 297. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - A: à g. une jeune femme lève la main vers un hermès, tandis que son autre main est refermée sur un objet (bandelette?). A dr. un vieillard saisit le menton d'un deuxième hermès, chenu comme le suppliant. Arbre à l'arrière-plan. B: jeune fille entre deux éphèbes.

154.\* Coupe. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2525. De Selva la Rocca. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 931, 4: P. de Curtius; CVA 3, pl. 111. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - I: une jeune fille se penche vers un hermès qu'elle saisit aux épaules. Pilier accosté d'un autel. A-B: couples d'hommes et d'éphèbes.

155.\* Amphore. Laon, Mus. Arch. 37.1023. De Nola? - ARV<sup>2</sup> 553, 33: P. de Pan; CVA 1, pl. 27, 1. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - A: départ de guerrier. B: éphèbe entre deux hermès, touchant la barbe de l'un d'eux, dont le sexe porte une guirlande.

156. (= 94 [A]) Péliké. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2172. - B: acolyte portant le *kanoun* du sacrifice, passant devant un hermès dont il touche le sexe.

#### 15. L'hermès dans les maisons et les jardins

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

157. (= Herakles 1679\* avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche. Munich, Antikenslg. 2398. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1446, 3: P. de Pourtalès. - 375-350 av. J.-C. - Devant une maison (colonnes, fenêtre), dans un jardin (arbre), Héradès prend son fils → Hyllus (I) des bras de Déjanire. Parmi d'autres personnages, un hermès de profil à dr. ferme la scène du côté g.

158.\* (= Aphrodite 212 avec bibl.) Lékanis. Le-

ningrad, Ermitage IO.O.9 (St. 1791). De Kertch. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1476, 3: P. Eleusinien; Metzger, Recherches 86 n° 31 pl. 36. - Vers le milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Scène de gynécée. Une jeune femme, couronnée à la main, est accoudée sur un hermès «philosophe» représenté de face (tête un peu tournée vers l'épaule dr.).

159. Lékanis, Leningrad, Ermitage St. 1858. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1475, 7: P. de Marsyas; Metzger, Recherches 86 n° 32 pl. 37. - Vers le milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Scène de gynécée. Sur une colonnette, hermès de petite taille, non phallique, imberbe, de profil à g.

#### 16. L'hermès des chemins et des campagnes

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

160.\* Oenochoé. Rome, Mus. Cap. 51. - CVA 1, pl. 44, 1-2: P. d'Athéna. - 500-490 av. J.-C. - Un cavalier et son chien passent devant un hermès de profil à dr.

161. Oenochoé. Rome, Pal. Cons. - ABV 525, 10: P. d'Athéna ou son atelier. - Vers 500-490 av. J.-C. - Cavalier passant devant un hermès.

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

162.\* Coupe. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2298. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 364, 52; Para 364: P. de Triptolème: CVA 2, pl. 66, 5. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - I: un portefaix courbé sous le poids d'un grand sac passe devant un hermès; autel à g. A-B: symposium.

163. Péliké. Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 3727. De Cerveteri. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 555, 88: P. de Pan; CVA 1, pl. 76, 1-3; Beazley, o. c. 119, 13 n° 36 pl. 23, 1-2. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - A: pêcheurs. B: pêcheur passant devant un hermès de profil à dr., dont le tenon est décoré d'une guirlande.

164.\* Péliké. Compiègne, Mus. Vivenel 970. De Nola. - CVA 1, pl. 17, 11-12; Metzger, Recherches 78 n° 1 pl. 30, 1. - 460-450 av. J.-C. - Pan, muni d'un long manche renflé en entonnoir, se tient devant un paysage montagneux (sentiers, rochers, végétation) que couronne un hermès de profil à dr.

165. (= Aktaion 15, = Artemis 1396 [A], = Daphnis 1 [B] avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche. Boston, MFA 10.185. De Cumes. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 550, 1: P. de Pan; Para 386. 387; Add<sup>2</sup> 256; Beazley, o. c. 119, pl. 2; Boardman, ARFH I 181 fig. 335, 1. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - A: mort d'Actéon. B: Pan poursuivant un berger. A dr., sur un monticule rocheux, idole hermaïque (en bois taillé?) figurée de profil à g.

166. Lécythe. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 3036. D'Érétie - ArchEph 1908, 51 pl. 8; Metzger, Recherches 78 n° 2; Vernant, o. c. 95a, 56 fig. 85. - 440-430 av. J.-C. - Chasseur se dirigeant vers une idole hermaïque à tête chauve, ithyphallique, érigée sur un monticule rocheux, pour lui offrir un rameau. Le pilier de l'hermès a l'aspect d'une planche.

167. (= Artemis 1418) Skyphos attique. Tübingen, Univ. S/10 1347. De Grèce. - Beazley, VPol 50 n. 5; Metzger, Recherches 78 n° 6 pl. 29, 1; CVA 5, pl. 21, 2. - 430-425 av. J.-C. - A: → Bendis et → Themis. B: en présence d'Artémis, Céphale (→ Kephalos) verse une libation à une idole hermaïque dressée sur un monticule de pierres. L'hermès ithyphallique, cambré,

de trois quarts à g., se caractérise par des formes anguleuses et un fût qui se rétrécit sous la taille. Sculpté dans un tronc.

168.\* Cratère en cloche. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 3760. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1156, 11: manière du P. du Dinos; CVA 4 pl. 148, 1; Bérard, Cl., RA 1982, 137-150 fig. 1-2. - Vers 420 av. J.-C. - A: rite du *pharmakos* (Bérard) devant un sanctuaire. A l'arrière-plan, un hermès de profil à g. émerge d'un vallonnement. B: éphèbes.

#### Relief

169. (= Aphrodite 1543\* avec bibl.) Relief en marbre. Chalcis, Mus. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Femme assise dans un paysage rocheux. Derrière elle, Eros. En face d'elle un homme se tient près d'un hermès dressé sur un rocher. Rencontre amoureuse? Relief érodé.

#### Monnaies

169 bis. AR tétradrachmes, Ségeste, 415-409 av. J.-C. - Lederer, Ph., Die Tetradrachmenprägung von Segesta (1910) 23-25 n° 10a-11a, J 6-J 7; Rizzo, MGS pl. 62, 14-17; 63, 9; Franke/Hirmer n° 203 pl. 71. - Av. Chasseur nu, de profil à dr., le pied surélevé, avec son chien à l'arrière-plan. Devant lui un petit hermès de profil à g. sur un tertre; il est ithyphallique et coiffé du pilos ou du pétase. Rv. Tête de la Nympe Ségeste (→ Segesta I).

#### 17. Fabrication, installation, transport d'un hermès

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

170.\* Coupe. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. Chr. VIII 967. De Grèce. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 75, 59; 1623: Epiktétos; Boardman, ARFH I 57-58 fig. 74. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - Hermoglyphe au travail. Assis sur un tabouret, il serre entre ses genoux le pilier qu'il est en train de sculpter. Outil dans le champ. L'artisan porte une couronne. Inscr. *ΗΙΙΑΡΧΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ*.

171.\* Péliké. Boston, MFA 13.100. De Suessula. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1139, 1: manière du P. de Hasselmann; Caskey/Beazley III n° 164 pl. 96. - 440-430 av. J.-C. - A: sculpteur installant un hermès dans un sanctuaire (autel; au mur: *pinax* et bucrane). B: garçon s'approchant.

172.\* Oenochoé. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 598. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 873, 30: manière du P. de Tarquinia; CVA 4, pl. 158, 9. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - Un Satyre se penche vers un socle pour y installer l'hermès qu'il porte.

173. Péliké. Leningrad, Ermitage. De Panticapée. - Brommer, Satyrspiele<sup>2</sup> 80 n° 137; Arias, P. E., EAA VII (1966) 68 fig. 97. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - Satyre marchant à grands pas en portant sur son épaule un hermès.

#### Situle italote

174. Foggia, Mus. Civ. 129339. - Schauenburg, K., dans Fsch. F. Brommer (1976) 247 n. 3 - Fabrique locale. - Le dieu H. tenant un hermès sur le bras, sur un char tiré par quatre Pans.

#### Figurine en terre cuite

175.\* (= Dionysos 171 avec bibl.) Athènes, Mus.

Nat. 4439. - Schneider-Herrmann, G., *AntK* 11, 1968, 112-113 pl. 30, 5. - Vers 460-450 av. J.-C. ? - Un Satyre campé dans une attitude d'attaque ou de défense (pieds largement écartés, peut-être arme brandie dans la main dr.) serre contre son épaule g. un hermès imberbe.

#### Gemmes

176. Chaton de bague en agate. New York, MMA 81.6.26. - Richter, *MetMusGems* 55 n° 223 pl. 34. Groupe étrusquant, - III<sup>e</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Assis sur un tabouret à haut pied, un artisan manie le fil à plomb devant un hermès dressé sur une base.

177. Sardoine. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. IX 1974. - AGOe I 70 n° 131 pl. 24. - Fin II<sup>e</sup>/début I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Assis sur un siège à dossier bas, un hermoglyphe tient dans la main dr. un maillet. Devant lui, un hermès. Inscr. *ΑΓ*.

178. \* Chaton de bague en onyx brun clair. Munich, Münzslg. A 1716. - AGDI 2 n° 747 pl. 86. - II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Hermoglyphe, un marteau dans la main dr., devant un hermès phallique cambré.

#### 18. Destruction d'un hermès ?

179. \* Péliké att. f. r. Lausanne, Mus. Arch. et Hist. 3250. - Para 355; Add 104 (286): P. de Geras; Bérard, Cl., *AntK* 9, 1966, 93-96 pl. 21; idem, *Anodoi* 75-87. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - A: un Satyre, le pied posé sur un pilier hermaïque renversé à terre, frappe d'un maillet la tête de l'hermès. B: oiseau-phallus sur un loutéon. Pour le schéma de A, cf. une amphore du P. d'Oinoklès: ARV<sup>2</sup> 647, 18; Boardman, *ARFH* I 194 fig. 363.

180. \* Chaton de bague en cornaline rouge orangé. Munich, Münzslg. - D'Istanbul, marché de l'art. - AGDI 2, 34 n° 734 pl. 85. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Un Eros se tient debout sur un hermès renversé à terre et manie une lyre: «Spannt eine Schildkrötenleier» (Brandt, E.)? Frappe le pilier?

#### 19. Un hermès dans une scène de phlyaque

##### Vases italiotes à f. r.

181. a) Cratère en cloche. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1932.517. - Trendall, *Phlyax Vases* n° 51 pl. 5 a. - 375-350 av. J.-C. - A: hermès de trois quarts vers la dr., le caducée appuyé contre le tenon. B: acteur de phlyaque s'approchant, muni d'une canne. - b) Cratère en cloche. Boston, MFA 69.951. - *RVAp* I 100 n° 251; Dumont, J. C., dans *Texte et image. Actes du coll. de Chantilly 1982* (1984) 139-140 pl. 33, 1. - Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Deux personnages de phlyques nus, face à face. Derrière le plus jeune un pilier hermaïque de palestre sur lequel sont déposés un aryballe et un vêtement. Cf. *etiam* 895 bis.

#### 20. Piliers hermaïques dans des scènes de genre

182. Vase plastique. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 01926. D'Olymthe. - *Olynthus* VII n° 406 pl. 58. - 400-350 av. J.-C. - Négrillon endormi entre deux hermès de face.

183. \* Chaton de bague en bronze. Munich, Münzslg. A 2542. D'Athènes. - Boardman, *GGFR*

302 pl. 811. - Ep. classique. - Chèvre bondissant devant un hermès de profil. Caducée dans le champ.

184. a) Chaton de bague en calcédoine blanche. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. IX B 1473. - AGOe I 140 n° 433 pl. 73. - Fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. av./début du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Un Eros joue de l'aulos double devant un hermès dressé de trois quarts sur un rocher. - b) Cornaline. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. IX B 729. - AGOe I 115 n° 322 pl. 56. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Face à un hermès barbu ithyphallique, un maître d'éloquence (une main tenant un rouleau, l'autre levée) répète son discours. Cf. *etiam* AGD I 955-956, 1488-1493.

#### 21. Scènes fragmentaires indéterminées

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

185. \* Fr. d'oenochœ. Athènes, Mus. Nat. De l'Acropole. - Graef/Langlotz II 2, 65 n° 704 pl. 54. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - Pilier hermaïque de face, brisé aux épaules. Bandelette dans les cheveux, un rameau piqué dans le tenon. A dr. traces d'un caducée, à g. du mufler d'un chien(?).

186. Coupe. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. 464.24. De Cerveteri. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 46, 130: Olto; CVA I, pl. 6, 4. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - I: hermès de face entre deux hommes en manteau. Celui de dr. s'appuie sur son bâton, celui de g. étend le bras au-dessus du pilier. Les pupilles de l'hermès sont peintes dans les coins intérieurs des yeux.

#### J. Quelques piliers hermaïques mentionnés dans les textes

187. a) Thuk. 6, 27: l'affaire des hermocopides; cf. *etiam* Aurenche 165-176. - b) And. de myst. 1, 62; Plut. Alc. 21: l'hermès de la tribu Egéïs près du Phorbanteion et de la maison de la famille de l'orateur; cf. *etiam* Harrison 117. - c) Philoch., *FGH* 328 F 40: l'hermès dédié par les archontes d'Athènes en 395/4 lors de la reconstruction des murs du Pirée et érigé à la porte de la ville; cf. *etiam* Harrison 113 n. 50. - d) Paus. 8, 31, 7: H. Agētōr en forme de pilier dans le sanctuaire des Grandes Déeses de Mégapolis. - e) Paus. 4, 33, 3: un hermès dans le passage de la porte d'Ithôme. - f) Paus. 2, 38, 7: des hermès en marbre sur le Mont Parnon donnent son nom au lieu-dit formant frontière entre Argos, Tégée et Sparte. - g) Paus. 8, 34, 6: un «Hermaion» avec un hermès ἐπὶ στῆλῃ à la frontière de Mégapolis et de la Messénie.

#### III. Hermès seul

##### A. Attitude de la course agenouillée

##### Vases attiques

188. \* Coupe de Siana f. n. Londres, BM 1906.12-15.3. De Rhodes. - ABV 57, 109: Peintre C; CVA 2, pl. 10, 2. - 570-560 av. J.-C. - I: H. (chlamyde, pétase) vers la g., la main dr. tendue en avant, le caducée horizontalement dans la main g.

189. Coupe f. n. Paris, Louvre E 193. D'Eléonte. - CVA 10, pl. 112, 1. 3-4. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - A-B: Héraclès et Amazones. I: H. (chlamyde, pétase, sandales ailées) vers la dr., la tête retournée.

190. Coupe à yeux bilingue. Anc. Castle Ashby, Northampton 63. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 55, 18: Olto; CVA pl. 32, 4; Boardman, *ARFH* I 56-57 fig. 61, 2; Vente Christie 2.7.1980, 90-91 n° 50. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - A-B: → Nereides entre les yeux (f. r.). I: H. (f. n.) vers la dr., en chlamyde, himation, pétase, sandales ailées, retournant la tête. Caducée tenu obliquement dans la main dr.

191. Coupe f. n. Londres, BM 64.10-7.298. - Atelier du P. d'Haimon, vers 475 av. J.-C. - A-B: Dionysos et femmes. I: H. (vêtement court, pétase) vers la dr., se retournant.

#### Gemmes

192. \* Chaton de bague scarabœide en calcédoine. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. FG 160. - AGD II 46 pl. 21, 75. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - H. (pétase, épaules drapées), de trois quarts face vers la g., main dr. levée, caducée tenu obliquement dans la main g.

193. Chaton de bague, scarabée en calcédoine. Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. 1964/1-24/14. De Marion. - Boardman, *AGGems* 94 n° 257 pl. 17. - Vers 510-500 av. J.-C. - H. (pétase, épaules drapées) accroupi de trois quarts face vers la g., le caducée tenu verticalement dans la main dr. Avatar du schéma de 192?

#### B. Attitude de la course ou de la marche

##### Vases attiques

194. Lécythe f. r. New York, MMA 25.78.2. De Géla. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 309, 12: P. de Tithonos; Richter/Hall n° 30 pl. 29. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - H. (chiton, manteau, sandales ailées) vers la dr., tête retournée; pétase sur la nuque, caducée tenu horizontalement dans la main g.

195. \* Fr. de petit cratère à colonnettes(?) f. r. Athènes, Mus. Nat. D'Athènes. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 521, 55: P. de Syracuse; Graef/Langlotz n° 832 pl. 74. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - H. en chiton, chlamyde, pétase, sandales ailées, le caducée obliquement levé dans la main dr.

196. Lécythe f. r. Anc. Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM* Aukt. 16 (1956) 128. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - H. marche vers la dr. en se retournant. Pétase sur la nuque, sandales ailées, caducée obliquement levé dans la main g.

197. \* Lécythe f. bl. Londres, BM 1900.7-27.4. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 643, 117: P. de Providence. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - H. (chiton, himation, pétase sur la nuque, sandales ailées) vers la g., tête retournée, le caducée levé obliquement dans la main g.

198. \* Mastos f. bl. f. n. Londres, BM B 681. - Para 309: classe de Pistias; Karydi, E., *AM* 77, 1962, 105-110 Beil. 29, 2-3. - Dernier quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: Apollon lyrique. B: H. vers la dr., tête retournée, en pétase, chiton court, draperies sur les bras, caducée obliquement levé dans la main dr.

199. Amphore f. r. Anc. Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM* Aukt. 56 (1980) n° 92: première période du P.

de Kléophradès? - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: H. (pétase, himation) vers la dr., se retournant; long caducée tenu obliquement dans la main g. B: éphèbe nu, courant en portant des quartiers de viande.

#### Gemme

200. Scarabée en cornaline. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1953.133. - Boardman *AGGems* 111 n° 338 pl. 24. - Fin de l'ép. archaïque. - H. de trois quarts à dr., épaules drapées, tête nue, pieds nus, le caducée contre l'aisselle dr., une couronne dans la main g.

#### Monnaie

201. AE. Athènes, ép. impériale. - *NumCommPaus* 148-149 n° 12 pl. DD 21. - *Rv.*: H. nu, en pétase, marche vers la g., la caducée dans la saignée du coude g., une bourse dans la main dr. avancée.

#### C. Debout, au repos

202. Aryballe f. n. New York, MMA 26.49. D'Attique. - ABV 83, 4: Néarchos; Richter, G. M. A., *AJA* 36, 1932, 273 pl. 10-11. - 560-550 av. J.-C. - Sur les côtés des anses, A: Persée (→ Perseus); B: H. (pétase, chiton, sandales ailées), la main dr. levée.

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

203. \* Coupe. Paris, Louvre G 10. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 83, 3: Skythès; Pottier, *VasesLouvre* pl. 89; CVA 10, pl. 13, 1-2; 14, 1; Zanker (1965) 31 pl. 5 a. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès et Achéloos. B: perdu. I: H. (pétase, sandales ailées, himation brodé) de profil à dr., la tête inclinée, une fleur dans la main g. levée, la dr. tenant presque horizontalement le caducée garni d'une bandelette.

204. Amphore. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 197, 5: P. de Berlin; Walter, *Götter* 277 fig. 245. - 500-490 av. J.-C. - A: Athéna. B: H. de trois quarts profil à g., en chiton, himation, pétase et bottines ailées. La main g. lève obliquement le caducée, la dr. fait un geste vers l'avant (une bandelette ou un objet entre les doigts?).

205. \* Amphore. New Haven, Yale Univ. 1913.133. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 201, 71: P. de Berlin; Buitron, *NewEngland* (1972) 82-83 n° 39. - 490-480 av. J.-C. - A: Athéna. B: H. (chiton brodé, himation, pétase, bottines ailées), de profil à dr., lève le caducée dans la main dr. avancée.

206. \* Amphore. Londres, BM E 268. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 198, 24: P. de Berlin; CVA 3, pl. 9, 2 a; 10, 2 a. - 490-480 av. J.-C. - A: Athéna. B: H. (chiton, chlamyde, bottines ailées, pétase sur la nuque) de trois quarts face vers la dr., la tête retournée; caducée dans la main g. écartée du corps.

207. \* Amphore. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 501. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 249, 7: P. de Sylée; Langlotz, *Kat-Würzb* n° 501 pl. 167-168; Zanker (1965) 68. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - A: Athéna (statue cultuelle?). B: H. en chlamyde, le pétase sur la nuque, les pieds nus, le caducée horizontal dans la main g., la main dr. avancée dans un geste qui s'adresse à la déesse de la face A.

208. \* Coupe. Paris, Louvre G 471. De Nola. -

ARV<sup>2</sup> 798, 1: P. d'Euaion; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* pl. 151. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - I: H. (chlamyde, pétase, bottines ailées) de face, la tête inclinée vers l'épaule dr.

#### Pinax en bronze

209. Plaquette en bronze repoussé. Héraklion, Mus. Arch. MH 3189. Du sanct. de Katô-Symi. - Lembési 45 A 60 pl. 33. 52. - Début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. de trois quarts face, la tête de profil vers la dr., la main dr. le long du corps, la g. tenant verticalement la caducée. Le dieu est figuré en jeune athlète nu, les cheveux courts retenus par un bandeau. Cf. commentaire p. 380.

#### Bague

210. Anneau en or avec chaton en cornaline. Brunswick, Bowdoin Coll. 1902.20. De Chypre. - Herbert, K., *Ancient Art in Bowdoin College* (1964) n° 518. - V<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. nu, de face, la tête à dr. Pétase ailé, caducée dans la main dr.

#### Monnaies

Quelques exemples:

211.\* AR tétradrachmes stéphanéphores, Athènes, 126/5 et 94/3 av. J.-C. - Thompson, *o. c.* 6, 347 n°s 1032-1043 pl. 114-115 (126/5); Boehringer, *o. c.* 6, 201 (94/3). - Av. Tête d'Athéna Parthénos à dr. Rv. Chouette sur amphore; devant elle, en symbole, H. nu, en pétase, de profil à dr. sur un socle bas, la caducée dans la main g., une phiale(?) dans la dr. Statue: cf. *NumCommPaus* 148-149 n° 12 pl. DD 20.

212.\* Monnaies en bronze péloponnésienne, certaines librement inspirées de types plastiques: a)\* Corinthe, Antonin (138-161 ap. J.-C.). - *NumCommPaus* 20 n° 18 pl. E 87. - Rv. H. nu, de trois quarts face à dr., la caducée dans la main dr., le coude g. appuyé sur un tronc. - b) Argos, Septime Sévère (193-211). - *NumCommPaus* 37 n° 13 pl. K 32-33. - Rv. H. de trois quarts face vers la g., le bras dr. reposant sur un tronc, la caducée et la chlamyde au bras g. - c) Gythéion, Septime Sévère, Caracalla (193-217). - *NumCommPaus* 62-63 n° 10 pl. O 7. - Rv. H., en pétase, de trois quarts face vers la g., la chlamyde drapée sur l'épaule g., la caducée du même côté, une bourse dans la main dr. avancée. Quelquefois accosté d'un autel.

#### D. Têtes et bustes d'Hermès

##### Vases attiques

213. Oenochoé f. bl. f. n. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. 4003. D'Attique. - ABV 532, 1; P d'Athéna; Haspels, *ABL* pl. 45, 1. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Tête monumentale d'H. de profil à dr., coiffée du pétase, précédée d'un caducée vertical.

214.\* Lécythe aryballisque f. r. Bryn Mawr, Ella Riegel Mus. P 99. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1009, 6 (cf. *etiam* ARV<sup>2</sup> 1009, 7): P. d'Achille (Classe de la Ligne blanche); CVA 1, pl. 39, 1-2. - 450-425 av. J.-C. - Buste d'H. juvénile, de profil trois quarts à dr., le pétase sur la nuque, la caducée dépassant près de l'épaule g.

215. Lécythe aryballisque f. r. Skopje, Mus. Arch. De Demir Kapija. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1692: Straggly P.; Vučković-Todorović, D., *Starinar* 9-10, 1958-59, 284 fig. 7; *eadem*, *Starinar* 12, 1961, 248 fig. 35. - Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête d'H. avec pétase ailé, de profil à dr.

216. Cratère à volutes f. r. Bologne, Mus. Civ. Pell. 278. - CVA 5, pl. 106: atelier du P. des Niobides. - 460-450 av. J.-C. - Sur les faces extérieures des volutes, A: tête barbue avec pétase (H. ?); B: tête imberbe avec pilos ailé (Persée?). Faces A-B: Amazonomachie.

#### Gemmes

217.\* Cornaline orangée. Munich, Münzslg. A 2004. - AGDI 3, 34 n° 2297 pl. 203. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Buste d'H. à g. avec chlamyde sur l'épaule; caducée dépassant de l'épaule. Tête d'athlète lypsipéen.

218. Cornaline. New York, MMA 81.6.34. - Richter, *MetrMusGems* 59, 240. - Ep. gréco-romaine. - Tête de style archaïsant coiffée d'un petit pétase, de profil à dr.

219. a)\* Cornaline-onyx. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 5161. De Janina. - III<sup>e</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Buste d'H. juvénile de profil à g. Courte chevelure bouclée, drapée sur l'épaule g., caducée dépassant près de l'épaule dr. - b) Série de pâtes de verre d'art gréco-romain représentant des bustes ou des têtes d'H. de profil, de trois quarts ou de face, soit nu-tête, soit en pétase ailé ou non, avec ou sans caducée: AGOe I 137 n°s 419-421 pl. 70; AGD I 2, 104-107 n°s 1209-1224 pl. 128-129.

#### Monnaies

220.\* AR, Ainos (Thrace). a)\* Tétradrachmes vers 455/4-453/2 av. J.-C. - May, *o. c.* 5, n°s 71. 73; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze* n°s 419-420 pl. 136. - Av. Tête d'H. avec pétase, de profil à dr., les cheveux noués en tresse sur la nuque. Rv. Bouc avec xoanon d'H. Perphéaios (= 5a) ou Pan. - b)\* Tétradrachmes vers 412/11-410/9 av. J.-C. - May, *o. c.* 5, n° 255; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze* n° 422 pl. 137. - Av. Tête d'H. avec pétase de profil à dr., les cheveux bouclés dépassant sous le chapeau. Rv. Bouc et caducée vertical. - c) Drachmes, 357-342/1 av. J.-C. - May, *o. c.* 5, n° 444; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze* n° 425 pl. 137. - Av. Tête d'H. de trois quarts vers la dr., coiffée du pétase sous lequel dépassent de longues boucles. Rv. Bouc.

221. AR statères et divisions, Lycie, dynaste Vekhsere, début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Babelon, *Achémenides* n°s 518-519 pl. 14, 15-16; Jenkins, *o. c.* 5b, 111 fig. 22. - Av. Tête casquée d'Athéna. Rv. Tête d'H. à dr., avec pétase ailé couvrant une chevelure peignée sur la nuque, la chlamyde nouée sous le cou.

222. EL hectés, Phocée, fin V<sup>e</sup>/début IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - BMC Ionia 208 n° 35 pl. 4, 23. - Av. Tête d'H. vers la g., avec pétase. Rv. Carré creux.

223.\* AR statères, Sybrita (Crète), vers 360/350 av. J.-C. - Svoronos, *Crète* 315, 4; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze* pl. 168 n° 555. - Av. Tête de Dionysos. Rv. Tête d'H. vers la dr. avec un large pétase qui laisse dégagée une chevelure retenue par un bandeau. Caducée dans le champ.

#### E. Images métonymiques d'Hermès

##### Vases attiques

224. (= Herakles 3107 avec bibl.) Coupe f. n. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 456. De Vulci. - ABV 235: atelier de Nikosthénès. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: entre des yeux prophylactiques, têtes d'Héraclès, d'Athéna et d'H. (caducée dans la main). B: Gorgoneion.

225. Couvercle de pyxide f. r. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. - Olynthus XIII 67 pl. 89. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jambe avec sandale ailée.

##### Gemme

226. Chaton de bague, pyrope. New York, MMA 81.6.165. - Richter, *MetrMusGems* 117 n° 562 pl. 64. - Ep. impériale. - Pied ailé posé sur un papillon (Richter); sur une bourse?

##### Monnaies

227. AE Phénéos (Arcadie), 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - BMC Peloponnesus 195 n°s 17-20 pl. 35, 10. - Av. Tête féminine à g. Rv. Caducée.

228.\* AR Phénéos, 4<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s./1<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - BMC Peloponnesus 193-194 n°s 1-6 pl. 36, 1-6. - Av. Tête d'H. vers la g., avec pétase sur la nuque. Rv. a)\* Bœuf paissant marqué d'un caducée à l'épaule. b) Bélier vers la g. ou vers la dr.

229. AR tétradrachmes stéphanéphores, Athènes, 165/4 et 133/2 av. J.-C. - Thompson, *o. c.* 6, 148-149 n°s 368-381 pl. 38 (165/4); Boehringer, *o. c.* 6, 201 (133/2). - Av. Tête d'Athéna Parthénos à dr. Rv. Chouette sur amphore. Derrière l'aile, en symbole, caducée.

#### IV. Hermès entre Sphinx, Sirènes ou fauves

##### A. Immobile

##### Vases orientalisants, attiques et corinthiens (f. n.)

230.\* Olpe. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 19159. - Para 9, 11: P. de la Gorgone; Scheibler, I., *Jdl* 76, 1961, 35 fig. 36. - 600-590 av. J.-C. - Entre deux Sphinx, H. (chiton court) de profil à dr. Geste de conversation.

231.\* Lékanis. Londres, BM 1905.7-11.4. De Thèbes. - ABV 24, 3: Peintre KX; Walters, H. B., *JHS* 31, 1911, 4 fig. 3. - 600-575 av. J.-C. - A: H. (long himation, caducée, pas de sandales ailées) de profil à dr. entre des Sirènes (→ Seirenes) accostées de lions. B et frise basse: Sirènes et animaux orientalisants.

232. Fr. d'amphore. Athènes, Mus. Acropole. - Graef/Langlotz 757 A pl. 48. Peintre KX? - 600-575 av. J.-C. - H. (hampe et boucle du caducée) entre Sirènes.

233. Amphore Boston, MFA 1941.913. D'Attique. - CVA 1, pl. 18. - 570-560 av. J.-C. - A: entre deux Sphinx, H. (chiton, himation, caducée) en conversation avec un personnage barbu, pareillement vêtu, tenant sceptre (ou lance) d'une main, bâton court de l'autre: Zeus? B: lions affrontés.

234.\* Dinos. Londres, BM B 100 et B 601.26. De Naucratis. - ABV 39, 13: Sophilos; Petrie, W. M. F.,

*Naucratis* II (1888) 47 pl. 9, 6. - 580-570 av. J.-C. - A: entre deux Sirènes (l'une évanide), H. vers la g. en long manteau, caducée à la main, suivi d'un personnage barbu (tête conservée). B: Sirènes et fauves orientalisants.

235. Aryballe cor. moyen. Délos, Mus. B 6196. - Dugas, Ch., *EADélos* XVII, *Les vases orientalisants de style non mélien* (1935) 113 n° 331b pl. 26. - Vers 580 av. J.-C. - A: H. (?) en chiton court, appuyé sur un très long caducée. B: Génie ailé.

236. Aryballe cor. moyen. Délos, Mus. B 6296. - Dugas, *o. c.* 235, 118. 143 n° 357 pl. 26. - Vers 580 av. J.-C. - H. (?) en chiton court, de profil à dr., appuyé sur un très long caducée.

#### B. En mouvement

##### Vases à f. n.

237.\* Olpe att. Londres, BM B 32. De Nola. - ABV 11, 16: manière du P. de la Gorgone; Demisch, H., *Die Sphinx* (1977) 92 fig. 258. - 600-580 av. J.-C. - Entre deux Sphinx, H. (chiton court, vêtement de peau) se dirige vers la dr. en retournant la tête. Caducée dans la main dr., la main g. dans un geste de conversation. Il «marche» sur une volute florale.

238. Fr. de lékanis att. Eleusis, Mus. 2692. D'Attique. - 560-550 av. J.-C. - H. (?) entre deux Sphinx s'élance vers la dr. avec un geste de la main g. levée.

239. Lécythe aryballisque att. Varsovie, Mus. Nat. 198536. - CVA 1, pl. 32. - Vers 560 av. J.-C. - Un personnage à sandales ailées, un sceptre ou une lance dans la main g., s'élance vers la dr., entre deux Sphinx: H.?

240. Aryballe cor. moyen. Coll. Politis. - Vers 580 av. J.-C. - Entre deux Sirènes, personnage analogue à celui de 239, mais sans aucun attribut.

#### V. Hermès et les troupeaux

Sur des associations avec divers animaux (en particulier avec les chiens et les chevaux), cf. *etiam* Commentaire.

##### Peinture de vases

#### A. Hermès et les troupeaux d'Apollon

241.\* Hydrie de Caeré. Paris, Louvre E 702. - Helmerijk, J. M., *Caeretan Hydriae* (1984) 10-12 n° 3 fig. 4 pl. 29-30; Simon, *Götter* 296-297 fig. 284; Scheffold, *SBII* fig. 9-10. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - A: l'enfant H. emmaillotté repose sur une kliné autour de laquelle Maïa, Apollon et Zeus mènent une discussion animée. Scène inspirée d'Hom. *h. Merc.* 227-292. B: le troupeau d'Apollon caché dans la grotte.

242.\* a) Coupe att. f. r. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 269, 6: P. de Brygos; Walter, *Götter* 273 fig. 247; Simon, *Götter* 298 fig. 285. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - I: symposion. A-B: l'enfant H., assis dans



son *liknon*, en pétase, repose appuyé contre l'entrée de la grotte, devant Maïa gesticulante. Une vache, en sortant de la caverne, flaire l'enfant; le troupeau forme le reste de la frise. — **b)** \* Fr. de cratère att. f. r. Berne, coll. privée. De Sélinonte? — Blatter 128 pl. 40, 1 a-b. — 440-430 av. J.-C. — L'enfant H. (pétase ailé et long caducée!) se redresse à demi dans son berceau. Derrière lui, une vache. Au registre inférieur, un lièvre.

## B. Hermès avec Maïa et des animaux du troupeau

**243.** \* Hydrie attique f. bl. f. n. Paris, Petit Palais 310. De Vulci. — *ABV* 668 (s. v. «Karystios»); *CVA* pl. 11. — 520-510 av. J.-C. — Face à face, Maïa tendant une couronne et H., la main dr. avancée, le caducée dans la main g. Sous les anses horizontales, un bélier et un bouc. Sous l'anse verticale, un lion.

**244.** \* (= 385, = Achilleus 34 [A]) Amphore attique f. n. Varsovie, Mus. Nat. 142328 (anc. Goluchow, coll. Czartoryski 15). — Beazley, *VPol* 6: P. de Diosphos; *CVA* Goluchow pl. 12, 3 a-b. — Vers 470-460 av. J.-C. — A: Pélée remettant Achille à Chiron (→ Achilleus, → Cheiron, → Peleus). B: H. (pétase, sandales ailées, caducée) s'éloigne en retournant la tête, suivi d'un bélier. Une femme (Maïa?) le salue de la main levée.

## C. Hermès le bouvier

### Vases attiques

**245.** Amphore tyrrhénienne. Genève, Mus. MF 156. De Falerii? — *ABV* 99, 49; Thiersch, H., «*Tyrrhenische Amphoren*» (1899) pl. 2, 1-4. — 565-550 av. J.-C. — Registres supérieurs: Amazonomachie et cavaliers, athlètes, puis H. poussant vers la g. un troupeau (peut-être les vaches d'Apollon, comme aussi en 246-248).

**246.** \* (= Alkyoneus 17 [A] avec bibl.) Skyphos f. n. Tarente, Mus. Naz. 7030. — *ABV* 518, 17: P. de Thésée; Yalouris 2, 174 fig. 5. — Vers 500 av. J.-C. — B: H. entraînant à sa suite un troupeau vers la dr.

**247.** \* Petite amphore à col f. n. New York, MMA GR 529 (X.21.17). — *ABV* 602, 28: Red Line P.; Boardman, *ABFH* 150 fig. 282. — Vers 490 av. J.-C. — H. assis sur un rocher, dans la végétation, en face d'un troupeau.

**248.** \* Coupe f. r. Londres, BM E 815. De Vulci. — *ARV* 125, 15: P. de Nikosthénès; Blatter 128 pl. 40, 2. — 510-500 av. J.-C. — A: H. assis sur un rocher, jouant de la lyre en face d'un troupeau. B: Satyres et Ménades.

**249.** *Vacat.*

### Monnaies

**250.** \* AR dodécadrachmes, Derrones (peuple de Péonie, région thraco-macédonienne), fin VI<sup>e</sup>-début V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — CMV, *GrA* 135 fig. 152; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze* 2 n° 387 pl. 126; Kraay, *ArClCoins* 140 pl. 27, 488. — Av. H. nu, coiffé d'un pétase (ou d'une *causia*?), le caducée dans la main dr., marche vers la dr. à

côté de deux bœufs attelés à une carriole dont on ne voit que la roue. Rv. Carré creux.

**251.** AR octadrachmes de plusieurs peuples thraco-macédoniens: Orreskiens, Edoniens (roi Gétas), Tynténiens (?), début V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze* 2 n° 376, 383, 386 pl. 123-125; Price, M., *Coins of the Macedonians* (1974) 8 pl. 3, 13-14; Kraay, *ArClCoins* 139-140 pl. 26-27, 481-483, 485. — Av. Menant vers la dr. une paire de bœufs dont l'un relève la tête, un personnage nu coiffé du pétase (ou de la *causia*?); il tient deux javelots (Orreskiens), deux aiguillons (Edoniens), ou simplement lève la main (Tynténiens?): «guerrier» ou «bouvier», c'est peut-être H. Rv. Carré creux ou roue.

## D. Hermès le berger

**252.** \* Lécythe att. f. n. Londres, BM B 549. De Camiros. — *ABV* 496, 167: classe d'Athènes 581. — Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — H. se reposant sous le feuillage, en face d'un bouc.

**253.** \* Chaton de bague, sardoine. Londres, BM. — Walters, *BMGems* 157 n° 1405 pl. 19. — Art gréco-romain, ép. impériale. — Scène de genre: H. avec pétase, caducée dans la main dr., bourse dans la g., de face dans un chariot tiré par quatre bœufs.

## E. Hermès chevauchant le bouc ou le bélier

### Vases attiques

**254.** (= Herakles 3118 avec bibl.) Lécythe f. n. f. bl. New York, MMA 25.78.5. — P. d'Athènes. — 500-480 av. J.-C. — H. (himation, pétase) chevauche un bélier vers la dr., entre Athènes et Héraclès.

**255.** \* (= Europe I 32 [B] avec bibl.) Amphore f. n. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 1881. — *ABV* 478, 2: P. d'Edimbourg. — 490-470 av. J.-C. — A: entre deux femmes dadophores, H. chevauche un bouc vers la dr., le caducée dans une main, l'autre agrippée à une corne de l'animal. Scène de drame satyrique? Cf. *etiam* Zanker (1965) 37 n. 154; 63 n. 289; Siebert, G., dans *Mél. P. Lévêque* IV (1990) 341-354 pl. I-V. B: Ménade sur un taureau.

**256.** Deux skyphoi f. n. du P. de Thésée, représentant H. sur le bouc: a) Rome, Pal. Cons. — *Para* 258. — b) Rome, Pal. Cons. (?). De Rome, près du pont Milvius. — *Para* 257; *AJA* 64, 1960, pl. 103, 2. — Vers 490 av. J.-C. — Avec aulète et autre personnage masculin.

**257.** \* Stamnos f. r. Paris, Louvre CA 944 (G 185). — *ARV* 207, 142: P. de Berlin; *CVA* 2, pl. 20, 2-5. — 500-490 av. J.-C. — A: escorté par deux Satyres, H. couché sur un bélier. B: Dionysos, symétriquement couché sur un bouc. Les bêtes servent de *klinai* aux deux banqueteurs.

### Gemmes

**258.** \* Chaton de bague, pâte de verre couleur miel. Munich, Münzslg. A 921. De Rome, marché de l'art. — *AGDI* 2, 106 n° 1207 pl. 128. — Ep. impériale. — H. (chlamyde dans le dos, lance à la main) chevauche

un bélier vers la g. en direction d'un autel incandescent garni de fruits, jouté d'un arbre.

**259.** \* Trois chatons de bagues, pâte de verre violette ou bleue. Munich, Münzslg. A 634\*, A 638, A 639. — *AGDI* 3, 152 n° 3098-3100 pl. 301. — Ep. impériale. — H. nu (draperie sur le bras g., caducée à la saignée du coude) chevauche un bélier vers la g.; bourse dans la main dr. avancée.

## F. Hermès criophore

Il s'en faut de beaucoup que tous les personnages criophores soient des représentations d'H. Ainsi le kouros colossal de Thasos (Richter, G. M. A., *Kouros* 3 [1970] 51 n° 14 fig. 84-86, 106) est-il peut-être un Apollon ou simplement un dédicant, «un kouros porteur de bélier» (*Guide de Thasos* [1967] 108-113, 115-116). Il serait tout aussi arbitraire de considérer comme des H. le criophore dédalique de Berlin (Neugebauer, *KatBrBerlin* I 70 n° 158 pl. 19) ou le moschophore de l'Acropole d'Athènes (Lullies/Hirmer, *Plastik* 4 50-51 pl. 28-29). Dans les séries ci-dessous on n'appellera H. que les figures caractérisées par les chaussures ailées. Le caducée n'est jamais conservé dans la petite plastique et le logement au creux de la main pouvait aussi bien avoir renfermé la houlette. Quelques documents illustreront l'identité ou la similitude iconographique entre le dieu pastoral et les bergers.

### 1. Le bélier sous le bras: types archaïques

#### Petite plastique en bronze

**260.** \* Boston, MFA 99489. De Sparte. — Kunze 49-58 fig. 22. — Atelier de Sicyone, 510-500 av. J.-C. — H., en sandales ailées, coiffé d'un chapeau et vêtu d'un chitoniskos resserré à la taille par une ceinture retombant en nœud ornemental, avance le pied g. Le bras dr., écarté du corps, tenait le caducée. La main g. saisit par une patte le bélier maintenu par le coude sous l'aisselle. L'animal, figuré presque verticalement, tourne la tête vers la dr.

**261.** New York, coll. Baker. — v. Bothmer, D., *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities, An Exhib. from the Coll. of W. Cummings Baker* (1950) 8 n° 20. — Atelier péloponnésien, vers 550 av. J.-C. — H. (chaussures ailées), coiffé d'un chapeau conique, le chitoniskos serré à la taille, tenait le caducée levé obliquement. Bélier de face sous le bras g.

**262.** \* Athènes, Mus. Nat. 12347. D'Andritsaina. — Perdrizet 301 pl. 7. — Vers 550 av. J.-C. — H. (chaussures ailées), en chitoniskos brodé, porte un chapeau conique caractérisé par un ornement qui peut évoquer des ailerons et qui rappelle des motifs décoratifs laciens. Bélier tenu obliquement sous le bras.

**263.** \* Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. 30552. D'Arcadie. — Neugebauer, *KatBrBerlin* I 67-68 n° 165 pl. 23. — Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.? — H. (chaussures ailées, chiton non brodé, sans ceinture) se tient sur une base rectangulaire, le pied g. légèrement avancé.

**264.** a) \* «Criophore Stathatos». Athènes, Mus. Nat., coll. Hélène Stathatos ST 328. — Kunze 50-58

pl. 6-7; Rolley, Cl., *Les bronzes grecs* (1983) 95 fig. 72. — Le chiton brodé descend jusqu'aux genoux. Contrairement au schéma courant, c'est le pied dr. qui est légèrement avancé. Jambes brisées aux chevilles. b) Boston, MFA 04.6. D'Arcadie. — Kunze 51 n. 6 fig. 21. — Atelier de Sicyone, 520-510 av. J.-C. — Œuvre de même qualité et posant les mêmes problèmes d'interprétation que 264a.

**265.** \* Berger criophore à l'image d'H. New York, MMA 43.11.3. — Richter, G. M. A., *BullMMA* 4, 1946, 250 (fig.). — Le personnage en longue pèlerine, coiffé d'un chapeau conique, tient le bélier sous le bras g. et présente de la main dr. un vase (de lait?). Dédicace sur la base: «Ainéas (?) à Pan».

**266.** Variantes de bergers figurés à l'image d'H. criophore, sans chaussures ailées. a) Type en chitoniskos brodé. — Neugebauer, *KatBrBerlin* I n° 166 pl. 24. — b) Type en *chlaina*. — Richter, o. c. 265, 250 (fig.). — c) Type en pèlerine, cf. 265. d) Type nu. — Neugebauer, o. c. n° 167 pl. 24. — e) Type sarde de l'ép. nouraghiq. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 1865. — *Kunst und Kultur Sardiniens vom Neolithikum bis zum Ende der Nuraghenzeit*, Ausstlg.-Kat. Karlsruhe (1980) n° 130.

### Figurine en plomb

**267.** Sparte, Mus. Du sanct. d'Artémis Orthia. — Dawkins, R. M., *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, JHS Suppl.* 5 (1929) 275 fig. c; Pipili, *Lac* 52 fig. 78. — VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — H. en chitoniskos, de profil vers la dr. Le bras dr., plié au coude, tient obliquement le caducée. Le bélier est figuré verticalement en avant du côté g.

### 2. Le bélier sous le bras: types classiques

#### Ronde bosse

**268.** H. criophore d'Onatas d'Egine, ex-voto des Phénéates à Olympie: Paus. 5, 27, 8. — Le dieu coiffé du chapeau conique (*zuvf*), vêtu du chiton et de la chlamyde, portait le bélier sous le bras. La statue en bronze d'Onatas a été exécutée avec l'aide de son élève Kallitèles. — Dörig 2, 15-16.

#### Petite plastique en bronze

**269.** \* Paris, Cab. Méd. 313. — Dörig 2, 16-20 fig. 20-21, 23-24, 30-32. — 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — Le dieu, représenté de face, avec une pondération jambe dr. d'appui — jambe g. fléchie, tenait sans doute le caducée dans la main dr. Pas d'ailes talonnières. Drapé dans une ample pèlerine par-dessus le chiton, il est coiffé de la *kyné*. Visage carré à barbe bouclée. Bélier tenu obliquement sous le bras g. La statuette s'inspire probablement de l'œuvre d'Onatas. La tête 2344 du Mus. de l'Acropole d'Athènes (Dörig 2, 18 fig. 25; BDFH fig. 157) pourrait être une copie romaine de l'original d'ép. sévère.

**270.** Baltimore, Walters Art. Gall. 54.2323. — Kent Hill, D., «A Greek Shepherd», *JWalt* 11, 1948, 19-23, 85 fig. 1-2. — Atelier attique, début V<sup>e</sup> s. (?) (vers 525 av. J.-C.: Kent Hill). — Le criophore est un berger imberbe, coiffé du pétase, avec une chevelure en nappe dans le dos. Il avance à grands pas (jambes brisées aux chevilles). Bélier sous le bras g. La main dr. levée (geste de salut?) fortement écartée du corps.

## Terres cuites

271. \* Groupe de figurines béotiennes, datables du milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., dont certaines sont issues du même moule. a) \* Paris, Louvre CA 626. - Mollard-Besques I 90 n° C 41 pl. 63. - b) University, Univ. of Mississippi 77.3.319. - Dörig 3, 138 n. 39 fig. 11 (ex. complet). - c) \* Washington, Corcoran Gall. 26.527. - Inédite. - d) \* Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts T 64. - Szilágyi, J. G./Castiglione, L., *Gr.-röm. Sammlung, Führer* (1957) pl. 13, 1. - e) Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 1771. - *Olynthus* VII 260 pl. 33. - f) Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 02106. - *Olynthus* IV 337 pl. 32. - g) Tunis, Bardo, salle 8, vitr. IV (inédite?). - Ces criophores imberbes et juvéniles, H. ou bergers (pas d'attribut déterminant), se présentent avec une pondération et des vêtements (chlamyde, chapeau conique) qui évoquent l'H. de la cornaline de Dioscourides (307) et la statue du Pseudo-Phocion dans la Sala della Biga au Mus. du Vatican. Sur la question des rapports avec un modèle plastique de Kalon d'Egine: Dörig 3, 134-142.

## 3. Le bélier sur les épaules, les pattes saisies d'une main

## Petite plastique en bronze

272. \* Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. 68/62 (347). D'Ephyra. - *Bildkatalog des Bad. Landesmus. Karlsruhe* (1976) n° 49. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - Le personnage en chitoniskos brodé, le visage barbu souriant, maintient le bélier sur ses épaules en saisissant ses pattes antérieures de la main g. Caducée ou houlette dans la main dr. ramenée vers la poitrine.

273. Métaponte, Antiquarium. D'un dépôt votif près du temple d'Apollon Lycien. - *AA* 1966, 319. 323 fig. 93. - Atelier italiote, début V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Figure de kouros, le bras g. plié au coude, la main refermée sur une houlette ou un caducée, le bélier en équilibre sur les épaules. Geste (de prière?) de la main dr. avancée, paume tendue. Cf. *etiam* Rolley, Cl., *RA* 1989, 115-117 fig. 1-3.

274. Genève, coll. G. Ortiz. - Schefold, *Meisterwerke* 61-62. 223 n° 254; *Hommes et dieux de la Grèce antique*, Cat. exp. Bruxelles (1982) 230-231 n° 146. - 490-480 av. J.-C. Atelier de Sicione? - Le personnage, en manteau retombant en plis sur les épaules, saisit les quatre pattes du bélier de sa main g.; la main dr. ramenée vers l'avant se referme sur une houlette ou un caducée. La tête manque.

275. «Criophore Sabouroff» (statuette seulement connue par un dessin). - Furtwängler, A., *Stg. Sabouroff* II pl. 146; Dörig 1, 222-224 fig. 66. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Kouros dont le bras dr., légèrement fléchi au coude, est porté vers l'avant (main brisée). La main g. saisit les quatre pattes du bélier.

## Terres cuites

276. a) \* b) Deux figurines. Paris, Louvre CA 806 et CA 323. - Mollard-Besques I 14 B 80-81 pl. 10. - Début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. Atelier béotien. - H., en chaussures ailées, enveloppé dans un manteau dont les draperies archaïques retombent sur les épaules, se détache de trois quarts face sur un autel. Le bras dr. plié au coude tenait le caducée, la main g. maintient le bélier.

277. \* Relief fr. Londres, BM 1224. De Locres. - Higgins, *BMTerracottas* I 333 n° 1224 pl. 168. - Milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., la barbe en pointe, coiffé du pé-tase et drapé dans un manteau, de trois quarts profil vers la dr. où était représenté un autre personnage (restes de draperies). Le caducée est tenu obliquement de la main dr.; la main g. saisit les quatre pattes du bélier.

278. Moule. Londres, BM 88.12-12.2. De Tarente. - Higgins, *BMTerracottas* I 345 n° 1267 pl. 173. - Milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Partie supérieure du moule. Personnage en pilos et manteau, la main dr. le long du corps, la g. saisissant les pattes de l'animal.

## Statuette en plomb

279. \* «Criophore Cahn». Bâle, coll. H. A. Cahn HC 1019. - Cahn 559-564 pl. 42b. 43b; BDFH 147 fig. 183-184; Dörig 1, 224-225 fig. 67a-b. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Le criophore est un éphèbe nu dont la main dr. (perforée) tenait peut-être le caducée (bras le long du corps). La main g. saisit les quatre pattes du bélier. Le plomb étant un peu tordu, la pondération de la figure a été modifiée, mais la jambe libre est la dr., légèrement avancée.

## 4. Le bélier sur les épaules, les pattes saisies des deux mains

## Terres cuites

280. \* Représentations hybrides, mi-figurines, mi-piliers hermaïques. a) Munich, Antikenslg. 5266. - Lullies 1, 37 pl. 3, 1-2. - Date incertaine: vers 550-540 (Lullies)? - Tête barbue, coiffée du pilos. Pieds en saillie à la base du fût orné du phallos dressé. Des mains saisissent de chaque côté les pattes du bélier posé sur les épaules. - b) \* Dresde, Staatl. Kunstslg., Albertinum Z V 1159. - Lullies 1, 37 n. 15. - Analogue.

281. Petit hermès. Munich, Antikenslg. 6958. - Lullies 1, 15 n° 2; 38. 45. 49 pl. 4, 2. - Tête barbue coiffée du pilos. Fût garni du sexe dressé. Bélier posé en travers des épaules drapées.

## Figurine en ivoire

282. Petit kouros. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. D'Amphipolis. - *BCH* 104, 1980, 649 fig. 144. - Copie hellénistique d'un modèle de la fin de l'ép. archaïque? - La symétrie faciale du schéma inclut la position du bélier sur les épaules: chaque main saisit une paire de pattes.

## Figurines en terre cuite

283. \* Londres, BM 63.7-28.276. De Géla. - Higgins, *BMTerracottas* I 308 n° 1132 pl. 155. - Début V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Personnage de face, drapé des deux côtés dans un manteau, l'avant du corps nu, saisissant des deux mains les pattes du bélier (la main g. plus basse).

284. \* Londres, BM 251. De Rhodes. - Higgins, *BMTerracottas* I 91 n° 251 pl. 44. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Criophore coiffé du pilos, drapé symétriquement dans un manteau retombant sur les côtés en dégageant l'avant du corps. Les mains, placées à la même hauteur, saisissent les pattes.

## Ronde bosse en marbre

285. \* Rome, Mus. Barracco 83. De la région de Rome. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1865; Studniczka, F., *Kalamis* (1907) 72-74 pl. 6a; Dörig 1, 221 fig. 65; Zagdoun 201-202 n° 389 pl. 68, 248. - Copie romaine d'un original archaïsant du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - La statue, inférieure à la grandeur réelle, est brisée à la taille. Ephèbe de face, avec une triple couronne de bouclettes coquillées sur le front, dont la raideur contraste avec l'animation de la bouche aux lèvres entrouvertes. Chaque main, l'une de niveau avec l'autre (mais la g. davantage ramenée sur la poitrine, l'avant-bras plus écarté), saisit une paire de pattes.

286. \* «Criophore Wilton House». Londres, Warburg Inst. (prêt). - Michaelis, *AntM* 702-703 n° 144; Vermeule, C./v. Bothmer, D., *AJA* 60, 1956, 347 n° 144 pl. 105, 6; Ridgway, B. S., *Hesperia* 50, 1981, 431 n. 36; Zagdoun 201 n° 152 pl. 68, 247. - Copie romaine d'un original archaïsant du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - La statue se caractérise par une symétrie frontale d'une extrême raideur. Des draperies archaïsantes, tombant jusqu'aux pieds joints, habillent les flancs du corps dont l'avant est nu. Tête barbue, à moustaches, à triple couronne de bouclettes, à longues parotides tressées en cordes. Le bélier, dont la tête s'incline vers celle de l'homme, se caractérise par le rendu vériste des mèches laineuses. Les mains qui le maintiennent sont très rapprochées (à la différence de celles du criophore Barracco).

287. \* Corinthe, Mus. S 686. De l'Agora de Corinthe, devant les boutiques ouest. - Johnson, F. P., *Corinth IX, Sculpture* (1931) 28-29 n° 21; *AJA* 34, 1935, 69 fig. 10; Ridgway, o. c. 286, 431 pl. 92; Zagdoun 201 n° 152 pl. 68, 246. - Statue brisée en haut des cuisses, visage raboté. Des draperies archaïsantes habillent verticalement les flancs. La coiffure se caractérise par une perruque de bouclettes et par des parotides tressées en cordes. Les mains qui saisissent les pattes sont rapprochées vers le milieu de la poitrine.

288. Statuette fr. Le Pirée, Mus. Arch. 85. - Inédite. - Torse drapé latéralement et extrémité de la barbe. Restes du bélier tenu à deux mains.

## Relief en marbre

289. \* (= Aphrodite 1340 avec bibl.) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 54. D'Athènes. - Harl-Schaller 241-253 pl. 84. - Vers la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Sur l'une des trois faces décorées d'un pilier, sous une frise de palmettes et de lotus, H. criophore de trois quarts profil vers la dr. La chevelure retenue par un bandeau est remontée en chignon sur la nuque et une longue parotide torsadée descend derrière l'oreille. Triple rangée de bouclettes sur le front. Barbe taillée en pointe. Les pattes postérieures du bélier sont saisies de la main dr., la main g. tient en même temps le caducée et les pattes antérieures. Draperies sur l'avant-bras g.

## Statuette en bronze

290. \* Délos, Mus. B 5984-2330. De Délos. - Deonna, W., *EADélos XVIII, Le mobilier délien* (1938) 351 n. 12 pl. 100, 884. - 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Le criophore coiffé du pé-tase sous lequel dépasse une couronne de

bouclettes au-dessus du front, en chiton et manteau court, marche à grands pas vers la dr. en maintenant le bélier des deux mains sur ses épaules.

## Monnaies de bronze

291. AE Tanagra (Béotie), émissions pseudautonomes, ép. impériale. - *NumCommPaus* 115 n° 5 pl. X 11-12; Lacroix, *Reproductions* 245 pl. 20, 4; Dörig 1, 225 fig. 68. 70. - *Rv.* Criophore de face, nu, chaque main saisissant une paire de pattes.

292. Monnaies d'Egine. a) AE, Septime Sévère, (193-211). - *NumCommPaus* 46 n° 7 pl. L 5; Milbank, S. R., *The Coinage of Aegina, NNM* 24 (1925) 56b pl. 4, 11; Lacroix, *Reproductions* 69 pl. 3, 4. - *Rv.* Criophore de face, nu, les pieds joints, les bras au corps puis pliés au coude, chaque main saisissant une paire de pattes du bélier. - b) AE, Septime Sévère. - Milbank, o. c. 57d pl. 4, 13; Forrer, *Weber II* n° 3642 pl. 134; Lacroix, *Reproductions* 69-70. - *Rv.* Criophore marchant vers la g., la tête du bélier vers la g. Schéma inversé sur une monnaie de Plautilla (202-205); Milbank, o. c. 59d pl. 5, 9; Lacroix, *Reproductions* pl. 3, 5.

## 5. L'Hermès criophore de Calamis

293. Statue de culte d'un sanct. de Tanagra, œuvre disparue de Calamis (2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.). - Connue par Paus. 9, 22, 1-2. - Le dieu représenté en éphèbe portait le bélier sur ses épaules comme le faisait à chaque fête annuelle le plus beau des jeunes gens de la ville, selon la légende étiologique rapportée par le Périégète. Mais si la jeunesse du criophore tanagréen et le port du bélier sur les épaules sont des faits certains, on ne sait quel schéma exact de criophorie Calamis avait mis en œuvre. De la documentation réunie ci-dessus on ne peut tirer aucun argument décisif en faveur de l'une ou de l'autre formule (pattes saisies d'une main ou des deux mains).

Contrairement à Onatas (268) dont l'art, semble-t-il, fut de donner plus d'unité et de cohérence plastique à un schéma archaïque courant, Calamis devait imaginer sa composition à partir d'une typologie antérieure plus variée. S'il s'agissait, comme le suggère la légende, de représenter un H. criophore en mouvement, la statuette Cahn (279) a plus de chances de refléter le modèle plastique que toute autre œuvre, y compris le criophore Barracco (285). Pour ce qui est du visage, J. Dörig suggère un type comme celui de l'hermès double Barracco (Helbig<sup>4</sup> 646 n° 1896; Dörig 1, 226-229 fig. 73).

## 6. Hermès criophore dans la peinture de vases: schémas divers

294. \* Olpé f. n. Paris, Louvre F 151. - *ABV* 450, 3; P. du Louvre F 161; Simon, *Götter* 301-302 fig. 288. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - H. en pé-tase, drapé dans un manteau brodé, s'élance vers la dr. en retournant la tête. Il porte sur ses épaules un bélier dont les pattes pénétrant dans la draperie. La toison est marquée de quatre H en rehauts blancs, à l'initiale d'H. qui aurait volé la bête? (Simon).

295. \* Skyphos f. n. Paris, Louvre F 165 bis. - Gr. du Vatican G 57? - Vers 420 av. J.-C. - Entre deux

yeux prophylactiques, entre des branches de lierre, H. (pétase, chaussures ailées) s'élance vers la dr., un bélier dans les bras.

**296.\*** Coupe f.r. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 1378. De Chiusi. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 117, 1: P. d'Epidromos; *CVA* 1, pl. 23, 3. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - A-B: symposion. I: H. drapé dans un manteau s'élance vers la dr. La main g. tient le caducée et les pattes postérieures, la main dr. les pattes antérieures du bélier couché en travers de ses épaules.

**297.\*** (= Herakles 2859/3305 avec renvois et bibl., = Hestia 8\*) Coupe f.r. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2278. De Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 21, 1: P. de Sosias (vase éponyme); *Para* 323; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 154. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - I: Achille soignant Patrocle. A-B: entrée d'Héraclès dans l'Olympe. Dans le cortège, H. (chaussures ailées, chlamyde dans le dos, barbe en pointe et coiffure en chignon), de trois quarts face vers la g., la tête retournée vers Artémis. Il porte un bélier dans ses bras, la main g. tenant à la fois le caducée et les pattes postérieures de l'animal.

*Cf. etiam* personnages criophores autres qu'H.: bélier renversé sur les épaules du porteur, Cook, *Zeus* I 39 pl. 5; bélier tenu à deux mains sur le dos (*supra*, schéma 4), Isler-Kerényi, C., *Quadr* 14, 1985, 120-122 fig. 5, 12; amphore étrusque f.n. Berlin-DDR, 2154 (*ArchClass* 18, 1966, 24-28 pl. 9; Thuillier, J.-P., *Les jeux athlétiques dans la civilisation étrusque* [1985] 469-471).

## G. Autres associations d'Hermès avec le bélier

### 1. Hermès debout tient par les cornes le bélier représenté à sa droite

Ronde bosse en marbre

**298.\*** «Hermès de Trézène». Athènes, Mus. Nat. 243. De Damala (site de Trézène). - Legrand, E., *BCH* 16, 1892, 165-174 pl. 2-17; Despinis 237-244 pl. 77-86. - Copie romaine (II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.) d'un original de Naucydès, vers 390 av. J.-C. - H. de grandeur naturelle, en pétase ailé, l'épaule g. drapée. Brisures aux bras et aux jambes. La main g. pouvait tenir le caducée. La main dr., le long du corps, tenait par les cornes un bélier assis sur l'arrière-train, les pattes antérieures repliées. Statue athlétique de rythme polyclétéen, dont la tête aux cheveux bouclés s'incline un peu vers l'épaule dr.

Il s'agit vraisemblablement du Mercurius cité par Pline (*nat.* 34, 80) parmi les œuvres de Naucydès. Parfois c'est l'*immolans arietem* mentionné dans le même passage que l'on a voulu reconnaître dans le groupe de Trézène, que rien pourtant ne désigne comme une scène de sacrifice: c'est plutôt une récréation du thème de la criophorie (Despinis; Walter, *Götter* 296). Le sacrificateur du bélier est peut-être le → Phrixos vu sur l'Acropole d'Athènes par Pausanias (1, 24, 2); une base inscrite (*IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 4272), avec la signature possible de Naucydès, pourrait s'y rapporter: *cf. etiam* Linfert, A., *Von Polyklet zu Lysipp* (1966) 14-16; Arnold 126 pl. 14a: un H. pédophore des Thermes de Leptis Magna passe pour une «Umbildung» antonine de l'*immolans*

*arietem* (Phrixos) de Naucydès (Bartoccini, R., *Le Terme di Lepcis, AfrIt* 4 [1929] 131-132 pl. 131-133). De l'H. de Trézène on rapproche également l'H. de Virunum: Piccottini, *Die Rundskulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Virunum* (1968) 13 n° 5 pl. 7.

**299.** Fragments. Le Pirée, Mus. Arch. 3910 (tête, anc. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 516), 1750 + 2199. - Despinis 237-244. - Ep. d'Hadrien. Identifiés par G. Despinis comme d'une seconde copie, partiellement inachevée, de l'H. de Trézène. - Le bélier, dans une attitude moins redressée que chez celui d'Athènes, pose les pattes sur une petite élévation à l'avant de la plinthe.

**300.** Statuette en marbre pentélique. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2883. - Blümel, C., *Griech. Bildhauerarbeit* (1927) 65 n° 33 pl. 36 a-b; Despinis pl. 86, 1-2. - Ep. antonine. - H. en pétase ailé et chlamyde, avec le même port de tête que dans la statue de Trézène. La «béquille» non travaillée à la dr. du dieu devait être sculptée en bélier (identification Despinis).

Terres cuites

**301. a) b)** Deux figurines. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 01708 et 12610. 01971. D'Olympe. - V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.? - *Olynthus* XIV 211 pl. 65; IV 338 pl. 32. - Les groupes sont conformes au schéma de l'H. de Trézène, mais la tête est nue. Huit autres exemplaires au Mus. de Pella. *Cf. etiam* 126.

Monnaies de bronze

**302.\*** Groupe de monnaies péloponnésienes d'ép. impériale inspirées de près ou de loin du schéma de l'H. de Trézène. **a)\*** AE, Trézène, Septime Sévère (193-211). - *NumCommPaus* 162 n° 5a pl. GG 12. - *Rv.* H. vers la dr., caducée dans la main g., le bélier redressé entraîné par les cornes. - **b)\*** AE, Trézène, Septime Sévère. - *NumCommPaus* 162 n° 5a pl. GG 11. - *Rv.* H. de trois quarts face à dr., la tête retournée, la main dr. levée, le caducée dans la g. A ses pieds, lyre à dr. et petit bélier à g. - **c)\*** AE, Corinthe, Hadrien (117-138). - *NumCommPaus* 20 n° 18 pl. E 86. - *Rv.* H. nu, de trois quarts face à g., le caducée dans la saignée du coude g., la main dr. posée sur la tête du bélier à son côté. - **d)** AE, Patras, Lucius Verus, Commode, Septime Sévère, 161-211 ap. J.-C. - *NumCommPaus* 82 n° 16 pl. R 5. - *Rv.* H. nu, de trois quarts face, appuyé du coude g. sur un pilier, la main dr. tendue au-dessus du bélier.

### 2. Hermès assis en compagnie du bélier

**303.** Statue en bronze, disparue, sur l'Agora de Corinthe, en bordure de la route de Léchaion. - Paus. 2, 3, 4. - H. assis, le bélier debout à côté de lui.

**304.\*** Groupe de monnaies en bronze d'ép. impériale inspirées de près ou de loin de l'H. **303. a)\*** AE, Corinthe, Marc Aurèle et Lucius Verus (161-180), Caracalla (211-217), Alexandre Sévère (222-235). - *NumCommPaus* 23 n° 26 pl. F 110. - *Rv.* H. nu, hormis une draperie sur l'épaule g., assis sur un rocher, de trois quarts profil vers la g. Caducée dans la saignée du coude g., la main dr. sur la tête d'un bélier au second plan. *Cf. etiam* BMC Peloponnesus 29 n° 47 pl. 6; 7 (Patras, Caracalla). - **b)\*** AE, Corinthe, Antonin

(138-161). - *NumCommPaus* 23 n° 26 pl. F 111. - *Rv.* Même composition, mais dans un temple. - **c)** AE, Patras, Commode (180-192). - *NumCommPaus* 82 n° 16 pl. R 4. - *Rv.* Dans un temple, H. assis sur un rocher vers la g., le caducée dans la saignée du coude g., une bourse dans la main dr.; un petit bélier à l'arrière-plan. *Cf. etiam* BMC Peloponnesus 29 n° 50 pl. 6, 8 (Patras, Caracalla). - **d)** AE, Corinthe, Commode. - *NumCommPaus* 157 n° 28 pl. FF 15. - *Rv.* H. nu, assis sur un rocher vers la g. Bélier à l'arrière-plan (?). Le groupe est monté sur une base précédée d'un bassin de fontaine.

### 3. Céphalophories d'interprétation incertaine

Petite plastique en bronze

**305.** Paris, Cab. Méd. De la région du Ladon. - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* 140-141 n° 314; Jost 447 n. 6. - Art régional arcadien, ép. classique? - Personnage barbu, dans une attitude de combattant (arme perdue dans la main dr. levée, perforée?), présentant une tête de bélier dans la main g. avancée.

**306.** Malibu, Getty Mus. 58.AB.6. - Stothart, H., *A Handbook of the Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (1965) 18 pl. 10; Bulle, H., *MJBK* 1, 1906, 35-42 (fig.). - Ep. hellénistique. - Jeune athlète polyclétéen, la tête inclinée, observant la tête de bélier qu'il tient dans sa main dr. avancée. H. ou Phrixos?

Gemme

**307.** Cornaline. Londres, BM. - Dalton, *BM Post-classical Gems* n° 614; Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* 114 pl. 66, 3. - Sign. de Dioscouridès: ép. augustéenne, d'après un modèle plastique de la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., de profil vers la dr., la tête de face, tient le caducée de la main dr. baissée et porte de l'autre main, à hauteur d'épaule, une tête de bélier posée sur un plateau. Image sacrificielle?

## VI. Hermès et le monde végétal

*Cf. etiam* Sources littéraires.

Reliefs en bronze

**308.\*** Pinax à décor repoussé. Héraklion, Mus. Arch. MH 4113. Du sanct. d'H. et d'Aphrodite à Katô-Symi (Crète centrale). - Lembési 30 n° A 21. 232-233 pl. 15. 54. - 650-640 av. J.-C. - Plaque en forme d'arbre aux rameaux en relief et aux feuilles gravées. Le personnage juvénile qui s'y tient est assis à califourchon sur une branche en serrant le tronc entre ses cuisses. Sa tête à la longue chevelure bouclée fait face au spectateur. Le corps aussi est frontal, vêtu d'un chitoniskos ceinturé à la taille et blousant. Ce kouros ne présente aucun attribut de l'H. classique. L'identification est fondée sur l'épiclèse d'H. *Κεδρίτης* attestée par une inscr. provenant du même sanct.: Daux, G., *BCH* 100, 1976, 211-213.

*Cf. etiam* un pinax fr. de même type et de même date où l'on peut restituer un personnage se tenant près d'un arbre et saisissant une branche: *ibid.* 31 n° A 22 pl. 15, 54.

**309.** Pinax découpé à décor repoussé et gravé. Héraklion, Mus. Arch. 4112. Du sanct. d'H. et d'Aphrodite à Katô-Symi. - Lembési 44 n° 58 pl. 32. 34. - 530-520 av. J.-C. - H., identifié par les chaussures ailées, marche vers la dr. en bandant un arc (schéma restitué d'après des exemplaires complets de chasseurs à l'arc: Lembési 112-116 pl. 34). H. est drapé aux épaules, il porte la barbe en pointe. Le trait insolite est le feuillage qui lui pousse sur la tête, en arrière de la couronne de boucles.

## VII. Hermès, dieu de la musique et de la danse

### A. Hermès luthier

Ronde bosse (œuvres mentionnées par les textes)

**310.** Statue, érigée à Argos dans le temple d'Apolon Lykeios. - Paus. 2, 19, 7. - H. fabriquant la lyre avec la carapace de la tortue, conformément à Hom. *h. Merc.* 24-61.

**311.** Groupe en bronze sur l'Hélicon. - Paus. 9, 30, 1. - Apollon et H. *μαχόμενοι περί της λύρας*.

Relief en bronze

**312.\*** Disque. Londres, BM 856. - Walters, *BMBronzes* 154-155 n° 856; Müller, C. O./Wieseler, F., *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* II (1856) pl. 29 fig. 326. - Art gréco-romain (d'ép. augustéenne?). - H., en chaussures ailées, chlamyde dans le dos, pétase sur la nuque, assis sur un rocher vers la g., le pied dr. surélevé, sous un arbre garni de draperies, en face d'un piédestal que couronne une Sphinx. Il tend les cordes d'une cithare, tandis qu'une lyre est posée contre le socle.

### B. Hermès lyricine/citharède

Vases attiques

**313.\*** Amphore f.n. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. 640. - Pallottino, M., *MonAnt* 36, 1937, 125; *CVA* 2, pl. 31, 5. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: en face d'Athéna qui dépose une couronne sur un autel, H., la cithare sur le bras g., fait un geste symétrique. Derrière lui, femme avec une fleur à la main. B: départ de guerrier.

**314.\*** (= Herakles 1475\* avec bibl.) Amphore f.n. panathénaique. Londres, BM B 167. De Vulci. - *ABV* 382, 1: P. d'Achéloos; Schauenburg, K., *JdI* 94, 1979, 54 fig. 6-7. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A-B: Cortège avec H. citharède accompagné d'un bouc; Héraclès jouant de l'aulos double, accompagné d'un taureau et d'Iolaos.

**315.** (= Athena 617 [A] = Herakles 1441 [A] avec bibl.) Amphore f.n. Allemagne, coll. privée. - Schauenburg, o. c. 314, 50 fig. 1-2: Gr. de Léagros. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: concert d'Athéna et d'Héraclès. B: cortège d'H. lyricine, de Dionysos et d'un Silène.

**316.\*** Coupe f.r. Londres, BM E 58. De Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 467, 133; Macron; Zanker (1965) 30-31 pl. 7a. - 500-490 av. J.-C. - A-B: athlètes. I: H. (chlamyde, pétase, chaussures ailées) vole au-dessus de la mer, le



caducée dans une main, dans l'autre la lyre ramenée devant la poitrine.

**317.\*** Cratère en cloche f. r. Bâle. Antikenmus. BS 482. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1632, 49bis: P. de Kléophradès; *Add* 188; Schefold, K., *Führer durch das Antikenmus. Basel* (1966) 87 n° 120, 3; *CVA* 3 pl. 11. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - H., avec de très grands ailerons à ses chaussures, marche vers la dr. en touchant les cordes de sa lyre.

**318.** (= Dionysos 561a\* avec bibl., = Hephaistos 171a) Hydrie f. r. Indianapolis, Mus. of Art 47.34. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 579, 83: P. d'Agrigente; Rudolph, W./Calinescu, A., *Anc. Art from the V. G. Simkhovitch Coll.* (1988) n° 139 figs. - Retour d'Héphaïstos. H. lyricine dans le cortège.

**319.** Cratère en cloche f. r. Gotha, Schloßmus. 73. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1154, 33: P. du Dinos; Lenormant, Ch./de Witte, J., *Elite des mon. céramographiques III* (1861) pl. 90. - Vers 420 av. J.-C. - A: H. assis sur un rocher, les hanches drapées, imberbe et les cheveux ceints d'un bandeau, joue de la lyre, environné de Satyres. Tout est apollinien dans cette figure, mais l'inscr. désigne H.

#### Relief en marbre

**320.\*** Relief néo-attique. Londres, BM 2205. D'Alexandrie (Canope). - Fuchs, o. c. 117, pl. 33 a. - Début du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. (pétase, l'épaule g. drapée) tient de la main dr. verticalement le caducée et la lyre de la main g., le long du corps. - Cf. *etiam* une cornaline de Boston, MFA: Lippold, *Gemmen* pl. 11, 1.

#### C. Hermès aulète

**321.** (= Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos 25\* avec bibl., = Charis, Charites 120) Relief. Athènes, Mus. Acr. 702. De l'Acropole. - Brouskari, *CatAcr* 61-62 fig. 105; CMV, *GrA* 263 fig. 305. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - H. drapé dans un long manteau mène le chœur des Cécropides et de l'enfant Erichthonios (→ Erechtheus); il marche à leur tête en jouant de la flûte.

#### Vases attiques à f. n.

**322.\*** Skyphos. Leningrad, Ermitage B 4498. - *Para* 257: P. de Thésée; Zanker (1965) 56-57 pl. 1-2. - Vers 490 av. J.-C. - A: H. joue de l'aulos double pour les Nymphes qui forment leur chœur en se tenant par les poignets, suivies d'un Satyre. B: Apollon citharède et les Muses.

**323.** Lécythe. Paris, Mus. Rodin TC 232. - *ABV* 530, 85: P. d'Athéna; *Add* 63; Haspels, *ABL* 138; *CVA* pl. 19, 3. - Cortège vers un autel; derrière Apollon, H.(?) jouant de l'aulos double.

**324.** Péliké. Chicago, Univ. - *ABV* 396, 23: P. d'Eucharidès; *Add* 50; Hadzisteliou Price, Th., *AJA* 75, 1971, pl. 93, 1-3. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: H. fait danser deux Satyres au son de l'aulos double; l'étui de l'instrument est accroché à son bras. B: Sphinx thébaine.

**325.** Péliké. Samothrace, Mus. 57.565. De Samothrace. - *Para* 174, 23 bis: P. d'Eucharidès; Hadzisteliou Price, o. c. 324, 431-434 pl. 94, 6. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: H. (sandales ailées), assis sur un siège, fait

danser un bouc au son de l'aulos. Derrière lui, un Satyre portant l'étui.

**326.** (= Herakles 3160 avec bibl.) Skyphos. South Hadley, Mount Holyoke College B. SII.3.1925. - *ABV* 519, 18: P. de Thésée. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - Athéna sert du vin à Héraclès assis sous un arbre. H. joue de l'aulos double.

#### D. Hermès avec la syrinx

##### Vase attique à f. r.

**327.** (= Hera 211\* avec renvois et bibl.) Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. 2304. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 220, 1: P. de Nikoxénos. - 580-570 av. J.-C. - A: assemblée divine dans l'Olympe. B: H. joue de la syrinx en présence d'Apollon citharède, de Dionysos, d'une Ménade et d'une déesse.

##### Reliefs en marbre

**328.** Fr. de plaque à haut relief ( métope ?). Athènes, Mus. Acr. 622. De l'Acropole. - Brouskari, *CatAcr* 106-107 fig. 194. - Vers 570 av. J.-C. - H.(?) de face, coiffé du pilos, vêtu d'un chitoniskos. Brisures aux bras et à la taille. La main dr. tient une syrinx.

**329.\*** Calathos historié de la caryatide «ex-cnidienne». Delphes, Mus. - De la Coste-Messelière, P., *Delphes* (1943) 321-322 pl. 58-59; Croissant, Fr., *Les protomés féminines archaïques* (1983) 71-83; Daux, G./Hansen, E., *FDelphes II 2, Le Trésor de Siphnos* (1987) 152-153. - Œuvre ionienne, mais n'appartenant pas au Trésor de Siphnos. Vers 540-530 av. J.-C. - Apollon à la lyre recevant l'hommage de Nymphes ou de déesses. H. jouant de la syrinx ferme le cortège.

#### E. Hermès au concert

##### 1. Avec Héraclès citharède

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

**330.\*** (Cf. sous Herakles 1447 avec bibl.) Amphore. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 78. - *ABV* 277, 17: P. ou manière du P. d'Antiménès. - 530-510 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès citharède entre Athéna assise et H. debout, la main levée.

**331.** (= Dionysos 575\* avec bibl., = Herakles 1449) Hydrie. Munich, Antikenslg. 1707. - 520-500 av. J.-C. - H., le caducée sur l'épaule, devant Héraclès citharède assis. Dionysos et Athéna encadrent la scène.

**332.** (Cf. sous Herakles 1447) Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. SL 459. - *ABV* 369, 121: P. d'Achéloos; *CVA* 9, pl. 19. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès citharède, face à Athéna. Derrière lui, H. accompagné d'un bélier. B: Dionysos avec le bouc et deux Satyres.

**333.** (= Herakles 1444\* avec bibl.) Amphore. Worcester, Art Mus. 1966.63. - 515-500 av. J.-C. - B: Héraclès citharède sur une tribune, entre H. et Athéna. A: Héraclès et Kyknos.

**334.** (= Herakles 1442\* avec bibl.) Amphore. Rome, Villa Giulia 24998. De Tarquinia. - *ABV* 255, 9: P. de Lysippides. - 530-520 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès citharède entre Athéna et H. assis, qui lève la main.

#### 2. Avec Apollon citharède

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

**335.** (= Apollon 787\* avec bibl.) Amphore. Turin, Mus. Ant. 4101. - *CVA* 2, pl. 5: P. d'Antiménès. - 530-510 av. J.-C. - A: Apollon citharède face à Athéna assise. Derrière le musicien, H. se retourne.

**336.\*** Amphore. Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM* Aukt. 70 (1986) 63 n° 196: manière du P. de Lysippides. - 530-520 av. J.-C. - A: Thésée et le Minotaure (→ Theseus, → Minotauros). B: Apollon citharède entre Dionysos et H. assis.

**337.** (= Apollon 776b\* avec bibl., = Dionysos 510) Amphore. Londres, BM B 255. D'Etrurie. - *ABV* 331, 14: P. de Priam. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - A: Apollon citharède entre Dionysos et H. assis. B: départ de guerrier.

#### 3. Avec un Silène

**338.\*** Cratère à colonnettes att. f. r. Ferrare, Mus. Naz. 4110 (T 55). De Valle Pega. - *CVA* 1, pl. 36: entourage du P. de Pan. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - A: un Silène, drapé dans un long manteau, joue de la cithare entre Dionysos et H. assis. B: éphèbes en manteaux.

#### 4. Hermès dans diverses scènes de musique ou de danse

**339.** Amphore att. f. n. Munich, Antikenslg. 1490. De Vulci. - *ABV* 321: Gr. de Médée; Clairmont, Chr., *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst* (1951) 115 pl. 40. - 530-510 av. J.-C. - A: H., la main dr. levée, se retourne vers un groupe de trois femmes (Nymphes?) jouant des crotales. B: danse de Ménades et de Satyres.

##### Vases italiotes à f. r.

**340.** (= Eros 898\*) Cratère en cloche apulien. Agrigente, Mus. Reg. R 178. - *RVAp* I 12, 27: P. de Hearst. - Vers 380 av. J.-C. - H., le pied sur un rocher, face à une femme jouant du tympanon, suivie d'un Eros portant un miroir.

**341.** (= Aphrodite 1335\* avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 36465. De Géla. - Vers 380 av. J.-C. - A: H., accoudé à un pilier, assiste à la danse d'une femme et d'un petit Eros qui se tiennent par la main. Il fait un geste qui paraît s'adresser aux danseurs. B: thiasé.

#### F. Hermès dans les cortèges, rondes, réunions des Charites et des Nymphes

##### 1. Cortège des Charites

##### Reliefs en marbre

**342.** (= Charis, Charites 16\*) Paris, Louvre MA 696. De Thasos, passage des Théores. - Pouilloux, J., *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos I* (1954) 334 n. 3; *Guide de Thasos* (1967) 122. 130. 168 fig. 104b; CMV, *GrCl* 115-116 fig. 122. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - H. (chitoniskos, chlamyde, pétase) conduit un cortège de trois Charites, dont la première tient une fleur. Geste d'orateur du dieu.

**343.\*** Thasos, Mus. Arch. 23. De Thasos. - *Guide*,

o. c. 342, 169 fig. 105. - V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Sous la voûte d'une grotte, H. (pétase, chitoniskos, caducée) conduit vers la g. les trois Charites long-vêtues; la première tient une fleur.

**344.** Thasos, relief arasé de la porte d'H. et des Charites. - Picard, Ch., *Ét. thasiennes VIII, Les murailles I. Les portes sculptées à images divines* (1962) 134-145 fig. 59 pl. 34; Bernard, P., *BCH* 89, 1965, 81 n. 2; *Guide*, o. c. 342, 47. - On reconnaît la procession d'H. conduisant les Charites à l'intérieur de la ville.

**345.** Groupe disparu (relief ou ronde bosse?) d'H. et les Charites, signalé à Athènes à l'entrée de l'Acropole, par Paus. 1, 22. 8. - Œuvre de Socrate, fils de Sophroniskos. - L'H. est dit Propylaïos, mais rien n'indique qu'il s'agit d'un pilier, *a fortiori* de l'H. d'Alcamène. Cf. *etiam* Fuchs, o. c. 117, 59-60, et *supra*, → 42. 47.

#### 2. Ronde des Charites

**346.** (= Asklepios 317\* avec bibl., = Charis, Charites/Gratiae 43) Vatican, Sala Rotonda inv. 244. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 46. - I<sup>re</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Relief consacré à Asklepios et aux Charites. Le dédicant, agenouillé vers la g., s'adresse aux divinités de la guérison et de la santé. Asklepios, de trois quarts face, tourne la tête vers lui. Les Charites sont figurées conformément au schéma hellénistique des trois Grâces (cf. Orlandini, P., *EAA* II 349-352, s. v. «Cariti»). A l'arrière-plan, H. (pétase, caducée) joue le rôle d'intercesseur.

#### 3. Ronde des Nymphes

**347.** Groupe de reliefs votifs attiques représentant H. conduisant la ronde de trois Nymphes dans une grotte autour d'un autel rupestre. La scène est orientée vers la g. Sur le pourtour plastique de l'autel sont en général sculptés Pan jouant de la syrinx au milieu des chèvres ainsi que la protomé d'Achéloos. a) (= Achéloos 187) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1447. De Munichie (Le Pirée). - Fuchs 243 Beil. 65, 1; Feubel, R., *Die attischen Nymphenreliefs und ihre Vorbilder* (1935) 29 Kat. IX n° 10. - Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. brandit le caducée de la main dr. et tient de la g. la main de la première Nymphe. Il avance vers la g. en se retournant vers les danseuses. - b) (= Achéloos 183) Kent, Country House. - Fuchs 242 Beil. 64, 1. - Fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., en manteau court, se retourne vers les Nymphes dont la première saisit son bras g. c) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 5129. De Rapedosa (région de Marathon). - Feubel Kat. XII n° 22 pl. 1; Fuchs 243 pl. 64, 2. - Dernier quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Même schéma. Relief usé. - d) (= Achéloos 186\*) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1859. De la grotte du Parnès. - Feubel Kat. XIV n° 26; Fuchs 243 Beil. 69, 1. - Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. e) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 3835. De Chasani (Le Pirée). - Isler, H. P., *Achéloos* (1970) 127 n° 25. - Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - f) (= Achéloos 188) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1448. De la grotte du Parnès. - Feubel Kat. XIV n° 27; Fuchs 243 pl. 65, 2. - Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Ex-voto de Téléphanès. Les Nymphes de face; H., de trois quarts profil vers la g., ne se retourne pas vers les danseuses.

**348.** (= Achéloos 211) Relief en forme de grotte. Rome, Mus. Barracco 176. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> II 657 n° 1914;

Havelock, M., *AJA* 68, 1964, 45 pl. 17, 2. – Vers 300 av. J.-C. – Ex-voto de Dexippa aux Nymphes. Scène orientée vers la g., où Achéloos est assis, tenant la corne d'abondance. H. (pétase, chlamyde) est représenté de face derrière un autel rond mouluré; il tourne la tête vers le groupe des trois Nymphes à draperies archaïsantes. De la main g. il tient la main de la première danseuse, de la dr. il brandit le caducée. Dans les hauts Pan joue de la syrinx.

**349.\*** Relief en forme de grotte. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. I 638. De Lampsaque. – Feibel, o. c. **347a**, Kat. XIII n° 25; Fuchs 246 Beil. 66, 2. – Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Le schéma, contrairement à la formule ordinaire, est orienté vers la dr. où est décalé l'autel (construit et non rupestre). H. est représenté de trois quarts face et ne regarde pas les Nymphes.

**350.** Relief à double registre. Athènes, 3<sup>e</sup> Ephorie. Des environs de l'Académie. – Travlos, *TopAth* 51 fig. 63; Zagdoun n° 76 pl. 21, 83. – I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (plutôt qu'ép. hellénistique, Travlos). – H. (chlamyde à queue d'aronde) conduit vers la dr. un cortège de Nymphes réparties sur les deux registres. Cf. *etiam* le putéal de Corinthe (monument disparu), 793.

**351.** Relief encadré de colonnes. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1966. De l'Aréopage. – Svoronos 634 pl. 136; Hausmann, U., *Griechische Weihreliefs* (1960) 97 fig. 59; Havelock, o. c. **348**, 46 pl. 17, 5; Willers 2, 27. 29 pl. 6; Zagdoun n° 59 pl. 35, 130. – Milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Scène de sanctuaire dans lequel pénètrent, par la dr., des adorants. Les trois Nymphes se tiennent par la main autour d'un autel rond mouluré. Dans la partie g. du relief, groupe formé par Pan jouant de la syrinx, Apollon assis sur un rocher et appuyé sur sa cithare, en conversation avec H. (caducée, pétase et chlamyde dans le dos), le pied surélevé sur le rocher, tournant le dos aux Nymphes.

**352.** Plaque. Odessa, Mus. De Panticapée. – Reinach, S., *Mon Piot* 2, 1895 57-76 pl. 7; Zagdoun n° 300 pl. 21, 84. – II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Composition paratactique avec groupes de divinités. En face d'une Nympe de type néo-attique, H. de profil à dr. fait le geste de l'orateur. Pétase et chaussures ailées, caducée à l'horizontale dans la main dr., chlamyde à draperies en pointe ouverte sur le côté.

#### 4. Hermès au repos en compagnie des Nymphes

**353.** Relief-naïskos. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 4465. De la grotte du Pentélique. – Hausmann, o. c. **351**, 61; Fuchs 246 pl. 68. – Vers le milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Ex-voto de Téléphânès, Nikératos et Démophilos. Les trois dédicants font le geste de la prière en face de Pan, suivi d'H. et du groupe des trois Nymphes. H., nu (chlamyde drapée sur l'épaule g.), incline la tête vers les visiteurs. De trois quarts face vers la g., il a la pondération d'une statue.

**354.** Relief en forme de grotte. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 4466. De la grotte du Pentélique. – Fuchs 246. 248 pl. 69. – Dernier quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Les trois Nymphes forment un groupe dans la partie g. du relief, l'une assise, les autres appuyées sur les rochers. Devant elles, formant l'axe de la composition, H. est figuré en athlète nu, drapé sur l'épaule g., tenant le ca-

ducée. Il observe le petit échanton servant le dédicant (Agathéméros) qui lui tend un canthare. Pan, à l'arrière-plan, approche la syrinx de sa bouche.

**355.\*** Relief en forme de grotte. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2011. De la grotte de Vari. – Svoronos pl. 137; Feibel, o. c. **347a**, Kat. IV n° III; Speier, H., *RM* 47, 1932, 76 pl. 22, 3; Fuchs 247-248 Beil. 67. – 3<sup>e</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Les trois Nymphes forment un groupe étroitement uni, l'une étant assise sur un rocher, les autres appuyées contre la paroi. Au fond de la grotte, H. (manquent les jambes au-dessous des genoux; visage arraché) se présente de face, nu, la chlamyde rejetée dans le dos, le bras dr. plié au coude. Il tenait obliquement un objet devant sa poitrine (caducée? aulos?). Au-dessus, Pan joue de la syrinx au milieu du troupeau.

#### 5. Scènes d'interprétation incertaine: Hermès dans des cortèges de Charites ou de Nymphes? Vases attiques à f. n.

**356. a)\*** Hydrie. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1879.161 (222). De Vulci. – *ABV* 281, 7: manière du P. d'Antiménès; Gardner, P., *Cat. of the Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum* (1893) 13 pl. 5; *CVA* 3, pl. 37, 1-2; 38, 1-2. – 530-510 av. J.-C. – H. se dirige vers la dr. en se retournant vers un cortège de six femmes avançant deux par deux. Branchages dans le champ et dans la main de la première Nympe(?); crotales dans la main d'une autre. Gestes des mains levées. – **b)\*** (= Apollon **831**) Amphore f. n. Londres, BM B 230. – *CVA* 4, pl. 56, 4 b. – Vers 530 av. J.-C. – A: char de l'apothéose d'Héraclès. B: H., en chitoniskos, le caducée dans la main dr., se dirige vers la dr. en se retournant vers un groupe de cinq femmes en manteaux brodés: Nymphes?

**357.** Léclythe. Newark, Mus. 30.248. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Cortège vers la dr.: Apollon citharède accompagné d'une biche, une Nympe(?), H. (chlamyde et chaussures ailées) jouant de l'aulos(?), autre Nympe(?).

### VIII. Hermès messager et guide

#### A. L'imagerie du pédophore et protecteur de l'enfance

##### 1. Hermès assiste à une scène de pédophilie Vases attiques à f. n.

**358.** (= Cheiron **45\*** avec renvois et bibl.) Coupe de type Siana. Palerme, Mus. Reg. De Sélinonte. – *ABV* 65, 45: P. de Heidelberg; Beazley, *Dev* pl. 20, 2. – Vers 560 av. J.-C. – Suivant Chiron, H. se dirige vivement vers Pélée qui porte lui-même Achille dans les bras.

**359.** (= Ariadne **159\***) Mastos. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. 391. De Vulci. – *ABV* 262, 45: manière du P. de Lysippides; Scheffold, *SB* II 22. – 520-510 av. J.-C. – H. en compagnie de Satyres, de Dionysos et d'Ariane qui tient → Oinopion sur son sein.

**360.** (= Ariadne **156\***, = Dionysos **787**) Amphore. Londres, BM B 168. De Vulci. – *ABV* 142, 3:

Towry Whyte P.; *CVA* 2, pl. 31, 2 a. – Vers 520 av. J.-C. – A: H., Dionysos, Léo portant Apollon et Artémis ou Aphrodite tenant Eros et → Himeros. B: Satyres dont l'un chevauche une chèvre.

**361.** (= Artemis **1264\***, = Atalante **71**) Petite amphore à col. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 1837. – *ABV* 509, 121: P. de Diosphos; *CVA* 5, pl. 43. – Vers 480 av. J.-C. – H. et une divinité féminine accueillent Athéna ou Artémis que Zeus porte dans les bras.

#### 2. Scène d'allaitement

##### Reliefs

**362.** (= Asklepios **7\***) Disque en marbre fr. Anc. Rome, Studio Altini. Des «Scavi Fortunati» de la Via Latina. – Ep. romaine. – H. au repos, à dr., regarde l'enfant (Asclépios?) qu'allait une chèvre.

#### 3. Hermès conduit un adolescent à son éducateur Vases attiques à f. n.

**363.** (= Dionysos **806\*** avec bibl.) Amphore. Rome, Coll. Guglielmi. De Vulci. – *ABV* 150, 1: P. d'Amasis; Scheffold, *SB* II 23. – Vers 550 av. J.-C. – A: H. remet Oinopion à Dionysos. B: guerriers.

**364.** (= Achilleus **19** avec bibl.) Léclythe. Athènes, Mus. Nat. A 550. – Haspels, *ABL* 88-89. 217 pl. 28: P. d'Edimbourg. – 480-470 av. J.-C. – H. et Pélée ont conduit le jeune Achille au Centaure Chiron.

#### 4. Hermès pédophore

##### a) L'enfant Dionysos

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

**365.\*** Deux cratères en calice attribués au P. de la Villa Giulia, vers 460 av. J.-C. **a)\*** (= Dionysos **682**) Londres, BM E 492. De Nola. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 619, 16; Richter, G. M. A., *Attic Red-Figured Vases, A Survey* (1946) fig. 84. – A: H. assis tend Dionysos à l'une des Nymphes qui l'encadrent. B: athlètes. – **b)\*** (= Dionysos **678** avec bibl.) Moscou, Mus. Pouchkine 16.732. De Nola. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 618, 4; *Zhizn Muzeya* 1930, 48 fig. 3; Scheffold, *SB* III 32-34 fig. 27; Sidorova, H. A., *et al.*, *Antique Painted Pottery in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts* (1985) 85-87 n° 45. – A: H. assis, Dionysos dans les bras, et Nymphes de Nysa. B: roi, deux femmes fuyant.

**366.** Deux pélikés montrent H. debout, remettant Dionysos à une Nympe. **a)** Palerme, Mus. Reg. I 109. D'Agrigente. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 630, 24: P. de Chicago; *Para* 399; Zanker (1965) pl. 4. – Vers 450 av. J.-C. – **b)** (= Dionysos **683\*** avec bibl.) Rome, Villa Giulia 49002. De Cerveteri. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1067, 8: P. de Barclay; *Para* 447. – Vers 450-440 av. J.-C.

**367.\*** Cratère en calice. Paris, Louvre G 478. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1156, 17: manière du P. du Dinos. – *CVA* 5, pl. 31, 1. 4. 6. – 430-420 av. J.-C. – A: H., au centre et couronné de lauriers comme l'enfant, conduit Dionysos à un Satyre et à une Nympe. B (moderne).

**368.\*** Sur deux vases à f. r., H. remet l'enfant à un Satyre, assis sur un rocher. Une Nympe assiste à la scène. **a)\*** Péliké. Rome, Villa Giulia 1296. – Beazley, J. D., *RM* 7, 1912, 296: P. de la Villa Giulia. – Vers 450 av. J.-C. – **b)** (= Dionysos **686\***) Cratère en ca-

lice polychrome f. bl. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 559. De Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1017, 54: P. de la Phiale; Simon, E., *AntK* 3, 1960, pl. 7, 2. – Vers 440 av. J.-C.

**369.** (= Aphrodite **1354\***, = Dionysos **664\*** avec renvois et bibl., = Iris **122** avec renvois) Hydrie. Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8/3316. De Grèce. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1343, 1: P. de Sémélé; *CVA* 5, pl. 48, 1. – Vers 420 av. J.-C. – H. emporte Dionysos loin de la couche de → Semele foudroyée, tandis qu'Iris, dépêchée par Héra, s'en approche.

**370.** (= Dionysos **666\*** avec bibl.) Léclythe. Boston, MFA 95.39. D'Érétie. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 533, 58: P. d'Alkimachos; Caskey/Beazley III pl. 84. – Vers 450-440 av. J.-C. – H. assiste à la seconde naissance de Dionysos. Le caducée dans la main dr., il tient de l'autre le sceptre de Zeus.

**371a)** (= Athamas **1**, = Ino **10\*** avec bibl.) Hydrie. Athènes, coll. A. Kyrou. – Scheffold, *SB* III fig. 31: Hermonax. – 460-450 av. J.-C. – H. porte avec précaution Dionysos au palais d'→ Ino et → Athamas.

##### Vase falisque, bol à reliefs

**371b)** (= Athamas **3\***, = Dionysos/Fufluns **9**, = Ino **12**) Stamnos falisque f. r. Rome, Villa Giulia 2350. De Falerii. – *EVP* 102; Della Seta, A., *Museo di Villa Giulia* (1918) 72. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Même sujet. – **c)** (= Athamas **2\***, = Dionysos **679**, = Ino **11**) Bol à reliefs fr. Rome, anc. coll. Curtius. – Sinn, *Becher* 106 MB 43. – Fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. remet Dionysos au roi Athamas.

##### Mosaïques: pavements en opus tessellatum

**372.\*** Délos, Mus. De Délos, Ilot des Bijoux (habitation V). – Siebert, G., *BCH* 95, 1971, 147-165; Bruneau, Ph., *EADélos XXIX, Les mosaïques* (1972) 166-169 fig. 77-79. – Fin II<sup>e</sup>/début I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Scène d'emblème d'interprétation incertaine. A g. Athéna de face; au milieu une figure féminine assise (mutilée dans sa partie centrale); à dr. H. de profil à g., contemplant ce personnage, qui tenait peut-être un enfant dans ses bras (hypothèse Siebert).

**373.** (= Dionysos [in periphéria or.] **101\***) Worcester (Mass.), Art Mus. 1936.32. D'Antioche. – *AJA* 38, 1934, 204 pl. 23; Levi, *Antioch* 186-189 pl. 166. – H., en longue chlamyde flottant dans le dos, en pétase ailé(?), se dirige à vive allure vers la dr., le visage tourné vers le spectateur. Dionysos est assis sur la draperie qui recouvre la poitrine.

**374.** (= Dionysos [in periphéria or.] **97\*** avec bibl.) Nea Paphos, «Maison d'Aion». – Daszewski, W. A., *Dionysos der Erlöser* (1985) 35-41 pl. 17-18; Deckers, J. G., *Röm. Quartalschrift für christl. Altertumskunde u. Kirchengesch.* 81, 1986, 145-172; Michaelides, D., *RDAC* 1987, 243 n° 12 pl. 62, 4. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – H. imberbe, avec sandales et diadème ailés, tient sur ses genoux le petit Dionysos, en présence de Nymphes et d'allégories diverses; inscr. pour tous les personnages.

##### Reliefs en marbre

**375.** Trône d'Amyclées, œuvre de Bathylès de Magnésie. Œuvre disparue. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av.

J.-C. – Parmi les reliefs qui décoraient le monument, Pausanias mentionne un H. «portant au ciel Dionysos encore enfant» (Paus. 3, 18, 11). On rapprochera le relief votif d'Athènes, Agora I 7154 (→ Artemis 1280\* = Demeter 433), avec une dionysophorie dans un sanctuaire rupestre au sommet duquel trône Zeus.

**376.** (= Dionysos 146\* avec bibl.) Cratère. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6673. De Gaète. Signé Salpiôn d'Athènes. – Fuchs, *o. c.* 117, 140 pl. 27 a. – I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C., d'après un original de 330–320. – Escorté par le thiasé, H. s'apprête à déposer l'enfant au creux de la nébride que tend l'une des Nymphes.

**377.\*** (= Dionysos 147) Putéal. Vatican, Gall. dei Candelabri III 16. – Lippold, *SkulptVatMus* III 2, 240 pl. 112–113. – I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Remise de l'enfant à la Nympe à la nébride.

**378.\*** Deux versions abrégées de la remise aux Nymphes. **a)\*** Relief fr. Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (anc. Fogg) 1970.25. – I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – **b)** Moulage ancien. Munich, Antikenslg. 20047. – Richter, G. M. A., dans *ΘΕΩΡΙΑ, Festschr. W.-H. Schuchhardt* (1960) 179–181. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. portant l'enfant, Nympe à la nébride.

#### Gemmes

**379a)** Pâte de verre imitant une sardoine. Londres, BM 689. – Walters, *BMGems* n° 1118 pl. 16. – Ép. hellénistique. – L'enfant (Dionysos?) assis sur le genou d'H., dont le pied g. surlevé repose sur un rocher. Le dieu (pétase, chlamyde) se penche vers l'enfant qui pose une main sur son épaule et, de l'autre, saisit une grappe à l'arbrisseau figuré derrière lui. Contamination avec le schéma d'→ Arkas? Cf. 387. – **b)** Chaton de bague. – Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 43, 72; Lippold, *Gemmen* pl. 10, 3. – Art gréco-romain. – H. marche vers la g. à vive allure, regardant l'enfant qui lui fait face dans ses bras.

#### Monnaies

**380.** Groupe de monnaies d'époque impériale représentant au rv. H. dionysophore. **a)** AE, Corinthe, Trajan (98–117). – *NumCommPaus* 21 n° 18 pl. E 88. – *Rv.* H. se dirige vers la dr. en tenant l'enfant sur son bras g. – **b)** AE, Sparte, Julia Domna (193–217), Plautilla (202–206). – *NumCommPaus* 55 n° 2 pl. N 5–6. – *Rv.* H. en chlamyde et pétase, le caducée à la main, se dirige vers la dr. en tenant l'enfant sur son bras g. – **c)** AE, Sparte, Gallien, Salonine (253–268). – *NumCommPaus* 55 n° 2 pl. N 7. – *Rv.* H., de trois quarts face vers la dr., retournant la tête, porte l'enfant sur le bras g.

#### b) L'enfant Dionysos-Zagreus(?)

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

**381.** Coupe. Naples, anc. coll. Hamilton. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1525, 4: Groupe YZ; Bérard pl. 19, 68. – Vers 380–360 av. J.-C. – La Nympe, entourée de lierre, a pris dans ses bras l'enfant qu'H. vient chercher. Une nébride l'enveloppe.

**382.** (= Ge 29 avec bibl. et renvois) Péliké. Lenigrad, Ermitage St. 1792. De Kertch. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1476; *Para* 496: P. d'Eleusis; Bérard pl. 19, 69. – 380–360 av. J.-C. – Naissance chthonienne de Dionysos-Za-

greus qu'H. recueille dans une nébride, en présence des divinités (→ Zagreus).

#### c) L'enfant Héraclès

**383.** (= Herakles 1665\* avec bibl.) Petite amphore att. à col f. n. Munich, Antikenslg. 1615 A. De Vulci. – *ABV* 484, 6: Dot-Band Class, P. d'Edimbourg; Siebert *o. c.* 255. – Vers 480–470 av. J.-C. – Paradoxalement figuré dans l'attitude de la fuite, H. (vêtement richement brodé, ailerons de bottes et caducée de grandes dimensions) semble éloigner Héraclès du Centaure auquel il le porte. Inscr. *HEPMEE* (rétr.), *HEPAKΛEE*.

**384.\*** Lécythe att. f. bl. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 6328. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 283, 4: P. de Munich 2774; *CVA* 4, pl. 170. – 460–450 av. J.-C. – Immobile, H. remet l'enfant à Chiron: la massue appuyée contre le chiton du Centaure indique qu'il s'agit d'Héraclès.

#### d) L'enfant Achille

**385.** = 244.

**386.** (= Achilleus 38\* avec bibl.) Coupe fr. att. f. r. Athènes. Mus. Nat. Acr. 328. D'Athènes. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 460, 19: Macron (tardif). – Vers 460 av. J.-C. – Scène lacunaire, l'enfant n'est pas visible. Cf. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 460, 20.

#### e) L'enfant Arcas

*Vases apuliens (f. r.)*

**387.** (= Arkas 3\*, = Kallisto 6) Oenochoé. Malibu, Getty Mus. 72 AE 128. – *RVAp* I 167, 12 pl. 54, 6: proche du P. de la Furie Noire. – Vers 370 av. J.-C. – Dans un mouvement vif qui fait tourner sa chlamyde, H. s'agenouille pour recueillir Arcas au pied du rocher où → Kallisto vient de le mettre au monde. Cf. 379a.

**388.** (= Arkas 2\*, = Artemis 1385, = Kallisto 8) Cratère en calice. Crémone, Mus. Civ. 23. – *RVAp* I 263, 27 a: P. du Jugement. – Vers 350 av. J.-C. – H. emporte Arcas lové dans les pans de sa chlamyde. A dr. Callisto assise sur une nébride. Noms inscrits, dont *EPMAΣ*.

#### Monnaies

**389.** (= Arkas 6\* avec bibl., = Kallisto 13 [av.]) AR statères, Phénéos (Arcadie), vers 362–330 av. J.-C. – *NumCommPaus* 97 n° 2 pl. T 4–5; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze*<sup>2</sup> n° 515 pl. 160; Jenkins, *o. c.* 5b, 124 fig. 247–248. – *Rv.* H. en pétase, la chlamyde drapant le bras g. qui soutient Arcas, se dirige à grands pas vers la g. en retournant la tête vers l'enfant. Variantes dans le geste du petit Arcas qui étend la main tantôt vers le chapeau, tantôt vers l'épaule du pédophore. Parfois lég. *APKAS ΦΕΝΕΩΝ*.

#### f) L'enfant Oedipe

**390.\*** Bol à reliefs «homérique». Paris, Louvre MNC 660. De Tanagra(?). – Sinn, *Becher* 106 MB 44 pl. 21, 3. – Dernier quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Remise de l'enfant Oedipe au roi → Polybos (I). H., à côté de Corinthe personnifiée (→ Korinthos), contemple → Periboia qui tient l'enfant dans ses bras. H. de trois quarts face, le pied sur un rocher. Noms inscrits.

## B. Types statuaire du pédophore

### 1. L'Hermès de Céphissodote

**391.** Œuvre perdue, connue par Plin. *nat.* 34, 87: (*Cephissodoti*) *prioris est Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutrens*.

#### Monnaies

**392.\*** Monnaies thraces d'ép. impériale. **a)\*** AE, Anchialos, Marc Aurèle (161–180). – Strack, *o. c.* 5e, 217. 223 n° 427 pl. 6, 12; Rizzo, G. E., *Prassitele* (1932) 8 pl. 4, 4; Lacroix, *Reproductions* 298–299. 304–305 pl. 27, 5. – *Rv.* H., de trois quarts face à dr., est appuyé contre un pilier sur lequel il a posé l'enfant qui tend le bras. – **b)** AE, Pautalia, Caracalla (211–217). – Ruzicka, L., *BullInstArchBulg* 7, 1932–33, 138 n° 516 pl. 4, 1; Rizzo, *o. c.* pl. 4, 3; Lacroix, *Reproductions* pl. 27, 6. – *Rv.* Variante du même schéma. On notera que sur ces monnaies le bras dr. est levé seulement jusqu'à hauteur d'épaule, contrairement à l'attitude de l'H. d'Olympie (394).

#### Ronde bosse en marbre

**393.** Groupe fr. Athènes, Agora S 33. De l'Agora. – Harrison 162–163 n° 210 pl. 56. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Pilier hermaïque de style archaïsant, recouvert d'une draperie sur laquelle se tient assis un enfant soutenu par une main: copie inspirée du pédophore de Céphissodote? Cf. *etiam* le groupe de Madrid, Mus. Arch.: Blanco Freijeiro, *o. c.* 41, n° 39 E pl. 21; Stucchi, S., dans *Le moulage. Actes du coll. int.* Paris, avril 1987 (1988) 211–214: reconstitution du groupe avec un nouveau fr. de moulage antique d'El Djem.

### 2. L'Hermès de Praxitèle

**394.\*** H. de Praxitèle. Olympie, Mus. – Signalé dans l'Héraion par Paus. 5, 17. 3. – Rizzo, *o. c.* 392a, 66–73 pl. 99–101; Lippold, *GrPl* 241 pl. 84, 2; Scheffold, *PKG* pl. 115; Lullies, *Plastik*<sup>4</sup> 116–117 pl. 226–227. – Sur le problème chronologique (original des années 330 ou copie du début de l'ép. impériale, en raison du travail et du poli du marbre) cf. Lullies qui résume la discussion. – L'enfant Dionysos repose sur le bras g. d'H. accoudé sur un tronc habillé d'une draperie. Il tend la main vers la grappe de raisin(?) que le dieu présentait dans sa main dr. Brisure du bras dr. d'H. à la naissance du biceps. Sa main g. tenait un caducée en bronze. Les monnaies d'Anchialos et de Pautalia (392), versées en général au dossier de l'H. de Céphissodote, peuvent aussi bien, et plus vraisemblablement, se comprendre comme des images simplifiées de l'H. de Praxitèle.

### 3. Autres types plastiques

**395.\*** (= Dionysos 674) H. de Minturnes. Naples, Mus. Naz. 155747. Du théâtre de Minturnes. – Johnson 448–450 fig. 1; Picard, *Manuel* IV 2, 259–260. 286. 287. – Copie romaine d'un original du V<sup>e</sup> s.? «Umbildung» par un sculpteur romain d'un athlète classique en H. pédophore par l'adjonction d'ailerons de tête et d'un enfant miniaturisé? Contrairement aux types statiques de Céphissodote et de Praxi-

tèle, l'H. de Minturnes, que l'on a rattaché à Crésilas (Picard), se caractérise par une attitude plus mouvementée, qui paraît être celle de la marche.

**396.\*** «H. Boboli». Florence, Giardino Boboli. – Amelung, W., *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz* (1897) 144 n° 199; *EA* 103–105; Furtwängler, *MW* 424; Sieveking 2–4 fig. 1. 3. – Copie ou «Umbildung» d'ép. romaine d'un modèle d'athlète polycléen. – H. (ailerons de tête), drapé dans une chlamyde agrafée sur l'épaule dr. et enroulée sur le bras g., tient le caducée verticalement dans la saignée du coude g. L'enfant, maintenu de la main dr. en équilibre sur un tronc, lève un bras vers le pédophore.

Sur les types d'H. dérivés de modèles polycléens, cf. *etiam* Commentaire.

**397.** H. Agoraios dionysophore de Sparte. Œuvre de type indéterminé signalée par Paus. 3, 11, 11.

#### Petite plastique en bronze

**398.** H. de Tell Moqdam (Égypte). Anc. coll. Fouquet. – Perdrizet, P., *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la coll. Fouquet* (1911) 30–31 n° 40 pl. 17. – Ép. hellénistique (III<sup>e</sup> s.?). – Statuette de tradition lysippique. H. (ailerons à la tête et aux pieds, le pétale égyptien sur le front) tourne la tête vers l'épaule dr. La main dr. tient une corne d'abondance le long du corps. La main g. écarte la chlamyde qui drapé l'épaule et forme un creux où l'enfant Dionysos a pu se tenir assis, comme sur un petit bronze du Louvre composé selon le même schéma: Smith 107–110; Picard, *Manuel* IV 2, 262. 265 fig. 112.

**399.** H. de Roze. Péronne (Somme), Mus. Danicourt. – *RA* 4, 1884, 73–75 pl. 4. – Bronze gallo-romain de tradition hellénistique. – H. juvénile, de morphologie praxitélienne, entièrement nu, porte sur son bras g. Dionysos drapé aux hanches. Dans sa main dr. il tenait sans doute le caducée que l'enfant cherche à atteindre.

Sur l'iconographie d'H. dionysophore dans l'art gallo-romain, cf. *etiam* Boucher 115–116; Hatt; Reinach, *RépStat* II 168–170. 172–173; VI, 30.

#### Toreutique

**400.** Manche de patère en bronze. Turin, Mus. Ant. 539. – Rizzo, *o. c.* 392a, pl. 106, 1; Picard, *Manuel* IV 2, 263 fig. 111. – Travail alexandrin d'ép. augustéenne. – H., de trois quarts face vers la dr., a posé l'enfant sur une colonnette et lui présente une grappe.

#### Gemmes

**401.** Gemmes gréco-romaines librement inspirées du type plastique d'H. au repos, avec l'enfant Dionysos sur le bras. **a)** Smith n° 18 fig. 1. – H. de face porte sur le bras dr. l'enfant qui lève vers lui ses deux bras. – **b)** Smith n° 19 fig. 2. – Même schéma d'orientation inverse.

## C. Hermès, dieu de l'attelage

### 1. Attelage mythique ou fabuleux

*Vases attiques*

**402.** (= Admetos I 15\* avec bibl.) Lécythe f. n.



New Haven, Yale Univ. 1913.111. - Haspels, *ABL* 221, 1: P. d'Edimbourg; Boardman, *ABFH* 147 fig. 240. - 500-480 av. J.-C. - H. invite Admète à rejoindre Apollon sur le char tiré par des animaux sauvages.

403. (= Europe I 57\* avec bibl.) Hydrie f. r. Londres, BM E 231. - Metzger, *Représentations* 306 n° 15 pl. 40, 2. - Vers 380-360 av. J.-C. - H. vers la dr. précède Zeus métamorphosé en taureau qui, enlevant Europe, vole au-dessus des flots.

#### Toreutique

404.\* Médaillon, or repoussé. Athènes, Mus. Nat., coll. Stathatos 303. - Coll. H. Stathatos III (1963) pl. 33, 220 fig. 125. - Ep. hellénistique. - H. à dr., devant le char d'Apollon attelé de Griffons (→ Gryps). Niké dadophore, à l'arrière-plan.

#### 2. Hermès aurige

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

405. (= Iris I 124 avec renvois et bibl.) Dinos fr. Londres, BM 1971.11-1.1. - Para 19, 16 bis: Sophilos; Zanker (1965) 38 pl. 3 a. - Vers 570-560 av. J.-C. - H. tient les rênes du char des noces de → Thetis et Pélée (→ Peleus).

406. (= Herakles 2877\*) Coupe. Tarente, Mus. Naz. 20137. - *ABV* 112, 65: Lydos; Para 44; *Add* 31; *CVA* 3, pl. 22, 1. 3; Lacroix, L., *Etudes d'archéologie numismatique* (1974) pl. 20, 1; Tiverios, *Lydos* pl. 32-33 a-c. - 560-550 av. J.-C. - A: H. conduit lui-même l'attelage ailé d'Héraclès. B: combat.

407. Hydrie. Paris, Cab. Méd., Delpierre 38. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - H. conduit le quadriges d'Athéna.

##### Vase apulien (f. r.)

408. Loutrophore. Coll. privée. - *RVAp* 494 et 498 n° 49, 1; 1783: P. de Darius. - Vers 340 av. J.-C. - Caducée brandi dans la main dr., H. mène l'attelage de Zeus (Gigantomachie).

#### 3. Hermès à l'avant de l'attelage, en partie masqué par les chevaux

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

409.\* Hydrie. Londres, BM B 339. De Vulci. - *ABV* 264, 1: Gr. de Londres B 339 (entourage du P. de Lysippidès); *CVA* 6, pl. 92, 3; 95, 1. - 530-520 av. J.-C. - A: H., le visage caché par les chevaux, précède un cortège nuptial. B: combat.

410. (= Dionysos 362 [B], = Herakles 1412\*) Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. 2302. De Vulci. - *ABV* 294, 23: Psiak; *CVA* 4, pl. 154. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - A: H., en partie dissimulé, devant l'attelage d'Héraclès. B: banquet de Dionysos.

411. (= Apollon 834\*) Hydrie. Paris, Louvre F 294. - *ABV* 256, 18: cercle du P. d'Antiménès; *CVA* 6, pl. 70, 7. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - H. escorte le char d'Héraclès.

412. Hydrie. Francfort, Mus. f. Vor- u. Frühgesch. B 345. - *ABV* 267, 16: P. d'Antiménès; Schaal, H., *Griech. Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen* (1923) pl. 11. - 530-520 av. J.-C. - H. masqué par l'attelage d'Héraclès.

413. Amphore à col. Munich, Antikenslg. 1529. De Vulci. - *ABV* 330, 1: proche du P. de Madrid; *CVA* 8, pl. 399. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: H. devant un attelage nuptial. B: Satyres dont l'un à dos de mule.

414. (= Herakles 1414, = Iolaos 9\*) Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. 1416. De Vulci. - *ABV* 367, 90: Gr. de Léagros; *CVA* 1, pl. 51. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - A: H., tourné vers les chevaux, devant l'attelage d'Héraclès. B: kômos.

#### 4. Hermès assis devant l'attelage

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

415.\* Sur trois vases H. est représenté assis devant les chevaux: a) Amphore à col. Munich, Antikenslg. 1516. - Para 152: P. de Cambridge 51; *CVA* 8, pl. 372. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - A: H., sur un *diphros*, regarde en direction des chevaux. B: Dionysos et Satyres dansant. - b) Amphore à col. Munich, Antikenslg. 1537. De Vulci. - *CVA* 8, pl. 405. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: assis face à l'attelage, H. détourne la tête et regarde en arrière. B: guerrier portant son compagnon mort. - c) Lécythe. Londres, BM B 544. - Haspels, *ABL* 266, 23: P. de Sappho. - 500-450 av. J.-C. - H. assis, à dr., devant le char des Létoides.

416. Amphore. Londres, BM B 199. De Vulci. - *CVA* 3, pl. 39, 2 a. - Vers 530-520 av. J.-C. - A: H. (*HPMHZ*) accroupi et non plus assis devant l'attelage d'Héraclès, semble parler aux chevaux. B: combat.

#### 5. Hermès en avant de l'attelage

##### Céramique attique à f. n.

417. Cratère en calice. Athènes, Agora. De la pente nord de l'Acropole. - *ABV* 145, 19: Exékias; Buschor, *GrV* 123. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: H. somptueusement vêtu, la tête détournée, précède l'attelage des divinités. B: combat pour le corps de Patrocle (→ Patroklos, → Hektor).

418.\* Deux amphores: a)\* Londres, BM B 174. De Vulci. - *ABV* 141, 1: Groupe E; Vernant, *o. c.* 95a, 24 fig. 26. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: H., tête tournée vers le cortège nuptial qu'il accompagne. B: Thésée et le Minotaure. - b)\* Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM* Aukt. 26 (1963) n° 102 pl. 34: cercle du P. de Princeton. - 540-530 av. J.-C. - H., tournant la tête vers les chevaux de l'attelage nuptial.

419. Hydrie. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 417. De Vulci. - *ABV* 260, 32: manière du P. de Lysippidès; Pottier, E., *Album arch. des mus. de province* (1890-91) pl. 15. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - H., à dr., escorte l'attelage d'Héraclès.

420.\* Plusieurs vases du P. d'Antiménès montrent H. guide de l'attelage: a)\* Amphore. Londres, BM B 162. De Vulci. - *ABV* 274, 131; *CVA* 4, pl. 42, 2 A. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - A: H., accompagné par une femme ou une déesse (Aphrodite?), et attelage d'Athéna. B: Dionysos et thiasse. - b) Hydrie. Londres, BM B 340. De Vulci. - *ABV* 267, 9; *CVA* 6, pl. 92, 4. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - H. et attelage des noces de Thétis et Pélée. - c) (= Herakles 2895) Hydrie. Coll. privée, Suisse. - *ABV* 277, 7: manière du P. d'Antiménès; Para 121; Dörig, J., *L'art antique dans les coll. pri-*

ées de Suisse romande (1975) n° 163. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - H. et le char d'Héraclès. - d) Hydrie. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. 308. De Vulci. - *ABV* 267, 19; Schefold, *SB III* 49 fig. 51. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - H., aux côtés d'une figure féminine, précède le char de Déméter. Inscr. *ΔΕΜΕΤ.*, *ΕΡ.*

421. (= Herakles 1413\*) Hydrie. Paris, Cab. Méd. 254. De Toscanelle. - *ABV* 324, 28: P. d'Euphiletos; *CVA* 2, pl. 59, 1-4. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - H. suivi par Apollon, au centre, et l'attelage d'Héraclès.

422. Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. 1412. D'Agrigente. - *ABV* 328, 9: Long Nose P.; *CVA* 1, pl. 44. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - A: H. effectuant de la main le geste de l'orateur. Attelage d'Héraclès. B: Héraclès combattant le lion de Némée.

423.\* Sur deux exemplaires du Gr. de Léagros (510-500 av. J.-C.) H., précédant l'attelage, se retourne vers les chevaux. a) Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. 1413. De Vulci. - *ABV* 366, 85; *CVA* 1, pl. 47. - A: H. accompagne un attelage nuptial. B: départ d'un guerrier. - b)\* Hydrie. Francfort, Mus. Hist. ST VI. - Para 165, 81 bis. - Attelage d'Héraclès. H., à dr. mais tourné vers la g., fait face aux chevaux qu'il semble arrêter de son caducée.

424.\* (= Herakles 2899 [A]) Amphore panathénaique. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 1870. De Vulci. - *ABV* 330; proche du P. de Berlin 1899; *CVA* 5, pl. 21. - Vers 520-510 av. J.-C. - A: H., tourné vers l'attelage, semble parler aux chevaux (main dr. paume ouverte). B: Achille et Ajax (→ Aias I) jouant aux dés.

425.\* Deux *pinakes*, attribués à Skythès, vers 530 av. J.-C.: a) (= Athena 175) Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 2586. De l'Acropole. - *ABV* 352, 2; Graef/Langlotz pl. 110. - Fr.: main g. paume ouverte, caducée abaissée dans la dr. et tendu vers les genoux des chevaux. Inscr. *HEPMEE*. - b)\* (→ Herakles 1411) Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 2557. De l'Acropole. - *ABV* 351, 1; Graef/Langlotz pl. 106. - Caducée sur l'épaule, H. fait face à l'attelage d'Héraclès.

426.\* Parmi les images répétitives d'H. et l'attelage sur des lécythes de l'atelier du P. d'Haimon (500-480 av. J.-C.), retenons trois exemples. a)\* Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 7763. De Macédoine. - *ABV* 541, 66; *CVA* 3, pl. 111, 10. - Marche en contrepoint, vers la dr. Caducée de grand format. - b) Stuttgart, Landesmus., Antikenslg. 4.103. (KAS 86). - Para 272; *CVA* 1, pl. 23, 1-2. - H., qui se retourne, flatte les chevaux de la main dr. - c) Tübingen, Univ. 7408. - *CVA* 3, pl. 48, 7. - H. paraît chargé d'un sac au bras dr. Le caducée n'est pas visible (attelage d'Apollon).

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

427.\* (= Herakles 2129) Coupe. Paris, Louvre G 17. D'Attique. - *ARV* 2 62, 83: Olto; Para 327; *CVA* 10, pl. 5. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès et Eurysthée (→ Eurystheus). B: H., à g., caresse l'un des chevaux de l'attelage d'Ulysse (→ Odysseus). Inscriptions.

428. Cratère en calice fr. Athènes, Mus. Acropole 742. De l'Acropole. - *ARV* 2 205, 117: P. de Berlin; Para 344, 131 bis; Graef/Langlotz II 2, pl. 59, 742. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - A: H., à dr. de l'attelage de Zeus,

s'occupe du harnachement des chevaux. B: Dionysos et les Létoides.

429.\* (= Herakles 2907) Cratère en calice. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. VIII 805. - *ARV* 2 297, 11: P. de Troilos; *CVA* 3, pl. 129. - Vers 480-470 av. J.-C. - A: H. avance en retournant la tête, le caducée à la verticale dans la main dr., paume ouverte (char de l'apothéose d'Héraclès). B: athlètes.

430.\* (= Herakles 2130) Coupe. Londres, BM E 44. De Vulci. - *ARV* 2 318, 2: Onésimos; Para 358; *Add* 214; Pfuhl, *MuZ III* 401-402. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - I: scène pédérastique. A: Héraclès et Eurysthée. B: le caducée tenu à l'oblique dans la main dr., H. en frappe les jambes des chevaux de l'attelage (d'Ulysse?).

431. a)\* Cratère à colonnettes. Ferrare, Mus. Naz. 1685 (T 308). De Spina. - *ARV* 2 511, 5: P. de Bologna 228. - Alfieri/Arias/Hirmer, *Spina* pl. 24-27. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - A: le caducée à l'horizontale dans la main g., H. fait face aux chevaux du quadriges d'Apollon qu'il arrête de la main dr. B: Satyres et Ménades. - b) (= Helios 72) Cratère à colonnettes. Bâle, marché des ant. - *MuM* Sonderl. N (1971) 12 n° 9: Gr. de Borée-Florence. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - A: H., qui porte le pétase sur la nuque, un chiton court, un himation et des sandales ailées et tient le caducée dans la main g., précède en courant le char d'Hélios vers lequel il se retourne.

432. (= Hades 110\* avec renvoi et bibl.) Skyphos. D'Eleusis. - Bérard, *Anodoi* 77 fig. 1. - Cf. *ARV* 2 647, 21. - Vers 430 av. J.-C. - Bras écartés, corps de face, H. précède le char du rapt de Coré, invitant Hadès à prendre sa route infernale.

433.\* (= Apollon 856, = Artemis 1334, = Herakles 3372 [I]) Coupe. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2530. De Vulci. - *ARV* 2 831, 20: P. d'Amphitrite; *CVA* 3, pl. 101. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - I: Héraclès et roi. A: H., caducée à la verticale dans la main g., la dr. sur la hanche, précède l'équipage d'Apollon. B: noces (Thétis et Pélée?).

434. (= Apollon 845, = Aphrodite 1505) Cratère en calice. Ferrare, Mus. Naz. 2893 (T 617 VT). De Spina. - *ARV* 2 1038, 1: P. de Pélée; Alfieri/Arias/Hirmer, *Spina* pl. 35. - Vers 430 av. J.-C. - A-B: pilos ailé, caducée à l'épaule, H., immobile, tient dans la main g. les rênes de l'attelage des noces de Thétis et Pélée.

435. Cratère en cloche. Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 1049. (anc. coll. Lamberg 185). - *ARV* 2 1437, 7: P. d'Uppsala; Zanker (1965) 109 n. 519. - Vers 380-370 av. J.-C. - A: H., le caducée à la verticale, précède à vive allure un attelage d'apobates. B: athlètes et jeune homme.

436.\* Deux cratères en cloche att. reproduisent la même scène: H. bondissant, caducée levé et à l'horizontale, devant l'attelage d'apothéose d'Héraclès conduit par Niké. a) (= Herakles 2917\*) New York, MMA 52.11.18. - Schefold/Jung, *SBIV* 223 fig. 276. - Vers 430 av. J.-C. - b)\* (cf. sous → Herakles 2922) Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 422. De Ruvo. - *ARV* 2 1420, 4: P. de Londres F 64; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* K 17 pl. 37. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - B: trois athlètes.

## Vases apuliens (f. r.)

437.\* Cratère à volutes. Paris, Louvre K 66. - *RVAp* II 913-914, 36 pl. 350: Gr. de Lasimos. - Vers 340 av. J.-C. - H., caducée tenu des deux mains, se retourne vers le quadrigé d'→ Eos (?) qu'il escorte.

438. Loutrophore. Suisse, coll. Cl. Braillard. - Aellen, Chr./Cambitoglou, A./Chamay, J., *Le Peintre de Darius*, cat. exp. (1986) 125. - Vers 340 av. J.-C. - H. frappant du caducée la tête de l'un des chevaux du quadrigé d'Amphithéa et de → Leukon.

439.\* Amphore f. n. Local. inconnue; Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM* Aukt. 56 (1980) pl. 56. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., atelier apulien? - H. nu, de trois quarts face à g., bondit à la tête d'un attelage (→ Selené?), tenant d'une main les rênes, de l'autre le caducée. D'après une fresque?

## Peinture murale

440. (= Hades 104 avec bibl.) Vergina, tombe de Coré. - Andronicos, M., *Vergina, The Royal Tombs* (1984) 90-95 fig. 49-58. - Vers 330 av. J.-C. - Rapt de Coré. Caducée brandi à la verticale, H. précède à vive allure le char d'Hadès.

## Reliefs (pierre)

441.\* (= Aphrodite 1418, = Athena 174 avec bibl.) Delphes, Mus. Frise ouest du Trésor de Siphnos. - La Coste-Messelière, o. c. 329, 322 pl. 66-69. - Vers 525 av. J.-C. - H., à g., face au char d'Athéna, après le Jugement de Pâris.

442. Athènes, Mus. Acropole 1343. - Brouskari, *CatAcr* 63 fig. 107. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - Lacunaire. Peut-être H. guide de l'attelage? Cf. (= Artemis 1207) relief de l'aurige, Athènes, Mus. Acropole 1342: Brouskari, *CatAcr* 72 fig. 127; Boardman, *GSAP* fig. 200.

443.\* Le Pirée. Mus. Arch. 2120. - Fuchs, o. c. 117, 187 pl. 28 a (relief du type Loulé). - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., d'après un original du milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. - Scène de rapt. H. précède, à dr., un quadrigé.

## 6. Hermès à côté des chevaux et derrière l'attelage

## Vases attiques à f. n.

444. Amphore. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 375. D'Attique. - *ABV* 149, 2: Groupe E; Beazley, J. D., *BSA* 32, 1931-32, pl. 1, 1. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: Ajax (= Aias II) portant le corps d'Achille. B: H., au centre et à l'arrière-plan, accompagne l'attelage d'un guerrier.

445. (= Artemis 1257\*) Amphore. New York, MMA 12.198.4. De Vulci. - *ABV* 258, 5: Gr. de Bate-man; *CVA* 3, pl. 19, 2. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - A: H., à côté des chevaux, se retourne vers un citharède (Apollon?) qui escorte le char d'apothéose d'Héraclès. B: H., Dionysos, Ariane et le thiasé.

446. (= Dionysos 768\*/774\*) Amphore. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. 267. - *ABV* 258, 10: P. du Mas-tos; Schefold, *SB* II 47 fig. 48. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: H., en chiton fleuri, accompagne l'attelage de → Semele. B: H. en compagnie de Dionysos, d'Ariane et des Satyres.

447. (= Artemis 1233\*, = Iris 170 I avec bibl.) Hydrie. Paris, Louvre F 297. De Vulci. - *ABV* 333, 1: manière du P. de Priam. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - H., qui escorte le char des Létoides, se tourne vers Artémis et lui tend une fleur. Inscr. *HEPMOY, APTEMIAOZ, AE-TOYZ*.

448.\* Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. 1406. D'Italie du sud. - *ABV* 368, 108: Gr. de Léagros; *CVA* 1, pl. 38. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: H., aux côtés des chevaux d'un attelage nuptial, en conversation avec Dionysos. B: Dionysos et le thiasé.

449.\* Stamnos f. r. Paris, Louvre G 56. D'Etrurie. - *ARV* 207, 138: P. de Berlin (début de sa carrière); *CVA* 2, pl. 12, 1-4. - 500-490 av. J.-C. - A: H., accompagnant l'attelage, regarde Athéna monter dans le char. B: vieillard et guerriers.

450.\* Amphore. Londres, BM B 179. - *CVA* 3, pl. 32. - Vers 520-510 av. J.-C. - A: H. suit l'attelage des Létoides. B: Dionysos, Satyre et Ménade.

## Reliefs

451. Fronton ouest du Parthénon. Dessin de Carrey (1674). - Brommer, Fr., *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel* (1963) 161 pl. 64, 1. - 438-432 av. J.-C. - H., à l'arrière-plan des chevaux, accompagne l'attelage d'Athéna.

## 7. Hermès assiste à un course de chars

452.\* Coupe att. f. n. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 1799. - *ABV* 164: Glaucytès potier; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 61. - Vers 560-550 av. J.-C. - A: course de chars en présence d'H. qui gesticule en direction des chevaux. B: Gigantomachie.

## D. Hermès, guide des déesses au Jugement de Pâris (→ Paridis iudicium)

## 1. Hermès conduit les déesses à Pâris

## Vases attiques à f. n.

453. Pyxis tripode. Paris, Louvre Ca 616. De Thèbes. - *ABV* 58, 122: Peintre C; *Para* 23; *Add* 16; Clairmont, Chr., *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst* (1951) 28 K 40 pl. 7. - Vers 570 av. J.-C. - H. se retourne vers les déesses auxquelles il fait un large signe de la main dr. Devant eux, Pâris, à dr., suivi d'une figure féminine porteuse de couronnes.

454.\* Trois peintures de l'atelier de Néarchos (570-555 av. J.-C.): a) Trépied fr. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 3. De Thèbes. - *ABV* 87, 21; *CVA* 3, pl. 22, 1. - Composition en frise: H. suit Pâris et précède les déesses. - b) Amphore. Lyon, Mus. Beaux-Arts. - *ABV* 87, 16; Clairmont, o. c. 453, 23 K 14 pl. 3. - H. et Pâris face à face, en conversation. Les déesses tiennent des couronnes. - c) Hydrie. Local. inconnue; Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM* Aukt. 51 (1975) n° 118: proche du P. de Londres B 76. - Vers 560 av. J.-C. - H. et Pâris en conversation. L'une des déesses tend une couronne, les deux autres des rinceaux floraux.

455.\* Quatre exemplaires attribués à Lydos et à son entourage présentent des variantes de la scène: a)

Hydrie. Théra, Mus. 1736. De la nécropole de Sellada. - *BCH* 94, 1970, 1132 fig. 526: cercle de Lydos. - Vers 550 av. J.-C. - Placé derrière Pâris, en tête du cortège, H. vêtu d'un long himation conduit les déesses, toutes coiffées d'une *taenia*. - b)\* Cratère à colonnettes. Londres, BM 1948.10-15.1. - *ABV* 108, 8; Beazley, *Dev* pl. 15, 1. - Vers 550 av. J.-C. - A: H. et Pâris conversent en gesticulant sur la dr. Les trois déesses au centre: trois figures adventices complètent le cortège. B: Sphinx et lion. - c)\* Amphore à col. fr. Paris, Louvre C 10633. - *Para* 48; *CVA* 11, pl. 105. - 560-550 av. J.-C. - d) Fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 725. - Graef/Langlotz I pl. 47. - H., conversant avec Pâris, lève la main g. dont le pouce, l'index et le majeur sont tendus, les autres doigts repliés. Les déesses ne figurent pas sur le tesson.

456.\* Parmi les représentations émanant de l'atelier du P. d'Antiménès (vers 510 av. J.-C.), citons: a) (= Athena 194\*) Hydrie. Bâle, Antikenmus. BS 434. D'Attique. - *CVA* 1, pl. 38, 4; 39, 1-6: P. d'Antiménès. - H., effectuant de la main g. le geste de l'orateur, suit Pâris. Trois des déesses portent le sceptre; Athéna, escortée par une biche, porte la lance. - b) Hydrie. Munich, Antikenslg. 1722. De Vulci. - *ABV* 269, 33: P. d'Antiménès; Clairmont, o. c. 453, 35 K 76 pl. 18. - Même scène. - c)\* Amphore. Florence, Mus. Arch. 3856. - *ABV* 278, 30: manière du P. d'Antiménès; *Add* 73; Clairmont, o. c. 33 K 63 pl. 15. - A: H. fait le geste de la conversation tandis que Pâris s'éloigne. La biche qui accompagne Athéna n'est pas représentée. B: divination par les entrailles.

457. Fr. Boston, MFA (en prêt). - Vermeule, E., *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (1979) 64 fig. 22. - Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. (bottes ailées et pilos), marchant vers la g., précède les déesses.

458. (= Aphrodite 1425 avec bibl.) Lécythe. Agrigente, Mus. Reg. - Haspels, *ABL* pl. 36, 4: P. de Diosphos. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - H., caducée à la verticale dans la main dr., saisit de la main g. Pâris aux épaules. Derrière, les trois déesses qu'un lion accompagne tiennent respectivement une fleur, la chouette (Athéna), une Niké (Aphrodite).

## Vase attique à f. r.

459. (= Dionysos 605) Stamnos. Londres, BM E 445. De Vulci. - *ARV* 217, 1: Gr. de Londres E 445; *CVA* 3, pl. 21, 5. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - A: H., barbu et couronné de lierre, marchant à vives enjambées, saisit Pâris à l'épaule g. et touche son dos avec le caducée.

## 2. Hermès seul avec les déesses

## Vases attiques à f. n.

460. Amphore. Rome, coll. Guglielmi. De Vulci. - *ABV* 84, 3: P. du Ptoion (entourage de Néarchos); Clairmont, o. c. 453, 24 K 16 pl. 4 b. - Vers 560 av. J.-C. - A: H., marchant vers la dr., précède les trois déesses. B: symposion.

461. Deux vases attribués au P. d'Antiménès et à sa manière (520-515 av. J.-C.) reproduisent la même scène. Mais H., marchant à l'avant du groupe, se retourne pour regarder les déesses. - a) Amphore à col. Richmond, Virginia Mus. 57.9. - *ABV* 271, 78

(marché de l'art, Rome); *Para* 118, 78. - A: H. conduit les déesses. B: retour d'Hélène(?). - b) (= Aphrodite 1424\*) Hydrie. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. F 1894. De Vulci. - *ABV* 277, 14; Clairmont, o. c. 453, 35 K 75 pl. 14 b.

462.\* Amphore. Londres, BM B 238. De Vulci. - *ABV* 392, 9: P. de Nikoxénos; *CVA* 1, pl. 58. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - A: H., accompagné d'un bouc, conduit les déesses. Au près d'Athéna une biche; rameaux et grenade pour les autres. B: H., Athéna et Apollon.

463. (= Achilleus 593, = Automedon 15) Amphore. Londres, BM B 239. De Vulci. - *ABV* 371, 147: Gr. de Léagros; *CVA* 4, pl. 58, 3 a. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - A: version réduite de la scène. H. suit deux déesses, Athéna et Aphrodite. B: Achille traînant la dépouille de Patrocle.

464.\* Le P. d'Athéna (500-480 av. J.-C.) a laissé trois exemplaires sur le thème du Jugement de Pâris. a) Oenoché. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. 37.8. - *ABV* 526, 1; *CVA* 2, RS pl. 4, 3. - b) Lécythe f. bl. Coll. Hirsch. - *ABV* 522, 2; Clairmont, o. c. 453, 41 K 110 pl. 24 b. - Sur ces deux vases le cortège est animé par les gestes: bras g. plié au coude et levé à la verticale pour H. et les déesses. - c)\* Lécythe. Leyde, Rijksmus. XV 82. - *ABV* 522, 3; Clairmont, o. c. 40 K 108 pl. 25-26. - H., les deux mains repliées contre la poitrine, caducée à l'oblique, regarde en arrière, en direction des déesses.

## Vase attique à f. r.

465.\* Stamnos. Detroit, Inst. of Arts 24.13. - *ARV* 291, 28: P. de Tyszkiewicz; Clairmont, o. c. 453, 48 K 135 pl. 31. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - A: H. se retourne et fait signe de la main dr. à Aphrodite et à Athéna(?) qu'il accompagne. B: Aphrodite et les Heures.

## Vases italiotes (f. r.)

466. Cratère en cloche apulien. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1944.15. - *RVAp* I 10, 14: Judgment Group; Clairmont, o. c. 453, 60-61 K 189 pl. 39. - Vers 360 av. J.-C. - A: H. assis sur un rocher converse avec Athéna. De part et d'autre, Héra debout tenant son voile; Aphrodite au miroir, assise.

467. Amphore lucanienne. Londres, BM F 483. - *LCS* 121, 616 pl. 60, 4: P. des Choéphores. - Vers 380-360 av. J.-C. - A: H. assis à g. sur un rocher converse avec Héra (phiale); derrière elle, Aphrodite tenant un rameau. B: trois jeunes gens drapés.

## 3. Hermès et Pâris

## Vases attiques à f. r.

468.\* Cratère. Palerme, Mus. Reg. 2118. - *ARV* 1072, 2: P. d'Eupolis; Clairmont, o. c. 453, 53 K 155 pl. 33 b. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - A: H. à g., debout, main à la hanche et caducée tenu comme un sceptre de la main g. Athéna s'entretient avec Pâris assis à dr. sur un rocher. B: jeune homme en compagnie d'un homme et d'une femme.

469. (= Alexandros 11\* avec bibl.) Amphore de Nola. Londres, BM E 330. De Nola. - *ARV* 842,

129; P. de Sabouroff (tardif). - 450-440 av. J.-C. - A: H. debout à dr., caducée abaissée vers le sol, regarde Pâris lycrine assis sur le rocher. B: jeune homme.

470.\* Lécythe. Athènes, coll. Politou 62. - Evoque le style du P. de la Phiale, vers 450 av. J.-C. - H., debout à g., tend le caducée vers Pâris assis à dr. sur le rocher.

#### 4. Hermès préside au jugement, en présence de Pâris assis

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

471.\* Deux amphores des années 520-500 av. J.-C. représentent le cortège des déesses conduites par H. auprès de Pâris assis. a) Munich, Antikenslg. 1392. De Vulci. - *ABV* 281, 16: rattaché au P. d'Antiménès; *CVA* 1, pl. 27. - A: H., caducée tenu à l'horizontale, tend de la main g. une couronne à Pâris. B: retrouvailles d'Hélène. - b)\* Paris, Louvre F 251. - *ABV* 401, 1: Gr. de Würzburg 221; *CVA* 4, pl. 51, 2-4. - A-B: jugement de Pâris.

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

472. (= Alexandros 10\* avec bibl., = Hera 428 avec renvois) Coupe. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2291. De Vulci. - *ARV* 459, 4: Macron; Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 437. - 490-480 av. J.-C. - A: H., appuyé sur le caducée utilisé comme un bâton, tend le bras dr. horizontalement vers Pâris avec lequel il s'entretient. Entouré par son troupeau, celui-ci joue de la lyre. B: Pâris emmène Hélène.

473. Coupe. Paris, Louvre G 151. De Cerveteri. - *ARV* 406, 8: P. de Briséis; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* III pl. 120. - Vers 490-475 av. J.-C. - A: H., caducée tenu à la manière d'un sceptre, tend le bras dr., la main ouverte, vers Pâris assis sous un palmier. B: retour chez Priam.

474. Pyxide f. bl. New York, MMA 07.286.36. De Cumes. - *ARV* 890, 173: P. de Penthésilée; Richter/Hall pl. 77. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - H. debout, caducée à l'horizontale, main g. paume ouverte, converse avec Pâris muni d'un *lagobolon*, assis sur un rocher.

475. (= Aphrodite 1428\* avec bibl., Helene 85 avec renvois) Coupe. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2536. De Nola. - *ARV* 1287, 1: P. de Berlin 2536; *CVA* 3, pl. 118. - Fin V<sup>e</sup> s./début IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: H. coiffé du pilos ailé se retourne vers Eros qu'Aphrodite porte dans sa main. Le petit dieu couronne le caducée. B: rencontre d'Hélène et de Pâris.

476. (= Alexandros 12\* avec bibl., = Aphrodite 1275\* avec renvois, = Dionysos 316 avec bibl., = Eris 8, = Gigantes 42) Hydrie. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. 259 (B 36). De Ruvo. - *ARV* 1315, 1a: P. du Pâris de Karlsruhe (entourage du P. de Meidias); *Para* 477; *CVA* 1, pl. 22, 2; 23-24, 1-5. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - Registre sup.: H., main g. à la hanche, abaisse le caducée vers un chien couché qui lui fait face. Registre inf.: Dionysos, Ménades et Satyres.

477. (= Aphrodite 1433\* avec bibl.) Cratère en calice. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 12545. - *ARV* 1457, 11: Groupe LC; Rumpf, *MuZ* pl. 47, 6. - Vers 340 av. J.-C. - A: H., à l'arrière-plan, au repos; Pâris, assis au premier plan, face à Athéna. B: Satyres et Ménades.

478.\* (= Iris 131 avec bibl.) Péliké. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1181. - *ARV* 1475, 5: P. de Marsyas. - 340-330 av. J.-C. - A: H. debout entre Pâris et Athéna, tous deux assis. B: Dionysos, Ariane(?) et Ménéade.

*Vases italiotes (f. r.)*

479. Lécythe apulien. Londres, BM F 109. - *RVAp* I 207, 126: Gr. de Vienne 4013 (associé au P. de l'Ilioupersis); Cook, *Zeus* III 67 pl. 11. - Vers 350 av. J.-C. - H., appuyé sur le caducée posé à l'envers, fait un geste vers Pâris assis. Ils encadrent Héra représentée trônant au centre de l'image.

480.\* Deux vases du P. du Jugement (vers 320 av. J.-C.). a)\* Cratère en cloche. Londres, BM F 167. *RVAp* I 263, 26; Clairmont, o. c. 453, 60 K 188 pl. 38. - H., accoudé à une colonnette, se retourne nonchalamment vers Pâris assis qui tient de la main dr. des javelines et, de la g., soulève un pan de sa chlamyde. Chacun est flanqué d'un chien. - b) Lékanis campanienne fr. Local. inconnue; Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM* Aukt. 70 (1986) 59 n° 224; *LCS Suppl.* 3, 217, 64 a pl. 25, 3-4. - H. nu, la chlamyde enroulée autour du bras g., converse avec Pâris vers qui il tend la main dr.

*Céramique hellénistique à reliefs*

480 bis. Bol à reliefs. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. - Siebert, G., *Rech. sur les ateliers de bols à reliefs du Péloponnèse à l'ép. hellén.* (1978) 255 et n. 4, pl. 64; cf. *ibid.* 255, M34 pl. 25; 291, A67 pl. 7. - Sign. du potier Ménémachos dans le médaillon (bol d'Alexandrie); monogramme du potier Agathoclès dans le champ (bol d'Argos A67). 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Frise des trois déesses encadrées à g. par H. de profil à dr., à dr. par Pâris assis sur un rocher.

#### E. Hermès, guide des héros

##### 1. Persée

##### a) Danaé et la pluie d'or

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

481.\* (= Danae 6) Hydrie. Boston, MFA 68.18. - *BurlMag* 112, 1970, 630 fig. 100-102: proche du P. du Dinos. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - H., tenant le caducée dans la main dr., tend le bras g. couvert par la chlamyde en direction de Danaé qui, assise sur une *kliné*, recueille la pluie d'or.

##### b) Hermès accompagne Persée chez les Grées

482. (= Graiai 2\*) Couvercle de pyxide att. f. r. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1291. - Schauenburg, K., *Perseus* (1960) pl. 5, 2. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - H. de trois quarts face converse avec Poséidon, tandis que Persée, en rampant, s'approche de l'une des vieilles.

##### c) Hermès assiste à la décollation de Méduse

*Vases attiques*

483. (= Gorgo, Gorgones 293\* avec bibl.) Olpé f. n. Londres, BM B 471. De Vulci. - *ABV* 153, 32: P.

d'Amasis; Pfuhl, *MuZ* 216; v. Bothmer, *Amasis* n° 31 pl. coul. - Vers 540-530 av. J.-C. - H., un long caducée tenu obliquement dans la main g., la paume orientée vers le sol, regarde Persée qui tranche le cou de la Gorgone.

484. Sur deux cratères en cloche f. r. du P. de la Villa Giulia (vers 450 av. J.-C.) H. accompagne Persée jusqu'à la couche de Méduse, surprise et tuée dans son sommeil. a) (= Gorgo, Gorgones 298 avec bibl.) Londres, BM 493. De Camiros. - *ARV* 619, 18; Beazley, J. D., *RM* 27, 1912, pl. 11. - A: H., derrière Méduse assoupie, se tourne vers Persée qui, harpé dans la main dr. et tête détournée, s'apprête à décapiter Méduse. A dr. Athéna. - b) Madrid, Mus. Arch. 11010 (L 169). - *ARV* 619, 19; *CVA* 2, pl. 17, 1. - A: réplique du précédent. B: deux femmes en fuite et vieux roi.

485.\* (= Gorgo, Gorgones 300 avec bibl.) Pyxide f. bl. Paris, Louvre MNB 1286. - *ARV* 775: P. de Sotheby; BrBr, texte relatif à la pl. 727; Riccioni, G., *Riv. Ist. Arch.* NS 9, 1960, 186 fig. 78. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - H., bras tendu à l'horizontale, caducée dans la main g., suit Persée qui bondit vers Méduse endormie.

486. Hydrie fr. f. r. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 686. D'Athènes. - *ARV* 587, 66: P. maniériste indéterminé; Moret, J. M., *Oedipe, la Sphinx et les Thébains* (1984) pl. 62; cf. *etiam* Halm-Tisserant, M., *Ktema* 13, 1988. - H., caducée à la verticale, précède Persée qui, harpé au poing, se dirige en courant vers la Gorgone.

#### d) Hermès accompagne Persée dans la fuite qui suit la décollation

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

487. Le P. de la Gorgone (570-560 av. J.-C.) reproduit la même scène sur: a) (= Athena 7\*, = Gorgo, Gorgones 314\* avec bibl.) Dinos. Paris, Louvre E 874; *ABV* 8, 1; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* pl. 60-62. - b) Hydrie. Gênes, Univ. De Vulci. - *Tetraonoma* (1966) fig. 1-9. - H. en chitoniskos brodé et pétase avance vers la dr., tenant verticalement dans la main g. un caducée court.

488.\* Parmi les coupes que le Peintre C (2<sup>e</sup> quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.) a consacrées au thème de la fuite, retenons: a)\* (= Athena 504, = Gorgo, Gorgones 320 avec bibl.) Londres, BM B 380. De Siana. - *ABV* 55, 91; Schauenburg, o. c. 482, pl. 8, 1-2. - A: H., caducée à l'oblique, bras g. plié au coude, suit à grandes enjambées Persée placé en tête des fuyards. Athéna entre H. et les Gorgones. B: guerriers et leurs chevaux. - b) (= Gorgo, Gorgones 319 avec bibl.) Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 1753. De Nola. - *ABV* 56, 94; Schauenburg, o. c. 482, pl. 9, 2. - A: Athéna n'est pas représentée. Persée suivi par H., caducée à l'oblique, fuit devant les Gorgones. B: cavaliers. - c) Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 335. De Vulci. - *ABV* 57, 111; Albizzati pl. 34. 36. - A: H., dans la même attitude que Persée et Athéna, bras g. plié au coude et levé à la verticale, mène le cortège des fuyards. B: Gorgone et Satyres.

489. Amphore à col. Munich, Antikenslg. 1555. De Vulci. - *ABV* 271, 79: P. d'Antiménès; *Para* 118,

79; Schauenburg, o. c. 482, pl. 11, 1-2. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: H., immobile, le caducée à l'oblique sur l'épaule dr., entre Méduse décapitée et Athéna. A dr. Persée s'enfuit à toutes jambes. B: les Gorgones.

490. Amphore à col. Londres, BM B 248. De Vulci. - *ABV* 373, 173: Gr. de Léagros; *CVA* 4, pl. 60, 4. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - A: à g., H. immobile converse avec Athéna, tandis que Persée, à dr., bondit au-dessus des flots. B: les sœurs de Méduse.

491. Deux skyphoi attribués au P. de Rodin 1000 (vers 470 av. J.-C.) montrent la fuite. a) Coll. privée (anc. Hambourg). De Capoue. - *ABV* 521, 2; v. Mercklin, E., *AA* 58, 1943, 7-10. - A-B: H., en tête du groupe, bondit sur la mer. Athéna, puis Persée dans la même attitude de la course rapide. - b) (= Gorgo, Gorgones 308) Paris, Mus. Rodin 1000. - *ABV* 521, 1; *CVA* pl. 12, 7. 9-10. - A-B: du côté dr. de l'attache de l'anse, H. immobile se retourne, le caducée tenu obliquement des deux mains. Gorgone de l'autre côté de l'anse.

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

492. Le sujet a été traité par des peintres maniéristes indéterminés. a) Lécythe. São Paulo, Mus. de Arte et Arq. 67/1. D'Attique. - *Dédalo* 5, 1967, 12 fig. 7-9. - 460-450 av. J.-C. - H., caducée à la verticale, se retourne vers Persée dont il protège la course. - b) (= Herakles 3235 avec bibl.) Skyphos. Paris, Louvre G 558. De Nola. - Pottier, *Vases Louvre* pl. 156. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - A: H. courant, Poséidon immobile, Persée en fuite. B: Persée pétrifie le tyran → Polydektes.

#### 2. Thésée

##### a) Thésée et le taureau de Marathon

*Vases attiques*

493.\* Deux exemplaires à f. n. attribués au Gr. de Léagros. a) (= Herakles 2322) Hydrie. Paris, Louvre F 299. - *ABV* 362, 29; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* pl. 84; *CVA* 6, pl. 72. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - H. assis sur un siège converse avec Athéna; sur la dr. Thésée combat le taureau de Marathon. De l'autre côté du groupe divin, Héraclès et le sanglier d'Erymanthe. - b)\* Cratère à colonnettes. Paris, Louvre Cp 12284. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - H., à dr., le caducée tenu des deux mains, regarde Thésée combattant le taureau.

494. (= Aigeus 16\*, = Amphitrite 57\*) Cratère en cloche f. r. Adolphseck 78. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - *ARV* 1346, 2; *Para* 482; *Add* 368; *CVA* pl. 50, 2: P. de Cécrops. - Le combat est présenté comme l'apothéose du héros. H., main g. à la hanche et pied surélevé sur un rocher, tient son caducée à l'envers, les boucles posées contre son genou.

##### b) Thésée et la laie de Crommyon

495. Coupe f. r. Londres, BM E 36. De Vulci. - *ABV* 115, 3: P. du Louvre G 36; Schefold, *SB* II 163 fig. 219. - Vers 500-490 av. J.-C. - A-B: exploits de Thésée. H., nu, lève son caducée vers Thésée qui tire la laie tenue par la patte arrière. Il paraît aider à la capture.



c) **Thésée abandonne Ariane**

496. (= Aphrodite 1470\*, = Ariadne 53\*, = Briseis 57, = Helene 67\*, 244\* avec bibl. et renvois) Coupe f. r. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 5291. De Tarquinia. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 405, 1: P. de la Fonderie; CVA 2, pl. 18, 1. - Vers 480-460 av. J.-C. - A: H. s'éloigne de la couche d'Ariane endormie que Thésée, mettant ses sandales, s'apprête à abandonner. B: Ménélas et Hélène. I: héraut et femme attachée (Briséis?).

3. **Héraclès**a) **Hermès et Héraclès**

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

497.\* (= Herakles 3349 avec bibl.) Amphore. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. F 1689. - ABV 151, 10: P. d'Amasis; Adamek, L., *Unsignierte Vasen des Amasis* (1895) 27-28. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: apothéose d'Héraclès. B: H. en compagnie d'Héraclès.

498. (= Herakles 3350 avec bibl.) Amphore panathénaique. New Orleans, Mus. of Art 2033 (anc. Bucci). - ABV 315, 3: P. de Bucci. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: H. à dr., bras levé, converse avec Héraclès; entre eux un autel. Deux colonnes surmontées d'un coq et d'une chouette les encadrent. B: cavalier de face, trois jeunes gens et un homme.

499. Kyathos. Bâle, marché de l'art. - MuM Aukt. 16 (1956) n° 108. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A-B: Héraclès, assis sur un *thâkos*, Dionysos et Ariane (ou Sémélé) assis, et H., également assis, mais sur un *diphros*; à g. et à dr., des Pégases.

b) **Hermès assiste au combat d'Héraclès et du lion de Némée**

500.\* Cratère f. n. Cambridge, Mus. of Class. Arch. UP 112 A. - Schauenburg, K., *JdI* 76, 1961, 51 fig. 4. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - H., la main g. à la hanche et le caducée tenu obliquement de la dr., se retourne vers Athéna qui observe la lutte.

501. Sur deux hydries du P. d'Antiménès (vers 520 av. J.-C.) Athéna et H., avec des gestes d'encouragement, Iolaos et une femme assistent au combat. - a) Norwich, Mus. - ABV 268, 23; Chittenden, J./Seltman, Ch., *Greek Art: a Commemorative Cat. of an Exhib. held in 1946* (Londres 1947) pl. 14, 29. - Sur l'épaule, chasse au cerf. - b) Florence, Mus. Arch. 94315. - ABV 289, 29: manière du P. d'Antiménès; CVA 5, pl. 34.

502.\* Versions du combat chez le P. de Rycroft et son entourage sur plusieurs amphores à col f. n. datées entre 530 et 510 av. J.-C. - a)\* Copenhague, Glypt. 2655. - ABV 336, 17; Poulsen, Fr., *Vases grecs récemment acquis par la Glyptothèque de Ny-Carlsberg* (1922) 9-10 fig. 14-15. - A: H., caducée à l'horizontale, bras levé, fait face à Iolaos représenté dans la même attitude. Ils encadrent Héraclès et le lion. - b) (= Herakles 2989) Bâle, Antikenmus. BS 409. - Para 149, 16 b; Add<sup>2</sup> 92; CVA 1, pl. 41, 3-4; 45, 1-3. - H., bras g. plié au coude, caducée dans la main dr., semble s'éloigner du combat qu'il observe néanmoins en retournant la tête. Athéna et Iolaos. - c) Berlin-DDR, Staatl.

Mus. 3274. - ABV 675; CVA 5, pl. 11. - Rappelle le P. de Rycroft. - A: H. et Athéna effectuent le même geste de part et d'autre du combat (bras g. levé, lance et caducée tenus à l'horizontale). B: cavaliers.

503.\* (= Herakles 1858 avec bibl.) Canthare f. r. Leningrad, Ermitage B 3386. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - H. placé au centre de l'image, entre Athéna et Iolaos, dans une attitude qui évoque celle des scènes de psychostasie, apparaît à l'arrière-plan du combat. La partie inférieure de son corps est masquée par le groupe d'Héraclès et du lion.

504. Stamnos f. r. Munich, Antikenslg. 2407. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 274, 35: P. de Harrow; CVA 5, pl. 241. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - La composition se déroule sur les deux faces. A: H., bras écartés, tête et jambes de profil, corps de face, brandit le caducée. Athéna, Poséidon et d'autres dieux l'accompagnent. B: Héraclès et le lion.

c) **Héraclès et l'Hydre de Lerne**

505. (= Herakles 1999) Hydrie f. n. Lyon, Mus. Beaux-Arts E 406 a. - ABV 268, 29: P. d'Antiménès; Rec. Ch. Dugas (1960) 147. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - Sur la panse, H. et Dionysos. Epaule: H. s'éloigne d'Héraclès et d'Iolaos qui combattent l'Hydre, au centre. Il retourne la tête vers eux et tient un long caducée, pendant de la lance d'Athéna placée à g. de la métope.

506. (= Herakles 2018) Stamnos f. r. Palerme, Mus. Reg. V 763. De Chiuse. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 251, 34: P. de Sylée; CVA 1, pl. 31. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - Composition répartie sur les deux faces. A: combat d'Héraclès. B: H., bras g. plié, paume ouverte, caducée à l'horizontale dans la main dr., entre Athéna et Nérée (- Nereus) qui s'approchent.

d) **Héraclès rapporte le sanglier à Eurysthée**

507. Amphore panathénaique. Suisse, coll. privée. - Para 130, 5 bis: P. de Princeton; *Das Tier in der Antike*, Ausstlg.-Kat. (Zurich 1974) pl. 37, 223 a. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: deux déesses dans des chars tirés par des chevaux ailés. B: H., à dr., bras dr. plié et caducée posé contre l'épaule g., assiste à la remise du sanglier. Eurysthée dans la jarre; au centre, Athéna.

508.\* Deux amphores à col f. n. de l'entourage du P. de Lysippides: a) (= Herakles 2117) Munich, Antikenslg. 1562. De Vulci. - CVA 8, pl. 376. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: H., à g. de l'image, paraît ignorer le groupe central et converser avec un interlocuteur absent (main ouverte, index et majeur tendus); Athéna à ses côtés. B: Dionysos et Ariane à Naxos. - b)\* (= Herakles 2126) Paris, Louvre F 59. - ABV 259, 15; Schefold, *SB II* 99 fig. 121. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: H., à dr., à demi accroupi, caducée à l'oblique dans la main dr. et bras g. plié au coude, observe le groupe; Athéna le précède. B: (Gr. du Mastos) Dionysos, Ariane, Satyres.

e) **Héraclès et le taureau de Crète**

509. Sur deux peintures à f. n. H., à dr., étend le bras dr. au-dessus de l'animal qu'Héraclès fait ployer; à g. Athéna spectatrice. a) Amphore à col. Paris, Louvre F 240. - ABV 370, 129: Gr. de Léagros; CVA 4, pl. 47.

3-5. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès et le taureau. B: lutteurs. - b) Cratère à colonnettes. Paris, Louvre C 11284. - Para 156: P. du Louvre C 11287; CVA 12, pl. 183, 1-3. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès combattant le taureau. B: Dionysos, H., Satyre et Ménade.

510. (= Herakles 2320) Oenochoé f. n. Anc. Suippes (Marne), coll. Thierry Bourgeois. - ABV 385, 29: P. d'Achéloos; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 98, 3-4. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - H., à dr., en partie sorti du champ, précède Héraclès qui ramène le taureau vaincu.

f) **Capture de Cerbère (- Kerberos)**a) **Hermès aide Héraclès à capturer le chien**

*Vase corinthien (f. n.)*

511. (= Herakles 2553) Skyphos. D'Argos. - Payne, *NC* 309 n° 941 fig. 45 c. - Cor. moyen. - H., muni d'un long caducée, saisit Héraclès au bras afin de l'empêcher de frapper Perséphone qu'il menace. A g. Hadès s'enfuyant, à dr. Cerbère.

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

512. (= Herakles 2555 avec bibl.) Amphore. Moscou, Mus. Pouchkine 70. De Tarquinia. - ABV 255, 8: P. de Lysippides; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 163: P. d'Andokides. - Vers 525 av. J.-C. - A: H., à g., se penche vers Héraclès affairé à enchaîner le chien qu'il tire hors du palais de Perséphone (à dr.). B: char.

513. (= Herakles 2610) Olpe. Worcester, Art Mus. 1935.59. - Para 193, 2: Classe d'Honolulu; Schauenburg, o. c. 500, 63 fig. 18-19. - H., à dr., agrippe l'un des serpents de la tête de Cerbère tandis qu'Héraclès, à g., le tient par la queue et brandit sa massue.

514. (= Hades 138, = Herakles 2558) Amphore. Saint Louis, Washington Univ. WV 3274 (668). D'Orbetello. - ABV 328, 7: P. des Longs Nez; Mylonas, G. E., *AJA* 44, 1940, 192 fig. 9. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: H. au centre, Héraclès à l'arrière-plan se penchent vers Cerbère. Le dieu avance sa main g., dans un geste de persuasion au-dessus du chien qui, abaissant ses têtes, paraît se soumettre. B: Thésée et le Minotaure.

515.\* Trois vases attribués à des membres du Gr. de Léagros (510-520 av. J.-C.) représentent la capture: a) (= Herakles 2601 avec bibl.) Amphore. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 68. - ABV 385, 2. - A: H., au centre, se penche vers Cerbère qu'Héraclès, à dr., tient enchaîné. A l'arrière-plan du chien, Perséphone lève la main dr. B: kômos. - b)\* (= Herakles 2599) Hydrie. Toledo (Ohio), Mus. of Art 69.371. - Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch., *AntK* 17, 1974, 30 pl. 6, 1: Peintre S. - Vers 510-500 av. J.-C. - H. agenouillé, caducée en biais dans la main dr., prête main forte à Héraclès qui saisit Cerbère et lève sa massue. A g. Athéna et son quadrigé. - c)\* Amphore. Paris, Louvre CA 2992 (anc. Rome, marché des ant.). - ABV 360, 10; Para 161, 10; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 81. - H. debout au centre tient le caducée dans la main dr. et lève de la g. l'extrémité de la chaîne qu'Héraclès a passée au cou de Cer-

bère. A dr. Perséphone, la main à hauteur du visage; à g. Athéna regardant vers son quadrigé.

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

516. (= Herakles 2564) Amphore. Paestum, Mus. Naz. De Paestum. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 220, 2: P. de Nikoxénos; Add<sup>2</sup> 198; *RivIstArch* NS 2, 1953, 5-14; Sourvinou-Inwood, o. c. 515b, 30 fig. 1. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: H., agenouillé au centre, tend de la main g. la chaîne vers le cou du chien qu'il flatte de la dr. Derrière lui Héraclès, massue brandie. A g. Athéna tenant son casque, à dr. Perséphone esquissant un geste de frayeur. B: armement d'Amazones.

517. (= Herakles 2602) Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. 2306. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 225, 1: P. de Munich 2306 (rappelle le P. de Nikoxénos); CVA 4, pl. 183. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: H., agenouillé derrière Héraclès, lève le bras g. et pointe le caducée vers Cerbère que le héros vient d'enchaîner. De part et d'autre Athéna en armes et Perséphone qui fait un geste de protestation. B: Apollon sur son quadrigé.

b) **Hermès escorte Héraclès ramenant Cerbère enchaîné**

*Vase laconien (f. n.)*

518. (= Herakles 2605) Coupe. Anc. Londres, coll. Erskine. - Stibbe, *LakVas* n° 217 pl. 72-73: P. de la Chasse; Pipili, *LacIc* fig. 8. - Vers 560 av. J.-C. - I: Cerbère occupe tout le champ. Une chaîne tendue à l'horizontale enserre son cou. A dr. on ne voit d'H., tronqué par le tondo, que l'une de ses ailes talonnières, et à g. les mains d'Héraclès tenant la laisse et la massue.

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

519.\* Deux vases du P. d'Antiménès (vers 520 av. J.-C.) ont été consacrés à ce thème. a) (= Herakles 2584\*) Amphore. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 976. De Tarquinia. - ABV 269, 45; CVA 1, pl. 13, 3. - A: H., en tête, se tourne vers Héraclès, massue levée, qui entraîne le chien. Athéna, à g., ferme la marche. - b)\* (= Hades 141, = Herakles 2593) Hydrie. Paris, Louvre Cp 10676. - CVA 11, pl. 146. - Sur l'épaule: Athéna, Héraclès et Cerbère; H., caducée en diagonale et bras g. levé. Deux figures adventices à g.

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

520. (= Herakles 2586\*) Coupe. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. V.I. 3232. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 117, 2: P. d'Epidromos; Hartwig, P., *JdI* 8, 1893, 157-173 pl. 2, 1. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - I: Héraclès sacrifiant. A: Satyre approchant une Ménade endormie. B: H. dans l'attitude de la marche rapide, bras g. levé, précède Héraclès qui tire Cerbère, les pattes antérieures entravées, en le menaçant de sa massue.

521.\* (= Herakles 2583) Plat. Boston, MFA 01.8025. De Chiuse. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 163, 6: Paséas; Hanfmann, G. M. A., *AJA* 61, 1957, pl. 28, 7; Boardman, *ARFHI* fig. 16. - Vers 510-500 av. J.-C. - I: H., bras g. levé, caducée tenu en biais, suit Héraclès qui brandit l'arc et traîne Cerbère de l'autre main.

522. (= Herakles 2590) Hydrie fr. Boston, MFA 03.838. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 209, 162: P. de Berlin; Caskey/Beaz-

ley III 15 n° 122 pl. 18, 2. - Vers 490 av. J.-C. - A dr. le bras d'H. qui caresse l'un des museaux du chien qu'Héraclès tient en laisse; Athéna.

#### Relief

523. (= Herakles 1705\*, 2591 avec bibl.) Métope est n° 11 du temple de Zeus. Olympie, Mus. - Dessin de restitution: Scheffold/Jung, *SB IV* 139 fig. 176. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - H., à dr., suit le héros qui tire vivement Cerbère rétif.

#### γ) Hermès et Cerbère seuls (version abrégée de la capture)

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

524. Amphore. Saint Louis, Art. Mus. (prêt de G. H. Cone). - *ABV* 405, 19: P. de Kléophradès; *Para* 176; *Add* 105; Robinson, D. M., *AJA* 60, 1956, 15-16 n° 16 fig. 53; Felten, W., *Attische Unterweltsgestaltungen des VI. und V. Jh. v. Chr.* (1975) 23, 31-32 fig. 9; *Midwestern Colls* 138 n° 78. - Vers 490 av. J.-C. - A: H. accompagné de Cerbère quitte le palais infernal indiqué par une colonne. Le caducée dans la main dr., il lève la main g. vers Sisyphe poussant son rocher. B: kômos.

525. (= Herakles 2617) Oenochoé. Paris, Cab. Méd. 269. De Vulci. - *ABV* 535, 20: P. du Vatican G 49 (rattaché au P. de Sèvres 100); *CVA* pl. 65, 6-8; Felten, o. c. 524, 16 n. 33. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Figure virile (H.?) coiffée du pétase, tenant Cerbère en laisse. Colonne dorique, surmontée d'un corbeau.

526.\* Il convient de regrouper cinq lécythes (vers 480-470 av. J.-C.) avec le même motif; deux figures féminines sont adjointes: a)\* (= Gigantes 262b) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 11732 a. - H. brandit le caducée de la main g. - b)\* Paris, Louvre CA 3778. - H., marchant vers la dr., muni du caducée, précède le chien. Les femmes s'enfuient de part et d'autre. - c) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 553. D'Atalanti. - *ABV* 499, 37: classe d'Athènes 581 (rappelle le P. de Gêla); *Para* 299. - Semblable au suivant. - d) F. n. et f. bl. Philadelphie, marché de l'art. - *Para* 229: rappelle le Gr. des Crotales. - Les femmes dansent, l'une d'elles avec des crotales. - e) Délos, Mus. 567. - *Para* 229; Dugas, o. c. 548b, pl. 42; Haspels, *ABL* 244 n° 71. - Semblable.

#### g) Héraclès et Antée

527. Parmi les vases à f. n. du Gr. de Léagros (510-500 av. J.-C.) qui reproduisent ce combat, signaux: a) (= Antaios I 3\*, = Ge 41) Amphore. Londres, BM B 196. De Vulci. - *ABV* 366, 84; *Add* 97; *CVA* 3, pl. 38, 2; 41, 2; Brommer, *Herakles II* 39 fig. 17. - A: H., à g. des combattants, derrière Athéna, observe la lutte. A dr. Iolaos et une femme. B: cavaliers. - b) (= Antaios I 5\*) Hydrie. Munich, Antikenslg. 1708. De Vulci. - *ABV* 360, 5; Scheffold, *SB II* 131 fig. 169; Beazley, *Dev* 3 pl. 85, 1. - H. derrière Athéna, à g. de l'image. De l'autre côté un homme et une femme gesticulent et s'apprêtent à fuir.

528. (= Antaios I 11\*) Lécythe f. n. Paris, Mus. Rodin 954. - Haspels, *ABL* 216, 11: P. d'Edimbourg. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - H., à g. du groupe, touche Héra-

clès de son caducée tenu à l'horizontale et l'exhorte au combat en levant la main g. Athéna à dr.

#### h) Héraclès et Triton

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

529. Cratère à colonnettes. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 12587. - *ABV* 40, 24: Sophilos; *Para* 18; *Add* 11; Paspapyridi-Karusu, S., *AM* 62, 1937, 114. 120. 133 pl. 55. - Vers 560 av. J.-C. - A: H., à dr., caducée à la verticale dans la main g., main dr. paume ouverte, semble s'adresser à Triton qu'Héraclès chevauche. B: lions entre des Sphinx.

530. Hydrie. Suisse, coll. privée. - Dörig, o. c. 420c, 163 b: P. d'Antiménès. - Vers 530-520 av. J.-C. - Epaule: H., à l'extrême dr. de la scène, caducée tenu à l'envers et en diagonale, assiste à l'affrontement entre Héraclès et Triton. Figures adventices, parmi lesquelles Athéna, Poséidon.

531. Lécythe. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 21 149. - Haspels, *ABL* 49, 53: P. de Syracuse 20 531; *MonAnt* 17, 1906, 406 pl. 25. - Vers 490 av. J.-C. - H., à g., caducée court tenu horizontalement, s'approche des combattants, invité par une Néréide qui le précède.

Cf. etiam Ahlberg-Cornell, G., *Herakles and the Sea Monster in the Attic Black-Figure* (1984) *passim*.

#### i) Héraclès et Achéloos

532. Vases att. à f. n. qui ressortissent tous au Gr. de Léagros (vers 510-500 av. J.-C.): a) (= Acheloos 248\*) Hydrie. Londres, BM B 313. De Vulci. - *ABV* 360, 1; *Add* 95; *CVA* 6, pl. 79, 2; Beazley, *Dev* 3 pl. 84, 5. - H. à dr. au second plan, derrière Déjanire et Achéloos. Sur l'épaule, Thésée et le Minotaure. - b) (= Acheloos 249\*) Amphore. Paris, Louvre F 211. - *ABV* 368, 104: Peintre S; *Add* 98; *CVA* 3, pl. 25, 5; 28. - A: H., debout à g. derrière Athéna assise, observe le combat. B: cavaliers. - c) (= Acheloos 250\*) Amphore. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 1851. De Vulci. - *ABV* 383, 3: P. d'Achéloos; *Add* 100; Beazley, *Dev* 86. 116; *Dev* 3 pl. 88, 1; Beazley, J. D., *Attic Black-figure: a Sketch* (1928) 46. 50 pl. 14, 1. - A: H., assis à g. sur un *thâkos*, majeur et index pointés dans le geste de la conversation, assiste à la lutte. B: hoplite et archer.

#### j) Héraclès et Alcyonée (→ Alkyoneus)

533. (= Alkyoneus 31\* avec bibl.) Hydrie de Caeré f. n. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 16521. De Vulci. - Arias/Hirmer fig. 77; Hemelrijk, o. c. 241, 37-39 n° 21 fig. 29-30 pl. 83-84: P. de Bousiris. - 510-500 av. J.-C. (Hemelrijk). - A: H. à g. (chiton plissé, caducée en biais dans la main g.) lève la main dr. en direction des adversaires dont il s'approche. B: quatre athlètes.

##### Vases attiques

534. Lécythe f. n. Paris, Mus. Rodin. - *ABV* 47: P. d'Edimbourg; *CVA* pl. 15, 1-2; Haspels, *ABL* n° 11. - 490-470 av. J.-C. - H. touche Héraclès de son caducée; de la main g. levée il fait un geste d'encouragement.

535. (= Alkyoneus 4\* [A], = Herakles 2951 [B]) Coupe f. r. Munich, Antikenslg. 2590. De Vulci. - *ARV* 24, 12: Phintias; *Para* 323; *Add* 155; Andreae,

B., *Jdl* 77, 1962, 163 fig. 17. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - H. et Héraclès dans la même attitude (bras levé à l'horizontale, tenant dans l'autre main l'un le caducée et l'autre la massue) encadrent Alcyonée couché sur le sol. B: Apollon et Héraclès luttant pour le trépied.

536. (= Alkyoneus 11\*, Dionysos 42b) Coupe f. r. Melbourne, Nat. Gall. 1730.4. De Vulci. - *ARV* 125, 20: Nicosthènes; Trendall, A. D., *The Felton Greek Vases in the Nat. Gall. of Victoria* (1958) pl. 8 a. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: H., à dr., main g. tendue et caducée oblique, s'approche d'Héraclès et Alcyonée. B: Dionysos, Ménades et taureaux.

##### Relief archaïque en terre cuite

537.\* (= Aphrodite 1410, = Hera 451, = Iason 79) Bâle, Antikenmus. BS 318. - Schmidt, M., dans *Festschr. F. Brommer* (1977) pl. 72, 3. - 550-540 av. J.-C. - A dr., H., caducée maintenu verticalement, tend la main dr. ouverte vers une figure virile (Héraclès?). Sur la g., Alcyonée assis et une femme.

#### k) Héraclès luttant pour la possession du trépied

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

538.\* (= Achilleus 508 [B], = Herakles 3020) Amphore à col. Boston, MFA 01.8027. D'Orvieto. - *ABV* 152, 27: P. d'Amasis; *Para* 63; *Add* 44; *CVA* 1, pl. 27; v. Bothmer, *Amasis* n° 25. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - A: H., placé au centre et richement vêtu, arbitre la lutte. Sa main dr. levée et son caducée sont dirigés vers Apollon qu'il paraît protéger. Inscr. *HEPMEZ, AΠOΛON, [HEPA]KAEZ*. B: armement d'Achille.

539.\* Sur deux hydries des années 520-500 av. J.-C., H. assiste en simple spectateur à la querelle. a) (= Apollon 1034, = Herakles 3021) Londres, BM B 316. De Vulci. - *ABV* 268, 24: P. d'Antiménès; *CVA* 6, pl. 79. - H. à dr. à l'arrière-plan, derrière Athéna en armes, en présence d'Artémis et de Zeus. Sur l'épaule: départ d'un guerrier. - b)\* (= Herakles 3030) Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1948.236. De Vulci. - *ABV* 360, 9: Gr. de Léagros; *Para* 161, 9; *CVA* 3, pl. 37, 5-6. - H., à dr. (caducée non visible), derrière Artémis. Poséidon et Athéna à g., de l'autre côté du groupe central.

#### l) Autres travaux d'Héraclès

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

540. Sur deux amphores tyrrhéniennes, H. assiste à la délivrance de Prométhée. a) Florence, Mus. Arch. 76359. - *ABV* 97, 28; *Add* 26; Thiersch, o. c. 245, pl. 2, 6; Scheibler, I., *Griech. Töpfkunst* (1983) fig. 152. - Vers 560 av. J.-C. - A: H., à g., tenant obliquement un long caducée, est figuré derrière Athéna. Zeus et Déméter encadrent, sur la dr., le groupe formé par Héraclès, Prométhée et l'aigle. B: Centaureomachie. - b) Anc. Milan, Vidoni. - *ABV* 97, 30; *Add* 26; *AZ* 1858, pl. 114; Brommer, *Herakles II* 85 fig. 40. - H., immédiatement placé à g. après le groupe principal, lève la main g., paume ouverte, et semble toucher Prométhée de l'extrémité de son long caducée. Plusieurs divinités le suivent. B: combat. Sur les deux vases, noms inscrits, dont *HEPMEZ*.

541. Hydrie. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81173. - *CVA* 1, pl. 38, 3: P. d'Antiménès. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. -

Epaule: H., à g., accourt à la suite d'Athéna afin d'aider Héraclès dans son combat contre un Géant ou contre Kyknos. Panse, A: départ d'un quadriges; B: Héraclès et → Kyknos (I).

542. (= Amazones 69\*) Amphore. Local. inconnue; Bâle, marché des ant. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: H., à g., les bras croisés sous son himation fleuri, le caducée tenu obliquement, en marche vers la g., se retourne vers Héraclès qui affronte une Amazone.

543. (= Herakles 2716) Lécythe. Gêla, Mus. Arch. 125/B. - *CVA* 3, pl. 17: P. d'Edimbourg. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - H. lève le bras g. en direction d'Héraclès qui cueille les pommes d'or au Jardin des Hespérides.

544. Amphore à col. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 413. De Vulci. - *ABV* 370, 137: Gr. de Léagros; *Add* 99; *Le Musée* 2, 1977, 268. 272 fig. 16-16a; *Hommes, dieux et héros de la Grèce*, cat. exp. Rouen (1982-83) 230-231 fig. 94 a, b; Brommer, *Herakles II* 29 fig. 10. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: H. coiffé d'un pilos ailé, à g., se retourne pour regarder Héraclès qui porte les Cercopes (→ Kerkops, Kerkopes). B: les Létoides.

#### m) Héraclès chez Pholos

##### Vases à f. n.

545.\* Deux amphores à col attiques de l'atelier du P. d'Antiménès montrent Héraclès reçu par le Centaure. a)\* Londres, BM B 226. De Vulci. - *ABV* 273, 116: P. d'Antiménès; Scheffold, *SB II* 125 fig. 158. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: cueillette des olives. B: H. assis à dr., le caducée tenu de biais sur l'épaule dr., tend la main g. ouverte et regarde Héraclès et le Centaure échangeant une poignée de main. - b) Bologne, Mus. Civ. PU 195. - *ABV* 288, 10: entourage du P. d'Antiménès; Scheffold, *SB II* 126 fig. 159. - Vers 520-510 av. J.-C. - A: H. derrière Athéna, à dr., regarde Héraclès puiser dans le pithos. B: guerriers.

546. Skyphos corinthien. Paris, Louvre L 173. De Corinthe. - Payne, NC n° 941 pl. 31, 10; Scheffold, *Sagenbilder* 69 pl. 62; CMV, *GrA* 45 fig. 147. Cf. etiam *ABV* 273, 116; 288. 10. - Vers 560-550 av. J.-C. - Les Centaures enivrés se ruent, armés de branchages, vers Athéna et H., immobiles à l'extrême g. de l'image.

#### n) Hermès hôte d'Héraclès

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

547. (= Alkmene 17\*) Hydrie. Londres, BM B 301. De Vulci. - *ABV* 282, 2: P. d'Alcmène; *CVA* 6, pl. 74, 2; 75, 2. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - Héraclès festoie en présence d'Alcmène, d'Athéna et d'H., au second plan, derrière la déesse, à dr. Noms inscrits, dont *HEPMEZ*. Sur l'épaule, Héraclès et le lion.

548.\* Sur quatre skyphoi de l'atelier du P. de Thésée (vers 480 av. J.-C.) on assiste au banquet d'Héraclès et d'Hermès: a)\* Délos, Mus. - Dugas, Ch., *EADélos X, Les vases de l'Héraion* (1928) pl. 46. - b)\* Athènes, Agora P 1545. - *ABV* 518, 4; Vanderpool, E., *Hesperia* 15, 1946, 289 n° 61 pl. 38; *Agora XXIII* n° 1484 pl. 100. - c) Bâle, marché de l'art. - *Para* 257; *Masterpieces of Greek Vase Painting* n° 20. - A: banquet d'H. et d'Héraclès. B: poignée de main entre H. et le

héros. - d) Fr. Athènes, Agora. - *ABV* 547, 233; Vanderpool, *o.c.* 299 pl. 55. - Sur ces exemplaires, les deux convives, étendus, festoient, leurs attributs pendus dans le champ.

549. Léclythe. Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM/Gal.* A. Emmerich, Zurich, *Kunst der klass. Antike* (1975-76) n° 9: P. de Thésée. - Vers 490-480 av. J.-C. - H. coiffé d'un pilos ailé et Héraclès tenant la massue. Centaure dadophore à g. du groupe.

#### Vase attique à f. r.

550.\* (= Herakles 1499) Coupe. Florence. Mus. Arch. 73127. D'Orvieto. - *ARV* 173.4: P. d'Ambrosios; *CVA* 3, pl. 75. - Vers 520-500 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès, à dr., tend un canthare (évanide) à H. qui de la main g. tient le caducée et de l'autre flatte un bouc. Noms inscrits, dont *HEPM[E]E* (rétr.). B: Poséidon et Apollon banquetant. I: archer scythe bandant son arc. Pour le thème du banquet d'H. et d'Héraclès, cf. *etiam* Madrid, Mus. Arch.: *CVA* 2, pl. 1-2; Oxford, Ashm. Mus.: *CVA* 1, pl. 5; Athènes, Agora P 2443: *Hesperia* 24, 1955, pl. 30.

#### o) Scènes de genre

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

551. (= Herakles 1322\*) Amphore f. n. Londres, BM B 229. - *CVA* 4, pl. 56, 4. - Vers 510-500 av. J.-C. - A: H., à dr., avec le geste de l'*apokopein*, assiste au bain d'Héraclès. B: Ménade dadophore.

552. (= Herakles 3369 avec bibl.) Léclythe f. n. New York, MMA 56.171.33. De Sicile. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - H. assis sur un rocher, caducée à l'horizontale, participe à la partie de pêche d'Héraclès. A g. Poséidon, également sur un rocher, brandit le trident et un poisson.

#### p) Introduction et apothéose d'Héraclès dans l'Olympe

##### a) Hermès et Athéna escortent le héros

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

553.\* (= Herakles 2865 avec bibl.) Oenochoé. Paris, Louvre F 30. - *ABV* 152, 29: P. d'Amasis; *Para* 63; *Add* 44; v. Bothmer, *Amasis* n° 27. - Vers 540-430 av. J.-C. - H., caducée à l'horizontale, mène le cortège (Athéna, Héraclès) vers l'Olympe. A g. Poséidon vient à leur rencontre.

554.\* Parmi les amphores que le P. d'Amasis a ornées de cette scène, mentionnons: a)\* (= Eurytos I 9 [B], = Herakles 2852 avec bibl.) Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 1688. - *ABV* 150, 9; *Para* 63; *Add* 42; *CVA* 5, pl. 4. - A: H., flanqué d'un chien, conduit le cortège d'apothéose. B: H., Apollon et peut-être Idas. - b) Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1691. - *ABV* 151, 10; Karouzou, S., *The Amasis Painter* (1956) pl. 8, 1. - H., également accompagné d'un chien, caducée à l'oblique, effectue en touchant la barbe de Zeus le geste de la supplication. B: Héraclès et H.

555. (= Athena 353\*, = Eileithyia 6, = Hera 288, = Herakles 2850\* avec bibl.) Amphore. Bâle, Antikenmus. BS 496. - Schefold, *SB* II 39 fig. 37:

Groupe E. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: H., au centre, se tourne vers Athéna. Entre eux un chien. Zeus et Héra, à g., accueillent Héraclès et les divinités qui le suivent. B: naissance d'Athéna.

556. Deux amphores du Gr. de Berkeley 8.3376 (Gr. de Léagros), vers 510-500 av. J.-C., représentent le cortège limité aux figures d'H., d'Athéna et d'Héraclès: a) Anc. New York, Coll. Gallatin 314, 5. - *ABV* 391, 3; *Para* 172; *CVA* pl. 37, 1. - A: H., à dr. en tête, se retourne vers Athéna, au centre avec une biche; Héraclès à g. B: Dionysos, Satyre et Ménade. - b) Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8.3376. D'Apulie. - *ABV* 391, 2; *Para* 172; *CVA* pl. 20, 2. - A: H. ferme la marche, la main dr. tendue vers le sol, index et majeur pointés. Devant lui Athéna flanquée d'une panthère, Héraclès. B: Apollon et une déesse.

#### Vase attique à f. r.

557. (= Herakles 2873 avec renvois) Stamnos. Trieste, Mus. Civ. S 424. De Vulci. - *ARV* 217, 2: Gr. de Londres E 445 (proche du P. de Berlin); *CVA* 1, pl. 3. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - A et B: entrée d'Héraclès dans l'Olympe; H., entre Poséidon et Dionysos, caducée à la verticale dans la main g., le bras dr. tendu, la main paume ouverte, est représenté de face, le visage de profil.

#### Vases lucaniens (f. r.)

558. Deux œuvres attribuées au P. de Naples 1959 représentent le cortège d'apothéose: a) Nestoris. Londres, BM F 178. - *LCS* 145, 791 pl. 67, 5. - Vers 360 av. J.-C. - A: H., à g., au repos, tenant le caducée verticalement, paraît couronné par une Niké représentée juste derrière lui. Héraclès au centre, Athéna à dr. - b) (= Herakles 3142) Cratère à volutes. Cincinnati, Art Mus. 1916.308. - *LCS* 145, 794 pl. 69, 1. - A: H., à g., caducée vertical dans la main dr., s'apprête à couronner Héraclès, au centre. A dr. Athéna.

#### Toreutique: relief en bronze

559. (= Herakles/Hercle 121\* avec bibl.) Ornement de support de trépid, étrusque. Athènes, Mus. Nat. X 6511. - De Ridder, A., *BCH* 20, 1896, 401 fig. 1-1 bis. - Début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., dont la partie inférieure du corps est conservée (*πτερύοντα πέλδα*), sur la g.; Athéna, Héraclès et une figure adventice.

#### β) Zeus trônant reçoit Héraclès dans l'Olympe

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

560. (= Herakles 2847\* avec renvois) Coupe. Londres, BM B 379. De Siana. - *ABV* 60, 20: manière du Peintre C; *Para* 26; *CVA* 2, pl. 8. - Vers 560 av. J.-C. - I: Ajax et Cassandre. A: H., main dr. paume ouverte vers Zeus, mène le cortège. B: combat.

561. (= Herakles 2848) Léclythe. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 413. De Thèbes. - *ABV* 75: manière du P. de l'Oiseau-griffon; *Add* 20; Haspels, *ABL* 7-9 pl. 1, 2; 2, 1 b-c; Schefold, *SB* II fig. 33-34. - 560-550 av. J.-C. - H., gesticulant, s'approche à grandes enjambées du trône de Zeus. Héraclès, à g., derrière Zeus. Sur l'épaule, Héraclès et les Centaures.

562. Sur deux peintures du Gr. de Léagros

(510-500 av. J.-C.), H. est figuré assis sur un *thakos*. a) Hydrie. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 79. - *ABV* 361, 19: P. d'Achéloos; *Le Musée* 2, 1977, 270. - Apothéose d'Héraclès, en présence d'H., d'Athéna, d'Apollon, de Zeus(?) et d'Héra(?). Sur l'épaule, guerriers. - b) (= Herakles 2852) Léclythe. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1961. De Sicile. - *ABV* 379, 273; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 69, 1. - Héraclès qui tient une fleur fait face à Dionysos, assis sur un *diphros*; Athéna debout; H. installé sur un *thakos*. Zeus n'est pas représenté sur cet exemplaire.

#### Vases attiques à f. r.

563. (= Apollon 826, = Herakles 2869\*) Cratère à colonnettes. Bologne, Mus. Civ. 228. De Bologne. - *ARV* 511, 3: P. de Bologne 228; *CVA* 1, pl. 41, 43. - Vers 470-460 av. J.-C. - A: Athéna introduit Héraclès auprès de Zeus trônant. Derrière lui, Apollon. A dr. H., corps de face et visage de profil, tient le caducée verticalement dans la main g., la dr. étant portée à la hanche. B: homme et femme.

564. (= Athena 437\*, = Herakles 2870) Cratère en cloche. Rome, Villa Giulia 2382. De Falerii. - *ARV* 1339, 4: proche du P. de Talos; *Add* 367; Schefold/Jung, *SB* IV 225 fig. 278. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès introduit dans l'Olympe est présenté à Zeus et à Héra par Athéna. H., à dr. de la scène, au repos, le pied g. surélevé sur un rocher, converse avec Héra. B: Satyres et Ménades.

#### Sculpture

565. (= Hera 458\* avec bibl., = Herakles 2862 avec bibl.) Fronton de l'Acropole. Athènes, Mus. Acropole 9. - Brouskari, *Cat.Acr* 35; Boardman, *GSAP* fig. 194. - 550-540 av. J.-C. - Zeus de profil et Héra de face, assis sur leurs trônes, reçoivent Héraclès qu'H., vêtu d'une pardalide, suit à vive allure (la figure est lacunaire).

#### γ) Héraclès au repos, parmi les Olympiens

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

566. Cratère en calice. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 12682. - *ARV* 1418, 4: P. d'Erbach; Walter, O., *AM* 62, 1937, 44 pl. 26, 1. - Vers 380 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès assis au centre devant un portique. H. à g., le pied sur un *thakos*. A ses côtés, un Dioscure(?). Papposilène et Satyres (→ Silenes, Silenoi). B: éphèbes et athlètes.

567. (= Herakles 1373\*) Deux cratères en cloche attribués au P. du Louvre G 508 (vers 380 av. J.-C.). a) Paris, Louvre G 508. - *ARV* 1436, 1; Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 29, 2. - A: Héraclès assis devant un portique est entouré par Athéna, → Hebe (I) et Iolaos. H., à g., l'avant-bras appuyé sur le caducée tenu comme un bâton, tourne la tête vers le héros. B: trois jeunes gens. - b) Paris, Mus. Rodin TC 1. - *ARV* 1436, 2; *CVA* pl. 25, 3. - A: même scène que sur a, à cette différence près qu'H. tient de la main dr. un caducée court, à la verticale. B: trois jeunes gens.

#### Vase apulien (f. r.)

568. (= Aphrodite 1516\*, = Herakles 3329) Stèle. Gênes, Mus. Civ. 1177. De Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 518,

188 pl. 187, 3: Gr. de New York 28.57.10 (proche du P. de Darius); *CVA* 1, pl. 4. - Vers 350 av. J.-C. - Héraclès, assis sur la *léonté*, parmi les déesses. A dr., au registre inférieur, H. debout, la main g. appuyée sur le caducée, tend l'autre main vers le héros qui, pourtant, lui tourne le dos. B: scène dionysiaque.

#### 4. Triptolème

##### Vases attiques

569. Amphore à col. f. n. Compiègne, Mus. Vivenel 975. - *CVA* pl. 10, 4: P. de Priam. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: Dionysos dans son char ailé et Satyre. B: H., en marche vers la dr., caducée en diagonale, hampe en l'air, précède le char de Triptolème vers lequel il tourne la tête.

570. Fr. de l'ébène gamikos f. n. Tübingen, Univ. S/ 10.1483. - *CVA* 3, pl. 11, 1. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - H., à g. du tesson, aux côtés d'une figure féminine dadophore; Triptolème, puis Déméter tenant le sceptre.

571.\* (= Eumolpos 4) Stamnos f. r. Paris, Louvre G 371. - *ARV* 208, 158: P. de Berlin (œuvre tardive); *CVA* 3, pl. 10, 10. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - A: H. (ou → Keryx?) préside au départ de Triptolème (→ Triptolemos): tourné vers la g., main ouverte dans l'attitude de la conversation, le personnage (pétase, bottes ailées) tient le caducée horizontalement. B: divinités et héros d'Eleusis.

#### 5. Héros du cycle troyen

##### a) Achille et Troïlos

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

572.\* (= Achilleus 292\*, = Antenor I 2, = Apollon 876) Cratère à volutes, «Vase François». Florence, Mus. Arch. 4209. De Chiusi. - *ABV* 76, 1: Clitias (sign.); Minto, A., *Il vaso François* (1960) zone IV pl. 29; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pl. 57. - Vers 570 av. J.-C. - A: H., marchant vers la dr., le caducée oblique, la main g. paume ouverte, se retourne vers les femmes placées à côté de la fontaine, alors qu'Achille poursuit l'adolescent. B: retour d'Héphaïstos.

573. (= Achilleus 364\*, = Aineias 25\*) Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. 1426. De Vulci. - *ABV* 95, 5: P. de Timiadès; *CVA* 7, pl. 132. - Vers 570 av. J.-C. - A: H., à g., derrière Athéna, le caducée tenu à l'envers et en diagonale, assiste au combat d'Achille et d'Hector au-dessus de la dépouille de Troïlos. B: Sphinx.

##### b) Ambassade auprès d'Achille et rançon d'Hector

##### Vase laconien (f. n.)

574. Coupe. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 13910. - Stibbe, *LakVas* 274 n° 103: manière du P. de Naucratis; Droop, J. P., *JHS* 30, 1910, 19-20 fig. 7-8; Pipili, *LacI* 31 n° 88 fig. 46. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - I: H.(?) à g., richement vêtu comme sur la coupe 717, dépourvu de caducée, intervient dans une scène mystérieuse, peut-être l'épisode de la rançon d'Hector (Stibbe). Sur le sujet, cf. «Ceramica Laconica», *Archaeologia Perusina* 3, Atti del Seminario feb. 1981, 131.



## Vases attiques

575. (= Achilleus 650) Hydrie f.n. Zurich, Univ. 4001. - Para 32, 1 bis: P. de Londres B 76; Add<sup>2</sup> 23; Isler, H.P., *QuadTic* 15, 1986, 95-123 fig. 1-10. - 560-550 av. J.-C. - A: H. assis à g., caducée à l'horizontale, avec un ample geste du bras g., paume ouverte, parlant avec Achille.

576. Hydrie fr. f.n. Paris, Louvre Cp 10677. - ABV 332, 18: P. de Priam; Para 146; CVA 11, pl. 146. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - H., assis sur un *thâkos*, intercède en faveur de Priam, également assis devant le dieu. Sur l'épaule: Héraclès et le taureau de Crète.

577. (= Achilleus 464\*) Coupe f.r. Paris, Louvre G 264. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 869, 54: P. de Pistoxénos; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 239. - Vers 500-480 av. J.-C. - I: scène de musique. A et B: scène énigmatique évoquant la mission auprès d'Achille. Entre Achille endeuillé à g. et une figure virile assise à dr., Priam et H. installés sur des *diphroi*. Le dieu (pétase, chlamyde) croise les mains sur son genou g., maintenant le caducée verticalement. La jambe g. est légèrement surélevée et la dr. posée au sol.

578. (= Achilleus 649) Amphore f.n. Toledo, Mus. of Art 72.54. - CVA 1, pl. 4: P. de Rycroft. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - A: H. (pilos, chlamyde) s'avance derrière un porteur vers la *kliné* d'Achille. Devant eux Priam, bras tendus, supplie le héros d'accepter la rançon.

579. (= Achilleus 656\* avec bibl., = Briseis 31\*) Coupe f.r. Munich, Antikenslg. 2618. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 61, 74: Oltos; Lullies/Hirmer pl. 9. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A et B: rançon d'Hector. H. marchant vers la g. se retourne, le bras g. tendu, vers Achille reposant sur la *kliné*. Le dieu semble quitter le groupe, après avoir conduit Priam qui effectue les gestes de supplication. Figures adventices de part et d'autre (porteur, guerriers, femme).

580. (= Achilleus 661\* avec bibl., = Briseis 32) Coupe f.r. Suisse, coll. privée. - Para 369: P. du Quartorzième Brygos; Dörig, o.c. 420c, n° 209. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - I: Achille et Priam. A: ambassade auprès d'Achille en présence de Briseis. H., devant une colonne, le caducée oblique, tourne la tête vers une servante. De la main g., il esquisse un geste de protection à l'adresse de Priam qui, sceptre dans la main g., touche de la dr. les genoux d'Achille. B: cortège des serviteurs portant les présents à Achille.

581. (= Achille 120, = Alkimos 1\*) Amphore étr. f.r. Munich, Antikenslg. 3171 (J 890). - EVP 195, 1: Gr. de Praxias; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 197. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - A: H., long caducée dans la main g., main dr. paume ouverte, se tient derrière Priam agenouillé qui supplie Achille assis sur un *diphros*.

## Vase apulien (f. r.)

582. (= Achilleus 665\* avec bibl.) Cratère en calice fr. New York, MMA 1920.195. - RVAp 1166 n° 8 pl. 53, 4. - Vers 390 av. J.-C. - H. (bottes ailées) touche l'épaule de Priam agenouillé.

## c) Version abrégée de l'ambassade?

583. Amphore att. f.n. Paris, Cab. Méd. 224. -

CVA 2, pl. 76, 1. - A: H. à g., levant obliquement le caducée (? la hampe seule est visible), debout auprès d'une *kliné* sur laquelle est allongé Achille(?). A dr. une femme à l'oenochoé (Briseis?). B: H., armé d'une lance, entre une femme et un éphèbe.

583 bis. Reliefs en bronze. a) (= Achilleus 642\* avec bibl.) Manche de miroir. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. Misc. 8099. Anc. coll. Castellani. - Kunze, *Schildbänder* 145 Beil. 11, 1. 3. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Priam de profil vers la g., suppliant, touche la barbe d'Achille armé de la lance. Derrière le roi H. nu, la main dr. levée, le caducée dans la main g. Le corps d'Hector étendu au premier plan. - b) Fr. de brassard de bouclier. Olympie, Mus. B 1896. D'Olympie. - Kunze, *Schildbänder* 21-22 d; 145-148 (étude comparative des exemplaires conservés) pl. 45 XVII d. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Même scène que a, d'orientation inverse, avec de légères variantes dans la position des figures.

## d) Hermès, Ajax et Cassandre

584.\* Cratère à colonnettes f.n. Bâle, marché de l'art. - MuM Aukt. 56 (1980) 25 n° 70: manière du P. de Lysippidès. - Vers 530-520 av. J.-C. - A: Ajax frappe de l'épée Cassandre, agenouillée aux pieds d'Athéna Promachos. A dr. du groupe H., les mains repliées sur la poitrine, caducée à l'oblique, orienté vers la dr., tourne la tête vers Athéna. B: retour d'Hélène.

## e) Le rapt du Palladion

585. (= Helene 202 avec renvois et bibl.) Péliké apulienne f.r. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81392 (H 3231). - RVAp 1409, 29: Gr. de Naples 3231; Moret, *Iliouperis* pl. 35, 23. - Vers 370-360 av. J.-C. - H. au repos, la jambe g. surélevée sur laquelle il appuie le coude (le caducée dans la saignée du bras), tient de la main g. son pilos et converse avec une Niké stéphanéphore assise sur l'acrotère d'un édifice. Devant l'édifice Ulysse et Diomède fuient, emportant le Palladion troyen (→ Diomedes I, → Iliouperis).

## f) Hermès et Ulysse

585 bis. Table iliaque, marbre. Varsovie, Mus. Nat. 147975 MN. Anc. coll. Rondanini. - Sadurska, *Tables* 61-66 n° 11 pl. 12; Touchefeu, *Thèmes odysseens* 104-106 n° 205 pl. 20, 3. - Époque augustéenne. - Episode odysseens de la remise du *môly* (cf. Sources litt. 4). Devant le palais de Circé, près du rivage où est ancré le navire des Grecs, H. (pétase, chlamyde sur chiton, sandales aptères) désigne à Ulysse la porte du rempart. Il tient dans la main dr. la fleur de *môly*. Inscr. *Ὀδυσσεὺς τὸ μῶλον ἔρμης*.

## g) Hermès et Palamède (→ Palamedes)

585 ter. Cratère f.r. étrusque. De Montediano, près de Montefiascone. Perdu, connu par un dessin de Sanctis (Rome, DAI). - Beazley, *EVP* 127: P. d'Hésioné; Pairault-Massa, Fr., *RA* 1980, 79-81. 90-91 fig. 19-20; Spannagel, M., *RM* 88, 1981, 191-200 pl. 1. - Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: Apollon et Hyacinthe (→ Hyakinthos). B: H. observant Palamède (inscr. Talmithe), inventeur de la balance.

## IX. Hermès chthonien

## A. Hermès, compagnon des héros et des divinités au Enfers

Cf. etiam VIII E 3 f: Héraclès et Cerbère.

## Vases attiques

586. (= Alkestis 58\* avec bibl.) Amphore f.n. Paris, Louvre F 60. - ABV 308, 74: P. de la Balançoire; Schefold, *SB* II 139 fig. 180. - 540-520 av. J.-C. - H. (chlamyde, pétase, caducée dans la main dr.), face à Héraclès (massue) suivi d'une femme dont le manteau est rabattu sur la tête, peut-être Alceste.

587. (= Hades 148\*, = Herakles 3516) Amphore f.n. Londres, BM B 261. - ABV 373, 176: Gr. de Léagros; Para 163; Add<sup>2</sup> 99; CVA 4, pl. 64, 3 b; Bérard 138 pl. 17, 6. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: H. (pétase, chlamyde, chaussures ailées) reconduit des Enfers Coré (bouquet d'épis), en passant devant Sisyphe (→ Sisyphe I); il se retourne pour parler avec Hades chenu, assis à g. B: Apollon et les Muses.

588. (= Aias I 144, = Elpenor 7\*, = Gigantes 33b, = Hades 151\*) Cratère en calice f.r. New York, MMA 08.258.21. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1086, 1: P. de la Nekyia; Add<sup>2</sup> 327; Felten, o.c. 524, 48. 50-53 fig. 27-28; Richter/Hall pl. 135. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Frise de héros désignés par des inscr.: à g. Pirithoüs (→ Peirithoos) et Thésée assis sur le rocher magique qui les retient prisonniers; au centre, les observant, Héraclès juvénile et H. (bottes et pilos ailés), pointant son caducée vers le sol; à dr. Méléagre (→ Meleagros) en conversation avec une femme.

588 bis. (= Herakles 3496 avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche f.r. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 31094 (anc. coll. Champernowne). - Metzger, *Représentations* 196 n° 13; 197-202 pl. 26, 1. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Beazley). - H. guide Héraclès portant sur son dos Plouton à travers une étendue d'eau (l'Achéron?). Coiffé du pétase, en chlamyde, pieds nus, le caducée levé, il se retourne vers le groupe qu'il conduit.

## Reliefs

589. (= Eurydike I 5a\*) Relief en marbre. Naples, Mus. Naz. G 138. - CMV, *GrCI* fig. 398; Lullies/Hirmer, *Plastik* pl. 179; Felten, o.c. 524, 59-60 fig. 22. - Copie du début de l'ép. impériale d'après un original des années 420 av. J.-C., parfois attribué à Callimaque (Charbonneaux). - A dr. Orphée (→ Orpheus) se retourne vers Eurydice dont H., à g. de la composition, prend la main pour la reconduire aux Enfers. Le dieu juvénile, les pieds nus, le pétase sur la nuque, est vêtu d'une courte tunique. Noms inscr. L'œuvre fait partie d'un groupe de quatre «Dreifiguren-Reliefs» semblables par le style, dont la destination a été interprétée diversement (ex-voto d'auteurs dramatiques, décor d'un monument funéraire, frise décorant l'entrée de l'enclos de l'autel des Douze Dieux à Athènes: cf. Lullies/Hirmer 97).

590. Stèle fr. en marbre. Honolulu, Acad. of Art 3610. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Sculpté en haut relief, H. juvénile, nu (pétase sur la nuque), de trois

quarts profil à g., incline le visage et avance le bras g. fléchi vers le bras levé d'une autre figure (Eurydice?), conservé près de la cassure.

591.\* Tambour de base de *columna caelata*. Londres, BM 1206. De l'Artémision d'Ephèse. - CMV, *GrCI* fig. 256; Lullies/Hirmer, *Plastik* 214-215. - Atelier de Scopas? Vers 340 av. J.-C. - Six figures d'identification incertaine. Entre Thanatos et H., une jeune femme retenant ses draperies, peut-être Alceste; les autres personnages pourraient être Héraclès, Perséphone et Hadès. H. de trois quarts face, nu, le bras g. drapé dans la chlamyde, tient de la main dr. le caducée abaissé obliquement vers le sol. La figure est inspirée d'un modèle polyclétéen (pondération, musculature), mais avec le pathétique du visage levé et l'instantané d'un mouvement suspendu.

592. (= Danaïdes 22\*, = Herakles 2620 avec bibl.) Frise en calcaire tendre. Munich, Glypt. 494. D'un monument funéraire de Tarente. - *AntDenk* III 3 (1915) pl. 35; Schefold, *SB* III 262-263 fig. 375. - Vers 300 av. J.-C. - A g. groupe des Danaïdes; au centre Hadès et Perséphone trônant; à dr., H., le pétase sur la nuque et la chlamyde au vent, le caducée dans la main g. et le bras g. levé, se dirige vers Héraclès (léonté).

## B. Hermès présidant ou participant au transport funéraire

## 1. Héros

## Vases attiques à f. r.

593.\* (= Hippolytos III 1 avec bibl.) Cratère en calice. New York, MMA 1972.11.10. - v. Bothmer, D., *BullMMA* 31, 1973, n° 15; *idem*, *AA* 1976, 485-512, fig. 1-16; Boardman, *ARVH* I fig. 22 et frontispice; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pl. 102-103. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - Sign. d'Euxitheos, potier, et d'Euphronios, peintre. - A: entre deux hoplites montant une garde d'honneur, Hypnos et → Thanatos (inscr.) soulèvent le corps de → Sarpedon (inscr.) perdant son sang par trois blessures. Au centre et à l'arrière-plan H., vu de trois quarts face (chiton court, chaussures et pétase ailés), tient le caducée obliquement dans la main g., le bras dr. levé vers Hypnos. B: guerriers d'Athènes s'équipant (noms inscr.).

594. (= Apollon 1019, = Eos 322\*) Skyphos. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2318. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 36; P. de Pythoclès; Add<sup>2</sup> 158; CVA 3, pl. 140. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - A: Eos soulève le corps de → Memnon. H., avec de grands gestes de la main g. et du caducée tendu à l'horizontale, semble commander l'action. B: la dispute du trépied delphique.

## 2. Morts anonymes

## Lécythes attiques à f. bl.

595. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 12783. D'Erétrie. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1237, 11: Quadrate P.; Add 352; CVA pl. 16, 7; 18; Karouzou, S., *Ten White Lekythoi in the Nat. Mus.* (s.d.) 24; Vermeule, o.c. 457, 151 fig. 4. - Vers 440 av. J.-C. - Hypnos et Thanatos soulèvent le corps d'un jeune guerrier drapé aux hanches, dont les armes repo-

sent sur le sol. A dr. H. (manteau par dessus la tunique courte, pétase sur la nuque, chaussures ailées) donne ses instructions avec un geste de son caducée.

596. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 17294. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 750, 2: P. de Londres 1905; *CVA* 2, pl. 20, 1. 4. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - Devant une stèle ornée de bandelettes, Hypnos et Thanatos portent le corps d'un enfant. Par contamination avec H., les deux démons portent des chaussures ailées.

597. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1830. - Buschor, E., *Attische Lekythen der Parthenonzeit* (1925) 24 pl. 5; Karouzou 1, 93. 96-98 fig. 1. - Vers 440 av. J.-C. - Dépôt d'une jeune morte dans sa tombe par Hypnos et Thanatos. H. (très large pétase) assiste à la scène avec des gestes expressifs des bras, l'un doucement levé, l'autre abaissé; la tête est inclinée. Influence du type plastique de l'H. Ludovisi? (Karouzou).

### C. Hermès psychopompe

#### 1. Hermès invitant au voyage vers l'au-delà

*Lékýthes attiques à f. bl.*

598.\* Munich, Antikenslg. 2797. D'Oropos. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1022, 138: P. de la Phiale; *Para* 441; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 316; Karouzou 1, pl. 52, 2; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pl. XLVI-XLVII; *La cité des images*, o. c. 95a, 102 fig. 148. - Vers 440 av. J.-C. - H., barbu (pilos, chlamyde drapée dans le dos), le flanc nu, est assis de profil à dr. sur un rocher, le caducée reposant sur son genou g. De la main dr. il fait signe à une jeune femme qui s'approche en rajustant son diadème. Stèle funéraire à l'arrière-plan.

599. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1940. D'Erétrie. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1004, 41: P. de la Phiale(?); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 313; Riezler, W., *Weißgrundige attische Lekythen* (1914) pl. 47; Kurtz, D. C., *Athenian White Lekythoi* (1975) 50 n. 4; 215 pl. 38, 1. - Vers 440 av. J.-C. - H. (pilos, tunique) s'avance vers la dr. en se retournant vers une jeune femme; entre eux une stèle funéraire. D'un geste du caducée, obliquement baissé, il l'invite à le suivre.

*Fresques: peintures murales de tombes*

600. Lefkadia, frise inférieure du tombeau macédonien. - Petsas, P. M., *Ο τάφος των Λευκαδίων* (1966) pl. Z' (coul.) et 6; CMV, *GrH* 56. 105 fig. 53; Scheffold/Jung, *SB IV* 52-53 fig. 43. - Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Dans le 2<sup>e</sup> entrecolonnement, H. se retourne vers l'officier représenté à l'extrémité g. de la scène. D'un geste de la main dr., il l'invite à le suivre dans la direction qu'indique le caducée levé obliquement: vers les juges infernaux qui l'attendent de l'autre côté de la porte du tombeau.

601. Tombe d'Isernia (Lucanie). Naples, Mus. Naz. - Bianchi Bandinelli, *EliaR* fig. 276. - Fin III<sup>e</sup>-début II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. (pétase, chlamyde) tend la main vers un homme vêtu d'un manteau qui fait le même geste vers le dieu. Derrière H. une femme drapée, le visage de face, levant le bras.

602. Tarente, tombeau. - Bertocchi, F. T., *La pitura funeraria apula* (1964) 63-64. 86-87 fig. 39. 67. -

II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. (chlamyde et pétase), le caducée au bras g., tend le bras dr. dans un geste d'invitation.

#### 2. Hermès au repos, tenant la main du mort

*Reliefs: stèles en marbre*

603. Vérone, Mus. Maffei. De Grèce du nord (à la mémoire d'Asklépiadès, fils d'Apollonios, d'Amphipolis). - Couilloud, M. T., *BCH* 99, 1975, 319-320 fig. 6; Ritti, T., *Iscrizioni e rilievi nel Mus. Maffei* (1981) n° 56 fig. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. nu, la chlamyde dans le dos, le caducée verticalement dans la saignée du coude g., est représenté de trois quarts face, tourné vers un homme drapé dans un manteau dont il tient la main. Inscription.

604. Antakya, Mus. Arch. du Hatay. De la région d'Antioche. - Parlasca, K., *Syrische Grabreliefs hellen. und röm. Zeit*, 3. *TrierWpr* (1981) 8 n. 46 pl. 5, 3. - Ép. hellénistique. - Scène de *dexiôsis* dans une stèle-naïskos. H., en tunique courte, nu-tête et pieds nus, le caducée verticalement dans la main g., donne la main dr. à un personnage barbu représenté de face.

605. Izmit (Turquie), Konak Mus. 124. - Pfuhl/Möbius 440. 506 n° 183 1 b pl. 303. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Au registre inférieur H. et le mort, un homme représenté de face, ramenant devant lui ses draperies, tournant la tête vers le dieu qui lui donne la main (pétase, tunique courte, chlamyde rejetée dans le dos, caducée tenu à la verticale). Entre eux, un arbre à l'arrière-plan et un guéridon chargé d'offrandes vers lesquelles rampe un serpent. Sur la dr. pilier couronné d'un cadran solaire, près duquel se tient un serviteur. Au registre supérieur (brisé), banquet funéraire.

#### 3. Hermès conduisant le mort par la main

*Lékýthes attiques à f. bl.*

606.\* Palerme, coll. Mormino 310. - *CVA* 1, pl. 6, 2-4: P. d'Athènes 1826; Kurtz, o. c. 599, 28 n. 11. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - H. (chlamyde, chiton, bottes sans ailerons) avance vers la g. en tenant obliquement son caducée devant lui. Il entraîne une jeune femme qu'il tient par le poignet; un *eidôlon*, muni d'une couronne, vole à leur rencontre (→ *Eidola*, *LIMC* Suppl.).

607. Fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. - Buschor, E., *Das Grab eines attischen Mädchens* (1941) 13-14 fig. 4. - Vers 440 av. J.-C. - H. (pétase sur la nuque, chlamyde, caducée tenu verticalement dans la main g.) avance vers la dr. en se retournant vers une jeune femme apparemment assise (la main seule est conservée), qu'il saisit par le poignet.

*Relief en marbre*

608.\* Lékýthe «de Myrrhiné». Athènes, Mus. Nat. 4485. D'Athènes. - Karouzou 1, 92-93 Beil. 59-62; Schmalz, B., *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen* (19) 118 A 14, avec bibl.; Felten, o. c. 524, fig. 20. - Vers 420 av. J.-C. - H. (chlamyde découvrant le flanc g., ailes aux talons) conduit vers la g. une jeune femme (inscr. *MYPPINH*) dont il ne touche que légèrement le dos de la main. Ils passent devant trois membres de la famille, parmi lesquels le père fait le geste du salut.

*Toreutique*

609.\* Deux petits groupes plastiques en bronze se laissent rattacher à cette série iconographique. a) Couronnement de candélabre. Ferrare, Mus. Naz. De Spina, T. 136 A VP. - Alfieri/Arias, *SpinaGuida*<sup>2</sup> pl. 42. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. coiffé du pétase ailé, l'épau dr. drapée, est figuré au côté d'une jeune femme. - b)\* Ornement de trépied en bronze. Londres, BM 836. De Grèce. - Walters, *BMBronzes* 836. - Une personnage chaussé de bottes, la chlamyde rejetée dans le dos, muni d'un long bâton(?), tient par la main une jeune femme voilée qu'il paraît sur le point d'entraîner à sa suite; H. Psychopompe?

#### 4. Hermès et la barque de Charon

*Vase attique à f. r.*

610. (= Charon I 4) Boston, MFA 95.47. D'Athènes. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 670, 17: manière du P. de Londres E 342; *Add* 136; Fairbanks, A., *Athenian White Lekythoi* (1907) pl. 7; Kurtz, o. c. 599, 28 n. 8. - Vers 550 av. J.-C. - H. conduit une jeune femme vers la barque de Charon.

611.\* Trois lécythes du P. de Sabouroff (vers 450 av. J.-C.) montrent de façon analogue l'embarquement du mort. a) (= Charon I 7a\*) Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2455. D'Athènes. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 846, 196; *Para* 423; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 297; Riezler, o. c. 599, pl. 45; Kurtz, o. c. 599, 35 n. 9. - Debout sur le rivage près duquel est ancrée la barque, H. coiffé du pétase, le caducée dans la main g., la main dr. reposant sur la hanche, observe le jeune mort qui s'approche. - b) (= Charon I 5\*) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1926. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 846, 193; *Para* 423; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 297; Riezler, o. c. 599, pl. 44-44a; Kurtz, o. c. 599, 63 n. 2, 215; Felten, o. c. 524, 588, 88 fig. 30. - H. (pétase, chlamyde), les pieds nus, le caducée dans la main g. incliné vers le sol, se retourne vers une jeune femme voilée. Lui prenant la main, il l'invite à monter à bord de la barque de Charon. Des *eidôla* volent dans le champ avec des gestes de deuil. - c)\* (= Charon I 6) New York, MMA 21.88.17. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 846, 197; *BullMMA* 18, 1923, 193 fig. 3-4; Kurtz, o. c. 599, 35 n. 8; 36 n. 12. - H., tête nue, chaussé de bottes ailées, debout de face sur le rivage du Styx, se tourne vers le jeune mort vers lequel il étend la main g. en lui désignant du caducée la barque de Charon.

612. (= Charon I 10\*) Munich, Antikenslg. 2777. D'Athènes. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1228, 11: P. de Thanatos; *Add* 174; Walter, *Götter* 287 fig. 262; Kurtz, o. c. 599, 211; Felten, o. c. 524, 54 fig. 19. - Vers 440 av. J.-C. - H. (pétase et bottes ailées), chlamyde dans le dos, se retourne vers une jeune femme qu'il saisit au bras, en lui désignant de l'autre main la barque de Charon.

613. (= Charon I 32\*) New York, MMA 23.160.36. De la région d'Athènes. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1242, 1: P. de l'Hypnos de New York; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 353; *BullMMA* 20, 1925, 49 fig. 4. - 440-430 av. J.-C. - Assis sur un rocher au bord du Styx (roseaux), devant la barque de Charon, H. regarde s'approcher une femme suivie de sa servante qui porte sur la tête un coffret et un panier.

614.\* (= Charon I 25) Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 903. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1237, 14: Quadrate P. - Fairbanks, o. c. 610, II (1914) pl. 14, 3; *CVA* 1, pl. 4, 1. - Vers 420 av.

J.-C. - H. conduit vers la barque de Charon une femme suivie de sa servante.

*Relief*

615 bis.\* Stèle funéraire en calcaire. Apollonia (Albanie), Mus. Arch. 5030. De la nécropole d'Apollonia. - Ceka, N., dans *Albanien. Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren* (1988) 408-409 n° 324. - III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Descente dans l'Hadès représentée sur deux registres. En haut, dans l'ouverture d'une grotte flanquée de Sirènes pleureuses, deux femmes assistent au départ du mort. Celui-ci se tient au milieu d'une échelle qui traverse obliquement le registre inférieur, délimité par des colonnes corinthiennes, pour aboutir à la barque de Charon. Quelques degrés plus bas, H. (pétase, caducée) le précède, tandis qu'un autre mort est sur le point de s'embarquer. En face du navire, sur l'autre rive, siège un juge infernal; un *eidôlon* est assis au pied du trône.

#### D. Hermès acteur ou spectateur dans diverses représentations funéraires

*Vase italiote (f. r.)*

615 ter. Cratère. Bari, Mus. Arch. 6270. - Stazio, R., *La coll. Polese nel Museo di Bari* (1970) 30 n° 83 pl. 20; Lohmann, H., *Grabmäler auf unteritalischen Vasen* (1979) 181 n° A 59 pl. 12. - Proche du P. de Copenhague 4223: vers 350-340 av. J.-C. - A: héros à la lance dans un naïskos environné de divers personnages, dont H. en bas à g., appuyé contre un loutéon, nu, les draperies posées sur la vasque. B: scène dionysiaque.

*Reliefs*

616.\* Stèle fr. en marbre. Corinthe, Mus. S 1200. De Corinthe. - Philadelphus, A., *ArchDelt* 4, 1918, 1 fig. 1; Dentzer, J. M., *Le motif du banquet couché* (1982) 371-372. 597 R 248 fig. 500 (et non 501). - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Partie dr. d'un banquet funéraire, avec un personnage barbu étendu sur la kliné. A la tête du lit, H. (chlamyde et caducée) avec le geste de l'orateur.

617. Stèle en marbre. Véria, Mus. De Véria. - Daux, G., *BCH* 89, 1965, 792-793 fig. 1. - III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Epigramme en l'honneur d'Hédéia. A dr. du relief, H. de face, en tunique courte, le caducée sur le bras g., partage avec un hermès juvénile un socle portant la mention *ΕΡΜΗΙ/ΧΘΟΝΙΩΙ*. A g. une femme s'abritant sous un parasol, une servante et un petit garçon monté sur le socle.

618. Reliefs d'un socle rond ou d'un autel. Londres, BM. - Smith, *BMSculpture* I 332-333 n° 710; Pfuhl/Möbius 273 n° 1105 pl. 166. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A g. d'un couple (femme assise, homme debout lui tenant la main), H. de face, le caducée au creux du bras g., pointe la main dr. vers un cadran solaire. Deux autres figures flanquent un autel dont le couronnement conique est entouré d'un serpent.

619.\* Stèle en marbre. Mykonos, Mus. De Rhénée. - Couilloud, o. c. 603, 317-318 fig. 3. - Fin II<sup>e</sup>-début I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., en chiton et long manteau, le caducée dans la main g., étend la main dr. qui tient une





1897, 87-104; Metzger, *Recherches* 13 n° 17; Bérard 132 pl. 16, 58. - Vers 420 av. J.-C. - A-B: une déesse (Coré? Beazley: Aphrodite) émerge du sol, la main dr. levée comme sur le cratère 637. Une troupe de Pans l'environne en bondissant. Sur l'autre face H., au milieu d'autres Pans, est représenté immobile, de trois quarts face, la tête tournée dans la direction de l'apparition. Il pointe son caducée obliquement vers le sol. Sous ses draperies, du côté g., dépasse un objet insolite dans l'équipement du dieu (Hartwig: «poignée d'une épée»), ou simplement la pointe mal faite d'une draperie?

641. (= Aphrodite 1159\*) Péliké. Rhodes, Mus. Arch. 12454. De Camiros. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1218, 2: P. d'Erichthonios; Add<sup>2</sup> 349; Bérard 157 pl. 18, 63; Schefold, SB III 75 fig. 94. - Vers 430 av. J.-C. - A: au centre Aphrodite (inscr.) émerge du sol où elle se trouve encore engagée à mi-corps. Les bras écartés, elle tourne la tête vers H., représenté à sa g. au-dessus d'elle. Son caducée pointé presque à l'horizontale vers Aphrodite, le dieu brandit une longue baguette dont il s'apprête à frapper le sol. A g. du groupe, Pan à tête de bouc, ithyphallique, le bras dr. levé. B: deux jeunes gens courant.

642. (= Aphrodite 1164) Cratère en cloche. La Valette (Malte), Mus. Nat. De Malte? - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1436, 7: P. du Louvre G 508; Add<sup>2</sup> 377; Bérard 135-138 pl. 16, 53. - Vers 370 av. J.-C. - Anodos d'une déesse figurée à mi-corps sous une voûte ogivale, où l'on a reconnu une grotte en dépit de sa forme géométrique (la déesse serait alors Aphrodite). Plutôt une porte d'Enfer ouvrant le passage à Coré (Bérard)? Sur le sol rocheux des Satyres couronnés de feuillage dansent et gesticulent. A dr., H., dans une immobilité (et avec une pondération) de statue, observe la scène, le caducée levé verticalement.

### 3. Hermès à la naissance de Pandora

643. Cratère att. à volutes f. r. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. G 275 (525). - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1562, 4: proche du Gr. de Polygnotos; Para 506; Add<sup>2</sup> 388; Bérard 161-164 pl. 19, 71; Schefold, SB III 74 fig. 90. - Vers 430 av. J.-C. - A: naissance de Pandora (inscr.) en présence d'Epiméthée (inscr.) portant un maillet. Un Eros les survole. Pandora, coiffée d'un diadème, les deux bras levés, émerge du sol selon le schéma de l'anodos. H. se rend sur les lieux de l'événement, dépêché par Zeus représenté sur le côté dr. de la scène. B: jeune homme à l'épée poursuivant une femme.

### 4. Autres passages chthoniens?

#### Gemmes

644. a)\* Sardoine. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. FG 441. - AGD II 127 n° 300 (n° d'inv. erroné) pl. 58. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. barbu, le pétase sur la nuque, la chlamyde drapant l'épaule, le caducée dans la main dr., se penche vers un personnage à sa g., qu'il aide à sortir de terre en le tirant par la main. - b)\* Agate, New York, MMA 81.6.28. - Richter, *Metzger MusGems* 55 n° 225 pl. 34. - Groupe italique, III<sup>e</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Scène analogue, mais orientée vers la dr. Inscr. CAD.

645.\* Sardoine brune. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. FG 439. - AGD II 126 n° 299 pl. 58. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., nu-tête et pieds nus, la chlamyde sur l'épaule dr., le caducée obliquement dans la main dr., se penche vers une tête émergeant du sol vers laquelle il tend la main g.

## X. Hermès et les autres dieux

### A. Dionysos

#### 1. Hermès et Dionysos seuls

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

646.\* Coupe. Paris, Louvre F 121. De Vulci. - ABV 231, 7: Nicosthénès potier; CVA 10, pl. 106, 4-7. - Vers 520-510 av. J.-C. - I: Gorgonéion. A: Héraclès entre des yeux prophylactiques. B: H. se dirigeant vers la dr., tête tournée vers Dionysos qui lève le canthare, un long caducée entre les mains.

647.\* (= 695 [B]) Amphore. Schwerin, Staatl. Mus. 726. - CVA pl. 12: P. d'Edimbourg. - 500-480 av. J.-C. - A: H., le caducée obliquement dans la main dr., converse avec Dionysos qui le précède. Il lève la main g., l'index pointé.

648.\* Le P. de Priam (vers 510 av. J.-C.) associé de façon semblable Dionysos et H. sur deux de ses vases: a) (= Dionysos 586) Amphore. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. R 328. De Cerveteri. - ABV 331, 9. - A: vieil homme et autre personnage jouant sur une planche. B: H., le buste de face, se retourne vers Dionysos assis. - b)\* (= Dionysos 593\*) Hydrie. Londres, BM B 332. De Vulci. - ABV 333, 27; CVA 6, pl. 88, 4. - Sur l'épaule: chars. Sur la panse: Dionysos au canthare et H. se retournant, de part et d'autre d'une fontaine où des jeunes filles puisent de l'eau. Leur grande taille peut faire penser à des statues (BSA 36, 1935-36, 157-158 n. 4).

649. Hydrie. Londres, BM B 344. De Vulci. - ABV 365, 71: Gr. de Léagros; CVA 6, pl. 90-91. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - Sur la panse: scène de fontaine. Sur l'épaule: de part et d'autre de l'acrotère de la fontaine (une Niké) un homme et une femme décorant l'édifice. Encadrant ce groupe central, à g. Dionysos et une femme assis; à dr. une femme assise et H. se retournant.

#### 2. Hermès, Dionysos et le thiasé

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

650.\* Sur trois amphores attribuées à l'entourage du P. de Lysippidès (vers 520 av. J.-C.), Dionysos, au canthare ou au rhyton, est encadré par H. et par un Satyre: a)\* (= Achilleus 875) Munich, Antikenslg. SL 458. - ABV 259, 18: Gr. du Mastos; CVA 7, pl. 359, 2. - A: Ajax portant la dépouille d'Achille. B: H. dépourvu du caducée, les mains tendues dans un geste de conversation. Satyre dansant, à g., corps de profil et tête de face. - b) Munich, Antikenslg. 1523. De Vulci. - ABV 262, 1; CVA 8, pl. 366. - A: H. à dr., les deux mains sur la poitrine, lève le caducée à la verticale et se retourne vers Dionysos. B: combat en présence de femmes. - c) Copenhague, Mus. Nat. Chr VIII 808.

D'Italie. - CVA 3, pl. 108, 1 a-b. - A: H. tourné vers Dionysos penche la tête et abaisse le bras g. vers le sol. Le Satyre, à dr., danse et joue de la flûte.

651.\* Trois exemplaires provenant également de l'atelier du P. de Lysippidès (vers 520 av. J.-C.) montrent une composition développée par des figures adventices: a) Cratère à colonnettes. Tübingen, Univ. S/10 816. - CVA 3, pl. 9. - A: entourant Dionysos au rhyton, H., bras replié sur la poitrine, caducée tenu obliquement, et un Satyre dansant. Deux autres Satyres symétriquement disposés sur la dr. B: Amazonomachie. - b)\* Cratère à colonnettes. Leyde, Rijksmus. 1954/2, 1. - ABV 263, 9; CVA 1, pl. 19. - A: Héraclès et Kyknos. B: H. à g. derrière Poséidon, le pouce de la main g. levé. Autour d'eux, deux Ménades et un Satyre. - c)\* Amphore. New York, MMA 56.171.7. - Para 114, 11; CVA 3, pl. 28. - A: Dionysos regarde en arrière, vers deux Satyres (danseur et musicien). A dr. H., sans caducée, tient une oenochoé. Derrière lui un autre Satyre.

652.\* H. ouvre ou ferme le cortège, sur deux amphores attribuées au P. d'Antiménès: a) (= Dionysos 772\*) Londres, BM B 267. De Vulci. - ABV 272, 85; CVA 4, pl. 6, 2 a. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: départ d'un guerrier. B: H., à g., ferme le cortège dionysiaque, composé du dieu (au rhyton), de deux Ménades et de deux Satyres. - b)\* (= Hephaistos 142d) Munich, Antikenslg. 1526. De Vulci. - ABV 282, 6: entourage du P. d'Antiménès; CVA 8, pl. 420. - A (lacunaire): H. tourne la tête vers une Ménade aux crotales portée par un Satyre; derrière celle-ci, Dionysos levant le canthare. B: retour d'Héphaïstos vers l'Olympe.

653. (= Dionysos 773\*) Amphore à col. Londres, BM B 259. De Vulci. - ABV 331, 12: P. de Priam; CVA 4, pl. 64, 3 b. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: Apollon citharède. B: H., tenant son caducée en diagonale, se retourne vers Dionysos au canthare accompagné d'une Ménade.

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

654.\* Cratère à colonnettes. Rome, Villa Giulia G 8346. De Nepi. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 290, 5: P. de Tyszkiewicz; Para 355, 5; Zanker (1965) 18 pl. 6, b. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - A: H. à g., tenant une coupe, ferme le cortège derrière Héraclès, Dionysos et un Satyre aulète. B: kōmos.

655. Cratère en cloche. San Francisco, Fine Arts Mus. 24876. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1436, 4: P. du Louvre G 508; CVA pl. 22, 2; 24, 1. - Vers 380 av. J.-C. - A: H. assis à g., le caducée posé à l'horizontale sur les genoux, est couronné par une Ménade. A dr. Dionysos, également assis, entouré par une Ménade et un Satyre. B: trois jeunes gens.

### 3. Variante: Hermès seul avec un Satyre

##### Vases attiques

656. Skyphos f. n. Bologne, Mus. Civ. C 44. De Bologne. - CVA 2, pl. 42; Zanker (1965) 51. - 490-470 av. J.-C. (atelier du P. de Thésée?) - A et B (infimes variantes dans la position des figures): H. (chlamyde, pilos), étendu en compagnie d'un Satyre,

caresse la barbe d'un bouc. Dans la treille formant toile de fond, besace d'où sort la tête d'un second animal.

656 bis.\* Amphore f. r. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2160. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 196: P. de Berlin; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pl. 137. 139. - Vers 490 av. J.-C. - A: H., à l'arrière-plan, tend de la main g. le caducée et le canthare. De la dr. il porte l'oenochoé, tandis que le Satyre → Oreimachos qui l'accompagne tient la lyre et le plectre. Une biche entre les deux figures. B: le Satyre → Orochares, avec lyre et canthare.

656 ter. Coupe f. r. Ferrare, Mus. Naz. 3206. De Spina T. 321. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 861, 19: P. de Pistoxénos; CVA 1, pl. 31. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - I: Ménade. A: Dionysos au banquet. B: H. au banquet (caducée et pilos dans le champ) servi par deux Satyres.

### 4. Hermès, Dionysos, le thiasé et autres divinités

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

657. (= Dionysos 816\*) Amphore à col. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1965.126. - ABV 239, 5: P. Affecté; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 157. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - H. au centre en compagnie d'un bouc, main g. levée, converse avec un dieu dépourvu d'attributs qui lui fait face. Le long vêtement du personnage et la présence d'un Satyre de face, à l'extrême g., invitent à reconnaître Dionysos. D'autres figures divines non caractérisées les encadrent (A et B).

658.\* Sur deux amphores attribuées au P. Affecté (vers 530 av. J.-C.), H. se retourne vers Dionysos vers qui il lève la main libre. Dans l'autre il tient deux fois un long caducée, une fois une lance: a) Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 48.11. - ABV 254, 69; Mommsen, H., *Der Affecter* (1975) n° 17 pl. 25. - A et B: une femme (Héra?) et deux Satyres entourent le groupe. En A un chien accompagne H. - b)\* Boston, MFA 01.8053. - ABV 246, 72; Mommsen, o. c. n° 15 pl. 24. - A et B: un dieu (Zeus?) et une déesse (Héra?) complètent sur chaque face le groupe d'H. et de Dionysos. Satyre de face. En B H., chaussé des *pteroenta pēdila*, tient une lance au lieu du caducée.

659. (= Athena 48 b\*) Amphore. New York, MMA 06.1021.68 A. - ABV 289: Gr. de Würzburg 199; CVA 3, pl. 36, 3. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: départ d'un guerrier sur son char. B: Dionysos et Athéna face à face, au centre. Satyre à l'oenochoé à g.; à dr. H., paume ouverte, flanqué d'un chien.

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

660.\* Plusieurs fr. d'un grand vase. Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz. 4018. De Locres. - Zanker (1965) 48 pl. 3 b. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: Dionysos et Ariane assis, entourés du thiasé. Devant le couple H. tenant de la main g. le caducée en biais, de la dr. l'oenochoé. B: combat.

660 bis. Cratère en calice. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 15072. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1458, 21: Groupe L. C.; Schefold, *UKV* 26 n° 229 pl. 45, 1-2; Metzger, *Représentations* 118 n° 19 pl. 12, 2. - 1<sup>re</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Hiérogamie d'Ariane et de Dionysos. Derrière le groupe de l'héroïne s'avancant vers le dieu assis, H. (chlaina, pétase, caducée levé) environné de Satyres.

5. **Hermès, Dionysos et d'autres divinités**

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

661. Coupe. Londres, BM B 425. De Vulci. - *Para* 76: P. de Xénoclès; *CVA* 2, pl. 13, 1 c. - Vers 550-530 av. J.-C. - I: femme ailée. A: une divinité, Perséphone ou Ariane, tend une grenade à Dionysos qui lui fait face en levant le canthare. H. derrière la déesse, un long caducée dans la main dr., regarde le groupe. A g. autre divinité féminine.

662. Amphore fr. Rhodes, Mus. Arch. 11335. D'Ialysos. - *ABV* 281, 12: P. d'Antiménès; *CIRhodos* III 212. 214 fig. 211. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - Dionysos, levant le canthare, fait face à H., main dr. levée. Derrière Dionysos, une femme (Ariane?) tient une fleur.

663. Plat fr. Tübingen, Univ. S/10 1511. - *CVA* 3, pl. 33, 4: atelier du P. de Toronto 283. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - Au centre une femme entièrement voilée (Hélène ou Ariane?) se tourne vers Dionysos qui tient la corne à boire. A g. du groupe H. se retournant, les mains repliées sur la poitrine (caducée en diagonale dans la dr.).

664. \* Péliké. Paris, Louvre F 376. - *ABV* 393, 16: P. de Nikoxénos. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: H. debout au centre, main dr. ouverte et abaissée vers le sol, converse avec Dionysos assis sur un *diphros*. A ses pieds un bouc couché. A g. Athéna également assise. B: vente de l'huile.

6. **Hermès et Athéna assistent au banquet de Dionysos**

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

665. (= Dionysos 556\*, = Hephaistos 107) Hydrie. Londres, BM B 302. De Vulci. - *ABV* 261, 40: manière du P. de Lysippides; Schefold, *SB* II 34 fig. 27. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - H. à dr. (bottes ailées, sans caducée) aux côtés d'une Ménade, tend le canthare à Dionysos étendu sur le lit de banquet. Un Satyre citharède et un couple (Satyre, Ménade) sur la dr. précédent Héphaïstos qui s'approche.

666. Fr. de psykter. Leipzig, Univ. T 4217. - *CVA* 2, pl. 26c: Gr. de Toronto 305. - Vers 520-510 av. J.-C. - H., à dr., regarde Dionysos étendu. A g. Athéna brandit le canthare.

667. Deux vases du Gr. de Léagros, vers 510-500 av. J.-C., portent des scènes analogues: a) Oenochoé. Londres, BM B 474. De Vulci. - *ABV* 378, 250; Gerhard, *AV* pl. 98, 1-2. - A: Héraclès et le taureau. B: Dionysos, étendu au centre, tend une phiale à Athéna debout sur la g. A dr. H. dépourvu du caducée et drapé dans une chlamyde fleurie. - b) Hydrie. Cincinnati, Art Mus. 1896.7. Anc. coll. Rufus King. - Epaule: hoplites et archers combattant. Panse: H. se dirigeant vers la g. tient dans la main un objet qui n'a pas été identifié. L'autre main est levée en direction de Dionysos banquetant. Plusieurs femmes (dont une aulète) et divinités assistent à cette scène. A dr. déesse au sceptre; sur la g. deux autres divinités sont assises, l'une tenant une fleur (Aphrodite et Ariane?).

*Relief attique, terre cuite*

668. Philadelphie, Univ. MS 4866. D'Orvieto. - Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., à g., porte le caducée dans la

main g. Devant lui Athéna tenant l'épée. Sur une *kliné* Dionysos banquette, servi par un Satyre.

B. **Athéna**1. **Hermès et Athéna seuls**

*Cf. etiam* une série d'amphores dont H. et Athéna occupent chacun une face, *supra* → 204-207.

*Vases à f. n.*

669. Plat de style attico-béotien. Paris, Louvre CA 1444. De Thèbes. - *CVA* 17, 34 fig. 92 pl. 31, 5; Calipolitis-Feytmans, D., *Plats attiques à figures noires* (1974) 305 A154. - 530-510 av. J.-C. - H. (chitoniskos, peut-être pétase et chaussures ailées) s'éloigne vers la g. en retournant la tête vers Athéna figurée de profil à g. (casque, lance, himation frangé) et entourée de deux serpents à gueule béante.

670. Amphore attique. Paris, Cab. Méd. 220. - *Para* 248, 122: P. de Diosphos; *CVA* 2, pl. 76, 5. - 480-460 av. J.-C. - A: H. et Athéna courent sur la mer, servant probablement de guides au char d'Hélios représenté en B. H. (chitoniskos et himation à draperies archaïsantes, pétase, chaussures ailées) brandit son caducée dans la direction qu'indique son bras g. levé.

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

671. \* Amphore. Londres, BM 1928. 1-17.57. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 529, 12: P. d'Alkimachos; *CVA* 5, pl. 46, 2 a; 51, 3. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - A: H., de profil à g., se tient devant Athéna, les pieds nus, le pétase sur la nuque, la chlamyde par-dessus une tunique courte. Le caducée horizontalement dans la main dr., il incline la tête, à l'instar de la déesse qui lui fait face. B: éphèbe drapé.

672. \* Amphore. Varsovie, Mus. Nat. 142339 (anc. Goluchow). - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 666, 1: Ethiop Painter; Beazley, *VPol* 29-30 pl. 12, 1; *CVA* Goluchow pl. 29, 2a. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Athéna de trois quarts face, appuyée sur la lance, une bandelette dans la main dr. abaissée le long du corps, se retourne vers H. Le dieu (chlamyde, pétase sur la nuque) tient une patère dans la main dr. avancée et dans l'autre main verticalement son caducée.

673. \* (= Kadmos I 17 [A]) Cratère en cloche. New York, MMA 22.139.11. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1083. 1682: Gr. de Polygnotos (proche du P. de Pantoxéna); Richter/Hall 166 n° 132 pl. 131. - Vers 440 av. J.-C. - B: H., en long manteau dont les draperies tombent jusque sur ses chaussures ailées, tient d'une main son caducée obliquement pointé vers le sol, et de l'autre une couronne qu'il présente à Athéna. A: Cadmos et le Dragon.

*Gemme*

674. Calcédoine bleue. Istanbul. Mus. Arch. L 29. De Sardes. - Boardman, *GGFR* 310. 352 pl. 855. - Ep. classique. - H. en conversation avec Athéna, appuyée d'une main sur sa lance, de l'autre sur son bouclier. H. est pieds nus, coiffé du pétase, sa chlamyde drapée sur l'épaule dr. Il tient le caducée dans la saignée du coude dr. et lève la main g. vers la déesse. Le rythme de la figure est inspiré d'une statue classique.

gnée du coude dr. et lève la main g. vers la déesse. Le rythme de la figure est inspiré d'une statue classique.

2. **Hermès, Athéna et un personnage anonyme**  
*Vases attiques: amphores panathénaïques (f. n.)*

675. Londres, BM B 144. De Vulci. - *ABV* 307, 59: P. de la Balançoire; *CVA* 1, pl. 6, 2a; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 145, 1. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: H., le caducée horizontalement dans la main dr., lève la main g. vers Athéna Promachos dans un geste de salutation. A dr. un personnage immobile drapé dans un manteau, s'appuyant sur un long bâton. B: course de chars.

676. \* Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM* Aukt. 56 (1980) 24 n° 69: P. de la Balançoire. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - Athéna Promachos au centre de la composition face à une femme qui lui tend une couronne. Derrière la déesse, H. s'éloigne en retournant la tête (caducée obliquement dans la main dr., main g. ramenée devant la poitrine).

3. **Hermès, Athéna et d'autres divinités**

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

677. Amphore. Paris, Louvre F 224. De Vulci. - *ABV* 320, 5: Gr. des Trois Lignes; *CVA* 5, pl. 57, 4. 9. 11. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: femmes au travail. B: Athéna assise sur un *diphros* se retourne vers H. qui porte son caducée verticalement dans la main dr. et lève la main g. dans un geste de conversation. Devant Athéna, Poséidon; aux extrémités Maïa(?) et Amphitrite(?).

678. Amphore. Paris, Louvre F 252. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - A: Athéna entre Poséidon (trident?, poisson) et H. de profil, derrière la déesse qui lui tourne le dos. B: Thésée et le Minotaure.

679. Lécythe. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 5. - *ABV* 496, 182: classe d'Athènes 581. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - H. avec Athéna, Dionysos au rhyton et une déesse.

*Vase apulien (f. r.)*

680. \* Cratère en calice. Genève, coll. P. Sciclou-noff. - *RVAp Suppl.* 174. 79 n° 64 b pl. 13, 1-2: P. de Darius; Aellen/Cambitoglou/Chamay, *o. c.* 438, 161-162. - Vers 330 av. J.-C. - Composition à deux registres encadrée par des trépieds posés sur de hautes colonnes. En bas, séparés par un thymiatérion et un siège, deux femmes et un porteur de trompette(?) vêtu comme H. (pétase sur la nuque, chlamyde dans le dos). En haut, Aphrodite assise couronnée par Eros et Athéna assise auprès d'H. à qui elle tourne le dos. H. lève la main dr. vers la déesse dans un geste de conversation. Assis sur sa chlamyde rejetée dans le dos, le buste et les flancs nus, le pétase sur la nuque, il porte obliquement le caducée dans la saignée du coude.

4. **Hermès à la naissance d'Athéna**

*Vases à f. n.*

681. \* (= Athena 346, = Demeter 462 avec bibl., = Hephaistos 190) Amphore tyrrhénienne. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 1704. De Cerveteri. - *ABV* 96, 14: vase éponyme du P. du Kyllénios; *Para* 36, 14; Boardman, *ABFH* 37 fig. 62; Brommer, F., *JbRGZM*

8, 1961, 66-83 pl. 20. - 565-550 av. J.-C. - A: naissance d'Athéna, Zeus étant entouré par deux Ilithyies (→ Eileithyia). A g. Héphaïstos s'éloigne et Dionysos ferme la composition. Entre les deux groupes H. se tient derrière le trône, tournant le dos au miracle. Coiffé du pétase, vêtu d'une longue tunique brodée, des draperies sur les bras, il porte obliquement le caducée dans la main g. et lève la main dr. Inscr. verticale derrière la figure: *HEPMES EIMI KQAEANIOS* (sic). B: combat.

682. \* (= Hera 289 avec renvois et bibl.) Amphore. Londres, BM B 147. De Vulci. - *ABV* 135, 44: Groupe E; Schefold, *SB* II 18 fig. 5. - Vers 550 av. J.-C. - A: naissance d'Athéna, Zeus trônant de face, encadré par les Ilithyies. H. ferme la composition à g. (caducée vertical), Arès(?) à dr. B: départ de guerrier en char.

683. \* Amphore. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 7453. - Vers 550 av. J.-C. - Groupement des personnages analogue à celui de 682, mais Zeus est assis de profil à dr. et Athéna, malgré les Ilithyies, est absente. H. ferme la composition à g.

684. (= Athena 371, = Eurypylos I 3 avec renvois) Hydrie. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. 309. - *ABV* 268, 28: P. d'Antiménès; Schefold, *SB* II 19 fig. 7. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: naissance d'Athéna, où la déesse de taille adulte se tient devant le trône de son père. H. ferme la composition à dr., derrière l'une des Ilithyies. Il tient le caducée verticalement dans la main dr. et abaisse la main g. ouverte le long du corps. Epaule: scène de combat avec chars.

685. (= Hephaistos 196) Amphore. Londres, BM 244. De Vulci. - *ABV* 271, 74: P. d'Antiménès; *CVA* 4, pl. 59, 4. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: naissance d'Athéna. Groupe central avec Zeus entouré des Ilithyies; Héphaïstos s'éloigne vers la dr.; H. ferme la scène à g., le caducée sur l'épaule g., la main dr. abaissée et légèrement avancée.

686. Fr. de coupe. Heidelberg, Univ. VI 29 a. De la région de Phalère. - *ABV* 63, 1: P. de Heidelberg; Hampe, R./Gropengießer, H., *Werke der Kunst in Heidelberg. Aus der Sammlung des Arch. Inst. der Univ.* (1967) 44 pl. 16. - Vers 560 av. J.-C. - Groupement de divinités appartenant soit à une scène d'introduction dans l'Olympe, soit à une naissance d'Athéna (figurée adulte). H. s'avance vers le trône de Zeus, suivi par Athéna et Dionysos. Autres divinités derrière le trône.

687. (= Eileithyia 35\*) Amphore fr. Genève, Mus. MF 155. - *Para* 130, 18: P. de la Balançoire; *CVA* 2, pl. 49, 1-3. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: guerriers et quadriges. B: naissance d'Athéna? Autour du trône de Zeus, Dionysos, H. et d'autres divinités (figures mutilées).

5. **Hermès/Mercure conduit par Minerve, allégorie de Rome (→ Roma)**

688. \* Autel rectangulaire en marbre, décoré sur trois faces. Bologne, Mus. Civ. - Lehmann-Hartleben, K., *RM* 42, 1927, 163-176; Scott, K., *RM* 50, 1935, 225-230 pl. 25. - Ep. augustéenne. - Façade: caducée entre deux cornes d'abondance croisées avec



embouts en forme de Capricorne, le signe astral d'Auguste. Petit côté dr.: un aulète et un *togatus* tenant une patère près d'un autel. Petit côté g.: Mercure, la bourse dans la main dr., portant le caducée verticalement dans la g., marche sur les pas d'une déesse au bouclier. Les deux personnages sont de type hellénistique, autant par l'iconographie que par le style. Il s'agit de l'ex-voto d'un *Mercurialis* à ses divinités tutélaires, à H. dispensateur de richesses sous la protection armée de Rome. Cf. Petron. chap. 29. 67. 77.

## C. Les Léoïdes

### 1. Hermès seul avec Apollon ou Artémis

*Vase mélien, polychrome*

689. (= Herakles 1690 avec bibl., = Kalypso 12) Amphore. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 354. - Papastamos, D., *Melische Amphoren* (1970) pl. 8. - Début du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Sur le col: H., le caducée oblique et chaussé de grandes bottes ailées, converse avec Artémis. A-B: char de l'apothéose d'Héraclès.

*Vases attiques*

690. (= Apollon 734) Amphore à col f.n. Lenigrad, Ermitage 1494 (St. 24). - *ABV* 309, 85: P. de la Balançoire. - 540-520 av. J.-C. - A: Apollon citharède accompagné par H., caducée sur l'épaule dr. et main g. tendue, paume ouverte, en avant de la cithare. Deux palmiers les encadrent; une Sirène les précède. B: athlète et hommes.

691. Oenochoé f.n. Vienne, coll. Matsch. - *CVA* Deutschland 5, Wien pl. 6, 3. - Atelier du P. de Thésée, 500-480 av. J.-C. - Apollon citharède, à g., flanqué d'une biche. Devant lui H., le caducée à l'horizontale, se retourne.

692. Cratère à colonnettes f.r. Ferrare, Mus. Naz. 2686. De Spina. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1165, 77: P. de Munich 2335; Alfieri, *Spina* 80 n° 181. - Vers 420 av. J.-C. - A: H. à g., s'appuyant sur le caducée posé pointe au sol, s'entretient avec Apollon citharède, au centre, vers qui il tend le bras dr.; une femme dadophore non caractérisée (Artémis?). B: jeunes gens et garçons.

*Relief*

693. Stèle de marbre. Paros, Mus. 244. De Paros. - Löwy, E., *ArchEpigrMitt* 2, 1887, 153 fig. 2. - Vers 510-500 av. J.-C. - H. à dr., le caducée à la verticale dans la main dr., la jambe g. avancée, fait face à Artémis immobile qui lève son arc de la main g.

### 2. Hermès en compagnie d'Apollon, d'Artémis et de Léo

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

694. (= Helene 221) Amphore à col. Londres, BMB 245. De Vulci. - *ABV* 258, 13: manière du P. de Lysippides; *CVA* 5, pl. 60, 1 b. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - A: retrouvailles d'Hélène et de Ménélas. B: H. en marche vers la g., les mains croisées sur la poitrine vue de face, se retourne vers Apollon citharède et Artémis chasseresses qu'accompagne une biche.

695. (= 647 [A]) Amphore. Schwerin, Staatl. Mus. 726. - *CVA* pl. 12: P. d'Edimbourg. - 500-490 av. J.-C. - A: H. et Dionysos. B: H., caducée vertical dans la main g., main dr. abaissée vers le sol, s'adresse au groupe d'Apollon citharède et d'Artémis(?).

696. Léclythe. Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM* Sonderl. G (nov. 1964) 23 n° 24: P. de Géla. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A et B: H., marchant vers la dr., se retourne vers le groupe qu'il paraît quitter: Léo assise, une biche, Apollon lyricine et Artémis.

697. (= Artemis 1142\*) Amphore. Paris, Louvre F 215 bis. - *Para* 138, 7: P. du Louvre F 215 bis. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: H., à g. du groupe des Léoïdes, détourne la tête. Devant lui Léo escortée par une biche, Apollon citharède, Artémis également accompagnée par une biche.

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

698. Coupe fr. Thasos, Mus. De Thasos. - *BCH* 100, 1976, 780 fig. 28: Epictéto. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - H., le caducée tenu horizontalement, la main dr. levée, est tourné vers le groupe d'Apollon portant la lyre et d'Artémis tenant l'arc. Derrière H. une figure lacunaire avec un petit fauve sur l'avant-bras: Dionysos ou une Ménade?

699. (= Artemis 1010\*, = Iris 101 avec bibl.) Lébès gamikos. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1172. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 585, 33: P. maniériste indéterminé. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - H. à dr., le bras g. drapé dans la chlamyde, tient le caducée obliquement dans la dr. et regarde en direction des Léoïdes: Artémis, Apollon lyricine flanqué d'une biche, Léo. Sur la panse: noces de Thétis et Péleée(?).

700. Fr. d'un vase cylindrique. Cambridge, Fitzw. Mus. X 13. De Naucratis. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 623, 73: P. de la Villa Giulia; *CVA* 1, pl. 38. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - H. de face (le haut du corps est évanide), le caducée oblique tenu dans la main g., entre Artémis et Léo. Puis Apollon, Dionysos et Ganymède.

701. Cratère en cloche. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. IV 3733. De Cerveteri. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1067, 1: P. de Barclay; Zanker (1965) 75 pl. 8. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - A: H. à dr., la tête penchée vers le sol, tient le caducée horizontalement dans sa main dr. Au centre Apollon lyricine, puis Artémis. B: trois jeunes gens.

702. (= Apollon 747) Cratère en cloche. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 45911. De Camarina. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1053, 32: Gr. indéterminé; *CVA* 1, pl. 15. - Vers 430 av. J.-C. - A: H. à dr., coiffé du pétase ailé, regarde en direction du groupe: Artémis couronnant son frère, Ganymède portant l'oenochoé, Apollon citharède et une biche, enfin Léo au sceptre fleurdéliné. B: jeunes gens et joueur de lyre.

703. (= Delos I 1\* avec renvois et bibl.) Pyxide. Ferrare, Mus. Naz. 20298 (12451). De Spina. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1277, 22: P. de Marlay; Alfieri, *Spina* 92 fig. 214-215. - Vers 430 av. J.-C. - A et B: libation des Léoïdes (Léo, Apollon et Artémis, tous porteurs d'une phiale) à l'île de Délos (inscr. *ΔΗΛΟΣ*) personnifiée par une femme assise sur l'omphalos. A dr. H. (piolos aux larges ailes, le caducée reposant sur le genou), le pied surélevé sur un rocher et la main g. à la hanche,

assiste à la cérémonie. Cf. *etiam* Bruneau, Ph., *BCH* 109, 1985, 551-556.

*Vase lucanien (f. r.)*

704. Cratère en cloche. Pavie, Castello dei Landriani 245. - *LCS Suppl.* 3 44 C 8; *QuadTic* 1978, 71 n° 2 pl. 12 fig. 12 A: P. de Crète. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - A: H. à dr., immobile, la tête de profil et le corps de face, le bras g. drapé dans la chlamyde et appuyé sur un bâton, lève le caducée verticalement en direction d'Apollon. Entre eux Artémis archère est accompagnée d'une biche.

### 3. Hermès et les Léoïdes, en compagnie de Dionysos

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

705. Amphore à col. San Simeon, State Hist. Mon. 529-9-5498 (5498) (anc. coll. Buttler, Hearst). - *Cat. of the Revelstoke Coll.*, Puttick and Simpson (Londres, 5 April 1935) n° 89. - Vers 510-500 av. J.-C. - A: H., marchant vers la dr., le caducée à l'horizontale, conduit Apollon lyricine, flanqué d'une biche, et Dionysos. B: Ménélas, Hélène et un guerrier.

706. Léclythe. Genève, Mus. 12048. - *ABV* 475: proche du P. de Géla; *CVA* 2, pl. 73, 14-16. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A et B: H., se dirigeant vers la dr., précède Apollon citharède encadré par Léo et Artémis, et Dionysos qui tient un rhyton.

707. (= Apollon 781 d\*) Alabastr. Paris, Louvre CA 1706. - Haspels, *ABL* 237 n° 109: P. de Diosphos; Mertens, J. R., *Attic White Ground* (1977) 95. - 500-490 av. J.-C. - A et B: H. à dr., accompagné par un bélier, ouvre la marche en se retournant vers le cortège qui le suit: Dionysos au canthare, Artémis et un lionceau, Apollon à la cithare et à la phiale avec une biche.

### 4. Hermès, Apollon et d'autres divinités

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

708. Amphore. Londres, BM B 212. De Vulci. - *ABV* 297, 1: P. de Princeton; *CVA* 5, pl. 50, 1 A. - Vers 550 av. J.-C. - A: au centre Apollon(?) barbu joue de la cithare en présence de Léo et d'Artémis. A dr. Poséidon, à g. H. ailé (*siq*), caractérisé par la pardalide, les bottes ailées et le caducée qu'il tient dans la main dr. La main g. est levée, paume ouverte. B: quadriges. Sur l'épaule: combat d'Héraclès et de Kyknos.

709. Amphore. Bâle, Antikenslg. Lu 20. - *Para* 65: P. d'Amasis; Berger/Lullies, *SlgLudwig* I 56 n° 20; v. Bothmer, *Amasis* n° 8. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: Dionysos au rhyton entouré par quatre figures masculines. B: Apollon(?) et H., au centre, encadrés par des personnages porteurs de lances. H., en chitoniskos et pardalide, tient obliquement le caducée dans la main dr. et lève le bras g. plié au coude en direction d'Apollon.

710. (= Apollon 779\*) Amphore. Paris, Cab. Méd. 231. - *CVA* 1, pl. 42, 4. - Vers 530-520 av. J.-C. - A: Dionysos, H. et les Muses entourent Apollon citharède qu'un cerf accompagne. H., à dr., est orienté vers la g., mais il détourne la tête et gesticule. B: Héraclès et le lion de Némée.

711. Sur deux vases de l'atelier du P. d'Antimé-

nès, datés vers 520 av. J.-C., Poséidon encadre avec H. le groupe des Léoïdes: a) Hydrie. Hanovre, Kestner-Mus. 1965.30. - *Para* 199: P. d'Antiménès; *CVA* 1, pl. 19. - Epaulé: Achille poursuivant Troïlos. Panse: H., à dr., derrière Artémis à la biche, tient un long caducée dans la main g. et lève la dr., paume ouverte. - b) Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. 1576. - *CVA* 8, pl. 390: entourage du P. d'Antiménès. - A: H., à g., au second plan derrière Léo, main g. paume ouverte dans un geste de conversation, regarde en direction d'Apollon citharède, d'Artémis à la biche et de Poséidon. B: assemblée divine dans l'Olympe.

### 5. Hermès, Apollon et Bendis

*Vases italiotes (f. r.)*

712. (= Apollon 985\*) Cratère en cloche. Paris, Louvre G 515. - *RVAp* I 89 n° 177: P. de Bendis; Schauenburg, K., *Jdl* 89, 1974, 182-186 fig. 46. - 380-365 av. J.-C. - H., la main dr. à la hanche, nu sous la chlamyde rejetée en arrière, le caducée dans la main g., s'entretient avec un jeune homme à la lance. Sur la g. Bendis et Apollon assis sur un autel.

713. Deux autres compositions attribuées au P. de Bendis montrent H. en compagnie d'Apollon et de Bendis: a) Cratère en cloche. Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM* Aukt. 18 (1958) 47 n° 147. - A: Bendis, debout à g., tient une lance et une phiale. Au centre Apollon assis tend un lièvre et tient une longue branche dans l'autre main. A dr. H., immobile, le bras g. drapé dans la chlamyde, la main dr. appuyée sur le caducée posé sur le sol comme une canne. B: trois jeunes gens drapés dans des manteaux. - b) (= Artemis 1097a) Cratère en cloche. Paris, Cab. Méd. 428. - *RVAp* I 89, 176 pl. 30, 6 (revers). - Scène identique. Bendis porte l'arc au lieu de la phiale et Apollon est assis sur un *diphros*. Aucun changement dans la figure d'H.

### 6. Hermès dans des mythes apolliniens

a) Tityos

714. (= Ge 10 avec renvois) Amphore tyrrhénienne f.n. Paris, Louvre E 864. - *ABV* 97, 33: P. de Castellani; Schefold, *SBII* 67 fig. 78. - Vers 560-550 av. J.-C. - A: H., à dr., muni d'un long caducée qu'il tient obliquement dans la main g., lève le bras dr. plié au coude en direction d'Artémis et d'Apollon qui s'apprêtent à tuer - Tityos. B: kômos.

b) Marsyas

715. Cratère en cloche att. f.r. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. F 2643. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1154, 31: P. du Dinos; *AZ* 1865, pl. 202. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - A: H., au centre, tient de la main dr. le caducée et de l'autre un canthare. Il regarde une femme porteuse d'une corbeille, qui lui fait face. De part et d'autre de ce groupe, Apollon à la lyre, assis, et un Satyre lyricine, vraisemblablement Marsyas. B: garçon et jeunes gens.

716. Deux exemplaires peints par le P. de Cadmos (vers 420 av. J.-C.) montrent deux variantes de l'agôn musical: a) Cratère à volutes f.r. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1093. De Ruvo. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1184, 1; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* K 10 pl. 12. - A: sacrifice. B: Apollon et Marsyas. Sur le col: H., à dr., lève le caducée à l'horizontale



en direction d'Apollon qui, immobile au centre, écoute le Satyre jouer de la flûte. Un autre Satyre ainsi qu'une Ménade dadophore assistent à la scène. — **b**) (= Apollon 799, = Artemis 1176/1423) Cratère en calice. Bologne, Mus. Civ. Pell. 301. De Bologne. — *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1184, 5; *CVA* 4, pl. 85, 5. — *A*: scène apollinienne. *B*: H. étendu sur un rocher, le caducée négligemment appuyé contre le genou dr., retourne la tête en direction du groupe de l'agôn (lacunaire). Poséidon est représenté au registre supérieur, aux côtés d'H. Apollon et Marsyas figurent au registre inférieur, en compagnie de deux Ménades dadophores.

## D. Zeus

### 1. Hermès et Zeus trônant

*Vases laoniens (f. n.)*

717. Coupe. Kassel, Staatl. Kunstslg. T 354. — Stibbe, *LakVas* n° 353 pl. 128: P. de la Chimère; *CVA* 1, pl. 14, 3-4; Pipili, *LacIc* 47 n° 132 fig. 71. — Vers 530-520 av. J.-C. — *I*: H. immobile, un long caducée verticalement dans la main g., écoute Zeus assis sur son trône.

718. Coupe. Olympie, Mus. inv. Var. 74. — Stibbe, *LakVas* 274 n° 101: manière du P. de Naucratis; Goette, E., *OlympBer* 7, 1961, 196-206 pl. 84 (I)-85. — Vers 550 av. J.-C. — *I*: Zeus trônant regarde vers la dr. (fr. de l'extrémité du sceptre à g.) en direction d'H. dont les jambes seules demeurent visibles.

### 2. Hermès, Zeus trônant et diverses figures adventices

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

719.\* (= Eurytion II 15) Amphore. Londres, BM B 157. — *CVA* 3, pl. 26, 3 a-c. — 550-540 av. J.-C. — *A*: Zeus, assis au centre sur un trône à col de cygne, le sceptre à la main. H. lui fait face, un long caducée dans la main g., saluant de la main dr. De part et d'autre deux hommes non caractérisés. *B*: Héraclès et Géryon.

720. Amphore. Bâle, Antikenmus. Lu 19. — *Para* 65: P. d'Amasis; Berger/Lullies, *SlgLudwig* I 53 n° 19; v. Bothmer, *Amasis* n° 6. — 540-530 av. J.-C. — *A*: Athéna(?), guerriers, jeunes gens. *B*: H., debout et orienté vers la g., fait face à Zeus trônant avec lequel il s'entretient. Deux porteurs de lances et un éphèbe nu les entourent.

721.\* Amphore. Londres, BM B 149. De Vulci. — *ABV* 245, 60: P. Affecté; *Para* 110; Mommsen, *o. c.* 658a, n° 59 pl. 69. — Vers 540 av. J.-C. — *A*: H., le corps de face, en marche vers la dr., retourne la tête vers Zeus assis sur le trône. Ses bras sont écartés, la main dr. tient le caducée. De chaque côté du groupe, deux hommes dont l'un tient un bâton. *B*: Dionysos et → Ikarios (I).

722. Sur deux amphores du P. Affecté (540-530 av. J.-C.) H., représenté le corps de face et la tête de profil, effectue le même geste. De la main dr. il salue Zeus et de la g. tient le caducée dont la hampe touche le sol: **a**) Munich, Antikenslg. 8772. — *Para* 111, 5; Mommsen, *o. c.* 658a, n° 26 pl. 30. — *A*: H. et Zeus, trois figures en longues tuniques dont deux (à g.) por-

tent un sceptre. Celle de dr. serre curieusement le caducée tenu par H. *B*: Zeus trônant entouré de quatre personnages semblables, tous porteurs de sceptres. Sur le col, *A*: H. et Zeus trônant encadrés par deux figures seulement. L'attitude du dieu est légèrement différente: le caducée, oblique, est ramené devant la poitrine. *B*: identique mais le caducée est très incliné et Zeus lève la main g. vers H. — **b**) Tarente, Mus. Naz. 17235. — Mommsen, *o. c.* n° 51 pl. 60. — *A* et *B*: H. et Zeus. Quatre figures royales ou divines avec sceptre.

723.\* Sur la dizaine d'exemplaires répétitifs décorés par le P. Affecté, sur lesquels H. tient le caducée en biais devant sa poitrine et salue Zeus de l'autre main, mentionnons les amphores suivantes (540-530 av. J.-C.): **a**) Cambridge (Mass.) 2244. — Mommsen, *o. c.* 658a, pl. 16. — *A*: H. et Zeus, un enfant nu et deux divinités, dont Poséidon à g. — **b**)\* Gotha, Schloßmus. 45. De Tarquinia. — *ABV* 245, 62; *Para* 110; Mommsen, *o. c.* n° 13 pl. 22. — *A*: Zeus trônant et H. accompagné d'un oiseau. Enfant et deux figures royales ou divines de part et d'autre. *B*: scène identique; H. est ici flanqué d'un chien. — **c**) (= Eileithyia 50\*) Florence, Mus. Arch. 92167. D'Orvieto. — *ABV* 246, 70; *Para* 110; Mommsen, *o. c.* n° 14 pl. 23. — *A* et *B*: Zeus tenant un sceptre à protomé de Pégase, et le foudre en *A*; H. s'éloigne en le saluant. Deux hommes et une femme en *A*, deux femmes, un homme et un lézard en *B* les encadrent. — **d**) Boston, MFA 99.517. — *ABV* 241, 25; Mommsen, *o. c.* n° 78 pl. 86. — *A* et *B*: scène analogue. H., accompagné par une biche, salue Zeus assis sur le trône. Trois figures royales ou divines et un jeune enfant entourent le groupe principal. — **e**)\* Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 338. De Vulci. — *ABV* 241, 24; *Para* 110; Mommsen, *o. c.* n° 80 pl. 88. — *A*: Zeus trônant et H. comme *supra*, à la différence près qu'il porte dans la saignée du coude une sorte de besace, la *kibisis*. Une figure ailée s'approche de l'autre côté tandis que deux personnages royaux ou divins immobiles flanquent symétriquement le groupe.

724. Amphore. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. 42. — *ABV* 239, 9: P. Affecté; Mommsen, *o. c.* 658a, n° 35 pl. 41. — Vers 540-530 av. J.-C. — *A*: un homme poursuit un jeune éphèbe. *B*: cavalier. Sur le col, *A* et *B*: Zeus trônant face à H. qui s'éloigne, le caducée dans les deux mains ramenées sur la poitrine. De part et d'autre deux figures immobiles portant le sceptre.

725. Amphore. Paris, Louvre F 4. — *ABV* 301, 1: manière du P. de Princeton; *CVA* 3, pl. 10, 7. — 530-520 av. J.-C. — *A*: Dionysos debout derrière Zeus trônant. Une femme (Héra?), H. aux bottes ailées mais sans son caducée, puis Arès approchent du trône.

726. Lécythe. Agrigente, Mus. Reg. C 832. — *CVA* 1, pl. 63: Classe d'Athènes 581 I. — 510-500 av. J.-C. — H. légèrement penché en avant s'entretient avec Zeus assis sur un trône à col de cygne. Sur la g. de la composition, Athéna suit H. Celui-ci, tenant le caducée contre son épaule dr., lève la main g., l'index pointé en direction de son père.

*Vase attique à f. r.*

727. Amphore fr. Munich, Antikenslg. 2335, 1-5. — *CVA* 2, pl. 54: manière du P. de Providence. — Vers

450 av. J.-C. — Zeus et H. marchant à vive allure vers la dr.; H. retourne la tête, le buste de face. Le bras dr. est tendu en avant, le g. (avec le caducée) en arrière.

*Relief*

728. (= Acheloos 204 avec bibl., = Herakles 3376, = Kallirrhoe II 3\*) Relief en marbre. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1778. De l'Ilissos. — Möbius, H., *AM* 60-61, 1935-36, 247 fig. 90. — 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — Zeus Meilichios, Héraclès et H.: Héraclès tend la main vers Zeus, assis à g. Entre eux, au centre et à l'arrière-plan, H. frontal, le caducée dans la main dr. abaissée vers le sol. Inscr. *AXEΛΩΙΟΣ*.

## E. Héra

### 1. Hermès, Héra trônant et figures adventices

729.\* Amphores att. à f. n. attribuées au P. Affecté (vers 540 av. J.-C.): **a**)\* (= Dionysos 813) Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. 625. De Tarquinia. — *ABV* 245, 65; Mommsen, *o. c.* 658a, 85 n° 1 pl. 15. — *A*: Poséidon et Dionysos. *B*: Héra trônant tient un couronne. Derrière elle, à g., une figure royale ou divine tenant un poisson et une lance (Poséidon?) et un homme nu portant également une couronne. En face, à dr., une déesse à la lance (Athéna?) et H. en manteau court richement brodé. En marche vers la dr., le caducée ramené vers la poitrine et le bras g. levé, il se retourne vers la divinité assise. — **b**) Toronto, ROM 298. — Mommsen, *o. c.* n° 118 pl. 127. — *A* et *B*: scènes d'armement (figures royales ou divines indéterminées). Sur le col: Héra trônant et portant une couronne. H. devant elle, se dirigeant vers la dr., lève ses bras largement écartés. Deux figures en manteau long et deux personnages nus encadrent le groupe.

### 2. Hermès et Héra debout en compagnie d'autres figures

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

730. Coupe. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. Gr. 4.1930. — *ABV* 63, 4: P. de Heidelberg; *CVA* 2, pl. 23, 2. — Vers 550 av. J.-C. — *I*: Dionysos et Ariane. *A*: Athéna et Dionysos, à g., conduits par H. vers Zeus. Une déesse portant une couronne suit H., vraisemblablement Héra. Corps de face, tête et membres de profil. H., qui regarde en arrière, tient obliquement le caducée dans la main dr. et lève la g. vers Zeus. Derrière celui-ci, à dr., deux figures à la lance. *B*: divinité masculine et divinité ailée.

731. Le P. Affecté a laissé trois amphores identiques qui montrent Héra debout, une couronne dans la main dr., aux côtés d'H.: **a**) Hillsborough, coll. Hearst (anc. coll. San Simeon 122283). — *ABV* 242, 33; *Para* 110; Mommsen, *o. c.* 658a, n° 93 pl. 102. — Vers 540 av. J.-C. — *A*: H. se dirigeant vers la dr., le caducée de biais dans la main dr., tourne la tête vers Héra et lève le bras g. plié au coude. Une femme et deux hommes nus de chaque côté du groupe divin. *B*: scène analogue, mais un homme nu a été introduit à la place d'H. — **b**) (= 765a [A]) New York, MMA 07.286.75. D'Orvieto. — *ABV* 244, 51; *Para* 110; Mommsen, *o. c.* n° 72

pl. 77-77A. — *A*: H. et Arès. *B*: Héra et H. entourés par deux hommes nus ainsi que par deux figures divines ou royales à la lance. — **c**) Turin, Mus. Ant. 4653. — *ABV* 246, 74; Mommsen, *o. c.* n° 12 pl. 21. — *A*: H. et une déesse (Héra?), une figure à la lance, un petit serviteur et un homme drapé tenant un fruit(?). *B*: Héra à la couronne et H. encadrés par quatre figures en longue tunique. Deux oiseaux dans le champ.

### 3. Hermès et Héra dans le mythe d'Ixion

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

732. (= Ares 86\* avec bibl., = Hera 477 = Ixion 1\* avec bibl.) Canthare. Londres, BM E 155. De Nola. — *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 832, 37: P. d'Amphitrite; Schefold, *SBII* 155 fig. 204. — Vers 450-440 av. J.-C. — *A*: Ixion attaqué par les serpents. *B*: la condamnation d'Ixion, saisi aux poignets par Arès et H. Celui-ci, le caducée abaissé vers le sol, la tête retournée, converse avec Athéna qui apporte la roue du supplice. Héra, drapée dans son manteau et assise sur le trône, s'entretient avec Arès.

733. (= Bia et Kratos 1\*, = Hephaistos 227 avec renvois et bibl., = Ixion 2) Skyphos. Bâle, coll. H. A. Cahn HC 541. — Simon, E., *WürzJbb* 1, 1975, 177 fig. 1-4: entourage du P. de Meidias. — Vers 410 av. J.-C. — *A*: supplice d'Ixion en présence de Cratos, Bia, Héphaistos, Artémis, Zeus (noms inscr.), Apollon, Héra et H. Sur le fr. *b*, devant Ixion, la tête couronnée d'un H. juvénile. *B*: Dionysos et la Ménade → Opora en compagnie d' → Oinante.

## F. Iris

→ Iris I 81-89.

### 1. Iris pédophore: l'enfant Hermès

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

734.\* (= Iris 81 avec bibl.) Hydrie. Munich, Antikenslg. 2426. De Vulci. — *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 189, 76: P. de Kléophradès (tardif). — Vers 470 av. J.-C. — Iris marchant à vive allure vers la dr., le caducée tenu à l'horizontale, porte H. dans ses bras.

735. (= Iris 82\* avec bibl.) Fr. de skyphos. Tübingen, Univ. S/10 1600 (E 106). — *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 974, 27: P. de Lewis. — Vers 460 av. J.-C. — Iris conduit H. devant Zeus (le haut du sceptre demeure visible sur la dr. du tesson). H. qui fait face à son père brandit un caducée de grande dimension qu'il tient verticalement de son petit bras tendu.

### 2. Iris et Hermès seuls

*Vases attiques*

736. Skyphos f. n. fr. Délos. Mus. 597 (B 6.140). — Dugas, *o. c.* 548a, pl. 57-58. — Vers 500 av. J.-C. — *A*: dans le sanctuaire d'Athéna (une chouette couronne une colonne à dr.) Iris, au premier plan, tend une oenochoé et lève le bras g. vers la chouette. A l'arrière H. drapé dans sa chlamyde tient une phiale de la main dr. et présente la g., paume ouverte, dans la même direction. *B*: Athéna et Héraclès se donnant une poignée de main.

737. (= Iris I 87) Lécythe f. n. University, Univ. of Mississippi 77.3.82 (anc. coll. Robinson). — *CVA* 1,

53 pl. 38: P. de Diosphos. - Vers 490 av. J.-C. - Iris debout à g. tient le caducée dans la main dr. Devant elle H., le caducée à la verticale dans la main g., lui fait signe de le suivre.

738. Pélîké f. r. Capoue, Mus. Camp. 210 (inv. 29). De Capoue. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1218, 2: P. de Copenhague 1061; CVA 2, pl. 7. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - A: H. assis sur un rocher, le bras g. portant le caducée en appui sur la jambe g. surélevée. B: Iris ou Niké à la torche.

### 3. Iris et Hermès dans leurs fonctions conjointes de guide et de messager

Vases attiques à f. n.

739. (= Iris I 127\* avec bibl.) Hydrie. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. F 1895. De Vulci. - ABV 268, 31: P. d'Antiménès; Gerhard, E., *Etrusk. und kampan. Vasenbilder der Königl. Mus. zu Berlin* (1843) pl. 14. - 530-520 av. J.-C. - Epaule: Achille et Troilos. Panse: jugement de Pâris. Les déesses sont introduites par H. et Iris, portant tous deux le caducée. H., paume ouverte, caducée oblique dans la main dr., s'adresse à Pâris.

740. (= Amphitrite 29 avec bibl., = Iris I 85) Lécythe. New York, MMA 41.162.34. - ABV 507, 5: P. de Sappho; Add<sup>2</sup> 126; CVA Gallatin pl. 44, 2. - Vers 490 av. J.-C. - Iris et H. accompagnent l'attelage d'Hélios. La déesse, *rhabdos* à l'horizontale, main dr. largement ouverte et tendue en arrière, précède le quadrigé; H. courant, le bâton tenu obliquement dans la main dr., ferme la marche, main g. levée.

Vases attiques à f. r.

741.\* (= Herakles 1650 avec renvois [A], = Iris I 88) Stamnos. Paris, Louvre G 192. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 208, 160: P. de Berlin. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès enfant étrangle les serpents. B: Zeus porteur du sceptre et du foudre, au centre, entre Iris et H. qui ont l'un et l'autre le caducée à la main. Tous deux s'éloignent rapidement, répondant aux ordres. H., le bras dr. plié, lève la main, index pointé, et tourne la tête vers son père.

742. (= Hera 345\* avec renvois et bibl., = Iris I 99) Cratère en calice. Londres, BM E 467. D'Altamura. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 601, 23: P. des Niobides; Cook, *Zeus* pl. 38. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Registre supérieur: naissance de Pandora; Iris (caducée dans la main dr., bottes ailées) immobile derrière Zeus trônant; H., le caducée levé à la verticale, se dirige vers Héra debout à l'extrême dr. Registre inférieur: A: chœur de Pans. B: famille de Satyres.

### 4. Iris et Hermès serviteurs des Olympiens

Vases attiques à f. r.

743. (= Hera 211\* avec renvoi et bibl., = Iris I 42) Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. 2304. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 220, 1: P. de Nikoxénos; CVA 4, pl. 180, 1-2. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: Iris tend une phiale de la main g. et lève une oenochoé de l'autre, offrant une libation à Zeus et Héra trônant. A dr. H., caducée sur l'épaule g. et bras dr. levé, s'entretient avec Athéna en présence de Poséidon. B: Apollon, Dionysos, H., une Ménade et autres divinités.

744.\* Hydrie. Bâle, marché de l'art. - MuM Aukt. 51 (1975) n° 155 pl. 40: P. de Berlin. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Scène de libation: à g. Iris versant le contenu de l'oenochoé et Apollon tenant la phiale. A dr. H. marchant à vive allure, le caducée à l'horizontale, tourne la tête vers le groupe et fait un signe de la main dr. levée.

745. Cratère en calice. Cincinnati, Univ. - Para 345, 10: P. de Berlin; Boulter, C. G., *AntK* 6, 1963, 67-71 pl. 26-28. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Iris à l'oenochoé et Apollon tenant la phiale; Zeus et H. en conversation. De son index pointé Zeus paraît donner à son fils l'ordre de partir.

746. (= Hera 222\* avec bibl., = Iris I 53) Cratère à colonnettes. New York, coll. privée. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 260, 15: P. de Syriskos (tardif); *Ars antiqua* Aukt. 1 pl. 56, 119. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - A: Iris de face, ailes éployées, entre Zeus et Héra trônant; Iris tient l'oenochoé dans la main dr. tandis qu'Héra serre sa main g. au creux de la sienne. A g., derrière Zeus, H. sur le point de partir. Le bras dr. tendu à l'horizontale et le caducée en biais dans la main g., il se retourne vivement vers le groupe divin. B: jeunes gens et femme.

747. (= Hera 223, = Iris I 54) Hydrie. Leyde, Rijksmus. PC 73. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 580, 3: P. d'Oinanthé; CVA 3, pl. 141. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Iris, devant le couple trônant, pose une couronne sur la tête de Zeus. Derrière le trône H. sur le départ, le caducée à la verticale dans la main dr. et le bras g. levé en direction du groupe.

748. (= Hera 233, = Iris I 58\*) Cratère à colonnettes. San Simeon, State Hist. Mon. 529-9-620 (9855; 5545). - ARV<sup>2</sup> 537, 13: P. de Borée; *Coll. Gagliari e Marchese di Riofreddo* (Rome 27 avril-15 mai 1908) pl. 6 n° 42. - 460-450 av. J.-C. - A: Zeus au centre entre Iris à la phiale et H. levant le bras, le caducée obliquement dans la main g. B: quatre jeunes gens, dont l'un tient une épée.

749.\* (= Hera 220 avec renvois et bibl., = Iris I 52) Stamnos. Paris, Louvre G 370. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 639, 54: P. de Providence; CVA 3, pl. 10. - 460-450 av. J.-C. - A et B: assemblée divine autour de Zeus et Héra trônant (Apollon, Athéna, Poséidon et Hadès). Iris, de face, verse le contenu de l'oenochoé dans la phiale de Zeus. H. immobile derrière le trône, drapé dans son manteau (sous l'anse).

Reliefs

750. (= Hera 407, = Iris 69) Piliers sculptés. Thasos, porte de Zeus et d'Héra. - Bernard, *o. c.* 344, 64-89 fig. 1.4-5 pl. 1-2. - Vers 410 av. J.-C. - Sur les parastades sculptées en forme de naiskos, Iris et H. se tiennent respectivement auprès des trônes d'Héra et de Zeus qui les envoient en mission. Les deux messagers, représentés de trois quarts face, s'éloignent en retournant la tête. Pour H., dont seule la tête avec le pétase sur la nuque est conservée, la composition se laisse restituer par symétrie avec le panneau d'Iris.

751.\* (= Demeter 289) Relief inachevé. Délos, Mus. A 3194. De Délos. - Picard, Ch., *BCH* 55, 1931, 11-25; Marcadé, *MusDélos* 106. - Ep. classique. - «Assemblée divine dans une ambiance éleusiniennne» (Marcadé à la suite de Picard). Dans la partie dr. du fr.

conservé (en fait au milieu de la composition, au-dessus du tenon), H. dans l'attitude du «Sandalenbinder» (958-960a-b) devant le trône de Zeus. A g. Koré assise sur les genoux de Déméter (Picard)? Mais les traces en forme d'ailes se détachant sur un fond déjà travaillé à la gradine pourraient évoquer Iris: pour une relation familière entre Iris et Héra, 746.

### 5. Iris et Héra assaillies par les Satyres

752. (= Babakchos 1\*, = Herakles 3348 avec renvois, = Iris I 111 avec renvois) Coupe att. f. r. Londres, BM E 65. De Capoue. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 370, 13: P. de Brygos; Bieber, *Theater* 15 fig. 48; Boardman, *ARFH* I 135 fig. 252, 1-2. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - I: Chrysippe (= Chrysippos II 1\*) servi par Zeuxô. A: troupe de Satyres approchant Héra. H. s'interpose, tenant le caducée horizontalement dans la main g., la main dr. levée dans le geste du discours; derrière H., Héraclès archer tient les Satyres en respect avec son arc. B: Satyres assaillant Iris en fuite, en présence de Dionysos, spectateur passif à côté d'un autel. Scènes inspirées d'un drame satyrique?

## G. Aphrodite

### 1. Naissance d'Aphrodite

Relief

753. (= Aphrodite 1172 avec renvois) Ornementation du trône du Zeus de Phidias à Olympie. - Connue par Paus. 5, 11, 8 = Overbeck, *SQ* 696. - Vers 440 av. J.-C. - H., Hestia et Eros accueillent Aphrodite naissant des eaux.

Vases attiques à f. r.

754. (= Aphrodite 919\* avec bibl.) Oenochoé. Anc. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2660. - Schefold, *SB* III 82 fig. 102. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - H., la main g. à la hanche, un court caducée levé verticalement de la main dr., assiste immobile à la naissance marine d'Aphrodite. Des Eros et des Néréides les entourent.

755. Pélîké. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. V 144. De Kertch. - Schefold, *UKV* 58 n° 564 a; *Olynthus* V 144 pl. 90. - Vers 360 av. J.-C. - H., la main dr. à la hanche, le caducée dans la saignée du coude g. appuyé sur un pilier, regarde Aphrodite sortir de la conque marine. De l'autre côté, Eros et Poséidon. Cf. *etiam* le groupe Aphrodite-Eros associé à un hermès frontal sur un miroir en bronze du IV<sup>e</sup> s., Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus., *Bildkatalog* (1976) n° 79.

### 2. Hermès et Aphrodite

756. a) (= Aphrodite 953 avec bibl.) Hydrie att. f. r. Paris, Louvre CA 928. D'Erétie. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1483, 1: Gr. du Louvre CA 928; Metzger, *Recherches* pl. 4, 1. - Vers 380 av. J.-C. - H. assis sur un rocher, corps de face et bras écartés, lève un court caducée verticalement et regarde Aphrodite qui chevauche une chèvre. Eros la précède. Même image sur une autre hydrie: b) (= Aphrodite 952\* avec bibl.) Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. F 2635. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1483; Metzger, *Recherches* pl. 3, 2.

Reliefs en terre cuite, de Locres

757. (= Aphrodite 1328\* avec bibl.) Munich, Antikenslg. 5042. - Cf. *etiam* Prückner, H., *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* (1968) pl. 1, 1; 2, 4. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - H. de profil (seule la partie supérieure de la figure subsiste), le caducée en biais dans la main dr., fait face à Aphrodite qui lui tend une fleur. Un petit Eros lyrique posé sur l'avant-bras de la déesse tend la main vers H.

758. (= Aphrodite 1329\* avec bibl.) Tarente, Mus. Naz. I. G. 8326. - Simon, *o. c.* 627, 36-37 fig. 22. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - H., coiffé d'un grand pétase ailé et dépourvu de caducée, monte sur le char d'Aphrodite que tirent des Eroses.

Monnaie

759. (= Aphrodite 221/1339a\* avec bibl.) AR statères, Mallos (Cilicie), 360-333 av. J.-C. - Av. Athéna assise. Rv. H. debout de face, nu (chlamyde dans le dos), le caducée tenu verticalement dans la main g.; Aphrodite, corps de face et tête de profil, le tient familièrement par l'épaule.

### 3. Hermès et Aphrodite dans les cycles mythiques

#### a) Adonis

Vases attiques à f. r.

760.\* (= Aphrodite 1331) Cratère en cloche. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 48.73. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1423, 2: P. de Vienne 1089. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - A: scène incomprise. Peut-être Aphrodite, Eros et Adonis, Perséphone. H. debout à g., un manteau fleuri sur les épaules, tient le caducée à la verticale dans la main dr. et regarde le groupe assemblé devant lui. B: trois jeunes gens.

761.\* (= Adonis 11) Pyxide. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H 5333. - Simon, E., *AntK* 15, 1972, 20-26 pl. 5, 1. - Vers 380 av. J.-C. - Aphrodite, Adonis et Eros. H., la main à la hanche et le pied g. surélevé sur un rocher, le pétase ailé rejeté dans le dos, observe la scène. Le caducée, incliné vers le sol, est tenu dans la main g. posée sur la jambe relevée.

Vase apulien (f. r.)

762. Cratère à volutes. Genève, coll. P. Sciclou-noff. - Schauenburg, K., *RM* 91, 1984, 369-370 pl. 110, 1-2: P. de Baltimore; Aellen/Cambitoglou/Chamay, *o. c.* 438, 26 (pl. coul.). 215. - Vers 340 av. J.-C. - Aphrodite et Perséphone se disputant Adonis. H., dans une large enjambée, le buste de face, lève le caducée au-dessus de sa tête. Cette attitude propre au guide contraste avec l'immobilité des autres figures divines.

#### b) Antiope

763. (= Antiope I 8, = Epopeus 1) Skyphos att. f. r. Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 382. - CVA 1, pl. 42, 1 f: manière du P. de Chrysis. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - Antiope, suivie par Phocos (→ Phokos II), s'élance vers Aphrodite assise. Au registre supérieur H., en partie dissimulé par un rocher, regarde le groupe des femmes: il tient le caducée de biais dans la saignée du coude g. et abaisse le bras dr. vers Antiope.



## H. Arès

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

764. Amphore à col. Londres, BM B 191. De Vulci. - *ABV* 152, 24: P. d'Amasis; *CVA* 3, pl. 44, 5a; v. Bothmer, *Amasis* n° 22. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: guerriers. B: H. de profil regarde Arès et Poséidon.

765.\* Trois amphores attribuées au P. Affecté (vers 540 av. J.-C.) réunissent H. et Arès: a)\* (= 731b [B]) New York, MMA 07.286.75. D'Orvieto. - *ABV* 244, 51; *Para* 110. - A: au centre H., un long caducée dans la main, lève le bras dr. plié en direction d'Arès vers qui il tourne la tête. Des personnages non caractérisés, royaux ou divins, les encadrent. B: H. et Héra. - b) Fr. Florence, Mus. Arch. 94354. - *ABV* 244, 54-55; Mommsen, *o. c.* 658a, pl. 108, 98. - Scène identique. - c) Paris, Louvre F 19. - Mommsen, *o. c.* pl. 25, 26, 18. - A: H. (*kibisis*) devant un autel, marchant rapidement vers la dr., se retourne vers Arès représenté dans la même attitude. Le long caducée et la lance qu'ils tiennent obliquement forment deux parallèles. Derrière Arès, un hoplite courant entre deux porteurs de lance drapés. B: H. et un chien en compagnie d'Arès, de Poséidon et d'un cavalier menant deux chevaux. Dans le champ, aigle emportant un serpent.

766.\* (= Herakles 2177 [A]) Amphore à col. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 199. - *ABV* 287, 5: Gr. de Würzburg 199 (cercle du P. d'Antiménès). - Vernant, *o. c.* 95a, 42 fig. 65. - 530-520 av. J.-C. - A: lutte d'Apollon et d'Héraclès pour la biche. B: H. immobile, le caducée en biais dans la main dr., lève la g. en direction d'Athéna et d'Arès figurés au centre. Derrière les divinités guerrières, une jeune femme drapée dans un manteau.

## I. Poséidon

## I. Hermès et Poséidon

767.\* Amphore att. f. n. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. 681. - *CVA* 1, pl. 11, 4: P. d'Antiménès. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - A: H., le caducée à l'horizontale et la main g. levée, trois doigts pointés, converse avec Poséidon qui lui fait face. B: Héraclès citharède et Athéna.

## 2. Hermès, Poséidon et Amymoné

768. (= Amymoné 81 avec bibl.) Péliké apulienne f. r. Zurich, Univ. 2656. - *RVAp* 169 n° 31 pl. 55, 3: P. de la Péliké de Moscou; *CVA* 1, pl. 35, 1-2; 37, 1-6. - Vers 400-380 av. J.-C. - Poséidon et Amymoné assis dans une grotte. H., vu de dos, les observe, le coude g. en appui sur un pilier. Le caducée tenu dans la main dr. paraît posé au creux d'un loutéon placé sur la dr. Différentes divinités étagées autour de ce groupe.

## J. Hermès et différentes divinités (scènes isolées)

## I. Hestia

769. (= Aphrodite 1501, = Chariklo I 1\*, = Hestia 3) Dinos att. f. n., fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 587. De l'Acropole. - *ABV* 39, 15: Sophilos; Papaspyridi-Karusu, *o. c.* 529, 112 pl. 51. - Vers 570-560 av.

J.-C. - H. (bras dr. et jambes visibles sur le tesson) conduit le cortège des noces de Thétis et Pélée. Hestia (inscr.) lui est associée et figure au deuxième rang en compagnie d'une autre déesse.

## 2. Nérée

770.\* Coupe att. f. r. Londres, BM E 9. De Vulci. - *ARV* 89, 13: P. d'Euegides; Gerhard, *AV* 179; Krieger, X., *Der Kampf zwischen Peleus und Thetis*... (1975) pl. 8b. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A et B: Thétis et Pélée. H. (inscr. *HEPMEE*) s'élance, bras dr. levé et caducée en biais, vers Nérée assis sur un *thákos* et tenant un poisson dans la main g., un bâton dans l'autre.

## 3. Héphaïstos

771. (= Hephaistos 117\*, = Hera 311 avec bibl.) Cratère en calice att. f. r. Paris, Louvre G 162. De Vulci (?) - *ARV* 186, 47: P. de Kléophradès; *CVA* 2, pl. 13, 16. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - A et B: retour d'Héphaïstos dans l'Olympe pour la délivrance d'Héra. H. précède le mulet monté par Héphaïstos et le conduit devant Héra assise sur le trône magique. Penché vers l'avant, le caducée levé dans la main g., H. retourne la tête en direction d'Héphaïstos.

## 4. Séléné

772. Fr. de cratère att. f. r. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. G 719. De Naucratis. - *ARV* 1153, 15: P. du Dinos; *CVA* 2, pl. 66, 25. - Vers 420 av. J.-C. - Sujet inexpliqué. Il peut s'agir de Séléné (visage et voile de tête) et d'H. dont seule l'extrémité du caducée demeure visible sur la g. du tesson.

## 5. Cybèle (→ Kybele)

773. Relief votif en calcaire. Olbia, Mus. Arch. II b/80. - *AA* 43, 1928, 90 fig. 9. - Ep. hellénistique. - Cybèle trônant de face, une patère dans la main dr. A sa g., figure féminine dadophore en longue tunique (Hécate?). A sa dr. H. de profil, en tunique courte, le caducée verticalement dans la main g., une oenochoé dans la main dr. le long du corps. Sur ce schéma de la dadophore et du jeune dieu *oívochos*, cf. Neumann, F., *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und griechischen Kunst, IstanbMitt* 28. Beih. (1983) 228-229 et Kat. n° 498 pl. 38, 3: stèle de Milet; Balat, Arch. Mus. 5041.

774.\* Plaque sculptée d'une table d'autel en marbre. Thasos, Mus. Arch. 18. De Thasos. - *Guide de Thasos* (1967) (introduction) 137. 146 fig. 79-80. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Au-dessus d'un relief animalier (deux Griffons dévorant une biche), frise de personnages. Au centre Cybèle sur son trône flanqué de lions, avec Hécate dadophore à sa g. et à sa dr. H. de trois quarts face, le corps nu, l'épaule et le bras g. drapés, le pétase sur la nuque, une oenochoé dans la main dr. le long du corps. Dédicace d'une prêtresse de Cybèle.

## K. Hermès dans les assemblées et les cortèges des dieux

## I. Assemblées assises

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

775. (= Ares 82\*) Hydrie. Bâle, Antikenmus. BS

499. - Verbanck-Piérard, A., dans *ImagesSoc* (Lausanne) 191 fig. 5: atelier du P. d'Antiménès. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - Au centre groupe de Zeus et de deux déesses; à g. Athéna et Héraclès face à face; à dr. H. en conversation avec Arès. En chlamyde brodée et pétase à large bord, chaussé de bottes sans ailerons, il paraît tenir obliquement la lance d'Arès (ou la hampe d'un immense caducée?) avec lequel il forme un groupe resserré (leurs sièges sont quasi superposés).

776.\* Amphore. Paris, Louvre F 225. D'Etrurie. - *CVA* 5, pl. 57, 2. 7. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: Dionysos assis entre deux groupes de divinités: à g. Athéna et Héraclès (?) face à face sur des *diphroi*; à dr., sur les mêmes sièges, une déesse assise devant H., mais détournant la tête vers Dionysos. B: Dionysos assis entre deux groupes de Ménades et de Satyres.

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

777. (= Ganymedes 60\*, = Hebe 133, = Hestia 7\* - avec renvois et bibl.) Coupe. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 6848. De Tarquinia. - *ARV* 60, 66; *Para* 327: Oltos pour le potier Euxithéos (signatures); *CVA* 1, pl. 2-3; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 94-95 pl. 92-94. - Vers 520-510 av. J.-C. - I: guerrier en pardalide. A: Zeus servi par Ganymède au milieu des dieux (noms inscrits). A g. du groupe central Athéna se retourne vers H.: pétase sur la nuque, bottes ailées, chlamyde brodée, une fleur à la main comme Hébé assise derrière lui. B: Dionysos montant dans un char.

778. (= Aphrodite 1416\* avec renvois et bibl., = Astra 26/83) Péliké. Leningrad, Ermitage St. 1793. De Kertch. - *ARV* 1476, 2: P. d'Eleusis; FR pl. 69; Scheffold, *UKV* 42 n° 369 pl. 32, 1-3; Metzger, *Représentations* 268 n° 1 pl. 36, 1; Simon, E., *AntK* 9, 1966, 73 n. 9 pl. 19, 3. - Vers 350 av. J.-C. - A: aux extrémités de la composition, → Peitho (debout) et Aphrodite (assise) à g.; → Nyx cavalière guidée par Hespéros (?) à dr. Groupe central: assise sur l'omphalos, → Themis-Gaia s'entretient avec Zeus trônant qui va décider le déclenchement de la guerre de Troie pour soulager la Terre surchargée d'hommes (*sic* Proklos au début des *Chants Cypriens*); Athéna debout, couronnée par Niké, participe à la discussion. A l'arrière-plan, H. est figuré de trois quarts profil, le pétase sur la nuque, le corps nu (chlamyde rejetée dans le dos), le caducée tenu des deux mains. B: Dionysos assis, entouré par Eros et des Ménades.

*Relief en marbre*

779.\* (= Dionysos 486\* avec bibl., = Dodekathéoi 4a\* avec renvois et bibl.) Frise est du Parthénon, plaque IV, n° 24. Londres, BM. - Brommer, F., *Die Parthenon-Skulpturen* (1979) 36 pl. 99. 101-102; Lullies/Hirmer, *Plastik* 83-86 pl. 142. - Entre 445 et 438 av. J.-C. - Derrière les héros de la partie g. de la frise, H. est assis près de Dionysos qui s'appuie familièrement contre son dos. La jambe g. avancée, la dr. repliée contre le siège, les hanches drapées, le reste du corps nu, le pétase posé sur la cuisse, il tenait peut-être dans la main dr. un caducée peint (comme Dionysos un thyrsé).

## 2. Assemblées debout

*Vases attiques à f. n.*

780. (= Hera 243) Amphore. Paris, Cab. Méd. 229. - *ABV* 320, 1: Gr. des Trois lignes; *CVA* 1, pl. 41, 7. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - A: Zeus assis au milieu de divinités debout: Athéna, Héra, Arès, H. qui est représenté à l'extrémité g. de la scène en tunique courte et manteau, la main g. ouverte et tendue dans un geste de conversation. Noms inscrits au gén. B: départ de guerriers.

781. (= Artemis 1173\* avec bibl., = Hestia 6, = Herakles 3387 avec bibl.) Hydrie. Londres, BM B 345. De Vulci. - *ABV* 332, 20: P. de Priam; *CVA* 6, pl. 94, 4. - 530-520 av. J.-C. - Deux groupes de quatre divinités. A dr. Apollon citharède et Artémis accompagnée de la biche face à Dionysos et Ariane (?); à g. H. et Maia (?) face à Athéna et Héraclès. Gestes de conversation. Les barbes d'H. et d'Héraclès sont en rehauts blancs.

782. (= Hephaistos 173 avec bibl., = Herakles 3389\* avec renvois) Kyathos. Rome, Villa Giulia. De Vulci. - Sign. de Lydos, homonyme du maître de la génération précédente, et proche du gr. du Krokotos: vers 530-520 av. J.-C. - Assemblée de douze divinités et héros, appariés deux par deux. H. (pétase, chitoniskos et himation court, bottes ailées, très long caducée tenu obliquement) forme groupe avec Dionysos vers lequel il se retourne. Pour des assemblées divines sur des kyathoi à f. n., cf. *etiam* *ABV* 346, 9; 614, 3; La Coste-Messelière pl. 34, 3-4.

783.\* Deux amphores attribuées au P. Affecté (540-520 av. J.-C.) montrent H. dans une attitude particulièrement animée (enjambe, geste de la main) au milieu d'assemblées de personnages mal caractérisés: a)\* (= Hephaistos 157c) Angleterre, coll. privée. - *Para* 111, 25ter; *MuM* Aukt. 34, pl. 33; Mommsen, *o. c.* 658a, n° 110 pl. 125. - A: Héphaïstos sur son mulet et autres personnages. B: le caducée dans la main dr., le bras dr. plié, la main g. ouverte et levée, H. fait face à un personnage en manteau court accompagné d'une biche. Derrière ce groupe, personnages discourent (gestes) qui se distinguent par le vêtement long ou court ou par la nudité. - b) Genève, Mus. I 499. - *ABV* 246, 71; Mommsen, *o. c.* n° 11 pl. 21. - A et B: H., dans l'attitude du contrepoint dont il est coutumier, entre le groupe Zeus-Héra vers lequel il se retourne à g. et celui de Poséidon flanqué d'un autre personnage. Sur la face A, H. est accompagné d'un chien.

784.\* Hydrie. Gotha, Schlossmus. 36. De la région de Calvi-Capoue. - *Para* 219: proche du P. d'Edimbourg; *CVA* 1, pl. 30. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Divinités debout assemblées autour de Zeus assis sur un *diphros*. H., représenté derrière Apollon citharède, se retourne vers le groupe latéral g. (Héra et Poséidon?); il est vêtu d'un chitoniskos brodé. Epaule: combat d'hoplites.

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

785. (= Amphitrite 46\*, = Dionysos 603) Hydrie. Paris, Louvre G 41. De Vulci. - *ARV* 33, 8; 1609: Gr. des Pionniers; *CVA* 6, pl. 51, 1-5. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - A l'extrémité g. d'une assemblée de dieux appariés par couples (noms inscrits), H.



tourne la tête vers l'extérieur de la frise: main g. levée, bras dr. plié au coude et caducée tenu obliquement dans la main dr., pétase et bottes ailées, chlamyde sur tunique courte.

**786.** (= Dionysos 604\*) Stamnos. Paris, Louvre G 184. De Nola. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 296, 6; 1643: P. de Troilos; *CVA* 2, pl. 15, 7-8; Philippaki, B., *The Attic Stamnos* (1964) pl. 26, 4. - 500-475 av. J.-C. - A: H. en chlamyde sur chitoniskos, la main g. levée, le caducée horizontalement dans la main dr., se retourne vers le groupe Dionysos-Poséidon; déesse au bord dr. de la frise, devant H.

#### Reliefs

**787.** (= Apollon 868, = Dodekathēoi 20\* avec renvois et bibl., = Hephaistos 182, = Hērā 359, = Hestia 15) Bas-relief en marbre. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 23.40. D'Italie méridionale. - Havelock, Chr. M., *AJA* 68, 1964, 57 n. 48; Brommer, *Vulkan* 49-51; Willers 2, 28; Zagdoun 100-101 n° 80 pl. 28, 105. - Authenticité suspectée (Brommer). Quand on admet l'antiquité du document, sa date est controversée: ce serait la plus ancienne représentation archaïsante du thème (Willers: vers 460); II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Havelock); I<sup>er</sup> s. av.-I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Palagia O., *LIMC* II s. v. «Apollon»); plutôt date haute, à cause de la technique et des réminiscences archaïques et sévères (Zagdoun). - A l'extrémité g. de la composition, après le couple Arès-Aphrodite, H. se retourne vers Hestia (?). Coiffé du pétase, l'épaule et le côté g. drapés dans une chlamyde plissée en éventail par-dessus une tunique collante, il tient dans la main g. un minuscule caducée.

**788.** (= Dodekathēoi 30\* avec renvois et bibl. = Hephaistos 183, = Hērā 353, = Hestia 14 avec bibl.) Base de candélabre en marbre dit «autel Borghèse». Paris, Louvre MA 672. - Zagdoun 102 n° 334 pl. 28, 107-109. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (?). - Les douze dieux sont distribués sur les trois faces du registre supérieur (au registre inférieur, triades des Charites, des Heures [→ Horai] et des Euménides [→ Erinys]). Sur la face C, à côté du couple Arès-Aphrodite, H. de face, flanqué d'Hestia vers laquelle il tourne la tête; il est figuré en kouros, les pieds joints, le caducée tenu verticalement sur le bras dr., le long du corps nu sur fond de draperie.

#### 3. Cortèges

A l'instar des reliefs de Nymphes (342-355), les scènes se classent en cortèges ou assemblées selon que les compositions sont orientées dans le même sens ou qu'elles s'ordonnent, comme sur les vases attiques, en groupes de figures diversement disposées et appariées.

#### Pinax attique à f. n.

**789.\*** Fr. de pinax. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 2494a. De l'Acropole. - Graef/Langlotz I 242 pl. 101 n° 2494a: proche d'Exékias. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - Assemblée divine. Sur d'autres fr. du pinax: Athéna assise, Dionysos, Léo et l'enfant Apollon (?). H., les cheveux ceints d'un bandeau en rehaut blanc, le caducée obliquement derrière le bras dr. levé, suit un per-

sonnage casqué, peut-être Arès. Figures conservées jusqu'aux épaules.

#### Reliefs

**790.** Relief votif en marbre. Délos, Mus. A 9. De Délos, Maison du Lac. - Marcadé, *MusDélos* 292-293 pl. 54; Fuchs, o. c. 117, 48-49; Zagdoun 93-94 n° 170 pl. 20, 79. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.; atelier délien. - H. conduit vers la g. un cortège formé d'Athéna, d'Apollon et d'Artémis. Les cheveux coiffés en chignon, ceints d'un bandeau duquel tombent des parotides tressées, la chlamyde répartie en deux pans à bordures en zigzag, il avance d'un pas vif en présentant son petit caducée serré verticalement entre le pouce et l'index. Dans le haut du champ frise de bucranes et festons de guirlande.

Le relief de la Villa Albani, Mus. Torlonia 988 (Helbig<sup>4</sup> 237 n° 3261 [Fuchs, W.]; Zagdoun 93-94 n° 433 pl. 20, 81) est une réplique de la fin de l'ép. républicaine, mais la guirlande est omise et la procession se dirige vers un autel.

**791.\*** L'H. des reliefs de Délos et de la Villa Albani 988 se retrouve quasiment à l'identique sur deux autres documents, datables de l'ép. trajane: a) Autel rond en marbre. Rome, Mus. Cap., inv. Albani B 230. - Stuart Jones, *SculptMusCap* 273-274 pl. 65; Zagdoun 93-94 n° 398 pl. 22, 86-88. - H. devant un autel embrasé; sur l'autre côté du monument, Artémis. - b) Fr. de cratère en marbre. Anc. Rome, coll. privée. - Fuchs, o. c. 117, 49n; Zagdoun 93 n° 382 pl. 22, 85.

**792.** (= Dodekathēoi 25\* avec renvois et bibl., = Hērā 365, = Hestia 17) «Putéal Albani». Base ronde. Rome, Mus. Cap. 1019. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> 97-98 n° 1244 (Fuchs, W.); Zagdoun 83-100. 103-105 n° 399 pl. 14-16, 58-65. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Fuchs: pastiche archaïsant, ép. d'Hadrien). - Deux cortèges allant à la rencontre l'un de l'autre, avec divinités dans la tradition archaïsante. H., entre Poséidon et Hestia (?), conduit par les cornes un bouc dressé sur ses pattes. Juvénile, nu, coiffé du pétase, il présente verticalement dans sa main dr. un petit caducée ailé.

**793.** Putéal de Corinthe. Œuvre perdue, connue par des dessins du XIX<sup>e</sup> s. - Michaelis, A., *JHS* 6, 1885, 46-49; Zagdoun 91-94. 103-105 n° 159 pl. 16-17, 66-70. - I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Dix divinités de style archaïsant en deux cortèges opposés. H. se dirige vers la dr. à la tête des trois Nymphes. Chlamyde enroulée sur les bras, ailes aux talons sans chaussures.

**794.** (= Atlas 37\*) Base carrée. Rome, Villa Albani 685. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> 332 n° 3356 (Fuchs, W.); Zagdoun 84. 103-104 n° 430 pl. 29, 110-112. - Vers le milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Base sculptée sur trois de ses faces, avec processions de dieux olympiens répartis par groupes de trois. H. avance vers la g., précédé de Dionysos et suivi d'un personnage entièrement restauré (place d'Hestia?). Chlamyde à plis tuyautés jetée sur l'épaule et dénudant le flanc, ailes aux talons sans chaussures, petit caducée dans la main dr. levée, visage aux traits rudes.

**795.\*** Quelques documents lacunaires trouvent ici leur place, soit pour leur qualité stylistique, soit pour

des associations intéressantes entre H. et une autre divinité du cortège ou de l'assemblée représentés. a)\* (= Athena 468, = Hephaistos 181) Base des quatre dieux. Athènes, Mus. Acropole 610. † Fuchs, o. c. 117, 45-46; Willers 2, 30-31; Becatti, G., *CrArt* 6, 1941, 32-40; Havelock, o. c. 787, 47-48; Harrison 82-83. - Date controversée: 380-370 (Fuchs, Willers); II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Becatti, Havelock); ép. augustéenne (Harrison). - Athéna, Zeus, Héphaïstos, H. Cette dernière figure, fortement corrodée, orientée à g., conserve le bras plié au coude et le pan de chlamyde dans le dos. - b)\* Fr. de relief. Athènes, Mus. Acropole. D'Athènes (Agora S 1726 + Acropole). - Harrison 81-84 n° 129 pl. 29; Zagdoun 96-97 n° 14 pl. 23, 90-91. - Début du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Procession des quatre dieux: Apollon, Artémis, H. orienté à g., avec des plis de draperie et une coiffure du type de 790 (seules la tête et la région de l'épaule subsistent). - c) Fr. d'un autel des Douze Dieux. Rome, Antiquarium du Forum 3706. - Lissi, E., *RendLinc* Ser. 8/12, 1957, 56-57 pl. 1-3; Zagdoun 97-99. 209-210 n° 377 pl. 27, 102-104. - Ep. d'Antonin. - Couples Athéna-Héphaïstos, Poséidon-Amphitrite, Aphrodite-H. Aphrodite porte son manteau en voile de tête; d'H. sont conservées des parties du pétase et de la chlamyde sur le bras g.

#### XI. Hermès dans des scènes de culte

Cf. etiam supra II. Le pilier hermaïque: 92-187.

#### A. Hermès avec Athéna au taureau

##### I. Conduisant une pompé

Vases attiques à f. n.

**796.** Amphore. Londres, BM B 238. De Vulci. - *ABV* 392, 9: P. de Nikoxénos; *CVA* 4, pl. 58, 2; Durand, o. c. 118, 33-34 fig. 3. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - A: jugement de Pâris. B: Pompé dont le groupe central est formé d'Athéna et du taureau représenté à petite échelle à l'arrière-plan de la déesse (rituel des Bouphoniés?); Apollon citharède ferme la marche du cortège qu'H. (caducée et main g. pointés vers l'avant) conduit vers la dr. en se retournant.

**797.\*** Amphore. Munich, Antikenslg. 1527. De Vulci. - *ABV* 392, 5: P. de Nikoxénos; Durand, o. c. 118, 32-33. 39 fig. 10. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - A: Dionysos, Ariane et Satyres. B: Athéna au taureau (bandelettes sacrificielles aux cornes), encadrée par deux couples: derrière elle Dionysos et une Ménade, devant elle H. partiellement occulté par une autre Ménade (comme il l'est fréquemment par les chevaux de l'attelage dans les scènes de chars: 409-414).

**798.\*** Trois amphores attribuées au Gr. de Würzburg 221 (480-460 av. J.-C.) représentent une pompé dont Dionysos ferme la marche, derrière Athéna au taureau. H., le caducée horizontalement pointé vers l'avant, est dans l'attitude caractéristique du contrepoint. a)\* (Dionysos 776\*) Londres, BM B 257. De Vulci. - *ABV* 401, 3; *CVA* 4, pl. 63, 3b. - (B: Apollon et divinités). - b)\* Hobart, Univ. of Tasmania 44. - *Para* 175; Durand, o. c. 118, 34 fig. 5; Hood, R. G.,

*Greek Vases in the Univ. of Tasmania* (1964) 23 pl. 9. - (B: entraînement d'athlètes). - c) Agrigente, anc. coll. Giudice 267. - Durand, o. c. 33 fig. 4.

**799.** Amphore. Londres, BM B 195. De Vulci. - *ABV* 335, 2: P. de Rycroft; *CVA* 3, pl. 37, 2; Durand, o. c. 118, 196 fig. 94. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - A: dispute du trépied. B: pompé avec H. en tête (grand geste de la main dr. levée, caducée vertical) et Dionysos en queue. Mais la figure d'Athéna est remplacée par celle d'Apollon citharède en avant du taureau.

#### 2. Assistant à la δέξις entre Athéna et Héraclès

**800.** Trois amphores att. f. n. attribuées au cercle du P. d'Antiménès (530-510 av. J.-C.) trouvent leur place ici (plutôt que supra VIII E 3), en raison de la figure d'Athéna au taureau rituel: a) Aberdeen, Univ. 289. - *ABV* 289: Gr. de Würzburg 199; Verbanck-Piérard, o. c. 775, 190 fig. 4. - H. en manteau sur tunique courte, le caducée bas, observe la scène. - b) Amphoriskos fr. Heidelberg, Univ. S 181. - *ABV* 692: Gr. de Toronto 305; *CVA* 1, pl. 33, 11. - A dr. du groupe central, Dionysos et Ariane ou Sémélé; à g. H. accompagné d'un chien. - c) Anc. Rome, marché de l'art. - Durand, o. c. 118, 33. 37 fig. 14 d'après Gerhard, *AV* pl. 135. - Deux figures féminines drapées bordent la scène. H. sur le point de s'éloigner du groupe Héraclès-Athéna au taureau.

#### B. Scènes de libation et de sacrifice

##### I. Hermès seul accomplissant une libation

Vases attiques à f. v.

**801.\*** Coupe. Londres, BM 96.10-22.1. De Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 111a: probablement du P. d'Hermaios; Lenormant/de Witte, o. c. 319 III pl. 73. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. Sign. du potier Hermaios. - I: H., vers la dr., (tunique courte, bottes ailées, pétase coiffant une chevelure retombant dans le dos) tient une phiale dans la main dr. et le caducée obliquement dans la main g.

**802.** Amphore. Anc. Bâle, marché de l'art. - *MuM* Aukt. 22 (1961) 52 n° 158: P. de Nikoxénos. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A et B: entre deux colonnes ioniques coiffées de coqs, H. de trois quarts profil vers la dr., la chlamyde jetée par-dessus une tunique courte, la tête retournée, étend la main g. levée au-dessus d'un autel, une phiale dans l'autre main.

**803.** Lécythe. Anc. Bâle, marché de l'art. D'Agrigente. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 556, 107: P. de Pan; *MuM* Aukt. 34 (1967) 80-81 n° 156. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - H. de face en tunique courte, le pétase sur la nuque, la tête tournée vers un autel à g. au-dessus duquel il verse le contenu d'une phiale. De la main g. il s'appuie sur le caducée posé à terre comme une canne.

**804.\*** Skyphos. Bâle, coll. H. Cahn HC 20. - Vers 430 av. J.-C. - H. imberbe de profil à g., en chlamyde, le pétase sur la nuque, tenant une phiale dans la main dr. étendue.

#### Glyptique, bijoux

**805.\*** Bague en or. Boston, MFA. - Boardman, *GGFR* 216. 296 pl. 663. - Milieu ou 3<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s.

av. J.-C. - H. accoudé sur une colonnette ionique, le caducée sur le bras g., se présente de trois quarts face vers la g., la chlamyde rejetée dans le dos. De la main dr. inclinée vers le sol il tient obliquement une phiale à libation.

**806.\*** Chaton de bague en cornaline. New York, MMA 41.160.898. - Richter, *MetMusGems* 71 n° 287 pl. 41. - H. nu, le caducée sur le bras g., la phiale dans la main dr. étendue, se présente de trois quarts face vers la g. Coq dans le champ en bas à g.

## 2. Hermès offrant une libation à d'autres divinités

*Vases italiotes (f. r.)*

**807.** Cratère en cloche lucanien. Brindisi, Mus. Prov. 575. - LCS 89 n° 434 pl. 41, 6: P. de Créüse. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: devant Athéna en majesté, H. (pétase sur la nuque, chlamyde rejetée dans le dos, le caducée obliquement dans la main g.) présente la phiale de libation. Il est couronné comme l'est aussi Héraclès derrière Athéna. B: trois éphèbes drapés.

**808.\*** Cratère en cloche campanien. Varsovie, Mus. Nat. 147383. - LCS 430 n° 499 pl. 172, 3: Gr. des Danaïdes; CVA 5, pl. 31, 3; 33, 4. - Vers 325 av. J.-C. - A: Pan danse sur un autel devant lequel se tient H. de profil trois quarts vers la g., le caducée verticalement dans la main g., dans la main dr. un skyphos offert. Pinax dans le champ. B: deux personnages drapés à tête couronnée.

## 3. Hermès assistant à des scènes de libation ou d'offrande

*Vase attique à f. n.*

**809.** Amphore. Leyde, Rijksmus. XV i 57. De Vulci. - ABV 370, 128: Gr. de Léagros; CVA 1, pl. 31. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès et Athéna entourent un autel embrasé sur lequel la déesse verse le contenu d'une oenochoé. A dr. de la scène, H. de trois quarts profil détourne la tête. B: Dionysos et Satyres.

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

**810.** (= Dionysos 706\* avec bibl.) Coupe. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 325. D'Athènes. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 460, 20: Macron. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Zeus apportant aux Nymphes l'enfant Dionysos. Il est précédé par H. qui se tient près d'un autel sur lequel des femmes sacrifient.

**811.** (= Apollon 360, = Artemis 1011) Hydrie. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. 28.7. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 594, 59: P. d'Altamura; CVA pl. 28, 2. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Apollon citharède se retourne vers Artémis versant sur un autel le contenu d'une oenochoé. H., un bandeau dans les cheveux, en tunique courte, appuyé sur son caducée comme sur une canne, observe la scène.

**812.** (= Apollon 745a avec bibl.) Hydrie. Paris, Cab. Méd. 443. De Nola. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 606, 71: P. des Niobides; De Ridder, *BiblNatVases* n° 443. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - Apollon citharède assis tend la phiale de la libation à Artémis munie d'une oenochoé. Derrière le siège H. juvénile, sans ailerons à ses sandales, la hampe du caducée pointée vers le sol, s'approche en portant la main g. au bord antérieur de son pétase.

**813.** (= Apollon 745\* avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche. Londres, BM E 502. De Nola. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1156, 10; manière du P. du Dinos. - 420-400 av. J.-C. - Apollon citharède debout tend la phiale de la libation à Artémis qui lui fait face de l'autre côté d'un omphalos, une oenochoé à la main. Derrière le musicien, H. pieds nus, en chlamyde et pétase, le caducée pointé vers le sol, la main dr. levée.

**814.** (= Hephaistos 220 avec renvois) Cratère en calice. Adolphseck 77. De Sicile. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1346, 1: P. de Cécrops; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 152-153 pl. 226-227. - 410-400 av. J.-C. - A: sacrifice d'Athéna et de Cécrops à la naissance d'Erichthonios. A l'arrière-plan, H. fait le lien entre la scène principale et Héphaïstos qui repose à l'écart. De trois quarts face vers la dr., le pied g. surélevé se détachant nu sur une chlamyde brodée, un pilos ailé posé sur une chevelure à boucles parotides, imberbe et juvénile, il brandit son caducée de la main dr. tendue. B: combat d'Héraclès contre le taureau de Crète.

*Vase campanien (f. r.)*

**815.** Cratère en cloche. Madrid, Mus. Arch. 11091. - LCS 119 n° 598 pl. 60, 1: P. des Choéphores. - Vers 370-360 av. J.-C. - A: derrière un autel et à sa dr., un jeune garçon, un homme vêtu d'une chlamyde et portant un plateau, un roi tenant un sceptre et un rameau; à g., H. pieds nus, en pétase et chlamyde, le caducée verticalement près de l'épaule, étend la main dr. vers les officiants.

## 4. Hermès recevant une libation, un sacrifice ou une offrande

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

Deux scènes de libation se rapportent peut-être à un épisode mythique précis:

**816. a)\*** Lécythe. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. GR 30-1937. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 993, 81: P. d'Achille; CVA 2, pl. 13, 4. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - H. de trois quarts face (chlamyde, bottes sans ailerons), le caducée pointé vers le sol, tourne la tête vers une femme (Hébé?) qui lui présente une phiale. - **b)\*** Oenochoé. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 14502. D'Attique. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1256, 10: proche du P. de Disney; Add 177; Lezzi-Hafter, A., *Der Schuwalow-Maler* (1976) 114 E 8 pl. 151 a-b. - Vers 420 av. J.-C. - Le caducée pointé vers le sol dans la main g., H. (sandales sans ailerons, la chlamyde recouvrant les genoux) tend la phiale vers une femme munie de l'oenochoé et faisant le geste nuptial de l'*anakalypsis*. Un lit est figuré à l'arrière-plan: cf. 887).

**817.\*** Cratère en calice. Boston, MFA 03.796. - Caskey/Beazley III 75 n° 165 pl. 24: proche du Washington P. - Vers 425 av. J.-C. - A: dans un sanctuaire (aux murs deux pinakes et une représentation d'Hermès: cf. 98), un éphèbe chevauche un bouc qu'il conduit devant H. Le dieu, en pétase et sandales ailées, drapé dans une chlamyde qui lui recouvre les genoux et le bras g. (y compris la main), le caducée horizontalement dans la main dr., est figuré de trois quarts profil, observant le groupe. Prélude d'un sacrifice à H.? Mythe de Phrixos? B: éphèbe drapé avec un bâton.

*Vases lucaniens (f. r.)*

**818.** Deux scènes difficiles à localiser et à interpréter montrent H. dans la compagnie de femmes: **a)** Péliké. Marché de l'art (Christie 1979). - Schauenburg, K., *MededRome* 44-45, 1983, 49 et n. 69 pl. 19, 41: P. de Créüse. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: H., en pétase et manteau court, pieds nus, appuyé sur son caducée, tend une couronne à une jeune femme qui lui fait face munie d'une phiale et d'une oenochoé. Entre les deux figures un panier d'ouvrage et une stèle. - **b)** Hydrie. Policoro, Mus. Nat. 1203. - Vers 370 av. J.-C. - A: H. (hanches drapées, sandales sans ailerons, pétase) est assis de trois quarts profil à g. sur un rocher (?), son caducée posé à côté de lui. Une femme avec un grand plateau chargé d'offrandes s'approche. Stèle entre les deux personnages. B: scène de gynécée.

*Relief votif*

**819.** Calcaire. Argos, Mus. D'Argos, angle S E de l'agora. - Vollgraff, W., *BCH* 44, 1920, 222 fig. 2. - Ep. classique? - H., en pétase et sandales ailées, vêtu d'un chitoniskos, l'épaule et le bras g. drapés dans la chlamyde, est représenté de trois quarts profil à dr., la main dr. à la hanche. Il prend appui sur un pilier de la main g. qui tient le caducée. Devant lui une petite fille suivie d'une femme; la première écarte ses bras baissés, la seconde porte peut-être des offrandes dans ses mains qui soulèvent devant elle ses draperies.

## 5. Hermès sacrifiant un bouc

**819bis.\*** Cratère en cloche paestan f. r. Paris, Louvre K 238. - RVP 162, 300 pl. 106a: Python; Villard, Fr., *Les vases grecs* (1956) 83 pl. 30. - Vers 350 av. J.-C. - H. de trois quarts face, la tête couronnée, le caducée sous le bras, une couronne et une corbeille dans la main g., conduit vers un autel un bouc qu'il tient par les cornes. A l'arrière-plan, Satyre émergeant à mi-corps.

## 6. Hermès contrefaisant un sacrifice

**820.\*** Coupe att. f. r. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. IV 3691. De Cerveteri. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 118,8; 1627: P. d'Epidromos; Studniczka, F., *Jdl* 6, 1891, 258-269; 7, 1892, 144-150; CVA 1, pl. 2, 4-6; Simon, E., *Opfernde Götter* (1953) 94; Zanker (1965) 33-34; Siebert, o. c. 255, pl. I. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - H., solennellement drapé dans un long manteau d'où dépasse seulement l'aile d'une de ses sandales, avance vers un autel, le caducée oblique, la barbe haute, aux côtés d'une victime sacrificielle. Mais celle-ci est un chien déguisé en porc! Le déguisement toutefois n'inclut ni la tête, ni la queue, ni les pattes en sorte que cet «Opferbetrug» est une farce (pas nécessairement d'origine théâtrale) instantanément reconnaissable (Studniczka). Le paquetage d'athlète figuré dans le champ est peut-être (mais pourquoi dans ce contexte?) une allusion à H. *énagônios*.

## C. Diverses scènes de sanctuaire

Hermès devant une statue de culte et un autel

**821.\*** Pinax att. f. n., fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr.

2547. D'Athènes. - Graef/Langlotz I 2547 pl. 105. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - H. (la tête et le buste brisés) se tient à l'entrée d'un temple indiqué par une colonne ionique, un autel chargé d'offrandes et la statue d'Athéna (restes du bouclier et de la tunique). Le caducée est tenu obliquement levé; la main dr. est avancée, paume ouverte.

**822.** (= Artemis 103b) «Vase de Sosibios». Cratère à reliefs en marbre. Paris, Louvre MA 442. D'Italie. - Moreno, P., *EAA* VII (1967) 412 s. v. «Sosibios»; Zagdoun n° 331 pl. 23, 89. - 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., en tunique courte, un pan de draperie retombant dans le dos, nu-tête, lève la main dr. devant un autel embrasé. Vis-à-vis, Artémis armée de son arc retient de la main g. un cerf dressé sur ses pattes. Cf. *etiam* la réplique de Leninabad (U.R.S.S.): Litvinsky, B. A./Tursunov, N. O., *East and West* NS 24, 1974, 89-110 fig. 1-21; Zagdoun 93-94 n° 217.

## XII. Hermès combattant

### A. Hermès dans les Gigantomachies

#### 1. Combattant avec la lance

*Vases à f. n.*

**823.** Canthare fr. att. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 612a. D'Athènes. - Graef/Langlotz I pl. 36: sign. de Néarchos. - 570-555 av. J.-C. - H. (pétase, bottes ailées, chitoniskos à franges brodées sur lequel est passée une pardalide ou nébride) bondit vers la dr., la lance horizontale en position d'attaque.

**824.** Dinos fr. att. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 607. D'Athènes. - ABV 107, 1: Lydos; Graef/Langlotz I pl. 33, 35; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 64, 3. - 560-540 av. J.-C. - Combattant vers la g., H. (HEPMEE; ailerons en rehauts blancs à l'avant du casque) frappe d'un coup de lance la gorge du Géant (bouclier à gorgonéion) qui plie devant lui en perdant son sang.

**825.\*** Amphore fr. att. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 2211d. D'Athènes. - Graef/Langlotz I 222 pl. 94: un successeur de Clitias, vers 550 av. J.-C. - Dans une mêlée gigantomachique un combattant orienté vers la g., en chitoniskos brodé et chaussures ailées, est vraisemblablement H. Abrité derrière son bouclier, il frappe de la lance; il porte une épée suspendue à son baudrier.

**826.** (= Athena 381\*, = Gigantes 170, = Hera 377, = Hyperbios 1) Amphore ionienne. Paris, Louvre E 732. De Caeré. - Pottier, *Vases Louvre* II pl. 54; Cook, *Zeus* II 712. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - L'un des groupes de combattants est formé par H. (HEPMEE, peau d'animal sur chitoniskos, pétase, pieds nus) bondissant vers la g. pour transpercer de sa lance le Géant Hyperbios (inscr.).

**827.** (= Gigantes 295) Oenochoé att. Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (anc. Fogg.) 1927.154. - ABV 528, 47: proche du P. d'Athéna; CVA pl. 21, 7. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - H. (chitoniskos, manteau drapant l'épaule et le bras g., pétase) enfonce sa lance dans la fesse du Géant (casque, bouclier) qui fuit en se retournant. Un lion, figuré à petite échelle, accompagne l'attaque du dieu vers la dr.



av. J.-C. - H. accoudé sur une colonnette ionique, le caducée sur le bras g., se présente de trois quarts face vers la g., la chlamyde rejetée dans le dos. De la main dr. inclinée vers le sol il tient obliquement une phiale à libation.

**806.\*** Chaton de bague en cornaline. New York, MMA 41.160.898. - Richter, *MetrMusGems* 71 n° 287 pl. 41. - H. nu, le caducée sur le bras g., la phiale dans la main dr. étendue, se présente de trois quarts face vers la g. Coq dans le champ en bas à g.

## 2. Hermès offrant une libation à d'autres divinités

*Vases italiotes (f. r.)*

**807.** Cratère en cloche lucanien. Brindisi, Mus. Prov. 575. - LCS 89 n° 434 pl. 41, 6: P. de Créüse. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: devant Athéna en majesté, H. (pétase sur la nuque, chlamyde rejetée dans le dos, le caducée obliquement dans la main g.) présente la phiale de libation. Il est couronné comme l'est aussi Héraclès derrière Athéna. B: trois éphèbes drapés.

**808.\*** Cratère en cloche campanien. Varsovie, Mus. Nat. 147383. - LCS 430 n° 499 pl. 172, 3: Gr. des Danaïdes; CVA 5, pl. 31, 3; 33, 4. - Vers 325 av. J.-C. - A: Pan danse sur un autel devant lequel se tient H. de profil trois quarts vers la g., le caducée verticalement dans la main g., dans la main dr. un skyphos offert. Pinax dans le champ. B: deux personnages drapés à tête couronnée.

## 3. Hermès assistant à des scènes de libation ou d'offrande

*Vase attique à f. n.*

**809.** Amphore. Leyde, Rijksmus. XV i 57. De Vulci. - ABV 370, 128: Gr. de Léagros; CVA 1, pl. 31. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès et Athéna entourent un autel embrasé sur lequel la déesse verse le contenu d'une oenochoé. A dr. de la scène, H. de trois quarts profil détourne la tête. B: Dionysos et Satyres.

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

**810.** (= Dionysos 706\* avec bibl.) Coupe. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 325. D'Athènes. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 460, 20: Macron. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Zeus apportant aux Nymphes l'enfant Dionysos. Il est précédé par H. qui se tient près d'un autel sur lequel des femmes sacrifient.

**811.** (= Apollon 360, = Artemis 1011) Hydrie. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. 28.7. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 594, 59: P. d'Altamura; CVA pl. 28, 2. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Apollon citharède se retourne vers Artémis versant sur un autel le contenu d'une oenochoé. H., un bandeau dans les cheveux, en tunique courte, appuyé sur son caducée comme sur une canne, observe la scène.

**812.** (= Apollon 745a avec bibl.) Hydrie. Paris, Cab. Méd. 443. De Nola. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 606, 71: P. des Niobides; De Ridder, *BiblNatVases* n° 443. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - Apollon citharède assis tend la phiale de la libation à Artémis munie d'une oenochoé. Derrière le siège H. juvénile, sans ailerons à ses sandales, la hampe du caducée pointée vers le sol, s'approche en portant la main g. au bord antérieur de son pétase.

**813.** (= Apollon 745\* avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche. Londres, BM E 502. De Nola. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1156, 10: manière du P. du Dinos. - 420-400 av. J.-C. - Apollon citharède debout tend la phiale de la libation à Artémis qui lui fait face de l'autre côté d'un omphalos, une oenochoé à la main. Derrière le musicien, H. pieds nus, en chlamyde et pétase, le caducée pointé vers le sol, la main dr. levée.

**814.** (= Hephaistos 220 avec renvois) Cratère en calice. Adolphseck 77. De Sicile. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1346, 1: P. de Cécrops; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 152-153 pl. 226-227. - 410-400 av. J.-C. - A: sacrifice d'Athéna et de Cécrops à la naissance d'Erichthonios. A l'arrière-plan, H. fait le lien entre la scène principale et Héphaistos qui repose à l'écart. De trois quarts face vers la dr., le pied g. surélevé se détachant nu sur une chlamyde brodée, un pilos ailé posé sur une chevelure à boucles parotides, imberbe et juvénile, il brandit son caducée de la main dr. tendue. B: combat d'Héraclès contre le taureau de Crète.

*Vase campanien (f. r.)*

**815.** Cratère en cloche. Madrid, Mus. Arch. 11091. - LCS 119 n° 598 pl. 60, 1: P. des Choéphores. - Vers 370-360 av. J.-C. - A: derrière un autel et à sa dr., un jeune garçon, un homme vêtu d'une chlamyde et portant un plateau, un roi tenant un sceptre et un rameau; à g., H. pieds nus, en pétase et chlamyde, le caducée verticalement près de l'épaule, étend la main dr. vers les officiants.

## 4. Hermès recevant une libation, un sacrifice ou une offrande

*Vases attiques à f. r.*

Deux scènes de libation se rapportent peut-être à un épisode mythique précis:

**816. a)\*** Lécythe. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. GR 30-1937. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 993, 81: P. d'Achille; CVA 2, pl. 13, 4. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - H. de trois quarts face (chlamyde, bottes sans ailerons), le caducée pointé vers le sol, tourne la tête vers une femme (Hébé?) qui lui présente une phiale. - **b)\*** Oenochoé. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 14502. D'Attique. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1256, 10: proche du P. de Disney; Add 177; Lezzi-Hafter, A., *Der Schuwalow-Maler* (1976) 114 E 8 pl. 151 a-b. - Vers 420 av. J.-C. - Le caducée pointé vers le sol dans la main g., H. (sandales sans ailerons, la chlamyde recouvrant les genoux) tend la phiale vers une femme munie de l'oenochoé et faisant le geste nuptial de l'*anakalypsis*. Un lit est figuré à l'arrière-plan: cf. 887).

**817.\*** Cratère en calice. Boston, MFA 03.796. - Caskey/Beazley III 75 n° 165 pl. 24: proche du Washing P. - Vers 425 av. J.-C. - A: dans un sanctuaire (aux murs deux pinakes et une représentation d'Hermès: cf. 98), un éphèbe chevauche un bouc qu'il conduit devant H. Le dieu, en pétase et sandales ailées, drapé dans une chlamyde qui lui recouvre les genoux et le bras g. (y compris la main), le caducée horizontalement dans la main dr., est figuré de trois quarts profil, observant le groupe. Prélude d'un sacrifice à H.? Mythe de Phrixos? B: éphèbe drapé avec un bâton.

*Vases lucaniens (f. r.)*

**818.** Deux scènes difficiles à localiser et à interpréter montrent H. dans la compagnie de femmes: **a)** Péliké. Marché de l'art (Christie 1979). - Schauenburg, K., *MededRome* 44-45, 1983, 49 et n. 69 pl. 19, 41: P. de Créüse. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: H., en pétase et manteau court, pieds nus, appuyé sur son caducée, tend une couronne à une jeune femme qui lui fait face munie d'une phiale et d'une oenochoé. Entre les deux figures un panier d'ouvrage et une stèle. - **b)** Hydrie. Policoro, Mus. Nat. 1203. - Vers 370 av. J.-C. - A: H. (hanches drapées, sandales sans ailerons, pétase) est assis de trois quarts profil à g. sur un rocher (?), son caducée posé à côté de lui. Une femme avec un grand plateau chargé d'offrandes s'approche. Stèle entre les deux personnages. B: scène de gynécée.

*Relief votif*

**819.** Calcaire. Argos, Mus. D'Argos, angle S E de l'agora. - Vollgraff, W., *BCH* 44, 1920, 222 fig. 2. - Ep. classique? - H., en pétase et sandales ailées, vêtu d'un chitoniskos, l'épaule et le bras g. drapés dans la chlamyde, est représenté de trois quarts profil à dr., la main dr. à la hanche. Il prend appui sur un pilier de la main g. qui tient le caducée. Devant lui une petite fille suivie d'une femme; la première écarte ses bras baissés, la seconde porte peut-être des offrandes dans ses mains qui soulèvent devant elle ses draperies.

## 5. Hermès sacrifiant un bouc

**819bis.\*** Cratère en cloche paestan f. r. Paris, Louvre K 238. - RVP 162, 300 pl. 106a: Python; Villard, Fr., *Les vases grecs* (1956) 83 pl. 30. - Vers 350 av. J.-C. - H. de trois quarts face, la tête couronnée, le caducée sous le bras, une couronne et une corbeille dans la main g., conduit vers un autel un bouc qu'il tient par les cornes. A l'arrière-plan, Satyre émergeant à mi-corps.

## 6. Hermès contrefaisant un sacrifice

**820.\*** Coupe att. f. r. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. IV 3691. De Cerveteri. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 118, 8; 1627: P. d'Epilromos; Studniczka, F., *Jdl* 6, 1891, 258-269; 7, 1892, 144-150; CVA 1, pl. 2, 4-6; Simon, E., *Opfernde Götter* (1953) 94; Zanker (1965) 33-34; Siebert, o. c. 255, pl. I. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - H., solennellement drapé dans un long manteau d'où dépasse seulement l'aile d'une de ses sandales, avance vers un autel, le caducée oblique, la barbe haute, aux côtés d'une victime sacrificielle. Mais celle-ci est un chien déguisé en porc! Le déguisement toutefois n'inclut ni la tête, ni la queue, ni les pattes en sorte que cet «Opferbetrug» est une farce (pas nécessairement d'origine théâtrale) instantanément reconnaissable (Studniczka). Le paquetage d'athlète figuré dans le champ est peut-être (mais pourquoi dans ce contexte?) une allusion à H. *énagônios*.

## C. Diverses scènes de sanctuaire

Hermès devant une statue de culte et un autel

**821.\*** Pinax att. f. n., fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr.

2547. D'Athènes. - Graef/Langlotz I 2547 pl. 105. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - H. (la tête et le buste brisés) se tient à l'entrée d'un temple indiqué par une colonne ionique, un autel chargé d'offrandes et la statue d'Athéna (restes du bouclier et de la tunique). Le caducée est tenu obliquement levé; la main dr. est avancée, paume ouverte.

**822.** (= Artemis 103b) «Vase de Sosibios». Cratère à reliefs en marbre. Paris, Louvre MA 442. D'Italie. - Moreno, P., *EAA* VII (1967) 412 s. v. «Sosibios»; Zagdoun n° 331 pl. 23, 89. - 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., en tunique courte, un pan de draperie retombant dans le dos, nu-tête, lève la main dr. devant un autel embrasé. Vis-à-vis, Artémis armée de son arc retient de la main g. un cerf dressé sur ses pattes. Cf. *etiam* la réplique de Leninabad (U.R.S.S.): Litvinsky, B. A./Tursunov, N. O., *East and West* NS 24, 1974, 89-110 fig. 1-21; Zagdoun 93-94 n° 217.

## XII. Hermès combattant

### A. Hermès dans les Gigantomachies

#### 1. Combattant avec la lance

*Vases à f. n.*

**823.** Canthare fr. att. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 612a. D'Athènes. - Graef/Langlotz I pl. 36: sign. de Néarchos. - 570-555 av. J.-C. - H. (pétase, bottes ailées, chitoniskos à franges brodées sur lequel est passée une pardalide ou nébride) bondit vers la dr., la lance horizontale en position d'attaque.

**824.** Dinos fr. att. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 607. D'Athènes. - ABV 107, 1: Lydos; Graef/Langlotz I pl. 33, 35; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 64, 3. - 560-540 av. J.-C. - Combattant vers la g., H. (*HEPMEE*; ailerons en rehauts blancs à l'avant du casque) frappe d'un coup de lance la gorge du Géant (bouclier à gorgonéion) qui plie devant lui en perdant son sang.

**825.\*** Amphore fr. att. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 2211d. D'Athènes. - Graef/Langlotz I 222 pl. 94: un successeur de Clitias, vers 550 av. J.-C. - Dans une mêlée gigantomachique un combattant orienté vers la g., en chitoniskos brodé et chaussures ailées, est vraisemblablement H. Abrité derrière son bouclier, il frappe de la lance; il porte une épée suspendue à son baudrier.

**826.** (= Athena 381\*, = Gigantes 170, = Hera 377, = Hyperbios 1) Amphore ionienne. Paris, Louvre E 732. De Caeré. - Pottier, *Vases Louvre* II pl. 54; Cook, *Zeus* II 712. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - L'un des groupes de combattants est formé par H. (*HEPMEHZE*, peau d'animal sur chitoniskos, pétase, pieds nus) bondissant vers la g. pour transpercer de sa lance le Géant Hyperbios (inscr.).

**827.** (= Gigantes 295) Oenochoé att. Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (anc. Fogg.) 1927.154. - ABV 528, 47: proche du P. d'Athéna; CVA pl. 21, 7. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - H. (chitoniskos, manteau drapant l'épaule et le bras g., pétase) enfonce sa lance dans la fesse du Géant (casque, bouclier) qui fuit en se retournant. Un lion, figuré à petite échelle, accompagne l'attaque du dieu vers la dr.



## 2. Sans armes ou muni du caducée, parfois utilisé à la façon d'une lance

### Vases attiques

828. Psykter f.n. Houston, coll. Menil. - Hoffmann, H., *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West* (1970) n° 175: Peintre N, sign. de Nikosthénès potier; Boardman, *ABFH* 64-65 fig. 154. - Vers 530 av. J.-C. - Sur le col: cavaliers au galop. A: Héraclès et une déesse, dos à dos, abattent chacun un Géant; H. en pétase et chaussures ailées, le caducée verticalement dans la main g. (?), observe la bataille. B: Athéna combattant devant son char.

829. \* Lécythe f.n. New York, MMA 07.286.28. - *ABV* 522, 30; cf. *etiam Para* 260, 30: P. d'Athéna?; Haspels, *ABL* 45, 4a; Vian, Fr. *Répertoire des gigantomachies figurées dans l'art grec et romain* (1951) 157 pl. 30. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - H. pourfend du manche de son caducée le Géant (casque, lance, épée au côté) qui tombe en se retournant. Le dieu nu-tête, avec une coiffure à boucles parotides, en chitoniskos et chlamyde à plis tuyautés, saisit de la main g. son adversaire à l'épaule.

830. \* (= Iris 96) Skyphos f.r. Paris, Louvre G 66. - *ARV* 126, 25: P. de Nikosthénès; *Para* 333; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* II 149 pl. 96. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - Gigantomachie? Cf. Vian, *o.c.* 829, 54-55. A: derrière Athéna combattant un adversaire (seuls la tête et un pied son conservés) H., le caducée à l'horizontale dans la main dr., gesticule de la main g. levée. B: Héraclès au-dessus d'un adversaire abattu; derrière lui H., dont n'est conservé que le caducée (même position qu'en A).

831. (= Gigantes 303 avec renvois et bibl.) Coupe f.r. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F. 2293. - *ARV* 370, 10: P. de Brygos; *CVA* 2, pl. 68. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - I: Séléné. A-B: Gigantomachie. Position marginale d'H. près d'une anse. En chlamyde drapant l'épaule g., le pétase sur la nuque, il paraît enjambrer deux Géants blessés, sans porter lui-même une arme.

## 3. Combattant avec l'épée

### Vases attiques

832. \* Péliké f.r. Genève, Mus. I 498.1886. - *Para* 350, 7: P. de Sylée; *CVA* 1, pl. 13, 13. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - A: en bottes ailées, coiffé du pétase, H. tient verticalement son caducée dans la main dr. tout en enfonçant de la main g. (*sic!*) une épée dans la poitrine du Géant tombé devant lui. Deuxième Géant fuyant à dr. B: Arès dans la Gigantomachie?

833. (= Gigantes 322\* avec renvois et bibl.) Amphore f.r. Paris, Louvre S 1677. De Mélos. - *ARV* 1344, 1: P. de Suessula; v. Salis, A., *JdI* 55, 1940, 125 fig. 20. - Vers 400-390 av. J.-C. - Gigantomachie à composition étagée. H. combat dans la zone inférieure. De la main g. il a saisi aux cheveux le Géant tombé à genoux auquel, frappant d'estoc, il va porter un coup d'épée. H. est nu (chlamyde flottant dans le dos, pétase ailé sur la nuque), sans chaussures.

### Reliefs

834. (= Gigantes 2\* avec bibl.) Frise nord du Trésor de Siphnos. Delphes, Mus. - CMV, *GRA* 166 fig. 204. - Vers 525 av. J.-C. - Au milieu de la mêlée H.,

de profil vers la dr., coiffé du pilos, vêtu du chitoniskos, une large ceinture à la taille, affronte deux Géants hoplitiques. Sa main g. serre le fourreau d'un sabre court, la dr. est levée pour frapper.

835. \* Métope est 1 du Parthénon. Athènes, Mus. Acropole. - Brommer, F., *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (1967) 22-23. 200 pl. 39. - Vers 447-441 av. J.-C. - Relief gigantomachique effrité. Un dieu, généralement identifié comme H. (mais aucun attribut n'est conservé) affronte un Géant tombé à genoux près d'un rocher. Bras g. enveloppé dans une draperie; bras dr. levé pour le coup fatal?

## 4. Hermès lithobole

836. Cratère en calice att. f.r. New York, MMA 08.258.21. - *ARV* 1086, 1: P. de la Nekyia; Richter/Hall n° 135 pl. 137. - 440-430 av. J.-C. - A: Apollon et Tityos. B: Zeus foudroyant un Géant qui fuit, une pierre à la main. H. (chlamyde sur chitoniskos, pétase sur la nuque, sandales sans ailerons), derrière Zeus, brandit lui aussi une pierre en pointant de son autre main le caducée vers la cible.

## B. Hermès contre Argos

### 1. Hermès délivre Io

837. (= Io I 31\*) «Amphore Northampton», Munich, Antikenslg. 585. De Vulci. - *CVA* 6, pl. 299-300; Simon, E., «Zeus und Io auf einer Kalpis des Eucharidesmalers», *AA* 1985, 275-276 fig. 60; Yalouris 3, 6 fig. 2. - Dernier quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: devant un palmier, Io métamorphosée en génisse est tenue au bout d'une longe par Argos à demi allongé derrière elle. H. s'approche à pas de loup, déliant d'une main la corde nouée aux cornes et faisant de l'autre un geste vers le chien représenté à ses pieds. En longue tunique recouverte d'une mantille serrée à la taille par une double ceinture, en bottes ailées; H. est coiffé d'un pilos qui pourrait être le bonnet d'Hadès. Est-ce parce qu'il sent la longe lui échapper des mains, sans rien voir, qu'Argos peste, la bouche grande ouverte (Simon)? Pour un autre H. au pilos, peut-être invisible, cf. *infra* la scène de vol 894.

### 2. Hermès poursuit Argos

838. (= Hera 486\*, = Inachos 2\*, = Io I 8) Hydrie att. f.r. Boston, MFA 08.417. De Capoue. - *ARV* 579, 84: P. d'Agrigente; Caskey/Beazley III n° 150 pl. 86; suppl. pl. 21, 1; Simon, *o.c.* 837, 273 n. 251; Yalouris 3, 6-7. - 460-450 av. J.-C. - Dans un sanctuaire (autel, colonne: l'Héraion?) H. poursuit vers la g. Argos qui se retourne dans sa fuite, brandissant une massue dans la main dr., suppliant de la g. H. (chlamyde agrafée en haut de la poitrine, pétase sur la nuque, pieds nus) avance de l'enjambée héroïque des tyrannoctones en dégainant son épée. Derrière Argos, Io en génisse; aux extrémités de la composition: prêtresse, Héra (?), Inachos.

839. (= Io I 33\*) Oenochoé lucanienne f.r. Boston, MFA 1901.562. - *LCS* 16 n° 9: P. de Pistici; Caskey/Beazley pl. 31, 1; Schefold, *SBII* 134 fig. 137;

Yalouris 3, 10-12 n° 13 fig. 7. - 440-430 av. J.-C. - Devant Io, en génisse à tête humaine cornue, Argos se dirige vers la dr., un bâton brandi dans la main dr., la main g. ouverte suppliante. Il se retourne vers H. qui s'apprête à le frapper de son épée, tandis que de la main g. il pointe le caducée vers le Géant.

## 3. La mise à mort d'Argos

### a) Sans témoins

840. \* (= Io I 26) Cratère à colonnettes att. f.r. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. G 293 (527). De Capoue. - *CVA* 1, pl. 23, 3: P. d'Eucharides? - 480-470 av. J.-C. - A: H. (chlamyde, pétase sur la nuque, pieds nus) saisit aux cheveux Argos tombé à genoux qui se retourne avec un geste de supplication. Son épée est en position pour l'estocade. Pour la mise à mort sans témoins, cf. *etiam AJA* 42, 1938, 350 fig. 1, a-b. B: éphèbes.

### b) En présence d'Héra ou d'Io seule

841. (= Hera 485\*, = Io I 1) Amphore att. f.n. Londres, BM B 164. De Bomarzo (près de Viterbe). - *ABV* 148, 2: P. de l'entourage d'Exékias; *CVA* 3, pl. 30, 1a. c; Simon, *o.c.* 837, 272 n. 250; Yalouris 3, 4. 6 fig. 1. - 540-530 av. J.-C. - A: Argos *bifrons*, tombé à la renverse et suppliant, subit l'assaut d'H. bondissant vers la g., la lance au poing: la lance plutôt que l'épée (*sic* Yalouris, Simon) comme dans les plus anciennes Gigantomachies (823-827). A l'arrière-plan d'Io-génisse, Héra (inscr.) intercède vainement, les deux mains levées. B: Héraclès et Amazones.

842. (= Io I 3) Plat att. f.r. Local. inconnue, anc. coll. Blaydes (Angleterre). De Chiuri. - *ARV* 163, 5: Paséas; Cook, *Zeus* III fig. 489; Yalouris 3, 5 n° 3. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - Vase connu par un dessin. Brandissant un coutelas, H. (nom inscrit) va frapper Argos tombé à la renverse, qu'il saisit à l'épaule. Il porte une pardalide par-dessus son chitoniskos, et des bottes à ailes très courtes. Pour la forme du pétase, cf. Boardman, *ARFH* I fig. 16. Io-génisse bondit vers la g., à l'arrière-plan.

843. (= Io I 7\*) Oenochoé f.r. Naples, Mus. Naz. Stevens 127936. De Cumes. - *ARV* 874, 2: P. de Florence 4021; Rocco, A., *ArchCl* 5, 1955, 88-91 pl. 45-46; Simon, *o.c.* 837, 270 n. 246; Yalouris 3, 9 n° 7. - 460-450 av. J.-C. - H. dans l'attitude héroïque du tyrannoctone, sans autre attribut que le pétase sur la nuque, va frapper d'estoc Argos tombé à genoux et l'implorant, saignant de blessures à la poitrine. Io-génisse immobile à l'arrière-plan.

844. (= Io I 34) Cratère f.r. Gênes, Mus. Civ. 1145. De Ruvo. - *ARV* 1054, 48: atelier de Polygnotos, Gr. indéterminé; *CVA* 1, pl. 8, 1-5; Yalouris 3, 13-14 fig. 9. - Vers 430 av. J.-C. - A: H., en longue tunique, a saisi au bras Argos *bifrons* vêtu d'une peau de bête et tient son épée, prêt à frapper. Avec un geste d'effroi de la main levée, Io *boukérôs* s'éloigne vers la dr. B: trois éphèbes.

### c) En présence de Zeus

845. Deux vases à f.r. attribués au P. d'Eucharides (490-480 av. J.-C.) montrent la mise à mort selon un

schéma semblable: a) (= Io I 11\*) Hydrie. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. ZA 48. - Simon, *o.c.* 837, 265-266. 267 fig. 48-49. - H. nu (chlamyde rejetée dans le dos, pieds nus, le pétase sur la nuque) prend son élan pour frapper Argos tombé dans sa fuite et se retournant avec un geste de supplication. De la main g. étendue au-dessus de sa victime, le dieu tient le fourreau de l'épée. Argos a la main posée sur un rocher qui permet de mieux «équilibrer» la figure (schéma déjà conçu par Onésimos: coupe fr. de Würzburg, Simon, *o.c.* 270-271 fig. 57). A dr. Zeus, assis sur un trône ailé (Zeus en voyage), caresse la tête d'Io-génisse. Le caducée d'H. est appuyé contre le mur imaginaire du temple indiqué par une colonne ionique. b) (= Aktaion 27, = Io I 4\*) Amphore. Hambourg, Mus. KG 1966.34. - *Para* 347, 8ter; Boardman, *ARFH* I 112 fig. 165; Simon, *o.c.* 270-271 fig. 50-52. - Version abrégée de la scène précédente. Io, cette fois, est tournée vers le groupe du meurtre. A noter qu'elle est figurée non pas en génisse, mais en taureau (explications: Simon, *o.c.* 273-275).

846. (= Io I 13\*) Stamnos f.r. Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 3729. De Cerveteri. - *ARV* 288, 1; 1642: P. d'Argos; *CVA* 2, pl. 66; Simon, *o.c.* 837, 269 n. 245; 275 fig. 54-56; Yalouris 3, 8-9 n° 8 fig. 5. - 470-460 av. J.-C. - A dr. du groupe de la mise à mort, H. en chitoniskos, manteau court, bottes ailées, pilos, a empoigné Argos par la barbe; Zeus trônant lève la main vers Io figurée en taureau. Scène encadrée par deux arbres: à dr. palmier et biche; à g. olivier du bois sacré d'Héra (Yalouris) ou l'arbre auquel Io se trouvait attachée, selon Plin. *nat.* 16, 239 (Simon).

847. (= Io I 12) Péliké f.r., fr. Anc. New York, coll. Bareiss 350. - Schauenburg, K., dans *Monumentum Chiloniense. Festschr. W. Burck* (1975) 367 ss; Simon, *o.c.* 837, 272 fig. 53. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Zeus trône à dr., l'aigle à ses pieds, face à la génisse. H. a empoigné aux cheveux Argos tombé à genoux et l'a transpercé de son épée dont la pointe ressort près de l'omoplate. Argos tient la lame qui le pénètre.

### d) En présence de divers personnages

848. (= Io I 22) Skyphos f.n. Paris, Louvre CA 792. De Thèbes. - Haspels, *ABL* 253, 6: proche du P. de Thésée; Ure, P. N., *JHS* 75, 1955, 92 n° 12 pl. 8. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: H. poursuit vers la dr. Argos passant devant un rocher et retournant la tête. Athéna de profil à g. B: H. (chitoniskos, chlamyde, pétase, bottes ailées) saisit par la barbe Argos assis sur un rocher et se retournant. Athéna de profil à g.

849. (= Io I 25) Péliké f.r. Paris, Louvre G 229. De Vulci. - *ARV* 289, 3: P. des Sirènes; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* pl. 131; *CVA* 6, pl. 45, 5-7; 46, 2; Simon, *o.c.* 837, 270-271 n. 246; Yalouris 3, 8 n° 9 fig. 6. - 490-480 av. J.-C. - B: en présence d'un témoin qui tend la main (homme barbu, drapé, appuyé sur son bâton), Argos s'écroule sous l'assaut d'H. bondissant vers la dr. en chitoniskos et chaussures ailées, le pétase sur la nuque, la chlamyde enveloppant la main g. tendue, la main dr. tenant l'épée pour frapper d'estoc.

850. (= Aphrodite 1373, = Io I 56\*) Cratère f.r. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1498. De Ruvo. - *ARV* 1409, 9: P.

de Méléagre; Sichtermann, *SigJatta* 27, K 16 pl. 36; Simon, *o. c.* 837, 275 n. 260. 278 fig. 61; Yalouris 3, 18 fig. 14. – Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Scène peut-être inspirée d'un drame satyrique (Simon: l'*Inachos* de Sophocle), développée dans l'espace avec douze figures (Zeus, Héra, Satyres...). H., en chaussures et pilos ailés, en chlamyde par-dessus le chitoniskos, combat de bas en haut, le bras g. enveloppé de draperies, la main dr. serrant l'épée. Argos est assis sur un rocher, nu sous une chlamyde, un lagobole ou une houlette à la main.

### e) Une scène de parodie?

851. (= Io I 23) Lécythe f. n. f. bl. Paris, Cab. Méd. 302 (4790). – *ABV* 572, 1: P. de Pholos; *CVA* 2, pl. 84, 8-9; 85, 4-5. – Vers 470 av. J.-C. – Pour Beazley: «H. attacking a curious being». H., le bras g. protégé par des draperies (la main manque), en pétase et chaussures ailés, le fourreau au côté, le caducée figuré derrière lui dans le champ, apparaît dans le schéma du meurtre d'Argos, bien qu'il frappe ici de taille. C'est la représentation d'Argos (?) qui surprend (bouclier, deux crêtes sur la tête comme un bonnet de fou). On peut songer à des personnages de chœurs comiques: Green, J. R., *J. P. Getty Mus. Occas. Papers* 3 (1985) 113 fig. 22; oenochoré du P. de Géla, *ABV* 473, 181 avec hommes-oiseaux à crêtes analogues. Pour un combat d'H. contre Argos sur un autre lécythe du même Gr. du P. d'Haimon (= Io I 2), New Haven, Yale Univ., coll. Stoddart 116: *ABV* 550, 317; Baur, P. V., *Cat. of the Rebecca Darlington Stoddart Coll.* (1922) 79 pl. 1.

### f) Meurtre en musique

852. (= Io I 28) Coupe béotienne (?) f. r. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 4295. – Brommer, *Satyrspiele* 2 81 n° 167; Yalouris 3, 13 fig. 10a-b. – Vers 430 av. J.-C. – H. en pilos ailé («Hadeskappe» pour Brommer), le bras g. drapé, tient son épée prête à frapper Argos *bifrons*, agenouillé et suppliant. A l'autre bord de la scène, Satyre dansant au son d'un aulos (Argos, dans sa main g., tient-il également un aulos? ou un très petit bâton?). Echo en image d'un drame satyrique ou contamination de la version du meurtre avec celle de l'endormissement d'Argos par l'aulos d'H.? Cf. Sources litt.

### g) Hermès armé parlementant avec Héra

853.\* (= Hera 331\*, = Io I 62) Péliké att. f. r. Naples, Mus. Naz., Spinelli 2041. De Suessula. – *ARV* 1122, 1: P. d'Io (vase éponyme); Kaempf-Dimitriadou, S., *Die Liebe der Götter*, *AntK* Suppl. 11 (1979) 97 n° 261 pl. 16, 3; Yalouris 3, 11-14 n° 14 fig. 8. – 460-450 av. J.-C. – A: Zeus poursuivant Io *boukérôs*. B: H., en bottes ailées, le pétase sur la nuque, une draperie sur la cuisse dr., le pied surélevé sur un rocher, le caducée baissé obliquement, est en conversation avec une déesse au sceptre. Il porte une épée suspendue à un baudrier, détail qui (s'ajoutant au sujet de la face A) évoque le thème du meurtre d'Argos.

### h) Après la mise à mort

854. (= Io I 10) La corbeille historiée d'Europe chez Moschos de Syracuse (II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.). – «Autour de la corbeille ronde, au-dessous de la bordure circulaire, était représenté H.; près de lui gisait de tout son long Argos, orné d'yeux rebelles au sommeil; du sang rouge d'Argos surgissait un oiseau, fier de son plumage fleuri et multicolore...» (trad. Legrand, Ph. E., *Bucoliques grecs* II, Les Belles-Lettres [1927] p. 146 v. 55-62.). L'*ekphrasis* du *χρόσειος τάλαρος*, merveille d'Héphaïstos, est-elle pure fantaisie poétique ou bien (hypothèse Simon, *o. c.* 837, 278) dérive-t-elle d'une œuvre d'art, toreutique ou picturale?

### C. Hermès Promachos?

#### Monnaies impériales de Tanagra

855. AE, Trajan, Antonin, Marc Aurèle (98-180 ap. J.-C.). – *NumCommPaus* 115-116 n° 5 pl. X 14-16. – *Rv.* H. de trois quarts face ou profil, la tête à dr., nu, chaussé de sandales ailées, la main dr. à la hanche, la main g. sur un arbre sur lequel est perché un aigle: sans doute l'arbre du sanctuaire d'H. Promachos à Tanagra sous lequel l'enfant divin aurait grandi (Paus. 9, 22, 2).

856.\* AE, Trajan (98-117). – *NumCommPaus* 115 n° 5 pl. X 13. Cf. *ibid.* 148-149 n° 12 pl. DD 22-23 (AE, Athènes). – *Rv.* H. de face en athlète polyclétéen, portant dans la main dr. un strigile et peut-être le caducée dans la main g. H. Promachos a conduit les jeunes gens de Tanagra, strigile au poing, à la bataille contre les gens d'Erétrie (Paus. 9, 22, 2).

#### Petite plastique en bronze

857.\* Statuette. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 13210. Du sanct. de Zeus au mont Lycée (Arcadie). – Kourouniotis, K., *ArchEph* 1904, 200 fig. 20; Lamb, W., *BSA* 27, 1925, 145 n° 40. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. nu brandit le caducée de la main dr. en serrant dans la main g. avancée un objet perdu (une arme?). Cf. *etiam* 305, avec la surprenante attitude de combat du personnage.

### D. Hermès et les guerriers

#### 1. Assistant au duel hoplitique

858. Coupe att. f. n. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts. D'Attique. – *Le Musée* 2, 1977, XIV. – 530-520 av. J.-C. – H. entre les yeux de la coupe; guerriers combattants aux extrémités de la frise.

859.\* Amphore att. f. r. Paris, Louvre G 1. De Vulci. – *ARV* 3, 2; 1617: P. d'Andokidès (sign. du potier); *CVA* 5, pl. 25, 1. 6; 26, 2. – Vers 520 av. J.-C. – A: duel d'hoplites encadré à g. par Athéna, à dr. par H. coiffé du pétase, nu sous les draperies d'une chlamyde brodée, brandissant son caducée dont le couronnement «sépare» (intention du geste?) les deux combattants. B: concert de citharède.

### 2. Scènes de départ

#### Vases attiques

860.\* Amphore f. n. Washington, Nat. Mus. of Natural Hist. 136415a. D'Orvieto. – *ABV* 297, 18: P. de Berlin 1686; *Para* 129. – 540-530 av. J.-C. – A: couronnement d'un athlète victorieux. B: (la moitié du tableau conservée): départ d'un guerrier; derrière son bouclier apparaissent la tête d'H. coiffé du pilos et le couronnement du caducée. A dr. personnage drapé imberbe muni d'un bâton.

861.\* Amphore fr., f. n. Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. 1934.IV.4/4. D'Idalion. – *ABV* 279, 48: manière du P. d'Antiménès; Gjerstad, E., *Greek Geometric and Archaic Pottery Found in Cyprus* (1977) 52 n° 503 pl. 58, 1-2. – Vers 520 av. J.-C. – A: départ d'un guerrier entouré de son père et de femmes. H. (long caducée, bottes ailées, pilos, manteau sur tunique courte) s'éloigne en se retournant pour observer la scène. B: hoplite bondissant à la tête d'un quadrigé.

862.\* Amphore f. r. Paris, Louvre G 429. De Vulci. – *ARV* 1068, 18: P. de Barclay; *CVA* 8, pl. 39, 1-4. 6. – Vers 450 av. J.-C. – A: H. (bottes ailées, pétase sur la nuque, chlamyde) donne la main à un guerrier en présence d'une femme. La main g. tient horizontalement le caducée. Pour des scènes de *δεξιότητες* analogues sur les stèles funéraires, cf. 603-605. B: hommes et femmes.

### XIII. Hermès et l'amour

#### A. Poursuites amoureuses

##### 1. D'éphèbes

#### Vases attiques à f. r.

863. (= 881 [B]) Amphore. Leningrad, Ermitage B611 (2100). – *ARV* 530, 26: P. d'Alkimachos; *Para* 513; Kaempf, *o. c.* 853, 12-13. 80 n° 45 pl. 5, 5; Scheffold, *SB* II 298-299 fig. 432-433. – 480-470 av. J.-C. – A: pieds nus, coiffé du pétase ailé, la chlamyde drapée par-dessus le chitoniskos, le caducée tenu horizontalement dans la main g., H. poursuit un éphèbe nu fuyant vers la g. et retournant la tête vers le dieu qui pose la main sur son épaule. Cerceau et baguette dans les mains de l'adolescent. B: H. face à un éphèbe nu.

864. (= Ganymedes 80) Amphore. Paris, Cab. Méd. 373. – *ARV* 648, 33: P. d'Oinoclès; Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *o. c.* 853, 13. 80 n° 44. – 480-470 av. J.-C. – A: H. (chitoniskos, chlamyde, bottes ailées) saisit au bras un éphèbe qui dans sa main libre tient une lyre. Le dieu tend son caducée obliquement en avant. B: roi.

865. Coupe perdue, anc. coll. Vitet. – *ARV* 882, 34: P. de Penthésilée; Kaempf, *o. c.* 853, 13 fig. 2 (dessin); 80 n° 46. – 460-450 av. J.-C. – A: deuil d'Achille. B: scène d'armement. I: H. juvénile, pieds nus, le pétase sur la nuque, en chlamyde, a laissé choir son caducée pour saisir des deux mains un éphèbe à la lyre qui se retourne vers lui.

866.\* Bobine. Athènes, Agora P 29670. De l'Agora. – Shear, T. L. Jr., *Hesperia* 42, 1973, 367 pl. 67a: P. de Penthésilée. – Vers 450 av. J.-C. – H. barbu

(bottes ailées, chlamyde, pétase sur la nuque) saisit à l'épaule un éphèbe portant un coq; sa main dr. tient obliquement le caducée.

### 2. De femmes

#### Vases attiques à f. r.

867. Cratère en calice. Los Angeles, County Mus. A 5933.50.34. D'Agrigente. – *ARV* 515, 7; 1657: P. de Mykonos; Kaempf, *o. c.* 853, 103 n° 326; Clement, P. A., *Hesperia* 24, 1955, 15 n° 8 pl. 7a-b. – 480-470 av. J.-C. – A: H. (pieds nus, pilos, chlamyde, caducée tenu presque verticalement derrière lui) tend la main g. vers une femme qui fuit en se retournant. B: femme fuyant vers un roi.

868.\* Cratère à colonnettes. New York, MMA 06.1021.149. – *ARV* 523, 2: P. des Vergers; Kaempf, *o. c.* 853, 103 n° 325 pl. 26, 2. – 480-460 av. J.-C. – A: H. et Poséidon chassent de concert, chacun saisissant à l'épaule la femme qu'il poursuit. Tous deux portent un bandeau dans les cheveux. H. barbu, en chlamyde par-dessus le chitoniskos, le pétase sur la nuque, tient le caducée horizontalement dans la main dr. baissée. B: éphèbe avec deux femmes.

869. Amphore. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 4978. De Sicile. – *ARV* 553, 36: P. de Pan; *CVA* 3, pl. 131, 1a-c; Follmann, A.-B., *Der Pan-Maler* (1968) 110 n° 36. – 470-460 av. J.-C. – A: H. de trois quarts face, dans l'attitude du contrepoint, tourne vers la g. sa main dr. et son caducée dans l'autre main. Barbu, en pétase et bottes ailées, la chlamyde drapée par-dessus le chitoniskos, il regarde vers la femme représentée en B.

870. Coupe apode. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 48.94. – *Para* 412: rappelle le P. de Karlsruhe par la forme du vase et le type de composition; style différent (*ARV* 737-738). – 470-460 av. J.-C. – I: Iris ou Niké et roi. A-B: H. (sandales sans ailes, pétase sur la nuque, chlamyde) poursuit une femme vers la dr. et la g.; bras drapé comme en 875b et caducée horizontalement dans l'autre main; caducée tendu vers la fuyarde et l'autre bras baissé.

871. Pyxide. Laon, Mus. Arch. 37.1053. – *ARV* 930, 106: P. de Bruxelles R 330; *CVA* pl. 39, 7-9. 11; Kaempf, *o. c.* 853, 35. 104 n° 329. – 460-450 av. J.-C. – A: H. juvénile poursuit une femme qui court vers un palmier, une fleur dans la main. B: fuite d'une compagne vers une femme tenant également une fleur, assise près d'un panier. Restaurations.

872. Cratère à colonnettes. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 48.69. – *ARV* 510, 3: P. de Syracuse 23510; Hill, D. K., *The Dance in Classical Times* (1945) 5. – 460-450 av. J.-C. – A: encadré à g. par une compagne, à dr. par un roi, groupe de la poursuite: H. barbu, le pétase sur la nuque, en chlamyde et bottes ailées, le caducée obliquement levé dans la main dr., saisit au bras la femme qui se retourne vers lui. B: kômos. Cf. *etiam* *ARV* 518, 2; Kaempf, *o. c.* 853, 35. 103 n° 324 pl. 26, 1.

873.\* Lécythe. Los Angeles, County Mus. CA 50.8.10. – *ARV* 649, 44: P. d'Oinoclès; Tillyard, *Hope* 107 pl. 15. – Vers 460 av. J.-C. – Sujet incertain. H. (bottes ailées, pétase sur la nuque, chlamyde) saisit à l'épaule la jeune femme qu'il poursuit, mais sa main



dr. brandit une épée! Cf. Persée (*kibisis*) armé de l'épée et poursuivant des femmes: Langlotz, *KatWurz* pl. 40.

**874.** Pélîké. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 1061. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1218, 1: P. de Copenhague 1061; *CVA* 4, pl. 153, 3a-b; Kaempf, *o.c.* 853, 34. 104 n° 330 pl. 26, 3-4. - 450-440 av. J.-C. - A: H. juvénile, la main dr. tendue, le caducée sur le bras g., en chlamyde, chaussures et pilos ailés, vole à la poursuite de la femme représentée en fuite sur la face B.

**875.\*** Deux vases attribués au P. de la Phiale (450-440 av. J.-C.) montrent H. juvénile, drapé dans une chlamyde richement ornée, le pétase sur la nuque, pieds nus, poursuivant une jeune femme qui se retourne en levant la main: a)\* Lécythé. Londres, BM E 597. De Géla. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1020, 101; Kaempf, *o.c.* 853, n° 336. - b)\* Amphore. Aberdeen, Univ. 687. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1015, 10; Para 440; Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *o.c.* 104 n° 337.

**876.\*** Amphore. Madrid, Mus. Arch. 11109. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1167, 7: P. de Munich 2335; *CVA* 2, pl. 22, 6a-b; Kaempf, *o.c.* 853, 104 n° 331. - 450-440 av. J.-C. - H. (pétase sur la nuque, sandales sans ailes, caducée tenu obliquement derrière lui) tend vers la jeune femme qui fuit devant lui une main drapée comme dans les scènes de combat (cf. 875b).

#### Vase lucanien (f. r.)

**877.\*** Cratère en cloche. Paris, Louvre G 494. - *LCS* 100 n° 515 pl. 50, 1: P. de Dolon; *CVA* 5, pl. 33, 10-12; Schauenburg, K., «Göttergeliebte auf unteritalischen Vasen», *AuA* 10, 1961, 77 pl. 6, 11. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: H. barbu, nu, la chlamyde flottant dans le dos, nu-tête et pieds nus, le caducée verticalement sur le bras g., tend la main vers une jeune femme qui fuit devant lui.

### 3. Hermès pourvoyeur de Zeus?

#### Vases attiques à f. r.

**878.** (= Aphrodite 1488\*, = Ganymedes 49) Cratère à colonnettes. Paris, Cab. Méd. 416. De Fasano. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1101, 8: P. d'Ariane; Kaempf, *o.c.* 853, 10-11. 79 n° 38 pl. 4, 1. - Vers 440 av. J.-C. - A: Zeus qu'approche Eros pour lui servir une libation saisit au bras un éphèbe nu tenant un cerceau (cf. 863; Ganymède: Hom. *Il.* 20, 232-235). Scène encadrée à dr. par Aphrodite tendant une couronne, à g. par H., spectateur immobile, drapé dans un manteau, le caducée obliquement baissé vers l'avant. B: homme avec bâton et deux éphèbes.

**879.** Amphore. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 3831. De Nola. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1002, sous n° 8: manière du P. d'Achille; *CVA* 4, pl. 151, 3a-b; Zanker (1965) 32 n. 126. - 3<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: face à face de Zeus et d'H. juvénile, le pétase sur la nuque, en chlamyde et bottes ailées, le caducée obliquement levé vers l'avant. B: éphèbe drapé, la main appuyée sur un long bâton.

**880.** (= Io 139\*) Skyphos. Palerme, Fond. Mormino 178. - Kaempf, *o.c.* 853, 25. 56. 97. n° 262 pl. 16, 5-6: proche du P. de Pénélope. - 450-440 av. J.-C. - A: H., portant horizontalement un caducée long comme une lance, la main g. tendue vers Io bou-

kérôs représentée en B. Chasse-t-il à la place ou pour le compte de son maître? Court-il apporter à Io la nouvelle de sa prochaine délivrance?

### B. Scènes de repos et de conversation

#### 1. Avec des éphèbes

**881.** (= 863 [A]) Amphore att. f. r. Leningrad, Ermitage B 611 (2100). - B: H. (pieds nus, pilos, chlamyde par-dessus le chitoniskos), le caducée légèrement incliné dans la main dr., fait face à un éphèbe nu qui a la tête ceinte d'un bandeau et s'appuie sur un sceptre. Les deux personnages baissent un peu le visage. Beazley reconnaît un abrégé du Jugement de Paris (Caskey/Beazley II 52). La poursuite amoureuse en A suggère une autre interprétation de cet entretien d'H. avec le jeune prince.

**882.** Coupe fr. att. f. r. Bâle, coll. H. Cahn HC 69. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 478, 313: Macron (Cahn). - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - H. (conservés le bas des jambes et les chaussures ailées) faisant face vers la dr. à un éphèbe (?) drapé, portant bâton.

#### 2. Avec des femmes

**883.** Pélîké att. f. r. San Francisco, Fine Arts Mus. 1925.365 (1811). - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1187, 1: manière du P. de Cadmos; *CVA* pl. 20, 2; 21. 30, 5; Schefold, *SBII* 299 fig. 434. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - A: dans une composition étagée avec, à g., Apollon recevant une libation, H. symétriquement à dr., pieds nus, couronné; assis sur un vallonnement du terrain, le caducée reposant verticalement contre sa cuisse g., il contemple une jeune femme (Hersé?) richement vêtue, debout devant lui et faisant un geste de la main. Eros tend une bandelette. B: Satyres et Ménades.

**884.** Hydrie att. f. r. San Simeon, State Hist. Mon. 529-9-712 (5529; ex-Canessa 9944). - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1137, 9: proche du P. de Pronomos. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - En présence d'un «voyageur» (pétase, deux lances) appuyé contre le fond, face à face d'H. assis, le caducée baissé dans la main g., nu sous la chlamyde brodée, et d'une jeune femme portant diadème et faisant le geste de l'*anakalypsis*. Eros, à l'arrière-plan, se penche vers elle. Derrière H., femme se retournant.

### C. Idylle et mariage d'Hermès?

**885.\*** Amphore camp. f. n. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81044 (H 2703). De Marsiglia. - Heydemann, *Neapel* n° 2703; Parise Badoni, F., *Ceramica campana a figure nere* (1968) 35 n° 1; 39 pl. 13. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: couple entre une grande tige fleurie et un rameau. H., en chitoniskos très court et collant, en bottes ailées, coiffé d'un bonnet ceint d'un bandeau, porte son caducée obliquement dans sa main dr. avec laquelle il tient aussi le bras dr. de la jeune femme; de l'autre il paraît enlacer son épaule. La jeune femme marche près de lui en le regardant, un bandeau dans les cheveux, un calathos sur le bras g. Image d'idylle issue du schéma de la poursuite (vraie poursuite pour Heydemann). B: hybride de coq et de lion.

**886.\*** (= 636) Cratère à colonnettes att. f. r. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 236. - Vers 470-460 av. J.-C. - H. se retourne vers la jeune femme diadémée et voilée qu'il tient au poignet dans le geste nuptial *χελρ ἐπὶ καρπῷ*. Mariage d'H. et de la fille de Dryops? Cf. le cortège nuptial 103.

### XIV. Hermès dans diverses scènes mythologiques

#### A. Midas et le Silène

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

**887.** Passoire ou vase à douche. Eleusis, Mus. 1231. D'Eleusis. - Bulle, H., *AM* 22, 1897, 387-404 pl. 13; Miller, M. C., *AntK* 31, 1988, 80 pl. 18, 2. - Vers 550 av. J.-C. - Vase incomplet dont le registre supérieur conserve un personnage drapé avec rameau de lierre. A: scène principale: devant Midas trônant, H. (chiton court collant, pilos, chaussures ailées), tenant son immense caducée verticalement comme un sceptre, introduit le Silène captif qui se retourne vers le garde (doryphore) tenant la corde qui lui entrave les poignets. Sur Midas et le Silène, cf. Dörig, J., dans *Festschr. M. Gosebruch* (1984) 25. B: scène de labour?

**888.** Lécythé. Münster, Univ. 784. - Simon, E., dans Kurtz, D./Sparkes, B. (éd.), *The Eye of Greece* (1981) 138 fig. 33d-f. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - H. (manteau, pétase, caducée obliquement levé dans la main dr.) au milieu d'une file de Satyres prisonniers, microphalliques, qui semblent docilement attachés à la corde qui leur lie les mains. Il paraît tenir une baguette dans la main g. Parenté formelle avec 887, sans qu'il y ait rapport évident avec l'histoire du roi Midas. Cf. *etiam* Héraclès et les Satyres capturés, composition analogue: Karouzou, S., «Héraclès Satyrikos», *BCH* 60, 1936, 154-156 pl. 21. Hypothèse des *Limiers*: Halm-Tisserant, M., *BICS* 36, 1989, 129 n. 18.

#### B. Comédies et parodies

##### Vases attiques à f. n.

**889.\*** Pélîké. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 563. - *ABV* 396, 21: P. d'Eucharidès; *CVA* 2, pl. 8, 7; Hadzisteliou-Price, Th., *AJA* 75, 1971, 431 pl. 94, 4. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - A: cordonnier. B: un Satyre est assis sur un grand rocher derrière lequel se dresse un de ses congénères et près duquel est couché un bouc. Prenant appui sur un long bâton, un personnage qui a l'apparence d'H.: chlamyde, bottes ailées, pétase garni des mêmes rameaux qui ornent la tête des Satyres. H. (?) écoute ou observe le personnage assis, selon qu'on interprète l'objet que celui-ci tient dans les mains: instrument de musique? écritoire? boîte?

**890.** Oenochoé. Sarasota, Mus. of Art 1600 G 5, coll. J. and M. Ringling. - *ABV* 527, 17: atelier du P. d'Athéna; Para 264; Shapiro, H. A., *Greek Vases from Southern Collections* (1981) n° 17. - 500-480 av. J.-C. - Précédé par un Satyre aulète, un autre Satyre est étendu sur un bouc. Brandissant un rhyton, coiffé du pétase, chaussé de bottes ailées, drapé dans un vête-

ment, le personnage semble parodier l'H. banquetant du stamnos contemporain du P. de Berlin au Louvre (257).

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

**891.\*** Psykter. Londres, BM E 768. De Cerveteri. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 446, 62: Douris; *CVA* 6, pl. 105; Bieber, *Theater* 15 fig. 49; Vernant, *o.c.* 95a, 123 fig. 171. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - A-B: kômos et jeux de Satyres. A la tête de l'indiscipliné cortège, un Satyre-guide, chaussé d'endromides et noblement drapé dans un manteau thrace, porte le caducée d'H. Parodie d'une des fonctions du dieu? H. déguisé *exarchos* d'un chœur satyrique (Bieber)?

**892.** Hydrie. Leningrad, Ermitage B 201 (B 627, St 1538). - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 555, 95: P. de Pan; Schmidt, M., *AntK* 10, 1967, 78-80 pl. 21, 2. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - H. conduit devant Dionysos (canthare dans la main g.) deux personnages barbus (couronne de lierre, casaque brodée de palmettes, chitoniskos plissé). H., en tunique et manteau drapé sur les épaules, pétase, chaussures ailées, le caducée verticalement dirigé vers le sol, fait une vigoureuse enjambée vers la dr. en se retournant vers le premier barbu qu'il traîne par le poignet; le second barbu s'agrippe aux bras de l'autre; ils semblent effrayés (gesticulation, bouches ouvertes précédées de lettres inscrites: chant?). Scène d'interprétation incertaine dont la clef se trouve dans l'écritoire qu'H. tient avec son caducée: liste de choreutes? résultat du concours?

**893.** (= Aithiopes 22\* [A]) Olpé. Paris, Louvre N 3408. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1335, 34: P. de Nicias; Para 522; *Add* 182; Schefold/Jung, *SBIV* 171 fig. 207-208 (bibl.). - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - Parodie de l'attelage de l'apothéose d'Héraclès. Le héros se tient aux côtés d'une Niké aux traits caricaturaux comme les siens, dans un char tiré par quatre Centaures. Le personnage d'adophore macrophallique qui ouvre le chemin au quadriges tient le rôle d'H. Dans ses cheveux, deux corymbes à la place des ailerons.

##### Vases italiotes (f. r.)

**894.** Cratère en calice apulien. Lecce, Mus. Prov. 629. De Lecce. - *RVAp* I 12, 36: Hearst P.; *CVA* 1, pl. 2, 1; 3, 1-2; Trendall, *ESVP* 47 n° B 32. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - A: une femme absorbée dans la contemplation d'elle-même et dans l'arrangement de sa coiffure se tient derrière un loutéon, un miroir à la main. Un Satyre s'approche à pas de loup, apportant un flacon et une éponge(?), mais sans se faire remarquer de la belle, non plus qu'H. qui s'éloigne, un objet dans la main dr., une étoffe pliée dans la g. Nu sous la chlamyde rejetée dans le dos, le caducée sur le bras g., le dieu est coiffé d'un pilos ailé, peut-être le bonnet d'Hadès qui rend invisible et qui conviendrait à l'épisode du vol dans un gynécée apparemment représenté ici. Drame satyrique? Pour la coiffure d'H. → 837.

**895.\*** Cratère en cloche apulien. Coll. privée. - Schauenburg (1983) 49 fig. 1. - A: devant une table chargée d'offrandes se tient H. entre un personnage dionysiaque dansant (thyrses sur l'épaule, seau à la main) et une femme posant un pied sur la table, une



phiale dans la main g., une couronne dans la dr. La représentation du dieu est caricaturale. Imberbe et la mine renfrognée, nu et ventripotent sous la petite chlamyde, le pétase vissé sur le crâne, chaussé de bottes sans ailes, il se tient immobile, les pieds joints, comme pris dans une gaine, le caducée dans la main g., dans la dr. une grenade(?), puissamment ithyphallique et le membre garni d'une couronne. Sans doute inspirée du théâtre comique, cette scène qui montre H. au supplice comblé d'honneurs est impossible à interpréter exactement. Je comprends que le dieu «fait la statue» pour les besoins du scénario.

**895 bis.** (= Alkmene 2\*) Cratère en calice phlyaque. Vatican 17106. De Paestum. - Trendall, *Phlyax Vases* 2 46, 65; Bieber, *Theater* 2 132 fig. 484; Dumont, *o.c.* 181b, 143. - Alcmène à sa fenêtre, vers laquelle Zeus porte l'échelle. H. (pieds nus, pétase, chitoniskos, caducée pointé vers le sol, lampe dans la main) éclaire le chemin.

### C. Hermès spectateur d'événements mythiques

#### *Vases lucaniens (f.r.)*

**896.** (= Harpyiai 17 avec renvois et bibl.) Cratère. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1095. - LCS 47, 243; P. d'Amykos; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* 36 K 40 pl. 62. - Vers 410 av. J.-C. - A: Phinée pillé par les Harpyies, secouru par les Boréades et les Argonautes. Dans la partie inférieure de la composition, H. observe la scène, assis sur un valonnement du terrain. Juvénile, coiffé du pilos, pieds nus, le flanc g. et la cuisse dr. drapés, il lève la tête et la main g., son caducée appuyé contre le genou. B: Argonautes au repos.

**897.** Deux vases attribués au P. des Choéphores (370-360 av. J.-C.) montrent H. dans une attitude quasi identique, près du tombeau où se tient assise Electre tandis qu'approche Oreste. Nu, seulement drapé à l'épaule, coiffé du pétase, le dieu tend une couronne vers la stèle. Les jambes croisées dans la position du repos, avec une pondération praxitélienne, il est accoudé sur son caducée planté dans le sol. a) Hydrie. Naples, Mus. Naz. 2858. - LCS 60, 3. - b) (= Amazones 394) Péliké. Paris, Louvre MNB 167 (K 544). - LCS 120, 599; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III 1, 5.

#### *Vases apuliens (f.r.)*

**898.\*** (= Aietes 13 avec bibl., = Iason 57) Cratère en calice. Paris, Louvre K 127. - *RVAp* II 539, 332 pl. 203, 3: très proche du P. des Enfers; Schauenburg, K., *RM* 82, 1975, 212 pl. 60, 1. - 350-340 av. J.-C. - Devant un roi trônant, jeune prince présentant la toison d'or et couronné par une Niké: Phrixos devant Aétès? Jason devant Aétès ou Pélias? Du registre supérieur, H. juvénile observe la scène, son caducée à la main.

**899.** Cratère à volutes. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta J 1097. - *RVAp* I 417, 16; P. de Lycurgue; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* 50 K 72 pl. 120-122. - Vers 350 av. J.-C. - A: scène dionysiaque sur le col; combat d'Arimaspes et de Grifons sur le pied; Jardin des Hespérides sur la panse. B: combat d'Héraclès contre le taureau sur le col. Sur la

panse, sacrifice à Apollon devant un temple avec sa statue de culte. Parmi les divinités et personnages indéterminés qui entourent l'édifice, H. en conversation avec une femme en bonnet phrygien. Coiffé du pétase, chaussé de sandales ailées, la chlamyde drapant ses bras, il est figuré de trois quarts dos, s'appuyant sur le caducée qu'il tient derrière lui.

**900.\*** (= Eros 931 avec renvois) Cratère à volutes. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta J 424. - *RVAp* II 865, 24 pl. 324, 2; P. de Baltimore; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* 51 K 73 pl. 123-127. - 330-320 av. J.-C. - A: Amazonomachie sur le col, femmes et Amours sur le pied. Sur la panse, en trois registres, massacre des Niobides. En haut, parmi des divinités spectatrices, H. juvénile (boucles parotides, pétase et bottes ailées, caducée orné) aux côtés d'Héra trônant au centre, appuyé contre un louté- rion, les jambes croisées, la chlamyde découvrant l'avant du corps. Du regard et du geste il participe à la conversation entre Héra et Arès. B: thiasé sur le col. Sur la panse, cavalier à la lance dans un naïskos entouré de porteurs d'offrandes.

#### *Vase paestan (f.r.)*

**901.** (= Kadmos I 25\* avec renvois et bibl.) Cratère en calice. Paris, Louvre N 3157. De Santa Agata dei Goti. - *RVP* 143, 241 pl. 90: Python. - Vers 330 av. J.-C. - Cadmos combat le Dragon entre Harmonie et Thèbes. Au-dessus quatre spectateurs (bustes émergeant du terrain), dont H. couronné, le pétase sur la nuque, un caducée orné de bandelettes sur l'épaule dr.

### D. Hermès dans des scènes fragmentaires ou non identifiées

Choix de documents retenus pour l'intérêt ou la qualité de la représentation.

**902.\*** Des vases archaïques à f.n. montrent H. bien caractérisé par des attributs, encadré par un homme et une femme non identifiables. Exemples: a) Lécythe att. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 605. - VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. avec pétase et chaussures ailées. - b)\* Olpé chalcidienne. Trieste, Mus. Civ. S 455. - Rumpf, *ChalkiVas* 33 n° 192 pl. 167. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - H. (bottes ailées, pétase, chlaina sur les bras, caducée dans la main g.) se retourne dans l'attitude qui lui est familière (figure en contrepoint).

**903.** Cratère en calice att. fr., f.n. Paris, Louvre Cp 11292. - *ABV* 275, 135; P. d'Antiménès; *CVA* 12, pl. 197. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - H. acéphale se retourne vers un attelage. Bottes ailées, chitoniskos, manteau dont les draperies tuyautées retombent de part et d'autre de la main qui tient le caducée à hauteur de la taille.

**904.\*** Deux fr. de pinakes att. f.r. conservent des restes de figures d'H.: a) Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 1047. De l'Acropole. - Graef/Langlotz II pl. 82 c. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - H., la tête couronnée (traces du front) avance le bras dr. en tenant verticalement son caducée dans la main g. - b)\* Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 1042. De l'Acropole. - Graef/Langlotz II pl. 82 a-b; Philippaki, B., *Vases du Mus. Nat. d'Athènes* (s.d.) fig.

coul. p. 75. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - Jugement de Pâris. H. retient Pâris par le bras. En pétase ailé et manteau sur tunique courte, il porte son caducée de la main g. et une épée accrochée à la taille.

**905.** Stamnos(?) att. fr., f.r. Chiusi, Mus. Naz. 1847. De Chiusi. - *ARV* 2 188, 64; P. de Kléophradès; Schnitzler, L., *OpuscAthen* 2, 1955, 55 pl. 3, 10; *CVA* 2 pls. 13, 3; 14, 1-2. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - A: H. conservé au-dessus de la taille (pétase à très larges bords, chlamyde). Il se retourne vers Héraclès qui le suit, lui désignant de la main et du caducée le chemin. B: Apollon.

**906.\*** Fr. d'oenochoé att. f.r. Athènes, Agora P 150850. - Green, R., *Hesperia* 31, 1962, 86 n° 10 pl. 30, 10; Zagdoun n° 19 pl. 21, 82. - Vers 410 av. J.-C. - Représentation archaïsante d'H. (pétase à très large bord, sandales dont les ailes sont stylisées en volutes); nu sous la chlamyde à plis tuyautés flottant dans son dos, il se dirige vers la dr. d'une grande enjambée.

### XV. Hermès et le jeu: toupie, cerceau, dés

#### *Vases attiques*

**907.** Amphore f.n. Orvieto, coll. Faina 186. - *ABV* 368, 98; P. de Chiusi; Technau, W., *RM* 53, 1938, 97-98 pl. 24, 1-2. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - A: Achille et Ajax au jeu de dés. Derrière la table, Athéna et H. se tournent chacun vers l'un des héros avec de grands gestes des mains. B: Dionysos entre deux Ménades assises derrière lesquelles se tiennent d'un côté un Satyre, de l'autre H.

**908.** Coupe fr., f.r. Florence, Mus. Arch. 80528. De Saturnia. - *ARV* 2 377, 113; P. de Brygos; Minto, L., *AttiTorino* 1924, 133 fig. 1. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - I: près d'un arbre, H. (pétase, bottes ailées, caducée horizontalement dans la main g.) brandit le fouet avec lequel il fait tourner une toupie sur une petite plate-forme.

**909.** Coupe f.r. University, Univ. of Mississippi, anc. coll. Robinson. - Minto, *o.c.* 908, 136 fig. 2; Schefold, *SB* III 213 fig. 293: Douris. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - H. (pieds nus, pétase, chlamyde), de trois quarts face, se déhanche pour frapper du fouet la toupie qui tourne au sol et vers laquelle un éphèbe tend la main.

**910.\*** Lécythe f.r. Tübingen, Univ. S/10 814. - *ARV* 1 (absent d'*ARV* 2): P. de Londres E 242; *CVA* 5, pl. 41, 3-8. - Vers 450 av. J.-C. - Devant un éphèbe drapé spectateur, H. (pétase sur la nuque, chlamyde, caducée obliquement dans la main) fouette la toupie tournant au sol.

Sur ces représentations du jeu de la toupie, cf. le commentaire de Wolters, P., *MJBK* 8, 1913, 90.

#### *Gemme*

**911.\*** Lapis-lazuli. Londres, BM. - Walters, *BMGems* n° 1397 pl. 19. - Nu, avec ailerons de tête et sandales ailées, un caducée ailé verticalement dans la main dr., H. se présente de trois quarts face vers la g., la main g. prolongée par une baguette(?) portée sur un grand cerceau. - 863. 878.

### XVI. Types plastiques d'Hermès

Récapitulation des types recensés dans des rubriques antérieures du catalogue: pilier hermaïque, 9-91; H. criophore, 260-307 (dont le type de Trézène avec bélier 298); H. pédophore, 391-401. Les types présentés ici seront classés soit en fonction d'une attitude caractéristique du dieu (ce sont les cas les plus simples: celui p.ex. d'H. attachant sa sandale), soit, faute d'indices iconographiques, en fonction du seul critère disponible, celui du style. Outre que l'analyse proprement stylistique n'entre pas dans les objectifs du LIMC, la tentative pour H. est rendue aléatoire par la grande fréquence des copies romaines qui transforment et déforment les originaux grecs. Il va de soi que l'on n'entrera guère ici dans les discussions que suscitent ces «Umbildungen» et que l'on ne retiendra, autant que possible, que les documents les moins suspects. Par ailleurs beaucoup de statues sont plutôt des Mercurus (→ Mercurius).

### A. Documents archaïques et de tradition archaïque

Si ce n'est sous les formes du pilier hermaïque et du criophore, H. est mal représenté dans la sculpture en ronde-bosse avant l'ép. sévère finissante. Les pièces sûres sont rarissimes et l'on n'inclura pas dans ce catalogue, p.ex., le beau torse de *kouros* drapé de l'Ilissos, parfois identifié comme un H. (*ArchDelt* 14, 1931-32, 41-56 pl. 5-7; BrBr 781-782).

#### *Petite plastique en bronze et toreutique*

**912.\*** Statuette. Genève, Mus. MF 1251. - Deonna, W., *Cat. des bronzes figurés ant.*, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève (1915-16) 51 n° 155; *idem*, *Genava* 9, 1931, 168-170. - Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.; peut-être étrusque. - H., jambes jointes et chaussures ailées aux pieds, porte une chlamyde attachée sur l'épaule g. et traversant obliquement la poitrine; bras brisés, le g. le long du corps, le dr. plié au coude; barbe en pointe; nappe de cheveux dans le dos.

**913.\*** Applique d'une frise de cratère, atelier lacorien. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. 1969.8. - Gehrig, U., *AA* 1971, 604-610 fig. 4-7. - Vers 550 av. J.-C. - H. se dirige vers la dr., le regard tourné vers le spectateur. En chitoniskos et manteau court, il porte la main g. à son pétase; bras dr. plié au coude et main dr. creusée pour tenir le caducée. Pieds brisés. H. s'avancant à la tête d'un cortège (cf. le Vase François).

**914.** Plaquette en bronze repoussé = 209.

### B. Types sévères

#### *Ronde bosse en marbre*

**915.\*** «H. Ingenui». Vatican, Gall. delle Statue 544. - Helbig 149 (Fuchs, W.); Arias, P. E., *Mirone* (1940) 24 pl. 14. - Œuvre éclectique d'ép. antonine combinant des traits du style sévère. - La pondération se caractérise par un plante du pied libre fixée au sol.

Tête myronienne. Ajouts du copiste: ailes de tête, caducée vertical dans la main g., lyre appuyée contre la béquille, chlamyde fixée sur l'épaule dr. par un fermoir rond à la mode romaine, mais dont le faisceau de draperies arrondies se rencontre dans l'art hellénistique délien (→ 986). L'inscr. *INGENVI* sur la plinthe donne probablement le nom du dédicant.

916.\* Deux têtes myroniennes ont été identifiées comme appartenant à des H.: a)\* Copenhague, Glypt. 1940. De Rome. – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 99–100 n° 110; Poulsen, V. H., «Myron. Ein stilkritischer Versuch», *ActaArch* 11, 1940, 34; Helbig<sup>4</sup> 149 (Fuchs, W.). – Type H. «Ingenui», avec bandeau dans les cheveux. – b)\* Malibu, Getty Mus. 72.AA.154. – Frel, J., *GettyMusJ* 1, 1974, 55–57 fig. 1–2. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.? – Tête ailée (ailes brisées) du type «Persée» de Myron au Mus. Cap. (Helbig<sup>4</sup> 1771), rattachée à un H. de Calamis.

917. Statue fr. en marbre pentélique. Cyrène, Mus. 14114. Des thermes romains de Cyrène. – Paribeni, *SculptCirene* 127–128 n° 360 pl. 163. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.; modèle du IV<sup>e</sup> s. (Paribeni), ou plutôt d'un éphèbe d'ép. sévère? – Pétase ailé et caducée probablement dans la main dr. le long du corps. Draperie en faisceau oblique depuis l'épaule dr. jusqu'au bras g. recouvert. Coiffure à bouclettes frontales. → 925.

918.\* Trois petites statues en marbre du nord de la Grèce paraissent dériver de modèles sévères, avec combinaisons éclectiques: a)\* Malibu, Getty Mus. 71.AA.283. De Thasos. – Vermeule, C./Neuerburg, N., *Cat. of Anc. Art in the J. Paul Getty Mus.* (1973) 22 n° 45. – I<sup>er</sup>–II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. d'après un original grec de la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. porte le pétase ailé et une chlamyde drapée comme sur 921. Grand caducée ailé sur le bras g. (inachevé). – b)\* Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 1185. – Draperie type 921. – c)\* Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 6793. De Potidée. – Même draperie.

919. «H. Pitti». Florence, Pal. Pitti. – EA 213–215; Lippold, *GrPl* 178; Arnold 264 n° 2. – Copie romaine (II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.?) d'après un original grec du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Cet H. à tête ailée a également été expliqué par l'art polyclète du IV<sup>e</sup> s. et rattaché à Naucydès (Arnold; type Lansdowne-Berlin-Pitti, *infra* 943). Mais Lippold avait souligné ses affinités avec l'éphèbe Odesalchi (Copenhague, Glypt. 271; Lippold, *GrPl* pl. 63, 1) et le faible chiasme aux hanches à peine transmis aux épaules.

920.\* H. de la Villa Hadriana. – Aurigemma, S., *BollArte* 40, 1955, 69–71 fig. 15; Berger, E., *RM* 65, 1958, 6–19 fig. 1–2. – Œuvre éclectique combinant des traits empruntés à des modèles sévères; du même sculpteur que le guerrier de la Villa Hadriana (Berger). – H. nu, acéphale; traces du caducée sur le bras dr.; ailerons noués aux pieds? Plante du pied libre adhérent au sol. Cf. fr. de torse comparable, avec couronnement de caducée près de l'épaule g. de la petite statue: Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 1147.

Petite plastique en terre cuite

921. Moule fr. Athènes, Agora. – Shear, T. L., *Hesperia* 7, 1938, 352 fig. 37. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s., tradition sévère. – H. coiffé du pilos, la chlamyde drapée en

éventail de l'épaule dr. au bras g., tient verticalement le caducée dans la main g. Jambes brisées.

922. Série de statuettes. D'Olynthe. a) et b) Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 01931 et 01952. – *Olynthus* XIV 206 pl. 64; 236 pl. 77. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. drapé à l'épaule g. S'inscrivent par la pondération dans la tradition sévère.

### C. Phidias

Ronde bosse en marbre

923.\* «H. Ludovisi», en marbre pentélique. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 8624. – Karouzou 1; Helbig<sup>4</sup> n° 2326 (v. Steuben, H.). – Copie du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. d'après un original phidiesque en bronze (peut-être pas de la main de Phidias) daté vers 450–440 av. J.-C. Restaurations par le sculpteur Algardi, en part. au bras dr. – Le pétase ailé est retenu par un bandeau à l'arrière du crâne. Tête inclinée dans l'axe du corps. Pondération pré-classique avec des pieds rapprochés et plus fermement ancrés au sol que chez l'Apollon de Cassel. La draperie glisse de l'épaule g., s'arrêtant à la hauteur du biceps. La main g. tenait le caducée incliné vers le sol. La main dr., dont le geste commande en partie le sens de l'œuvre, se laisse mieux restituer d'après la réplique d'Antium 924a (cf. v. Steuben). L'interprétation la plus satisfaisante est celle de S. Karouzou, à la lumière de l'iconographie funéraire attique (cratère du P. de Perséphone 637, lécythes): H. Psychopompe, peut-être la statue d'un monument aux morts de la cité (aux morts de Coronée en 447? cf. Paus. 1, 29, 14 et 27, 5). Simon, *Götter* 312–314 fig. 298–299, insiste sur les résonances éleusiniennes d'un H. *Chthonios*. Sur une reconstitution en H. *Logios*, → 924b.

924.\* Répliques de l'H. Ludovisi. a)\* «H. d'Antium», marbre italien. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 124479. De la mer, près d'Anzio. – Karouzou 1, 94–95 Beil. 66; Helbig<sup>4</sup> n° 2291 (v. Steuben, H.). – Copie du milieu ou de la 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Le caducée, sur le bras g., freinant le glissement de la draperie, n'est pas en position correcte. D'après la partie du bras dr. conservée sous l'épaule on peut admettre une forte avancée, une flexion du coude, une main ramenée non loin de la tempe (travaillée sans soin: occultée?). – b)\* Un H. Ludovisi transformé en Apollon. Sidé, Mus. Fr. recueillis devant la façade du Nymphée. – Mansel, A. M., *Die Ruinen von Side* (1963) 69 fig. 50; Inan, J., *AntK* 13, 1970, 23–26; eadem (1975) n° 6 pl. 13–18. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – A partir d'un photo-montage des fr., reconstitution d'un H. *Logios* (*AntK* 1970, pl. 21, 3) conforme au schéma du «Germanicus» du Louvre (BrBr 69; Richter, G., *Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture* [1951] fig. 130. – c)\* Leptis Magna, Mus. 10. Du théâtre. – Caputo, G./Traversari, G., *Le scult. del teatro di Leptis Magna* (1976) 21–22 n° 1 pl. 1–2. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Statue dérivée de l'H. Ludovisi. Pas d'attributs hermaïques.

925.\* Statuette. Rome, Mus. Cap. 1435. Anc. Antiquarium du Caelius. – Arias, P. E., *Policleto* (1964) pl. 15; Mustilli 139 n° 3 pl. 87, 325; Helbig<sup>4</sup> n° 1777 (v. Steuben, H.). – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – H. (pétase ailé, ca-

ducée sur la draperie du bras g.) réalisé à partir d'un éphèbe vainqueur (bandeau dans les cheveux) du milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. La tête inclinée et bouclée comporte des traits phidiesques. De l'H. de Phidias qui se dressait devant l'Isménion de Thèbes, *theos pronaos*, à côté d'une Athéna de Scopas, rien n'est connu que sa mention par Paus. 9, 10, 2.

### D. Kalon d'Élide

926.\* Statue en marbre. Vatican, Sala della Biga 2374. Du Quirinal. Restauré par V. Pacetti avec une tête casquée (d'où la désignation de «Phocion» par Visconti). – Lippold, *SkulptVatMus* III 2, 83 n° 66. 536; Helbig<sup>4</sup> n° 502 (Fuchs, W.); Dörig 3, 128–143 fig. 1. 7–8. 13–17 (la fig. 17 sans les restaurations de Pacetti). – Copie d'ép. impériale d'un original de Kalon d'Élide (420–410 av. J.-C.) dont Paus. 5, 27, 8 cite un H. à Olympie, non loin du criophore d'Onatas. Deux fr. de la base inscrite et signée ont été retrouvés dans l'Altis (*Olympia* V [1896] 398 n° 271; Dörig 3, 127). – H., coiffé du pétase, le caducée dans la main g., drapé à la manière de certaines terres cuites béotiennes classiques (271a–g) et d'une statuette en bronze du Cab. Méd. à Paris (Dörig 3, 135–136 fig. 10), se présentait comme sur une gemme de Dioscouridès. La datation de l'original au milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. (Fuchs à la suite de Lippold) rend mal compte de la légèreté post-parthénienne du manteau, du jeu antagoniste entre le vêtement et l'anatomie.

927. Cornaline. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. – Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* 63 n. 83 (hist. de la pierre); Dörig 3, 136 fig. 9. – Ép. augustéenne. – Transmet l'image de l'H. de Kalon d'Élide: imberbe, coiffé du pétase, caducée presque vertical dans la main g. un peu soulevée, bras dr. le long du corps, ample manteau court et lisse.

### E. Crésilas

928. Ephèbe (H.?) du type Cyrène-Périnthe-Sidé. Statues en marbre. a) Cyrène, Mus. – Paribeni, *SculptCirene* n° 445. – b) Sidé, Mus. – Inan, o. c. 924b, 21 pl. 14–16; eadem (1975) 28 n° 3. – Torse avec reste de caducée dans la main g. – c) Local. inconnue, anc. Dresde, Staatl. Kunstslg. 73. D'Eregli (Périnthe). – BrBr 542; Vierendeel-Schlörb, *KatSkulptMünchen* II 89–90 et n. 41. – Peut-être un H. *Logios* à partir d'un original en bronze des années 440, antérieur dans la carrière de Crésilas au Diomède de Cumes.

929.\* «Mercure de Thalwil». Statuette en bronze. Zurich, Landesmus. P 3447. De Thalwil. – Schuchhardt, W.-H., *APL* I (1962) 33–40 pl. 22–27; Dörig, J., *Helvetica Arch.* 14, 1983, 25–35. – I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – C'est un Diomède transformé par l'adjonction d'ailes talonnières, d'un pétase ailé, sans doute d'un caducée dans la main g. (brisée). L'original traditionnellement attribué à Crésilas (Vierendeel-Schlörb, *KatSkulptMünchen* II 79–99 fig. 38–46) est rattaché par Dörig à Lykios, fils de Myron.

### F. Polyclète

#### 1. Doryphore-Discophore-Kyniskos

Petite plastique en bronze

930.\* Statuette dite «éphèbe d'Annecy». Paris, Petit Palais, coll. Dutuit DUT 1. D'Annecy. – Petit, o. c. 73, n° 32 avec fig. et bibl. – Fin I<sup>er</sup> s. av. – I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Le plus souvent considérée comme la meilleure image de l'H. de Polyclète dont l'existence, sous la forme d'au moins une statue, est attestée par Plin. nat. 34, 56: (*fecit*) ... *item Mercurium qui fuit Lysimacheae*, sans que l'on sache s'il s'agit de Lysimacheia de Thrace ou (plutôt) d'Etolie. Arnold préfère toutefois renvoyer à une statuette de Vienne, «plus vivante»: Eichler, F., *Führer durch die Antikensammlung* (1920) 45. Dans l'hypothèse de tels modèles, l'H. de Polyclète aurait été un frère très proche du Doryphore. Il faut toutefois noter que l'éphèbe d'Annecy ne porte pas le caducée dans la main g., mais, semble-t-il, plutôt une *cornucopia*, dont est conservée l'extrémité courbe qui reposait sur l'intérieur de l'avant-bras. L'argument contre une identification comme H. n'est toutefois pas dirimant, car l'analyse spectrométrique et la radiographie du métal ont révélé que l'attribut était une adjonction antique. Au caducée du messenger de Zeus a pu se substituer l'insigne d'un Génie de l'abondance. Pour la *cornucopia* chez H., → 969. 971. 997.

931.\* Statuette. Paris, Louvre Br 183. – Rolley, C., *Mon. Graeca et Romana* V, *Les bronzes* (1967) n° 83; Lullies/Hirmer, *Plastik* pl. 181; Boucher (1971) 317–327 pl. 3–4; eadem (1976) 95–102 fig. 1–4. – Ép. romaine, d'un atelier grec. – Beau modelé, incrustations d'argent et de cuivre pour les yeux et les pointes des seins. L'éphèbe se présente avec une pondération en chiasme, mais les plantes des deux pieds au sol. Il incline un peu la tête vers l'épaule dr., les deux bras le long du corps, le dr. plus relevé que l'autre dont la main s'arrondit autour d'un objet perdu. Deux encoches latérales dans la chevelure fixaient des ailerons sur la tête. Le schéma est celui du discophore polyclète, même si le bronze du Louvre n'a jamais pu tenir de disque dans la main dr.: mais rien n'empêchait de modifier le détail de cette main pour la transformation d'un athlète discophore en H. (portant la bourse dans la main dr., le caducée dans la g.).

Ronde bosse en marbre

932.\* Tête. Boston, MFA 98.641. – Sieveking fig. 7 et pl. 1; Arias, o. c. 925, pl. 11; Vermeule (1969) 17 fig. 17; Lauter 93. – La tête, d'un modelé exceptionnel, est brisée au cou et a perdu la calotte crânienne rapportée; elle était coiffée du pétase (Sieveking, d'après l'étude de la zone du joint). Autres têtes puristes d'ép. augustéenne citées par Lauter (Oslo; Rome, Pal. Valentini Scalone).

933. Tête. Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. I. 828. Du Gymnase du port à Ephèse. – *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake*, *Kat. der Antikensammlung* (1978) 105 n° 134 pl. 84; Lauter 107 n. 481. – Copie romaine d'après l'Héraclès de Polyclète (cf. la statue fr. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 106164; Helbig<sup>4</sup> n° 2251 (v. Steuben, H.); Vierendeel-Schlörb, *KatSkulptMünchen* II 95 n. 27. –



Vers 420 av. J.-C. - Adjunction par le copiste d'ailes sur la tête (l'une conservée).

934. \* Tête. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. SK 1833. - Blümel, *KatSkulptBerlin* IV K 146 pl. 28-29; *idem*, «Der Diskosträger Polyklet», *BerlWPr* 90, 1930 3-5 pl. 1-2; Lauter 100. - Excellente copie d'ép. antonine. - Discophore transformé en H. par adjunction d'ailes sur la tête. Cf. la tête polyclétéenne de Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 23.225. - Hill, D. K., *AJA* 74, 1970, 21-24 pl. 4. 6-8 (mais pas d'attributs hermaïques).

935. Statue. Bâle, Antikenmus. BS 221. - Zanker, P., *AntK* 12, 1969, 35 pl. 23-24. - Œuvre romaine du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. (ou Hypnos?) d'après le Discophore.

936. \* Statue. Boston, MFA 95.67. De la région de Capoue. - Vermeule (1969) 17 fig. 18; Comstock/Vermeule, *SculptBoston* n° 145. - Ép. romaine (augustéenne?). - Calotte crânienne rapportée, perdue. Ailes de tête brisées dans les cheveux. La douceur du modelé et la mélancolie de la tête inclinée sont plutôt d'un successeur de Polyclète qui semble se souvenir également du Kyniskos (bien que le geste du couronnement ne soit pas celui de l'H. de Boston). On rapprochera aussi l'éphèbe de Wellesley College, plus proche du Discophore (Vermeule [1969] 22 fig. 14). Sur les mécanismes de ces «Umbildungen» et «Neubildungen», cf. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen* (1974).

## 2. Quelques Hermès de la tradition polyclétéenne

### Ronde bosse en marbre

937. \* «H. Barberini». Palestrina, Pal. Barberini. - Arnold 215. 228. 281 n° P1 pl. 28 a. - Copie de l'ép. de Trajan ou du début de celle d'Hadrien d'après une œuvre de Cléon de Sicyone, vers 390-380 (Arnold). - Statue acéphale brisée aux cuisses et au biceps dr. Le bras et la main g. à la hanche sont drapés comme l'H. de la colonne historiée de l'Artémision d'Ephèse (591). La main dr. le long du corps tenait vraisemblablement le caducée. La jambe g. libre est placée en retrait comme chez les éphèbes post-polyclétéens (de Dresde: Arnold 64-68. 259-262 pl. 1c. 6a. 7a. 8a). Traits fortement polyclétéens de l'anatomie.

938. \* Statue colossale en marbre pentélique. Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 2211. De la Villa Hadriana (la tête, qui n'appartient pas à la statue, provient du Colisée). - Helbig<sup>4</sup> 460 (Fuchs, W.). - Ép. d'Hadrien. - Copie retenant *grosso modo* le schéma du Doryphore, mais plaçant la main dr. à la hanche et la g. le long du corps pour tenir le caducée. Et surtout l'athlète polyclétéen est amplement drapé dans une chlamyde (cf. le pseudo-Phocion, 926).

939. \* a) Leptis Magna, Mus. 16. Du théâtre. - Caputo/Traversari, o. c. 924c, 33-34 n° 12 pl. 11-12. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Réélaboration d'un type polyclétéen, avec adjunction d'ailerons de tête, d'un caducée et d'une bourse. - b) \* Tête ailée polyclétéenne. Genève, Mus. MF 1328. D'Italie. - Deonna, W., *Cat. des sculpt. ant.* (1924) n° 51; Chamay, J./Maier, J. L., *Art grec. Sculpt. en pierre du Mus. de Genève* I (1990) n° 28 pl. 34, 1-3.

### Petite plastique en bronze

940. \* Statuette. Londres, BM 825. De Gaule. - Walters, *BMBronzes* 825; Walters, H. B., *Select Bronzes* (1915) pl. 48; Furtwängler, *MW* 426-427 fig. 63. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C.? - Le sculpteur retient le rythme et l'anatomie du Doryphore, auquel il met un torque en or (disparu) au cou, des draperies du type H. Lansdowne-Berlin-Pitti (943) sur le côté g., le caducée en argent (disparu) dans la main g. et une bourse dans la main dr.

941. \* Série de statuettes, de bonne qualité, drapées comme 940, caractérisées comme H. par un ou plusieurs attributs: ailerons de tête, bourse, caducée. Anatomies et rythmes polyclétéens. a) \* Boston, MFA 1904.9. - Comstock/Vermeule, *BronzesBoston* n° 110. - b) Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 54.988. - Hill, B. K., *Cat. of Class. Bronze Sculpt. in Walters Art Gall.* (1949) 25 pl. 10. - c) Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. De Gaule. - Lantier, R., dans *Mél. Ch. Picard* II = *RA* 1948, 554-560.

### Glyptique

942. \* Deux documents présentant de trois quarts profil vers la g. un athlète de pondération polyclétéenne, transformé en H. par le port du caducée: a) \* Chaton de bague en argent. New York, MMA 41.160.496. - Richter, *MetrMusGems* 93 pl. 16. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. prend appui sur une colonne ionique. - b) \* Topaze ovale. New York, MMA 81.6.74. - Richter, *MetrMusGems* 286 pl. 41. - Début de l'ép. impériale. - Draperie sur l'avant-bras g., tronc de palmier.

## G. Naucydès

### 1. L'Hermès de Naucydès

943. \* Type Lansdowne-Berlin-Pitti. Répliques en marbre. a) \* «H. Lansdowne». New York, MMA 56.234.15. - Michaelis, *AntM* 68 fig. 104; Vermeule, C./v. Bothmer, D., *AJA* 63, 1959, 330 pl. 77. 3-5. - b) \* Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. SK 199. - Blümel, *KatSkulptBerlin* IV K 16 pl. 48; Arnold 123-124. 264 E 1 pl. 10 a. - Original vers 410-400 av. J.-C., dont l'existence est attestée par Plin. *nat.* 34, 80. L'attribution à Naucydès du type présenté ici se fonde en particulier sur la similitude des têtes avec celle du Discobole du même sculpteur (Arnold pl. 8c; 9a). Contrairement à l'habitude polyclétéenne, c'est le côté g. qui est porteur, le bras dr. pendant le long du corps, comme également chez le Discobole de Naucydès (Arnold 262-263 pl. 11b; 12-13c). Construction héritée non pas du chiasme polyclétéen, mais d'un vieux schéma argien. En ôtant les attributs des copistes (ailes talonnières, bourse), on restitue un H. juvénile, drapé à l'épaule dr., tenant le caducée.

### 2. Hermès sculptés d'après des types plastiques de Naucydès

944. \* a) «H. Capelli». Florence, coll. Capelli. - Arnold 136-137. 267 FIV 1 pl. 15c. - Copie de l'ép. de Trajan ou d'Hadrien, d'après un original de 400-390 av. J.-C. - La tête n'appartient pas à la statue.

Restaurations, en particulier de l'avant-bras dr. avec le caducée et de la main g. avec la bourse. Position des jambes et pondération assurées. - b) \* «Ephèbe». Cyrene, Mus. - Paribeni, *SculptCyrene* n° 358 pl. 162; Arnold 136-137. 267 FIV 2 pl. 13 a. - Copie d'ép. antonine. - Restes de bourse dans la main dr. le long du corps.

945. Hermès-Phrixos. Statue en marbre grec. Lep-tis Magna, thermes. - Bartoccini, o. c. 298, 131-134 fig. 131-133. - Ép. antonine. - Le pied dr. surélevé sur une tortue, penché vers l'avant, H. porte sur sa cuisse drapée un enfant assis (jambe conservée) qu'il retient probablement de sa main dr. (bras dr. brisé). La main g. écartée du corps tient un caducée orné, à peu près perpendiculairement à la jambe porteuse. *Chlaina* enroulée autour des épaules et du bras g. Le visage est celui du Discobole de Naucydès (Arnold pl. 11 b; 22 a), les cheveux ceux de l'H. Lansdowne-Berlin-Pitti (943).

On est frappé par la similitude entre cette statue et une fresque pompéienne de la Maison de Spurius Maesor (Arnold 126-130 pl. 14 a-b), où l'on voit un personnage, le pied surélevé sur le degré d'un autel, regardant brûler une victime. Or Plin. *nat.* 34, 80) mentionne parmi les œuvres de Naucydès un *immolans arietem* que rien ne désigne comme un H., et Pausanias a vu sur l'Acropole, où une base porte vraisemblablement la signature de Naucydès (*IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 3, 4272), un Phrixos qui «ayant sacrifié le bélier [à la toison d'or] et ayant découpé les cuisses selon l'usage grec les regarde brûler» (Paus. I, 24, 2). L'*Umbildung* du Phrixos en H. pédophore consistait notamment à changer la toison d'or en draperie sous le corps de l'enfant et l'épée du sacrificateur en caducée. Cf. références *supra*, → 298.

## H. Varia de la tradition polyclétéenne au IV<sup>e</sup> s.

### 1. Hermès Richelieu

946. a) \* Paris, Louvre MA 573. - Charbonneaux, *SculptLouvre* 47; Arnold 184-189. 201-205. 276-277 N V 15 pl. 13 c; Vierendeel-Schlörb, *KatSkulptMünchen* II 283-292 fig. 132-139 (ensemble du dossier de l'H. Richelieu); Montebault, M./Schloder, J., *L'album Canini et la coll. de Richelieu* (1988) n° 2. - Copie antonine d'un original des années 360 av. J.-C., œuvre d'un sculpteur de tradition polyclétéenne prenant appui sur l'H. de Naucydès (943). - Vigoureuse spatialité de la chlamyde drapant le bras g., avec un pan rejeté sur l'épaule. Attributs hermaïques parfois multipliés par les copistes sur une trentaine de répliques (Arnold 274-279) dont la tradition remonte à la fin de l'ép. hellénistique, véritables H. ou adaptations en portraits. Le succès du type correspond à la nouvelle vision post-classique d'H. dieu de la palestra et de la jeunesse. Parmi les répliques citons en particulier: b) Buste. Rome, Mus. Barracco 43. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> n° 1899 (v. Steuben, H.); Arnold 184. 278 N 22 pl. 22 b; 23 b. - Excellente copie flavienne ou antonine. - c) Florina, Mus. 29. - Daux, G., *BCH* 84, 1960, 765-766 fig. 4; Arnold 277, 19 a. - Statue acéphale, brisée aux cuisses et au bras dr. - d) \* Copenhague,

Glypt. 1545. - Arnold 276, 13. - Adaptation en portrait. - e) *Addendum* à la liste d'Arnold: torse de Sidé. - Inan (1975) n° 22 pl. 34-35.

### 2. Bustes, torsos, têtes (choix restreint)

947. Statue acéphale (marbre parien?). Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 1903.008. - Ridgway, B. S., *Cat. of the Class. Coll., Class. Sculpt.* (1972) 45-48. 164-165 n° 16. - Type Richelieu. Brisures aux bras dr. et g., sous le genou dr. et à la jambe g.

948. a) \* Buste. Copenhague, Glypt. 2570. De Rome. - Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 202-203 n° 272 a. - Copie du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. à partir d'un original du milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Draperie sur l'épaule, façon H. Richelieu (946a). Visage incliné vers l'épaule g. (cf. Pan de Leyde: Arnold pl. 1 b). Bandeau et ailerons dans les cheveux. On rapprochera deux têtes qui évoquent également la manière du Maître de Pan: b) \* Copenhague, Glypt. 2422. De Rome. - Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 205 n° 274 a. - Copie du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Bandeau et ailerons de tête. - c) \* Boston, MFA 1974.522. - Comstock/Vermeule, *SculptBoston* 102 n° 157. - Copie du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Pétase sans ailes.

949. Deux marbres en provenance de Gortyne paraissent encore se situer dans la lignée de l'H. Richelieu, mais avec un mouvement de chlamyde en plis arrondis d'une épaule à l'autre: a) Héraklion, Mus. Arch. 411. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.? - Statue acéphale. Bourse dans la main g.; traces du caducée sur l'épaule g. brisée. - b) Héraklion, Mus. Arch. 207. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.? - Buste acéphale, brisé à la taille et aux épaules.

## I. Praxitèle et dérivations praxitéliennes

950. \* H. du type Andros-Farnèse - Antinoüs du Belvédère. a) \* Statue en marbre de Paros. Andros, Mus. 245, anc. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 218. D'Andros (Palaiopolis). - Karouzou 2. - Œuvre d'un sculpteur cycladique de la 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. d'après un original du milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s., de tradition praxitélienne. - b) \* Réplique Farnèse. Londres, BM. 1599. - Lip-pold, *GrPl* 275 pl. 96, 4; Rizzo, o. c. 392a, 75. 117 pl. 112. - c) \* Antinoüs du Belvédère. Vatican, Mus. 907. D'un jardin proche du château Saint-Ange. - Picard, *Manuel* IV 1, 305 fig. 123; Helbig<sup>4</sup> 246 (v. Steuben, H.). - La réplique Farnèse (b), la plus complète, conserve le geste de la main dr. appuyée à la hanche. Caducée contre la face interne du bras g. abaissé le long du corps et enveloppé d'une draperie dont un pan retombe de l'épaule. La tête s'incline vers l'épaule dr. Le fort déhanchement rappelle l'H. d'Olympie (394), mais sans les complications du rythme praxitélien, en sorte que l'on peut hésiter entre une datation vers 400 (v. Steuben) ou vers 350 (Karouzou). Malgré l'élégance de la pose, l'H. d'Andros (a) a le sérieux mélancolique d'une statue funéraire, comme l'a montré S. Karouzou: à Palaiopolis, il ornait avec une statue féminine de type «Grande Herculanais» un monument funéraire. Couple héroïque?

Au type 950 se laissent rattacher quelques autres sculptures de qualité, d'ép. impériale: d) Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. I 869. D'Ephèse. - *Funde aus Ephesos*,



o. c. 933, 106 n° 135. – Buste acéphale, brisé aux cuisses et à l'épaule dr. – e) Tête. Sidé, Mus. – Inan (1975) n° 35 pl. 44. – f) Harvard Univ., Dumbarton Oaks Coll. 38.84. – Richter, G. M. A., *Gr. Rom. Ant. in the Dumbarton Oaks Coll.* (1956) n° 6 pl. 4 c. – Buste acéphale brisé aux cuisses et aux biceps. Pondération inverse de celle du type d'Andros. – g) Tête. Boston, MFA 1974.523. – Comstock/Vermeule, *SculptBoston* 102 n° 156. – h) Tête. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 125588. Du Tibre. – Helbig<sup>4</sup> n° 2257 (v. Steuben, H.); Papadopoulos, J., dans *MusNazRom* I 1, 203–204 n° 126.

951.\* Trois sculptures d'inspiration praxitélienne pourraient être des H., mais ne conservent pas d'attributs hermaïques: a)\* Statue acéphale. Cleveland, Mus. of Art 1925.1341. – Bieber, M., *Art in America*, July 1943, fig. 11. – Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Main dr. appuyée à la hanche; appui sur la jambe dr.; forte cambrure. – b) Torse de statuette acéphale. Prague, Univ. Charles 60.293. – *Antické umění v československých sbírkách* (1979) n° 134 pl. 20. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Brisures aux épaules, à la hanche dr. et à la cuisse g. Pan de draperie rejeté sur l'épaule g. Beau modelé. – c) Statue acéphale. Almyros, Mus. Arch. 1. 38<sup>2</sup>. De Méliboia. – Biesantz, o. c. 25, 31 n° 38 pl. 43. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup>–début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Draperie retombant de l'épaule g. jusqu'à la hauteur du genou.

952. Florence, Uff. 147. – Mansuelli, *SculptUff* I 176–177 pl. 159a–b. – Copie antonine éclectique à partir d'un modèle du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Ailerons aux pieds, pétase; le caducée dans la main g. est une restauration. Le geste du bras dr. restauré (bourse dans la main) doit être corrigé sur le modèle de celui de l'Apollon Lycien. Très admirée par Furtwängler, *MW* 572–573, la statue aux jambes trop longues se présente dans un repos trop instable pour être praxitélienne. Visage à traits scopasiques.

## J. Œuvres éclectiques (influences de Scopas et de Lysippe)

### Ronde bosse en marbre

953.\* Trois têtes d'H. à ailerons ou pétase présentent des traits scopasiques dans le rendu du front, des yeux, de la bouche: a) Würzburg, Albrecht Neuhaus. D'Hermopolis. – *BurlMag* 112, 1972, pl. 75. – Fin de l'ép. hellénistique. – b)\* Londres, BM 1462. De Cyrene, Temple A d'Aphrodite. – Smith, *BMSculpture* II 1462. – 120–130 ap. J.-C. Copie d'un original du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ? – H., Persée ou Hypnos? – c)\* Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts 4729. – Hekler, A., *Mus. der bild. Künste in Budapest. Slg. antiker Skulpturen* (1929) n° 35. – Copie romaine d'un modèle du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Tête coiffée du pétase.

954.\* Statue assise d'H.(?) à la bourse. Copenhague, Glypt. 1590; anc. Rome, Pal. Sciarra. – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 205 n° 275; Arias, P. E., *Skopas* (1952) 136 n° 2. – Copie romaine d'un original grec du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Personnage juvénile assis sur la draperie de son manteau, la jambe g. ramenée vers le corps, la main sur le genou. L'autre main, appuyée sur

un tronc d'arbre, semble avoir tenu une bourse. Avec moins de spatialité, la pose rappelle celle de l'Arès Ludovisi (→ Ares/Mars 23 = Ares 24\*).

955.\* H. du Palatin. Rome, Antiquarium du Palatin. – Helbig<sup>4</sup> n° 2086 (v. Steuben, H.); Mariani, L., *Ausonia* 2, 1907, 224 pl. 14, 5. – Œuvre éclectique de la fin de l'ép. hellénistique ou du début de l'ép. impériale combinant avec la tradition polycléteenne des traits de sculpteurs du second classicisme. – Main g. à la hanche. Epaule et flanc g. drapés par la chlamyde, pondération inverse de celle de l'H. Lansdowne (943). Furtwängler songeait à une œuvre de la jeunesse de Scopas (*MW* 520–523).

### Petite plastique en bronze

956. Statuette. Tunis, Bardo. Du navire naufragé de Mahdia. – Fuchs, o. c. 71, 20 n° 11 pl. 20. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. Atelier de Boéthos de Calcédoine? Œuvre classicisante. – H. bâti en athlète lysippéen aux hanches étroites et au torse massif, en appui sur la jambe dr. Ailerons aux pieds, chlamyde drapée sur l'épaule g. avec un pan d'étoffe retombant par-dessus la main.

957.\* Boston, MFA 03.988. De Gaule (Auvergne?). – Ep. gréco-romaine. – Comstock/Vermeule, *BronzesBoston* n° 109. – H. nu, la tête à ailerons (brisés) ceinte d'un bandeau, la main g. le long du corps arrondie autour d'un caducée (perdu), avançant la main dr. ouverte. La silhouette évoque l'Agias de Lysippe.

## K. Lysippe et la tradition lysippéenne

### 1. Hermès attachant sa sandale

#### Ronde bosse en marbre

958.\* Quatre principales répliques: a)\* Copenhague, Glypt. 2798. De Tivoli, Villa Hadriana. – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 264 n° 273 a; Lippold, *GrPl* 280 pl. 100, 2; Johnson, F. P., *Lysippos* (1927) 170–177 pl. 30–31; Ridgway, B. S., «The Date of the So-called Lysippean Jason», *AJA* 68, 1964, 113–128. – b)\* Paris, Louvre MA 83. De Rome. – Clarac, F., *Descr. des Antiques du Mus. Royal* (1820) 266 n° 710; Picard, *Manuel* IV 2, 604. 607; Charbonneaux, *Sculpt-Louvre* 47–48 fig. 83. – Bras modernes, tête antique n'appartenant pas à la statue; marbre pentélique pour le corps, parien pour la tête. – c)\* «Sandalenbinder». Munich, Glypt. Gl 287. Du théâtre de la Villa Hadriana à Tivoli. – Vierneisel-Schlörb, *KatSkulptMünchen* 457–468 fig. 227–232. – Œuvre aujourd'hui débarrassée des fausses restaurations d'après la réplique du Louvre. Statue acéphale, brisée à la cuisse dr. et sous les épaules; main et pied dr. conservés (sans raccord). – d) Pergé, Mus. – Inan (1979) 397–413; cf. le torse de Sidé: Inan (1975) n° 32 pl. 42. – Liste des autres répliques et adaptations: Ridgway 117–120; Vierneisel-Schlörb 465–466. Pour les monnaies: Vierneisel-Schlörb 466–467 n. 15. – Personnage athlétique de taille naturelle vers la g., le pied dr. surélevé sur un rocher, la tête tournée vers l'épaule g. et un peu levée. La main dr. est portée sur le lacet de la sandale (répliques

de Munich et du Mus. Naz. Rom.); le bras g., plié au coude, repose sur le genou dr. où il retient la draperie d'une chlamyde. La tête rappelle celle de l'*Apoxyomenos* de Lysippe. En l'absence d'attributs, l'identité de la figure a été sujette à débat (Jason monocépide devant Pélias; Cincinnatus à cause de la charrue ajoutée sur la réplique du Louvre; athlète à la palestra, interrompu dans son geste de Sandalenbinder (Ridgway). L'identification comme H. est fondée sur la présence du caducée ou d'ailerons de pieds chez des personnages analogues de types monétaires et de gemmes (959–960). Traditionnellement on rapproche aussi l'*ekphrasis* de Christodoros décrivant une statue de bronze au Zeuxippe de Constantinople: un H. à la baguette d'or, dont l'attitude paraît bien être celle de la statue examinée, du messager prompt à se mettre en route, attentif aux ordres qui lui viennent de Zeus (*Anth. Pal.* 2, 297–302. Cf., Caprino, C., *BollArte* 59, 1974, 106–114). Quant à l'attribution et à la datation de l'œuvre, elles partagent également les avis des spécialistes: Lysippe (Lippold), Euthykratès (Johnson; Dörig, J., *MusHelv* 16, 1959, 55), sculpteur de la 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., sensible à l'héritage lysippéen (Ridgway). A cause du schéma spatial, on a rapproché le Gladiateur Borghèse signé par Agasias d'Ephèse (Lippold, *GrPl* 382 pl. 134, 3). Pour ce débat, cf. Vierneisel-Schlörb qui propose un original en bronze de Teisicratès: *KatSkulptMünchen* II 462. Pour une transposition du motif en relief, → 751.

### Monnaies

959.\* AR statères, Sybrita (Crète), 320–280/70 av. J.-C. – Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze* 115 n° 554 pl. 168. – Av. H., le pied dr. surélevé sur un rocher, la chlamyde dans le dos, se présente de trois quarts profil à g. Il tire des deux mains, attentif à son geste, les lacets de sa sandale. Caducée devant lui, verticalement dans le champ. Rv. Dionysos chevauchant une panthère.

### Glyptique

960.\* a) Anneau d'or. Local. inconnue. Anc. coll. Tyszkiewicz, Guilhou et Harari. De Tarente. – Lippold, *Gemmen* pl. 10, 6; Boardman, J., *The Ralph Harari Coll.* (1977) n° 10. – H. de profil vers la dr. (chlamyde dans le dos) lace la sandale ailée de son pied g. surélevé sur un rocher. A la différence du type statuaire, le dieu est absorbé par son geste. Le grand bronze de l'original comportait-il le même attribut magique? Du même H. de Sidé dont on conserve le torse (958d) provient peut-être un fr. de sandale ailée: Vierneisel-Schlörb, *KatSkulptMünchen* II 458. 465–466 n. 4. – b)\* Pâte de verre brun sombre. Munich, Münzslg. T 128. – AGDI 2, 106 n° 1203 pl. 128. – 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. ? – H. nu, coiffé du pétase, de profil à dr., le pied surélevé sur un rocher, lace sa sandale g. – Cf. *ibid.* n° 1204–1206. Sur la série des gemmes: Ridgway, o. c. 958a, 113–115 (avec les réserves de Vierneisel-Schlörb 459).

## 2. Hermès au repos

### Statue en bronze

961.\* H. d'Herculanum. Naples, Mus. Naz. De la

Villa des Pisons à Herculaneum. – BrBr 94; Johnson, o. c. 958a, 177 pl. 35; Fuchs, *Skulptur* 1 272–273 fig. 301; Pandermalis, D., *AM* 86, 1971, 200 n° 19. – Réplique romaine d'après un original de Lysippe. – H. est assis de trois quarts face (la meilleure vue pour le spectateur), vers la dr., sur un rocher (restauré), la jambe g. ramenée, la dr. allongée. Un peu penché vers l'avant et la main dr. appuyée, il donne le sentiment d'un repos momentané et inquiet, qui sera interrompu dans un instant. La main g., posée sur le genou, tenait le caducée. Les sandales ailées portent aux semelles de gros boutons en forme de rosettes. Loinement apparenté à l'H. de la frise des Panathénées (779), le type est à rapprocher d'autres statues assises de Lysippe, l'Héraclès de Tarente et l'Héraclès *Epitrapézios*. Réédition classicisante de l'H. au repos de Lysippe par les bronziers de Campanie (Beschi 57).

### Petite plastique en bronze

On trouvera ici les principaux exemplaires de l'H. au repos, classés selon la typologie de Beschi.

962.\* Type de Vienne. a)\* Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. VI 420. – Beschi 43–44 fig. 15. – Original hellénistique (III<sup>e</sup> s. ?) constituant probablement la réplique la plus proche de la création de Lysippe (diffusion par une quinzaine de statuettes). – Assis sur un siège rocheux (perdu), moins penché en avant que l'H. d'Herculanum et beaucoup plus athlétique, la jambe dr. ramenée (au lieu de la g.), l'H. de Vienne tenait vraisemblablement le caducée dans la main dr. posée sur le genou. – b) Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. VI 332. – Eichler, o. c. 930, 46; Beschi 44; *Götter, Heroen, Menschen, Sonderausstellung der Antikenslg.* (Cat. Vienne 1974) 14 n° 13 pl. 3. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Pétase ailé et bourse. – c) Hartford (Connecticut), Wadsworth Atheneum 1917.880. – *Coll. Morgan, Cat. of Bronzes* n° 40. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Ailes de tête, bourse dans la main dr., caducée (perdu) dans la main g. près du genou. Siège rocheux. – d)\* New York, MMA 1920.202. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Pétase ailé(?), bourse dans la main dr. Siège rocheux.

963. Type de Baltimore. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 54.758. – Beschi 48–49 fig. 17. – I<sup>er</sup>–II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Caractérisé par la chlamyde drapant en éventail l'épaule et le bras g. avec une retombée sur l'avant-bras. Caducée dans la main dr. (sur la cuisse) et bourse dans la main g. ?

964.\* Type du Louvre. Paris, Louvre Br 1055. D'Entrains (Nièvre). – De Ridder, *BrLouvre* I 129 n° 1055; Beschi 50 fig. 19. – D'un modelé vigoureux, la figure (ailerons de tête, bourse) se différencie par une flexion au coude du bras g., maintenu très haut et reposant peut-être sur un caducée vertical. Animaux sur le siège rocheux (→ 965). L'attitude évoque celle du Mercure de la coupe à médaillon de Berthouville: Babelon, J., *Le trésor d'argenterie de Berthouville* (1916) 119 pl. 21.

965.\* Type de Montorio. Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. VI 423. – Beschi 31–43 fig. 12; *Götter, o. c. 962b*, 60 pl. 13. – Fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Coiffé d'un pétase ailé, la bourse dans la main g., l'épaule g. et la poitrine drapées, H. forme avec les personnages du socle rocheux

un ensemble qui relève moins de la cohérence plastique que d'un montage optique: l'orientation des principaux personnages d'animation (Génies ailés, bouc, chèvre, tortue, coq) est déterminante.

**966.\*** Variantes provinciales du type de l'H. au repos: **a)** H. de Tiriolo. Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz. - Catanuto, N., *Il Mus. Naz. di Reggio di Calabria* (1939) 51 pl. 24 fig. 67. - I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Assis les deux jambes ramenées, H. se caractérise par un cumul d'attributs: pétase et sandales ailés, chlamyde et bourse. Phiale dans la main dr. tendue. - **b)\*** Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (anc. Fogg) 1932.56.8. - Artisanat gréco-romain. - H. à demi couché de trois quarts face (pétase ailé, caducée dans la main g.?) Autre objet dans la main dr. Pour ces séries de statuettes gréco-romaines et romaines et les variantes du schéma assis, Reinach, *RépStat II* 168-170.

#### Monnaies

**967. a)** AR drachmes, Phénéos (Arcadie), vers 370-300 av. J.-C. - BMC Peloponnesus 194 n° 14 pl. 36, 8. - Av. Tête de Nympe vers la g. Rv. H. assis vers la g. sur des rochers où il appuie sa main; caducée dans la main dr. avancée. Paysage du Mont Cyllène? - **b)** AR statères, Phaistos (Crète), vers 350 av. J.-C. - Svoronos, *Crète* 254, 2 pl. 22; Babelon, *Traité* 2 pl. 255, 5; Le Rider, G., *Monnaies crétoises* (1966) pl. 20, 25. - Av. Europe assise sur un rocher face au taureau. Rv. H. assis sur un rocher vers la g., le caducée levé dans la main dr.

Cf. les monnaies de Corinthe avec l'image d'H. assis en compagnie du bélier, → 304 a-d.

#### Glyptique

**968.\*** Variantes du schéma plastique lysippéen. **a)\*** Pâte de verre violette. Göttingen, Univ. G 291. - AGD III n° 173 pl. 43. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. en athlète nu, assis de trois quarts face vers la dr. sur un siège rocheux, la main dr. appuyée. Caducée dans la main g. qui repose sur le genou plié; bourse (ou coq?) à ses pieds. - **b)\*** Chaton de bague en verre translucide. New York, MMA 17.194.43. - Richter, *MetMus-Gems* n° 288 pl. 41. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. assis de trois quarts profil vers la g. Nu, sandales ailées(?), caducée dans la main dr. obliquement tourné vers le sol. - **c)** Bague en bronze. Munich, Münzslg. A 2560. - Boardman, *GGFR* 427 n° 1026.

Pour d'autres variantes du schéma, cf. AGD III 171-172. 174-176; pour les représentations d'H. sur les gemmes en général: Pannuti, *CatGlittNapoli I* 50-51.

### L. Divers types hellénistiques et gréco-romains

#### 1. Types alexandrins

##### Petite plastique en bronze

**969.** «H. Fouquet». Anc. coll. Fouquet. De Tell Moqdam. - Perdrizet, P., *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la coll. Fouquet* (1911) 30-31 n° AO pl. 17. - III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. se présente en athlète lysippéen (monté sur un support en fleur de lotus?), la tête tournée vers l'épaule dr. La main g. tient écarté du corps un grand

pan de la chlamyde qui drape l'épaule et le bras et dans lequel était peut-être niché l'enfant Dionysos. Ailerons aux pieds et à la tête. Au-dessus du front, «plume égyptienne» ou «pétale de lotus». Sur l'usage et le sens de cet apex chez H., cf. Perdrizet 27-30; Chamoux, F., *Et. d'Arch. Class.* 2 (1959) 34-38. L'H. Fouquet est un dieu *ploutodotès* caractérisé par l'attribut de la corne d'abondance dans la main dr.; → 930, et peut-être 971. 997.

**970.\*** Groupe de lutteurs. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 190. D'Antioche. Bronze monté sur un support en pied de candélabre dont l'appartenance n'est pas certaine. - Devambez, P., *Grands bronzes du Mus. de Stamboul* (1937) 87-96 pl. 26-28; Charbonneaux, J., *MonPiot* 47, 1953, 114-118 fig. 18-19; Kyrieleis, H., *APL* 12 (1973) 133-147 pl. 45-48 et fig. 1-30. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., caractérisé par les ailerons de tête et par la «plume égyptienne», terrasse un adversaire barbare chevelu. Gestes techniques de la palestre par clefs et blocages à la nuque, à l'épaule dr., à la cuisse et au pied g. du vaincu. L'œuvre originale, vers 240 av. J.-C., montrait probablement Ptolémée III vainqueur sous les traits d'H., dieu des athlètes. Huit répliques entre le III<sup>e</sup> s. et l'ép. impériale (cf. Kyrieleis).

**971.\*** Hermès-Ptolémée III Evergète. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. C 301. - Kyrieleis, H., *Antiken aus dem Akad. Kunstmus. Bonn* (1969) 31-32 n° 27 pl. 18; Stemmer, Kl., *Alexandrinische Kunst im Akad. Kunstmus. Bonn* (1979) 1. - III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - La main dr. le long du corps tient le caducée ou la *cornucopia*. Le bras g. manque. Ailerons de tête (brisé à dr.) Type athlétique rappelant l'H. du groupe des lutteurs d'Antioche (970). Traits individualisés, identifiables d'après les effigies monétaires comme étant ceux de Ptolémée Evergète: Svoronos, *Ptol IV* 150.

**972.\*** Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Art Mus. 74.20. D'Asie Mineure. - II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Type athlétique, en appui sur la jambe dr., l'épaule dr. recouverte d'une draperie formant un bourrelet dans la diagonale de la poitrine. Bourse dans la main dr. avancée. Au-dessus du front, «plume égyptienne».

**973.\*** Hermès-Apollon. Boston, MFA 08.535. - Comstock/Vermeule, *Bronzes Boston* 105 n° 111. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C.? - Statuette brisée aux cuisses, en mouvement. Les mains, loin du corps, tiennent à g. le caducée, à dr. un autre objet. Tête ailée avec «plume égyptienne» au-dessus du front; couronne de laurier(?) et bandelettes retombant sur les épaules. Draperie en éventail de l'épaule dr. à l'épaule et au bras g.

#### 2. Types gréco-romains de tradition classique

##### Petite plastique en bronze

**974.\*** Choix de quatre statuettes de rythme lointainement polyclétéen, variant par les attributs, les gestes, la draperie: **a)\*** Bad Dt. Altenburg, Mus. Carnuntinum 11944. De Carnuntum(?) - Fleischer, R., *Die römischen Bronzen aus Österreich* (1967) 58 n° 53 pl. 32. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Caducée et bourse dans les mains éloignées du corps, ailes de tête, draperie façon H. d'Andros (950). - **b)\*** Columbia (Missouri), Univ. 1959.20. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sandales ailées, pétase (ailerons ou «plume égyptienne»), bourse dans la main g.

et caducée dans la dr.? Epaule et bras dr. drapés par des plis en cascade. - **c)** Seattle, Art Mus. 68 Cs 11.57. - Del Chiaro, M. A., *Roman Art in West Coast Collections* (1973) 34. 78 n° 41. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Ailerons de tête, bourse dans la main dr. avancée, caducée dans la main g. Pans de draperie sur l'épaule et sur l'avant-bras g. - **d)\*** Très petite statuette en or. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 282. - Amandry, P., *Coll. Hélène Stathatos III* (1963) 235-236 n° 171 fig. 140 pl. 36. - Fin I<sup>er</sup> s. av.-début I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Bourse dans la main dr. près du corps, caducée verticalement contre l'épaule dr. recouverte d'une draperie en éventail à travers la poitrine.

**975.\*** Type d'H. nu présentant la bourse. Boston, MFA 1898.676. De Rome, marché de l'art. - Comstock/Vermeule, *Bronzes Boston* 106 n° 112. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - La facture sèche et anguleuse conserve néanmoins le rythme classique. Ailes de tête, main g. écartée du corps, arrondie autour du caducée (perdu), main dr. avancée présentant une volumineuse bourse.

#### 3. Types de l'iconographie populaire

Ces statuettes généralement sans style se caractérisent par l'importance des attributs. Choix restreint.

##### Petite plastique en bronze

**976. a)** Athènes, Mus. Nat., coll. Carapanos 569. - Ep. hellénistique ou impériale. - Corps sans modelé. Jambe dr. brisée, jambe g. tordue. Pétase en forme de casque ailé, énorme caducée sur le bras g. - **b)** Athènes, Mus. Nat., coll. Carapanos 562. - Ep. hellénistique ou impériale. - Brisée aux cuisses et sous l'épaule dr. Corps sans modelé dont la poitrine est traversée par une draperie. Pétase en forme de casque ailé (avec «plume égyptienne» au milieu?), énorme caducée sur le côté g.

**977.** Athènes, Mus. Nat., coll. Carapanos 563. - Ep. hellénistique ou impériale. - Jambes brisées au-dessus du genou dr. et à la cheville g., pétase ailé, bourse(?) dans la main dr. collée au corps. Palme sur le bras g., drapé un peu à la façon de la *manica* d'un gladiateur.

##### Terres cuites

Pour la commodité du classement on distinguera pour les terres cuites, comme *supra* pour les bronzes, entre les statuettes plus ou moins apparentées à des types de la tradition classique et celles que produisait l'imagerie populaire, sans références à des «modèles». Choix restreint.

**978. a)\*** Fr. Paris, Louvre E/D 2302. De Tarse. - Besques III pl. 355b. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Athlète «lysippéen» caractérisé comme H. par le port du caducée, verticalement sur le côté g. - **b)** Paris, Louvre E/D 2304. De Tarse. - *Ibid.* pl. 355 c. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Même caducée volumineux, porté verticalement sur un bras drapé.

**979.\*** Statuette. Paris, Louvre D 318. De Crimée. - Mollard-Besques II pl. 68. - Ep. hellénistique ou impériale. - Corps épais, sans modelé, bras dr. près du corps (brisé au biceps), bras g. (coulée de draperie?) avec caducée vertical, tête coiffée d'un *strophion* en boudin dans lequel sont piqués deux ailerons.

**980.** Deux têtes en terre cuite, à visages inertes, coiffées de pétases ailés. **a)** Paros, Mus. 836. D'une nécropole de Paros. - Ep. hellénistique ou impériale. - **b)** Athènes, Mus. Bénaki 22583. D'Égypte. - Michaud, J.-P., *BCH* 98, 1974, 587. - Atelier rhodien du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.? - Ornaments de front et ailerons de pétase réalisés par pastillage.

#### 4. Images enfantines

L'H. juvénile est quelquefois représenté avec des traits enfantins qui en font un personnage de scènes de genre.

##### Petite plastique en bronze

**981.** Statuette décorative. Héraklion, Mus. Arch. Du sanctuaire d'H. et d'Aphrodite à Katô-Symi (Crète centrale). - Aupert, P., *BCH* 99, 1975, 685 fig. 208. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Semelles de fixation sous la plante des pieds. H. se présente dans un mouvement de trois quarts face, coiffé du pétase et chaussé de bottes ailées. Il porte dans le dos un long manteau par-dessus un chitoniskos qui laisse les cuisses découvertes. Bras dr. brisé au biceps, bras g. plié au coude, la main arrondie autour du caducée (perdu). Tête ronde au visage enfantin. Pour l'importance de la draperie (rare dans les œuvres plastiques), on rapprochera une petite statue en marbre, acéphale et brisée aux cuisses, avec le caducée sur le bras g.: Athènes, Mus. Nat. 338.

##### Terres cuites

**982.\*** Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 9863. - Breitenstein, N., *Cat. of Terracottas, Cypriote, Greek, Etrusco-Italian and Roman* (1941) 76 n° 729 pl. 88. - III<sup>e</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Corps enfantin avec draperie de manteau dans le dos, sur l'épaule et le flanc g., sur la jambe dr. Tête avec couronne et ailerons, visage encadré d'une chevelure bouclée.

**983.\*** Grande statuette. Paris, Louvre, Myr. 676. De Myrina. - Mollard-Besques II 87 pl. 106 f. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., sign. de Dipilos. - Personnage au corps enfantin (couronne avec lemnisques retombant sur les épaules, bourse dans la main dr.) de trois quarts face vers la dr., accoudé sur un pilier que couronne un petit hermès barbu.

### M. Hermès dans la sculpture de mobilier

##### Petits objets en métal

**984.\*** Poids thasien en plomb, en forme de disque. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 8022. Acquis à Athènes. - *Guides to the Nat. Mus. Greece, Italy and the Roman Empire* (1968) 64, 9A. - V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: tête imberbe de face, coiffée du pétase. B: Héraclès archer agnouillé; inscr. ΘΑΣΙΩΝ.

**985.\*** Médaille en argent. Princeton Univ. Art Mus. 1951.6. - Segal, B., *AA* 1965, 563-566 fig. 9. - III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Sur un disque entouré d'un rebord orné de postes gravés, buste d'H. de face. La tête coiffée du pétase sous lequel s'échappe une chevelure bouclée est un peu penchée vers l'épaule g. Découpe de la chlamyde autour du cou; caducée dans le champ. Cf.



les médaillons de Boston, MFA 1959.299, 1960.1152, 1960.1153 (Segal) avec des bustes de Persée, d'Athéna, d'Héraclès.

**986.\*** Applique de coffre en bronze, en haut relief. Délos, Mus. F 133. De Délos, flot des bronzes. - Siebert, G., *BCH Suppl.* I (1973) 561. 563 n° 4 fig. 1-2. 8. 10; Queyrel, Fr., *BCH* 108, 1984, 295-300 fig. 25a-d. - Fin II<sup>e</sup>-début I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - L'applique décorait un coffre du type de ceux découverts à Pompéi, dont l'un porte un buste d'H. issu du modèle de celui de Délos. Buste coupé en ovale sous les épaules et à mi-poitrine, couvert des plis arrondis de la chlamyde; la tête ailée est tournée vers l'épaule dr.; le visage, dont la bouche est entrouverte, a peut-être des traits personnalisés autorisant l'identification avec un souverain lagide: Queyrel reconnaît Ptolémée II dans l'H. de Délos, Ptolémée III dans l'H. de Pompéi qui porte la «plume égyptienne» entre les ailerons de la tête (*ibid.* 277-281 fig. 13a-c).

#### Objets en terre cuite

**987.** Moule d'antéfixe. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. MD 1792. De Tarente? - Williams, E. R., *The Arch. Coll. of the Johns Hopkins Univ.* (1984) 104-105 n° 73. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête d'H. de face, coiffée du pétase, à chevelure bouclée.

**988.** Antéfixe. Vienne, Kunsthinst. Mus. V 2600. D'Ephèse. - *Funde aus Ephesos*, o. c. 933, 121 n° 182 fig. 102. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?) - Composition ornementale: dans un décor de rinceaux, sous la palmette axiale brisée, tête au front garni de lierre(?); ailes de part et d'autre du cou. Identification d'H. douteuse.

**989.\*** Plaque rectangulaire. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 1966. Acquisée à Smyrne. - Breitenstein, o. c. 982, 53 n° 488 pl. 60. - Ep. hellénistique. - Grandes ailes de tête dans une chevelure ondulée.

**990.** Pied de meuble miniature. Izmir, Mus. Arch. D'Iasos. - Gréco-romain, ép. impériale. - Relief d'H. nu de face, avec une draperie passant d'une épaule à l'autre et retombant en cravate. Corps un peu déhanché, tête inclinée, bourse dans la main dr. baissée, caducée portée verticalement sur le bras g. Pied de table miniature ou de vasque?

**991.\*** Lampes à disques figurés d'ép. impériale: a) Athènes, Agora. - Perlzweig, J., *Agora VII. Lamps of the Roman Period* (1961) n°s 241-242 pl. 8 (et autres exemplaires à Corinthe). - Types «corinthiens», fin II<sup>e</sup>-début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. au caducée, nu, de trois quarts face à dr., se retournant vers le bélier. - b) *Ibid.* n° 248. - Même type (*idem* à Corinthe): H. en chlamyde, pétase, sandales ailées, marchant vers la g., le caducée sur le bras g. Mouton à l'arrière-plan. - c) *Ibid.* n° 776. - Type fin III<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> s., sign. de Preimos. - H. drapé dans sa chlamyde, le caducée sur le bras g., la bourse dans la main dr., devant un autel incandescent. - d) *Ibid.* n° 777. - Même type, sign. d'Elpidéporos. Dans le cadre d'un sancutaire (piliers, *pinax*) H., en athlète polyclétéen, conduit au sacrifice un bélier qu'il tient par les cornes. - e) *Ibid.* n° 778. - Même type. Buste d'H. de face, la tête vers l'épaule dr.; pétase et chlamyde. Cf. l'exemplaire d'Athènes, Mus. Bénaki 8178: buste de face (pétase, caducée dans le champ).

**992.\*** Deux vases plastiques: a)\* Oenochoé à reliefs. Paris, Louvre CA 456. De Crète ou de Tunisie. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (?) - Décorée de trois figures moulées: dieu à la corne d'abondance, Muse, H. représenté de face, en chlamyde, la bourse dans une main, le caducée dans l'autre. - b)\* Oenochoé en forme de tête. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 1035. De Chypre. - CVA 4, pl. 185, 1. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (?) - Visage juvénile; deux ailerons implantés dans la chevelure à mèches courtes, de part et d'autre du col du vase. Sur les représentations d'H. dans les céramiques à reliefs d'ép. impériale, cf. Mandel, U., *Kleinasiatische Reliefkeramik der mittleren Kaiserzeit*, *PergForsch* 5 (1988) 165-166.

#### N. Hermès dans l'imagerie synchrétique

Choix restreint d'images dans lesquelles, par le jeu des contaminations ou des associations, l'H. grec change de forme ou de sens au contact des cultures voisines.

#### Reliefs en marbre

**993.** Trapézophore. Mégare, Mus. - I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur les faces de part et d'autre d'une protomé de Griffon ailé, au milieu d'une composition de rinceaux de vignes, A: Dionysos (panthère, canthare). B: H. avec pétase et caducée.

**994.** Autel funéraire. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 2262. - Courbin, P., *BCH* 78, 1954, 138. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Hermès-Héraclès avec combinaison de la léonté, de la massue dans la main dr., du caducée dans la main g., des bottes ailées. Personnage nu athlétique de face. Inscr. K. ΦΟΥΠΙΟΥ ΕΡΜΕΙΟΥ.

**995.** Autel funéraire. Véria, Mus. 46. De Véria. - Rusch, A., *Jdl* 84, 1969, 143-144 fig. 7. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Epitaphe de Fausta. Association à une protomé féminine d'une effigie d'H. (chlamyde amplement drapée, pétase et sandales ailées, bourse dans la main dr., caducée sur le bras g.), représenté en statue dressée sur un socle orné d'un cratère et d'un oiseau. Sur la 3<sup>e</sup> face du monument est figuré le Cavalier thrace (→ Héros equitans): cf. l'association du pilier hermaïque et du Cavalier thrace sur des reliefs funéraires, p. ex. Larissa, Mus. 890 (*IG IX* 2, 890).

#### Autres reliefs

**996.** Stèle gréco-phénicienne, tuf stuqué et peint. Palerme, Mus. Reg. 1070. De Lilybée. - Parrot, A./Chéhab, M. A./Moscati, S., *Les Phéniciens* (1975) 206 fig. 226. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Banquet funéraire. Sur les piliers d'encadrement, association du signe de Tanit et du caducée.

**997.** Disque en stéatite. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 331. D'Asie Mineure(?). - Amandry, o. c. 974d, 276 n° 198 pl. 40 fig. 176. - II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sculpté sur les deux faces. A: dans l'axe, statue d'H. dressée sur une base dont la face antérieure porte le nom du dieu. Vêtu seulement d'un maillot aux hanches, H. tient dans la main dr. tendue une Niké et sur le bras g. le caducée planté sur un support en forme de massue (Amandry), à moins que le deuxième insigne ne soit une corne

d'abondance. Apex au milieu de la tête et ailerons latéraux. B: calice végétal de lotus et de palmettes disposés autour d'une rosette.

#### O. Statues d'Hermès dans la peinture de vases

**998.** (= Hades/Aita, Calu 16\*) Skyphos falisque f.r. Heidelberg, Univ. E 49. - CVA 2, pl. 66, 2; Schauenburg, K., *Jdl* 68, 1953, 38-39 fig. 1-2. - 370-360 av. J.-C. - Devant Pluton assis (corne d'abondance), Satyre au tympanon qui fait le lien avec le Satyre et la Ménade dansants de la face B. Derrière Pluton, H. caractérisé comme statue par la base sur laquelle il se tient de profil à g.; pétase, chlamyde dans le dos, sandales ailées, le caducée verticalement dans la main g., la main dr. levée dans le geste de l'orateur. Rythme vaguement polyclétéen de la figure. → 891.

#### Conclusion du catalogue

**999.** Lécythe f.r. Anc. coll. H. Seyrig. - *ARV* 2 452. 677, 7: P. du Cartellino; Beazley, J. D., «Hymn to Hermes», *AJA* 52, 1948, 336-340 pl. 34; Immerwahr, H. R., dans *Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of B. L. Ullmann* I (1964) 21 n° 5; Charnay, J., dans Dörig, o. c. 420c, n° 214. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - Ephèbe nu drapé assis de profil vers la dr. sur un *klismos*. Il déroule un papyrus portant en gros caractères les deux premiers mots du second Hymne homérique à H. (Hom. *h.* 18): *Ἑρμῆ[ν] δαΐδω*.

#### COMMENTAIRE

Le portrait d'H. esquissé à partir des sources littéraires les plus anciennes ne perd pas en cohérence ce qu'il gagne en complexité dans l'imagerie millénaire qui est la sienne entre le haut archaïsme et l'Antiquité tardive. L'ubiquité iconographique de ce dieu, plus manifeste dans les arts d'Athènes, tant par une prédilection des Athéniens que pour des raisons documentaires, s'explique par la multiplicité de ses fonctions et qualités plaisamment caricaturées par Lucien (*supra* Sources litt.). Divinité de la richesse et de la chance, compagnon des morts et guide des voyageurs, patron des athlètes, amateur de musique et de danse, l'image du plus populaire des Olympiens s'est imposée partout, dans les campagnes et dans les villes, sous l'aspect du génie protecteur de l'hermès. Tôt définie et stable pour l'essentiel, sa figure évolue en accompagnant les grands mouvements économiques et culturels de la société grecque: le dieu *κροφόρος* archaïque devient dans l'art gréco-romain le dieu *κερφόρος* à la bourse en même temps qu'à la richesse pastorale s'ajoutent ou se substituent les profits du négoce et les échanges monétaires (Mercurius, *merx*). Et lorsque le sport prend dans la cité grecque toute son ampleur, les sculpteurs font du nouvel H., jeune athlète succédant au kouros homérique, une figure de proue de ce grand phénomène de civilisation.

#### I. Ubiquité iconographique et associations préférentielles

La présence souvent passive d'H. dans les récits de l'imagerie donne quelquefois l'impression de la banalisation décorative. Comme d'autres figures, celle d'H. peut devenir une figure de composition, entraînée par les mécanismes de l'iconographie. Mais, si omniprésent soit-il, ce dieu ne se rencontre pas indifféremment en toutes compagnies. On observe des associations préférentielles dont les unes relèvent de la contrainte des mythes ou du partage des cultes, les autres d'affinités plus significatives.

Dans les sanctuaires de Katô-Symi (308-309; Introduction p. 285; *infra* p. 380), de Locres (757-758; *infra* p. 379), d'Olbia (Vinogradov, J., *Xenia* 1, 1981, 21), à tous les horizons du monde grec, H. est associé à Aphrodite pour d'évidentes similitudes de fonction. Mais il est remarquable que le lien primitivement tissé entre deux divinités de la nature féconde perdure aux époques où leurs personnalités se sont diversifiées à l'extrême (753-763; Zanker [1965] 84-88). Certaines associations sont probablement l'héritage d'un lointain passé, comme celles de leurs *xoana* dans des temples d'Argos (8b) et de Mégapolis (8c), mais la peinture de vases classique continue de réunir leurs piliers hermaïques (112). Hésiode (*erg.* 800) nous apprend que le 4<sup>e</sup> jour du mois, favorable aux mariages, est consacré à H. et à Aphrodite, en sorte que sur la frise est du Parthénon, au bord de l'assemblée divine, leur voisinage n'a rien de fortuit. Leur complicité s'affirme ouvertement à la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s., dans les Jugements de Pâris où le conducteur des déesses se fait le confident du prince troyen, le compère d'Eros favorable au triomphe d'Aphrodite (475). Une osmose se produit entre le fils de la déesse de l'amour et le messager de Zeus: le premier revêt les attitudes de l'orateur, le second la séduction d'un amant. A l'inverse H. paraît attirer Aphrodite sur le terrain de l'économie, qui lui appartient en propre, lorsqu'il partage avec elle le patronage des agoranomes et astynomes de Délos (Bruneau, *Cultes* 344-345).

L'imagerie traduit pareillement la très grande familiarité qui existe entre H. et Dionysos, l'un et l'autre dieux «extérieurs», amis de la vie et de la joie de vivre. Sur la frise est du Parthénon, ils se reposent dos à dos. Sur un stamnos du P. de Berlin ils échangent leurs montures en guise de *klinai* de banqueteurs (257) et rien ne montre mieux la nature dionysiaque d'H. que l'amphore éponyme du même peintre (656 bis) le représentant avec le canthare et le caducée dans la même main, aux côtés d'une biche et du Silène Oreimachos. Déjà dans l'hymne homérique (*h. Merc.* 436) H. est appelé par son frère Apollon *δαΐδω[ς] ἑταίρε*; par la suite, il est le convive favori des festins de Dionysos (550), le compagnon des Satyres (656 ter), associé au thiasos tant sous la forme anthropomorphe que sous celle du pilier hermaïque (650-660 bis; 129-138).

Si l'on examine le cas des héros, on constate la curieuse absence d'H. dans le cycle d'Ulysse, avec lequel il a tant d'affinités (cf. Sources litt.). Hormis l'une ou l'autre banale scène d'attelage (427. 430), seule une



table iliaque les associe tardivement (585 bis). Leur réunion dans l'imagerie aurait-elle eu quelque chose de pléonastique? On est frappé de même par l'inégale fréquence des associations entre H. et Héraclès d'une part (497-568), H. et Thésée d'autre part (493-496). Le succès iconographique d'Héraclès est plus ancien et tient à des raisons que l'on a bien élucidées, mais même dans la peinture à f.r. Thésée bénéficie rarement de l'assistance d'H. pour des travaux qui ne sont pas moins dangereux que ceux du fils d'Alcmène. Dans l'imaginaire des Grecs, l'alliance d'H. et d'Héraclès, c'est celle de l'intelligence et de la force, vertus que Thésée réunit en sa seule personne: le parfait athlète, le fin politique, l'orateur éprouvé n'avait que faire du secours d'H.

Ubiquité d'H. dans l'imagerie, quels que soient les sujets et les compositions des scènes. Dans l'univers cohérent de la mythologie littéraire et figurée, dont les cycles s'enchaînent et s'interpénètrent, H. est l'œil comme la voix de Zeus, maître de toutes choses, après le Destin. Personnage-clef, H. est aussi, visuellement, un personnage-signé qui par son insistante omniprésence révèle un trait profond de la légende grecque: explication imagée du monde, elle décrit les mille conflits inhérents à la nature physique et humaine, mais elle en interdit les blocages. Dieu de la communication, H. est en dernier ressort porteur de ce message et de cette sagesse.

On ne saurait ici commenter un à un les groupes d'images réunies thématiquement dans les seize chapitres du catalogue. Il suffira de revenir sur quelques problèmes majeurs et de présenter plus synthétiquement certaines séries de documents.

## II. Problèmes du pilier hermaïque

Le classement chronologique et typologique des piliers sculptés (9-91) met en évidence la variété d'un type plastique dont le succès, après une éclipse au IV<sup>e</sup> s. (Hermary 143-144), ne s'est pas démenti jusqu'à l'ép. impériale. Monument de plein air, l'hermès est en marbre quand il n'est pas miniaturisé en bronze ou en terre cuite. Pourtant l'hermès métallique de Boéthos de Calcédoine (71), qui mesure 1 m, ne devait pas être exceptionnel puisque dans la Maison des Sceaux à Délos un grand hermès en bronze se dressait au bord de la cour (empreinte du pilier sur la base en marbre: Siebert, G., BCH 100, 1976, 808 fig. 14). Du reste, à partir de l'ép. hellénistique, des bustes hermaïques en bronze étaient combinés avec des fûts en pierre (Wrede 3. 60-61) et l'on constate l'usage de phalloi rapportés en métal (81; Bruneau, Ph., REG 97, 1984, 63 n. 5).

Sur des points litigieux de l'iconographie du pilier hermaïque le débat est loin d'être clos. En ce qui concerne l'hermès d'Alcmène, j'ai opté avec D. Wilers pour le type d'Ephèse (42, mais → 58). Il ne me paraît pas établi que le Propylaïos cité par Pausanias à l'entrée de l'acropole d'Athènes (345) soit le chef-d'œuvre d'Alcmène vanté par l'inscr. de Pergame (47; cf. Chamoux, Fr., RBPhil 48, 1970, 1451-1452).

L'influence prédominante de l'hermès alcaménien ne fait toutefois aucun doute et se manifeste, en particulier à partir de la fin de l'ép. hellénistique, à travers ses principales variations archaïsantes (47-59). Dans l'intervalle la forme du monument ne s'était jamais figée, ni stylistiquement, ni iconographiquement. Beaucoup d'exemplaires du III<sup>e</sup> et du II<sup>e</sup> s. portent la marque des courants de la sculpture attique, alexandrine, délienne (60-73).

Des modifications plus radicales affectèrent l'effigie hermaïque. La combinaison du pilier géométrique et de la tête anthropomorphe recelait une contradiction qui s'est quelquefois libérée dans des formes intermédiaires que l'allemand désigne commodément par les termes de *Körperhermen* et de *Mantelhermen* (Lullies 1, 78-79). Dès la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. des monnaies à l'aigle de Crotona montrent le symbole d'un hermès drapé et muni de bras dont l'un tient le caducée et l'autre une phiale (Lullies 1, 72 n° 8 pl. 7, 3-4). De même c'est un hermès de Dionysos, tenant thyrsos et canthare, qui préside à des ébats amoureux sur un médaillon de Calène (Boston, MFA Res. 1908.33 j). Dans la sculpture en marbre, le compromis entre la forme corporelle et la forme architecturale se réalise de façon moins violente. Un manteau retombe soit sur un pilier ordinaire, soit sur un fût dont la partie haute se développe en buste, avec quelquefois des bras collés au corps, eux aussi enveloppés par la draperie. Pausanias (8, 39, 6) observe cette particularité sur l'hermès du gymnase de Phigalie, dont les monnaies locales en bronze conservent l'image (*NumCommPaus* 106 n° 2 pl. V 11-12). Ce sont effectivement les monuments dédiés à H. Enagônios (Pind. O. 6, 79) par les gymnasiarques et par les athlètes victorieux qui constituent les principales séries de *Mantelhermen* (Wrede 34-36). Le manteau est celui du pédotribe: H. n'est-il pas le pédotribe par excellence qui se vante dans l'inscr. du pilier Albani d'avoir enseigné aux hommes les arts de la parole et de la palestra (Helbig<sup>4</sup> n° 3220: *sermonem docui mortales atque palaestram*)? Sur les piliers consacrés à l'Héraclès du stade la *léonté* forme une draperie analogue.

À l'époque plus ancienne l'H. des odes pindariques est bien attesté par la peinture de vases dans le cadre des gymnases et des palestres (98. 143-144), mais jamais sous la forme de *Mantelherme*. La mode ne s'en propage qu'à partir du IV<sup>e</sup> et surtout du III<sup>e</sup> s., lorsque les successeurs de Polyclète eurent imposé leur nouvelle effigie du dieu de la jeunesse sportive (943-946). Les piliers drapés, strictement géométriques ou semi-anthropomorphes, servaient alors à la représentation d'autres personnages que l'H. ou l'Héraclès des athlètes: à celle p.ex. de Pan, de Priape, d'Harpocrate, de l'Hermaphrodite (→ Hermaphroditos) (Marcadé, *MusDél* 207-209. 435. 464 pl. 15-21). Sur l'ensemble des divinités sculptées à partir du IV<sup>e</sup> s. sous la forme de piliers on se reportera au répertoire alphabétique et aux commentaires de Wrede 17-31. 52-55. Sur la question des hermès doubles ou multiples (différents des hermès polycéphales de notre type 140) cf. Marcadé (1952).

La question des hermès drapés est inséparable de

celle des hermès juvéniles (81-91). Il arrive que les deux catégories se confondent (84), mais on s'interroge alors sur l'identité des personnages représentés sous l'aspect du pilier phallique et/ou vêtu, couronné d'une tête au visage jeune, aux courts cheveux d'athlète quelquefois ceints d'un bandeau (82-86). La métamorphose est complète par rapport aux hermès archaïques et par rapport à celui qu'Alcmène et ses imitateurs avaient doté d'une parure de tête sophistiquée. Des «hermès-portraits»? À l'ép. hellénistique l'expression ne saurait désigner qu'une identification entre l'image du dieu et celle de l'éphèbe dont il a patronné l'éducation au gymnase. Les traits idéalisés ne comportent rien d'individuel, tout au plus certaines particularités physiologiques comme Lysippe en confère également à ses athlètes (Marcadé [1953] 525). La catégorie est bien illustrée par les vainqueurs aux lampadédromies de Rhamnonte (Pouilloux, J., *La forteresse de Rhamnonte* [1954] 111-112 pl. 45) ou encore par les hermès du Gymnase de Délos (82), dans lequel 41 exemplaires ont été recensés en 156/55 (inventaire de Kallistratos: *ID* 1417 face A col. I 147; Tréheux, J., *BCH* 1952, 591). D'authentiques hermès-portraits se rencontrent, en revanche, dans les consécration des cosmètes athéniens, dont la plus ancienne, celle d'Héliodore (*IG II/III* 2021) remonte à l'ép. de Trajan. On citera encore les monuments qu'Hérode Atticus a élevés à la mémoire de ses *trophimoi* ou pour sa propre glorification (Wilhelm, A., *Oefh* 28, 1933, 172-182).

Dans tous ces cas le formulaire épigraphique montre que le lien n'est pas rompu entre le dieu H. et le personnage portraituré sous la forme du monument hermaïque. De même, lorsqu'en 67 Cicéron évoque les hermès *γυμνασιώδεις* que lui propose Atticus (sur ces textes, cf. Wrede 59-60) pour son académie de Tusculanum, il continue de se situer dans une tradition culturelle grecque. Mais il est clair que les hermès-portraits de contemporains ou de *virii illustres*, exposés tant dans les lieux publics que dans les galeries privées, appartiennent, après le milieu du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C., à une catégorie de sculpture caractéristique de l'art romain. À Herculaneum la Villa des Pisons en est la meilleure preuve (Pandermalis, o.c. 961, 173-209). Sur l'histoire et l'évolution des hermès-portraits jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité, sur leur emploi et leur présentation, cf. Wrede, 58-62. 71-84.

Restent les hermès juvéniles des stèles funéraires, dans lesquels on a voulu reconnaître les portraits des morts (89-90. 617). L'hypothèse n'est guère recevable, non plus que celle du pilier-monument tombal figuré au second degré (Marcadé [1953] 519; Couilloud 278; *eadem*, *BCH* 99, 1975, 317). Des piliers hermaïques funéraires ne sont attestés qu'à l'ép. impériale et sous la forme d'hermès-portraits très différents des hermès juvéniles qui se rencontrent sur les reliefs grecs (Wrede 42-43). Les stèles thessaliennes à partir de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. (plus tard, aussi, des stèles macédoniennes) sont du reste les seuls monuments qui entrent ici en ligne de compte, avec leurs bases portant l'inscription *Ερμῇ χθονίῳ*, dialectalement *Ερμάου χθονίου*: ces dédicaces signifient que les tombes sont placées sous la protection du dieu psychopompe dont on

représente l'image, par une habitude régionale propre à la Grèce du nord, sous la forme du pilier. Le monument funéraire, *stricto sensu*, est la stèle elle-même et non pas un élément de son décor. Quant à l'exégèse portraitiste, on voit mal comment elle pourrait s'appliquer à un relief comme celui de la stèle d'Hédeia à Véria (617), où le Psychopompe apparaît à côté de son propre pilier juvénile et phallique. Le grand nombre d'hermès dans l'iconographie funéraire hellénistique et romaine, sur des reliefs d'hommes, de femmes, d'enfants, s'explique par la charge affective et symbolique du jeune dieu des palestres et des gymnases, maître d'athlétisme et de rhétorique, dont la présence constitue une forme d'héroïsation pour tous ceux qui partagent la *paideia*. Il n'est pas rare que des strigiles ou des diptyques ou des rouleaux de papyrus, dans le champ ou dans les mains des défunts représentés à côté d'un hermès, soulignent ces références culturelles (91; Wrede 44-48). L'intention est la même que celle qui s'exprime sur des chatons de bagues à piliers hermaïques associés à des personnages lisant ou déclamant (184b; cf. *etiam AGD* I 391. 395-396. 955-956. 1488-1493).

L'origine du pilier hermaïque, naguère objet du principal débat (Curtius [1903, 1932]; Lullies 1 [1931], 2 [1950]; Goldman [1942]; Nilsson, *GrRel* 2 [1955]) offre moins matière à controverses depuis que l'on a pu à la fois mieux dater l'apparition du monument dans la sculpture et dans la peinture de vases et suivre son développement dans des séries bien documentées. Divinité de l'Âge du Bronze attestée épigraphiquement (cf. Introduction), au type iconographique fixé dès l'ép. de la peinture orientalisante (230-240), H. n'a pas pris à la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. la forme d'un pilier issu d'un bloc de pierre et finalement doté d'un phallus, de tenons et d'une tête. Peu d'indices existent d'un H. aniconique (1-4) et rien n'autorise à restituer le passage de l'*ἕρμα* à l'*ἀγάλμα τετραγώνον*. L'hypothèse d'une anthropomorphisation progressive compliquée d'une restylisation a fait son temps et l'on ne tiendra plus compte des hybrides de criophores (280-281), sans art et sans âge, qui n'ont aucune valeur démonstrative. J. D. Beazley (Caskey/Beazley II [1954]) et P. Devambez (1968) furent parmi les premiers à mettre sur la voie des solutions.

Des textes concordants, de nature et d'époques différentes, présentent le pilier hermaïque comme une création attique ou, selon Hdt. 2, 51, comme un emprunt par les Athéniens aux Cabires ithyphalliques des Pélasges de Samothrace (→ Megaloi Theoi). On ne sait comment les contemporains ont reçu cette explication d'ethnographie comparée, puisque l'origine du bon génie de la cité était encore bien connue de Pausanias (4, 33, 3): l'hermès tétragone avait été diffusé depuis Athènes dans le reste de la Grèce. C'est un passage du Ps. Platon (*Hipparque ou l'homme cupide* 228c-229d), un texte du IV<sup>e</sup> s., qui fournit à ce sujet les explications les plus précises. C'est bien au fils de Pisistrate, qu'acclame Epictète sur sa coupe de l'hermoglyphe (170), que revient le mérite de ces nouveaux monuments qui jalonnaient le réseau routier de l'Attique, se désignant comme des *μνήματα ἱπάρχου*, indiquant les distances

aux voyageurs et les édifiant par des maximes. C'est pour Hipparque qu'un grand sculpteur inventa, peu avant 515, et réalisa d'emblée dans sa perfection la forme de l'hermès en marbre.

L'absence de tâtonnements ne signifie pas création *ex nihilo*. S'il s'agissait de concevoir l'image d'une divinité apotropaïque, guide et porte-bonheur des voyageurs, les modèles ne manquaient pas que nous connaissions par des textes comme par des documents figurés. Le Louvre possède une curieuse tête d'H. en terre cuite que l'on devait présenter sur un pieu (garni d'oripeaux?), à en juger par l'encastrement ménagé dans la nuque (Mollard-Besques I B 191, 33 pl. 24). Provenant d'Imbros, l'objet se rapporte-t-il à H. Imbramos (7)? C'est dans une idole rustique comme celle qui, sur le cratère de Boston (165), assiste à la poursuite d'un berger par le dieu Pan que J. D. Beazley propose de reconnaître l'ancêtre des piliers hermaïques. Beaucoup de divinités champêtres possédaient de telles effigies, taillées dans le bois ou modelées dans la glaise, sans compter les mannequins dionysiaques et les «grosses têtes», en matériaux plus périssables encore, qui ne duraient peut-être que le temps d'une fête (Bérand, *Anodoi* 63-73 pl. 4-7; Halm-Tisserant, M., «Autour du mannequin dionysiaque», *Héphaistos* 10, 1990, sous presse). H. avait les siennes: rappelons son *xoanon* en bois de thuya sur le mont Cyllène (8g) dont Pausanias omet de décrire l'aspect. Peut-être faut-il l'imaginer à la semblance de l'idole du skyphos de Tübingen (167) qui réunit les trois composantes du pilier: tête, sexe dressé, tenons latéraux. L'innovation du sculpteur hipparchéen fut d'inventer une formule plastique qui transformait un fétiche de la religion populaire en œuvre d'art, en ce *περικαλλές ἄγαλμα* que proclame être l'hermès alcaménien de Pergame (47). Y avait-il, antérieurement aux piliers attiques, des hermès en pierre moins éloignés que les *xoana* du type canonique? Il ne semble pas, malgré l'intéressante tentative de J. Bousquet (o. c. 47) pour rattacher les hermès d'Athènes à ceux qui auraient flanqué l'entrée du temple de Delphes. D'autres précédents comme les «Brett-idole» de diverses divinités (Simon, *Götter* 58. 61. 167) ou comme l'indatable hermès à tête de bélier de Passava en Laconie (AM 29, 1904, 21-22 fig. 1) n'appartiennent pas à la préhistoire du véritable hermès attique.

Son étrangeté demeure, bien que les circonstances de sa naissance soient devenues moins obscures. Au plus ingambe des dieux, à l'artisan habile de ses mains, à l'orateur dont les gestes soulignent les propos persuasifs, on a coupé bras et jambes. On l'a privé de ses ailes, même s'il les conserve occasionnellement à son pétasos (107. 123; pilier du théâtre de l'agora de Cyrène: *Jdl* 74, 1959, 267 fig. 19). En revanche l'exhibition du sexe érigé est conforme, elle, aux vertus fécondantes du patron des troupeaux et relève plus généralement d'une magie sexuelle, à la fois apotropaïque et porteuse de chance, qu'a toujours exercée l'H. *δῶτωρ ἐάων* (cf. Sources litt.). Il n'y a, à ce sujet, rien à ajouter aux analyses de P. Devambez qui conclut même à une sorte de «préséance» du phallus (immuable) sur la tête (changeante avec l'identité des divers dieux-piliers).

Les spéculations en sens inverse de Macrobie (*Sat.* 1, 19, 14-15), pour qui la tête de l'hermès est une référence au Soleil, tête du monde et créateur de toutes choses, ne traduisent plus au V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. la pensée grecque. Cette combinaison du visage et du sexe, pareillement mis en valeur par leur présentation plastique et contrastant avec l'abstraction du fût, n'a pas d'équivalent dans l'imagerie. Il y a certes une réduction analogue dans les énigmatiques statuettes céphalopodes de Priène, en général identifiées avec Baubo, dans lesquelles le visage prend la place du sexe (Wiegand, Th./Schrader, H., *Priene* [1904] 155-163; Olender, M., *RHR* 1985, 3-55). Mais là où, pour le corps masculin, la sculpture grecque montre depuis les origines la nudité intégrale, elle pratique pour le corps féminin le tabou du sexe qu'elle a transmis à l'iconographie occidentale selon la règle formulée par A. Roger: «aut vultus, aut vulva» (*Communications* 46, 1987, 181-198). Qu'une complète identification d'H. au phallus pouvait s'opérer aux yeux des Grecs (à la manière des effigies phalliques du Dionysos délien), le monument qu'il possédait à Cyllène d'Elide (8f) en apporte la démonstration. Le monument de Lysandra de Daskyleion en forme de phallus naïkos où s'inscrit un pilier hermaïque ne s'explique guère autrement (Pfuhl/Möbius n° 893 pl. 133; mais cf. les réserves exprimées par Kurtz/Boardman, o. c. 633, 297-299).

La sélection de la tête et du phallus, leur association sur le «corps» du pilier hermaïque avaient pour effet et probablement pour intention de provoquer tout ensemble la reconnaissance et la surprise. Comme le souligne Fr. Frontisi-Ducroux, il y avait dans l'iconographie religieuse grecque de nécessaires limites à l'anthropomorphisme des dieux et, dans le cas du pilier hermaïque comme dans celui du mannequin dionysiaque, une remise à distance de divinités trop humaines.

Monument de la politique édilitaire et culturelle des Pisistratides, le pilier hermaïque s'est introduit massivement dans la cité démocratique, débarrassé de son discours de l'ordre moral, mais conservant toutes ses fonctions et en acquérant d'autres dans le cadre des nouvelles institutions (Kron, *Phylenheroen* 233-236). Rien mieux que l'affaire des Hermocopides (Thuk. 6, 27-28) ne montre le respect et l'affection qu'il inspirait aux Athéniens, rien si ce n'est la place qu'il occupait, par la peinture de vases, dans la cité des images. L'articulation de notre chapitre II i cherche à refléter son omniprésence dans la ville, sur les places et dans les rues, dans les sanctuaires et dans les gymnases, dans la vie publique et dans la vie privée. Des documents comme l'olpe de Paestum, le skyphos de Thasos, la péliké du Louvre (139-141) situent les hermès dans le paysage urbain où ils constituent des points de repère connus de tous. Le tétracéphale du Céramique (140), près de la voie des Panathénées, était une station pour les processions avec danses armées. Tout le secteur nord-ouest de l'Agora tenait son nom des piliers qui s'y dressaient, probablement dès l'époque des tyrans. L'H. Agoraios en bronze que Pausanias (1, 15, 1) signale près du Poecile était une statue anthropomorphe, mais on peut admettre que les piliers hermaïques de la

place ne s'en trouvaient pas éloignés. Toujours est-il que de nombreux fragments, dont une tête archaïque, ont été découverts par les fouilles américaines devant la façade ouest de ce portique et que les restes de quelque 25 autres piliers proviennent de l'intérieur et des environs de la Stoa Royale. L'existence d'une «Stoa des hermès» est attestée littérairement et épigraphiquement, mais son emplacement exact, quelque part à l'ouest du Poecile, reste à découvrir (Harrison 108-109; pour le détail des références bibliographiques plus récentes concernant ces questions de topographie, cf. Wrede 8-12. 36-37). Les trois hermès du monument d'Eion (21), dont s'inspire vraisemblablement la péliké du P. de Pan (141), y étaient exposés et le même portique abritait, au moins depuis le III<sup>e</sup> s., des stèles de décrets honorifiques pour des hipparques et des phylarques (REG 100, 1987, 139). A la périphérie de l'Agora le quartier des hermès n'était pas par hasard un centre de la vie sportive et festive, sur laquelle les témoignages des textes sont nombreux: manœuvres de cavalerie et évolutions d'apobates, courses de chevaux et d'athlètes étaient de la compétence du dieu éducateur de la jeunesse athénienne. Le passage de Xénophon (*hipp.* 3, 2) sur les cavalcades des Panathénées qui commencent et finissent près des hermès s'inscrit mieux sur le terrain depuis la découverte d'une ligne de départ à l'est du péribole des Douze Dieux (*Hesperia* 44, 1975, 362-365 pl. 82 d).

D'autres rubriques de l'imagerie vasculaire ont l'intérêt de mettre le pilier hermaïque en scène. Même lorsque des inscriptions ou le contexte archéologique nous éclairaient sur le milieu historique du monument, quantité d'informations sont perdues puisque le marbre ne garde trace des cérémonies, des visites, des prières dont il avait été l'objet de la part des hommes de l'Antiquité. Les images des peintres les ont au contraire fixées, sous la forme d'instantanés ou de savantes constructions. Hormis peut-être les stèles et les édifices funéraires aucun monument grec, ni édifice, ni statue, n'a été autant représenté que l'hermès. L'illustration de cette partie du catalogue donnera au lecteur une idée suffisante des thèmes iconographiques majeurs. On constate l'évidence de relations privilégiées entre les hermès et la jeunesse éphébique, au gymnase comme en ville (144. 146. 149. 155): conversations animées ou face à face méditatifs, salutations ou supplications, parfois attouchements (ARV<sup>2</sup> 97, 10; Vorberg, G., *Ars erotica* pl. 19). Les préoccupations de la virilité et de la fécondité féminine paraissent s'exprimer conjointement chez les deux suppliants du cratère de Bologne (153). D'autres implorations ou embrassements du pilier hermaïque par des jeunes gens ou des jeunes filles (154-155) évoquent des soucis d'amoureux. On ne peut que constater la forte charge affective de cette imagerie. Cf. *etiam* G. Siebert, «Une image dans l'image: le pilier hermaïque dans la peinture de vases grecque», dans *Réception de l'image*, Actes du coll. de Strasbourg, janv. 1988 (1991).

Dieu populaire, ami des petites gens qu'il sert sans défaillance dans *La Paix* d'Aristophane, H. se trouve sur les lieux de leur travail et de leurs divertissements. Son pilier est dressé dans l'atelier du potier (Zanker

[1965] 96); il garantit la chance du pêcheur (163) comme du chasseur (95a. 166), jamais bredouilles. Le portefaix (162), des pèlerins du Cabirion sont d'autres familiers de l'hermès auxquels se joignent les animaux: son pilier offre un perchoir commode aux oiseaux (94) et invite les chèvres à la danse (183). L'humour et l'animation qui caractérisent ces scènes ont quelquefois raison de la rigidité minérale de l'idole. Ne dirait-on pas qu'elle se penche pour mieux écouter des confidences (143)? Sur une œnochoé du P. d'Athènes (105) elle tourne franchement la tête vers une jeune visiteuse. Au Mus. d'Orsay, à Paris, un groupe d'H. chuchotant à l'oreille d'un pilier de Pan, sculpté par Hippolyte Moulin, restitue cette atmosphère d'aimable complicité.

Figurés de profil dans la plupart des compositions les piliers hermaïques peuvent se présenter de face pour établir par le regard un lien émotionnel avec le spectateur: jeu de masques bien connu dans l'imagerie. Le P. de Pan choisit quelquefois la facialité (142) ou la facialité combinée avec le profil (141) pour suggérer la disposition du monument dont il s'inspire, en l'espèce celui des trois hermès de Cimon. Ailleurs c'est l'action culturelle représentée qui justifie la présence plus intense de la face du dieu: sacrifices (119. 124-125), initiations dionysiaques (131), cortège nuptial (103). Il est notable que sur les stèles funéraires les piliers hermaïques comme les H. anthropomorphes sont souvent sculptés de face (128. 617-618. 621).

Le lieu du pilier n'est pas toujours facile à repérer. Comme pour les *xoana* (165-166), le cadre paysagiste (164) ou des associations caractéristiques (chasseur, gibier: 95a) indiquent la campagne. Un loutéon (98) marque la palestre ou le gymnase, un autel le sanctuaire (92-94. 118-123. 162). Mais quel sanctuaire et de quel dieu? L'adjonction d'un palmier (97a) évoque plutôt Chypre et Aphrodite. Rien n'autorise à identifier un sanctuaire d'H. lui-même chaque fois que son monument jouxte un autel ou se trouve associé à une cérémonie sacrée. Les bucranes et les *pinakes* au mur, ex-voto de n'importe quel *hiéron*, ne fournissent en général aucun indice: sur les petits tableaux les piliers hermaïques côtoient les Silènes (95a-c. 111), sans que l'on sache si H. est honoré chez Dionysos ou Dionysos chez H. Quelques autres cas sont plus sûrs: c'est dans son propre sanctuaire qu'H. reçoit le sacrifice du bélier (817); le pilier peint dans le champ entre des *pinakes* siléniques ne fait que renforcer la signalisation. L'hermès lui-même est assez fréquemment surdéterminé par un caducée peint sur le fût ou associé au fût (57a. 81. 96. 97b. 100. 113. 123. 151), fonctionnant à la manière d'une légende: «c'est bien un hermès d'H. que tu vois, et non pas d'un autre dieu».

Certaines images d'hermès se caractérisent par le port de vêtements qui ne ressemblent en rien à ceux des *Mantelhermen* de la sculpture. Il s'agit de casques légers, de résilles, de châles frangés que l'on jette sur le fût. Dans le cas d'hermès d'Aphrodite (112), ces parures vestimentaires posent moins de questions que dans le cas d'hermès d'H. tout à fait canoniques (95a-c). On observe que les piliers vêtus appartiennent sou-



vent à des sanctuaires de campagne et sont associés à des ex-voto dionysiaques (*pinakes* à Silènes). Une contamination avec le mannequin garni d'oripeaux est d'autant moins à exclure que les affinités entre Dionysos et H. sont illustrées par toute la peinture de vases, notamment dans les associations du pilier hermaïque et du thiasé (129-138). L'idole du P. de Pantoxéna (132) forme comme un maillon entre deux chaînes iconographiques. D'autres divinités recevaient, en offrande ou pour une cérémonie, parures et costumes. A Délos, p. ex., c'est le cas pour Léo (Bruneau, *Cultes* 209) ou pour Artémis dont le chiton passe à Dionysos quand le peuple athénien lui offre une tunique neuve (*ibid.* 310-311. 325). On imagine volontiers qu'une idole aussi populaire que l'hermès ait été coiffée et habillée en certaines circonstances par des fidèles du dieu, selon une coutume que connaissent encore des sanctuaires de pèlerinage en Italie du sud ou au Brésil: on prête à la divinité ses propres vêtements afin qu'elle les charge de son fluide.

Des documents modestes, qui n'avaient guère leur place dans un catalogue iconographique, témoignent de la vogue des images d'H. jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité. Dans une ville cosmopolite comme Délos H. figure dans le répertoire de la glyptique, notamment sous la forme de bustes quelquefois associés à ceux d'Aphrodite ou de Tyche (Boussac, M.-Fr., *Recherches sur les sceaux de Délos*, thèse inédite, Univ. Paris I [1981] chap. «Hermès»; cf. *etiam* Deonna, *o. c.* 290, 307 pl. 90: amulettes, pacotille). Des graffites d'hermès se rencontrent au Gymnase de Délos (Audiart, J., *EADélos XXVIII, Le Gymnase* [1970] 125-126), parfois jusque sur les piliers du dieu (hermès dit du Théâtre: BCH 13, 1889, pl. 12; 105, 1981, 166-169 fig. 12-13); des reliefs très grossiers, tel celui de l'Agora d'Athènes (Agora XI pl. 61), sont sculptés comme par l'homme de la rue, avec plus de maladresse mais aussi avec davantage de sincérité que n'en comporte l'hommage rhétorique d'un Léonidas à l'«hermès quadrangulaire, fils de Maïa, sauveur des troupeaux» (*Anth. Pal.* 6, 334). Le pendant des épigrammes bucoliques est constitué par les «paysages sacrés» dans la tradition du relief pittoresque alexandrin, dans lesquels des hermès sont fréquemment intégrés (Peters, W. J. T., *Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting* [1963] *passim*). A partir du milieu du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. et plus particulièrement dans les décorations miniaturistes du III<sup>e</sup> Style, des *Körperhermen* plutôt que des piliers tétraonaux, sans véritable identité théologique, deviennent des figures de composition empruntées aux *topoi* d'une imagerie dionysiaque banalisée. Les séries d'hermès archaisants que produisaient alors les ateliers de copistes alimentaient le marché du mobilier décoratif.

### III. L'évolution plastique de la figure d'Hermès

L'évolution de la figure plastique du dieu traduit le déplacement de ses fonctions dans la cité. Ce «Wandel der Hermesgestalt» que P. Zanker a suivi dans la peinture de vases attique apparaît plus radical quand on le

saisit à travers la sculpture et sur une plus longue durée. Les créations anciennes survivent: il existe des crio-phores hellénistiques (290); les ateliers néo-attiques (286-287) continuent de traiter à l'ép. impériale un sujet qui a ses origines dans l'iconographie des porteurs d'offrandes de l'Orient et de l'Égypte du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire et qui fournira à l'art paléochrétien le modèle du Bon Pasteur (Veyries; Parrot, A., «Le Bon Pasteur: à propos d'une statuette de Mari», dans *Mél. syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud I* [1939] 171-182). Certaines fonctions anciennes et permanentes, p. ex. celle du messager, ne trouvent que tardivement leur expression dans la sculpture en ronde bosse, sous la forme de l'H. attachant sa sandale (958-960) ou sous celle de l'H. au repos (961-968). D'autres ne la trouvent jamais, parce qu'elles appelaient une manière narrative que seuls le relief et la peinture pouvaient développer. Peu de statues incontestées du dieu chthonien et psychopompe des peintres (923). Du guide, seul le pédophore, plus précisément le dionysophore, a connu une véritable fortune (391-401). Le foisonnement thématique de la figure d'H. dans les arts graphiques ne peut, pour d'évidentes raisons d'exécution, avoir son équivalent dans la plastique: la constatation vaut pour l'ensemble de l'imagerie divine en Grèce. Toute enquête comparée dans les différentes catégories de documentation doit à l'inverse se garder d'une illusion d'optique: si l'H. des athlètes, image sculptée majeure à partir du IV<sup>e</sup> s., est relativement peu représenté dans la peinture de vases, c'est parce que la nouvelle vision du dieu s'impose à une époque où la céramique décorée attique avait trop perdu de sa vitalité pour faire pleinement écho aux phénomènes de société et pour inventer, en l'espèce, un répertoire sportif comparable à celui de la figure rouge sévère. Ce sont désormais les poètes, plutôt que les imagiers, qui répètent à l'envie que les arts de la palestra sont la chose d'H.: Héraclès lui-même a reçu à Argos son éducation sportive (lutte et boxe) de la part d'un maître qui est fils d'H. (Théokr. 24, 115-116; éd. Legrand p. 174). Lorsque la Grèce perd son indépendance et que le gymnase fonctionne pour une part comme un succédané de la cité, l'H. des athlètes devient un dieu «politique». Ce n'est probablement pas la moindre raison de sa diffusion par la sculpture et de sa prééminence. J'ajouterais volontiers que la plupart des autres fonctions du dieu continuent d'être captées et visualisées par l'effigie de l'hermès, l'universelle idole porte-bonheur.

Le phénomène d'art romain qui à l'ép. impériale se manifeste dans les copies et les *Umbildungen* nous renseigne moins sur les formes et les styles de son image sculptée grecque que, plus généralement, sur la place d'H. dans la civilisation gréco-romaine. Il serait instructif de mesurer par traitement informatique la proportion des H. et des Mercurès fabriqués, par adjonctions d'attributs, à partir de modèles d'athlètes, de héros ou d'autres divinités. Elle serait probablement élevée, à l'instar de la fréquence des thèmes hermaïques dans les arts décoratifs gréco-romains (984-992).

Formulons au moins, à défaut d'y apporter une réponse, l'une des questions les plus débattues: celle de la restitution de l'H. de Polyclète à partir des copies ou

adaptations en marbre et en bronze. L'embarras vient de la multitude des H. «polyclétéens», dans la grande et la petite plastique gréco-romaine, sans qu'à travers leurs variantes on puisse distinguer ni l'aspect de l'original évoqué par Plin (*nat.* 34, 55), ni même une parenté plus certaine avec telle création de Polyclète qu'avec telle autre. Les séries en question (en particulier les documents les plus importants, *supra* 930-942) soulèvent deux hypothèses méthodologiquement contraires:

a) Ces œuvres reflètent de façon très générale la vision que l'on avait d'H. après l'époque classique: celle du jeune dieu, patron de la jeunesse et du gymnase. Le modèle de l'athlète polyclétéen lui convenait particulièrement. Dans la succession de Polyclète, les novateurs en donnent de nouvelles rédactions (943-949); les simples copistes se contentent de greffer des attributs sur le type athlétique. Leurs sculptures ne nous apprendraient alors rien d'autre de l'H. de Polyclète sinon qu'il était polyclétéen.

b) L'étude critique des séries permet d'identifier l'œuvre précise du maître dont l'H. perdu se rapprochait le plus. On ne se contentera plus alors d'une effigie de type athlétique. On suivra des pistes partant de bonnes, voire d'excellentes répliques ou adaptations hellénistiques et gréco-romaines en direction soit du Doryphore (H. Boboli 396; éphèbe d'Annecy 930; tête de Boston 932; H. au torse du Br. Mus. 940), soit du Discophore (bronze du Louvre 183 931; tête de Berlin 934), soit du Diadumène ou du Kyniskos (H. de Boston 936). Mais les préférences d'A. Furtwängler, J. Sieveking ou C. Blümel comme celles des meilleurs spécialistes actuels n'ont, en l'espèce, jamais valeur de démonstration. Cela se comprend d'autant plus aisément qu'il ne faut pas, en bonne logique, écarter une variante de l'hypothèse b), qui ne simplifie pas l'analyse: copistes et toreutes procédaient volontiers par sélection et contamination, en sorte que leurs marbres et leurs bronzes peuvent conserver séparément tel ou tel trait du modèle.

### IV. Images régionales d'Hermès

La peinture de vases impose à notre mémoire une image trop attique du dieu. Aux centaines de représentations d'H. par les peintres d'Athènes ne répondent que de petites séries non attiques. Le guide des trois déesses figurait dans le Jugement de Paris de l'olpé Chigi (seul son caducée est conservé), mais cette représentation, peut-être la plus ancienne de l'iconographie vasculaire, ne connaît guère de suite dans le décor de la céramique proto-corinthienne et corinthienne (Amyx, *CVP* 622-623; 511. 546; cf. *etiam* 235-236 et *FDelphes V* fig. 653). Même pénurie sur les vases laconiens (518. 717-718).

Dans une certaine mesure la documentation des petits bronzes corrige l'athénocentrisme de la figuration. D'importantes séries régionales, péloponnésiennes et plus précisément arcadiennes, illustrent l'image du dieu des bergers (260-278). Il en va de même pour les terres cuites de Béotie (271a-g).

L'imagerie italiote, représentée dans la plupart de nos rubriques, tient son particularisme autant de l'évolution des styles que de l'influence d'un milieu social et culturel dont les composantes sont difficiles à saisir. En ce qui concerne, par ex., l'H. chthonien, H. Lohmann constate que le Psychopompe attique n'a pas d'équivalent en Italie du sud. Le dieu, son voyage accompli (?), est intégré dans des compositions mythologiques chargées des symboles de l'eschatologie italiote. A l'intérieur du complexe de la Grande-Grèce, les traits régionaux spécifiques restent à cerner. L'omniprésence de la Dame aux rinceaux, dont la fonction de protectrice dans l'outre-tombe paraît établie (Siebert, G., *Kléma* 10, 1985, 19-26), n'a pu qu'entraîner une réduction du rôle d'H. comme dieu des morts. Cela vaut surtout, semble-t-il, pour l'Apulie. L'influence sur l'imagerie des cultes pratiqués dans les sanctuaires locaux est très inégalement perceptible. De l'H. infernal du sanctuaire de Morgantina on ne peut restituer l'aspect à travers les seules tablettes et statuettes de défexion (Robert, L., *Coll. Froehner I, Inscr. grecques*, [1936] 17 n° 13 pl. 8; Stillwell, R., *AJA* 67, 1963, 165 pl. 35, 9; Guarducci, M., *Epigraphia graeca IV* [1978] 250 fig. 70). De la même façon on aimerait pouvoir illustrer le dieu (H.?) qui fait procéder aux nécromancies dans le fragment d'une *fabula incerta* d'Euripide (*TGF<sup>2</sup>* fig. 912).

En revanche, l'H. de Locres nous est accessible par des séries de *pinakes* du V<sup>e</sup> s. Des variantes du crio-phore montrent un H. le plus souvent juvénile, le béliet sur les épaules, dans les bras ou conduit par les cornes; dans la main il tient quelquefois une guirlande ou un coq offerts à Perséphone et Hadès (Prückner, *o. c.* 757, pl. 23-24). Un type particulièrement étonnant est celui de l'H. coiffé d'une couronne «à plumes d'Indien» (*Ausonia* 3, 1908, 136 fig. 8.35-36; *BollArte* 3, 1909, 406. 463 fig. 10). Le jeune H. de Locres était étroitement associé à Aphrodite (sur leur association, cf. *supra* p. 373). Les ex-voto représentent les deux divinités face à face (avec Eros pouvant tenir la lyre d'H.) ou en *theoi paredroi* partageant la même base dans leur temple commun ou réunis sur un char sur lequel H. rejoint la déesse (757-758; Prückner 15-27 fig. 1-2 pl. 1-2). Certains *pinakes* à cortège d'hydrophorie se laissent peut-être interpréter à la lumière d'un fr. de cratère (?) apulien conservé par un ancien dessin (Prückner 20-21 et n. 137).

En Grande-Grèce les associations entre divinités, entre divinités et héros ne sont pas les mêmes qu'en Attique où H. se trouve rarement seul à seule avec Artémis, p. ex., comme sur des plats apuliens (*JdI* 103, 1988, 77-78 fig. 14; cf. *etiam* 693). La signification des objets mobiliers est également différente. Le loutérion ne renvoie pas à la palestra mais souvent au bain nuptial, à celui en particulier des *anymphoi* dans l'imagerie des Danaïdes, et à divers cultes funéraires (Sichtermann, *Slg Jatta* 50 pl. 119-120). Sur un cratère apulien de Bari (615 ter) H. se tient accoudé à un loutérion en contrebass du naïskos d'un jeune guerrier qu'entourent d'autres personnages mythologiques, dont Orphée. Pour un corpus plus complet et une synthèse sur ces questions, on se reportera à la monogra-



phie sur H. dans la peinture de vases italiote annoncée par K. Schauenburg (1983) 49.

Les mentions trop isolées dans les textes comme la rareté ou la difficulté de la documentation figurée empêchent de saisir l'image probablement typée du dieu dans certains régions du monde grec ou de sa périphérie. Par Hdt. 5, 7 nous apprenons qu'en Thracie les rois – et eux seuls – vénéraient spécialement H., dont ils déclarent descendre, ne jurant que par lui. Mais comment comprendre le texte? Peut-être à la lumière de certaines variantes du Cavalier thrace. P. Perdrizet évoque à ce sujet les monnaies royales du pays pan-géen, avec un H. au caducée emmenant une paire de bœufs (250-251) et avec un personnage coiffé du pétase ou de la *causia*, un javelot à la main, accomplissant, semble-t-il, un vol de bestiaux (BCH 35, 1911, 116-119 pl. 1, 1-8).

L'H. crétois était probablement vénéré dès l'Âge du Bronze dans des cavernes où l'on a parfois reconnu des «idoles naturelles» qui, autant que des sources, avaient pu focaliser des pèlerinages de bergers en l'honneur du fils de Maïa, né dans la grotte du mont Cyllène (Faure, P., *Fonctions des cavernes crétoises* [1964] 131-139 pl. 15, 3; 17, 1). Les dédicaces *Ερμῆι ἐὺχὰν* à Mélidoni et *Ερμῆι Κραναίῳ* près de Patos ne datent que de la fin de l'ép. hellénistique et de l'ép. romaine, lorsque Sybrita, capitale régionale, avait depuis longtemps choisi H. pour ses effigies monétaires (959). Le dieu de la source de Patos avait alors acquis un plus large cercle de fidèles que celui qu'attestent les ex-voto s'échelonnant, avec des éclipses, entre le MRI et l'ép. impériale (Hood, S./Warren, P., BSA 61, 1966, 185-189; Warren, *ibid.* 195-196).

Mais c'est par les trouvailles de Katô Symi que nous connaissons le mieux l'H. crétois. Notre catalogue n'en a retenu que les documents parfaitement identifiés qui illustrent à l'ép. du haut-archaïsme la conception homérique de l'H.-kourios et celle du jeune dieu de la végétation, parèdre d'Aphrodite dont on trouve de lointains échos à Alexandrie (308-309. 969; cf. Introduction). Dans la peinture de vases attique (ARV<sup>2</sup> 83, 3; 1156, 10) H. tient assez souvent une fleur que Zanker (31 pl. 5 a) considère simplement comme un insigne du dieu de la séduction oratoire. Singulière mais incontestable à Katô Symi est aussi l'image de l'H. chasseur, peu attestée dans l'ensemble de la tradition littéraire et figurée (Lembési 111-113. 228 pl. 32-34) en comparaison de l'importante iconographie du dieu des bergers. Mais le processus d'adaptation de l'image du dieu à celle de ses protégés est le même pour le costume, l'équipement, les attitudes: la manipulation de l'arc, les gestes, les gibiers ne permettent pas de distinguer le chasseur divin des simples mortels. Seul l'attribut des ailes talonnières, comme dans le cas des criophores, est déterminant. A. Lembési propose en outre d'identifier dans le sanctuaire un H. chthonien «émergeant d'un cairn» (pinax A 1 p. 22. 235 pl. 1). Le personnage est muni d'un bâton que l'on voit aussi dans la main d'un jeune «prince» (pinax A 2 pl. 2) ou d'une figure à ailes talonnières sur un bouclier de l'Ida (Lembési pl. 55). La *rhabdos* caractérisait H. longtemps avant le caducée (cf. Sources litt.).

## V. Hermès maître des animaux

Dans la peinture de vases orientalisante on voit H. régner sur les Sphinx, les Sirènes, les fauves (230-240). Le chasseur crétois de Katô Symi, le berger et le bouvier panhelléniques traduisent incomplètement le rapport complexe qu'H. entretient avec les animaux, dont il était le maître dans l'*Hymne* homérique (h. Merc. 565-570). Sa spécialisation ultérieure en dieu des troupeaux a rétréci son empire primitif, dont le souvenir ressurgit de-ci, de-là dans l'imagerie. Sur une hydrie archaïque du Petit Palais (243), le lion est son emblème autant que le bélier et le bouc. Certaines associations animales ne paraissent significatives que tardivement: ainsi celle du coq, symbole fréquent du Mercure de la glyptique gréco-romaine, mais rarement attesté en compagnie de l'H. grec (Richter, *Met-MusGems* n° 33 pl. 6). En revanche, les chiens et les chevaux, expressément soumis à H. par le poète (h. Merc. 568. 570), entretiennent avec le dieu des liens privilégiés.

Dans certains contextes la présence du chien ne s'explique nullement en fonction d'H.: ainsi dans les Jugements de Pâris ou dans les scènes de la délivrance d'Io. Il n'empêche qu'un rapport de complicité se manifeste sur «l'amphore Northampton» de Munich (837) entre le chien d'Argos et H. déjouant la vigilance du monstrueux gardien. Sur l'hydrie de Karlsruhe (476), le chien de Pâris est couché aux pieds d'H., obéissant au geste du caducée pointé vers sa tête. Dans l'épisode de la capture de Cerbère, l'influence apaisante qu'H. exerce sur le chien infernal s'ajoute quelquefois à la force d'Héraclès (517). C'est encore H. qui retrouve pour Zeus le chien de → Pandareos, légende peut-être illustrée par une coupe du P. de Heidelberg (MonPiot 63, 1980, 48 fig. 11-12). Le conducteur du cortège de l'apothéose d'Héraclès se trouve, sur des amphores du P. d'Amasis (554a-b), étrangement flanqué d'un chien qui l'accompagne aussi (plutôt qu'une «panthère»: NotSc 1935, 269 fig. 8) dans sa course aérienne sur un cratère en cloche italiote. Sur un fr. d'amphore orientalisante de Thasos (BCH 90, 1966, 952 fig. 15) deux chiens bondissants lui font fête.

Le pouvoir d'H. sur les chevaux se manifeste par une variété de gestes et d'actions dans les représentations de l'attelage dont il est le guide attiré. Le premier fait qui se dégage de la documentation que nous avons retenue après un tri sévère (402-452) est celui de la fréquence et de la permanence du thème aux époques archaïque et classique, aussi bien dans la sculpture monumentale (441. 451) que dans la grande peinture (440) et dans la peinture de vases.

H. fait assez rarement office d'aurige. Il ouvre plutôt la route au char qu'il escorte lentement (421), parfois en retournant la tête (433), ou qu'il précède en bondissant et en brandissant son caducée (436. 443). Particulièrement intéressante est la série d'images de la figure rouge qui montrent H. à la tête de l'attelage arrêté, faisant face aux chevaux et s'affairant dans un rôle de palefrenier divin. Ses interventions sont d'ordre technique, lorsqu'il saisit une rêne (434), calme d'une caresse ou de la voix les fringants étalons (424. 427.

431a). Mais il faut prendre garde aussi à une portée plus mystérieuse de ses gestes, en particulier à la manipulation du caducée accompagnant un jeu de mains expressif et efficace: H. pointe son insigne vers les genoux ou les poitrails (425a. 430. 431). Aux yeux du public sa présence dans ce genre de scènes apparaît si nécessaire que parfois les peintres se contentent de placer le dieu à l'arrière-plan où il se trouve à demi masqué par l'attelage. Les mécanismes de l'iconographie produisent également l'insolite figure d'un H. assis à la tête des chevaux (415a-c. 416; cf. Siebert, *o. c.* 255, 350 fig. 2).

## VI. Le langage des mains et du caducée

L'analyse des gestes d'H., esquissée pour les scènes d'attelage, devrait s'élargir à l'ensemble de l'iconographie hermaïque. On n'en donnera ici qu'un aperçu, à l'aide de quelques statistiques et de deux tableaux synoptiques de dessins. Nos chiffres comportent une part d'arbitraire dans la mesure où ils sont fondés sur la seule peinture de vases et sur une sélection de documents: ceux retenus dans notre catalogue et, autre facteur de hasard, à l'exclusion des fr. où le détail pertinent était perdu. Les données numériques, aussi exactes que possible, seront présentées globalement sans être à chaque fois justifiées par des renvois aux numéros du catalogue. Le lecteur pourra aisément faire de lui-même les contrôles et éventuellement les corrections qui, sur tel point, lui paraîtront nécessaires. Pour éviter une complication excessive du classement, on n'a pris en considération que les 9 positions principales du caducée, dessinées chacune d'après une image type (n° de catalogue du document cité à la suite du n° d'identification du geste). D'autres variantes seront faciles à repérer, en particulier des schémas intermédiaires pour les gestes n° 2 et 3, selon que le caducée levé ou abaissé se trouve dans une position plus ou moins oblique. La question est de savoir si ce langage gestuel, à la fois constant et divers, a un sens accessible au spectateur moderne. Les paramètres choisis pour dresser les statistiques et pour tenter de les interpréter sont d'une part les grandes catégories stylistiques (vases attiques à figures noires, à figures rouges, à fond blanc, vases italiotes, abrégés respectivement f. n., f. r., f. bl., f. r. it.), d'autre part les contextes iconographiques sommairement définis d'après nos rubriques de catalogue. On pourrait beaucoup affiner l'analyse en distinguant, entre autres, les formules de composition dans lesquelles s'insèrent les gestes ainsi que les variations qui résultent des périodes, des ateliers, des peintres.

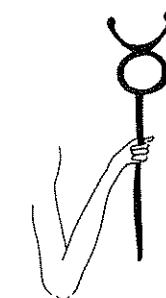
### POSITIONS DU CADUCÉE

#### 1. Caducée tenu à la verticale

- Occurrences: 63 (f. n. 19; f. r. 39; f. bl. 3; f. r. it. 2).

- Contextes préférentiels: c'est l'H. chthonien qui porte fréquemment le caducée en position verticale: 8 images contre de petites séries de 5 ou de 6 repérées dans divers contextes (H. associé aux Sphinx, H. dieu

de l'attelage, H. guide des héros, H. en compagnie de Zeus).



N° 1 (487a)

#### 2. Caducée levé obliquement

- Occurrences: 13 (f. n. 2; f. r. 10; f. r. it. 1).

- Contextes préférentiels: aucun.



N° 2 (836)

#### 3. Caducée pointé vers le sol

- Occurrences: 38 (f. n. 10; f. r. 24; f. bl. 2; f. r. it. 2).

- Contextes préférentiels: H. chthonien (8), scènes de libation (4), scènes d'attelage (3).



N° 3 (813)

#### 4. Caducée porté à l'horizontale

- Occurrences: 54 (f. n. 23; f. r. 28; f. bl. 3).

- Contextes préférentiels: H. assistant aux travaux d'Héraclès (13); petites séries de 5: scènes d'attelage, H. et les Léoïdes.

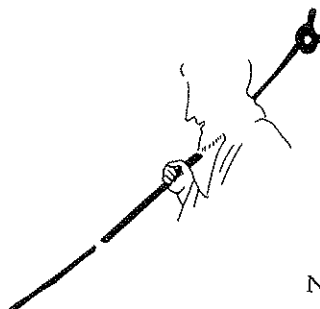


N° 4 (698)

#### 5. Caducée sur l'épaule (vue de profil)

- Occurrences: 32 (f. n. 26; f. r. 4; f. r. it. 2).

- Contextes préférentiels: aucun. La position du caducée sur l'épaule, ici dans des figurations de profil, se retrouve dans la série 8 dans des figurations de profil trois quarts ou de trois quarts face.



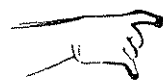
N° 5 (545a)

6. *Caducée tenu de biais dans les deux mains repliées sur la poitrine*

- Occurrences: 39 (f. n. 34; f. r. 5).
- Contextes préférentiels: travaux d'Héraclès (8), H. dans la compagnie des dieux ou dans les assemblées divines (11). Cette position du caducée est liée au port de l'himation recouvrant les bras et les mains.



A (711a)



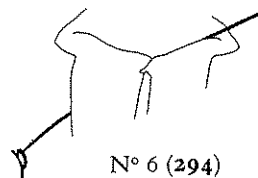
B (598)



C (545a)

7. *Caducée dans la saignée du coude*

- Occurrences: 6 (f. n. 1; f. r. it. 5).
- Contextes préférentiels: aucun.



N° 6 (294)



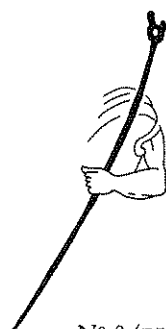
N° 7 (585)

8. *Caducée sur l'épaule (figurations de profil trois quarts et de trois quarts face)*

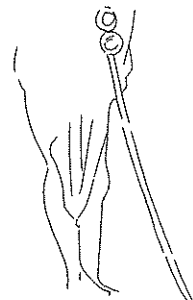
- Occurrences: 142 (f. n. 106; f. r. 33; f. r. it. 3).
- Contextes préférentiels: aucun.

9. *Caducée en appui sur le sol*

- Occurrences: 18 (f. n. 1; f. r. 11; f. r. it. 6).
- Contextes préférentiels (?): Jugement de Pâris (3), scènes de libation (3).



N° 8 (711a)



N° 9 (692)

GESTES DE LA MAIN

A. *Main levée*

- Occurrences: 120 (f. n. 91; f. r. 28; f. r. it. 1).
- Contextes préférentiels: H. dans la compagnie des dieux et dans les assemblées divines (49), travaux d'Héraclès (34), rançon d'Hector (5 ex. sur les 8 représentations cataloguées).

B. *Main tendue à l'horizontale*

- Occurrences: 42 (f. n. 15; f. r. 22; f. bl. 5).
- Contextes préférentiels: H. assistant aux travaux d'un héros (17 ex. dont 11 pour Héraclès), assemblées divines.

C. *Main abaissée*

- Occurrences: 34 (f. n. 16; f. r. 16; f. bl. 2).
- Contextes préférentiels (?): scènes d'attelage (6), H. en compagnie des dieux (5), H. chthonien (4).

CONCLUSIONS

Ces relevés, il faut le redire, constituent un échantillon non dépourvu de simplifications et d'approximations. *A priori* on ne peut pas non plus s'attendre à ce que les mains et le caducée d'H., en tant que signes figuratifs, fonctionnent selon un système rigoureux dans une imagerie aussi diverse et sur une aussi longue période. Mais il n'est pas douteux qu'à l'intérieur de certaines séries thématiques ou de certains groupes stylistiques se manifeste un véritable langage gestuel. Deux catégories de gestes sont à distinguer en fonction de la position et de l'orientation du caducée:

- des gestes actifs dans lesquels l'attribut magique du dieu exerce son efficacité (principalement les n°s 1, 2, 3);
- des gestes qui correspondent à des attitudes plus passives d'H., comme celles du témoin de l'action, du spectateur lointain.

L'H. chthonien, p. ex., ou le maître de l'attelage pointent souvent leur caducée vers le sol (position 3) en accompagnant ce signal du geste impérieux de la main baissée (geste C). En revanche, les gestes A et B, l'un vif, l'autre mesuré, sont adaptés à toutes sortes de situations dans lesquelles H. discourt, informe, participe, communique: ils ne sont nullement réservés au plus démonstratif et au plus gesticulant des dieux grecs (cf. Neumann, G., *Gesten und Gebärden bei den Griechen* [1965]). De même le caducée appuyé sur l'épaule (5 et 8) ou porté à l'horizontale (4) n'a en général d'autre fonction que de souligner le confort d'une attitude de marche ou de repos ou encore le rythme formel d'une frise de personnages. Les exceptions sont toutefois nombreuses aux règles très souples que l'on peut dégager: dans des scènes d'attelage comme 427 ou 431a la position du caducée pointé horizontalement vers les chevaux n'est pas de pure forme. Pour le caducée levé, notre schéma 2 ne rend pas compte de variantes auxquelles le contexte de la composition confère des significations inattendues: combattant de la Gigantomachie, H. dirige obliquement son insigne vers la cible, comme Zeus fait de son foudre (836); à la tête du char triomphal d'Héraclès, comme pour enflammer le galop de l'attelage (436b), H. gesticule (geste A de la main libre) et lève très haut son caducée à l'horizontale à la façon d'un Indien qui danse et qui brandit son tomahawk.

Il ressort par ailleurs de nos statistiques que certains gestes sont typiques d'une époque ou d'un style. Le caducée sur l'épaule prédomine largement dans la figure noire, de même que l'attitude des mains croisées sur la poitrine sous le drapé des longs manteaux qu'affectionnent les peintres archaïques. De façon significative on ne rencontre plus guère dans la figure rouge italienne le port horizontal du caducée qui accompagne

volontiers le mouvement, non plus que les gestes animés de la main libre (aucun cas recensé pour B et C). Le caducée placé dans la saignée du coude (7) ou en appui sur le sol comme une canne (9) exprime la nouvelle nonchalance de l'H. spectateur, conforme à la vision des dieux (et de leur messager en particulier) qui se développe dans la peinture attique du IV<sup>e</sup> s. et dans les ateliers d'Apulie.

VII. *Vêtements, chaussures, coiffures, attributs*

Les vêtements d'H., ses chaussures, ses coiffures n'ont pas l'uniformité qu'on leur supposerait avant de leur avoir prêté attention. Comme pour les positions du caducée et les gestes de la main, les choix ou les automatismes des peintres varient avec les époques et les écoles et avec les sujets des représentations, mais sans rien de strict dans les règles.

Le costume ordinaire d'H. se compose du chitoniskos et de l'himation court ajusté au corps, soit unis, soit ornés de broderies, ou de la chlamyde amplement drapée. Diverses alternances et combinaisons, dont nous n'avons pas tenté de mesurer la fréquence, se rencontrent entre les pièces de vêtement. Il apparaît que la tunique et le manteau brodés habillent H. dans la peinture à figures noires, la chlamyde de préférence sur les vases à figures rouges. On observe en particulier les formules suivantes: chitoniskos seul; himation court brodé sur chitoniskos brodé; chlamyde sur chitoniskos; chlamyde couvrante; chlamyde ouverte sur le corps nu ou encore pans d'une *chlaina* décorant la nudité du dieu, mode qui sera caractéristique des cortèges divins sur les reliefs archaïques (787-794).

Pour deux types de vêtements, les relevés statistiques sont instructifs:

*Semi-nudité sous la chlamyde ou la chlaina*

- Occurrences: 49 (f. n. 3; f. r. 23; f. bl. 1; f. r. it. 22)
- Contextes préférentiels: compagnie des dieux (12), apothéose d'Héraclès (6); Jugement de Pâris (5).

*Pardalide*

- Occurrences: 41 (f. n. 39; f. r. 2)
- Contextes préférentiels: assemblées de dieux ou compagnie des dieux (18), fuite de Persée (3).

La semi-nudité sous la chlamyde ou la *chlaina* est rare à l'ép. archaïque: 4 occurrences sur la cinquantaine de cas recensés qui se partagent presque également en-

tre les peintres attiques et italiotes de la f. r. L'absence complète de vêtements, peu attestée en Grèce propre (495. 685. 770), ne l'est pas davantage en Grande Grèce (768). La traditionnelle valeur héroïsante de la nudité même partielle ressort de contextes dans lesquels H. participe à l'apothéose d'Héraclès (6 occurrences) ou rivalise lui-même de beauté avec les personnages du Jugement de Pâris (5 occurrences). Les chiffres, indicatifs comme les précédents, veulent attirer l'attention sur des variantes vestimentaires parfois méconnues. Il existe dans l'iconographie archaïque un H. en long manteau ou en longue tunique. Dans une Naissance d'Athéna, c'est peut-être la solennité de la circonstance qui nous vaut un H. fastueusement drapé et proclamant avec fierté son origine cyllénienne (681). Mais dans une Gigantomachie ou dans l'épisode du meurtre d'Argos (837), ni la situation, ni l'action ne justifient le costume.

Beaucoup plus conforme à la nature d'H. est le port de la pardalide, noire ou blanche unie, tigrée ou mouchetée. Cette gaine en fourrure est le vêtement de la course rapide, qui distingue les personnages du monde sauvage, en particulier ceux du thias. Dans la peinture de vases archaïque, H. partage la pardalide avec Iris, avec les Gorgones, avec Persée, avec les chasseurs de Calydon, avec Apollon tueur des Niobides ou du Géant Tityos, avec Icare, avec Héraclès, p. ex. dans la Gigantomachie du Trésor de Siphnos. Assez souvent la pardalide est associée aux chaussures ailées. H. peut la revêtir sous son manteau, comme un chitoniskos. C'est par excellence un modèle d'époque et, au moins pour la figure d'H., un modèle d'atelier: sur 41 occurrences, 2 seulement appartiennent à la f. r. attique, 39 à la f. n., dont 18 au Peintre Affecté (scènes d'assemblées divines).

Les *περὶ ὀντα πέδιλα* servent dès l'origine à la caractérisation iconographique du dieu (Sources litt. p. 288). N. Yalouris en a dressé la typologie, avec les deux principales variantes attique (198. 202) et ionienne (203-204). Les chaussures ailées, qu'il s'agisse de bottes ou de sandales, font partie de l'équipement normal d'H. et l'on peut se demander pourquoi, plus souvent qu'on ne pense, il y renonce pour des chaussures aptères ou pour aller pieds nus. Dans les séries italiotes les pieds nus vont de pair avec la nudité du corps. Ailleurs il ne semble pas que des modes d'atelier ou d'époque permettent d'expliquer les choix des peintres. Certains sujets et contextes sont ici plus déterminants.

*Sujets*

1. Assemblées divines, compagnie des dieux
2. Hermès psychopompe et chthonien
3. Hermès combattant
4. Hermès et l'amour
5. Jugement de Pâris
6. Scènes cultuelles
7. Hermès seul (ou avec figures animales affrontées)
8. Hermès et les troupeaux
9. Hermès et la musique

*Hermès en chaussures aptères*

- 12 (1 f. n., 5 f. r., 6 f. r. it.)
- 6 (2 f. r., 1 f. bl., 3 f. r. it.)
- 3 (1 f. n., 2 f. r.)
- 2 (f. r.)
- 5 (2 f. r., 3 f. r. it.)
- 5 (2 f. r., 3 f. r. it.)
- 0
- 0
- 0

*Hermès pieds nus*

- 22 (1 f. n., 7 f. r., 1 f. bl., 13 f. r. it.)
- 11 (6 f. r., 2 f. bl., 3 f. r. it.)
- 10 (2 f. n., 8 f. r.)
- 10 (9 f. r., 1 f. r. it.)
- 6 (1 f. n., 3 f. r., 2 f. r. it.)
- 5 (1 f. r., 4 f. r. it.)
- 5 (3 f. n., 2 f. r.)
- 4 (3 f. n., 1 f. r.)
- 3 (1 f. r., 2 f. r. it.)

La formule «moyenne» des chaussures aptères, absente dans plusieurs contextes, est dans l'ensemble rarement employée. Si l'on oppose globalement, dans les mêmes séries thématiques, les cas où H. est muni

de ses chaussures ailées et les cas où il en est dépourvu (chaussures aptères ou absence de chaussures), on constate tantôt des occurrences semblables, tantôt de sensibles écarts:

Sujets	Hermès en chaussures ailées	Hermès sans chaussures ailées
1. Assemblées divines, compagnie des dieux	87	34
2. Hermès psychopompe et chthonien	13	17
3. Hermès combattant	15	13
4. Hermès et l'amour	9	19
5. Jugement de Pâris	23	11
6. Scènes cultuelles	7	10
7. Hermès seul (ou avec figures animales affrontées)	15	5
8. Hermès et les troupeaux	9	4
9. Hermès et la musique	21	3

La figuration des *πεπρόντα πέδιλα*, quel que soit le contexte, n'appelle pas d'observations puisque cet attribut fait partie de l'image canonique d'H. C'est leur absence, dont la fréquence relative ressort des occurrences comparées, qui est remarquable dans certaines situations. Des images plus intimes (série 4), des scènes cultuelles (série 6) exigent moins impérieusement le rappel des qualités de vitesse du dieu que celles qui le montrent sur les chemins dans ses fonctions de guide et de messager. Le cas de la série 3, pour laquelle l'échantillon de notre corpus fournit un rapport de quasi-parité (15 et 13), est intéressant. L'absence de chaussures ailées est concomitante avec le port de l'épée. L'H. qui pourfend Argos ou un adversaire de la Gigantomachie ne triomphe pas avec des armes magiques, mais avec celles de l'hoplite ou du tyrannoctone. C'est par assimilation à cette imagerie héroïque que les peintres ont représenté le dieu pieds nus ou chaussé comme un mortel.

Signalons enfin que les ailes talonnières fixées directement sur le pied nu se rencontrent quelquefois dans la peinture de vases italiote après le milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. (437). Les *σαννατά έργα* de la tradition archaïque (h. Merc. 79-80) sont devenus les surnaturelles excroissances que l'on voit aux jambes d'H. et de Persée sur les fresques romaines.

H. passe pour être le dieu au pétase. Mais pour peu que l'on s'intéresse à son couvre-chef, on s'aperçoit que la forme n'en est pas toujours celle du chapeau à larges bords des voyageurs (365). Le pilos est son autre coiffure, bonnet tantôt arrondi sur le crâne (366), tantôt rétréci en pointe et garni (comme le pétase) d'un rebord (322). Pétase ou pilos, ailés ou aptères, font normalement partie de l'équipement du dieu. Compte non tenu des cas où le chapeau se trouve rejeté dans la nuque (205. 207), nous n'avons recensé à partir de notre corpus que 14 représentations d'H. nu-tête: 7 f.n., 2 f.bl., 4 f.r., 1 f.r.it. Dans quatre occurrences (403. 469. 529. 546) l'absence de chapeau est combinée avec l'absence de chaussures. La nudité de tête ne s'explique par aucun contexte particulier.

Les statistiques qui suivent mesurent la fréquence et la distribution chronologique du pilos et du pétase ailés.

- *Pilos ailé sans rebord*: 19 occurrences (1 f.n., 15 f.r., 2 f.bl., 1 f.r.it.).

- *Pilos ailé à rebord*: 5 occurrences (1 f.n., 4 f.r.). Le plus ancien exemple recensé se rencontre chez le P. de Rycroft (578), vers 520, pour la f.n.; chez le P. de Pan (338), vers 470-460, pour la f.r.

- *Pétase ailé*: 7 occurrences (2 f.n., 4 f.r., 1 f.r.it.). Le plus ancien exemple recensé se rencontre pour la f.n. dans le Gr. de Léagros (809), vers 520-510; pour la f.r. chez Euphronios (593), vers 510.



(366a)



(322)



(365a)

Coiffures d'Hermès

Les deux variétés de coiffures ailées apparaissent en même temps et assez tardivement dans l'imagerie hermaïque, au moins quatre générations après l'invention du dieu au caducée et aux sandales ailées. Quant aux ailes de tête, homologues de celles greffées sur les talons, nous les avons notées pour la première fois à la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s., dans l'atelier du P. de Talos (564). Lydos avait, semble-t-il, représenté un H. guerrier à ailes de casque (824), innovation qui demeurera sans suite dans l'imagerie.

Chaussures et coiffures ailées sont des attributs synonymes, d'inégale ancienneté et d'inégale fréquence, qui se trouvent tantôt dans un rapport d'exclusion (coiffure ailée + pieds nus: 481. 599; coiffure ailée + bottes aptères: 702-703. 612. 656 bis), tantôt dans un rapport de cumul (578. 484. 579. 593-594. 631. 656 bis. 743). On constate que trois des occur-

rences se rapportent à H. Psychopompe dont les missions requièrent toutes les ressources des attributs magiques (593-594. 631).

Pour la question de l'origine des attributs d'H., on se contentera de renvoyer à la bibliographie, sans revenir sur un débat sans issue. A l'âge où les dieux grecs prennent forme imagée et connaissent pour nous leur véritable naissance, est-ce l'Hermahes des tablettes créto-mycénienues qui, survivant aux siècles obscurs, revêt le costume et les insignes que nous venons de décrire?

Les seuls faits établis sont ceux que nous avons relevés en introduction: chez Homère, H. possède la *rhados*, mais ni le caducée (que rien n'autorise à reconnaître dans la mystérieuse baguette «à triple feuille» des v. 529-530 de l'h. Merc.), ni les chaussures, ni la coiffure ailées. L'état trop lacunaire du Jugement de Pâris sur l'olpé Chigi ne permet pas de vérifier si le porteur du caducée était également chaussé, dès les années 640, des *πεπρόντα πέδιλα*. Il est aléatoire de restituer les mécanismes mentaux et techniques par lesquels les peintres orientalisants ont construit l'image canonique d'H. Nous avons avancé l'hypothèse de la transposition graphique de récits plus anciens qui déjà avaient donné au dieu vie et figure. Une autre méthode explicative, nullement incompatible avec la précédente, prendrait en compte les modèles de l'iconographie orientale. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau a montré quelles nouvelles existences pouvaient connaître des images étrangères captées et réinterprétées par une culture voisine (*L'imagerie phénicienne et la mythologie iconologique chez les Grecs, Et. d'Arch. Or. I* [1880]). Le processus se vérifie pour des figures comme celle de Géryon, dont la filiation est possible avec l'image du roi oriental assommant trois adversaires agglutinés en un seul corps. Il a sans doute fonctionné dans l'emprunt d'attitudes comme celle des Gorgones «naïves» de l'amphore proto-attique d'Eleusis, avec leurs étranges jupes fendues dévoilant haut la cuisse g., si semblables par ce détail aux divinités en «posture ascensionnelle» sur les cylindres syriens. Le répertoire de la glyptique orientale ne manque pas d'attributs sacrés, sceptres, masses d'armes, «crosses» et plus particulièrement le «lion club» dont la schématisation évoque, déjà sur les documents d'origine, la forme du caducée. Le disque solaire ailé, assez souvent utilisé comme coiffure (encore chez le personnage en char du bol de Hasanlu: Orthmann, W., *AltO* 1975, 390-391, fig. 112) ferait même un ancêtre assez ressemblant pour le pétase d'H. Mais qui se risquerait à suivre le cheminement de toutes ces images du Proche-Orient à Corinthe et à Athènes à travers un désert de deux siècles et davantage? Pour ce qui est notamment du pétase ailé, son introduction tardive relève probablement du phénomène de duplication des attributs magiques que l'on observe à la même époque chez Persée: aux *πεπρόντα πέδιλα* s'ajoute l'*Αἰδος κορυφή*. Entre H. et Persée, l'un et l'autre secourables aux mortels et un peu sorciers, grands voyageurs, les affinités fonctionnelles ne pouvaient que favoriser les ressemblances iconographiques. Sur une olpé londonienne du P. d'Amasis leurs images se confondent (483).

# VIII. Images sans légendes, légendes sans images

Plusieurs de ses fonctions prédisposaient H. à être un personnage de théâtre et une figure de l'imagerie théâtrale. Le messager, le serviteur, le guide, le dieu chthonien ne trouvaient-ils pas sur les vases attiques et italiotes nombre d'occasions d'entrer en scène?

L'origine théâtrale d'une image, on le sait, est moins facile à repérer dans le cas d'une tragédie, notamment quand la matière est d'origine épique, que dans ceux d'une comédie ou d'un drame satyrique. Les parodies burlesques des vases à phylakes (895 bis) ou celles des vases du Cabirion (Wolters, P./Bruns, G., *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben I* [1940] K 25, 101-102 pl. 33, 2; M 4, 106-107 fig. 5; M 18, 109-110 pl. 37, 2) se reconnaissent aussitôt aux conventions du genre, mais l'argument des pièces ni le rôle d'H. ne sont pas toujours intelligibles (cf. *EVP* 60-61 pl. 14, 2). L'iconographie de la comédie classique et du drame satyrique laisse quelquefois au spectateur la même insatisfaction: des images qui, à l'évidence, conservent ou transposent un moment de l'action, un souvenir de mise en scène forment pour lui un théâtre muet. Quelles péripéties font qu'H. entraîne vers Dionysos un chœur de vieillards terrorisés (892) ou qu'il danse à pas de loup, en compagnie d'un Satyre, autour d'une belle au miroir (894)? L'H. conduisant des Satyres prisonniers (888) est-il le héros d'un récit folklorique, dans l'esprit des *pareysa* d'Héraclès, conformément à la veine populaire des peintres de lécythes à f.n.? On aimerait ici risquer l'hypothèse d'un drame satyrique puisant dans la matière dont Sophocle tirera plus tard ses *Limiers*. Pour restituer la fin de la pièce, il est plus plaisant et plus conforme au genre littéraire d'imaginer les chasseurs devenus gibier que la platitude d'un *happy end* reproduisant le canevas de l'hymne homérique.

Quand on s'interroge légitimement sur des absences d'images, il ne faut pas perdre de vue les simples données de la chronologie. L'œuvre d'Aristophane, dont la *Paix* montrait H. dans un grand rôle comique et multipliait les situations les plus picturales, n'a pas trouvé son peintre, probablement parce qu'elle vient trop tard dans l'histoire de la céramique décorée d'Athènes. Ce n'est pas faute d'intérêt du public pour le plus populaire des dieux qu'un jeu de scène comme celui de la consultation de la statue est demeuré iconographiquement lettre morte. Ce n'est pas non plus faute de savoir-faire de la part des artistes, puisque mainte séquence du répertoire (p. ex. 143, dans l'imagerie du pilier hermaïque) pouvait servir de schéma à la représentation. La mise en images de tels jeux de scène eût été d'autant moins inattendue qu'ils n'étaient pas exceptionnels au théâtre et pouvaient s'organiser autour de l'effigie d'H. lui-même. A la fin des Nuées (Aristoph. *Nubes* 1478-1485) Strepsiade fait amende honorable de ses folies devant l'hermès dressé à sa porte. Des hermès ont été mis en scène par Platon le comique (*CAF I* fig. 188) et par Phrynichos le comique (*CAF I* fig. 58), malheureusement dans des contextes qui pour l'essentiel nous échappent (cf. Kassel, R., «Dialoge mit Statuen», *ZPE* 51, 1983,



1-12). Des tableaux de phylakes à piliers hermaïques (181a-b) y trouvent peut-être leur clef.

Des rôles que joue le dieu dans la tragédie ou de sa présence invisible au cœur de l'action tragique presque rien n'a été recueilli par les imagiers d'Athènes, très peu par ceux de Grande-Grèce. Le cas de l'*Orestie* est frappant. Au début des *Choéphores* c'est d'H. le Noc-turne que les justiciers réclament l'alliance. C'est lui qui les introduit dans le palais, ayant embrumé les esprits et endormi la vigilance de la cour avant de «diriger la joute des épées» (Aischyl. *Choeph.* 728-729). Chez Sophocle (*El.* 111), il est longuement invoqué comme le garant du droit des morts. Quelques vases italiotes (897) transmettent l'écho affaibli de cette puissante poésie infernale: on voit H. couronnant la stèle d'Agamemnon, mêlé aux visiteurs du tombeau. Jamais il n'est figuré aux côtés de l'Oreste des *Euménides* sur la route vers Athènes, bien qu'Apollon ait expressément confié à la garde du *Pompaïos* le parricide traqué par les Furies (Kossatz, *Dramen* 111 K 39 pl. 19). Les fonctions que retient le plus souvent l'iconographie théâtrale étaient finalement impropres à mettre le personnage d'H. en valeur. C'est le «valet de Zeus» dénoncé par Prométhée qui conduit Ixion au supplice (732), sans que l'on sache du reste si l'épisode représenté par le P. d'Amphitrite avait appartenu à la pièce d'Eschyle. En revanche, la scène d'un cratère italiote de Berlin, dont la composition transpose et reconstruit en une seule image les temps forts de l'*Antiope* d'Euripide, donne la vedette à H.: tandis que Dirce subit son châtiment (→ Dirke), il apparaît au-dessus de la grotte, en *θεός ἐκ μηχανῆς*, pour empêcher le meurtre inutile du roi Lykos (Trendall, *PP* 7 n° 2 pl. 2 a; *RM* 84, 1977, 214 pl. 111, 2). Le plus souvent toutefois, quelle que soit l'action, H. est représenté dans des rôles qui sont ordinairement les siens dans l'ensemble de l'iconographie mythologique: celui du personnage discourant qui, p. ex., persuade Achille d'accepter la rançon d'Hector (*Les Phrygiens*: Kossatz, *Dramen* K4-K5 pl. 2); celui du spectateur passif et lointain observant ou commentant tour à tour le supplice d'Ixion (*LCS* 338 n° 787), le deuil de Niobé (Kossatz, *Dramen* K 24 pl. 9), la délivrance d'Andromède (Séchan, *Études* 257 fig. 76) ou la folie meurtrière de Lycurgue (Séchan, *Études* 72 fig. 21; Cook, R. M., *Greek Painted Pottery* [1972] 197 fig. 53). A la force des textes poétiques répond, chez les peintres, la banalité de schémas convenus. Il n'y a pas une «illustration» des rôles d'H. (ni des autres personnages de théâtre), si ce n'est au sens où l'entendait L. Séchan. L'iconographie théâtrale d'H. a les faiblesses de toute iconographie d'illustrateur, qui «ne doit voir qu'avec les yeux d'un autre», selon le mot de Théophile Gautier. Puisant non pas à la source des mythes, mais dans un genre artistique dont le langage diffère du sien, elle invente moins qu'elle ne soustraie. On ne s'étonnera pas qu'aux meilleures époques de la peinture de vases les meilleurs peintres se soient abstenus de cet exercice. C'est de poète à poète que passe l'héritage: du flamboyant H. d'Aristophane à l'héroïque factotum de Lucien (cf. Sources litt.), dont la profession de foi, à la révolte près, s'accorde si curieusement avec celle du Leporello de *Don Juan*, au dé-

but de l'acte I du «dramma giocoso» de Lorenzo da Ponte.

L'ubiquité iconographique d'H., sur laquelle on a insisté au début de ce Commentaire, connaît des limites que l'imagerie théâtrale vient de révéler. Il y a d'autres légendes sans images, en particulier celles relatives à l'H. magicien et guérisseur connu surtout par la poésie archaïque. Pas plus que l'H. de la végétation, il n'a acquis droit de cité dans l'art de la Grèce classique. Les impossibilités de la figuration expliquent bien des lacunes dans une iconographie qui innove en gérant un répertoire de formes où l'insolite trouve difficilement sa place. Comment représenter avec les moyens des arts graphiques grecs l'histoire d'H. retrouvant et remettant à Zeus les tendons coupés par → Typhon et dissimulés dans une peau d'ours (Apollod. *bibl.* 1 [42] 6, 3; Opp. *hal.* 3, 9-28)? Même un épisode célèbre comme la délivrance d'Arès captif dans la jarre des Aloades (Hom. *Il.* 5, 385-391) n'est pas attesté avec certitude dans l'imagerie. Un scarabée étrusque montre H. penché sur une urne dont émerge une tête barbue: A. Furtwängler aussi bien que H. B. Walters interprètent la scène comme la conjuration d'un esprit (*AG* I 99 n° 32 pl. 20; *BMGems* 93 n° 765 pl. 13), bien qu'elle diffère sensiblement des évocations d'*eidōla* que nous avons cru rencontrer dans la glyptique (644-645).

#### IX. Hermès à la croisée d'autres chemins

De tels documents conduisent à des frontières qu'H. passe, mais au-delà desquelles l'historien de l'art grec n'est plus dans son domaine. Des légendes dont la lettre est inconnue irriguent l'ancien tissu de l'imagerie. La peinture de vases étrusque accueille dans ses compositions l'H. grec à l'image duquel elle forme aussi un Charun hellénisé (de Ruyt, F., *Charun, démon étrusque de la mort* [1934]). Un stamnos de Vulci, conservé au Mus. Greg. Etr. du Vatican, peut ici servir de référence (de Ruyt 81 n° 87 fig. 36-37). Sur l'une des faces, H. précède le char du rapt de Perséphone par Hadès (de Phersipnai par Eita), tandis qu'émerge du sol Charun coiffé du pétase et muni du caducée; sur l'autre, le Psychopompe conduit un guerrier devant le même Charun en position d'anodos. Des urnes de Volterra, avec représentations du voyage d'outre-tombe, montrent Charun nu et chaussé de bottes ailées, sur le modèle de l'H. guide et maître de l'attelage. Ces contaminations, qui relèvent d'un phénomène répandu, produisent quelquefois de véritables redoublements iconographiques, en Etrurie et hors d'Etrurie (exemples apuliens et campaniens avec deux et même trois H. dans la même scène: Schauenburg, K., dans *Festschr. U. Hausmann* [1982] 234 n. 51; cf. *etiam* Moret, *Ilioupersis* 73 n. 4). H. a passé d'autres frontières, engendrant d'autres iconographies syncrétiques qui ne sont pas de notre ressort. Le catalogue en donne un très bref aperçu (993-997). Signalons seulement l'usage qui est fait d'H. dans l'imagerie gréco-phénicienne, amplement représentée au Mus. de Palerme et illustrée par les principales expositions consa-

crées à l'art phénicien (*De Carthage à Kairouan*, Cat. exp. Paris [1983]; *Les Phéniciens*, Cat. exp. Venise [1988]). Sur les objets de la vie quotidienne, sur les bijoux, sur les stèles funéraires le caducée joute le signe de Tanit.

Notre enquête s'achèverait sur une illusion d'optique si elle laissait entendre qu'H. n'a poursuivi sa carrière qu'en puisant ses forces dans d'autres cultes et d'autres mythes que ceux qui avaient présidé à sa naissance et à sa maturité. Les modalités selon lesquelles son image rencontre, côtoie, influence celle du Mercure romain constituent un faisceau de problèmes qui sont abordés ailleurs. Il faut seulement insister ici sur la vitalité de son imagerie traditionnelle qui se manifeste sous des formes très diverses, religieuses et décoratives, populaires et savantes, entre l'ép. hellénistique et l'ép. impériale. Les effigies produites à grande échelle dans les ateliers néo-attiques sont fabrication de copistes (*supra* p. 378), mais c'est précisément la demande et la diffusion d'anciens modèles qui est significative en tant que phénomène culturel. Jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité l'image d'H. ne connaît aucune sclérose. Quand un nouveau genre céramique, celui des bols à reliefs, constitue à la fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. son répertoire figuré, H. en fait partie. Sur un vase d'Athènes, on le voit guider l'attelage d'Hadès comme sur la fresque de Vergina 440 (Rotroff, S., *Agora* XXII 67 n° 193 pl. 36-37. 80). Dans l'art funéraire, conservatoire de formes et de croyances, le *signum fidei* du pilier hermaïque est gravé sur des stèles thessaliennes du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (*Gesichter. Griech. und röm. Bildnisse aus Schweizer Besitz*, Cat. exp. Berne [1982-83] 232-233 n° 99). Dans des compositions inspirées d'Homère, mais désormais chargées d'allusions eschatologiques, la figure du dieu se renouvelle subtilement. Un sarcophage de Tyr décoré de l'épisode de la rançon d'Hector (Chéhab, M., *BullMusBeyrouth* 21, 1968, 10-44 pl. 12), montre derrière le groupe de la supplication d'Achille par Priam H. s'entretenant avec une femme voilée, Briséis ou Thétis. La nudité du dieu sous la draperie, la gravité du maintien évoquent le Psychopompe des lécythes attiques en face des jeunes mortes. Mais la perplexité du geste exprime des interrogations auxquelles la légende grecque cesse peut-être de répondre. Suivre H. plus avant serait s'engager sur des chemins qui conduisent aux mystères sans figures du Trismégiste.

GÉRARD SIEBERT

HERMES/MERCURIUS → Mercurius

HERMES/MERCURIUS (IN PERIPHERIA OCCIDENTALI) → Mercurius (in peripheria occidentali)

#### HERMIAS

(*Epulag*) Mythologische Jünglingsgestalt von Iasos, der dort zusammen mit einem Delphin auf tragische Weise umkam.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Ail. *nat.* 6, 15; Plut. *de soll. an.* 984e-f; Hegesidemos, *FHG* IV 422; Pollux 9, 84; Duris, *FGH* 76 F 7. Ailianos, Plutarch, Hegesidemos berichten von einem Jüngling, der bei Iasos zusammen mit einem Delphin schwamm und dabei verunglückte. Bei dessen Tod verendete dann auch das Tier, indem es mit dem Leichnam auf Land setzte. Hegesidemos benennt dabei diesen Jüngling Hermias, und Ailianos wie auch Plutarch ergänzen, daß zur Erinnerung an diese Begebenheiten Münzen geschlagen würden, auf denen H. auf einem Delphin reitend zu sehen ist.

Duris erzählt eine ähnliche Geschichte, die sich in Iasos ereignete, spricht aber von einem gewissen Dionysios, der mit einem Delphin schwamm und nicht dasselbe schreckliche Ende erlitt, und bringt ihn in Verbindung mit Alexander d. Gr. Hegesidemos erklärt näher, daß dieser Jüngling durch den makedonischen König als Priester des Poseidon in Babylon eingesetzt wurde, weil der König Dionysios' Freundschaft zu dem Delphin als ein göttliches Zeichen betrachtete. Hegesidemos scheidet diesen Bericht jedoch klar von der Legende des Hermias, und die Darstellungen des Jünglings auf den Münzen von Iasos werden von allen oben genannten antiken Schriftstellern auch nur auf Hermias, niemals auf Dionysios, bezogen.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Hicks, E. L., *JHS* 8, 1887, 93-95.

#### KATALOG

1. Stele. Einst auf dem Grabhügel von Hermias und dem Delphin in Iasos. - Ail. *nat.* 6, 15; Pottier, E./Reinach, S., *BCH* 7, 1883, 445-446; Hicks 93-94. - Nach Ailianos H. auf dem Delphin reitend.

2.\* AR Drachme oder Hemidrachme, Iasos, um 450 v. Chr. - Babelon, *Traité* I 1 (1907) 413-415 Nr. 689-690 Taf. 18, 1-2; *MuM* Liste 516, 1988, Nr. 58 Abb. - Vs.: H. auf einem Delphin nach l. reitend, in der Rechten bisweilen ein Objekt haltend. Rs.: Quadratum incusum.

3.\* (= Artemis 1088 [Rs.], = Iasos 1 [Rs.]) AR Drachme oder Hemidrachme, AE, Iasos, um 250-190 v. Chr. und kaiserzeitlich\*. - BMC Caria 124-126, 1-11. 13. 15 Taf. 21, 1-7; Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 311 Nr. 65; *KIMI* 135-136 Nr. 1-3 Taf. 5, 11; Grose, *McClean* II 189 Nr. 8501-8502 Taf. 297, 10-11; Forrer, *Weber* III 1, 373-374 Nr. 6522-6523. 6525 Taf. 230;

HERMES (IN PERIPHERIA ORIENTALI) → LIMC Suppl.

HERMES/MERCURIUS HELIOPOLITANUS → Heliopolitani Dei

HERMES/KOUTBA → LIMC Suppl.

HERMES/TURMS → Turms

SNG Copenhagen 409-417; SNG v. Aulock 2556. 8095-8096. - Rs.: H. mit Delphin nach r. schwimmend und diesen mit dem l. Arm umfassend, bisweilen Köcher oder Köcher und Bogen darunter, auf den kaiserzeitlichen Münzen manchmal *EPHIAE*. Vs.: Kopf des Apollon oder Herakles, oder Köpfe des Apollon und der Artemis, oder Lyra oder Iasos.

#### DEUTUNG AUF HERMIAS AUSZUSCHIEDEN

4. (= Eros 182) Getriebene Bronzeatlasche einer Hydria. Paris, Louvre Br. 4367 (Myr 597). Aus Myrina. - Pottier, E./Reinach, S., *BCH* 7, 1883, 443-447 Taf. 5; idem, *La nécropole de Myrina* I (1887) 495-499. 581 Nr. 488 Taf. 50, 2; Diehl, E., *Die Hydria* (1964) 40. 42. 221 Nr. B 184. - Ende 4. Jh. v. Chr. - Geflügelter Eros mit Delphin nach l. schwimmend und diesen mit l. Arm umfassend.

#### KOMMENTAR

Neben einer nur literarisch überlieferten Darstellung des Iasos mit dem Delphin auf deren angeblichem Grabhügel (1) kennen wir bisher nur zwei Szenen auf Münzen von Iasos (2-3), auf denen H. entweder auf dem Delphin reitet oder mit ihm schwimmt und ihn mit dem linken Arm umfaßt. Ob diese Wiedergabe die bekannte Stele auf dem Grabhügel oder ein anderes in Iasos aufgestelltes Monument reflektiert, muß jedoch offen bleiben. Eine von Pottier und Reinach ebenfalls auf H. gedeutete Gruppe auf einer Bronzeatlasche einer Hydria (4) zeigt keinen einzigen Anhaltspunkt, der für eine derartige Interpretation sprechen könnte. Die Flügel des Jünglings weisen hingegen klar auf Eros, und eine Deutung auf H. ist daher zurückzuweisen. RAINER VOLKOMMER

#### HERMIONE

(Ἑρμιόνη, étr. Ermania) Fille de → Menelaos et d'→ Helene et, selon la version de l'*Odyssée*, seul enfant du couple. Elle fut abandonnée par sa mère dès l'âge de neuf ans lorsque celle-ci s'enfuit avec → Alexandros. Promise par Ménélas à → Neoptolemos, fils d'→ Achilleus, le mariage fut célébré à Sparte (après la guerre de Troie), d'où H. devait rejoindre son époux. Selon une seconde version, H. aurait été fiancée à → Orestes par → Tyndareos, son grand-père, dès avant la guerre de Troie. Mais Néoptolème la ravit à Oreste dont le mariage était resté sans enfant et il meurt à Delphes de la main d'Oreste seul ou de ses compagnons. H. aurait ensuite épousé → Diomedes.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Les sources littéraires concernant H. sont peu nombreuses et assez contradictoires, mais nous donnent cependant quelques détails précieux. Ainsi Hom. *Od.* 4, 12-14 indique sa parenté et souligne sa beauté: «car d'Hélène les dieux lui (à Ménélas) avaient refusé toute autre descendance, après

qu'elle avait eu d'abord cette H. aussi belle et charmante que l'Aphrodite d'or». Cependant dans Hes. *fig.* 175 Merkelbach/West et Apollod. *bibl.* 3, 11, 1, → Nikostratos est considéré comme son frère, lui aussi un enfant du couple. La beauté d'H. sera aussi célébrée plus tard, en particulier chez Prop. 1, 4, 6. Eur. *Or.* 63-65. 1184 mentionne qu'H. fut abandonnée par sa mère lorsque celle-ci s'enfuit avec Pâris, et confiée alors à Clytemnestre; Apollod. *epit.* 3, 3 précise qu'H. avait neuf ans lors de son abandon par Hélène.

Plusieurs versions existent au sujet de son mariage. Selon la plus ancienne, celle d'Hom. *Od.* 4, 3-9, Ménélas l'aurait promise en mariage à Néoptolème, fils d'Achille, lors du siège de Troie et le mariage aurait ensuite été célébré à Sparte (au moment même de l'arrivée de Télémaque); cf. aussi Apollod. *epit.* 6, 14. Mais une autre version voulait qu'H. ait été promise à Oreste dès avant la guerre de Troie, cette fois-ci par Tyndare son grand-père (ou encore par Ménélas lui-même). Cette version se retrouve chez les Tragiques dans l'*Hermioné* de Sophocle (*TrGF* IV p. 192-193), mais aussi dans Eur. *Andr.* 966-970.

L'*Andromaque* d'Euripide traite de la jalousie d'H., alors épouse de Néoptolème, mais sans enfant, à l'égard d'Andromaque, esclave de Néoptolème et qui lui a donné un fils (ou plusieurs); ce fils est appelé Molossos (Paus. 1, 11, 1). H. projette de l'assassiner avec la complicité de son père Ménélas (Eur. *Andr.* 155-180. 366-382. 486-493). Oreste arrive et veut reprendre H. et assassiner ou faire assassiner Néoptolème parti à Delphes (Eur. *Andr.* 993-1008), meurtre que rapporte le messager (Eur. *Andr.* 1085-1160; cf. aussi Hyg. *fab.* 122-123). Dans Eur. *Or.*, c'est Oreste lui-même qui veut assassiner H. (1573-1624) en la menaçant de son épée. Mais il finira par l'épouser sur l'ordre d'Apollon et Néoptolème ne l'épousera jamais (Eur. *Or.* 1653-1655). D'Oreste, H. aurait eu un fils, Tisamenos (Apollod. *epit.* 6, 28 et Paus. 2, 18, 6).

D'autres titres de tragédies portant le nom d'Oreste nous sont parvenus, mais il est impossible de reconstituer leur trame.

La légende d'H. figure aussi chez Verg. *Aen.* 3, 325-329 où Andromaque se plaint de l'abandon de Néoptolème en faveur d'H. et chez Ov. *her.* 8, 17-18. 121-122. Ici, H. raconte ses malheurs dans une lettre qu'elle adresse à Oreste, où elle lui demande de la sauver de Néoptolème qui l'a ravie et menace de se suicider.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Comotti, A., *EAA* III (1960) 424 s.v. «Ermania»; Dörig, J., «Kalamis-Studien», *Jdl* 80, 1965, 166-177; v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1078 s.v. «Hermione»; Krappe, A. H., «Hermione», *RhM* 84, 1935, 276-286; Robert, *Heldensage* 3, 1326-1328. 1461-1469; Weizsäcker, P., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2433-2434 s.v. «Hermione 2»; Zwicker, J., *RE* VIII 1 (1912) 841-843 s.v. «Hermione 4».

#### CATALOGUE

##### A. Hermione seule

1. Statue, autrefois à Delphes, mentionnée par Paus. 10, 16, 4 et attribuée par lui à Calamis. Aucun

autre détail ne nous étant parvenu, il paraît impossible d'essayer d'y reconnaître une œuvre précise. L'étude de J. Dörig signale les différentes interprétations tentées par ses prédécesseurs et suggère que le prototype devait être celui de l'une des suppliantes Barberini, hypothèse malheureusement impossible à démontrer.

##### B. Oreste menace Hermione

###### REPRÉSENTATIONS PROBABLES

2. (= Alkmaion 13\* avec bibl.) Coupe attique à f.r. Londres, BME 120. De Nola. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1280, 61: P. de Marlay (Alkmaion et Eriphyle?); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 358; Dörig 168-171 fig. 13 (Oreste et H.); Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 452, 1 (Oreste et H.); Schefold/Jung, *SB* V 87. 370-371 fig. 330 (plutôt Oreste et H. qu'Alkmaion et Eriphyle). - Vers 440/430 av. J.-C. - Int.: une jeune femme assise vers la dr. sur un autel tend les deux bras, implorant un homme barbu, vêtu d'une chlamyde et coiffé d'un pétase, qui la menace de son épée dégainée (on n'aperçoit que le fourreau dans la main g.).

3. (= Alkmaion 14 avec bibl., = Apollon 981\*) Oenochoe attique à f.r. Cassel, Staatl. Kunstslg. T 43. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1206, 1: P. de Schuwalow (Ion et Créuse?); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 344; Lezzi-Hafter, A., *Der Schuwalow-Maler* (1976) 105, S 33 pl. 100; Schefold, *SB* IV fig. 86 et *SB* V 371. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - Un jeune homme imberbe vêtu d'une chlamyde et coiffé d'un pilos se précipite, l'épée dégainée dans la main dr., le fourreau dans la main g., vers une jeune femme aux longs cheveux dénoués flottant sur les épaules, vêtue d'un chiton. Assise sur un autel, elle lève les deux bras en un geste de terreur. Entre les deux personnages, Apollon debout, la main g. tenant son laurier, la dr. appuyée contre sa hanche, drapé dans un himation, s'interpose en regardant vers le jeune homme. Diverses interprétations ont été données: outre celle de Beazley, citons en particulier le meurtre d'Eriphyle par Alcméon; mais la jeunesse de la femme assise rend l'interprétation d'H. beaucoup plus probable, et Schefold insiste sur la signification de la présence d'Apollon.

##### C. Hermione menace Andromaque

###### REPRÉSENTATION POSSIBLE

4.\* Amphore panathénaique lucanienne. Bari, Mus. Arch. 6254. - *LCS* 103, 536 pl. 53, 2: P. de Dolon; *LCS Suppl.* 3, 58 D 17; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* I 16 n° III 6, 4; Schmidt, M., *Gnomon* 52, 1980, 755-756; Schefold, *SB* V 371 n. 791a. - 400-380 av. J.-C. - Un jeune homme debout, coiffé d'un pilos, vêtu d'une chlamyde, la main dr. sur la hanche, la main g. appuyée à une lance. Une femme drapée est assise sur un autel; un jeune garçon nu, debout sur une marche de l'autel, se blottit contre elle. Tous deux regardent à dr. vers une jeune femme vêtue d'un chiton, debout, vue de trois quarts. De la main dr., elle a saisi l'épaule du garçon et de la g. elle tient une hache perpendiculaire au sol. Selon M. Schmidt, suivie par K. Schefold, il pourrait s'agir d'H. menaçant Androma-

que et son fils en présence de Ménélas. La scène pourrait se passer dans le sanctuaire de Thétis (cf. Eur. *Andr.* 40-46).

##### D. Oreste menace Andromaque en présence d'Hermione

###### INTERPRÉTATION À REJETER

5. (= Andromache 157 avec bibl.) Kalpis attique à f.r. Nauplie, Mus. 11609 (180). - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1061, 154: groupe de Polygnotos; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 323; Kahil, L., *BCH* 75, 1951, 316-322; Dörig 172 n. 150. - La femme qui presse son sein, assise sur l'autel et menacée par Oreste, est certainement Clytemnestre, et la jeune femme qui fuit vers la dr. doit alors être Electre ou une suivante (Kahil).

##### E. Scène de gynécée

6.\* (= Helene 382\*) Hydrie attique à f.r. Athènes, Céramique 2712. D'Athènes. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1313, 6; 1690. 1708: P. de Meidias; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 362; *AM* 89, 1974 pl. 67, 1; *AM* 90, 1975 pl. 48, 1; 49, 4; 50, 3; Burn, L., *The Meidias Painter* (1987) 69-70 M6 pl. 44-45. - 410 av. J.-C. - Sur l'épaule, Hélène, un Eros sur ses genoux, entourée par Phylonoé, Phoibé et Clytemnestre à g., H. (inscr.), Hilaïra et deux autres femmes à dr.; H. est représentée adulte.

##### F. Hermione enfant dans les bras d'Hélène

###### Miroirs étrusques

7. (= Aphrodite/Turan 22, = Helene/Elina 4\* avec bibl.) Paris, Cab. Méd. 1284. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Hélène, couchée sur une kliné, étreint de son bras g. la petite H. et regarde Aphrodite debout devant elle. La tête et le cou de l'enfant surgissent du vêtement dans lequel est drapée sa mère. Elle a les cheveux bouclés, mi-longs.

8. (= Alexandros 53\* avec bibl., = Helene/Elina 5\*) Rome, Villa Giulia 16691. De Préneste. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Représentation quasi identique mais seule la tête de l'enfant, qui a les cheveux courts et sans boucles, apparaît, avec l'inscription *Ermania*, et, devant le lit d'Hélène, Pâris est assis sur un escabeau.

#### COMMENTAIRE

Les sources littéraires concernant le personnage d'H. sont, on l'a vu, relativement pauvres; elles ne contribuent que peu à éclairer l'iconographie d'ailleurs maigre du personnage. Seuls les Tragiques, peut-être Sophocle, mais en particulier Euripide lui accordent une place importante et utilisent au moins deux versions concernant son mariage. L'iconographie, elle, est souvent incertaine. Cependant au moins deux épisodes pourraient être représentés dans l'art grec atti-



que: H. menacée par Oreste (peut-être une invention d'Euripide dans son *Oreste*: cf. Sources littéraires) en 2-3 où elle apparaît, soit réfugiée sur un autel, soit encore en fuite, menacée par Oreste; l'autel ici n'est qu'un motif iconographique lié à un personnage menacé et implorant (cf. Moret, *Ilioupersis* 232-233). D'autre part, l'amphore panathénaique lucanienne 4 nous donnerait une version de l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide avec une H. menaçant Molossos et Andromaque. Ce sont donc les Tragiques qui auraient inspiré les rares représentations d'H. dont le rôle, en tant que seule fille d'Hélène, à la beauté éclatante chantée par Homère, lui aurait permis de prétendre à une illustration plus riche. Sur l'hydrie 6, où elle se trouve associée à Hélène, elle est mêlée à quelques jeunes femmes parfaitement indéterminées: seule l'inscription nous permet de la reconnaître. Aucun document d'époque romaine ne semble la représenter avec certitude. Les deux miroirs étrusques 7 et 8 illustrent d'une manière réaliste et naïve le pouvoir d'Aphrodite engageant Hélène à fuir avec Paris-Alexandros en dépit de la présence de sa fille ici figurée en petit enfant.

LILLY KAHIL

## HERMIPPOS → Theseus

## HERMOS

(*Ἑρμος*) Einer der vier Ströme, die das westliche Kleinasien von Osten her durchfließen. Der H. entspringt am Dindymosgebirge (Murat Dagh) im westlichen Phrygien, fließt durch Lydien und mündet zwischen Phokaia und Smyrna in den hermeischen Meerbusen (*Ἑρμειος κόλπος*). Heutiger Name Gediz. Im Mythos ist H., wie die meisten Ströme der griechischen Welt, Sohn des Okeanos und der Tethys (Hes. *theog.* 343). Er ist auf zahlreichen Münzen der Kaiserzeit dargestellt; die Prägestätten liegen entlang dem Flußlauf in Phrygien, Lydien, Ionien und der Aeolis.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN bei Büchner und Drexler.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Büchner, L., *RE* VIII 1 (1912) 903-904 s.v. «Hermos 2»; Drexler, H., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2436-2438 s.v. «Hermos 1»; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flussg.* passim; Klose, D. O. A., *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1987) 37; Magie, D., *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950) 36.

## KATALOG

## a) Gelagerter Flußgott

Einheitstypus, der in der Folge nicht im Einzelnen beschrieben wird: H., halbnackt, liegt nach l., auf Quellgefäß gestützt; er hält Füllhorn und Schilfrohr oder Blütenzweig oder zwei Ähren. Meist ist H. mit Inschrift *ΕΡΜΟΣ* bezeichnet.

1.\* AE, Bageis (Lydien), 2.-frühes 3. Jh. n. Chr. - *BMC Lydia* 32, 9 Taf. 4, 6; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 296, 303 Taf. 10, 9; *SNG* v. Aulock 2914. - H. mit Ähren. Vs.: Kopf der Boule.

2.\* AE, Bageis, frühes 3. Jh. n. Chr. - *BMC Lydia* 32, 7, 8; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 296, 304 Taf. 10, 10. - H. mit Schilfrohr. Vs.: Kopf des Demos.

3.\* AE, Kadoi (Phrygien), Gordianus III. (228-244). - *BMC Phrygia* 123, 35. 36 Taf. 15, 4; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 322, 371 Taf. 12, 9; *SNG* Copenhagen Taf. 7, 254. - Archon Kleopator. H., bärtig, mit Füllhorn und Schilfrohr. - Ebenso, um 240 v. Chr.: *BMC* 117, 9 Taf. 14, 11 (Vs. Kopf des Demos); Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 321, 370 Taf. 12, 8 (Vs. behelmter bärtiger Kopf).

4.\* AE, Kyme (Aeolis), Hadrian (117-138 n. Chr.). - *BMC Troas* usw., 118, 132. - H. mit Schilfrohr. - Ebenso, um 180 n. Chr.: *BMC* 116, 112 Taf. 22, 12; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 277, 257; *SNG* v. Aulock 7700 (Vs. Kopf des Synkletos). - Ebenso, im Feld Baum: *BMC* 115, 108 (Vs. Kopf des Synkletos).

5.\* AE, Magnesia am Sipylus (Lydien), Domitia (Gattin des Domitian, 81-96 n. Chr.). - *BMC Lydia* 146, 56; *SNG* v. Aulock 3003. - H. mit Zweig und Füllhorn. - Ebenso, H. mit Füllhorn: *BMC* 140, 19 Taf. 16, 3; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 302, 318 (Vs. Herakleskopf). - Weitere Varianten des 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr. (nur mit Zweig oder Schilfrohr): *BMC* 142, 33; 143, 38; 148, 67. 68; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 302, 319.

6. AE, Mostene (Lydien), 2. Jh. n. Chr. - Cox, D. H., *A Tarsus Coin Collection in the Adana Museum*, *NNM* 92 (1941) 10, 54 Taf. 2, 54. - H. mit Schilfrohr. Vs.: Tychekopf.

7.\* AE, Saïtta (Lydien), Otacilia (Gattin des Philippus I., 244-249 n. Chr.). - *BMC Lydia* 225, 66; *SNG* v. Aulock 3106. - H. mit Zweig. - Ebenso: Julia Mamaea, Mutter des Severus Alexander († 235 n. Chr.), Paris, Cab. Méd.; Tranquillina, Gattin des Gordianus III. (238-244 n. Chr.), Paris, Cab. Méd. - Ebenso, H. mit Füllhorn und Schilfrohr: *BMC* 216, 23. 25-27 Taf. 23, 5; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 302, 320 Taf. 10, 21; *SNG* v. Aulock 3088. 3089 (Vs. Kopf des Aziotennos oder des Synkletos).

8.\* AE, Sardes (Lydien), Sabina (Gattin des Hadrian, † 138 v. Chr.). - *BMC Lydia* 257, 136 Taf. 26, 9. - H. mit Schilfrohr und Füllhorn. - Ebenso, 3. Jh. n. Chr., Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 304, 324; *SNG* Copenhagen Taf. 15, 511 (Vs. Büste des Mên Askenos). - Ebenso mit Büste der Lydia: *InvWadd* 5221.

9.\* AE, Silandos (Lydien), 2. Jh. n. Chr. - Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 305, 329 Taf. 10, 28. (Vs. Athenabüste). - Ebenso mit Herakleskopf: *BMC Lydia* 278, 2 Taf. 28, 1; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 305, 330.

10.\* AE, Smyrna (Ionien), Titus und Domitian (79-81 n. Chr.). - Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 286, 277. 278 Taf. 9, 16. 17; Klose 235-237 (vollständige Liste) Taf. 27. 28. - H. mit Füllhorn und zwei oder drei Ähren.

11.\* AE, Tabala (Lydien), Julia Mamaea, Mutter des Severus Alexander († 235 n. Chr.). - *InvWadd* 3505; *SNG* v. Aulock 3197. - H. mit Schilfrohr und Füllhorn. - Ebenso, Gordianus III. und Tranquillina

(228-244 n. Chr.): Paris, Cab. Méd. - H. mit Zweig. - Ebenso, Vs. Kopf des Synkletos: *BMC Lydia* 288, 1 Taf. 11, 4; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 307, 333; *SNG* v. Aulock 3190. 8270. - H. mit Schilfrohr und Füllhorn.

12.\* AE, Temnos (Aeolis), Philippus II. (244-249 n. Chr.). - *BMC Troas* usw., 148, 38; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 277, 260; *SNG* v. Aulock 1680. - H. mit Zweig. - Ebenso, Otacilia, Gattin des Philippus I. (244-249 n. Chr.): *BMC* 148, 36 Taf. 29, 10. - Ebenso, H. mit Füllhorn und Zweig, 2. Jh. n. Chr.: Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 277, 258. 259 Taf. 8, 24. 25 (Rs. Stehende Aphrodite).

## b) Gelagerter Flußgott mit Kranz

13.\* AE, Sardes (Lydien), Julia Mamaea, Mutter des Severus Alexander († 235 n. Chr.). - Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 304, 326 Taf. 10, 26. - H. wie a, jedoch trägt er in der erhobenen Rechten einen Kranz.

## c) Gelagerte Flußgötter: Hermos und Hyllos

14. → Hyllos II 4-5.

## d) Gelagerter Flußgott und das Kind → Paktolos

15.\* AE, Sardes (Lydien), Gordianus III. (238-244 v. Chr.). - *BMC Lydia* 270, 188 Taf. 27, 13; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 305, 227; 328 Taf. 10, 27; 11, 1; *SNG* v. Aulock 3163. - H. nach r. gelagert, in der Rechten Kranz, auf dem Knie der kleine Paktolos.

## e) Gelagerter Flußgott, das Kind Paktolos und Leukothea (→ Ino)

16.\* AE, Sardes (Lydien), Septimius Severus (193-211 n. Chr.). - Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 304, 325 Taf. 10, 25. - H. nach l. gelagert mit Schilfrohr, vor ihm kniet Leukothea, die dem H. den kleinen Paktolos hinreicht.

## f) Gelagerter Flußgott und «Nymphe»

17.\* AE, Silandos (Lydien), Commodus (180-192 n. Chr.). - *BMC Lydia* 283, 23 Taf. 28, 7; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 306, 331 Taf. 11, 2; *idem*, *Nomisma* 6, 1911, 2-4. - H. nach l. gelagert mit langem Schilfrohr, vor ihm steht eine weibliche Gestalt (Nymphe?), einen Baum umfassend. Beamtenname *ETP TATIANOY*.

## g) Unsichere Deutung: Kopf des Hermos?

18. (= Acheloos 93\* mit Lit.) El, Phokaia (Ionien), spätes 6. und frühes 5. Jh. v. Chr., 1/6-Statere (Hekten). - Bodenstedt, F., *Die Elektronmünzen von Phokaia und Mytilene* (1981) 121 Em. 16 Taf. 2, 4. 43, datiert 625-622 v. Chr.; 132-133 Em. 35 Taf. 4, 2. 45, datiert 521-478; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze* 2 Taf. 179, 597. - Kopf eines als androkephaler Stier dargestellten Flußgottes nach l., daneben kleine Robbe, das Stadtwappen von Phokaia. Rs.: Vertieftes Quadrat.

## h) Unsichere und irrtümliche Zuweisungen an Hermos

Kaiserzeitliche Prägungen

19. Alia (Phrygien). Die Deutung lehnt schon Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 312 ab.

20. Attaleia (Lydien). Der dargestellte Flußgott muss der → Lykos sein. Noch *SNG* Cambridge 4846 deutet ihn als H.

## KOMMENTAR

Ein Vorschlag ist hier die Deutung des spätarchaischen Flußgötterkopfes der El.-Münzen von Phokaia (18) auf H. Die Forschung nannte ihn bisher stets → Acheloos, dessen Kult aber in Phokaia nicht bezeugt ist. Als Okeanide, den schon Hesiod nennt, hätte der verkörperte H., der unweit von Phokaia ins Meer mündet, in dem Repertoire früher Götterköpfe hier sehr wohl Platz.

Kein anderer Flußgott Kleinasien ist auf kaiserzeitlichen Münzen so oft dargestellt worden wie der H. Entlang seinem Lauf, von Kadoi bis Kyme und Smyrna nehmen zahlreiche Poleis sein Bild auf. Dabei liegen diese keineswegs alle an seinem Ufer, sondern im weiteren Stadtbereich, so besonders in Saïtta (7. 14. 15), Sardes (8. 15. 16) und Kyme (4), was von besonderem topographischen Interesse ist. In Sardes kommt der → Paktolos als Söhnchen (15. 16), auf den Knien des H. reitend, hinzu, dazu tritt Leukothea (→ Ino), nach einer Überlieferung die Mutter des Paktolos (Ps. *Plut. fluv.* 7, 2). Die Bildtypen folgen dem in der Kaiserzeit üblichen Flußgötterschema (→ Fluvii), wobei in Smyrna die Ähren wohl die Fruchtbarkeit der H.-Ebene andeuten (10), in Sardes der Kranz wohl auf die hier abgehaltenen Spiele des Koinon Asias (s. *BMC Lydia* cviii) hinweist. HERBERT A. CAHN

## HERO → Leandros

## HERODOROS → Achilleus 656

## HERON

(*Ἡρώς*, *Ἡρώς* chez Kall. *epigr.* 24) Dieu secondaire de l'Egypte hellénistique et romaine, d'origine étrangère, selon toute probabilité thrace, dont le culte a été implanté et diffusé au départ (milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. au plus tard) par des mercenaires au service des Ptolémées, mais s'est perpétué, toujours de façon locale, en liaison avec des éléments militaires et en association avec des divinités égyptiennes, au cours de la période impériale en des endroits divers (Fayoum, Alexandrie, nome diospolite).

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: H. est un dieu cavalier et représenté comme tel sur sa monture ordinairement au pas bien que plusieurs fois il apparaisse à pied à côté de son cheval, ce qui a excité la verve du grand Callimaque (*epigr.* 24). C'est aussi un dieu militaire, représenté cuirassé et armé avec des détails variables selon



les monuments et les époques, particulièrement nets sur les peintures. Cette militarisation est évidemment due à la qualité de ses premiers et permanents adorateurs. A Magdola, en 118 av. J.-C., un «hipparque à la tête des cavaliers colons» dédie un propylon au dieu et, en 95-94, le sanctuaire reçoit le droit d'asylie à la demande de deux membres de la garde royale. A Théadelphie, anciennement aussi, les auteurs des dédicaces sont des Egyptiens, mais l'aspect militaire du dieu est toujours très accusé sur les peintures d'époque impériale du même endroit. De même, au II<sup>e</sup> s. de notre ère, les monnaies du nome diospolite à l'image du dieu cavalier doivent sans nul doute leur origine à la présence sur les lieux d'ailes de cavaliers thraces. Comme sur un certain nombre de reliefs héroïques grecs, le dieu offre une coupe à boire à un grand serpent se dressant sur le bord du tableau, en s'enroulant à l'occasion autour d'un arbre; mais, à l'inverse du modèle grec le plus courant, le serpent se dresse dans le dos du cavalier l'obligeant à se retourner vers lui de façon à se présenter de face au spectateur. C'est cette attitude qui fait l'unité et l'originalité de la série égyptienne (Will 66. 82; Parlasca 24-25).

Bien que sur deux documents seulement (I. 8) figure une dédicace directe à H., les autres données connues, à Théadelphie et Magdola notamment, ne permettent pas de doute sur l'identification du dieu sur l'ensemble des documents du catalogue.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Sites et monuments. Théadelphie: Bernard, E., *Recueil des inscr. grecques du Fayoum* II (1981) 1-9. 19; inscriptions n° 105. 106. 115. 126-128; Breccia, E., *Mon. de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* I 2 (1926) 85-131; Lefebvre, G., «Le dieu "HPΩN" d'Égypte» *ASAE* 20, 1920, 237-250. - Magdola: Bernard, E., *o. c.* III (1981) 29-36; inscriptions n° 151-154; Bottigelli, P., «Repertorio topografico dei templi e dei sacerdoti dell'Egitto tolemaico II», *Aegyptus* 22, 1942, 233-235; Jouguet, P., *CRAI* 1902, 346-359; Rübsam, W. J. R., *Götter und Kulte im Faiyum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit* (1974) 121.

**Reliefs d'ensemble et monuments divers:** Bonnet, H., *Reallexikon der ägypt. Religionsgeschichte* (1952) 295-296 s. v. «Heron»; Launey, M., *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (1949-1950) 959-974; Parlasca, K., «Pseudokoptische Reiterheilige», dans *Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst und Kultur des Orients* (1982) 19-30.

**Origine et interprétation:** outre les études mentionnées ou citées dans le catalogue, cf. notamment Capovilla, G., «Il dio Heron in Tracia e in Egitto», *RivFil* 51, 1923, 424-467; Cumont, F., «Un dieu supposé syrien, associé à Hérôn en Égypte», dans *Mélanges syriens offerts à R. Dussaud* I (1939) 1-9; Perdrizet, P., *Negotium perambulans in tenebris. Etudes de démonologie gréco-orientale* (1922) 8-11; Rostovtzeff, M., «Kleinasiatische und syrische Götter im Römischen Ägypten», *Aegyptus* 13, 1933, 493-513; Will, E., *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain* (1955) 56-66. 103. 259; Kiss, Z., «Hérôn, un dieu grec d'Égypte», dans *XIII. Int. Kongr. für klass. Arch. Resümées* Berlin 1988 (1988) 214.

## CATALOGUE

### Peintures

1.\* Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 20223. De Théadelphie (Baṭn Harit), sanctuaire du dieu Pnéphéros: peinture «sur le montant de droite de la porte centrale menant de la 3<sup>e</sup> cour du temple au vestibule qui conduit à la chapelle principale». Etat actuel inconnu. -

Breccia pl. 57. 58; Bernard II n° 126. 127 pls. 31. 32; Launey, *Théad.* 5. - Deux dédicaces à Hérôn Soubatos. Pas antérieur au II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Peinture dont la moitié dr. était en partie effacée, en partie détruite. Un homme barbu à la tête radiée, debout de face, en costume militaire et armé d'une lance, verse le contenu d'une coupe sur un petit autel à ses pieds à g., auprès duquel se tient un petit esclave avec cassette et offrandes; à l'arrière-plan, un trépied autour duquel s'enroule un serpent supporte un grand cratère. A dr. en haut, une couronne tenue par une Nikè disparue.

2.\* Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 20225. De Théadelphie, sanctuaire de Pnéphéros: peinture sur le montant g. de la porte centrale. Etat actuel inconnu. - Breccia pl. 59; Cumont, pl. 3 fig. 1. 2; Bernard n° 128 pl. 33; Launey, *Théad.* 6. - Dedicace au Seigneur Souchos; même date que le précédent. Cavalier à la tête radiée et avec couronne de tours, en costume militaire, au pas vers la dr., tendant une coupe à un serpent dans un arbre à g. Dans l'angle supérieur dr., petit personnage debout en tunique à manches et pantalons tenant de la g. une lance et une branche avec serpent et élevant une double hache de la dr.

3. Loc. inc. (coll. privée). Du Fayoum. - Cumont, pls. 1. 2; Launey, *Théad.* 7. - D'après le style, II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Panneau de bois entouré de son cadre. Deux personnages debout côte à côte, celui de dr. très semblable à celui de I, celui de g. au petit personnage à la double hache de 2, avec lance et serpent; petite pyramide entre les deux; en bas à dr., un petit esclave noir; à g., personnage drapé (l'auteur de l'ex-voto?).

4. Loc. inc. (coll. privée). Découvert avec 3. - Cumont 5; Launey, *Théad.* 8. - Peinture sur panneau de bois. Personnage debout semblable à celui de I, offrant une libation sur un brûle-parfum et flanqué d'un petit esclave noir; palmier au serpent à g.

5. Magdola (Medinet an-Nahas). Propylon du temple du dieu H. Etat actuel inconnu (ni dessin ni photographie conservés). - Jouguet 353-354; Collignon, *CRAI* 1903, 446-449; Lefebvre 242; Launey 961 (*Magdola* 4); Bernard III n° 153. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. d'après le style des peintures, voisin de celui de Théadelphie. - Peintures sur les piliers du propylon avec deux fois en façade et deux fois sur les faces intérieures l'image d'un personnage debout semblable à celui de I, avec cheval et arbre au serpent mais aussi avec carquois, chien, biche et crabe. Dedicace à «Sarpis et aux dieux synnaoi».

6. Magdola, second pronaos du temple du dieu H. Etat actuel inconnu (ni dessin ni photographie conservés). - Jouguet 358; Launey 961; v. Bissing, W., *Aegyptus* 33, 1953, 356; Bernard III n° 154. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - De chaque côté de la porte qui ouvre sur l'intérieur du temple, deux fois un personnage apparemment semblable à celui de I avec arc, canthare, serpent et crabe. Dedicace aux «grands dieux invincibles, les héros».

### Reliefs

7.\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 46790. De Théadelphie. - Lefebvre pl. 1; Perdrizet fig. 2; Launey, *Théad.* 3; Benoit, F., *L'héroïsation équestre* (1954) pl. 7. 1;

Grimm, G., *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägypt. Mus. Kairo* (1975) pl. 72; Bernard II n° 115 pl. 26. - Dedicace d'un propylon à H. deux fois grand, du 27 septembre 67 av. J.-C. Sous un disque solaire ailé à uraeus retombants disposé en arcade, le dieu en costume militaire s'avance au pas vers la dr. en offrant à boire à un grand serpent dressé à g.

8. Le Caire, Mus. Copte 229. Provenance inconnue. Deneuve, G., *L'Arte copta*, dans *Il Mondo delle forme. Antologia universale dell'arte* 12, *Oriente e Occidente* (1970) pl. 4; Parlasca 22 pl. 12. - Date probable: fin de l'ép. hellénistique. - Moitié supérieure d'une stèle à sommet arrondi abritant un disque ailé à uraeus retombants. Dans un cadre rectangulaire approfondi, un cavalier à tête radiée vers la dr. couronné par Nikè volant de la droite et offrant à boire à un serpent enroulé autour d'un arbre à grandes feuilles, à g.

9.\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 46792. Du Fayoum. - Lefebvre pl. 2; Launey, *Arsinoé* 1; Bernard II pl. 35. - Date incertaine, sans doute déjà d'ép. romaine. Stèle rectangulaire; le visage du personnage a été arraché. Cavalier cuirassé avec lance sur son cheval au pas vers la dr. et offrant à boire à un serpent entortillé dans l'angle supérieur g.

10.\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 48824. Provenance inconnue. - Lefebvre, *ASAE* 24, 1924, 89 fig.; M. Launey, *Caire* 1, 971. - Date incertaine: «de très basse époque» (G. Lefebvre, *o. c.*). - Petite dalle de calcaire. Cavalier sans armes sur un cheval cabré vers la g. et offrant à boire à un serpent dressé à dr.

11. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. De Hadra? - Perdrizet 10 fig. 3; Breccia pl. 73, 2; M. Launey, *Alexandrie* 1, 967. Petite plaque de plomb carrée. - Date incertaine. - Cavalier au pas vers la dr. abreuvant un serpent.

12.\* Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 6-20309 (anciennement 6-19897). Provenance inconnue. - Lutz, H. F., *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones* (1927) 22 n° 85 pl. 43; Parlasca 24 pl. 14. - Date incertaine, probablement romaine. - Relief très érodé; dédicace en grec non déchiffrée. Un personnage vêtu d'une tunique (?) et coiffé du *nemes* se dirige vers la dr. sur un cheval cabré, en présentant une coupe à un serpent dressé le long du bord g.

### Monnaies

13.\* AE, nome diospolite, Trajan (98-117 ap. J.-C.), Hadrien, 126/127 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux (138-161 ap. J.-C.). - Rougé, J., *RNum* 2<sup>e</sup> série, 15, 1874-77, 12, 2-3; *BMC Alexandria* 363, 98 (Hélios); Dattari 6239 pl. 35 (Hélios); Daressy, G., «Le dieu Hérôn sur les monnaies du nome diospolite», *ASAE* 21, 1921, 7-16; Milne, J. G., *Cat. of Alexandrian Coins* (1933) p. 131 n° \*1220; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 3388 (Hélios). - Rv.: cavalier radié vers la g. (sauf sur les monnaies de l'ép. de Trajan).

### DOCUMENT À ÉCARTER

14. Hartford (Conn.), Wadsworth Athenaeum 1934.6. Provenance inconnue, presque sûrement du Fayoum. - *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Expos. Brooklyn 1941) 16 n° 7 pl. 7; Ross, M. C., *Early Christian and By-*

*zantine Art* (Expos. Baltimore 1947) 132 n° 672 pl. 88; Lazarov, M./Frel, J., *Listy filologické* 86, 1963, 70-71; Lewis, S., «The Iconography of the Coptic Horseman in Byzantine Egypt», *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 10, 1973, 36 fig. 20; Thompson, D. L., *Chronique d'Égypte* 50, 1975, 321-325 fig. 1; *idem*, *The Artists of the Mummy Portraits* (1976) 16 figs. 53-54; *idem*, *Bull. of the Wadsworth Athenaeum* 8, 2, 1975, 50-59; *idem*, *Mummy Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Mus.* (1982) 25 fig. 44; Parlasca 25 pl. 15. - D'après le style, II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Panneau de bois. Cavalier au pas vers la dr. brandissant une double hache, analogue au personnage figurant sur 2 et 3. Identifié à tort avec Caracalla (Lazarov/Frel, Thompson) ou avec H. lui-même (Parlasca): il s'agit très évidemment de son acolyte anonyme.

## COMMENTAIRE

Un débat ancien concerne l'origine du dieu, la majorité des auteurs penchant en définitive pour une origine non-égyptienne, thrace de préférence (Jouguet, Collignon, Lefebvre, Daressy, Capovilla, Launey, Will), anatolienne ou syrienne à la rigueur (Cumont, Rostovtzeff). On a cependant noté depuis longtemps que l'Égypte ne connaissait guère de dieu cavalier ni de dieu militaire (Will 107. 121. 260) et, en dépit de l'autorité de Perdrizet et d'une vague homonymie plus apparente dans la transcription française qu'en grec (*Ἡρώς* et *Ἡρώς*), il est arbitraire de reconnaître dans H. une forme hellénisée d'Horus (*contra* Parlasca 25). Les documents qui nous ont conservé l'image de ce dernier en cavalier (Parlasca pl. 10. 11, 1; 13, 1) nous montrent toujours le dieu à tête de faucon. De même, le relief de Berkeley (12) confère à un dieu sans armes (au contraire d'Horus) la coiffure égyptienne du *nemes*, sans qu'on puisse en préciser la signification exacte dans le cas particulier ou en tirer un argument en faveur d'une identification avec Horus.

Un cas douteux est celui de la ville de Pi-thom (cf. récemment Myśliwiec, K., «Zur Ikonographie des Gottes "HPΩN", *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3, 1977, 89-97; Redford, D. B., *LÄ* IV [1982] 1054-1058 s. v. «Pi-thom»), fondation de Ramsès II, connue sous le nom grec de *Ἡρώων πόλις* ou *Ἡρώ*, latin de *Eropolis* ou *Erocastra*, aujourd'hui er-Retabeh, au départ du canal du Delta à la Mer Rouge aboutissant au *Ἡρώων κόλπος*. P. Perdrizet voulait identifier là un lieu voué au culte du dieu H. (*REA* 6, 1904, 159), en invoquant Amm. 17, 4, 18 où l'on trouve pour le pharaon cité l'équivalence Si-thom = fils de H. (faudrait-il rapprocher le relief de Berkeley 12?). On attendrait cependant *Heronopolis* et non *Herōopolis*, et on ne voit quel rapport pouvait exister entre le dieu cavalier du Fayoum et Atoum, le démiurge primordial. De même, les rapprochements faits avec le dieu sémitique Hauron (Albright, W. F., *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 53, 1936, 1) sont encore plus aléatoires.

Par ailleurs, H. n'a pas pu rester à l'écart des réalités religieuses égyptiennes. A Théadelphie, il a trouvé accueil dans le sanctuaire de Pnéphéros et à Magdola, du

moins à partir d'une certaine date, il est lié à Sarapis. Dans deux cas (7 et 8), l'image du dieu est surmontée du disque ailé à uraeus et, dans deux autres (1 et 2), H. a la tête radiée ou même nimbée et radiée, ce qui est un signe de la place prépondérante du culte solaire en Egypte. Pour le reste, la particularité de la série égyptienne réside dans la place donnée au serpent remarquable par sa taille, un grand reptile mal défini, caractérisé comme cobra à l'occasion (7 et 3). Il n'est pas impossible que le culte d'H. en Egypte ait comporté des offrandes à des serpents considérés comme sacrés et comme la forme visible du dieu (cf. Hdt. 2, 74 pour Thèbes). Mais la place du serpent dans les cultes héroïques grecs et dans celle du Héros thrace est non moins bien attestée.

Outre par l'absence d'une tradition égyptienne bien établie, l'origine étrangère, plus exactement thrace d'H. peut s'appuyer sur les arguments suivants:

1. Le héros cavalier thrace (Kazarow, G., *Die Denkmäler des thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien* (1938); Will 55-88), abstraction faite des surnoms indigènes, est désigné en grec à quelques exceptions près comme *ἥρως*, ce qui peut n'être que l'hellénisation d'un mot thrace. On trouve cependant parfois aussi *ἥρων* et, plus fréquemment, dans les dédicaces latines *Heron*.

2. L'arbre au serpent est fréquent dans la série thrace bien que le schéma iconographique adopté soit différent.

3. Le héros thrace n'est pas un militaire, à l'inverse de ce qui est le cas en Egypte; dans son pays d'origine, il est vénéré dans les villes comme dans les campagnes à titre privé aussi bien que public; sa militarisation en Egypte est due à la profession de ses premiers adorateurs. Sur certains documents, le héros thrace est représenté comme chasseur; il n'est pas impossible que les peintures de Magdola (5 et 6) aient illustré cet aspect du dieu.

4. En conséquence aussi, dans la série thrace, le dieu porte le costume national avec tunique à manches et pantalon. Dans la série égyptienne, où le costume militaire est la règle, on note qu'à Théadelphie (2) le dieu porte une tunique à manches, peut-être des pantalons et des bottines dans un cas.

5. Le cavalier thrace est invoqué parfois dans son pays d'origine comme *propylaios*, fonction qui lui a été assignée aussi à Magdola comme à Théadelphie où il occupe un propylon. La couronne tourelée qu'il porte dans un cas (2) peut faire partie de cette même fonction de dieu protecteur.

6. H. est invoqué comme *μέγας* (deux ou trois fois *μέγας*) et même comme *μέγιστος*. A Samothrace, on vénérât des *theoi megaloi* et un des dieux principaux d'Odessos est un *Θεὸς μέγας*, qui peut être représenté sous les traits du cavalier thrace (Hernberg, B., *Die Kabiren* [1950]), 221-231).

7. Par trois fois (2, 3, 14) H. est accompagné par un personnage, anonyme jusqu'à ce jour, qui apparaît deux fois à pied et une fois à cheval. Il ne se présente pas comme un militaire mais porte un costume qu'on peut qualifier d'oriental sinon de thrace, comportant une tunique à manches, des pantalons et des bottines; la tunique se présente comme une sorte de fourreau

large et raide bien que tenu par une ceinture; le costume ne comporte jamais de coiffure. Ce personnage élève chaque fois une bipenne, ce qui lui a valu des rapprochements avec des dieux anatoliens (contra Robert, L., *RPh* 65, 1939, 184, n° 1). Une autre comparaison est possible, qui nous ramène du côté de la Thrace. A la série du Héros cavalier thrace fait pendant une série parallèle, propre à un culte à mystères né sans doute dans les milieux militaires de la Dacie, la série des Cavaliers danubiens (Tudor, D., «*I Cavalieri Danubiani*», *Ephemeris dacoromana* 7, 1937, 189-356; Will 89-102) toujours anonymes. Sur les documents les plus anciens ne figure qu'un seul cavalier en costume thrace et portant un bonnet; il est dédoublé par la suite et les deux cavaliers accompagnent une déesse. On est manifestement en présence d'une évolution très particulière. Sur plusieurs documents, la double hache apparaît comme arme du Cavalier seul (Tudor n° 1, 112) ou dans la série des deux cavaliers (Tudor n° 8, 56, 57, 126, 129). La provenance thrace ou «danubienne» du personnage anonyme à la double hache peut ainsi être soutenue.

ERNEST WILL

HEROPHILE → Sibyllae

HEROS CUBANS → *Addenda vol. sq.*

HEROS EQUITANS → *Addenda vol. sq.*

HERSE → Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos

HESIONE → LIMC Suppl.

## HESPERIDES

(*Ἑσπερίδες*, Hesperides) Daughters of → Nyx, of Nyx and Erebus, of → Atlas, of Atlas and Hesperis, of Hesperos (→ Astra), of → Okeanos, of → Keto and → Phorkys, or even of → Zeus and → Themis. They dwell in a paradisiacal garden, usually placed on an island in the west beyond Okeanos, but also situated somewhere in N. Africa (usually Libya), or even in the north in the land of the → Hyperboreioi. They were the guardians, along with the serpent → Ladon, of a fabulous tree (or trees) bearing golden fruit, which was given by → Ge to → Hera at the latter's marriage with Zeus. The H. were usually thought of as three, four or seven in number, and were renowned for their beautiful voices and songs. As one of his last labours → Herakles was required to fetch the golden apples. He seized the apples himself after slaying the serpent or was given the apples either by the H. themselves or by Atlas who had obtained them from the H. According to one account, the garden of the H. was also visited by the Argonauts.

LITERARY SOURCES: The H. do not appear in Homer (who does refer to Atlas, *Od.* 1, 52-54) or in the Linear B tablets, though attempts have been made (Nilsson, *MMR* 2 627-628; Karageorghis, *V.*, *AJA* 62, 1958, 386) to discover a Bronze Age origin for the myth of Herakles and the H. The H. are first mentioned in the *Theogony*: Hesiod (*theog.* 213, 215-216) knows them as the fatherless daughters of Nyx who look after «the golden apples and the trees that bear fair fruit», with the aid of a serpent (*theog.* 333-335). They are sweet-voiced (*theog.* 275, 518). Their dwelling is located (*theog.* 215, 274-275) in the magical realm beyond Okeanos where also live the Gorgons (→ Gorgo, Gorgones) and Geryon (→ Geryoneus) who guards the cattle of → Helios (→ Herakles, section IV L). Hesiod does not give the names of the H. or mention their connection with Herakles in any extant passage, but Serv. *Aen.* 4, 484 seems to have called them Aegle (*Αἴγλη*), Erythea (*Ἐρυθραία*) and Hesperethusa (*Ἑσπερέθουσα*) on the authority of Hesiod (*frg.* 360 Merkelbach/West; cf. p. 228 West, *Hes. theog.*; note that Serv. auctus has *Eglem*, *Aretusam* et *Hesperusam*), perhaps on the basis of lines in the *Eoiiai* or even in the *Theogony* (there may be a lacuna at l. 216: cf. West *ad loc.*), or of the *Titanomachy* (Davies *EGFF* 10).

The lyric poet Stesichoros, in a fragment of his *Geryoneis* (Page *SLG* S 8, cf. Page, D., *JHS* 93, 1973, 138, 147-148), mentions that the H. inhabit the «most beautiful island of the gods» and dwell in «golden halls». Stesichoros may have identified the H. Erytheia with the eponymous nymph of Geryon's island, and made her the mother of the herdsman → Eurytion (II) (cf. Page *SLG* S 7; Robertson, M., *ClQ* 19, 1969, 215-216). Mimnermos (West *IEG frg.* 12) mentions the dwelling place of the H. to indicate the far West.

We do not know whether Stesichoros mentioned Herakles' exploit in the garden of the H., but this may have been narrated in other, lost epic or lyric poems composed in the 7th or 6th cent., such as the *Herakleia* of Peisandros of Rhodes (cf. Huxley, G. L., *Greek Epic Poetry* [1969] 100-105).

During the first half of the 5th cent., Panyassis of Halikarnassos, in his *Herakleia*, certainly told the tale: Herakles killed the serpent and took the apples; the poet seems to have located the garden of the H. in the west (Matthews, V. J., *Panyassis of Halikarnassos* [1974] 66-71 F 10K; Davies *EGFF* 10<sup>E</sup>; Bernabé *PEGF* 11).

A more influential account of Herakles and the apples of the H. was given by Panyassis' younger (?) contemporary the Athenian genealogist Pherekydes (*FGrH* 3 F 16-17). In this version Ge gave a tree bearing golden fruit to Hera at her wedding (cf. Asklepiades of Mendes, *FGrH* 617 F 1; Pediasimos 11); Serv. *Aen.* 4, 484; Myth. Vat. I 38, 106; II 161). Hera planted it in the garden of the gods near Atlas, and because the H. took the fruit, she set a serpent to act as guardian. Herakles asked Atlas to fetch three apples (cf. Antiphanes, *CAF* II 33 *frg.* 55) while he supported the heavens. Although some ancient sources situate Atlas and the H. in the land of the Hyperboreans (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [I 13] 5, 11; Pediasimos *l. c.*; Tzetz. *chil.* 2, 357.

377-378), it is not certain that this tradition goes back to Pherekydes (cf. Brize, P., *Die Geryoneis des Stesichoros* [1980] 78-80). The poet does seem to have described the H. as daughters of Atlas (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4, 484; Myth. Vat. I 38; II 161).

The sacred garden and the H. are alluded to by the Attic tragedians: Soph. *Trach.* 1099-1100; Eur. *Herc.* 394-402 (cf. pp. 165-166 of Bond's commentary) and *Hipp.* 742-751. Euripides places the garden in the west (cf. Aischyl. *Prom.* 347-350) and follows Hesiod in calling the H. singers (their fame in this respect lasts: Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1399; Nonn. *Dion.* 13, 351). In *Hipp.* 744-751 (produced in 428 B. C.), the garden of the H. has become a paradise sacred to the gods, a realm of happiness and immortality where the earth is life-giving, and the streams, ambrosial. Representations on red-figured vases from the late 5th cent. reflect this conception.

In his *Argonautica* (4, 1396-1450), written in the mid 3rd. cent., Apollonios Rhodios places the H. in Libya (Cyrenaica), a localisation that probably goes back at least to the 6th cent. (cf. the coin of Cyrene [24], and the name Euhesperides). The H. are three in number; their names are Hespere (*Ἑσπέρη*), Erytheis (*Ἐρυθρίς*) and Aigle (*Αἴγλη*). A late source, *Schol. Clem. Al. protr.* 14, 13 St., attributes the names Erythea and Hesperethusa to Apollonios: the note may be confused but the names may be drawn from another work of the poet. Apollonios seems to make the H. the daughters of Okeanos. Jason and his fellow Argonauts arrive the day after Herakles has taken the apples; the H., who are bewailing their loss, turn themselves into a poplar, an elm and a willow; Aigle indicates to the thirsty Argonauts a spring.

Many brief references will be found in later literature to the H., usually in connection with Herakles. Their parentage varies: Nyx and Erebus (Cic. *nat.* 3, 44; Hyg. *fab. praef.* 1), Atlas (Serv. *Aen.* 4, 484; Myth. Vat. I 106, 381; II 161; III 13, 5) or Atlas and Hesperis (Diod. 4, 27, 1-2), Hesperus (Serv. *Aen.* 4, 484), Phorkys and Keto (*Schol. Apoll. Rhod.* 4, 1399d) or even Zeus and Themis (Pherekyd., *FGrH* 3 F 16d, cf. *Schol. Eur. Hipp.* 742: probably by confusion with Pherekydes' nymphs).

Their number also varies, from probably three (Serv. *Aen.* 4, 484) to four (Myth. Vat. III 13, 5; perhaps Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [I 14] 5, 11) and even seven (Diod. 4, 27, 2).

There is considerable confusion over their names. On Serv. *Aen.* and Apoll. Rhod. see above. The manuscripts of Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [I 14] 5, 11 give *Αἴγλη*, *Ἐρυθραία*, *Ἑσπέρη* and *Ἐσπερόθουσα* (the last two could resolve into *Ἑσπερία* and *Ἀρπύρεια*, or into *Ἑσπερέθουσα*). *Schol. Stat. Theb.* 2, 280 and Myth. Vat. II 161 have Aegle, Erethusa, Hesperethusa; Fulg. *myth.* (ed. Helm/Préaux p. 97) has Egle, Esper, Medusa and Aretusa; and Myth. Vat. III 13, 5, Eglo, Hesper, Medusa and Ferusa. A slightly different tradition may be represented by Hyg. *fab. praef.* 1 where we find Aegle, Hesperie, aerica. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Κρήνη* even records a H. called Krete (cf. Plin. *nat.* 4, 58).

In later writers the garden of the H. is usually situ-



ated in Libya (Diod. 4, 26, 2; Varro *rust.* 2, 1, 6; Lucanus 9, 357-367; Plin. *nat.* 5, 3-4, 31; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [115] 5, 11; Ps.-Skylax *peripl.* 108 (GGM I 82-83); Solinus 24, 4-6; cf. Stucchi, S., *QuadLibia* 8, 1976, 19-73), but sometimes more loosely in the remotest parts of Africa (Serv. *Aen.* 4, 484) or in the land of the Aithiopians (Verg. *Aen.* 4, 480-482; Schol. Stat. *Theb.* 2, 280).

Like Herakles and Jason, → Perseus also reached the realm of Atlas and the H. Fleeing from the Gorgons, he sought refuge with Atlas who refused his request and was therefore turned to stone. The story is narrated by Ov. *met.* 4, 627-662, but seems to go back at least to the late 5th/early 4th cent. poet Polyidos (Page *PMG frg.* 837).

Rationalistic versions of Herakles' encounter with the H. began at least as early as the Hellenistic historian Agrotas (*FGH* 762 F 3), and the fullest account is preserved in Diod. 4, 26, 2-4; 27, 1-5: the seven H., daughters of Atlas and Hesperis, are famous for their beauty and prudence; while playing in a garden, they are seized by pirates but rescued by Herakles (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4, 484; Solinus 24, 4-6; Myth. Vat. I 38; II 161).

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## CATALOGUE

### A. Hesperids alone

#### Attic vase

1.\* Pyxis, rf. London, BM 73.1-11.6 (E 772). From Athens. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 806, 90: follower of Douris; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 291; *FR* I 288 pl. 57, 2; Smith, *BMVases* 364-365. - About 470 B. C. - Four H. and a serpent-entwined tree. H. 1, Hippolyte (chiton, headband), walks forward to take up her hydria which she has been filling at a fountain. H. 2 (peplos, sakkos) waits

with her hydria. H. 3, Mapsaura (which supports the MSS reading at Hes. *theog.* 872) (peplos, headband), moves to r., looking back, arms raised in alarm. On the r. of the tree, H. 4, Thetis (chiton, headband), holds three apples in her r. and picks another. The identification of the scene as the garden of the H. goes back to the earliest report of the vase in *AZ* 1874, 112-113; cf. Furtwängler in *FR* I 288, who regards Thetis as a H.

#### South Italian vases

2.\* Volute-krater, Apulian rf. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1097. - *RVAp* I 417, 16: Lycurgus P.; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* 50 no. 72 pls. 119, 121; Keuls, E., *The Water Carriers in Hades* (1974) 101 pl. 16. - About 350 B. C. - Garden of the H., with central tree and serpent, a spring with water flowing from two spouts, various plants, eleven women on different levels, and Eros. Woman 1 (chiton, himation, sphendone) sits to r. on or beside a hydria, holding out an end of her chiton; Eros stands beside her; woman 2 (peplos, himation, sphendone) stands to r., carrying a jug; 3 (chiton, himation, stephane) is seated to l. but looks back at the serpent which drinks from her phiale; 4 (chiton, himation, stephane) is seated to r. beside a hydria, but looks back at the serpent; 5 (chiton, himation, sphendone) stands to l., leaning back against a stele, looking at herself in a mirror; 6 (peplos, sphendone) bends forward to r. with a hydria on her l. knee; 7 (chiton, himation, stephane) is seated to l., holding a fan; 8 (peplos, himation, sphendone) stands to r., one foot raised on a hydria, perhaps talking to the serpent; 9 (chiton, himation) moves to r., carrying a hydria; 10 (chiton, himation, sakkos) stands to r., taking a sash from a box that she holds; 11 (peplos, himation, stephane) is seated to l., holding a platter. All the women wear necklaces, bracelets and earrings, and all, except perhaps 6 and 9, have slippers. All eleven women are probably H., but the woman seated beside Eros is sometimes identified as Aphrodite and the other four women with hydriai have been thought Hyades (sisters of the H., cf. Gargallo-Grimaldi in Jatta, G., *Cat. del Mus. Jatta* [1869] 546-548), or Atlantides (Jatta, *o.c.* 549-551), or Danaids (Keuls, *o.c.* 101).

3.\* Calyx-krater, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81865 (H 2885). - *RVAp* I 126, 234: Lecce P.; *AA* 1981, 474 fig. 20. - About 380-360 B. C. - Two H., one on either side of the tree. *EAYH* (peplos with black stripe, himation, sphendone, earring) stands to r., holding a sash and a platter (white objects) from which the serpent feeds. *APETYOEA* (peplos with black stripe, himation, stephane) stands to l., picking an apple.

4.\* Pelike, Apulian rf. Catania, Mus. Civ. MB 4402 (L 768). - *RVAp* I 195, 20: Iliupersis P.; Libertini, G., *Il Mus. Biscari* (1930) 183 no. 768 pl. 90; *AA* 1981, 477 fig. 22. - About 380-360 B. C. - Garden of the H., with central, serpent-entwined tree, other plants, five H., and Eros. H. 1 (peplos with black-stripe border, stephane, bracelets) stands to r., holding two apples in her l. hand and picking another. H. 2 (peplos, himation, sphendone, bracelets) is seated to r., holding a phiale from which the serpent drinks. H. 3 (peplos,

bracelets) bends forward to r. towards a large basket. H. 4 (peplos, himation covering the back of her head, sphendone) is seated to l., holding on her knees an open box the contents of which she examines. H. 5 (chiton, himation, sphendone, bracelets) stands to l., picking an apple. Eros carries a goose (?) towards a large, open box. All the H. seem to wear slippers. The scene on the reverse (four women at a laver, with Eros) is usually taken to be unrelated.

5.\* Hydria, Campanian rf. Zürich, Roß Coll. - *LCS* 381, 139 pl. 147, 1: Whiteface P.; *LCS Suppl.* 2, 214; *LCS Suppl.* 3, 183; *Das Tier in der Antike* (1974) no. 264 pl. 44. - About 350-340 B. C. - Three H., tree with serpent, flowers. H. 1 (chiton, himation, kekryphalos) stands to r., holding a jug and a phiale from which the serpent drinks. H. 2 (peplos, sakkos) and H. 3 (peplos, himation, sakkos) stand to r. of the tree, shaking hands. All H. wear slippers, necklaces, bracelets and earrings.

5a) Squat-lekythos, Paestan rf. New York, private. - About 350-330 B. C.: Astes (Trendall). - Four H. and a papposilen. H. 1 (himation about legs, necklace, earrings, bracelets, anklet) is seated to l., looking into a mirror and preening her long hair. H. 2 (sleeveless chiton, red mantle, sphendone, bracelets, slippers) stands to r., offering a phiale to the serpent twined about the tree, and holding a wreath in her l. hand. H. 3 (chiton, red headband, earrings, necklace, bracelets, slippers) stands to l., holding fruit in her l. hand while picking another golden apple. H. 4 (sleeveless chiton, string of beads in hair, necklace, bracelets, slippers) leans to r. against a white laver, teasing a small duck (?) with a wreath. Above, half hidden, a papposilen, with animal-skin and thyrsos. In the field, two wreaths and four red fillets. To l. of the tree, a bird; to r., a duck.

### B.1. Hesperids with Herakles: the Hesperids alarmed, fleeing or cowering

#### GREEK

##### Attic vases

The drawing on the alabastron in Nauplia (Brommer, *H.* 49, 66, 82 pl. 49; *H.* [1986] pl. 44) was regarded by Beazley (see Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 3 72, 2; v. Bothmer, D., *AJA* 61, 1957, 106) as modern.

6. (= Herakles 2204/2700\* with bibl.) Neck-amphora, bf. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 421. - Meuli, K., *Schweizerisches Archiv f. Volkskunde* 56, 1960, pl. 14 (= *Gesammelte Schriften* II [1975] 811 pl. 38); *Archeologia* 175, 1983, 26. - About 520-510 B. C. - Two H. stand to r. of the tree and look towards Herakles, gesturing frantically. Both wear a himation over a chiton. The absence of the serpent and the presence of the deer have led to much discussion.

7.\* (= Herakles 2701 with bibl.) Hydria, rf. Champaign (Ill.), Krannert Art Mus. 70-8-4. - *AntK* 15, 1972, fig. p. VI; Robertson, *HGA* 685 n. 35; *CVA* 1 pl. 22. - Syracuse P. (H. Cahn), about 470-460 B. C. - Herakles moves away, threatening with his club a H. (chiton, himation, sakkos) who runs after the hero and seems to be appealing to him to stop. A second H. (chi-

ton, himation, sphendone) half turns towards Herakles, her hands raised in consternation. A third H. (chiton, himation, sakkos) moves towards the tree, her arms outstretched in dismay (not holding a branch of the tree). All wear earrings.

8. Hydria, rf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 4820 (R 445). - Beazley, J. D., *Attische Vasenmaler* (1925) 320, 17: Amymone (later Amphitrite) P., but the vase was omitted from *ARV*<sup>2</sup>; de Ridder, *BiblNatVases* 339-341 figs. 75-76 pl. 18, 445. - About 450-440 B. C. - At least six H., tree with serpent, Herakles. H. 1 (chiton, himation over back of head, cord binding hair) moves r., looking back, l. hand extended. H. 2 (chiton, himation, sakkos) moves r., r. arm extended. H. 3 (chiton, himation, cord binding hair) moves r., looking back, both hands extended. H. 4 (chiton, himation, diadem) stands r., holding an apple. H. 5 (not Nike - peplos, himation) stands r., looking back, arms out in alarm. H. 6 (chiton, himation, cord binding hair) stands frontally, head to l., r. hand to chin, l. hand holding apple.

#### Relief sculpture

9. (= Herakles 1712\*/2708 with bibl.) Panel of marble frieze from the theatre, Delphi. Delphi, Mus. 5432 + 1798. - 2nd cent. B. C. (Perdrizet, *BCH* 21, 1897, 600-603), c. 110-90 B. C. (Sturgeon, *AJA* 82, 1978, 226-235), 1st cent. B. C. or 1st cent. A. D. (other scholars). - A H. (peplos) flees to r., her arms raised in fear or consternation; she probably looked back at Herakles.

#### Intaglio

10. (= Herakles 2713\* with bibl.) Gold ring with oval garnet intaglio. Naples, Mus. Naz. 25132. From Pompeii, Casa del Fauno. - 2nd/1st cent. B. C. (Breglia), 1st cent. B. C. (Siviero). - Three small H. flee to l., apparently looking back towards Herakles. The H. in the foreground stretches out her r. arm.

#### ROMAN

##### Mosaic

11. (= Herakles 1741\*/2772 with bibl.) Madrid, Arch. Mus. From Liria (near Valencia). - 3rd cent. A. D. - The three H., only about two thirds the size of Herakles, appear behind and to the r. of the tree, rushing away to r. Their dress is unclear.

#### Sarcophagi

12. (= Herakles 1752\*/2778 with bibl.) London, BM 2300. From Rome (Genzano). - A. D. 150-180. - Three H., tree, Herakles. H. 1 (chiton), in the foreground, flees to l., looking back, her r. hand raised; on either side of her appear the heads of H. 2 and H. 3, one looking to l., the other, to r.

13. (= Herakles 1720\*/2779 with bibl.) Rome, Pal. Corsini. - 2nd cent. A. D. («not later than Antonine period» - de Luca). - A small H., wearing chiton and holding a cloak, moves away to l. but looks back at Herakles. Cf. *SarkRel* III 1 nos. 101-105 which probably included a H. originally.

14. (= Herakles 1734\* with bibl.) Vatican (?)



(lid) and Florence, Uff. 110. From Rome. - Vermeule, C., *The Dal-Pozzo-Albani Drawings* (1966) 49-50 no. 8720. - A.D. 150-180. - Lid: H. 1 stands in three-quarter view to l., looking back, her r. arm raised in astonishment. H. 2 stands to r., her l. hand outstretched as though pleading with Herakles. H. 3 runs to r., looking back. The section with the H. is now lost. Robert, *Sarkel III* 1, 135-137 no. 113 incorrectly identifies a fragment once in the Vatican (Amelung, *Skulpt-VatMus* 847-848 no. 98 pl. 100) with the drawing. The fragment comes from a lid with a similar scene: a H. flees to l.; between this figure and the tree is the head of a second H.; there may originally have been a third H.

15. (= Herakles 1723\*/2777 with bibl.) Rome, Mus. Torlonia 422. - A.D. 150-180. - Box: Herakles, two H., tree; the heads of the H. appear to l. of the tree. Robert, following Visconti in *Sarkel III* 1, 137-139, suggests that the two women at the r. end of the lid are H.

16. (= Herakles 1725\*/2780 with bibl.) Asiatic. Konya, Mus. 1002. - Akurgal, E., *Griechische und römische Kunst in der Türkei* (1987) pl. 249. - Mid 3rd cent. A.D. - A small H., garment about her legs, sits on the ground, her head turned back and resting on her shoulder in an attitude of grief perhaps rather than sleep.

#### Altar

17. (= Herakles 1735\*/2776 with bibl.) Marble altar, «Ara Giustiniani», dedicated by P. Decimius Lucio. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Prof. (once Lateran) 9811. - Mandowsky, E., *RendPontAcc* 27, 1955, 353; Hermann, W., *Römische Götteraltäre* (1961) 99-100 no. 34. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - A H., partly wrapped in a mantle, lies on the ground in front of the tree, sleeping or perhaps cowering.

#### Coins

18. (= Herakles 2785\* with bibl.) AE medallion, Perinthos, Sept. Severus (A.D. 193-211). - A small H., in a long, sleeveless garment, stands to r. of the tree, looking at Herakles.

19.\* (= Herakles, under 2785) AE, Temenothyrai (Flaviopolis), Valerian, A.D. 253-260. - BMC Phrygia 415, 33 pl. 48, 5; Bräuer pl. 4, 15; Voegtli pl. 7j; Vermeule, C., *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (1968) 161 fig. 95; AJA 91, 1987, 251 figs. 5-6. - Herakles, tree, three small H. The foremost H., who wears a long, sleeveless (?) garment, seems to start back, her arms flung out.

20. (= Herakles 1761\*/2786 with bibl.) AU, Cologne (?), Postumus (A.D. 259-268). - A H. runs to l., looking back at Herakles.

#### Vase

21. (= Herakles 2783 with bibl.) Bowl, Arretine, by Gn. Ateius (?). Rome, Antiquarium Forense. From Arezzo. - 1st cent. A.D. - Three small H. to r. of tree, one seated to l., draped, covering her face with her hands, a second H. behind, supporting her head in a dejected manner, a third seated, below, to

r. Herakles; Hermes; a woman and Pan; and another woman.

#### Sculptural groups

22.\* Marble group, fr. New York Univ., Dept. of Classics. - Lehmann, K., AJA 49, 1945, 430-433; Bonfante, L./Carter, C., AJA 91, 1987, 247-257. - 2nd cent. A.D. (Antonine: Vermeule - cf. AJA 91, 255 n. 20) or c. 400 A.D. (Bonfante/Carter). - A H. is seated cross-legged on the ground beside the snake-entwined tree, «her right hand held up to her cheek, the right elbow cradled in her left hand» (AJA 91, 247). She wears a mantle, and twists her head to look up to the r., where Herakles must have stood. Bonfante/Carter, following Lehmann, suggest a Hellenistic original.

23. (= Herakles 2715 with bibl.) Marble group. Schloß Wörlitz. - Reduced copy of a Pergamene original (Amelung). - Three small H., one to the l., two to the r. of Herakles. H. 1 is down on one knee («nur das Unterteil etwa 2 cm oberhalb der Basis antik, ferner Zehen und Sohle des r. Fußes und das l. Unterbein vom Knie ab samt Fuß» EA). H. 2 and H. 3 move away to r., the first with r. arm raised and garment falling away from her body. Both H. are much restored. The following may be variants: a) Lambèse (?). A H. kneels to r., probably looking back, her r. arm raised, dressed in a high-girt peplos and a himation. - b) Vatican. A H. moves to r., gazing back and up at Herakles, her r. raised in fear, a himation about her legs.

#### B.2. Hesperids with Herakles: the Hesperids standing or seated calmly

##### GREEK Coin

24. (= Herakles 2714\* with bibl.) AR tetradrachm, Cyrene, c. 500 B.C. - Studniczka, F., *Kyrene* (1890) 20 fig. 15; Babelon, *Traité II* 1 pl. 64, 15; Bräuer pl. 4, 12. - A H., dressed in a chiton, stands to l. of the tree, facing r. and holding out both hands. The woman is surely a H., though Studniczka and Babelon preferred Cyrene and others speak simply of a nymph.

##### Relief

25. (= Hedone 1 with bibl., = Herakles 2707\* with bibl.) Marble relief, one of four «three-figure» reliefs, Roman copies of originals of c. 420 B.C. a) Rome, Villa Albani 1008. - b) Leningrad, Hermitage 641, fr. - Saverkina, I., *Grecheskaya Skulptura 5 v. do n. e. v sodranii Ermitazha* (1986) 156-157 no. 70. - c) New York, MMA 22. 139.21, fr. - Thompson, H., *Hesperia* 21, 1952, 60-82; Zuntz, G., *ClMed* 14, 1953, 71-85; Harrison 76-82; Lee, M., *Hesperia* 33, 1964, 404; Boardman GSCP fig. 239. - Two H. flank a seated Herakles. H. 1 (peplos, cloak over head) stands frontally, looking down at the hero and holding apples in the overfall of her garment. H. 2 (chiton, himation, sakkos) stands to l., looking down pensively (hand to chin), a branch with three apples in her l. hand. The serpent-entwined tree is sometimes

thought a copyist's addition. Wolters, quoted in Reisch, E., *Griechische Weihgeschenke* (1890) 130 n. 1, suggested that the reliefs were part of a votive monument for a choregic victory. Thompson argues that the panels decorated the enclosure wall of the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora.

#### Attic vases

26. (= Chrysis II 1\*, = Herakles 2717\* with further refs., = Hygieia 1) Hydria, rf. London, BM E 224. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1313, 5; Meidias P.; Kron *Phylenheroen* 166-167 pl. 25, 2-3. - About 410 B.C. - Three H. Chrysothemis (peplos, sphendone) stands to l. of the tree, extending her r. hand to pluck an apple. Asterope (girdled chiton, cord binding hair) leans against Chrysothemis. Lipara (peplos, veil, stephane) stands to r. of the tree, with an apple in her l. hand, looking down shyly at seated Herakles. Some scholars (e.g. Furtwängler, in *FR* 1, 42-44; Kron, *o. c.* 167 n. 802) consider Hygieia and Chrysis to be H., but this is unlikely.

27. (= Herakles 2718) Lekanis lid, rf. Athens, NM 14507. From Athens. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1690: manner of Meidias P. - About 410-400 B.C. - Four H., with Herakles, Athena, Iolaos. H. 1 (peplos) stands r., a branch in her l. hand. H. 2 and H. 3 (peploi) stand to l. and r. of the tree, picking fruit which they place in the overfalls of their garments. H. 4 (peplos) stands l., holding a box and sash. All H. wear jewellery.

28.\* (= Herakles 2702) Cup rf., fr. Jena, Univ. 0487 (392). From Athens. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1512, 20; Jena P. - About 400-390 B.C. - Part of the chiton and l. hand of a standing H.; tree with serpent; part of seated Herakles.

29.\* (= Fluvii 23 with bibl., = Herakles 2720 with bibl.) Pelike, rf. New York, MMA 08.258.20. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1472, 1; Pasithea P. - About 380-360 B.C. - Two H., with Herakles and Okeanos. H. 1 (chiton with girdle and shoulder-cord, himation veiling the back of her head), who is named Pasithea, sits l. beside the tree, looking round and listening to Herakles. She supports herself with her l. hand on the ground (not on the coils of the serpent). H. 2 (peplos with girdle, headband, earring) stands in front of Pasithea, looking down at her and holding up the overfall of her peplos as if it were full of apples.

30.\* (= Herakles 2721 with bibl.) Pelike, rf. New Haven, Yale Univ. 1913.138. From Dernah (Cyrenaica). - About 370-360 B.C. - Three H., with Herakles, two Erotes, young satyr. H. 1 (himation draped loosely, headband) stands r., apparently picking apples. H. 2 (himation around her legs and over her l. arm, leaving her body naked, cross-strap) sits on a rock to r., looking round at Herakles. H. 3 (himation which veils her head) stands frontally, looking back at the hero. Götz (1938) identifies H. 3 as Hera.

31. (= Herakles 2703\* with bibl.) Pelike, rf. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 3505. - Allard Pierson *Mus. Algemeene Gids* (1965) pl. 72. - About 370-360 B.C. - Three H., with Herakles and Eros. H. 1 (himation which covers the back of her head) walks r. towards Herakles as though drawn by Eros. H. 2 (peplos) stands to r. of the tree, apparently picking fruit. H. 3

(himation about her legs and over the back of her head) sits r., looking back towards the hero.

32. (= Herakles 2722\* with bibl.) Hydria, rf. London, BM E 227. From Cyrenaica. - About 370-360 B.C. - Four H., with Herakles, Eros and two youths (sons of Atlas, or Attic heroes?). H. 1 (peplos, sakkos) sits above the l. handle to l., looking back. H. 2 (peplos, sphendone) stands r. before Herakles, hands extended as if offering something. H. 3 (himation about limbs, upper body naked, sphendone) sits to l., r. arm extended perhaps picking an apple. H. 4 (peplos, sakkos) leans back on her l. elbow, her r. arm on H. 3's shoulder. All H. wear earrings, bracelets and necklaces. Metzger (*Représentations* 203), following Smith (*BMVases III* 179-180), suggests that H. 3 may be Aphrodite.

33.\* (= Herakles 2723 with bibl., = Iolaos 39\*) Hydria, rf. New York, MMA 24.97.5. - About 350-340 B.C. - Three H., with Herakles, Nike, Pan, satyr, and a youth (Iolaos?). H. 1 (decorated himation, beaded fillet) sits to l., looking back. H. 2 (peplos, decorated himation, beaded fillet) is seated to r. beside the tree, looking back at Herakles. She leans against a tympanon. H. 3 (himation, beaded fillet) stands frontally, looking back at Herakles, apparently leaning against a rock. All H. wear bracelets, necklaces and earrings; the flesh of H. 1 and H. 2 is painted white. Amelung, *o. c.* 111 thinks the presence of Dionysiac elements may show the influence of a satyr play.

34. (= Atlas 26, = Eros 118, = Herakles 2725\* with bibl.) Calyx-krater, rf. Paris, Petit Palais 327. From Tanagra. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1457, 8; L. C. Group; HDHG (Rouen) 240-242. - About 330-320 B.C. - Three H., with Herakles, Eros, Pan and a young satyr. H. 1 (peplos) stands to r., looking down at Herakles. H. 2 (chiton, himation), all in white, stands to l., picking apples with the aid of Eros. She holds some in her l. hand. H. 3 (peplos, sphendone) sits to l. upon a bunched himation. All H. wear jewellery. The female figure with two torches is unusual: goddess or statue?

35. (= Herakles 2724 with bibl.) Calyx-krater, rf. Leipzig T 3459. - Para 493, 8bis; L. C. Group. - About 330-320 B.C. - Three H., with Herakles, two Erotes and Pan. H. 1 (belted peplos) sits to l., looking round and picking apples with the aid of an Eros. A tympanon lies beside her. H. 2 (chiton?, himation about her legs) sits to r., looking back at Herakles. H. 3 (peplos?, himation) stands to l. H. 1 and H. 2 wear jewellery; their flesh is painted white.

#### South Italian vases

36.\* (= Herakles 2729) Squat-lekythos, Paestan rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81847 (H 2873). From Paestum. - RVP 86, 135; 99-100 pl. 57; Asteas; EAAI 744 fig. 938; Stella 55; Gogos, *Oefh* 55, 1984, 35 fig. 6; Trendall, *RFSIS* fig. 351; Vollkommer 68 fig. 87. - About 350 B.C. - Five H. (I-ΞΞΠΠΠΠ), with Herakles, Pan, Hera (?), Hermes and a woman (Donakis). H. 1 (Aio-pis), in decorated peplos with studded belt, white wreath, slippers, jewellery, stands to r., leaning on the shoulder of H. 2 (Antheia) who wears decorated peplos, himation, slippers, white wreath and jewellery,

and stands to r., holding a flower and a fillet. H. 3 (Kalypso), in decorated chiton with studded belt, himation, slippers, sphendone, white wreath and jewellery, sits to r. on a white tendril, holding a white oinochoe and phiale from which the serpent drinks. A bird perches on her r. foot. H. 4 (Mimesa - perhaps a confusion with the name of Hermes above: Trendall), in decorated chiton with studded belt, veil, slippers, jewellery, plucks an apple to add to the two in her hand. H. 5 (Nelisa), in decorated peplos, slippers, beaded fillet, jewellery, stands behind Herakles, holding an apple and a mirror. Donakis is more likely to be a personification than a H. Vollkommer (71) believes that the scene is inspired by a satyr-play on the basis of the figure half-visible at the upper left whom V. identifies as a satyr whose «head is clearly covered by a mask». The figure is not a satyr, but Pan; and the «mask» is a mirage: just the god's normal goatish features. The evidence for a play should be made of sterner stuff.

37. (= Herakles 2704 with bibl.) Pelike, Lucanian rf. Once Naples, Morchini Coll., later Turin, lost. - LCS 172, 986: Primato P. - About 350-320 B.C. - A H. (peplos, kekryphalos, slippers) sits to l., offering a phiale to the serpent and holding out a branch towards Herakles.

38.\* (= Herakles 2727 with bibl.) Volute-krater, Apulian rf. London Market (Sotheby). - *RVAp* II 458, 7a: Gioia del Colle P. - About 340 B.C. - Pan, Herakles, tree, two H. H. 1 (peplos, himation, kekryphalos, stephane) stands to l., offering a phiale to the serpent, a jug in her other hand. H. 2 (peplos, kekryphalos, stephane) sits on a rock, a mirror in her r. hand.

38a) Pelike, Apulian rf. Basel Market (Palladion). - Pre-Lykurgan (*RVAp* Chapt. 15). - About 360-350 B.C. - Six H. with Herakles and Eros around the serpent-entwined tree. H. 1 holds up a bowl to the serpent; H. 2, behind H. 1, moves away looking back; H. 3, above H. 1 and H. 2, is seated attended by Eros; H. 4, to r. above, holds up a mirror for H. 5 who is seated; H. 6, to r. below, sits upon a louterion talking with Herakles.

39. (= Herakles 2726\*) Squat-lekythos, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. H 2893 (81856). From Ruvo. - Gerhard pl. 20, 1; Brommer (1942) 117 fig. 12; Schauenburg 479 figs. 25-26. - About 350-320 B.C. - Two H., with Herakles and Iolaos (?). H. 1 (chiton, himation covering the back of her head, slippers, stephane) sits to l., looking round as she offers a bowl to the serpent. On the ground, an open box. H. 2 (peplos, himation, sphendone, slippers) sits on the other side of the tree, offering Herakles a branch with apples.

40. (= Herakles 2728 with bibl.) Situla, Apulian rf. London Market. - *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 126, 874a pl. 23, 6: Ascoli Satriano P.; Sotheby Dec. 11, 1989, no. 156. - About 340-320 B.C. - Two H., with Herakles and Pan. H. 1 (chiton, himation, beaded fillet) stands on the r. of a pillar, talking with the hero and holding out her himation. H. 2 (chiton, beaded fillet) sits to l., holding a beaded fillet.

41.\* Patera, Apulian rf. New York Market. - Sotheby (N. Y.) Nov. 29, 1989, no. 123: a late product of the workshop of the White Sakkos P.: Trendall. -

About 320-300 B.C. - In the centre, the tree with serpent; to r. stands a small, white Herakles (lion-skin), holding a bow, arrow and club; to l. of the tree, a large H. (chiton, himation, white shoes, kekryphalos, stephane) sits to r. on or beside a white hydria, picking an apple; to r. of the tree, a second H. (peplos with long overfall, white shoes, cord binding hair, stephane) faces l. but leans back against a white hydria, holding an apple. Both H. wear necklaces, bracelets and earrings.

#### Relief vases

42. (= Herakles 2711 with bibl.) Neck-amphora, black-glazed with relief appliques, Tarantine or Alexandrian? Athens, NM 2143. - Late 4th/1st half of 3rd cent. B.C. - Four separate appliques: Herakles, and three H., each holding out her dress at the shoulder and carrying a wreath.

43. (= Herakles 2709\* with bibl.) Clay cup with relief medallion, Elean (?) Olympia, Mus. T 199. From Olympia. - Later 3rd/early 2nd cent. B.C. - A H. (chiton, himation) stands frontally, apparently leaning against the tree and looking back at Herakles. Hausmann believes that the medallion is derived from a metal pyxis-lid of the 3rd cent. B.C.

44. (= Herakles 2710 with bibl., → Herakles under 1711) Clay relief bowl, Boeotian. Athens, NM 12618. - Late 3rd/early 2nd cent. B.C. - A H. (peplos) stands to r., looking towards Herakles. She holds up a branch with apples in her l. hand, and with her r. seems to touch (hold back?) the snake.

#### Bronze mirror-covers

45.\* (= Herakles 2712 with bibl.) Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. Misc. 8637. - About 300 B.C. (Züchner). - Herakles, tree and serpent, two H. H. 1 (peplos, himation over legs) sits to l., her r. hand placed upon the head of the serpent. H. 2 (peplos, himation) stands behind her sister, her torso frontal, her head turned to l. She looks up at the branches of the tree as she reaches out and picks an apple.

46. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 54.742. - Hill, D. K., *Hesperia* 12, 1943, 106-108 fig. 10; Reeder, E. D. (ed.), *Hellenistic Art in the Walters Art Gall.* (1988) 128-129. - 3rd cent. B.C. («Hellenistic» - Hill). - Herakles, who leans on his club, gazes to r. at a H. (peplos, shoes, necklace, bracelet) who stands in three-quarter view to l., looking down at a small Eros. The H. may have held out the apples in her r. hand.

#### ROMAN

##### Wall-paintings

47. (= Herakles 2770\* with bibl.) Pompeii I 7, 7 (Casa del Sacerdos Amandus). - Maiuri, A., *Le pitture delle case di M. Fabius Amandus, del Sacerdos Amandus e di P. Cornelius Tegetes* (1938) pl. A; *idem*, *NotSc* 52, 1927, 22-23 pl. 2. - C. 35-45 A.D. (Bastet/De Vos, *Proposta* 81-82) or c. 50 A.D. (Schefold). - Three H. are grouped behind and to r. of a snake-entwined altar. All wear Doric chitons and diadems. The two lefthand H. seem to be expostulating with Herakles, the other

is distressed and hides her face in her garment. Some scholars suspect a Hellenistic original.

48. (= Herakles 2771\* with bibl.) Pompeii V 2, 10. Destroyed. - Mau, A., *RM* 5, 1890, 268-269. - Third Style, c. 10 B.C.-20 A.D. - The garden is delimited by walls. Three H. stand in front of and to r. of the tree around a snake-entwined altar. All wear peploi. Two look towards Herakles, the other, away.

#### Stone reliefs

49.\* (= Herakles 2781 with bibl.) Stone relief. Budapest, Nat. Mus. 97.1913. From Intercisa (Dunapentile). - 3rd/4th cent. A.D. - A H. (long dress, heavy cloak wrapped about body and over back of head, diadem?) stands frontally, handing an apple to Herakles.

50. (= Herakles 1745\*/2773 with bibl.) Stone relief vase, «Tazza Albani». Rome, Mus. Torlonia 383. - Augustan. - Herakles, tree with serpent, a H. who picks up apples.

#### Stucco reliefs

51. (= Herakles 2774 with bibl.) Stucco relief. Rome, Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore. - Carcopino, J., *La basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure* (1927); Bastet, F., *De Datum van het grote Hypogaeum bij de Porta Maggiore te Rome* (1958); Strong, E./Jolliffe, N., *JHS* 44, 1924, 65-111. - Tiberius or Claudius. - A H. stands to r., in tunic and cloak which covers the back of her head, carrying in her l. hand the apples (the object in her r. hand is unclear) for Herakles who is seated.

52. (= Herakles 2775 with bibl.) Stucco relief. Ostia, Isola Sacra T. 95. - Trajanic. - Herakles, tree, two H., one of whom is seated, the other standing.

#### Intaglio

53. (= Herakles 2782 with bibl.) Rectangular sard intaglio. London, BM Gems 1870. - On one side, Herakles; on the other, a H. standing to l. and holding out a bowl to the serpent.

### B.3. Hesperids with Atlas and Herakles

#### South Italian vases

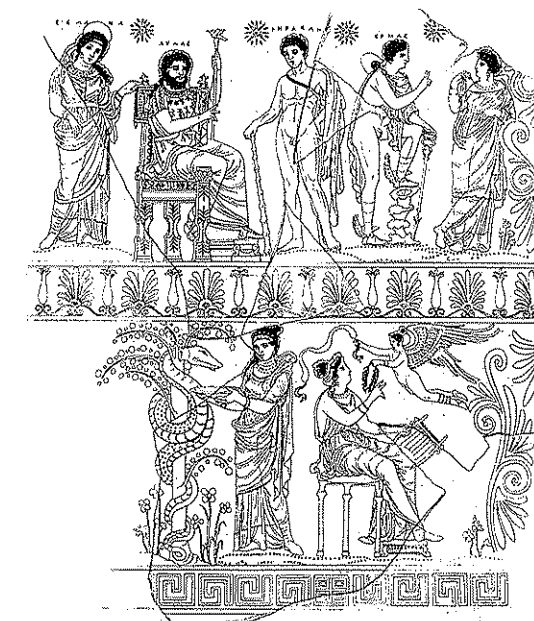
54. (= Atlas 13\* with bibl., = Herakles 2685 with bibl.) Neck-amphora, Campanian rf. London, BM F 148. - LCS 667, 1: Owl-pillar Group. - About 450-430 B.C. - A H. (chiton, sakkos) stands frontally, looking to r. She holds her l. hand below one of the serpent's heads. Atlas moves towards the tree.

55. Calyx-krater, Campanian rf. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 36209. From Syracuse. - LCS 198, 6: Chequer P.; *CVA* 1, pl. 7 (849), 4. - About 410-390 B.C. - Tree with serpent; bearded man, in himation, his r. arm extended towards the tree; a woman (peplos, bracelet), leaning forward towards the tree. There may have been one or two figures, perhaps female, to l. of the tree. The woman may be a H., the man, Atlas.

56.\* (= Astra 74, = Atlas 12\*, = Herakles 2686 with bibl.) Volute-krater, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus.

Naz. 81934 (H 3255). From Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 496, 42: Darius P. - About 340-320 B.C. - Seven H., with Herakles before Atlas, Athena, Nike, Phosphoros and Helios. H. 1 (peplos, sphendone) dances by herself at the l., holding her garment and playing with a ball (?). H. 2 (peplos, kekryphalos) leans against a pillar, holding fan and alabastron. H. 3 (chiton, kekryphalos) sits on a large chest, with a mirror (?) in her l. hand. H. 4 (chiton, himation, kekryphalos) stands to r., dangling a fillet from her l. hand. H. 5 (peplos, himation, kekryphalos) sits in front of H. 4, an open box in her r. hand. H. 6 (chiton, himation, kekryphalos) is seated holding a large flower. H. 7 (chiton, stephane) stands in front of H. 6, holding a wreath. All H. wear shoes and jewellery.

57.\* (= Astra 56, = Atlas 19 with bibl., = Herakles 2688 with bibl.) Amphora (Panathenaic shape) fr., Apulian rf. Once Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 3245. From Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 499, 56: «by, or very close to, the Darius P.» - About 340-320 B.C. - Above, Herakles before Atlas, with Selene, Hermes and Maia (?); below, garden of the H. H. 1 (chiton, himation, shoes, stephane) stands to l., holding a bowl for the serpent. H. 2 (peplos, himation, sphendone) sits to r. on a stool, a lyre in her l. hand, her r. raised towards Eros. Both H. wear jewellery. The picture will have included other H. originally.



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58.\* (= Herakles 2688a with bibl.) Volute-krater, Apulian rf. New York Market. From Apulia. - About 340-320 B.C., Underworld P. (Trendall). - Above, Aphrodite and Peitho (?), Selene in a quadriga, Pan, Athena; below, Hermes, Herakles before Atlas enthroned, Ge and a H. The H. (chiton, himation, shoes, sphendone, jewellery) sits to r. on a camp-stool beside the serpent-entwined tree, her feet on a footstool. She looks round, holding an alabastron.



## C. Hesperids with other heroes or deities

## Attic vases

59. Squat lekythos, rf. France, private coll. (ex Lausanne). From Greece. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1317; Schefold/Jung, *SBIV* 165-166 figs. 200a-c. - About 420-410 B.C. - At least four H., with a centaur and, above, Artemis in a chariot drawn by two fawns. H. 1 stands to l. of the tree, in profile to r., picking apples. H. 2 leans forward to l., r. leg raised, her head turned back; before her, a hydria. H. 3, behind H. 2, stands in three-quarter view to r., picking an apple with her r. hand and holding in her l. a pad for cushioning a hydria. H. 4 stands to l., holding a hydria on her raised r. knee. All H. wear sleeveless chitons, radiate stropharia and jewellery.

60. Hydria, rf. Thebes, Mus. - About 410-390 B.C. - Five H. around a tree (no snake), with Eros and two youths. H. 1 (decorated peplos, sphendone, bracelets, necklace, earring) is seated to l., looking round. Eros leans against her shoulder. H. 2 (decorated peplos) stands to r., perhaps picking fruit from the tree. H. 3 (chiton with shoulder strap, necklace, earring) bends forward to l., as though to pick up apples. A basket stands behind her. H. 4 (decorated peplos, cord binding hair, jewellery) sits to r., looking back (the object above her l. hand may be a flower or perhaps the finial of a sceptre). H. 5 (peplos) leans forward to l. The two youths, each in travelling garments and carrying a pair of javelins, may be Argonauts.

## South Italian vases

61. (= Herakles 2705 with bibl.) Hydria, Campanian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 82294 (H 2852). From Avella. - *LCS* 429, 487; Danaid, P. - About 330-320 B.C. - Hero, tree, H. The H. (peplos, himation, headband) stands to l., offering a phiale to the serpent and holding a long palm(?) branch. Brommer, *Perseus* (1960) 88, takes the youth to be Herakles; Beazley, *JHS* 63, 1943, 76, is not so sure.

62.\* (= Atlas 28, = Herakles 2739 with bibl.) Hydria, Paestan rf. Lisbon, Duke of Palmella. - *RVP* 258, 1022; Boston Orestes P.; *PAdd* 14, 204bis pl. 1d; Rocha Pereira, M., *Humanitas* 11, 1959, 5-13 figs. 4-8; eadem, *Greek Vases in Portugal* (1962) 103-115 pls. 54-58. - About 340-330 B.C. - H. 1 (peplos, wreath) stands in three-quarter view to r., holding a flat basket with apples. H. 2 (decorated peplos, sphendone, fillet over l. wrist) stands to r., picking an apple with her r. hand and holding in the other a phiale from which the serpent drinks. Between her and the tree, a basket full of apples. To r. of the tree is a youth (Perseus?), and a third H. (peplos, sakkos) who stands to l., holding up an apple.

63.\* Volute-krater, Italiote rf. Genoa, Mus. Civ. From Genoa. - Paribeni, R., *Ausonia* 5, 1911, 24 fig. 4; Schauenburg 475 fig. 21. - About 350 B.C. - In the centre, tree with serpent; to l., four H.; to r., a youth and two H. H. 1 (top left) leans forward to r., l. leg raised. H. 2 is seated to l. but turns round to pick an apple. H. 3 (bottom left) sits to r. H. 4 stands in three-quarter view to r., her l. hand raised towards the snake. H. 5 (top right) sits to r. but turns round to pick fruit.

H. 6 stands to l. All six H. wear girdled peploi, and the three seated seem to have himatia over their legs. The hair of H. 6 is bound with a sphendone.

## D. Form of Hesperids or composition of scene uncertain

## GREEK

## Sculptural group

64. (= Atlas 6 with bibl., = Herakles 2689 with bibl.) Sculptural group, cedar-wood, originally placed in the treasury of the Epidamnians at Olympia, but the Eleians removed the statues of the H. which Paus. saw in the Heraion. Lost. By the Lacedaimonian Theokles, son of Hegylos. An inscription on the «polos» said that Theokles «had made it with his son». - About 550 B.C. (cf. Steuben 97 n. 89). - Paus. mentions five H., but their height, form, and relation to Atlas, Herakles and the tree are all unclear. Purgold (*Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift* 7, 1887, 130-132) conjectured that the group originally occupied one pediment of the Heraion.

## Painting

65. (= Atlas 10 with bibl., = Herakles 2684) Painted screens between the columns in the cella of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. By Panainos. - Volcker-Janssen, W., «Klassische Paradeigmata. Die Gemälde des Panainos im Zeustempel zu Olympia», *Boreas* 10, 1987, 11-31. - About 430 B.C. - One panel showed two H. carrying apples, doubtless connected with the panel representing Atlas and Herakles.

## Attic vase

66. Lekythos fr., Attic rf. Agrigento, Mus. Reg. From Agrigento. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 229, 48; Eucharides P. - About 480-470 B.C. - A H. stands to r., wearing a chiton and himation; to r., the base of a tree with coiled serpent. The complete scene may have included Herakles or another H. to r. of the tree.

## ROMAN

## Painting

67. Herculaneum. Lost. - Bonucci, C., *Bollist* 1829, 68; Ruggiero, M., *Scavi di Ercolano* 560; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1127. - «Ercole e le tre Esperidi e l'albero custodito del dragone, innanzi di cui (sic) sorge un picciolo altare ricolmo di offerte» (Bonucci in Ruggiero).

## Lamp

68. (= Herakles 2784) Lamp. Alexandria, Graeco-Rom. Mus. 6663. - Three H. appear under the tree, with Herakles at the l.

## E. Uncertain representations

## Shield-band

69. Bronze shield-band relief. From Perachora. - Payne, H., *Perachora* I 147 pl. 49, 2-3. - 1st half of 6th

cent. B.C. - Male moving to r. Tree. Woman (peplos) standing to r. but looking back, perhaps holding something (fruit) in her r. hand. Payne suggests «Peleus lying in wait for Thetis». Bol (forthcoming) tentatively suggests Atlas and a H. A fragmentary duplicate: Olympia B 8062.

## Attic vases

70. (= Herakles 2734 with bibl.) Cup (Siana), bf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. I.G. 4342. - *ABV* 66, 55; Heidelberg P. - About 560-550 B.C. - Fountainhouse; woman (peplos, cloak, headband) standing to l. but looking round; palm; woman in similar dress and attitude to the first; tree; bearded man running to l. C. Drago (*CVA* 3, 5) speaks of Herakles in the garden of the H. but Beazley does not identify the scene; Miller, H. F., *The Iconography of the Palm in Greek Art* (1979) 20-21. 138-139, denies this interpretation. If the women are H., the scene is uncanonical, but the other two pictures on the cup are Heraklean (= Herakles 1766/1785).

71. (= Herakles 2735/2823\* with bibl.) Hydria, bf. Boulogne, Mus. Beaux-Arts 406. - *ABV* 332, 21; Priam P. - About 520-510 B.C. - Chariot and Athena; Herakles attacks serpent at fountain-house; woman (chiton, sakkos) holds up a hydria to draw water. Schefold (*SB II* 124) and Moon (*AGAI* 104, 116 n. 21), following a suggestion of Beazley (*CVA Oxford* 2, 100), think that the woman may be a H.

72. (= Atlas 22\* with bibl.) Neck-amphora, bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1540. - About 500 B.C. - Two naked women, their hair bound up in kroboloi, support by the arms a bearded giant also naked. Kunze-Götte (*CVA* 8, 87-89) and Schefold (*SB II* 53) take the women to be daughters of Okeanos supporting Prometheus. The alternative is that the women are H., and the giant, Atlas.

72a) (= Herakles 2681) Pointed amphora, rf. Germany, private. - Cahn, H. A., in *AGRP* (3rd Sympos. Copenhagen 1987) 107-116 figs 1-7; Copenhagen P. [Isler-Kerenyi, Cahn]. - About 480-470 B.C. - Okeanos and Atlas (?) seated beside the tree of the H., with Strymon, Nilos, two other men, a youth, and four women all standing, with a tendril in one hand and a reed (?) in the other, and all wearing a himation over a chiton or peplos and a taenia around the head; Athena bringing three apples to Herakles. Given that the men appear to be sons of Okeanos, the women should also be Okeanids rather than H., unless the two are identical here, as in Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1414.

73. Skyphos fr., rf. Athens, NM Acr. 512. From Athens. - *ABV* 806, 2: «may probably be reckoned as belonging to the following of Douris»; Graef/Langlotz pl. 40. - About 470 B.C. - «On one fr. a veiled woman; on the other, two women, one of them holding fruit - Hesperides?» (Beazley).

74. (= Atlas 24 with bibl., = Herakles 2875 [A], = Iris I 150\*) Stamnos, rf. Leningrad, Hermitage B 1559 (B 640, St 1641) and Paris, Louvre. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 639, 56; Providence P. - About 470 B.C. - Herakles entering Olympos. The tree of the H. appears below the r. handle. Petersen (*AdI* 1859, 297-298), following

Gerhard (63), took the figures on the reverse to be Atlas, a H. and Iris; Peredolskaja 111-112 agrees but thinks the bearded male, Dionysos; Brommer (*JdI* 57, 1942, 112) speaks of Iris and other deities.

75. Cup (merrythought), wg. London, BM D 6. From Athens. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 763, 1; Sotades P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 286; Smith, *BMVases* 391-392; Robertson, C. M., *Greek Painting* (1959) 131, 133; Beazley, J. D., *Gnomon* 13, 1937, 292; Wehgartner, I., *Attisch weißgrundige Keramik* (1983) 95 pl. 32, 1; Mertens, J., *Attic White-ground* (1977) 172; Simon, E., in *Greek Art: Archaic into Classical* (1985) 77. - About 470-460 B.C. - A young woman, in a diaphanous chiton, her hair bound with a sphendone, stands on tip-toe, holding her garment and reaching up for a fruit from the top of a tree. Originally there was a second woman to l. of the tree, either seated or perhaps rather bending over to gather fallen fruit. This figure is named Melisi or Melisa (→Melissa); the name of the other woman ended in ...gro. Beazley calls the women H.; Wehgartner thinks the scene not mythological.

76. Oinochoe, rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. (ex Spinelli 692). From Suessula. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1403, 2; Spinelli P.: «I ought to say that I have sometimes suspected the two Spinelli vases of being Campanian.» - About 420-400 B.C. - «Herakles with a woman and an old man. The woman offers a sprig: a Hesperid?» (Beazley).

77. (= Atlas 25 with bibl., = Herakles 1565/3411\* with bibl.) Pelike, rf. Paris, Louvre MN 734. From Benghazi. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1472, 3; Pasithea P. - About 380-360 B.C. - Two women watch Herakles who is seated as he drinks from a kantharos and converses with a bearded man leaning on a staff. One woman leans against her companion who holds an oinochoe from which she has poured wine for the hero. Both women wear peploi and earrings. The women may be H. and the bearded man Atlas.

78. (= Herakles 2719\* with bibl.) Bell-krater, rf. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 8229. - *Vazen uit de Schenking Six* 18-19, 45; attributed, correctly, to the Pourtales P. - About 360-350 B.C. - A seated woman (himation, beaded fillet, an open box beside her) offers Herakles a branch with golden apples, watched by a second woman (peplos, beaded fillet?) who sits to l., looking back. An Eros with a wreath, Hermes and a seated man (Atlas?) complete the scene. The garden setting is indicated by a tree, various plants, and a bird. The scene probably shows a H. handing over an apple-branch to Herakles, rather than Herakles giving it to Hebe or Hera.

79. (= Atlas 27 with bibl.) Pelike, rf. Leningrad, Hermitage 3и. 2 (St 1788). - About 360 B.C. - In the centre, a tree with golden fruit which a small Eros picks. A woman (himation around lower body and l. arm) reaches up for an apple. A second woman (peplos, sakkos), to l. of the tree, reaches for a fruit while looking down. A third woman (peplos, sphendone), at r., leans forward watching the scene. All three women wear gilded earrings, necklaces and bracelets. The picture is completed by a bearded satyr, a young satyr-pan seated playing the flute, and Dionysos seated. Ste-



phani (*Die Vasen-Sammlung der kaiserlichen Ermitage* [1869] no. 1788) calls the women maenads, but given the location (garden of the H.) and their number, they are probably H., as Schefold and Metzger assume.

80. (= Herakles 2737) Calyx-krater, rf. London, BM 1907.7-15.2. - Walters, H. B., *JHS* 41, 1921, 137-138 pl. 7, v. 3. - About 350-330 B.C. - Woman standing to r. Youth seated to l. Two women, one standing, the other seated, on either side of a fruit-tree, flanked by small Erotes. Below, an Eros (action unclear) and a naked boy. A fourth woman, above the r. handle, may be part of the scene on the reverse. Walters speaks of a «scene in the garden of the Hesperides» but does not identify the figures. Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 118, lists the vase with some hesitation, noting that Herakles is absent.

#### South Italian vases

81. (= Herakles 2738) Lebes gamikos, Lucanian rf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 3196. - *LCS* 72, 366 pl. 33, 9: Intermediate Gr., connected with Minniti Gr.; Gerhard pl. 21, 4-5. - About 410-380 B.C. - Two women, one on either side of the tree against which they lean. Both wear peploi, fillets, bracelets and necklaces, and the righthand holds a thyrsos. If the women are H., the bearded man with phiale and branch may be Atlas rather than Herakles (Gerhard).

82. Bottle, Paestan rf. Paestum, Mus. Naz. 5180. From Paestum (Tempa del Prete). - *RVP* 286-287, 166 pl. 181: P. of Naples 1778; *ArchRepts* 1955, 57 fig. 10; *AA* 1956, 409 fig. 133. - About 320-300 B.C. - Youth standing to r., l. leg raised on a rock, a phiale in his outstretched r. hand. Two women, identically dressed (black peplos, himation, sphendone, shoes, jewellery), one standing, the other seated on rocks, gather in their himatia golden fruit shaken from a tree by a small Eros. Two other Erotes complete the picture. If the scene is mythological, the women will be H.

#### Stone reliefs

83. (= Herakles 1706\*/\*/2706 with bibl.) Marble metope on the east facade of the Hephaisteion at Athens. - Sauer, B., *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck* (1899) 178-179 pl. 6; Thompson, H., *Hesperia* 18, 1949, 245 pl. 64; *idem*, *AJA* 66, 1962, 340-341. 347. - About 450-440 B.C. - Herakles with apples, and a woman (peplos) who stands in three-quarter view to r., her r. hand clasping her garment, her l. arm bent and raised. Furtwängler (*ML* 12, 2227) identified the woman as a H. holding a branch with apples; Robert (*Heldensage*<sup>4</sup> 2, 493 n. 1) proposed Hera or Hebe; Schneider (*Zwölf Kämpfe des Herakles* [1888] 65), Athena with a wreath. More recent scholarship favours a H. (Sauer, Koch, Thompson) or Athena (Morgan, Woodford 225. 335 n. 11, Boardman). The object in the woman's missing hand is variously restored: a wreath, apple or spear for a H., a spear perhaps for Athena.

84. Sarcophagus fr., Asiatic. Ostia, Porto, S. Lucia. From Ostia (?). - Wiegartz, *KISäulen Sark* 77 n. 20; 166 pl. 40c. - About 165 A.D. - Meleager and, at l., a

woman, in dress and cloak, who holds fruit in a fold of her mantle. Wiegartz thinks the woman may be a H. appropriate to the realm beyond Okeanos where the souls of heroes dwell. But this is most uncertain.

See also → Herakles 3415.

#### F. Incorrect identifications

85. (= Herakles 2733\* with bibl.) Skyphos (?) fr., Attic bf. Athens, Agora AP 840. From Athens. - About 560 B.C. - Lower part of a woman to r., legs of a male to r., legs of a second male to l., part of an altar (?). De Coursey Fales identifies the first male as Herakles: this is possible, but nothing in the picture suggests the garden of the H.

86. Glass paste intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 3096. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* 138 no. 3096 pl. 26. - «Frau, halbnackt, eine Schlange fütternd, die sich um einen Baum ringelt (Hesperide)». Furtwängler makes a similar identification for his nos. 3661-3664, but the female figure is doubtless Hygieia, as on the Berry gem in Bloomington, Indiana Univ. (*A Selection of Ancient Gems from the Coll. of Burton Y. Berry* [1965] 40-41 no. 59).

#### COMMENTARY

Representations of the H. begin towards the middle of the 6th cent. B.C. with a lost work, a cedar-wood group at Olympia (64), said by Pausanias to have included five H. Unless, however, the Attic bf. cup in Taranto (70) really does depict the H., the earliest preserved representations appear on an Attic bf. neck amphora (6) of c. 520-510 B.C. and a tetradrachm (24) of Cyrene to be dated c. 500 B.C. The H. are most frequent in Greek art of the 5th (1. 7. 8. 25-27. 54. 59. 65. 66) and 4th (2-5a. 28-41. 45. 55-58. 60-63) centuries B.C., especially vases produced in Athens (1. 7. 8. 26-35. 59. 60. 66) and the Greek colonies of S. Italy (2-5a. 36-41. 54. 55-58. 61. 62. 63?). Relatively few examples - the relief vases 42-44, the mirror 46, perhaps the theatre relief 9 and the ring 10 - can be placed in the Hellenistic period. Despite the popularity of Herakles in Etruscan art, there are no representations of the H. The H. again occur with some frequency in Roman art (11. 16-23. 47-53. 67. 68), especially down to c. 200 A.D. (12-15. 17. 18. 21. 23?. 47-48. 50-52. 53), but even later (11. 16. 19. 20. 22. 49), in a wide variety of media: in paintings (47. 48. 67), sarcophagi (12-16), coins (18-20), sculpture both relief and freestanding (17. 22. 23. 49. 50), stucco reliefs (51. 52), mosaic (11), on a vase (21), a lamp (68), and a gem (53).

The H. are rarely seen alone, only on one Attic (1) and five S. Italian (2-5a) vases. Most commonly, they are associated with Herakles who has journeyed to the fabulous garden to fetch the golden apples. Two main iconographic traditions are discernible. In the first, the hero seizes the apples by force; the H. recoil in fear or consternation, sometimes gesturing wildly, fleeing or cowering. This conception first occurs on three Attic

vases (6-8) of the period 520-440 B.C. On 7 one H. runs after Herakles, apparently remonstrating or pleading for the return of the apples. After a long hiatus the motif reappears in two works of the 2nd or 1st cent. B.C., a relief panel (9) from the theatre at Delphi and a gem from Pompeii (10). On the latter three small H. flee from the hero and this, with variations, is the more common Roman form (11-23). In these Roman scenes, one (13. 16-18. 20. 21) or three (11. 12. 14. 19. 23) H. are present, usually smaller, sometimes much smaller, than Herakles. They normally run away to right or left, but on the Konya sarcophagus (16) and the Vatican altar (17), a H. sits or lies on the ground, head turned away, in an attitude of dejection (some have thought the H. on 17 to be asleep).

Leaving aside the early coin of Cyrene (24), the second iconographic tradition seems to begin, in Athens, about 420 B.C., with the original of the three-figure relief (25) showing Herakles seated calmly between two standing H., one of whom holds apples in the overfall of her peplos, the other, a small branch with apples. This famous relief is followed by a considerable series (26-41) of Attic and S. Italian vase-paintings of the late 5th and 4th centuries. On the Attic vases (26-35), while Herakles waits quietly, sometimes standing (27. 29. 33. 35), sometimes seated (26. 28. 30-32. 34), one or more of the H. collect apples for the hero (26. 27. 30-32. 34. 35). Emphasis is placed on the idyllic setting and the peaceful nature of the encounter, as well as on the beauty of the H., one of whom, standing (26. 31. 34) or seated (29. 30. 33. 35), seems especially attracted to Herakles. Many scholars since the 19th cent. (e.g. Götze, *JdI* 63/64, 1948/49, 95-96; Schefold, K., *Gymnasium* 61, 1954, 292; earlier references in Thompson, H., *Hesperia* 18, 1949, 250) have postulated an Athenian story involving a love-affair between Herakles and a H., but this may be a misinterpretation. In five (30-32. 34. 35) of the scenes Erotes are present, either helping to pick apples (30. 32. 34. 35) or linking the hero and one of the H. (compare also the mirror 46). The pictures often include other figures: Athena (27), Iolaos (27. 33), Okeanos (29), youths (32 - tribal heroes as on 26?), Nike (33), satyrs (30. 33. 34) or Pan (33-35). On all these vases, as in Euripides, *Hipp.* 742-751, the garden of the H. has become a holy realm of bliss (sometimes specifically Dionysiac) and of immortality which both Herakles and the H. enjoy. In this regard, some scholars (e.g. Robert, *Heldensage*<sup>4</sup> 2, 490-498; Metzger, *Représentations* 207; Schauenburg 480; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 167; Harrison 79-80; Woodford 191-194) suppose that, at least in popular belief, the garden of the H. was identified with the Isles of the Blessed (Elysian Fields).

This second tradition, the peaceful encounter, is the one followed by the S. Italian vase-painters in the 4th cent. (36-41). There are, however, new elements. On 36-39 a H., seated except on 38, offers a bowl of liquid to the serpent. The same motif occurs on 2-5a, 57, 61 and 62, all of which are 4th cent. vases from S. Italy, and on one later work, the gem 53. Many scholars (e.g. Robert, *Heldensage*<sup>4</sup> 2, 492-493; Brommer

1942, 120; Schauenburg 480) have thought that the H., out of love for Herakles, is drugging the snake, and there is some late literary support for this idea (Verg. *Aen.* 4, 481-486; Sen. *Herc. f.* 530-532; perhaps Tabula Albana, *FGrH* 40, though *δράκοντα λαθ[όν]*, even if correct, is ambiguous), but the H. may simply be feeding the serpent (see Woodford 327 n. 84). The apple-picking motif is also found on some (3. 4. 5a. 36. 41) of these vases.

In two cases, 37 and 39, a H. presents a branch to Herakles, and the same motif occurs on the later relief-bowl 44 (compare also the righthand H. on 25); this may also be the correct interpretation of the action on 78. The picture on the late Apulian patera 41 is curious in two respects: the two H. are large, the hero small; and the H. sit upon or lean against hydriai. The connection of the H. with fresh water is preserved in Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1411-1449. In art, in addition to the patera, the H. appear as water-carriers on the Attic pyxis 1, of c. 470, where a fountain-house forms part of the scene, on the Meidian squat-lekythos 59, and on the Apulian volute-crater 2 where a spring wells up at the base of the tree with water pouring from trumpet-spouts. This may suggest that the bf. hydria 71 does in fact show a H. at a fountain-house, with Herakles attacking Ladon. On the extraordinary new Paestan squat-lekythos 5a a H. leans against a laver (there are also women about a laver on the reverse of 4: are they H.?).

This second tradition also appears on bronze mirrors (45. 46) and relief vases (42. 43) of the Early Hellenistic period, and in the Roman period occasionally in paintings (47. 48), stone (49. 50) and stucco (51. 52) reliefs and gems (53). In the two paintings, which may derive from a Hellenistic original, the three H. stand around a snake-entwined altar within a walled temenos (compare also 67).

A third tradition, found especially in S. Italian vases, shows one or more H. in the garden while Herakles makes his request to King Atlas (56-58), or shows a H. with Atlas beside the snake-entwined tree (54. 55). Compare also 64 and 65.

The Attic pointed amphora, 72a, to be dated about 480-470, provides a most unusual variant: within an idyllic garden Athena brings Herakles the apples of the H. Okeanos, Strymon and Nilos are certainly present, as well as four unidentified women; if they are H., the representation would be unique, for nowhere else does a H. carry tendril and reed, although we may note that the H. do sometimes have a connection with water.

On a few vases (59-63) of the late 5th and 4th centuries the H. appear with other figures: Artemis in her chariot and a centaur on 59, two youths (Argonauts?) on 60, a youth on 61 and 62 (Perseus?). The connection of the Argonauts with the H. is also to be found on the Meidian Hydria 26 (see Furtwängler, *FR* I 43-44).

The H. vary considerably in number in Greek art: though one (24. 37. 43. 44. 46. 54. 58. 61), two (3. 6. 25. 29. 38-41. 45. 65) and three (5. 7. 10. 26. 30. 31. 33-35. 42. 62) are preferred, four (1. 5a. 27. 32.

59), five (4. 36. 60. 64), six (8. 38a. 63), seven (56) and even eleven (2) are also found. The number seems largely to depend upon the area to be covered by the artist. In Roman art, however, one (13. 16-18. 20. 49-51. 53) or three (11. 12. 14. 19. 21. 23. 47. 48. 67. 68) H. are normal, though two (15. 52) are sometimes to be seen.

The H. are not dressed in any particular way by which they might be recognised; their clothing changes according to the date of the work of art, and the tradition and whim of the artist, who is often concerned, especially on the vases, with variety within his picture. They may wear chiton, peplos or combine chiton or peplos with a himation. Their garments may be enriched with patterns, especially on the Paestan vases (5a. 36. 62). They may go barefoot or wear shoes. They may wear their hair long (e.g. 5a), have it bound with a simple cord or fillet, or arranged more elaborately with sphendone, kekryphalos or sakkos, and sometimes a radiate diadem. They often wear elaborate jewellery: necklace, earrings, bracelets, even an anklet (5a). Their youth and beauty is suggested by the richness of their apparel and jewellery. On Attic vases of the 4th cent. one or more H. may appear half-naked, the himation revealing the torso (30-32. 35) or slipping away from one shoulder (33). This voluptuousness is rare elsewhere (see the left hand H. on 5a, as well as 23 and perhaps 14). The S. Italian artists like to show, especially on larger vases, the H. engaged in homely pursuits: looking into a mirror (2. 5a. 38), holding a box (3. 56) or taking out a fillet from a box (2), teasing a bird with a wreath (5a), carrying a fan (2. 56), a scent-bottle (56. 58), a fillet (3. 36. 56. 62), a flower (56), a wreath (5a. 56) or even a palm (?) branch (61).

Despite their reputation as singers in literature, the H. are only twice depicted with musical instruments, both on 4th cent. vases, a tympanon on 33 and a lyre on 57.

The H. are named on five Greek vases, three Attic (1. 26. 29) and two S. Italian (3. 36), of the 5th and 4th cent. B. C. They are not named on any Roman work. On the earliest vase, the London pyxis (1) of c. 470, the names are Hippolyte, Mapsaura and Thetis. The Meidias hydria (26) has Chrysothemis, Asterope and Lipara «all bright names, suggesting the glow of youth and happiness», as Harrison, 78, remarks. On the New York pelike (29) one of the two H. is called Pasithea, which is the name of a Nereid in Hes. *theog.* 246, and of a Grace in Hom. *Il.* 14, 276. The Apulian calyx-crater (3) has Elye and Aretyosa. Five names are given on the Paestan squat lekythos 36: Aiopis, Antheia, Kalypso, Mirmesa (?) and Nelisa. Of all these names, only Aretyosa (Arethousa) has literary authority. Kalypso is also understandable, for the nymph of that name dwelt in the far West near the H. and, at least in one story, was a daughter of Atlas. If the two figures on the Sotadean cup (75) in London are H. rather than mortal women, we would have two further appellations: a name ending in -gro, and perhaps Melissa (see Beazley, *Gnomon* 1937, 292).

IAN MCPHEE

## HESPERIE

(Ἑσπερία) Nympe der Troas, in die Aisakos, ein auf dem Lande lebender Sohn des Priamos, verliebt war. Auf der Flucht vor ihm wurde sie von einer Schlange gebissen und starb, während Aisakos sich vor Kummer darüber ins Meer stürzte und in einen Tauchervogel (*mergus*) verwandelt wurde.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Die Sage findet sich im Zusammenhang bei Ov. *met.* 11, 767-795; Serv. *Aen.* 4, 254 hat sie ohne den Namen H. Daß Aisakos zum Vogel wurde, steht auch bei Apollod. *bibl.* 3, 147, doch heißt dort die Nympe Asterope und Aisakos ist mit ihr vermählt. Seine Mutter war nach der einen Version eine Nympe, er hatte die Sehergabe geerbt. So prophezeite er den Untergang Trojas durch seinen Bruder → Alexandros (Apollod. *bibl.* 3, 149). Er fehlt in LIMC I, da keine Darstellung bekannt war.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Collinge, A., *AntK* 31, 1988, 9-19; Knaack, G., *RE* 1 (1893) 1046-47 s. v. «Aisakos I»; Roscher, W. H., *ML* 1 (1884-86) 196-197 s. v. «Aisakos I» (anstelle von Thetis lies Tethys; vgl. Ov. *met.* 11, 784); Simon, E., *Greek Art, Archaic into Classical*, Kongreß Cincinnati 1982, ed. Boulter, C. G. (1985) 78.

## KATALOG

Sichere Darstellungen der Sage sind nicht bekannt. Möglich ist:

1.\* (= Archemoros 11, = Eurydike 17, = Kadmos I 13, jeweils mit Lit.) Schale, fr., att. wgr. London BM D 7. Wie die Gegenstücke D 5 und D 6 vom selben Fundplatz, einem attischen Grab. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 763, 3: Töpfer Sotades und Sotadesmaler; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 286. - 460-50 v. Chr. - Aus Schilf erhebt sich r. oben eine riesige, giftige Dämpfe hauchende Schlange. L. unten am Bildrand bricht eine Frau in die Knie (nur ihre von einem feinen Chiton bedeckten Beine sind erhalten). Darüber flieht ein ländlich bekleideter Mann (Fellkappe, Fellumhang, banausischer Bartwuchs) mit weitem Schritt, sich mit einem Stein in der Rechten zu der Schlange umwendend. Mit der Linken schultert er eine dünne Keule. Das kleine Bild hat in letzter Zeit vier verschiedene Deutungen erfahren: Aristaios und Eurydike (Burn, L., *AntK* 28, 1985, 95-100); Aisakos und H. (Simon); Orion und Artemis (Griffiths, A., *JHS* 106, 1986, 61-70); Kadmos und thebanische Ortspersonifikation (Collinge). Davon ist die Oriondeutung von vornherein aufzugeben (vgl. die Widerlegung durch Collinge 18-19), denn Artemis als große Olympierin würde kaum in einer so verzweifelten Lage gezeigt. Die Deutung auf → Kadmos hat das Bildschema zum Teil auf ihrer Seite (vgl. Collinge Taf. 3), aber Kadmos pflegt ein Wassergefäß zu halten und keine Keule: Selbst dem persiflierten Kadmos auf einem Kabirennapf (→ Kadmos I 20; Collinge Taf. 3, 5) ist eine Situla zugeordnet. Ferner sinken weder → Harmonia noch Ortspersonifikationen wie → Thebe vor der Schlange in die Knie, sie sind den thebanischen Drachen ja gewohnt. Außerdem ist der Bart des Mannes im Zusammenhang mit der Kappe nicht als «skythisch» und so zum «Orientalen» Kad-

mos passend (Collinge 13-14) zu interpretieren, sondern als banausisch. Den nächsten Vergleich bietet auf Lekythen jener Zeit der Fährmann Charon (vgl. etwa → Charon I 5\*. 9\*-11\*). Kadmos dagegen pflegt - vom Kabirennapf abgesehen - unbärtig und mit edlem Profil abgebildet zu werden. Auch der Sotadesmaler hätte sich bei aller Originalität daran gehalten, denn seine drei wgr. Schalen bringen keine Persiflagen wie der Napf. - Die Deutungen von Burn und Simon beziehen sich auf verwandte Mythen: Liebesverfolgung, bei der die Verfolgte (Eurydike oder H.) von einer Schlange gebissen wird. Beide Mythen sind spät überliefert, die Sage von Aisakos und H. allerdings besser. Auch gehören Vogelverwandlungen zum alten Sagengut; die «*Ornithogonia* der Boio» war schon bei Philochoros (*FGH* 214) zitiert. Zu Aisakos paßt das banausische Auftreten besser als zu → Aristaios, dessen Darstellungen sehr anders sind. Aisakos mied den Palast seines Vaters und lebte unter den einfachen Leuten auf dem Land (Ov. *met.* 11, 764-766). Das Schilf gehört zwar zum Drachen, paßt aber auch zu dem Tauchervogel, in den Aisakos in seinem Liebeskummer verwandelt wurde, als er sich ins Wasser stürzte. Unter diesen Vögeln gibt es Hauben- und Kappentaucher; vgl. *Brehms Tierleben* ed. Strassen VI (1922) 90-91. Die Mütze des Mannes auf der Schale würde sich zu dieser Metamorphose eignen.

## KOMMENTAR

Von den verschiedenen neuen Interpretationen der Londoner Schalen D 5 - D 7 sind die vorzuziehen, die diese seit der Antike zusammengehörenden Werke auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner bringen. Burn faßt alle drei als «honeypots» auf: Das Kind Glaukos auf D 5 (= Glaukos II 1) war in einen Pithos voll Honig gefallen und ertrunken; die eine Nympe auf D 6 hat einen von der Biene hergeleiteten Namen (→ Melissa); der hypothetische Aristaios lehrte die Menschen die Gewinnung des Honigs. Nach Simon liegt der gemeinsame Nenner auf einem verwandten Gebiet. Die drei Schalen dienten wohl für *νηφάλια*, weinlose Spenden aus Wasser, Milch und Honig im chthonischen Kult, zu dem Spenden für Tote wie für Nymphen gehörten. H. auf D 7 und Melissa auf D 6 sind Nymphen, Aisakos war ein Nymphensohn. Die Nymphenverehrung ging vor allem vom Landvolk aus, von Hirten, Jägern, Bauern und Fischern; vgl. Herter, H., *RE* XVII 2 (1937) 1555 s. v. «Nymphae»; Aisakos ist einer von ihnen, er gleicht in seiner Tracht dem von Pan verfolgten Daphnis (→ Daphnis I\*). Er war aber auch ein berühmter Seher, der den Untergang Trojas voraussagte. Darin schließt er sich mit → Polyidos auf D 5 und überhaupt mit allen drei «Nymphenschalen» zusammen, denn Nymphen waren mit der Mantik eng verbunden (Herter a. O. 1552). Der Nymphenkult war in Attika, woher die drei Schalen stammen, besonders verwurzelt.

ERIKA SIMON

HESPEROS → Astra 74-84

HESPERUS → Stellae

## HESTIA

(Ἑστία, dor. Ἰστία, ion. Ἰστῆ, Ἑστῆ) H. est en même temps la divinité du foyer - foyer domestique ou foyer commun des édifices publics - et le nom commun désignant cet autel-foyer.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Chez Homère, *Ἰστῆ* signifie seulement le foyer, invoqué avec → Zeus en un important serment, dans quatre passages: *Od.* 14, 159; 17, 156; 19, 304; 20, 231. Chez Hésiode, *theog.* 453-454, ce mot désigne une déesse, fille aînée de → Kronos et de → Rhea, donc sœur de → Demeter, → Hera, Zeus, → Poseidon et → Hades. Rien dans ces vers ne la caractérise du point de vue iconographique, mais nous apprenons qu'H. occupe une place de choix dans la lignée des dieux olympiens, puisqu'elle est la première-née de cette génération.

Dans les deux *Hymnes* homériques à H. d'importants passages méritent d'être signalés: dans *Hom. h.* 29 elle est mentionnée comme la divinité du foyer fixe, associée à → Hermes; cette association est également attestée dans une inscr. de Thasos, du milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (*BCH* 50, 1926, 244 n° 23 fig. 4), où H. et Hermès sont invoqués en même temps qu'→ Aphrodite; il faut citer aussi un passage de Pausanias (1, 34, 3) mentionnant un culte rendu à H. et à Hermès dans le sanctuaire d'→ Amphiaraios, l'*Amphiarion* d'Oropos. L'*Hymne* homérique 24 à H. fait de cette déesse l'intendante d'→ Apollon à Delphes. Cette relation à Apollon apparaît également dans l'*Hymne* à H. d'Aristonoos de Corinthe, daté de l'ép. hellénistique et conservé dans une longue inscr. remployée dans le Trésor des Athéniens à Delphes (Powell, J. U., *Collectanea Alexandrina* [1925] 164-165). L'*Hymne* homérique 24 à H. évoque aussi une statue de la déesse: «l'huile fluide s'écoulant toujours de ses cheveux tressés» (*Hom. h.* 24, 3) fait allusion à la pratique bien connue de l'onction des statues avec de l'huile parfumée.

Enfin le premier *Hymne* homérique à *Aphrodite* met H. en rapport avec Poséidon et encore une fois avec Apollon: la déesse, ayant refusé de les épouser, reçoit de Zeus le privilège de siéger au centre de la maison (*μέσση οἴκου*, 30), de recevoir les offrandes dues aux dieux et d'être considérée par les mortels comme la déesse la plus ancienne et la plus respectable (*Hom. h. Ven.* 22-32).

Parmi les cultes d'H. il faut signaler celui qui était célébré au Prytanée, l'édifice civique où les magistrats prenaient leur repas en commun auprès du foyer sacré de la Cité. Pindare, dans la XI<sup>e</sup> *Néméenne* dédiée au Prytane Aristagoras de Ténédos, fait mention du lieu de culte d'H., son *θάλαμος* (v. 3) dans l'enceinte sacrée du Prytanée; il signale également «le sceptre splendide» de la déesse (v. 4), faisant allusion sans aucun doute à la statue d'H. qui tenait un sceptre comme attribut. De telles statues étaient certainement fré-



quentes dans les lieux de culte consacrés à cette divinité: à Hermione, dans l'est du Péloponnèse, Paus. (2, 35, 1) a vu un sanctuaire consacré à H. mais, ajoute-t-il, ἀγαλμα μὲν ἔστιν οὐδέν: il constate qu'il n'existe pas de statue d'H., remarque importante suggérant que la présence de ces images dans les sanctuaires d'H. était attendue. Il existait d'autres lieux consacrés à H.: par exemple l'endroit proche du foyer dans les lieux d'habitation comportait des images peintes d'H. (Schol. Aristoph. *Plutus* 395).

Citons enfin un autre témoignage tardif, mais tout aussi important, celui de Porphyre chez Eusèbe, p. e. 3, 11, 7, qui mentionne l'aspect de la déesse: (...) σφμαίνουσιν αὐτὴν γυναικὸς εἶδει προμάστου, une H. aux seins proéminents qu'on ne retrouve pas dans le répertoire figuré.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Berger-Doer, G., *LIMC* III (1986) 646-658 s.v. «Dodekathēoi»; Burkert, W., *Greek Religion* (1985) 487, Index s.v. «Hestia»; Deroy, L., «Le culte du foyer dans la Grèce mycénienne», *RHR* 137, 1950, 26-43; Farnell, *Cults* V (1909) 345-373; Fauth, W., *KIPauly* II (1975) 1118-1120 s.v. «Hestia»; Fuchs, W., *EAA* IV (1961) 18-22 s.v. «Hestia»; Gernet, L., «Sur le symbolisme politique en Grèce ancienne: le Foyer commun», *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (1976) 382-402; Giangiulio, M., «Edifici pubblici e culti nelle nuove iscrizioni da Entella. I. ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰστίας», *AnnPisa* 12/3, 1982, 945-963; Greifenhagen, A., «Das Vestarelief aus Wilton House», *BerWPr* 121-122, 1967; Hansen, O., «Hestia Boulaia at Erythrai», *AntCl* 54, 1985, 274-276; Hild, J. A., *DA* V (1919) 742-760 s.v. «Vesta»; Jouan, F., «Thétis, Hestia et Athénā», *REG* 69, 1956, 290-302; Merkelbach, R., «Der Kult der Hestia im Prytaneion der griech. Städte», *ZPE* 37, 1980, 77-92; Nilsson, *GrRel* I<sup>3</sup> (1967) 337-338; Picard, Ch., «Le relief inscrit de Lowther Castle et les cultes de prytanées en Grèce», *RHR* 129, 1945, 31-46; Preuner, A., *ML* I 2 (1884-90) 2605-2653 s.v. «Hestia»; Schauenburg, K., *LAW* (1965) 1289 s.v. «Hestia»; Schuhl, P.-M., «Le joug du Bien, les liens de la Nécessité et la fonction d'Hestia», dans *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist. offerts à Ch. Picard* II (1949) 958-967; idem, *L'Imagination et le Merveilleux. La Pensée et l'Action* (1969) 155-161; Süß, W., *RE* VIII 1 (1912) 1257-1304 s.v. «Hestia»; Vernant, J.-P., «Hestia - Hermès. Sur l'expression religieuse de l'espace et du mouvement chez les Grecs», *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs* (1988) 155-201.

## CATALOGUE

### I. Hestia dans la sphère de l'Olympe

#### A. Œuvres connues par des témoignages littéraires

##### Ronde bosse

1. Groupe de trois statues votives en bronze, offerte de Mikythos au sanct. de Zeus à Olympie, œuvre du sculpteur argien Glaucos. - Paus. 5, 26, 2 (= Overbeck, *SQ* 401); Picard, *Manuel* II 1, 153; Jones, S. H., *Select Passages from Ancient Writers Illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture* (1966) 36, 47. - Vers 465 av. J.-C. - H. avec → Amphitrite et Poséidon.

##### Relief

2. (= Aphrodite 1172/1280, = Apollon 862, = Artemis 1278/1353, = Astra 33, = Hermes 753 - avec bibl.) Olympie, trône de Zeus. - Paus. 5, 11, 8 (= Overbeck, *SQ* 696). - Vers 437-432 av. J.-C. - Sur la

base richement décorée en or et en ivoire, naissance d'Aphrodite en présence des dieux; parmi eux figuraient H. et Hermès.

### B. Peinture de vases attiques

#### Vases attiques à f. n.

3. (= Chariklo I 1\*, = Demeter 473, = Hera 420, = Iris I 125 - avec bibl. et renvois) Dinos fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 587. De l'Acropole. - *ABV* 39, 15; 681: Sophilos (sign.); *Add* 10. - Vers 580 av. J.-C. - H. (inscr.) portant un péplos brodé d'une frise d'animaux, debout à côté de Chariklo.

4.\* (= Demeter 474\*, = Dionysos 495, = Iris I 124\* - avec bibl. et renvois) Dinos. Londres, BM 1971. 11-1.1. - *Para* 19, 16 bis: Sophilos (sign.); *Add* 10-11. - 580-570 av. J.-C. - Mariage de → Thetis et Pélée (→ Peleus). H. (inscr.) debout est représentée à côté de Déméter.

5.\* (= Chariklo I 3, = Demeter 475, = Dionysos 496, = Iris I 126 - avec bibl. et renvois) Cratère à volutes dit «Vase François». Florence, Mus. Arch. 4209. De Chiusi. - *ABV* 76, 1: Clitias (sign.); *Para* 29-30; *Add* 21; Minto, A., *Il Vaso François*, (1960) pl. 1-2. 11-12. 27. - 570-565 av. J.-C. - Mariage de Thétis et Pélée; dans le cortège, H. (inscr.) est figurée debout (péplos brodé et himation), en compagnie de Déméter et suivie par Chariklo.

6. (= Artemis 1173\* avec bibl.) Hydrie. Londres, BM B 345. De Vulci. - *ABV* 332, 20: P. de Priam; *Add* 90; *CVA* 6, pl. 94, 4. - Vers 530-520 av. J.-C. - Sur la panse, deux groupes de divinités: H. (debout, chiton long et himation) et Hermès devant Athénā et → Herakles; Apollon citharède et → Artemis en face de → Dionysos et Ariane (→ Ariadne).

#### Vases attiques à f. r.

7.\* (= Aphrodite 1298, = Ares 112, = Athena 449, = Ganymedes 60\*, = Hebe I 33, = Hermes 777 - avec bibl.) Coupe. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 6848. De Tarquinia. - *ARV* 2 60, 66: Olto (sign.); *Para* 327; *Add* 165; *CVA* 1, pl. 2. - Vers 520 av. J.-C. - Assemblée de dieux dans l'Olympe: H. (inscr.) assise à dr. en face de Zeus servi par Ganymède; vêtue d'un chiton long et d'un himation, une couronne sur la tête, elle tient dans la main dr. un rameau et dans la g. une fleur.

8.\* (= Herakles 2859/3305 avec bibl. et renvois, = Hermes 297\*) Coupe, Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2278. De Vulci. - *ARV* 2 21, 1; 1620: P. de Sosias; *Para* 323; *Add* 154; *CVA* 2, pl. 49-50. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - Introduction d'Héraclès dans l'Olympe: H. (inscr.) assise (voilée, chiton long, himation) tient dans sa main dr. avancée un vase à libation; à côté d'elle une déesse; derrière H., Hermès conduit le cortège.

### C. Sculpture monumentale

9. (= Dione 8, = Gigantes 2\*, = Hephaistos 211 - avec bibl.) Relief de la frise nord du Trésor

des Siphniens, marbre de Paros. Delphes, Mus. De Delphes. - La Coste-Messelière 314 pl. 23; Simon, E., *ZPE* 57, 1984, 1-22 pl. 1a (dessin); 2a; *Götter* 218 fig. 202. - Peu avant 525 av. J.-C. - À l'extrémité g., H. est figurée debout vers la dr. (chiton long ceinturé, himation, longs cheveux tressés), formant un groupe avec Héphaïstos et Aphrodite. Un fr. d'inscr. rétr. *All-* permet la restitution du nom [Εσ]τία.

10. (= Athena 372, = Dione 9, = Dodekathēoi 4b\* - avec bibl.) Statue en marbre. Londres, BM. D'Athènes, fronton est du Parthénon. - Berger, E., *Parthenon Ostgiebel* (1959) 35-48 pl. 1-2 a-b; idem, *Die Geburt der Athena im Ostgiebel des Parthenon* (1974) fig. 11c - 12; Harrison, E. B., *AJA* 71, 1967, 46 fig. 13. - Vers 438 av. J.-C. - Naissance d'Athénā en présence des dieux: H. était peut-être figurée assise à dr. de Zeus, Athénā et → Nike, entre Poséidon et Hermès (Berger [1959]); elle est généralement identifiée comme la femme assise à côté d'Aphrodite et de «Dioné»: Boardman, J., *The Parthenon and its Sculptures* pl. 13 fig. p. 230.

### D. Dodekathēoi

#### Reliefs

11.\* (= Apollon 867 avec bibl., = Artemis 1191, = Athena 466, = Dodekathēoi 5\* avec renvois et bibl.) Autel rond fr. de marbre. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1731. D'Athènes, région nord de l'Agora, près de St. Philippe. - Svoronos 158-163 n° 14 fig. 110 pl. 26; Karousou, S., *Mus. Arch. Nat., Coll. des sculptures* (1968) 156. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. debout tournée à dr. (voilée, chiton long, himation) devant Poséidon assis sur un autel rustique.

12. (= Artemis 883 avec bibl., = Aphrodite 1074 avec bibl., = Dodekathēoi 14\* avec bibl.) Deux blocs d'autel en marbre. Volos, Mus. E 1270. De l'Acropole de Phères. - Miller, A. G., «The Altar of the Six Goddesses in Thessalian Pherai», *CSCA* 1974, 231-256; Long, Ch. R., *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome* (1987) 30, 1 fig. 75. - Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - L'un des deux blocs comporte six stèles gravées sur lesquelles apparaissent les noms des divinités, dont celui d'H. (l. 3). Selon Miller, il pouvait supporter les têtes des déesses.

13. (= Dodekathēoi 18\* avec bibl.) Base fr. de marbre. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 27004. D'Azerita. - Adriani, A., *Lezioni sull'arte alessandrina* (1972) 127 pl. 17, 1. - Début du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. est assise sur un autel rond à côté d'Hermès.

14. (= Dodekathēoi 30\* = Hephaistos 183, = Hera 353, = Hermes 788 - avec renvois et bibl.) Base de trépied en marbre dite «Autel Borghèse». Paris, Louvre MA 672. De Gabies. - Long, o. c. 12, 37-38 n° 8 fig. 98. - Ep. hellénistique. - Au registre sup. de la face C, Arès et Aphrodite, Hermès et H.: debout, tournée à g., diadémée et partiellement voilée, elle porte un chiton long et un himation et tient un sceptre dans la main g.

15. (= Dodekathēoi 20\*, = Hephaistos 182, =

Hera 359, = Hermes 787 - avec renvois et bibl.) Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 23.40. De Tarente. - Long, o. c. 12, 44 fig. 124; Zagdoun, M.-A., *La sculpt. archaïsante dans l'art hellén. et dans l'art romain du Haut-Empire* (1989) 100-101 n° 80 pl. 28 fig. 105. - Archaïsant, 1<sup>er</sup> s. av.-1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Cortège des dieux: H. debout vers la dr. entre Poséidon et Hermès, voilée, en chiton long et himation; elle tient un sceptre et une phiale.

16.\* (= Demeter 426, = Dodekathēoi 24\*, = Hera 362 - avec renvois et bibl.) Autel rond en marbre. Ostie, Mus. Ostiense 120. Du sanct. d'Attis. - Becatti, G., *ASAtene* 17-18, 1939-40, 112-117 fig. 22. 27. 29 pl. 3-4; Long, o. c. 12, 28-29 n° 1 fig. 70-71. - 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. est assise vers la dr. sur un autel rond, à côté d'Hermès et d'Héphaïstos. Elle est vêtue d'un chiton à manches, la tête drapée dans son himation dont elle tient un pan de la main g.; la dr. est posée sur son genou.

17. (= Dodekathēoi 25\*, = Hera 365, = Hermes 792 - avec renvois et bibl.) Base ronde en marbre dite «Putéal Albani». Rome, Mus. Cap. 1019. De Tivoli, Villa d'Hadrien. - Cook, *Zeus* III, 2, 1057 fig. 853; Stuart Jones, *SculptMusCap* 106 pl. 29; *ANRW* II 17/2 (1981) 1127 fig. 36f; Long, o. c. 12, 41-42 n° 1 pl. 109; Zagdoun, o. c. 15, 103-104 n° 399 pl. 14-16. - Archaïsant, 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Cortège de dieux introduisant Héphaïstos dans l'Olympe: H., debout vers la g., suit Hermès et Poséidon. Vêtue d'un chiton long et d'un himation, elle soulève de la main g. un pan de sa robe et tient un sceptre de la main dr.

## II. Hestia dans la sphère civique et politique

### A. Hestia avec des héros divinisés

18. (= Amphiaraos 64\* avec bibl., = Asklepios 259, = Hygieia 6) Fr. d'un relief votif. Oropos. Mus. A 72. De l'Amphiareion. - Reisch, E. dans *Festschr. O. Benndorf* (1898) 139 avec fig. 147 (Hygieia); Hausmann, U., *Kunst und Heilum* (1948) 171 n° 77 pl. 15 (Hygieia); Bielefeld, E., *Wiss. Zeitschr. d. Univ. Greifswald, Gesch.-u. Sprachwiss. Reihe* 1, 1951-52, n° 2-3, 3 n° 8 (H.); Herrmann, H. V., *Omphalos* (1959) 104 (Hygieia); Fuchs 20 fig. 27; Petrakos, B., *Ὁ Ἱσπώνος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαρέου* (1968) 124 n° 127 pl. 44 (Hygieia). - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. assise à g. sur l'omphalos en face d'Amphiaraos debout. La déesse, en chiton long et himation, pose le bras g. sur ses genoux, la main dr. levée vers son épaule dr.

19.\* Relief votif en marbre. Volos, Mus. 391. De Pharsale. - Miller, S. G., «Hestia and Symmachos», *OpuscRom* 9, 1973, 167-172 fig. 1-2. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. (la tête manque), portant chiton long et himation, assise sur un trône; devant elle, le héros Symmachos à côté des fidèles. La déesse tenait probablement un sceptre dans la main g. comme l'indiquent son geste et un trou visible du côté g. du trône. Inscr. [Εσ]τία. Σύμ-μαχος... θρασυδαίος ἀνέστη[ε].



## B. Statues d'Hestia au Prytanée

*Œuvres connues par des sources écrites*

20. Statue de culte au Prytanée d'Athènes. – Paus. 1, 18, 3. – Auteur et date indéterminés.

21. Statue, œuvre de Scopas à Paros? – Cass. Dio 55, 9, 6; Plin. nat. 36, 25; Farnell, *Cults* V 361. 371 n. 45; Jones, *o. c.* 1, 206. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. assise, ayant *duos(que) campteras* (piliers?) ou *lampteras* (torches ou candélabres?) *circa eam* (Plin., *o. c.*).

22. Statue de bronze du Prytanée de Délos. – ID 1416 A I 83-84. 93-94; Roussel, P., «Hestia à l'omphalos» *RA* 1911, 86-91; Bruneau, *Cultes* 441. – Avant 158/7 av. J.-C. – H. assise sur un petit autel.

23. Statue du Prytanée de Délos. – ID 1417 B I 89-90. 100; Roussel, *o. c.* 22, 86-91; Bruneau, *Cultes* 441. – Avant 157/6 av. J.-C. – H. assise sur un omphalos.

## C. Monnaies de Nicopolis d'Épire

24.\* AE, Volusien (251-253), Valérien (253-260). – Oikonomides, M., *ArchEph* 1967, 110-111 n° 24 (Athènes, Mus. Num., d'un trésor de Nicopolis); *eadem* (Caramessini-Oekonomides), «*ΕΣΤΙΑ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ* et Nicopolis d'Épire», dans *Actes du 8<sup>e</sup> Congr. int. de Num.* (1976) 39-41 n°s 1-2 pl. 2. – *Rv.* H. laurée, assise de face sur un trône, appuyant sa tête (tournée à dr.) sur la main dr. et portant la main g. à sa taille. Lég. *ΕΣΤΙΑ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ*.

## III. Hestia dans la sphère domestique

*Peinture de vases attiques*

25. (= Aithra I 69, = Apollon 887, = Helene 250) Cratère à volutes f. r. Bologne, Mus. Civ. 17190 (269). De Bologne. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 599, 8; P. des Niobides; *Para* 395; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 266; *CVA* 5, pl. 101, 6; *Recueil Ch. Dugas* (1961) 56 pl. 40. – Vers 460-455 av. J.-C. – Sur le col, femme et homme devant un autel auprès duquel se tient, debout, H. diadémée portant le sceptre, vêtue d'un chiton long et d'un himation.

26.\* Pyxide f. bl. Londres, BM D 11. D'Érétrie. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 899, 146; Splanchnopt P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 303; Murray, A. S./Smith, A. H., *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum* (1896) pl. 20; Brückner, A., *AM* 32, 1907, 80 fig. 1; Rumpf, A., *Die Religion der Griechen* (1928) fig. 176; Wehgartner, L., *Attisch weißgrundige Keramik* (1983) 141 n° 14 pl. 50, 1-3. – Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Scène de mariage: un cortège accompagne les fiancés vers leur maison; H. est debout en face du foyer domestique, un sceptre dans la main g. et un fruit dans la dr.; diadémée, elle porte un chiton long et un himation.

27.\* Pyxide f. r. Mayence, Univ. 116. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1224, 2; Oppenheimer Gr.; Hampe, R./Simon, E., *Griechisches Leben im Spiegel der Kunst* (1959) pl. 28; Bérard, Cl., *Anodoi* (1974) 57 n. 1; Schwenk-Raab, I., dans *Festschr. F. Brommer* (1977) 277-280 pl. 73, 1-4; Roberts, S. R., *The Attic Pyxis* (1978) pl. 43, 3. –

440-420 av. J.-C. – Scène de mariage à l'intérieur d'un édifice indiqué par deux colonnes: H. est assise sur un autel, une torche à la main; elle porte un chiton long, un himation et un diadème sur la tête. Quatre femmes s'approchent de la déesse; une femme assise tient un exaleiptron; devant elle, une femme debout.

## IV. Document de l'Antiquité tardive

28.\* Tissu copte. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks. D'Égypte. – Friedländer, P., *Documents of Dying Paganism* (1945) 1-26 pl. 1 frontispice; Manganaro, G., *ArchClass* 12, 1960, 189-207 pl. 61, 1; Fuchs 21 fig. 28; Greifenhagen fig. 15. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – H. assise de face (inscr. *ΕΣΤΙΑ ΠΟΛΥΟΛΒΟΣ*), la tête entourée d'un nimbe doré, parée d'une guirlande de grenades et de boucles d'oreilles. De chaque côté, trois enfants (*putti*) tiennent un bouclier inscrit *ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ*, *[Ε]ΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ*, *ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ*, *ΕΥΟΧ[Ι]Α*, *ΑΡΕΤΗ*, *ΠΡΟΚΟΠΗ*. A dr. et à g. deux autres figures nimbees: celle de g. tient une tablette portant l'inscr. *ΦΩΣ*.

## V. Représentation incertaine

29. (= Aphrodite 139, = Hera 99\* – avec bibl.) Statue en marbre dite «H. Giustiniani». Rome, Villa Albani, anc. Mus. Torlonia. De la coll. Giustiniani. – Mustilli 121-122 n° 9 pl. 77, 293 (liste des répliques); Fuchs 19 fig. 25 (copie de Rome, Pal. Cons); Ridgway, B. S., *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (1979) 64-65 fig. 103 (même copie). – Copie romaine d'un original de bronze, daté vers 470-460 av. J.-C. – Successivement interprétée comme H., Aphrodite, Héra, Déméter. La déesse, vêtue d'un péplos avec *kolpos* et *apophytigma*, voilée, est figurée debout, la main dr. appuyée sur la hanche. Il s'agit plus probablement d'une Héra.

## COMMENTAIRE

Le répertoire iconographique d'H. n'est pas abondant, mais l'identification de chaque image pose plus d'un problème d'interprétation. H. n'a pas eu d'expression plastique et graphique privilégiée parmi les Grecs; les attributs ou autres indices caractéristiques manquent, sauf dans les cas exceptionnels où la représentation est accompagnée d'une inscription. D'où la nécessité d'une enquête attentive consistant à rapprocher les images inscrites et les autres, d'où aussi l'importance des textes littéraires et épigraphiques pour identifier H. dans le contexte de l'imagerie grecque.

La plus ancienne représentation d'H. dont nous disposons se situe autour de 580 av. J.-C. sur une œuvre de Sophilos (3): les dieux olympiens ont pris place dans le cortège nuptial en l'honneur de Thétis et de Pélée; H. y est figurée à côté de Déméter et d'Hermès; richement vêtue d'un péplos brodé, d'aspect juvénile, elle ne se distingue en rien des autres déesses, sinon par l'inscription. Sur un dinos du Br. Mus. (4) le même peintre a représenté un cortège nuptial presque

identique, dont les personnages sont aussi désignés par des inscriptions: H. est figurée près de Déméter comme sur 3. Nous retrouvons le même schéma iconographique sur le Vase François (5), où H., également identifiée par une inscription, fait couple avec Chariklo. Sur ces trois documents (3-5), la déesse est figurée debout, portant des vêtements semblables à ceux des autres divinités, sans attribut particulier.

La coupe du P. de Sosias (8) illustre l'introduction d'Héraclès dans l'Olympe: H., toujours identifiée par une inscription, est assise à côté d'Amphitrite, association qui rappelle la dédicace de Mikythos à Olympie (1) où H. était figurée près d'Amphitrite et de Poséidon. Voilée cette fois, elle tient dans la main dr. la coupe à libation et, derrière elle, Hermès conduit le cortège où l'on voit Apollon avec sa lyre, Héraclès et Hebe (1). H. est également assise, mais en face de Zeus servi par Ganymède, sur la coupe d'Oltos (7): en chiton et himation, portant sur la tête une couronne, elle tient dans la main dr. une branche et dans la g. une fleur. Derrière elle se trouve Aphrodite, rapprochement qui ne semble pas unique dans l'imagerie d'H. Ces deux scènes (7-8) situent H., assise sur un trône, dans le même contexte olympien: c'est que la déesse consacre et protège également la demeure des dieux, dans une transposition divine de sa fonction dans les habitations des hommes. Ainsi s'exprime le poète de l'*Hymne* homérique 29 à H., «... toi qui, partout dans les hautes demeures des dieux immortels et des hommes mortels qui marchent sur la terre, as reçu en partage l'honneur et le privilège d'y siéger à jamais» (Hom. h. 29, 1-3, trad. J. Humbert).

Toujours dans la sphère des dieux olympiens, l'image d'H. dans le décor sculpté du Trésor de Siphnos à Delphes (9) mérite une place de choix. À l'extrémité g. de la frise nord figurant la Gigantomachie sont groupées trois figures: Héphestos aisément reconnaissable à son soufflet, une déesse identifiée par une inscription comme étant H., et une troisième divinité plus difficile à nommer – mais il n'est pas improbable, comme l'a montré E. Simon, *o. c.* 9, qu'il s'agisse d'Aphrodite puisque son association avec H. est assurée sur la coupe d'Oltos (7) et que ses rapports avec Héphestos sont bien connus.

Il est possible de reconnaître H. en compagnie des dieux olympiens dans une autre série de documents, cette fois sans inscription, à proximité de Zeus – ce qui ne doit pas surprendre – et aux côtés de Poséidon, d'Héphestos et d'Hermès. Il s'agit d'abord du fronton est du Parthénon (10): la scène principale représente la naissance miraculeuse d'Athéna en présence des dieux. Il est probable, selon la restitution d'E. Berger en 1959 (*o. c.* 10), qu'H. était figurée à dr. de Zeus trônant, à côté d'Athéna et de Niké, de Poséidon et d'Hermès. Phidias l'aurait représentée assise et il se peut qu'un fragment de la statue originale soit conservé.

L'autel des douze Dieux d'Ostie (16), œuvre de la 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C., montre H. assise sur un autel circulaire; la proximité d'Hermès correspond à une tradition bien attestée par les sources dont nous disposons, et la déesse est voilée comme sur la coupe

du P. de Sosias (8); d'autre part ses liens avec Héphestos, représenté à g. d'Hermès, nous ramènent au Trésor de Siphnos (9). Mentionnons également l'autel archaïsant du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (17), avec H. debout, tenant le sceptre, en compagnie d'Hermès et de Poséidon dans le cortège divin qui escorte Héphestos introduit dans l'Olympe.

Dans la sphère civique, celle de la vie publique et politique, les représentations d'H. ne manquent pas non plus. Sur le relief provenant de Pharsale (19), nous la retrouvons assise sur un trône, avec en face d'elle le héros Symmachos à côté des fidèles; l'inscription permet d'identifier les figures principales, et H. tenait probablement un sceptre dans la main g. Symmachos est certainement un héros divinisé originaire de la cité de Pharsale. Que signifie cette association entre H. et un héros local divinisé? On connaît sa relation avec le Prytanée qui abrite souvent, comme le signalent plusieurs textes, les tombes et les *hérôa*, sanctuaires des héros de la cité: c'est le cas des Prytanées d'Athènes (Paus. 1, 18, 3), Mégare (Paus. 1, 34, 2), Delphes (*SEG* 23 n° 319, 7-9), Sicyone (Hdt. 5, 67) et Olympie (Paus. 5, 15, 12); ainsi sur le relief votif de Pharsale H., en tant que divinité du Prytanée, préside-t-elle à l'hommage des fidèles qui accompagnent Symmachos. De même sur le relief de l'*Amphiareion* d'Oropos (18) où H. est figurée assise sur un omphalos, en face du héros divinisé Amphiaraus.

Des statues d'H. dans les Prytanées sont connues par les textes littéraires et épigraphiques: à Athènes (20), à Paros où selon toute vraisemblance se dressait la statue sculptée par Scopas (21) et dans le Prytanée de Délos où les inscriptions mentionnent une H. assise sur un petit autel (22) et sur un omphalos (23).

H. est *πρυτανίτις*, protectrice du Prytanée, mais également *βουλαία*, protectrice du Bouleutérion, comme il ressort de nombreuses inscriptions des cités grecques. Il n'est pas surprenant qu'elle soit représentée sur des monnaies. Ainsi deux émissions impériales grecques de bronze de la cité de Nicopolis en Épire, datées des règnes de Volusien et de Valérien (24), montrent-elles au revers une H. assise de face sur un trône avec la tête couronnée de laurier et légèrement tournée vers la dr.: l'inscription *ΕΣΤΙΑ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ* ne laisse subsister aucun doute sur l'identification, et cette image d'H. pourrait même correspondre à la statue érigée dans le Bouleutérion, comme c'est souvent le cas pour les effigies monétaires de divinités qui reproduisent les statues de culte.

Dans la sphère domestique, celle des simples mortels, H. est figurée à côté d'un autel-foyer, debout en majesté, un sceptre dans la main g. et un fruit dans la dr. (25), ou diadémée, avec un sceptre (26). Ces deux documents illustrent une scène de mariage: H. y exerce sa fonction de divinité tutélaire des noces, dont témoigne une inscription de Phalère datée de 400 av. J.-C. (Sokolowski, F., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* [1962] 44). Le contexte du mariage est également celui de la pyxide de Mayence (27), où une déesse diadémée est figurée assise sur un autel, une torche à la main: cette représentation qui fait de la torche un attribut d'H. est à mettre en rapport avec la statue de Paros

sculptée par Scopas (21), dont le type pourrait être caractérisé par deux torches (*lampteras*).

Dans l'ensemble du répertoire iconographique d'H., comment définir les caractéristiques de cette déesse? 1) C'est d'abord une figure debout, richement vêtue (chiton, himation mais également péplos), d'aspect juvénile, semblable aux autres divinités de l'Olympe: l'élément déterminant pour l'identifier est l'inscription qui donne son nom. 2) H. est aussi représentée assise sur son trône, sur un autel (normalement rond) ou sur l'omphalos. 3) Elle est voilée, ou a la tête ceinte d'un diadème ou d'une couronne de lauriers, et porte dans ses mains des fleurs ou des fruits, ainsi que la coupe à libation. 4) Sur certains documents, assise ou debout, elle tient un attribut lui aussi déterminant, le sceptre, comme dans la XI<sup>e</sup> Néméenne de Pindare (Pind. N. 11, 4). 5) L'autel-foyer et les torches peuvent aussi caractériser l'image d'H.

Enfin nous disposons d'un document tardif (28), un tissu figurant H. *πολύλοφος*, «pleine de grâces», d'un type unique mais correspondant à la pensée gnostique de la fin du paganisme, influencée par les spéculations philosophiques de la période classique, surtout par Platon (Schuhl, *o. c.*). Du point de vue iconographique, cette image annonce directement les compositions religieuses du Moyen Âge (cf. Friedländer, *o. c.* 28).

HAIGANUCH SARIAN

## VESTA

Vesta is the Roman goddess of the hearth, protector of the hearth fire (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 292). From an originally private cult, practised in the single family or larger family-group (*gens*), the cult of V. develops in importance and becomes a state cult and V. the hearth goddess of the Roman people - *Vesta populi Romani* (cf. Cic. *nat.* 2, 67). The character of the original private cult and its development into a state cult is, however, not very clear. V. retains her primitive conception even in the elaborated state cult; there seems to be no obvious anthropomorphic cult image, but rather a cult dependent on her aniconic, animistic, origin (cf. Ov. *fast.* 6, 291: *nec tu aliud Vestam quam vivam intellege flam-mam*).

The embryo of the development of the cult of V. into one of the most prominent of the Roman state was formed already in the 7th cent. B. C. The sanctuary on the Forum Romanum has its origin in this period, and the earliest political and religious institutions find their place in the Forum. Traditionally the cult of V. has its origin in the time of Romulus and Numa, with roots either in Alba Longa (Liv. 1, 20, 3; Dion. Hal. *ant.* 2, 64, 5-65, 4) or in the Sabine country (Varro *l. l.* 5, 74). The more private aspects of her cult are seen in her attachment to household divinities like the Penates. V. has early roots in Rome and Latium,

and the parallel or juxtaposition between V. and → Hestia which is often suggested (e.g. Cic. *leg.* 2, 29; *nat.* 2, 67) is not valid in all aspects, although one point should be noted - namely that Hestia also did not achieve a full anthropomorphic conception. The hearth of V. in the round building (*aedes Vestae*) in the Forum Romanum near the Regia and the house of the Vestals (*domus publica*) was tended by the Vestals (*virgines vestales*) who also prepared the sacred meal (*mola salsa*) in connection with the *Vestalia* on the 9th of June (Varro *l. l.* 6, 17). The Vestals were chosen by the *Pontifex Maximus*. In the inner sanctuary (*penus*) were kept among the holy relics (*sacra*) also the *palladium* (Cic. *Scaur.* 48), brought by → Aineias (?) to Latium from Troy (Ov. *trist.* 3, 1, 29; *fast.* 6, 433-438).

The cult of V. is known mainly from Rome, Latium (especially where there were federal sanctuaries, cf. Alföldi, A., *Early Rome and the Latins* [1965] 241, 247, 257-259. For Lavinium, Castagnoli, *Lavinium I* [1972] 102, 106, 109; Alföldi, *o. c.* 258-259 for Lavinian origin of the Roman V.; for the *Vestai pocola* from Lanuvium and Carsoli see Cederna, A., *NSc* 1951, 214 with ref.; *Roma medio repubblicana* [1973] 57 nos. 27, 32 pl. 8) and Pompeii (see *infra*), but is sparsely represented in the rest of the Roman world.

LITERARY SOURCES: According to Ov. *fast.* 6, 295-300 V. had no image in the Forum building: *esse diu stultus Vestae simulacra putavi, mox didici curvo nulla subesse tholo... effigiem nullam Vesta nec ignis habet* - cf. Ov. *fast.* 3, 45-46 *Vestae simulacra feruntur virgineas oculis opposuisse manus*. In connection with the murder of Quintus M. Scaevola in 82 B. C. an image of V. is mentioned, Cic. *nat.* 3, 80 and *de or.* 3, 10 (*pontificis maximi sanguine simulacrum Vestae respersum esse vidit*); cf. Liv. *per.* 86.

Enn. *ann.* 62 (Skutsch 240) enumerates V. among the 12 *Dei Consentes*, who were erected by the Forum in the form of gilded statues, Varro *rust.* 1, 1, 4. Liv. 22, 10, 9 mentions a *lectisternium* for the year 217 B. C. where V. and → Vulcanus constitute the fifth pair. According to Verg. *Aen.* 2, 296-297 Hector (in a dream of Aeneas) saves a Trojan cult image of V. (cf. *Aen.* 5, 744; 9, 259).

Ov. *fast.* 4, 949-954 and *met.* 15, 864-865 concern the cult of V. on the Palatine, but not specifically a cult image nor a temple. A cult statue of V. on the Palatine put up by Augustus is mentioned in the *Fasti Caeretani* (28th April): *Fer[iae], q[uod] e[st] d[ie] sig[na]m vest[ae] in domo P[alatina]* (Degrassi; Mommsen *P[ontificis] dedicat[um]* CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1, p. 213). Cf. *Fasti Praenestini* (28th April): *Feriae ex S(enatus) C(onsulto), quod eo die signu[m] et [ara] Vestae in domu Imp. Caesaris Aug[ust]i, pontificis max[imi], dedicat[um] Quirino et Valgio co(n)s(ulibus)* (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1, p. 236).

In Mart. Cap. 1, 72 V. has a role as nurse of Jupiter, a conception which has survived in the early Medieval treatise, Alberich (Albricus), *De deorum imaginibus libellus*, XVII. Here it is moreover alleged that on the pinnacle of the V. temple was placed an image of V. nursing Jupiter as a child - *Supra pinaculum autem templi depicta erat ipsa Vesta in forma virginis infantem, id est ipsum Iovem, in suo sinu fovens* (Liebeschütz, H., *Fulgenti*

*Metaforalis* [1926] 122-123 pl. 24; Seznec, J., *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* [1972] 236).

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## CATALOGUE

(For the coins, the catalogue is not a complete list, but it contains the main iconographic types.)

### A. Standing

#### Wall paintings

1. (= Dodekathoei/Dei Consentes 2\*) Pompeii VIII 3, 9-10 (Casa delle Grazie, outer wall, Vicolo dei dodici iddii). - Gerhard, O., *AdI* 1850 pl. K; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 7; Weinreich 808; Spinazzola, *Pompeii* 181, 625; Scheffold, *WP* 220; Long, Ch. R., *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome* (1987) 31-32 fig. 81, 265. - C. A. D. 70-79. - Standing V. represented among 12 deities wearing a crown, with a sceptre in l. and patera in r. hand, behind to the r. forepart of an ass.

2. Pompeii VII 12, 7, lararium in pistrinum. Destroyed. - Boyce no. 313; Scheffold, *WP* 201. - C. A. D. 70-79? - V. standing, in l. a sceptre, in r. hand a sheaf of grain, behind an ass with bell around neck. To the r. Mercury. Central group of Lares and Genii around blazing tripod.

Standing or riding:

3. Pompeii IX 5, 2 (r)?, peristyle. Destroyed. - Boyce no. 420; Scheffold, *WP* 253. - C. A. D. 70-79? - V. riding or accompanied by ass, holding patera in l., reins in r. hand. Flanked by Lares?

#### Relief

4. Limestone, Jupiter column. Mainz, Mittelrhein. Landesmus. S 137, S 157. - Reinach, S., *RA* 21, 1913, 29; Körber, K., *Die große Jupitersäule im Altertums-museum der Stadt Mainz* (1915) 22 (g. III) pl. VIII; Quilling, F., *Die Jupitersäule des Samus und Severus* (1918) 103-109; *Germania Romana IV* 10 pl. 3, 1; Schoppa, H., *Römische Götterdenkmäler in Köln* (1959) 39 n. 10; Bauchhenß, G., *Die Große Iuppitersäule aus Mainz* (1984) (CSIR Deutschland II 2) 7, 17 pl. 18, 34, 4. - A. D. 59-61/66. - V. (Quilling: Epona), as one of the Roman Dodekathoeon, standing en face in chiton with high belt, cloak drawn over back of head, ornamented diadem. Patera (?) in lowered l., sceptre, with oblique grooved ornamented knob, in raised r. hand. Behind r. leg head of ass (Quilling: mule).

#### Coins

V., usually veiled, is normally standing to l. (partly head l., but standing to front), holding an attribute in extended r. hand, another attribute in l.

5.\* AR denarius, Rome, Vespasian, A. D. 72-73. - *BMC Emp II* 13, 71 pl. 2, 6. - Rev.: V., standing l., simpulum in extended r. hand, vertical sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

Similar type with leg. *VESTA* for Gallienus (*RIC V* 1, 86, 241).

For attributes simpulum and sceptre see also 36.

6.\* AU aureus, Rome, Antoninus Pius (Diva Faustina), c. A. D. 141. - *BMC Emp IV* 51, 338 pl. 8, 13. - Rev.: V., standing l., lighted torch in extended r. hand, vertical sceptre off ground in l. No identifying legend.

7. AE dupondius or as, Rome, Antoninus Pius (Diva Faustina), c. A. D. 141. - *BMC Emp IV* 252, 1581 pl. 37, 19. - Rev.: V., standing l., holding palladium on extended r. hand, long vertical torch in l. Leg. *AVGVSTA*.

Variant 1: V. standing l., holding long vertical torch in r., palladium at l. shoulder, leg. *AVGVSTA*: Antoninus Pius (*BMC Emp IV* 243, 1521 pl. 36, 8: 252, 1580 pl. 37, 18).

8.\* AR denarius, Rome, Antoninus Pius (Diva Faustina), c. A. D. 141. - *BMC Emp IV* 67, 485-486 pl. 10, 17. - Rev.: V., standing l., holding palladium in extended r. hand and vertical sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

Similar type with legend *VESTA* for Julia Domna (*BMC Emp V* 435, 29 pl. 68, 7); Julia Paula (*RIC IV* 2, 47, 224); Julia Mamaea (*BMC Emp VI* 151, 380 pl. 13).



Similar type, but legend *AVGVSTA* for Antoninus Pius (*BMC Emp IV* 62, 439\*; 243, 1519-1520 pl. 36, 7; 253, 1582 pl. 37, 4).

For attributes palladium and sceptre see also 32.

9.\* AR denarius, Rome, Antoninus Pius (Diva Faustina), c. A.D. 147. - *BMC IV* 62, 435-439 pl. 9, 19. - Rev.: V., standing frontally head l., holding simpulum in extended r. hand and palladium on outstretched l. hand. Leg. *AVGVSTA*.

Variant 1: V. as above, but palladium at l. shoulder, no identifying legend: Antoninus Pius (*BMC Emp IV* 89 no. 619 pl. 13, 7; 110, 762 pl. 15, 19; 114, 784 pl. 16, 15); with leg. *VESTA*: Faustina II (*BMC IV* 544, 1004).

Variant 2: V. as above, but to l. altar. Leg. *VESTA* (*BMC Emp IV* 538, 965\*). For V. at altar see also B.

For attributes simpulum and palladium see also 23.

10.\* AR denarius, Rome, Marcus Aurelius, reign of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 153-154. - *BMC Emp IV* 117, 806 pl. 17, 3. - Rev.: V., standing l., holding patera in extended r. hand, palladium at shoulder in l. No identifying legend.

For attributes patera and palladium see also 22. 34.

11.\* AR Denarius, Julia Domna, Eastern Mints (Laodicea ad mare?) and Rome, A.D. 196-202 or later. - *BMC Emp V* 280, 622-624 pl. 43, 8; 169-170, 98-101 pl. 29, 8; *RIC IV* 1 171, 587. - Rev.: V. standing frontally, head l., holding patera in extended r. hand, vertical sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTAE SANCTAE*.

Similar type, but leg. *VESTA*: Julia Mamaea (*BMC Emp VI* 156, 440-448 pl. 15) and Cornelia Supera (*RIC IV* 3, 198, 30 pl. 15, 14).

For attributes patera and sceptre see also 20. 31. 43. 44.

12. AR denarius, Rome, Aquilia Severa, A.D. 220. - *BMC Emp V* 559, 188\*. - Rev.: V., standing l., holding branch in r., sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

13. AR antoninianus, Asia, Salonina, A.D. 258-259. - *RIC V* 1, 115, 71. - Rev.: V., standing l., holding victory in r., sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA AETERNA*.

For attributes victory and sceptre see also 39.

#### Statue

14. Statue of V. among the Dei Consentes (= Dodekathēoi 33 with bibl., = Dodekathēoi/Dei consentes 3 with bibl.) in the Forum Romanum from Republican times, lost. The statue was gilded and so probably of bronze. Erected in the *Porticus Deorum Consentium* (Nash, *TopRom* 2 II 241).

#### B. Standing at altar

##### Wall paintings

15. Pompeii VI 11, 10 (16) (Casa del Labirinto), lararium in pistrinum. - *MonInst* 3, 1839-43 pl. VI A; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 65; Boyce no. 185 pl. 21, 1; Schefold, *WP* 126. - C. A.D. 70-79. - V. standing wearing wreath and veil, sceptre in l. and patera in r. hand over altar. Behind V. and altar an ass with bell

around neck. Flanked by Lares, Venus Pompeiana and Cupido.

16. Pompeii VII 47 (12) (Casa di Sirico), lararium in pistrinum. - Boyce no. 236; Schefold, *WP* 165. - C. A.D. 70-79. - V. standing to the r. of lighted altar, patera in l., r. hand (lost) extended over altar. To the l. Vulcan. On r. side wall an ass, the whole flanked by Lares.

17. Pompeii VII 1, 36/37, lararium in pistrinum. Destroyed. - Boyce no. 240; Schefold, *WP* 166. - C. A.D. 70-79? - V. standing with sceptre in l., pouring libation with r. hand over altar, nearby an ass. On other side of altar Bacchus. Whole flanked by Lares.

18. Pompeii VII 21, 13, lararium in pistrinum. Destroyed. - Boyce no. 318; Schefold, *WP* 201. - V. standing near altar flanked by snakes, crowned with wreath of flowers, holding sceptre in l. hand. At her side an ass, its head appearing above altar. Niche flanked by Lares.

19. Pompeii IX 5, 2 (22t), lararium in pistrinum. Boyce no. 419; Schefold, *WP* 253. - C. A.D. 70-79? - V. standing holding torch in l. and pouring libation over altar. Between V. and altar forepart of ass wearing wreath of leaves, V. holding red halter attached to its muzzle.

#### Coins

V., usually veiled, standing l., with diverse sacrificial instruments in extended r. hand, another attribute in l., to l. altar (lighted and/or garlanded).

20. AE medallion, Rome, Faustina I, A.D. 141. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 24, 6 pl. 57, 2. - Rev.: V., standing l., holding patera in extended r., sceptre in l.; to l. altar, behind column with palladium, r. a building. Leg. *VESTA*.

For attributes patera and sceptre see also 11. 31. 43.

21.\* AE sestertius, dupondius or as, Rome, Antoninus Pius (Diva Faustina), A.D. 141. - *BMC Emp IV* 244-245, 1529-1530 pl. 36, 13; 254, 1590-1595 pl. 38, 6; garlanded altar (1591-1595). - Rev.: V., standing l., libating out of patera in extended r. hand over lighted altar l., holding long torch, nearly vertical, in l. Leg. *CONSECRATIO*.

For attributes patera and torch see also 33.

22.\* AR denarius, AE sestertius, dupondius or as, Rome, Antoninus Pius (Diva Faustina), c. A.D. 141. - *BMC Emp IV* 62, 440-442 pl. 9, 20; 244, 1522 pl. 36, 9; IV 253, 1583-1584 pl. 37, 20. - Rev.: V., standing l., libating out of patera in extended r. hand over lighted altar l., holding palladium at l. shoulder in l. Leg. *AVGVSTA*.

Similar type, but no identifying legend for Antoninus Pius (*BMC Emp IV* 121, 829-831 pl. 17, 13).

For attributes patera and palladium see also 10. 34.

23.\* AR denarius, AE sestertius, Rome, Lucilla, c. A.D. 164 or later. - *BMC Emp IV* 429, 325-326 pl. 58, 18; 573, 1178-1181 pl. 77, 3. - Rev.: V., standing front, head l., libating out of simpulum in extended r. hand over garlanded altar, holding palladium at l. shoulder in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

For attributes simpulum and palladium see also 9.

#### Statue

24.\* Limestone. Xanten, Regionalmus. 3136. From tileworks, Xanten (Castra Vetera). - Steiner, J., *BonnJbb* 101, 1903, 76 pl. 5, 9; Steiner, P., *Kataloge west- und süddeutscher Altertumsammlungen I* (1911) 46 no. 3136 fig. 3; Esparandieu, *Recueil IX* (1925) no. 6585; *Germania Romana IV* (Koepp, F., *Die Weihe-denkmäler*) (1928) 39 pl. 15, 7; Hahl, L., *Zur Stilentwicklung der provinzialrömischen Plastik in Germanien und Gallien* (1937) 39. - A.D. 170-180. - V. standing in heavy cloak offering libation with patera on pillar-like altar. L. arm, damaged, carried cornucopia or torch. Head missing. Inscription on base: *DEAE VESTE (sic)* (*CIL XIII* 8642).

#### C. Seated

##### Reliefs

25. (= Athena/Minerva 227) Marble relief base. Sorrento, Mus. Correale 3657. From Palazzo Arcivescovato, Sorrento. - Rizzo (with previous lit.) pl. 2; Degrassi, A., 151-154; Scott Ryberg, I., *MAAR* 22, 1955, 49-53 fig. 26; Stucchi, S., *I monumenti della parte meridionale del Foro Romano* (1958) 15-18 fig. 5; Guarducci, Paribeni, E., *BollArte* 49, 1964, 198 fig. 13; Degrassi, N., Kolbe; Greifenhagen 2, 11-13 fig. 5; Nash, *TopRom* 2 II fig. 1332; Tran Tam Tinh, V., *Le culte des divinités orientales en Campanie* (1972) 122-124 fig. 59-60; Vermeule, C., in *Anaxai. Studi in on. P. E. Arias* (1982) 636; Turcan pl. 37. - Augustan (after 12 B.C.). - V. in her sanctuary on the Palatine, in the background the Forum Temple. Seated on elaborate throne l., faced by Vestals and flanked by a Vestal and Livia (?). V. represented larger than the other figures, wearing Greek dress, chiton, and himation which covers the back of her head, offering libation with patera in r. and sceptre in l. hand.

26. Marble relief, fr. Rome, Villa Albani 1010. - Zoega, G., *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma I* (1808) 119-120 pl. 22; Samter o.c. 42, 127-128; Rizzo 43-44 fig. 5; Degrassi, N., 103 fig. 9; Koeppel, G. M., *BonnJbb* 183, 1983, 78. 118-119 no. 25 fig. 30; Bol, P. C. (ed.), *Forschungen zur Villa Albani, Kat. der ant. Bildwerke I* (1989) 421-425 no. 132 pls. 234-235. - Late 1st-early 2nd cent. A.D. - V. seated facing l. offering libation (modern - r. lower arm, top of head and part of face). In background the round building of the Forum (?) almost completely restored.

27.\* Marble relief, fr. Rome, Mus. Naz. 310251. From Rome. Hartwig, P., *RM* 19, 1904, 23-37 pls. 3-4; Helbig 2 II (1913) no. 1418; Strong, E., *La scultura romana I* (1923) 7 fig. 48; Paribeni, R., *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Mus. Naz. Rom.* 2 (1932) no. 732; Santangelo, M., *Il Quirinale nell'antichità classica*, *Mem-PontAcc* 5, 1941, 132 fig. 25; Hommel 18-20 fig. 1; Palmer, R. E. A., *AJA* 80, 1976, 54-55 pl. 11, 13; Koeppel, *BMusArtArchMich* 3, 1980, 15, 26 fig. 10; Turcan pl. 46. - Flavian. - Fr. of historical relief with offering scene in front of Augustan temple of Quirinus consecrated in 16 B.C. (*Mon. Anc.* 19, *CIL III* 2 p. 780; *Ov. fast.* 6, 796) (Hartwig) (by error Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, Arias, P. E., *EAA III*

[1960] fig. 919 s. v. «Frontone»), in the gable of which is represented the *augurium augustum* of Romulus and Remus. V. (Pales, Hartwig and Helbig 3; Fortuna, Petersen, *RM* 19, 1904, 158; «divinità locale», Strong; Pales or Hersilia, Santangelo) is seated on a throne in l. corner of gable in chiton and cloak drawn up over back of head with a cornucopia at her r. side. She is seated near Romulus in the company of Remus, Victoria, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Hercules and Rhea Silvia (Hommel).

28.\* Marble altar. Naples, Mus. Naz. 147827. Greifenhagen 1, 288 no. 12 pl. 52, 1; Scott Ryberg, o.c. 25, 62 fig. 33a («non-Roman workmanship»); v. Hesberg, H., *ANRW II* 17, 2 (1981) 1087 no. 18 c. - Early 1st cent. A.D. - V. represented on one of the main sides of a rectangular altar (on other sides - Bona Dea [-> Bona Dea 1], Mercury and Genius). V. seated on throne facing l. holding patera in r. hand, behind forepart of an ass.

29. Marble relief. Rome, Mus. Torlonia (?). - Visconti, C. L., *Les monuments de sculpture antique du Mus. Torlonia* (1884) 375-376 (ad no. 490, base of «Hestia Giustiniani»); Wissowa, G., *Adl* 1883, 163 pl. L; Wissowa 2, 246 fig. 1; Gasparri, C., «Materiali per servire allo studio del Mus. Torlonia di scultura antica», *Mem-Linc* 24, 1980, 213 no. 490 bis. - Late 1st cent. A.D. - V. en face in aedicula seated on throne, wearing tunica, palla and stephane. In r. patera, in l. hand a loaf of bread. To her r. an ass and below a grainmill (*pistrinum*), to her l. a small sacrificial pig.

30.\* Marble relief, possibly architectural. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 1964.21. Found «in Hortis Mattheis sub Caelio», Rome, in the vicinity of Porta Capena (?) according to Fabretti, R., *De columna Traiana* (1683) 339. - *Cat. Christie*, London 28th April 1964, no. 87; Greifenhagen 2; Kaeser, B., *Römisches im Antikenmuseum* (Hrg. K. Vierneisel) (1978) 81-83. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - V. seated facing l. on throne wearing chiton and himation covering back of head, and a stephane. In r. hand patera with an egg sucked by a snake raising itself from under the throne; in l. arm rests a scepter which originally reached the footrest. Under the throne a measure (*modius*) with ears of wheat hanging over the edge, above a round loaf of bread. Below on the basis the inscription: *VESTAE SACRVM / C. PVIPIVS FIRMINVS ET / MVDASENA TROPHIME* (*CIL VI* 1, 787); cf. -> Asklepios 252.

#### Coins

V., usually veiled, is seated on throne or low chair, normally to l., holding an attribute in extended r. hand (sometimes extending hand without attribute), another attribute in l.

31.\* AE sestertius and as, Rome, Caligula, A.D. 37-38. - *RIC I* 117, 30-31; *BMC Emp I* 154, 45-48 pl. 29, 2. - Rev.: V. seated on elaborate throne, holding patera in extended r. hand, long transversal sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

Similar type, but no identifying legend, for Otho (*BMC Emp I* 365, 11 pl. 60, 7).

Similar type with legend *VESTA* also for Domitian (*RIC II* 139, 173), Salonina (*RIC V*, 1 194, 32).



Similar type, but legend *AVGVSTA* for Diva Faustina (BMC Emp IV 62, 443 pl. 10, 1).

Similar type, but legend *VESTA FELIX* for Salomina (Gnecchi, *Medaglioni* III 60, 17; RIC V 197, 56).

**Variant 1:** V. seated to r. (!), holding patera in extended r., sceptre sloped in l., no identifying legend: Vitellius (BMC Emp I 373, 33 pl. 61, 9; 373, 34 pl. 61, 10).

**Variant 2:** V. holding sceptre in l. as above, but r. hand resting on arm of chair, no identifying legend: Plotina (BMC III 107, 528 pl. 18, 14); V. seated to r. or l., leg. *VESTA*: Diva Faustina (BMC Emp IV 67, 486; RIC III 75, 401).

**Variant 3:** V. holding sceptre in l. as above, but raising veil with r. hand, leg. *VESTA*: Salonina (RIC V 1, 197, 55).

For attributes patera and sceptre see also II. 20. 43.

#### 44.

**32.\*** AE as, Rome and Gaul, Galba, A.D. 68–69. – BMC Emp I 335, 159; RIC I 206, 72 pl. 15, 265; Gatti. – Rev.: V. seated on low chair, holding palladium in extended r. hand and transverse sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

Similar type with legend *PRINCEPS [IV]VENTIS* also for Domitian, reign of Vespasian (BMC Emp II 46, 260–261, pl. 8, 3; 237, 83 pl. 46, 5; V. hooded).

Similar type with legend *VESTA* also for Titus (BMC Emp II 264, 200–202 pl. 50, 7; 295, 313 pl. 58, 1; 267, 216 †: sceptre or torch?); Julia Titi (BMC Emp II 353, 258 pl. 68, 6; 279, 256–258 pl. 53, 8); Trajan (BMC Emp III 88, 413–414 pl. 16, 4; 86, 405 pl. 15, 20; 98, 482–483 pl. 17, 12); Sabina (BMC Emp III 360, 950–954 pl. 66, 1–2; 356, 915–918 pl. 65, 3; 538, 1885 pl. 99, 3); Faustina I (BMC Emp IV 10, 47–48 pl. 2, 6–7); Faustina II (BMC Emp IV 408, 175–176 pl. 56, 15); Julia Domna (BMC Emp V 28, 56–57 pl. 6, 17; 123, 491 pl. 21, 3; 168, 91. 93 pl. 29, 3–4).

Similar type, but no identifying legend, for Plotina (BMC Emp III 106, 525 pl. 18, 12; III 107, 526 pl. 18, 13; 245 pl. 47, 12); Sabina (III 356, 914 pl. 65, 2; 540, 1902 pl. 99, 10; 537, 1882 pl. 99, 2; 357, 922–927 pl. 65, 6–9); Marcus Aurelius, reign of Antoninus Pius (BMC Emp IV 335, 1994 pl. 48, 6).

Similar type, but legend *AVGVSTA* for Diva Faustina (BMC Emp IV 253, 1585 pl. 38, 1).

Similar type, but with legend *VESTA MATER* for Julia Domna (BMC V 168, 95 pl. 29, 5).

**Variant 1:** V. as above, but Vestal at feet of V., with pitcher of water on her head, leg. *VESTA*: Faustina I. (Gnecchi, *Medaglioni* II 25, 15 pl. 57, 9).

**Variant 2:** V. holding palladium in extended r. hand as above, but l. hand on throne, leg. *VESTA*: Julia Domna (BMC Emp V 168, 93–94 pl. 29, 4).

For attributes palladium and sceptre see also 8.

**33.\*** AR denarius, Upper Germany, «Military Class», A.D. 68–69. – BMC Emp I 307, 72 pl. 51, 23. – Obv.: Bust of Jupiter. Rev.: V. seated on throne, holding patera in extended r. hand and torch in l. Leg. [*VESTA*] *PR QVIRITIVM*.

Similar type with leg. *VESTA [PR] QVIRITIVM*

for Vitellius (BMC Emp I 392, 120 [description not correct] pl. 62, 8).

Similar type, but no identifying legend for Nerva (BMC Emp III 11, 75 pl. 3, 6); Trajan (BMC Emp III 131, 671 pl. 21, 20; 31, 2 pl. 9, 2; V. wearing stephane and veil).

**Variant:** V. holding torch in l. as above, but extending r. hand without attribute. Leg. *VESTA [PR] QVIRITIVM*: Vitellius (BMC Emp I 387, 90 pl. 61, 21).

For attributes patera and torch see also 21.

**34.\*** AE as, Rome and Gaul, Galba, A.D. 68–69. – BMC Emp I 335, 157; Robertson, *Hunter* I 162 nos. 53 and C 3803 pl. 27; Gatti. – Rev.: V. seated l. on low chair, holding patera in extended r. hand and palladium in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

For attributes patera and palladium see also 10. 22.

#### 45.

**35.** AE dupondius, Rome, Vitellius, A.D. 69. – BMC Emp I ccxxvii 383. – Rev.: V., seated, holding trophy in extended r. hand and sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

**36.\*** AR denarius, Rome, Vespasian, A.D. 69–70. – BMC Emp II 10, 55 pl. 1, 19. – Rev.: V. seated, hooded, holding simpulum in extended r. hand, no legend (BMC Emp II 13, 70 pl. 2, 5; V. veiled).

**Variant 1:** V. holding simpulum in extended r. hand as above, but transverse sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA*: Julia Domna (BMC Emp V 470, 217 pl. 73, 16; 435, 31–33 pl. 68, 8).

For attributes simpulum and sceptre see also 5.

**37.** AE as, Rome, Gallienus, c. A.D. 253. – RIC V 1, 89, 278. – Rev.: V., seated, holding wreath in extended r. hand and sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

**38.** AR antoninianus, Gaul (Lugdunum), Salonina, A.D. 257–258. – RIC V 1, 109, 9. – Rev.: V., seated, holding victory in extended r. hand and palm in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

**39.** AR antoninianus, Asia, Salonina (joint reign), A.D. 258–259. – RIC V 1, 115, 70. – Rev.: V., seated, holding victory in extended r. and sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

For attributes victory and sceptre see also 13.

#### D. Seated at altar or cult table

##### Wall paintings

**40.\*** Pompeii VII 12, 11 (4), lararium in pistrinum. – Jordan 2; Boyce no. 316 pl. 24, 1; Schefold, *WP* 201; Greifenhagen 2, 14, fig. 7. – C. A.D. 70–79. – V., crowned, wearing veil, chiton and mantle, sits on cloth-covered throne, feet resting on footstool. In l. cornucopia, in r. hand patera over cult-table (*mensa sacra*?) on which lies grain and fillets. Behind and to the r. forepart of an ass. She is flanked by Lares.

**41.** Pompeii VII 2, 3, lararium in pistrinum. – Boyce no. 247; Schefold, *WP* 168. – C. A.D. 70–79. – V. seated, sceptre in l., pouring libation with r. hand over altar. Genius to the l. of altar. Whole flanked by Lares.

##### Relief

**42.\*** Marble relief. Palermo, Mus. Reg. 1539. Find place uncertain (Mistretta, near ancient Kalakte?; Rizzo 41 n. 22). Samter, E., «Vestaliinnenopfer», *RM* 9, 1894, 125–133 pl. 6; Rizzo 41–43 pl. C; Scott Ryberg, *o.c.* 25, 51–52 fig. 27; Stucchi, *o.c.* 25, 13 n. 9 fig. 11; Brilliant, R., *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (1963) 62 fig. 2, 31 (priestess not divinity); Vermeule, *o.c.* 25, 635–636 pl. 180, 1. Late 1st cent. A.D. – V. seated on throne facing r., probably offering libation (patera, r. arm and hand lost) wearing chiton, and himation covering back of head. In front altar, votives and Pontifex Maximus (upper part missing), in background Vestals and architectural elements.

#### E. Statue of Vesta in her round temple (standing or seated)

##### Coins

**43.\*** AU aureus and AR denarius, Rome, Nero, c. A.D. 64–68. – BMC Emp I 213–214, 101–106 pl. 40, 10–13; Kent/Hirmer, *RömMünze* no. 196 pl. 51. – Rev.: Front view of V.'s round temple, in the centre statue of V., seated to front, head l., holding patera in r. hand and long sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

For V. seated, holding patera and sceptre see also 31.

**44.\*** AE dupondius, Domitian, reign of Vespasian, Rome, A.D. 72. – BMC Emp II 144, 648 pl. 25, 11. – Rev.: Front view of V.'s temple, in the centre figure of V., standing l. on a low base, holding patera in r.; sceptre in l. Leg. *VESTA*.

**Variant 1:** Temple of V. and statue of V. as above, but l. and r. of temple statues of goddesses on low bases: goddess on l. holding purse; goddess on r. extending r. hand and holding long sceptre in l.; leg. *VESTA*: Vespasian (BMC Emp II 76, 372 pl. 12, 16; V. holding vertical sceptre in l.; BMC Emp II 17, 90 pl. 2, 17: no attributes for V.).

**Variant 2:** Temple of V. and statue of V. as above, but on roof pinnacle a statue l., leg. *VESTA*: Vespasian (BMC Emp II 151, 664 pl. 26, 9), Titus, reign of Vespasian (BMC II 155, 674 pl. 27, 7), Domitian, reign of Vespasian (BMC II 159, 691 pl. 28, 3).

For V. standing, holding patera and sceptre see also 11.

**45.** AE medallion, Rome, Lucilla, A.D. 164–169. – Gnecchi, *Medaglioni* II 51, 13 pl. 76, 9–10; Dressel, H./Regling, K., *Die römischen Medallone des Münzkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (1972) 113, 57 pl. 9, 4. – Rev.: Front view of V.'s round temple, in the centre statue of V., seated frontally, attributes (probably patera in r. hand offering libation), in front of temple six Vestals, sacrificing over altar, no identifying legend.

Similar type, no identifying legend also for Crispina (Gnecchi, *Medaglioni* II 72, 5 pl. 92, 5; Kent/Hirmer, *RömMünze* no. 361 R pl. 90).

Similar type, but with legend *VESTA MATER* for Julia Domna (BMC V 169, 96 pl. 6).

**Variant 1:** Temple of V., statue of V. inside, but no Vestals, and standing statue on roof (V.?), in front Julia (?), veiled, draped, standing front, head l., sacrificing out of patera in r. hand over lighted and garlanded altar and holding box in l.; leg. *VESTA MATER*: Julia Domna (BMC Emp V 169, 97 pl. 29, 7).

**Variant 2:** Temple of V. as above, but Caracalla in military dress sacrificing out of patera over lighted and garlanded altar in front of temple, eight other figures in front: Caracalla (BMC Emp V 450, 101–102 pl. 70, 5–6).

**Variant 3:** Temple of V. and Vestals as above, but in the centre statue of V., seated frontally, holding patera in r. and palladium in l., on roof pinnacle standing V. with sceptre or palladium; leg. *VESTA MATER*: Julia Domna (Gnecchi, *Medaglioni* I 45, 2 pl. 22, 4; Kraus, *PKG* pl. 389a; Dressel/Regling, *o.c.* 172, 98 pl. 13, 7; Kent/Hirmer, *RömMünze*, no. 402 R pl. 19).

For V. seated, holding patera and palladium see also 34. For V. standing, holding sceptre and palladium see also 8.

#### F. Statue of Vesta standing on roof pinnacle of her temple

##### Coins

See 44, variant 2; 45, variants 1 and 3; 49, rev.

**46.\*** AE dupondius, Tiberius (obv. Divus Augustus), c. A.D. 22–23. – Rizzo 29 tav. agg. A, 1; Sutherland, C. H. V., *NC* 1941, 106–110. 115–116 n. 25 pl. 2, 1. 2. 10–12. 14–16; Guarducci 160. 168 pl. 39, 4; BMC Emp cxxxix. 140, 142 pl. 25, 10; RIC I<sup>a</sup> 99, 74–76 pl. 12, 74. – Rev.: Round temple of V. with statue of V. (?) on roof pinnacle, holding patera and sceptre. On l. and r., calf and lamb (or ram?) on high bases.

#### G. Heads and busts

##### Relief

**47.** (= Dodekathoei 48\* with bibl.) Marble altar, sundial (?). Paris, Louvre MA 666. From Gabii. – Stern, H., «Les calendriers romains illustrés», *ANRW* II 12, 2 (1981) 434–435 pl. 1, 2; Long, *o.c.* I, 14–16. 295; Turcan pl. 140. – 2nd cent. A.D. – Head of V. in high relief, identified with the help of an attribute – a lamp with the head of an ass. However, according to Fröhner, W., *Notice de la sculpture antique du Mus. Imp. du Louvre* (1868) 11–12, the lamp of V. is nearly entirely modern.

##### Coins

(Head or bust to r.)

**48.\*** AR denarius, Rome, P. Sulpicius Galba, 69 B.C. – Crawford, *RRC* no. 406/1 pl. 50, 14. – Obv.: Head of V., veiled. Rev.: Sacrificial knife, simpulum and axe. Same type (but bust of V. instead of head, veiled, draped), restored by Trajan (BMC Emp III 134, 682 pl. 22, 17).

**49.** AR denarius, Rome, Q. Cassius Longinus, 55 B.C. – Crawford, *RRC* no. 428/1 pl. 52, 3; Fuchs, G.,

*Architekturdarstellungen auf römischen Münzen der Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit* (1969) nos. 31–32 pl. 3. – Obv.: Head of V. Leg. VEST or VESTA. Rev.: V.'s round temple with female statue (V.?) on roof pinnacle, holding patera (or palladium: Cody 44).

Same type (but bust of V., veiled, draped), restored by Trajan (BMC Emp III 135, 685 pl. 22, 22).

50. \* AU aureus, Rome, C. Julius Caesar (moneyer A. Hirtius), 46 B.C. – Crawford, RRC no. 466 pl. 55, 13. – Obv.: Head of V. (?), veiled. Rev.: Lituus, jug and axe.

Same type, but obv.: head of V. (?) and cucullus. Rev.: Trophy: C. Julius Caesar, 48–46 B.C. (Crawford, RRC nos. 452/3).

51. \* AR denarius, Civil Wars, Upper Germany, A.D. 68–69. – BMC Emp I 306, 64 pl. 51, 20; Martin, P. H., *Die anonymen Münzen des Jahres 68 n. Chr.* (1974) 70–77, 8. 12. 13; 76, 58. – Obv.: Bust of V., draped, hooded, wearing stephane; in front lighted torch. Leg. VESTA PR QVIRITIVM. Rev.: Clasp hands (BMC Emp I 307, 70 pl. 51, 22; rev.: Jupiter seated).

#### Sculpture

52. Image of V. in *lectisternium* held in Rome after defeat at the Trasimene Lake, 217 B.C. (→ Dodekathēoi 31), lost. According to Wissowa, G., REXII 1 (1925) 1113 s. v. «Lectisternium», the images of the gods at a *lectisternium* held in 179 B.C. were in the form of busts, cf. Liv. 40, 59, 7 – *deorum capita, quae in lectis erant, averterunt se*.

#### H. Uncertain representations

53. Fresco «Le nozze Aldobrandine». Rome, Vatican Library, Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandine. – Andreea, B., «IGNI ET AQUA ACCIPI», *Röm. Quartalschr. f. christl. Altertumskunde und Kirchengesch.* 57, 1962, 12–13; Helbig<sup>1</sup> I, no. 466. – Augustan. – Andreea considers the woman to the r. to be V. standing at a *focus*, in the manner of Hestia, who plays a recognized role at wedding ceremonies. However, most scholars consider the object a *thymiaterion* and not a *focus*, and the woman depicted plays a modest part in the ceremony, – cf. Marwitz, H., *AuA* 12, 1966, 97–98. 104; Blanckenhagen, P. H./Green, B., *RM* 82, 1975, 91. 98.

54. (= Epona 221 with bibl.) Wall painting. Pompeii IX 2, 24. – Boyce no. 403 pl. 24, 2. – C. A.D. 70–79. – Goddess riding an ass with infant in l. arm. V. characterized as «déesse-mère» by Chapouthier, F., *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse* (1935) 317 fig. 63. Interpretation accepted by Hommel n. 144, who incorrectly takes infant to be rendering of a palladium. V. (?) Magnen, R./Thevenot, É., *Epona* (1953) 62 no. 245. Epona, Boyce, Schleiermacher, W., 23. *BerRGK* (1933) 132 pl. 13, 1–2. Interpretation as Epona convincing on basis of iconography and there is other evidence of south Germanic influence in Pompeii in this period.

55. V. represented in pedimental sculpture of Iup-

iter Optimus Maximus temple, Rome, according to Jordan, H., *Topographie I* 2 (1885) 101, followed by Colini, A. M., *BollCom* 53, 1926, 190; Cagiano de Azevedo, M., *MemPontAcc* 5, 1940, 8. Interpretation based upon representation of temple on relief in Conservatori Palace, Rome (Helbig<sup>1</sup> II no. 1444 C). The personification/divinity concerned is most likely → Salus, cf. Scott Ryberg, I., *Panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius* (1967) 26 n. 26.

56. Entablature of the Forum of Nerva, Rome. – v. Blanckenhagen, P. H., *Flavische Architektur und ihre Dekoration untersucht am Nervaforum* (1940) 121–123 pl. 40 fig. 107, 8. – A.D. 81–98. – The thesis of Blanckenhagen is not convincing. No attributes and no context point to the likelihood that V. is represented.

57. Marble relief from Lateran, Rome, now lost (in part recovered, though without female figures, Santa Maria Scrinari, V., *RendPontAcc* 41, 1968/69, 184–189), known from Renaissance drawings. – De Geymüller, H., «Trois albums de dessins de Fra Giocondo», *MEFRA* 11, 1891, 136 pl. I; Hülsen, Chr., *Das Skizzenbuch des Giovannantonio Dosio* (1933) 3 no. 10 pl. V; Stucchi o.c. 25, 89–92 fig. 37–38. – 2nd cent. A.D. (?) – V. (?) (Demeter and Kore, Hülsen, Chr., *RM* 8, 1893, 286) seated to l. of Forum temple in posture similar to V. on Sorrento relief 25, on drawing by Anonymous Destailleur accompanied by woman with torch – Vestal (?). Interpretation is open to doubt until finds of other fragments can confirm an original connection of figures and temple.

58. (= Dodekathēoi 45 with bibl.) Altar. Savigny near Beaune (Côte-d'Or), castle. From Mavilly, Roman Gaul. – Espérandieu, *Recueil III* no. 2067, 8. – 2nd cent. A.D. – According to Reinach, S., *Cultes, mythes et religions III* (1908) 214–215, the relief shows V. among the Dei Consentes, rendered in a hypothetical archaic «pre-Roman» scheme, with her hands in front of eyes, reflecting Ov. *fast.* 3, 45 *Vestae simulacra feruntur Virgineis oculis opposuisse manus*. Followed by Espérandieu, l.c. The idea of an archaic «pre-Roman» rendering of V. is wholly unlikely, and has been rejected by Wissowa 2, 271, but is uncritically accepted in → Dodekathēoi 45.

#### COMMENTARY

##### Public images of Vesta

The evidence for a cult image in the *aedes Vestae* is ambiguous, but the earliest architectural representation shows no image (49). The Forum building was never a temple in the technical sense, and the absence of a statue may reflect the abstract animistic conception of the goddess. The acroterial sculpture, possibly a representation of V., is rendered schematically (49. 46), but a dependence on Greek Classical sculpture is discernible (cf. Fuchs, o.c. 49, 23. 51. 94). The figure is placed in a leaf-calyx and thereby characterized as a vegetation and earth-goddess (cf. Jucker, H., *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* [1961] 206 with ref. to Ov. *fast.* 6, 267 *Vesta eadem est et terra*; Koch 1738 with further ref.).

Although there was no cult image in the *aedes* it cannot be excluded that a sculpture was erected in the vicinity in Republican times (cf. Lugli, G., *Roma antica. Il centro monumentale* [1946] 20), so vindicating the tradition of the location of Scaevola's murder *ante simulacrum Vestae* in 82 B.C.

The Republican coins with V. (or Vestal?) portraits (48), issued by moneyers with ancestral pontifical connections, are typologically anonymous and bear relationship to personifications like Concordia (→ Homonoia/Concordia) and → Libertas.

The early iconography of V. is not easily definable, although the erection of a statue of V. among the Dei Consentes by the 1st cent. B.C. (14) implies a Greek Hellenistic model. This is not identifiable in the existing material, but a general idea is offered by the fragmentary Dodekathēoi monument (→ Dodekathēoi 27; Fuchs, W., *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* [1959] 145 n. 158; Long, o.c. 1, 34–35 Rome 4; 244 fig. 89, with further representations of goddesses known from drawings of parts of the relief no longer extant, figs. 87–88) of early Neo-attic style with 4th cent. B.C. models. The early renderings of V. cannot in the existing material be distinguished from that of → Hestia. The interpretation of Long 44 fig. 124: – V. in a 5th cent. B.C. «archaizing» style on a South Italian (?) relief (= Dodekathēoi 20) – is wholly untenable, though the figure (→ Hestia 15), holding patera and sceptre, is relatable to the later V. iconography.

Primitive images, symbols?, of V. may have existed as early as the 3rd cent. B.C. or even earlier, as implied by the introduction of the goddess in the *lectisternium* (52), possibly in the form of masks or busts (cf. Long 238, and 47). The basic, recognised, portrayal and image of V. is the sitting enthroned figure with sceptre and offering libation, similar to renderings of Ceres (→ Demeter/Ceres, LIMCIV, *Addenda*), Fortuna (→ Tyche/Fortuna), → Kybele and others. The identification of V. is thus often dependant on inscription, as on coins, or on context (25). The image of V. on the Augustan Sorrento base (25) is Greek in origin. The enthroned female figure leaning back has as its model 5th–4th cent. B.C. Attic grave reliefs, – a model used also to portray Olympian divinities, among whom Hestia (Miller, S. G., *OpuscRom* 9, 1973, 167–172 [→ Hestia 19]; cf. also Lindner, R., *Jdl* 97, 1982, 363 fig. 41). There are close parallels in 4th–3rd cent. B.C. sculpture, e.g., the cult (?) statue of Cybele in Boston (Caskey, L. D., *Cat. of Greek and Roman Sculpture* [1925] no. 50 and the Cybele from Pergamon (*Pergamon VII* [1901] pl. 9). The rendering is one of the more salient examples of Neo-classicism or «augusteisch-neuattisch» art (Fuchs, W., *Vorbilder* 145). As the other statues pictured on the relief are relatable to known sculpture and artists (Lippold, *GrPl* 221. 253; → Apollon/Apollo 404. 147b; → Ares/Mars 24c) the statue of V. could also have a known cult-statue as model. However, the statue of Hestia (→ Hestia 21), which, as tradition has it, was brought to Rome, cannot directly be related to the Augustan image, since it was transferred to Rome first under Tiberius (Plin. *nat.* 36, 25; Cass. Dio 55, 9, 6). The Hestia of the altar in

Ostia (→ Dodekathēoi 24 = Hestia 16), related to Scopas by Greifenhagen (Greifenhagen 2, 21) and to Praxiteles by Picard (Picard, *Manuel III* 1, 667–670. 864), is not iconographically relatable to the Sorrento V.

The scheme is used for later renderings of the seated V. – cf. 31 which bears a clear imprint of a statuary type, and 43, statue in the Forum building from the time of Nero (possibly symbolic, though it cannot be ruled out that an image was set up after the Neronian conflagrations). The relief 25 shows the dedication of the Palatine V. *signum*, 28th April, 12 B.C., in the vicinity of the house of Augustus with the Forum sanctuary and the palladium (→ Athena/Minerva 235) in the background, in the presence of Vestals, the Pontifex Maximus (Augustus who had assumed office March 6th, 12 B.C. [not extant but cf. 42]) and Livia (?) (V. is flanked by only one Vestal, cf. Pollini, J., *Studies in Augustan «Historical» Reliefs* [1978] 319 n. 228). The creation of this V. iconography under Augustus is well in keeping with the goddess' close ties with the Imperial household, a family of Trojan origins, from where, apart from the palladium, a V. image was also saved (Verg. *Aen.* 2, 296–297). The scene reflects the political and religious programme of Augustus, underlining the close ties between Livia and V. (cf. Ov. *fast.* 4, 949–951; *Pont.* 4, 13, 29), ties which, as a symbol of Rome's early history and Vestal virtues, become a model for future renderings of V. and Imperial cult (45 and variants). (A sculptural variant where V. carries a heavier, Roman, dress [26. 28. 30] carries the stamp of other versions of official Julio-Claudian sculpture [Kraus, *PKG* fig. 291; Gross, W. H., *Julia-Augusta. Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-Ikonographie* [1962] 114–116 pls. 1, 4; 23, 2].) The coins constitute the greater part of the iconographic evidence. In the confusion of the Civil Wars denarii were struck with V. holding patera and torch (33) reflecting the parties' claims to the patronage of the old State worship. The palladium as an attribute of V. is seen for the first time on the coinage of Galba (32), stressing the claim of serving the interest of the city of Rome in time of conflict. The type of V. with the palladium is taken up by later emperors rather as a generic type, not necessarily reflecting a personal Imperial court cult (as suggested by Mattingly, *BMC Emp III* lxx. lxxix). V. on coins basically emphasizes the office of the emperor as Pontifex Maximus (31, etc.) and the role of the empress as guardian of Vestal virtues, commencing with Julia Titi (32), but above all common under the Antonines, echoing Livia's ties to V. Under Valerianus and Gallienus V. had her final importance as a coin type (13. 37–39), holding new attributes, Victory, palm-leaf and wreath, and not the palladium, perhaps evidence that the Imperial- and city-aspect of the V. cult was now less important.

V. in the gable of the temple of Quirinus (27) is Augustan, though basically different from the Palatine image. V. present at the *augurium* of Romulus (Ov. *fast.* 4, 828) in the presence of Jupiter and Mars (cf. Vell. 2, 131) (Hommel), with cornucopia belongs to the context of → Lares, → Penates, and the divinities



→ Bona Dea and Ceres (→ Demeter/Ceres, LIMC IV, *Addenda*). The interpretation is based also on other renderings of V. with this attribute, these attested in a private context (24. 40). The altar in Naples (28) has a rendering of Bona Dea (→ Bona Dea I) with cornucopia and serpent (cf. 30) testimony to related iconography and bonds between the two divinities; Bona Dea was honoured by Vestals (cf. Greifenhagen I, 244 with ref.).

The provincial Roman pantheon with divinities rendered in a local style on the Jupiter column (4), raised by the *canabarii* of the Mainz legion, confirms loyalty to Nero and the Imperial cult. The presence of V., Lares publici and Genius Augusti is evidence of Augustan influence. The figure of V. (the objection of Quilling to this interpretation has not won acceptance) is evidence of Campanian influence, as the ass above all qualifies the divinity here (cf. below).

### Private images of Vesta

V. was a symbol of the private hearth, center of household cult and worship (Cato *agr.* 132, 2) and associated with Genii and Dei Penates. In Campania particularly the patron deity of bakers, bread-baking being originally one of the functions of the private hearth. V. is commonly depicted in the *lararia* in kitchens and mills, alone, among the Lares or in company with other deities, as Vulcan (16, cf. 52). The depictions of V. in the Pompeian frescoes reflect the Romanisation of the town and the economic and social background to her cult (cf. Orr, D. G., «Roman Domestic Religion: The Evidence of the Household Shrines», *ANRW* 16, 2 [1978] 1560; Scheffold, K., *La peinture pompéienne* [1972] 58). V. is accompanied by an ass (I-3. 15-19. 40. 41). Asses were used to work the mills in the bakeries and as such become a symbol of her cult (Prop. 4, 1, 21; *Copa* [Appendix *Virgiliana*] 26 *Vestae delictum est asinus*). At the Vestalia an ass was crowned, Wissowa 2, 255 fig. 2, and the ass makes it possible to identify V. on private altars (28-30. 47). This iconographical aspect is possibly reflected in the state cult monuments, cf. the fragment of an architectural element showing part of an ass' head from the Forum building (Jordan I, VIII, 18-19, pl. XIII i). The ass may have served V. in primitive times by carrying the salt for *mola salsa* from the Ostia salt pans to Rome (Adams, L., *Janus and the Bridge* [1961] 319 n. 20).

The statue from Xanten (24) is votive and evidence of V. as patroness of tileworks, cf. dedicatory inscription on altar from tileworks at Nijmegen: *Vestae sacrum... mag(ister) fig(ulorum) pro se* (CIL XIII 8729). (A votive inscription of a publican from Mainz is dedicated to Fortuna, V., Lares and Penates, CIL XIII 6709.) V. is pictured as patroness of a bakers guild of which Pupius Firminus was quaestor (A. D. 144) (30). The iconography is official: - throne, sceptre, and the stephane which has parallels in Imperial portraiture. The snake is a symbol of → Salus and → Hygieia (cf. the Firminus relief in the Louvre, Greifenhagen 2, fig. 10) stressing V.'s role as important to private and pu-

blic welfare and the common good. The relief thus combines most of the aspects delineated above.

TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN

### HEURESIS

(Εὐρεσις) Personnification de la Découverte, de l'Invention.

I.\* (= Epinoia I avec bibl.) Enluminure. Vienne, Bibl. Nat., cod. med. gr. I, «Dioscoride de Vienne», fol. 4<sup>v</sup>. - v. Premerstein, A./Wessely, K./Mantuani, G., *Dioscurides. Codex Aniciae Julianae picturis illustratus* (1906) pl. 4<sup>v</sup>; Grabar, A., *L'âge d'or de Justinien* (1966) 197 fig. 215; Gerstinger, H., *Dioscurides. Codex Vindobonensis med. gr. I* (1970) pl. 4<sup>v</sup>; Weitzmann, K., *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (1971) 135-136 fig. 110. - Vers 512 ap. J.-C. - Debout, de trois-quarts, devant Dioscoride (ou Crateuas?, v. Premerstein o. c. 60), vêtue d'une longue tunique jaune au fin plissé et d'un manteau rouge, parée de boucles d'oreilles, H. (inscr. ΕΥΡΕΣΙΣ) tend au médecin une racine de mandragore et lui montre, de la dr., un chien qui se tord de convulsions à ses pieds.

Première étape de la démarche du savant, H. précède → Epinoia, au folio suivant (5<sup>v</sup>) du manuscrit, qui désigne à son tour l'observation scientifique, la compréhension des choses découvertes. Il semble bien que la figure soit unique à ce jour. JEAN CH. BALTZ

### HIACHOS

(Ἰαχος) Satyrname (→ Silenos, Silenoi) in einer Vaseninschrift. Vgl. → Iakchos als Beiname des Dionysos.

I. (= Dionysos 362 mit Lit., = Eumelpe I\* mit Lit. und Beschreibung) Amphora, att. bilingue. München, Antikenslg. 2302. Aus Vulci. - *ARV* 2 6, 1: Psiak; *Para* 128; *Add* 150; *RE* Suppl. IX (1962) 80 s. v. «Hiachos» (Brommer). - Rechts tanzt H. (HIAXOΞ, nackt, bekränzt) zur r. Seite hin, wendet sich aber zu → Eumelpe und → Dionysos zurück.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

HIACO → Iason 83

HIASUNU → Iason 23

### HIBERUS

(Ἰβηρ, Ἰβηρος, Hiberus, Iberus) Représentation anthropomorphe de l'Ebre, fleuve du nord-est de la péninsule Ibérique (→ Fluvii). La divinité fluviale n'est connue que par une inscription de Tarragone et peut-être par une monnaie.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES ET ÉPIGRAPHIQUES: Aucun auteur ancien ne mentionne le culte d'un dieu-fleuve H.: il faut donc reconsidérer l'hypothèse de Beltrán selon laquelle Claudien (IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.) parlant du *divus Hiberus*, faisait peut-être allusion au fleuve H. divinisé. Par ailleurs les mentions dans les textes du fleuve H. sont très nombreuses (cf. Hübner, «Nomina geographica»). On ne doit pas confondre ce fleuve H. avec un autre H., situé au sud-ouest de la péninsule et signalé entre autres par Strabon (3, 4, 19 p. 166; 3, 5, 9 p. 175): Schulten, Tovar, etc. l'identifient au rio Tinto (prov. d'Huelva), García y Bellido à l'Udiel.

La discussion sur l'origine du nom des Ibères provient en grande partie du problème que pose ce double toponyme. S'appuyant sur les auteurs anciens, Schulten, Beltrán, etc. estiment que le fleuve H. d'Andalousie aurait donné son nom d'abord aux habitants des environs, puis à tous ceux de l'«Iberia». Pour Tovar, le mot *Ibar/Iber* avait le sens général de «grand fleuve» ou de «bassin», d'où la répétition du toponyme en des lieux éloignés.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Beltrán, A., «El río Ebro en la Antigüedad clásica», *Caesaraugusta* 17-18, 1961, 69; Blanco, A., «El mosaico de Mérida con la alegoría del saeculum aureum», *Anales de la Univ. Hispalense* 8, 1971, 153-178; Blázquez, J. M., *Diccionario de las religiones prerromanas de Hispania* (1975) 109 s. v. «Iberò»; Drexler, W./Steuding, H., *ML* 1 2 (1886-90) 2654-2655 s. v. «Hiberus»; García y Bellido, A., *La Península Ibérica en los comienzos de su historia* (1953) 91; Hübner, E., *Monumenta Linguae Ibericae* (1893); Mackie, N., *Local Administration in Roman Spain* (1981) 164-167; Quet, M.-H., *La mosaïque cosmologique de Mérida* (1981) 38; Schulten, A., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 807 s. v. «Iberus 1, 2» (les fleuves); idem, *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* I (1922) 65, 72, 99, 191, 503; idem, *Geografía y etnografía antiguas de la Península Ibérica* (1963) 63-65, 25-29; Scichilone, G., *EAA* IV (1961) 23-24 s. v. «Hiberus».

### CATALOGUE

I.\* Fr. de statue en marbre. Tarragone, Mus. Nat. Arch. MNAT 442. De Tarragone. - Hernández, B./Del Arco, A., *Catálogo del Mus. Arq. de Tarragona* (1894) 48 n° 442; Albertini, E., «Sculptures antiques du Conventus Tarraconensis», *AIEC (Anuari, Institut d'Estudis Catalans)* 4, 1911-12, 323, 381 fig. 124 n° 109; García y Bellido, A., *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (1949) 280-283 n° 277 pl. 232. Alföldy, G., *Die röm. Inschriften von Tarraco* (1975) 13 n° 22 pl. 11, 4; Koppel, E., *Die röm. Skulpturen von Tarraco* (1985) 101-102 n° 145 pl. 64, 1-2. Inscr.: CIL II 4075. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Fr. d'un socle de statue portant l'inscr. *FLVMEN HIBERVS*. Au-dessus, l'eau coulant d'un vase (Alföldy) ou d'un masque (Koppel), perdu. Il reste l'avant d'un pied dr. nu, appartenant à une figure, peut-être debout, de grandeur naturelle.

2.\* Monnaie (*semis*) AE, Carthagène-Carthago-nova, 7 av. J.-C. - Heiss, A., *Descr. gén. des monnaies ant. de l'Espagne* (1870) 270, 275 n° 16-18 pl. 36; Vives y Escudero, A., *La moneda Hispánica* IV (1924) 31, 35 n° 16 pl. 130; Beltrán, A., *Curso de Numismática* I (1950) 349, 367 fig. 471, 486; idem, «Sobre las antiguas monedas latinas de Hispania», *Numisma* 2, 1952, 30 fig. 27. - Av. Tête masculine et juvénile, de profil à dr., les cheveux en désordre, crachant de l'eau (?) par la bouche; lég. *HIBERVS-II-V-QVINQ*. Rv. Champ lisse (variante: *simpulum*); lég. *C-LVCI-P-F-II-V-QVIN(Q)*.

### COMMENTAIRE

La statue de Tarragone I est très éloignée du type habituel des divinités fluviales de cette époque, qui sont en général allongées ou nonchalamment assises (Quet 38): la figure est représentée debout - ou peut-être assise sur un siège élevé - à la manière de ces nombreuses statues masculines non identifiées qui ornaient les fontaines et les nymphées romaines (Mustilli n° 68; Stuart Jones, *SculptMusCap* n° 60). Plus intéressante encore est l'épigraphie, au nominatif: elle fait supposer que la statue appartenait à un groupe dont chaque figure pouvait être identifiée grâce à son inscription, comme sur la mosaïque de Mérida (cf. Quet; Blanco). On ignore malheureusement tout du lieu et des circonstances de la découverte.

Divers auteurs ont vu dans la monnaie de Carthagène 2 une allégorie, et même une sorte de jeu de mots fait sur le nom du magistrat Hiberus et celui du fleuve H. (Heiss 275). Mais, pour Beltrán (1950) 349, ce type de droit rappelle la construction de l'aqueduc de la Fuente de Cubas. Il pourrait aussi s'agir d'une allusion de portée générale à la responsabilité qu'exerçait le duovir sur les eaux publiques (Mackie 169).

MÓNICA RUIZ BREMÓN

### HIERA

(Ἥερα) Gemahlin des → Telephos von amazonenhaftem Wesen, Königin der Mysier, fällt in der Schlacht am Kaikos (bei Pergamon). Nach späten Quellen sind die etruskischen Gründerhéroen Tyrse-nos und Tarchon ihre und des Telephos Söhne.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Die frühe epische Überlieferung über die Schlacht zwischen Mysiern und Achäern (in den Kyprien) scheint H. nicht gekannt zu haben. Für → Eurypylos (I), den Sohn des Telephos, der Hom. *Od.* 11, 519-520 und in der *Kleinen Ilias* (Davies *EGF* fig. 7) auf Seiten der Trojaner kämpft, ist Astyoche als Mutter überliefert (Akusilaos von Argos, *FGH* 2 F 40). Priamos hatte sie mit einem goldenen Weinstock bestochen, daß sie ihren Sohn in



den Krieg sandte, obwohl Telephos mit den Achäern ausgemacht hatte, daß weder er noch seine Nachkommen gegen sie kämpfen würden (*Schol. Iuv. 6, 655*). Weder die aus Troja stammende Astyoche noch Argiope, die Tochter des Myserkönigs → Teuthras, die ebenfalls als Gemahlin des Telephos überliefert ist (*Diod. 4, 33*), kann mit H. identisch sein. Ihr Name, wohl «die übermenschlich Starke», klingt mehr nach einem Beinamen, ihr Verhalten in der Schlacht ist das einer Amazone. Unter den aus archaischer und klassischer Zeit überlieferten Amazonennamen (→ *Amazones S. 653*) findet sich H. allerdings nicht. Sie ist nicht früher als bei Philostr. *her. 2, 14–18* genannt. H. führt die mysischen Frauen in der Schlacht am Kaikos an; nach der Verwundung des Telephos, der über einen Weinstock strauchelte, kämpft sie um so heftiger und fällt durch die Hand des → Nireus. Achäer und Mysier schließen daraufhin einen Waffenstillstand, damit H. bestattet werden kann. Als Mutter des Tyrsenos und des Tarchon ist sie in *Schol. Lykophron 1245, 1248–1249* genannt; vgl. auch Tzetz. *anteh. 279; posth. 558*.

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## KATALOG

**1.\*** Telephosfries, Platten 23 und 24. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. Aus Pergamon. – Winnefeld, H., *Pergamon III 2, Die Friesen des Großen Altares* (1910) Taf. 35, 1; Bauchhenß-Thürdiedl 56 Faltplan 2 (oben links). – 160–150 v. Chr. – Es ist das Verdienst von C. Robert, in der Reiterin mit entblößter Brust auf steigendem Pferd, die ein Kriegsbeil gegen einen Feind in ihrem Rücken schwingt, H. erkannt zu haben. Der dem Pferd der H. in die Zügel greifende, vom Rücken gesehene Heros auf der anschließenden Platte ist wohl Nireus, der sie töten wird. Auf beiden Seiten schließen sich weitere Szenen aus der Schlacht am Kaikos an, dazwischen, nach dem Vorschlag von Bauchhenß-Thürdiedl:

**2.\*** Prothesis der Hiera. Es handelt sich um die Platte 51 des Telephosfrieses, die früher als Prothesis des Telephos galt und deshalb an das Ende versetzt worden war (Winnefeld a. O. Taf. 34, 2). Bauchhenß-Thürdiedl beobachtet richtig, daß die Gestalt auf der Bahre, von der nur der Hinterkopf erhalten ist, weibliches Haar und speziell eine klassische Amazonenfrisur hat. Da um des Todes der H. willen die Schlacht unterbrochen worden war, sind Anordnung und Deutung überzeugend. Der Tod des Telephos würde ohnehin nicht an das Ende des Frieses passen, sondern eher eine Szene mit Telephos als Kultheros. Andererseits bringt die Prothesis zwischen den Kampfszenen

variatio in diesen Teil des Frieses und entspricht so dessen Stilprinzip.

## DEUTUNG UNSICHER

**3.** Westgiebel des Tempels der Athena Alea in Tegea. Fragmente in Athen, Nat. Mus., und Tegea, Mus. Werkstatt des Skopas. – 3. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Das Thema war nach Paus. 8, 45, 7 der Kampf zwischen Achilleus und Telephos in der Ebene des Kaikos. Die Anordnung der Fragmente und ihre Deutung wurde durch Delivourrias (111 die frühere Lit.) gefördert. Die Gestalt in der l. Giebelecke war sicher weiblich. Frühere Interpreten dachten an eine Mysierin, Delivourrias fragend an eine Lokalpersonifikation (Teuthrania?). Vielleicht ist sie doch eine Verwundete aus dem bei Philostrat geschilderten Heer der Mysierinnen. Weiter nach r. hin könnte H. zu Pferd gekämpft haben. Der von E. La Rocca rekonstruierte Giebel mit der Amazonenschlacht zeigt an eben dieser Stelle eine reitende Amazone: *Amazonomachia. Le sculpture frontonali del tempio di Apollo Sosiano*, Ausstellungskat. Rom (1985) 127. H. müßte also in der Lücke angenommen werden. Vielleicht finden sich unter den Fragmenten von Tegea Reste ihres Pferdes oder von ihr selbst.

## KOMMENTAR

Für das Auftreten der H. im pergamenischen Telephosfries besteht die Schwierigkeit, daß die schriftlichen Quellen, die sie nennen, sehr viel später als dieser sind. Wie jedoch bereits Robert sah, hat Philostrat H. nicht erfunden. Daß Schriftquellen und Bildquellen zeitlich auseinanderklaffen, ist ein bekanntes Phänomen in der Archäologie; vgl. etwa → Achilleus S. 53, Kommentar zu 21. Pausanias, der wie Philostrat ein Autor der «zweiten Sophistik» war, erwähnt Hymnen für Telephos in Pergamon (3, 26, 10). In ihnen dürfte auch H. vorgekommen sein. Ihr frühestes Auftreten in der griechischen Kunst war vielleicht am Westgiebel des Tempels von Tegea (3). In der linken Giebelhälfte ist für eine Reiterin Platz. Da außerdem in Metopen des Tempels, wie Inschriften am Architrav zeigen, Szenen des Telephosmythos dargestellt waren (→ Auge 3), könnte H. auch in ihnen aufgetreten sein. Die Künstler des Telephosfrieses und die Dichter der pergamenischen Hymnen auf Telephos haben zweifellos aus dieser arkadisch-tegeatischen Überlieferung geschöpft.

Da die Reiterin H. auf Platte 23 des Frieses (1) nur schlecht erhalten ist, kommt ihre von Philostrat gerühmte Schönheit weniger zur Geltung als ihre Tapferkeit. Diese beiden Eigenschaften führten zum Waffenstillstand nach ihrem Tod und zu ihrer Prothesis (2), auf die Platte 51 des Telephosfrieses zu Recht bezogen wurde. Auch hier war sicher die Schönheit der toten H. hervorgehoben; leider haben wir nur einen Teil des Kopfes. Von links treten zwei Krieger an die Bahre heran, der eine mit Totengaben. Diese stille Szene muß zwischen den Kampfbildern von besonderer Wirkung gewesen sein. H. und ihr Schicksal waren

dadurch hervorgehoben. Bei Philostrat fällt H. nach der Verwundung des Telephos; im Fries ist das Straucheln des Heros, wenn die Rekonstruktion stimmt, weiter rechts, also «später» angeordnet. Aber vielleicht sollte man hier nicht von links nach rechts lesen, sondern die Szenen des Kampfes um die Prothesis der H. in der Mitte gruppiert sehen. Sie ist die Hauptgestalt in diesem Teil des Frieses.

ERIKA SIMON

**HIERAPOLIS I** → LIMC Suppl.

**HIERAPOLIS II** → LIMC Suppl.

## HIEROKAISAREIA

(*Ἱεροκαίσαρεια*, Hierocaesarea, Hierocaesaria) Personifikation von Hierokaisareia in Lydien, das an der wichtigen Verbindungsstraße von Pergamon über Thyateira nach Sardeis lag.

**LITERARISCHE QUELLEN:** Siehe Büchner und Robert.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Baumeister, A., *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums II* (1889) 1295–1297 s. v. «Personifikationen in der alten Kunst»; Büchner, L., *RE VIII 2 (1913) 1401–1402 s. v. «Hiera Kome, Hierokaisareia»*; idem, *RE VIII 2 (1913) 1475 s. v. «Hierokaisareia»*; Drexler, W., *ML I 2 (1886–1890) 2657–2658 s. v. «Hierokaisareia»*; Mansel, A. M., *KIPauli II* (1967) 1129 s. v. «Hiera Kome»; Robert, L./Robert, J., *Hellenica VI* (1948) 27–55; Scichilone, G., *EAA IV* (1961) 30 s. v. «Hierokaisareia»; Steuding, H., *ML II 2 (1894–1897) 2094–2096 s. v. «Lokalpersonifikationen»*.

## KATALOG

**A. Hierokaisareia als Amazone** (→ Amazonas)

### Relief

**1.** (= Amazonas 798\* mit Lit., = Apollonis 1 mit Lit., = Artemis Ephesia 4, = Ephesos 11 mit Lit., = Hyrkanis 3 mit Lit., = Kaystros 110) Marmorbasis einer Statue des Tiberius, sog. Puteolanische Basis. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 6780. Angeblich aus Pozzuoli. – *CIL X 1624*; Jahn, O., *SbLeipzig 3, 1851, 119–151* Taf. 1–4; Guida Ruesch 22–24 Nr. 82; Sieveking, J., in *BrBr 575*; Scichilone 30 Abb. 41; Mingazzini, P., *RM 83, 1976, 425–429* Taf. 148–149. – 30 n. Chr. (Jahn) oder 81–91 n. Chr. (Mingazzini). – Auf der l. Nebenseite der viereckigen Basis steht neben → Mostene und → Aigai H. mit Mauerkrone als Amazone in einem kurzen Chiton mit übergeworfenem Mantel und Stiefeln.

**B. Hierokaisareia als → Tyche**

### Münzen

**2.\*** AE, Hierokaisareia, 2.–3. Jh. n. Chr. – *BMC Lydia 105, 19. 21* Taf. 11, 6; Imhoof-Blumer, F.,

*RSNum 5, 1895, 322–323* Nr. 37–39 Taf. 1, 24; *SNG Copenhagen Lydia 181*; *SNG v. Aulock 2958*. – Vs.: Büste der H. mit Mauerkrone nach r. *IEPOKAISAREIA*. Rs.: Tyche oder Perseus oder Artemis oder Götting.

## KOMMENTAR

Die Puteolanische Basis (1) ist die verkleinerte Nachbildung eines Denkmals für Tiberius, das zum Dank für seine Unterstützung von zwölf in den Jahren 17, 23 und 29 n. Chr. durch Erdbeben betroffenen kleinasiatischen Städten auf deren Veranlassung hin errichtet worden ist (s. Tac. *ann. 2, 47; 4, 13* und *CIL X 1624*). Die einzelnen Städte ließen dabei ihre Personifikationen auf den vier Seiten der Basis mit Beischrift anbringen, wobei zwei als Jünglinge (→ Tmolos und → Temnos), sieben als Tychen (→ Magnesia am Sipylus, → Sardis, → Philadelphiea, → Kyme, → Myrina, → Mostene und → Aigai) und fünf als Amazonas (→ Kibyra, → Ephesos, → Apollonis, → Hyrkanis und H.) gekennzeichnet sind. Die Charakterisierung einiger Städte als Amazonas zeigt sich ebenfalls auf anderen kleinasiatischen Werken und scheint öfters, wie im Falle von → Ephesos, auf Gründungsmythen anzuspielen, in denen durch den mythologischen Bezug auf eine Amazone der Ursprung der jeweiligen Stadt bis in die legendäre Frühzeit zurückverfolgt und damit ihr Daseinsrecht und ihre Bedeutung gefestigt werden sollen (s. dafür auch → Amazonas S. 649–650). Im Gegensatz zur puteolanischen Basis (1) zeigen die danach im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. geprägten Münzen Hierokaisareias (2) die Stadtpersonifikation im weitverbreiteten Typus als weibliche Büste im Profil mit Mauerkrone. RAINER VOLKKOMMER

**HILAEIRA** → Dioskouroi 189–214, → Dioskouroi/Tinas clinar 79–82, → Dioskouroi/Castores 148–158

**HILARITAS** → LIMC Suppl.

## HIMACA

Name einer Mänade (→ Mainades) auf:

**1.\*** Bronzegriffspiegel, etrusk. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Misc. 10555. – Neugebauer, *Führer Berlin* 187 Taf. 56; Pandolfini, M., *StEtr 39, 1971, 371–372* Nr. 71 Taf. 80. – 2. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – In der Bildmitte steht die Mänade H. in langem Gewand mit Nebris, einen Thyrsos in der Linken haltend (Namensbeischrift vor ihrem Kopf). Sie blickt auf den glatzköpfigen Satyr *Achsun*, der gebeugt, mit überein-

andergeschlagenen Beinen auf einem mit einem Pantherfell bedeckten Felsen sitzt. Mit der Rechten faßt er sich an den Kopf, in der auf dem Oberschenkel ruhenden l. Hand hält er ein kurzes stabförmiges Gebilde (Flötenrohr?). Ein Hund springt an ihm hoch. Von l. naht in einem plötzlich heftig gebremsten Schritt (zurückprallend? oder tanzend?) ein jüngerer Satyr, dessen Name nicht mehr lesbar ist. Er hält in der Linken waagrecht einen Thyrsos; den r. Arm hat er erhoben in einer Geste des Staunens (oder des Grußes?). Auf dem Gewand der Mänade eine weitere Inschrift: *cnmalna* (*malna*, *malena* = Spiegel?, vgl. Pandolfini a. O.).

Sowohl der Name der Mänade wie der des Satyrs sind bisher nur auf diesem Spiegel belegt und lassen sich von keinem bekannten griechischen Satyr- und Mänadennamen herleiten. Es handelt sich anscheinend um rein etruskische Namensformen (vgl. → Chelphun), die sich nicht näher erklären lassen, da bis jetzt keine anderen, von denselben Wortstämmen abgeleiteten etruskischen Wörter bekannt sind.

INGRID KRAUSKOPF

## HIMERA

(*Ἥμερα*, *Himera*) Ninfa dell'omonima città sulla costa settentrionale della Sicilia; da non confondere con la personificazione della → Tyche cittadina, presente sulle monete di Thermae Himerenses di età romano-repubblicana, e la cui statua è ricordata da Cic. *Verr.* 2, 2, 87. 89.

**BIBLIOGRAFIA:** Gàbrici, E., *Topografia e numismatica dell'antica Imera* (1894); Gutmann, F./Schwabacher, W., *MittBayr-NumGes* 47, 1929, 101-144; Imhoof-Blumer, F., *JLArchNum* 11, 1908, 31-33, 68-72; Lacroix, L., *Monnaies et colonisation dans l'Occident grec* (1965) 124-127; Mirone, S., *RNum* 23, 1920, 32.

## CATALOGO

Sono state prese in considerazione soltanto le icografie sicuramente identificabili con H.

### Monete di Himera

1.\* AR, tetradracmi, Gruppo I 472-450 a.C., Gruppo II 450-420 a.C., Gruppo III 413-409 a.C. - Gutmann/Schwabacher tavv. 8-10, 1-10, 14-20; Rizzo, *MGS* tav. 21, 7, 10-12, 17, 22-23; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze*² tavv. 21-22, 68, 70-71. - D.: Quadriga al passo, o al galoppo (G. III). R.: H. stante frontalmente, sacrifica sopra un altare a s.; a d. un sileno si bagna ad una fonte con protome leonina. Etnico al D. o al R.

2.\* AR didrammi, Gruppi I e II. - Gutmann/Schwabacher tavv. 9-10, 1-4; Rizzo, *MGS* tav. 21, 9; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze*² tav. 20, 66. - D.: Cavaliere nudo che smonta da cavallo. R.: H. come 1, a d. caduceo e *EOHP*.

3.\* AR, tetr., didr., dr., 460-450 a.C. - Gutmann/Schwabacher tav. 9, 11-13; Rizzo, *MGS* tav. 21, 15-16; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze*² tav. 21, 67 (450-430 a.C.). - D.: Pelope (→ Pelops) che guida una biga, *ΠΕΛΟΥ*. R.: H. stante frontalmente, con leggero chitone e ampio *himation*, allargato sul braccio d. disteso, *IMEPA*.

4. AE, hemilitra, 420-409 a.C. - Gàbrici, *Bronzo* tav. 2, 12-14; Kraay, C. M., suppl. *AnnIstiNum* 25, 1979, 45, tav. 6, 11. - D.: Testa di H. di profilo con capelli entro sphendone, ovvero testa frontale con ampyx sulla fronte. R.: Sei globetti, entro corona di alloro o con gambero.

### Monete di Thermae Himerenses

5. AE, dopo il 241 a.C. - Gàbrici tav. 7, 9-10; *idem*, *Bronzo* tav. 9, 40; Grose, *McClean* tav. 75, 13-14; *SNG München* 374-375. - D.: Testa di Eracle. R.: H. Tyche stante, con nella s. cornucopia e nella d. patera. *ΘΕΡΜΑ ΙΜΕΡΑΙΑ* o *ΘΕΡΜΙΤΑΝ*.

6. AE, Gàbrici tav. 7, 12-13; *idem*, *Bronzo* tav. 9, 39. - D.: Testa di H. Tyche a d., dietro cornucopia. R.: Figura virile a d. Etnico.

### Statua

7. Già a Thermae Himerenses, non conservata. - Cic. *Verr.* 2, 2, 87. 89: splendida statua di bronzo personificante la città di Himera. Databile, in base ai tipi monetali che la riproducono, già nel III sec. a.C. (v. 5. 6).

## COMMENTO

→ Himeros, la «bramosia amorosa», costituisce in età arcaica insieme ad → Eros (Hes. *theog.* 201), il principale attributo di Aphrodite. *Himera* potrebbe essere pertanto una ipostasi della grande dea che, infondendo il desiderio amoroso negli esseri viventi, assicura la fecondità e la continuità della vita. L'iconografia che ella presenta nella serie con Pelope (3) potrebbe sostenere tale interpretazione, con la quale non contrasta neanche la scena del sacrificio. Esso è compiuto con valore emblematico dalla divinità presso il proprio altare, ed è destinato a propiziare le forze fecondanti e vegetative della natura. Il culto è localizzato all'aperto presso una sorgente frequentata dai Satiri, per cui H. è indubbiamente dea di fecondità con chiare connotazioni ctonie. A tale carattere rimandano, oltre alle acque sorgive e al Sileno, il caduceo frequentemente rappresentato sulle stele funerarie puniche in relazione con la dea Tanit. L'appellativo *EOHP* dei didrammi 2 è attestato dai tragici in relazione alla Tyche (Liddell/Scott s. v. *σωτήρ*), e trova riscontro nella *Tyche Soteira* invocata da Pind. O. 12, 2 in favore della città di Himera; esso corrisponde al concetto originariamente fenicio che ha determinato la concezione religiosa della Tyche, la dea che presiede all'origine e allo sviluppo della città. Dietro la figura di H. si profila dunque la *silhouette* di una delle grandi Potnie orientali, signora della fertilità e della fecondità, protettrici e salvatrici

della città, forse Astarte, la Grande Dea, identificata dai Greci con Aphrodite.

MARIA CACCAMO CALTABIANO

## HIMEROPA → Seirenes

## HIMEROS, HIMEROI

(*Ἥμερος*, *Ἥμεροι*, Desiderium, Cupido) Une des formes d'→ Eros, symbolisant la passion et le désir amoureux.

**SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES:** Le nom commun *Ἥμερος* désigne chez Homère le désir, l'envie de quelque chose, et Platon le définit de façon plus significative comme un courant ou un torrent irrésistible (Plat. *Krat.* 420a; *Phaidros* 251c). Hésiode en fait un véritable personnage qui, associé à Eros, escorte → Aphrodite après sa naissance (Hes. *theog.* 201; cf. Q. Smyrn 5, 70-71, qui décrit sur le bouclier d'Achille H. assistant à la naissance de Cypris): il est «beau» (*καλός*) et séjourne sur l'Olympe près des → Charites et des Muses (→ Mousai) (Hes. *theog.* 64). Les auteurs postérieurs n'ajoutent rien à sa personnalité, fondue dans celle des différentes figures d'Eros.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Greifenhagen, A., *Griechische Erosen* (1957); Guerrini, L., *EAA* IV (1961) 35 s. v. «Himeros»; Otto, W., *RE* VIII 2 (1913) 1635-1638 s. v. «Himeros»; Stoll, H. W., *ML* I 2 (1886-1890) 2661-2662 s. v. «Himeros». Cf. *etiam* Hermay, A., *LIMC* III (1986) 852 s. v. «Eros», Bibliographie.

## CATALOGUE

### I. Himéros seul ou avec d'autres Eroses

#### Vases attiques

1.\* Stamnos f. r. Londres, BM E 440. De Vulci. - *ARV*² 289, 1: P. des Sirènes; *Para* 355; Greifenhagen 32 fig. 25; Boardman, *ARFH* fig. 184, 2; Vermeule, E., *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (1979) 203 fig. 26. - 480-470 av. J.-C. - B. H. (inscr.), en vol au-dessus de la mer, un long bandeau à franges dans les mains, se retourne vers les deux Eroses qui le suivent (l'un tient une tige végétale, l'autre un lièvre); A. Ulysse (→ Odysseus) et les Sirènes (→ Seirenes), dont l'une est nommée Himeropa.

### II. Himéros directement associé à Aphrodite

#### A. Dans un contexte mythologique précis

#### Vases attiques

2. (= Alexandros 45\* avec bibl., = Aphrodite 1260/1449, = Heimarmene 1\* avec bibl., = Helene

140\*) Amphorisque f. r. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. 30036. - *ARV*² 1173, 1: P. d'Heimarméné; *Add*² 339. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - Aphrodite persuade Hélène, H. (inscr. fr.) tient Pâris par l'épaule et le bras dr.; → Nemesis, → Peitho, Heimarmene et deux autres femmes assistent à la scène. Sur l'épaule deux Eroses.

3.\* (= Aphrodite 1429 avec bibl. et renvois) Hydrie f. r. Autrefois Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2633. De Vulci. - *ARV*² 1187, 32: P. de Cadmos; *Para* 167; *Add*² 341. - Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jugement de Pâris (→ Paridis iudicium): H., assis, la tête tournée, et → Pothos (inscr.) sont près d'Aphrodite pendant qu'un Eros persuade Pâris; → Hera, → Athena, → Hermes et autres personnages.

4. (= Aphrodite 1193\* avec bibl.) Hydrie f. r. Florence, Mus. Arch. 81947. De Populonia. - *ARV*² 1312, 2: P. de Meidias; *Para* 477; *Add*² 361; *CVA* 2, pl. 64, 1-2; Simon/Hirmer pl. 217. - Vers 410 av. J.-C. - Sur l'épaule H. et Pothos (inscr.) tirent le char d'Aphrodite: H. tient un thymiatéron, Pothos une couronne et une phiale. Sur la panse H. (inscr.) couronne → Phaon qui joue de la lyre.

5.\* (= Adonis 10\* avec bibl., = Aphrodite 1266) Hydrie f. r. Florence, Mus. Arch. 81948. De Populonia. - *ARV*² 1312, 1: P. de Meidias; *Add*² 361; *CVA* 2, pl. 62, 1. - Vers 410 av. J.-C. - H. (inscr. aujourd'hui effacée) fait tourner l'ynx devant Adonis qu'Aphrodite tient par les épaules; nombreux autres personnages, dont un Eros.

#### Vases italiotes

6. (= Aphrodite 1515, = Hera 475, = Herakles 3340\*) Amphore (restaurée en cratère à volutes) apul. f. r. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. F 3257. De Ceglie. - *RVAp* I 169, 32: associé au P. de la péliké de Moscou. - Vers 350 av. J.-C. - Préparatifs des noces d'Héraclès et → Hebe I: H. (inscr.) debout sur les genoux d'Aphrodite, un Eros vole entre les fiancés.

7. (= Aphrodite 1554\* avec bibl.) Cratère à volutes apul. f. r. Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg. 687 (8100 f). De Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 866, 30 pl. 326, 3: P. de Baltimore. - Vers 320 av. J.-C. - Partage d'Adonis entre Aphrodite et Perséphone: H. (inscr.), qui tient une oenochoé, une phiale et la roue iynx, est debout près d'Aphrodite; → Zeus, Hermès, Adonis, → Persephone.

### B. Sans contexte défini

#### Vases attiques

8. (= Aphrodite 1255\* avec bibl., = Eros 1007) Pinax f. n. fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 15131. De l'Acropole. - Greifenhagen 39 fig. 29; Lacroix, L., *Etudes d'archéologie numismatique* (1974) 31 pl. 2, 1; Vermeule, o. c. I, 152 fig. 5. - 560-550 av. J.-C. - Aphrodite tient dans ses bras les petits H. (inscr.) et Eros (inscr. fr.), tous deux aptères. N. Breitenstein a pensé retrouver le même thème sur des fragments d'acrotères en terre cuite d'Agrigente (*ActaArch* 16, 1945, 117-120 fig. 4-5, avec étude des monuments comparables).

9. (= Aphrodite 1269\* avec bibl., = Eutychia 3\*) Lécythe aryballisque f. r. Reading, Univ. 52.3.2. -



ARV<sup>2</sup> 1330, 7: P. de Makaria; *Para* 479. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - H. (inscr.; corps blanc) tend une couronne à Aphrodite; Eros, → Makaria, Eutychia.

#### Ronde bosse

10. (= Eros 89) Statues perdues d'Eros, H. et Pothos dans le temple d'Aphrodite à Mégare, sculptées par Scopas. - Paus. 1, 43, 6. - Vers le milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Les trois personnages étaient représentés, semble-t-il, sous un aspect différent.

### III. Himéros associé à d'autres personnages féminins

#### Vases attiques

11.\* Hydrie f.r. Londres, BM E 222. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1033, 66: Polygnotos; *CVA* 6, pl. 90, 5. - 440-430 av. J.-C. - H. (inscr.) assis tient une torche (?) devant Peithô (inscr.).

12.\* Hydrie f.r. Brunswick, Mus. AT 219. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1037, 2: groupe de Polygnotos; *CVA* pl. 23, 4-5. - Vers 430 av. J.-C. - Scène de musique au gynécée: H. (inscr. fr.) attache la sandale d'une femme assise (Aphrodite?); autres personnages féminins, Eros en vol.

13. (= Alkestis 3 avec bibl., = Aphrodite 1114/1262/1517\*, = Harmonia 12, = Hebe 130) Epinétion f.r. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1629 (CC 1528). D'Erétrie. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1250, 34: P. d'Erétrie; *Para* 469; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 354; Simon/Hirmer pl. 216. - Vers 425 av. J.-C. - H. (inscr.) assis, le bras g. appuyé sur un coffret, se retourne vers Hébé (inscr.) en lui tendant une petite amphore; Aphrodite, Eros, Peithô, Koré.

14. (= Aphrodite 1196\*/1272 avec bibl., = Eudaimonia 15\*, = Eunomia 7\*, = Harmonia 15) Pyxis f.r. Londres, BM E 775. D'Erétrie. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1328, 92: manière du P. de Meidias; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 364. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - Aphrodite s'apprête à monter sur son char que tirent Pothos et Hédyllogos, à g. H. (couronne radiée) tend un collier, Eunomia, → Paidia, Harmonia, Kalé, → Hygieia sont figurées dans la scène; tous les personnages sont désignés par des inscr.

15.\* Lécythe aryballisque f.r. Munich, Antikenslg. 2520. - Metzger, *Représentations* 54 n° 35 pl. 5, 1; Lezzi-Hafter, A., *Der Schuwalow-Maler* (1976) 49 n. 193 pl. 172a. c-d. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. (inscr.; corps blanc) poussé sur une balançoire par Paidia (inscr.).

### IV. Himéros dans le cercle dionysiaque

#### Vases attiques

16. (= Dionysos 823 avec bibl., = Ariadne 111\* avec bibl.) Fr. de cratère en calice f.r. Tübingen, Univ. 5439. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1057, 97: groupe de Polygnotos; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 322; *CVA* 4, pl. 18 (lecture de l'inscr.). - 440-430 av. J.-C. - Rencontre de Dionysos et Ariane en présence d'un Silène: H. (inscr.) fait une libation sur la tête de la jeune femme.

17. (= Dionysos 372\* avec bibl.) Cratère à vo-

lutes att. f.r. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1093. De Ruvo. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1184, 1: P. de Cadmos; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 340. - 420-410 av. J.-C. - H. (inscr.) devant Dionysos couché; nombreux autres personnages, dont Eros et Pothos.

18.\* (= Dionysos 835\* avec bibl., = Eros 703) Cratère à volutes att. f.r. Naples, Mus. Naz. H 3240. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1336, 1; 1690. 1704: P. de Pronomos; *Para* 480; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 365-366. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - A: groupe d'acteurs autour de Dionysos et Ariane; H. (inscr.) est accroupi près d'Aphrodite (?) assise sur la kliné de Dionysos, B: Eros avec Dionysos et Ariane.

### COMMENTAIRE

H. est si peu différent d'Eros dans l'iconographie grecque que seule la présence d'une inscription permet de l'identifier avec certitude: il est significatif qu'Antipater de Sidon (*Anth. Pal.* 16, 167, 3) désigne comme H. la statue de Thespies généralement connue sous le nom d'Eros. On ignore si Scopas, dans le groupe de Mégare (10), avait cherché à définir le dieu du désir par une attitude ou un trait particulier, comme il l'avait fait pour Pothos.

Cette similitude entre H. et Eros est déjà clairement exprimée sur le pinax de l'Acropole (8) qui indique qu'avant le milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. une version opposée à celle d'Hésiode considérait les deux personnages comme les enfants d'Aphrodite. Il est difficile de dire pourquoi les peintres attiques ou, plus rarement, italiotes ont choisi d'inscrire le nom d'H. à côté de tel ou tel «Eros»: on remarquera seulement que cette désignation se justifie bien dans la scène de séduction de Pâris (2), sur les images qui exaltent les amants d'Aphrodite, Phaon (4) et Adonis (5, 7), ou encore dans la rencontre entre Dionysos et Ariane (16). La scène la plus originale est celle du lécythe aryballisque de Munich (15) qui montre H. poussé sur une balançoire par Paidia, l'Enfance: dans l'ensemble de l'iconographie d'Eros un seul vase est vraiment comparable (Eros 764), mais c'est la femme qui est poussée par le jeune dieu sur la balançoire.

Les variations sur les différentes formes de l'amour (H., Pothos, Hédyllogos à côté d'Eros), qui ont inspiré les peintres attiques du V<sup>e</sup> s., ne sont sans doute pas tombées en complète désuétude après l'époque classique, mais l'absence d'inscription ne permet plus d'identifier alors une seule image d'H.

ANTOINE HERMARY

HIPIALTES → Ephialtes II 3 = Gigantes 170

### HIPPAICHMOS

(Ἰππαίχμος, Ἰπαιχμός) Guerrier grec représenté sur certains documents figurés.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Leonard, F., *RE* VIII 2 (1913) 1651 s. v. «Hippaichmos»; Roscher, W. H., *ML* I 2 (1884-86) 2662 s. v. «Hippaichmos»; Scichilone, G., *EAA* IV (1961) 36-37 s. v. «Hippaichmos».

1.\* (= Briakchos 2 [face B], = Erophyllis 1 [face B]) Amphore attique f.r. Londres, BM E 253. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 35, 2; 1625: proche du P. d'Euergetes; *CVA* 3 pl. 2 (167), 1a; Hoppin, J. C., *Euthymides and his Fellows* (1917) 142-143 pl. 37. - 520-500 av. J.-C. - A: au centre, le guerrier H. (inscr.) marche vers la g. (casque, chiton court, lance, bouclier avec lion en épissime, cnémides) en tenant de la main dr. la longe d'un cheval. Sur la g., lui faisant face, une figure en costume scythe, un arc à la main: l'Amazone (?) → Seragye (inscr.).

2.\* Frs. de coupe attique f.r. (avec certaines figures en relief) Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr 102. D'Athènes, Acropole. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1625: probablement du P. d'Euergetes; Graef/Langlotz II 9 n° 102 pl. 5; Kopcke, G., *AA* 1969, 545-546 fig. 1; Boardman, *ARFV* 160 fig. 100. - 515-500 av. J.-C. - Ext.: frs. de trois chevaux en relief conduits par H. (inscr.), une lance sur l'épaule. La figure est brisée.

La scène figurée sur les deux vases 1. 2 fait peut-être référence à un épisode perdu de la légende, bien que le nom du guerrier «qui combat à cheval» nous oriente plutôt vers une invention d'un peintre proche du P. d'Euergetes, ou de lui-même, fondée sur l'étymologie.

JEAN-ROBERT GISLER

### HIPPAIOS

(Ἰππαιος) Satyrname (→ Silenos, Silenoi) in einer Vaseninschrift, der auch als Männername bezeugt ist. Er weist auf die Pferdeattribute der Satyrn.

1.\* (= Anties 1, = Chora 1 mit Lit. und Beschreibung, = Dason 1, = Dorkis 1) Amphora, chalkidisch. Leiden, Rijksmus. 1626. Aus Vulci. - Fränkel, *Namen* 7. 82 Nr. A. - Paarweiser Tanz von sechs Satyrn und sechs Mänaden. H. (ἸΠΠΑΙΟΣ) tanzt mit → Klyto.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

### HIPPALEKTRYON

(Ἰππαλεκτρυών) A fabulous beast, with the fore part of a horse and the rear part of a cock. It plays no recorded role in mythology.

LITERARY SOURCES: The earliest mention of the H. is in Aischyl. *Myrmidones* (TrGF III F 134), where

it is called *xouthos* and was painted on a ship set on fire by the Trojans. There then follow a series of references in the comedies of Aristophanes (*Pax* 1177; *Aves* 800; *Ranae* 932, 937), who ridicules the creature for its long name and its ungainly gait. In the passage in the *Ranae* the H. is classed by Euripides with other mixed monsters, such as the goat-stag, which appears on Persian hangings. Few of the scholiasts or lexicographers add much of value, except the scholiast on the *Ranae* where the H. is called a marine monster that was painted on ships and shields.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alföldi, A., *Jb. Schweiz. Ges. f. Ur- u. Frühgesch.* 40, 1949/50, 17-34 (esp. 25-29); v. Bothmer, D., *BullMMA* 11, 1953, 132-136; Camporeale, G., *ArchClass* 19, 1967, 248-268; Coldstream, J. N., «The Knossian Protohippalektryon», in *Festschr. N. Himmelmann* (1989) 23-26; Dörig, J., *MusHelv* 40, 1983, 140-153; Gamurrini, G. F., *Adl* 46, 1874, 236-243; Hampe, R./Simon, E., *Griechisches Leben im Spiegel der Kunst* (1959) 13; Jucker, I., *Aus der Antikensammlung des Bernischen Historischen Museums* (1970) 86; Lamer, H., *RE* VIII 2 (1913) 1651-1656 s. v. «Hippalektryon»; Perdrizet, P., *REA* 6, 1904, 7-30; Rohde, E., *AA* 1955, 112-119; Schauenburg, K., *MededRome* 41 (1979) 26 n. 35; idem, *AA* 1981, 338; Scichilone, G., *EAA* IV (1961) 37-38 s. v. «Hippalektryon».

### CATALOGUE

#### A. Hippalektryon alone

##### a) Horse-cock

#### GREEK

##### Vases

1.\* Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. 37. From Aigina. - *ABV* 99, 58; 684: Tyrrhenian Group; *Para* 38: Kyllenios P. (Bothmer); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 26; Perdrizet pl. 1, 5 (detail) and p. 26 fig. 6; Bothmer 135 middle (detail); Camporeale pl. 57, 1. - About 570-550 B. C. - Two Hs. on either side of a palmette complex.

2. Kantharos, Boeotian superposed colour. Mainz, Univ. 60. - Hampe/Simon, 13; *CVA* 1 pl. 33, 2. - About 550 B. C. - H. on one side only.

3. Bowl, Boeotian bf. Zürich market. - Schauenburg 340 fig. 16. - About 550 B. C. - Two Hs. on either side of a palmette complex.

4. Amphora, Attic bf. Once Ciaia coll. From near Chiusi. - Gamurrini 243 (description only). - Late 6th cent. B. C. (?) - H. as shield-device.

5.\* Column-krater fr., Attic rf. Centre Island (N.Y.), private coll. - Tyszkiewicz P. (Bothmer). - About 480 B. C. - H. as shield-device of Athena, who holds an oinochoe: on l., Herakles with phiale; on r., Hermes.

#### Glyptic

6. Chalcedony scarab, Greek. Nicosia, Cyprus Mus. D. 58. - Boardman, *AGGems* 154 no. 583, pl. 37 (cf. also no. 584). - About 500 B. C. - H. in flight, with one wing lowered.

#### Relief: metal

7. Bronze relief strip, Corintho-Boeotian (?). London, BM 1902.12-17.5 (part). From Eleutherae. -



Payne, NC 229 fig. 104c; Perdrizet pl. 1, 1; Alföldi pl. 5, 5; Dörig 153 fig. 9. - About 500-480 B.C. - Two pairs of Hs. flanking floral complexes.

8. Lead token, Greek. Athens, Num. Mus. - *Mon-Inst* 8, 1868, pl. 52 no. 458. - 3rd-2nd cent. B.C. - H. in relief; dolphin, rider or letter above (?). Cf. also *ibid* no. 446 which may be Pegasus or H. For dating see *Agora* X, 76-85.

9.\* Silver (?) ring, Greek? (photo in Brit. School Athens). - Boardman, *AGGems* 76 n. 31. - About 500 B.C. (?) - H. intaglio to l., no cock's legs.

10.\* Bronze ring, Greek. Delphi, Mus. 8920. From Mavrolithari. - *ArchDelt* 27, 1972, pl. 317a. - About 500 B.C. (?) - H. intaglio to l.

#### In the round: metal

11.\* Pair of gold earrings, Greek. Athens, NM Stathatos 282-283. From Spata (Attica). - Amandry, P., *Coll. Hélène Stathatos: Les bijoux antiques* (1953) pl. 52; Miller, S. G., *Two Groups of Thessalian Gold* (1979) pl. 3c; Higgins, R. A., *Greek and Roman Jewellery*<sup>2</sup> (1980) 125. - About 500 B.C. - H. above leech-shaped element on both earrings.

#### ETRUSCAN

##### Glyptic

11a) Carnelian gem. Leningrad, Hermitage J. 712. - Neverov, O. J., *StEtr* 49, 1981, 17 pl. 6, 4; *Welt der Etrusker* (Berlin 1988) 374 no. 62. - About 500 B.C. - H. in intaglio to l.

##### Coins

11b) AR. Volterra Mus. inv. 111021-5 and 83099/20-31. From Volterra. - Cristofani Martelli, M., in *Contributi introduttivi allo studio della Monetazione etrusca* (1976) 87-104 pls. 9-10, nos. 14-28; Melis, F., in Cristofani, M. (ed.), *Civiltà degli etruschi* (1985) 239-40 no. 8.13.9. - 500-450 B.C. - H. to l.

11c) AR. Volterra Mus. inv. 111019-20 and 83099/19. From Volterra. - Cristofani Martelli, o.c. 11b, 87-104 pl. 10, nos. 31-33; Melis, o.c. 11b, 239-240 no. 8.13.10. - 500-450 B.C. - H. to r.

#### In the round: metal

12.\* Bronze chariot attachment (?). Florence, Mus. Arch. 82847. From Etruria. - Camporeale pl. 69, 5. - About 500-480 B.C. - No cock's legs, as a result perhaps of the construction of the piece.

13.\* Bronze stamnos or hydria handle. Paris, Cab. Méd. BB 1458. - Camporeale pl. 69, 3; Adam, A.-M., *Bronzes étrusques et italiques* (1984) 12 no. 14. - About 500-450 B.C. - H. at either end.

14.\* Bronze stamnos or hydria handles (pair). Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 3244. - Camporeale pl. 69, 1. - About 500-450 B.C. - H. at either end.

15.\* Bronze stamnos or hydria handles (pair). Bern, Hist. Mus. 12092/93. - Jucker pl. 54 no. 145 and pl. 1 (detail). - About 450 B.C. - H. at either end.

16.\* Bronze situla handle. New York, MMA 55.11.2. - About 500-450 B.C. - H. at either end.

17. Bronze situla handle. Aléria, Carcopino Mus. 67/367. From Aléria, Tomb 90. - Jehasse, J./L., *La*

*nécropole préromaine d'Aléria* (1973) pl. 153 no. 1803. - H. at either end.

18. Bronze situla handle. Bologna, Mus. Civ. From near Bazzano. - Guarducci, M., *StEtr* 10, 1936, 27 pl. 8, 6. - About 500-450 B.C. - H. at either end.

19. Bronze situla handle. London Market. - *Christie's, Fine Antiquities* 13 July 1983, no. 186. - About 500-450 B.C. - H. at either end.

20. (= Kaineus 65\* with bibl.) Bronze helmet appliqué. Copenhagen, Glypt. H. 229. From Orvieto. - Camporeale pl. 69, 2; Laufer, E., *Kaineus* (1985) pl. 14 fig. 44. - About 450 B.C. - Two Hs. below a group of Kaineus and two centaurs.

21. Bronze helmet appliqué. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Todi. - *MonAnt* 24, 1918, 848 fig. 2; Guarducci, o.c. 18, pl. 8, 9. - About 450 B.C. - H. with one head and two bodies (splayed).

#### ROMAN

##### Glyptic

22. Carnelian gem. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 2151. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no. 2151. - 1st cent. A.D. - H. without horse's legs.

23. White glass paste. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 2152. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no. 2152. - 1st cent. A.D. - As 22.

24.\* Dark brown glass paste. Munich, Münzslg. - *AGD* 12 no. 1907 pl. 171. - 1st cent. A.D. - As 22, but with a victory palm.

#### b) Pegasus-cock

##### GREEK

##### Vases

25.\* Cup, Attic bf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. 110338. From Taranto. - *Para* 25, 99 *ter*: C P.; Brijder, *Siana* I pl. 46b, no. 233; Malibu P. - About 560 B.C.

26. Cup, Attic bf. Geneva market (Christie's). Said to be from Taranto. - Brijder, *Siana* I pl. 41e, no. 227; Malibu P. - About 560 B.C.

##### Glyptic

27. Rock crystal scarab, Greek. Boston, MFA 01.7584. - Boardman, *AGGems* pl. 11 no. 152. - About 520-500 B.C.

28. Cornelian scarab, Greek. Rome, Villa Giulia 44. - Zazoff, *AG* pl. 25, 10. - About 500 B.C.

##### Relief: metal

29. Gold ring, Western Greek (?). London, BM 1926.6-17.2. - Marshall, *BM Finger Rings* no. 33; Perdrizet pl. 1, 3-4; Boardman, J., *AntK* 10, 1967, pl. 6 no. H.1. - About 500-450 B.C.

30. AR stater, Lycian (?) or Carian. - *Visitor Reports* (Oxford, Ashm. Mus.) 1965, pl. 12, 4. - About 500-480 B.C. - Rev.: P.-c.; obv.: Herakles (?).

#### In the round

31.\* Faience aryballos in the form of a P.-c., Rhodian, Paris, Louvre E 11736. - Webb, V., *Archaic Greek Faience* (1978) pl. 21 no. 884. - About 550-525 B.C.

#### ETRUSCAN

##### Glyptic

32. Cornelian scarab. London, BM 1772.3-15.414. - Walters, *BMGems* no. 716; Perdrizet pl. 1, 2; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 732. - About 350 B.C.

#### c) Pegasus-bird

##### GREEK

##### Vases

33.\* Aryballos, Corinthian bf. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. 335. - Payne, NC no. 855; *AA* 1936, 356-357 fig. 11; Dörig pl. 3. - About 580-570 B.C. - P.-b. and horseman.

34.\* Aryballos, Corinthian bf. Heidelberg, Univ. 92. - *CVA* 1, pl. 13, 5-6. - About 580-570 B.C. - P.-b. and man.

##### Relief: stone

35. Relief above a marble decree honouring a man from Lampsacus. Epidauros Mus. From Epidauros. - Cavvadias, P., *Fouilles d'Epidaure* I (1891) 111 no. 274 (text only); Dörig 152 fig. 8. - 4th cent. B.C.

#### In the round

36. Faience aryballos in the form of a P.-c., Rhodian. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. I 562. From Lindos. - *Lindos* pl. 58 no. 1329. - About 550-525 B.C.

#### ETRUSCAN

37.\* Bronze ring. Vatican. - Camporeale pl. 69, 4. - About 500 B.C. (?)

#### d) Horse-bird

##### GREEK

##### Vases

38. Alabastron, Corinthian bf. Warsaw, Nat. Mus. 199236. - *CVA* 2, III C pl. 27. - About 610-600 B.C. - Two H.-bs.

39. Alabastron, Boeotian bf. London, BM 1894.10-31.1 [stolen]. - Payne NC 202 no. 4; *ABV* 23 top: Horse-bird Group; Dörig pl. 2. - About 580-570 B.C. - H.-b. and Potnia Theron with swans.

40.\* Alabastron, Boeotian bf. Paris, Louvre L. 25. - *CVA* 17 pl. 20 (1143), 3-5: Horse-bird Group. - About 580-570 B.C. - Two H.-bs.

#### In the round

41. Askos in the form of a H.-b., Cretan. Heraklion Mus., Teke tomb Q 115. - Coldstream pl. 4, 3-6. - About 850-800 B.C. - Horse's head, relief sickle-shaped wing on bird-like body, miniature rider in front of handle, oinochoe on end of tail.

42.\* Faience aryballos in the form of a H.-b. Private coll. - *MuM* Auktion 26, 1963, no. 71; *Classical Art* (Emmerich Gallery 1977) no. 27. - About 550-500 B.C.

#### ETRUSCAN

43. Neck-amphora, bf. Turin, Mus. Ant. 4652. - *CVA* 2 pl. 1 (1817), 1-2; Dörig pl. 5, 2; Spivey, N. J., *The Micali Painter and his Followers* (1987) 39 no. 7: Or-

betello Group. - About 500 B.C. - Four H.-bs in body zone (lioness on neck).

#### B. Hippalektryon with rider

##### a) Poseidon (?)

##### GREEK

##### Attic bf. vases

44.\* Kyathos. Lugano, private. - *MuM* Auktion 18, 1958, no. 101; Dörig pl. 4. - About 500-490 B.C. - Between eyes, draped bearded man with trident riding H. to r., branches in the background; either side of handle, dancing satyr.

45.\* Lekythos. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. V.I. 4774. From Kara (Attica). - Neugebauer, *Führer Berlin* II 49. - About 500-480 B.C. - Man with trident and dolphin riding H., two dolphins below; on either side, a woman and an «old man of the sea».

46.\* Lekythos. Leyden, Rijksmus. 1960/7,1. - Dörig pl. 5, 1; *CVA* 2 pl. 90 (184), 1-3: Class of Athens 581, near the Marathon P. - About 500-480 B.C. - Draped, bearded man riding H. to r., branches in the background, two dolphins below; on l. and r., a woman.

47.\* Lekythos. Paris, Louvre CA 1928 (on deposit in Bordeaux, Mus. d'Aquitaine). - *ABV* 553, 391: manner of the Haimon P.; Bothmer 134 bottom; Camporeale pl. 67, 1. - About 500-480 B.C. - Draped, bearded man riding H. to r., branches in the background; on l. and r., a woman.

48. Lekythos, Attic bf. German private coll. - Hornbostel, W., *Aus der Glanzzeit Athens* (1986) no. 28. - About 500-480 B.C. - Draped, bearded male riding H. to l., branches in the background; on the l. and r. a woman.

##### b) Warrior

##### GREEK

##### Attic bf. vases

49.\* Lip-cup. Paris, Louvre C. 10277. - Schauenburg 339 fig. 12. - About 550-530 B.C. - Tondo, young warrior wearing crested helmet and with spear riding H. to r.

50.\* Neck-amphora (Nikosthenic). Paris, Louvre F 100. From Cerveteri (?). - *ABV* 216, 2: P. N; *Para* 104; Camporeale pl. 58, 1; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 150. - About 540-530 B.C. - Neck, young warrior wearing crested helmet, chiton and cloak riding H. to r. (other side of 61).

51. Cup (bilingual eye). Tampa Mus. (Florida). - Murray, S. P., *Collecting the Past. Antiquities from the Joseph Veach Noble collection* (Tampa, Florida 1985) no. 52. - About 530-520 B.C. - Tondo (bf.), warrior in helmet, short chiton, greaves with spear and shield, standing on H. to r., turning back l.

##### Terracotta statuette

52.\* Boeotian. Paris, Louvre CA 1792. From Thebes. - Bothmer 135 bottom; Mollard-Besques I no. B 108; Higgins, R. A., *Greek Terracottas* (1967) pl. 33a; Camporeale pls. 67, 2; 68, 3. - About 500-470 B.C. - Naked youth wearing crested helmet riding H.

## c) Unidentified rider

## GREEK

## Attic bf. vases

53.\* Cup (Siana). Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (formerly Fogg) 1954.142 (3.1909). - *ABV* 75, 5: related to the Griffin-Bird P.; *CVA* pl. 9, 4; *Camporeale* pl. 60, 2; Bakir, G., in *Tainia, Festschr. R. Hampe* (1980) pl. 19, 4: P. of Erlangen J 230. - About 560-550 B.C. - Tondo, naked youth riding H. to l.

54. Skyphos. Athens, Agora P. 1000. From the Agora. - *Camporeale* pl. 65, 3; *Agora XXIII* pl. 100 no. 1476. - About 550-540 B.C. - Both sides, youth in short chiton riding H. to r. with a draped youth on either side.

55. Lip-cup. Mississippi, Univ. 1977.3.241. From Chiusi. - *ABV* 184, 2: Xenokles P.; *CVA* Robinson coll. 1 pl. 21 (154), 2; Bothmer 134 top; *Camporeale* pl. 65, 2. - About 550-530 B.C. - Tondo, youth in short chiton with spear riding H. to r.

56.\* Lip-cup. New York, MMA 51.11.11. - Bothmer 132, 133; *Camporeale* pl. 61, 1. - About 550-530 B.C. - Tondo, naked youth riding H. to r.

57.\* Lip-cup. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 1770. From Cerveteri. - *ABV* 184, 3: Xenokles P.; *Add* 51; *Camporeale* pl. 61, 2. - About 550-530 B.C. - Tondo, naked youth riding H. to r. (he looks back to l.).

58.\* Lip-cup. New York, private. - *MuM* Auktion 18, 1958, pl. 23 no. 88: near the Ready P. (Beazley). - About 550-530 B.C. - Tondo, youth in white chiton riding H. to r.

59.\* Lip-cup. Altenburg 223. - Rohde 117-118 fig. 16; *CVA* 1, pl. 37, 2. - About 550-530 B.C. - Tondo, youth in chiton riding H. to r.

60. Lip-cup fr. Boston, MFA L.168.1970. - About 550-530 B.C. - Naked male riding H. to r.

61.\* Neck-amphora (Nikosthenic). Paris, Louvre F 100. From Cerveteri (?). - *ABV* 216, 2: P. N.; *Add* 57; *Camporeale* pl. 59, 1. - About 540-530 B.C. - Neck, youth in petasos and cloak riding h. to r. (other side of 50).

62.\* Neck-amphora (Nikosthenic). Paris, Louvre F 104. - *ABV* 222, 58: P. N.; *CVA* 4 pl. 34 (200), 2, 6; *Camporeale* pl. 59, 2. - About 530 B.C. - Shoulder zone, youth riding H. to r., between sirens (both sides).

63.\* Eye-cup. Paris, Louvre F 141. From Vulci. - *CVA* 10 pls. 103 (738), 9; 104 (739), 1. 4. - About 520-510 B.C. - Between eyes on both sides, naked youth riding H. to r.

64.\* Eye-cup. London, BM 1836.2-24.65. From Vulci. - Walters, *BMVases* B 433; *CVA* 2 pl. 22 (80), 1; *Camporeale* pl. 63. - About 520-500 B.C. - Between eyes on both sides, bearded man in white chiton and cloak with spear riding H. to r.

65. Eye-cup. Paris, Petit Palais 314. From Vulci. - *CVA* pl. 10 (650), 7-9; *Camporeale* pl. 62. - About 520-500 B.C. - Between eyes on both sides, youth in 'Thracian' cloak with spear riding H. to r.

66.\* Eye-cup. Jacksonville, Cummer Art Gall. AP.66.28. - *SouthernColls* no. 64. - About 520-500

B.C. - Between eyes on one side, naked youth riding H. to r.

67.\* Stand. Gotha ZV 3294. - Rohde 115 fig. 14; *CVA* 1 pl. 29, 5. - About 520-500 B.C. - Naked (?) youth riding H. to l.

68.\* Stand. Brauron Mus. 577 (A 15). From Brauron, small temple. - Kahil, L., *AntK* Beih. 1 (1963) pl. 3, 3. - About 520-500 B.C. - Youth in short chiton riding H. to l.

69. Skyphos. Germany, private coll. - Rohde 113-114 figs. 12-13. - About 520-500 B.C. - Both sides, bearded man in white chiton and cloak riding H. to r.

70. Hydria (kalpis) fr. Florence, Mus. Arch. 4212. From Etruria. - Bothmer 135 top; *Camporeale* pl. 58, 2. - About 520-500 B.C. - Youth in 'Thracian' cloak riding H. to l.

71. Lekanis lid fr. Athens, Kerameikos Mus. From the Kerameikos. - Schauenburg 339 fig. 15. - About 520-500 B.C. - Figure in cloak riding H. to r. (no spear).

72.\* Lekanis lid fr. Centre Island (N.Y.), private coll. - About 520-500 B.C. - Youth in a short chiton riding H. to l. (part of a frieze of animals including a sphinx).

73. Neck-amphora. Munich, Antikenslg. 1619. From Vulci. - *ABV* 483, 1: Dot-Band Class, recalls the Michigan P.; *Add* 122; *CVA* 9 pl. 32, 1. - About 510 B.C. - On one side, youth in white chiton with spear riding H. to r.

74. Amphora. Nauplion Mus., Glymenopoulos 90. - Kahil, *o.c.* 68, 10 (mention only). - Late 6th cent. B.C. (?).

75.\* Kyathos. Compiègne, Mus. Vivenel 1073. From Vulci. - *ABV* 295, 2: near Psiak; *Add* 77; *CVA* pls. 7 (105), 6-7; 9 (109), 1. - About 510-500 B.C. - On either side of handle, youth in a white chiton riding H. (between the eyes, a woman running).

76. Lekythos. Athens, NM 494. From Phaleron. - *ABV* 468, 46: Cock Group; *Camporeale* pls. 65, 64, 1; Dörig pl. 6. - About 500-490 B.C. - Naked bearded man with two spears riding H. to l., on either side a youth with a spear.

77. Neck-amphora. Thebes Mus. R.18.69. From Rhitsona. - *ABV* 591, 2; *BSA* 14, 1907-08, pl. 13d; *Camporeale* pl. 68, 1. - About 500-480 B.C. - On both sides, youth in 'Thracian' cloak riding H. to r.

78. Lekythos. Mytilene. - Beazley, J. D., Manuscript *Paralipomena* 529: manner of the Haimon P. - About 500-480 B.C. - Youth riding H., on either side a woman.

## In the round: stone

79.\* Marble sculpture, Attic. Athens, Acropolis Mus. 597. From the Acropolis. - Payne, H./Mackworth Young, G., *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (1936) 74 pl. 136, 2-3; Schuchhardt, W.-H., in Schrader, H. (ed.), *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (1939) 239-240 pl. 146 no. 319; Brouskari, *CatAcr* 82 pls. 158-159; *Camporeale* pl. 66; Dörig pl. 7. - About 510-500 B.C. - Naked youth (?)

riding H. with wings outspread; small support at front in the form of a flat, painted Ionic capital.

## ETRUSCAN

80. Gold bulla. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. From Tarquinia. - *MA* 36, 1937, 356 fig. 92. - About 520-500 B.C. - Naked, long-haired youth riding an H. to l. (no horse's legs).

81.\* Gold ring, Etruscan or West Greek. New York, MMA 95.15.313 (stolen). - Bothmer 136; Richter, *MetMusGems* no. 30; Boardman, J., *AntK* 10, 1967, 25 no. M 6. - About 520-500 B.C. - Naked youth (?) riding H. to l.

## d) Amor

## ROMAN

82. (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 359\*) Glass paste (dark violet). Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. XI.B.326. - *AGOe* II no. 602 pl. 7. - 1st cent. B.C./1st cent. A.D. - Amor riding H. to l. (no horse's legs).

## C. Cock with rider

## GREEK

## Attic rf. vases

83. Plate. New York 1981.11.10. From Vulci. - *ARV* 2 77, 92: Epiktetos; *Add* 169; *CVA* Castle Asby pl. 41, 3. - About 520-510 B.C. - Boy riding a cock to l.

84. Oinochoe (chous). Istanbul, Arch. Mus. 2493. - van Hoorn, G., *Choes and Anthesteria* (1951) 133 no. 560 fig. 348. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - Boy riding a cock to r., towards a seated girl holding a bunch of grapes.

## COMMENTARY

The earliest type of H. was perhaps the Horse-bird, the first example of which in Greek art is the remarkable 9th-cent. askos from Knossos (41). The next occurrence of the H.-b. is painted on the Early Corinthian alabastron in Warsaw (38). It is related to the horse protomes also seen on Early Corinthian vases (cf. e.g. London, BM 1936.12-30.3), but here tail feathers have been clearly indicated. It was imitated by the Boeotian painter of the Horse-bird Group (39, 40), although the horse's front legs are now omitted as well as the bird's (for the Corinthian connection of the Horse-bird Group see most recently Kilinski II, K., in *Corinthiaca. Studies in Honor of D. A. Amyx* (1986) 127-133).

The first proper H., that is one with the fore part of a horse, including its front legs, and the rear part of a cock, including its legs and distinctive high-curving pair of feathers above the tail, appears on the amphora in Bonn of the Tyrrhenian Group (1). This group of Attic vases of the 560s and 550s B.C. also includes representations of other varieties of cock-monsters, such as girl-cocks (see Blatter, R., *AntK* 24, 1981, 68-69), panther-cocks and boar-cocks (e.g. *ABV* 96, 19; 101,

81; 102, 101): iconographic inventiveness making up perhaps for lack of artistic ability. The H., however, became particularly popular from the middle of the 6th cent. and appears on a wide variety of materials and in several different Greek artistic milieux. It also gained considerable favour among Etruscan bronze-smiths in the first half of the 5th cent. (12-21) and appeared on a group of small silver coins from Volterra (11b-c).

It was from the middle of the 6th cent. too that the H. was tamed and ridden. At first the rider has no attributes and is simply a youth, but soon he acquires some of the trappings of the Athenian *hippeis*, sometimes carrying spears, sometimes wearing a 'Thracian' cloak or a petasos. On three Athenian vases and one Boeotian terracotta the rider is equipped as a warrior (49-52). The climax of this series is the sculpture from the Acropolis (79). Here the H.'s wings are spread horizontally and it should perhaps be thought of as being about to take off, the cock's legs still on the ground, the horse's legs pawing the air over a small support in the form of an Ionic capital. The rider appears to be a youth, but has no attributes to aid precise identification. The find-spot of the larger fragment, the south-east corner of the Acropolis, gives no clue to any possible connection with a particular cult, since this area seems to have been used as a dump for a variety of debris after the Persian sack.

At the very end of the 6th cent. and the first decades of the 5th we first find a hint of the marine association mentioned in the literary sources, for on a lekythos in Leyden dolphins are in attendance (46). This association is made explicit on two other vases which depict the rider as → Poseidon with his trident (44, 45 - Dörig has suggested that he might rather be → Okeanos). On two closely related lekythoi (47, 48) the rider seems to be the same, although there is no longer any marine indication (Hornbostel, *o.c.* 48, calls the rider Dionysos, but the branches on these black-figured scenes are ubiquitous).

Around the middle of the 6th cent. a slightly different type of cock-horse also made its appearance, this is the horse-cock with raised wings as well as a cock's tail plumage. This seems really to be a combination of Pegasos with a cock, rather than H. with its wings raised, although the Acropolis sculpture (79, cf. also 6) may have linked the two apparent types, both of which may well, in any case, have been called H. by the Greeks. These Pegasos-cocks appear on a wide variety of materials. The origin of the pieces listed above seem, by and large, to be on the fringes of the Greek world - Etruria, East Greece, Lycia and Magna Graecia - the Attic cups perhaps being examples of some sort of special commission. We have no preserved examples of a Pegasos-cock being ridden, although some appear to have harness or reins (e.g. 25 - reins; 26 - harness). The latest example of the type is the Etruscan scarab in London which is of the 4th cent. B.C. (32).

The appearance of a boy riding a cock (83, 84) might be related to the idea of the ridden H., but it is perhaps more likely that the scene reflects the cock as a love-gift (cf. Robertson, M., *CVA* Castle Asby 26), es-

pecially since the second example dates to the early 4th cent. B. C.

The proper H., whether alone or ridden, seems to have virtually disappeared from the artistic repertoire after about 480 B. C. in mainland Greece, the probable date of the destruction and burial of the Acropolis sculpture, and not long after in Etruria. Furthermore, it is conspicuously absent from the arts of 4th cent. southern Italy. The existence, however, of the 4th cent. Etruscan Pegasos-cock (32) and the proper H. on a lead token of Hellenistic date (8) suggest that the image of the H. was not entirely forgotten in the Classical period, unless the Etruscan gem represents an isolated imitation of an heirloom and the lead token the influence of Hellenistic scholarship on the minor arts.

The reappearance of the H., but without horse's legs, in the Roman world, represented by both ridden (82) and solitary examples (22-24), is probably quite independent of the Greek and Etruscan visual tradition, for these Roman Hs. are really just horse-headed cocks. The form might have been derived from Greek literary sources, but it is also perhaps linked with the so-called gryllos.

The literary sources mention Hs. painted on ships. Such *semeia*, none of which are preserved, were probably painted in the encaustic technique on the hull or sterns of ships (cf. Morrison, J. S./Williams, R. T., *Greek Oared Ships* [1968] 197-198). As for the reference to shield-devices in the form of Hs., this is confirmed by the appearance of two examples on vases, one probably of the 6th cent. (4) and one of the early 5th (5).

A Persian origin for the H. is suggested by the literary sources, which note that the H. appeared on Persian textiles. This origin has been rejected by many scholars, some positing a purely Greek home (e.g. Payne, *o.c.* 79, Bothmer, Scichilone, Camporeale), others an Ionic one (e.g. Perdrizet), and only accepted by a few (Alföldi, Jucker, Dörig). One of the problems with Alföldi's thesis was that he could point to no Iranian example earlier than the Greek versions, but there is now a Luristan bronze axe-head with the head of a horse and the tail of a bird (Los Angeles County Mus.: Jucker 113 n. 146; Dörig pl. 1 with p. 147). The similarly recent appearance of an askos in the form of a H.-b. at Knossos (41), dating to the 9th cent. B. C., confirms early borrowings of such eastern motifs.

The domestic fowl itself is not seen in Greek art, however, until the late 8th cent. B. C. (Athens, Kerameikos 1308-9: *Kerameikos* V, 1, 245 pl. 144), while the earliest representation of a cock-hybrid is of a goat-cock on a Late Protocorinthian alabastron (Paris, Louvre A 439: Payne, *NC* no. 23; *CVA* Louvre 6 pl. 15 (484), 6 with p. 15), dating from the middle of the 7th cent. The simultaneous appearance, shortly before the middle of the 6th cent., of a number of different cock-hybrids in Greek art, including the proper H., strongly points to borrowing from some external source, and textiles are as likely a source as any. Whether such textiles were Persian or not cannot be determined, for the fact that the cock was itself referred to as *ὁ περσικός ὄρνις* or simply *ὁ περσικός* may

have influenced Aristophanes' location of the origins of the textiles. We should be careful, in any case, not to dismiss a rare literary reference to lost textiles of whatever date or origin.

It is the almost immediate taming of the H. by a rider that marks it out from other cock-hybrids and suggests that the Greeks, in particular the Athenians, wished to make it their own. Although it may have been the combination in one creature of a horse, the status symbol of the Athenian upper classes, and a cock, a favourite love-gift exchanged among their members for use in the sport of cock-fighting, that first caught Athenian imaginations, the sculpture from the Acropolis (79), the only marble sculpture of the fanciful beast to survive, suggests that even in the simple form of a naked youth riding the H. there was some religious significance. From about 550 B. C. to 500 B. C. the Athenians do not, however, seem to have developed any specific mythology for the H. and did not attribute its taming to any particular hero, in contrast to the story of Bellerophon which became attached to the winged horse → Pegasos. Thereafter, a brief association was made with Poseidon (44. 45; cf. also 46-48), but this was perhaps not the only one, for the fragment in a Centre Island collection (5) gives → Athena a shield with a device in the form of an H. This association with Athena may have been the result of her role as the tamer of the horse and the apparent link between herself and the cock, as exemplified by the appearance of cocks on the tops of the columns flanking Athena on Panathenaic amphorae. Nevertheless, one might wonder if, when the Athenians finally did come to adopt the H. into their iconography, it was shared by Athena and Poseidon, the horse part perhaps being Poseidon's and the cock part Athena's. Might the Athenians have come to think that Athena gave them the cock, as Poseidon gave them the horse?

DYFRI WILLIAMS

#### HIPPALKMOS → Peliou athla

#### HIPPARIS

(*Ἱππάρης*) Divinità dell'omonimo fiume, prossimo al sito dell'antica Camarina, sulla costa meridionale della Sicilia. Si identifica con l'attuale Ippari o Fiume di Camarina. È ricordato da Pind. *O.* 5, 12.

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Sulla Topografia: Manni, E., *Geografia fisica e politica della Sicilia antica* (1981) 110-111.

#### CATALOGO

##### Monete di Camarina

1. \* AR, didrammi, 415-405 a. C. - Westermarck/Jenkins 197-200, 158-161 tav. 21, 158-161. - D.: Testa di H. di profilo a s. con diadema e piccolo corno sulla fronte; sotto il collo talora *YA* o *EEAKE*. Etnico. R.: Ninfa → Kamarina su cigno. Etnico.

2. \* AR, didrammi. - Westermarck/Jenkins 200-202, 162-163 tavv. 21-22, 162-163. - D.: Busto frontale di H. lievemente di tre quarti, con corno sulla fronte e capelli lunghi; due pesci ai lati del volto. Sul collo *EYAI*. Cornice di onde stilizzate o di perline. - R.: Come 1, due pesci nel campo, *KAMAPINA*.

3. AR, didrammi. - Westermarck/Jenkins 202-204, 164-166 tav. 22, 164-166. - D.: Ninfa Kamarina come 1. Etnico o *KAMAPINA*. R.: Testa di H. a s. con corti capelli e corno sulla fronte, intorno due o tre pesci. *ἹΠΠΑΡΙΣ*.

##### Mosaico

4. Comiso, Ninfeo del Fonte Diana, età tardo-romana. - Pace, B., *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica* (1945) 497 n. 2; 538. - H. quale efebo appoggiato ad una roccia, con canne e vaso da cui versa l'acqua.

#### COMMENTO

Il netto predominio dell'acqua sugli altri elementi, tipico di tutti i culti dell'antichissima Sicilia pregreca, spiega perché molte divinità locali siano apparse come dei fluviali. Il fiume che sgorga dalla terra, irrigando la campagna, viene assunto come compagno ideale per una dea della natura feconda. Tale deve essere stato il ruolo di H. nei confronti di → Kamarina. Il suo nome, che corrisponde a un diminutivo di *ἵππος*, il cavallo, sottolinea la stretta connessione di H. con le acque delle sorgenti e dei fiumi, con una possibile filiazione

dal dio che - come Poseidon - trovava nel cavallo la sua più frequente epifania teriomorfa.

H., la cui identità è resa certa dal nome presente sulle monete 3, viene rappresentato da una testa maschile di profilo a s. (1. 3), adorna di piccole corna, secondo uno schema comune a Naxos per l' → Assinos, a Katane per l' → Amenanos, a Gela per il → Gelas, a Crotona per l' → Aisaros. La sua natura acquatica è esaltata dall'iconografia 2, in cui viene rappresentato con un busto frontale all'interno di una cornice a volute, con due pesci ai lati del volto. Lo schema frontale si ritrova in numerose serie siciliane del penultimo decennio del V sec. a. C., periodo noto come l'epoca dei maestri firmanti. Con due di tali incisori possono identificarsi i nomi di Euai(netos) e di Exake(stidas) che figurano su alcuni dei conii di H.

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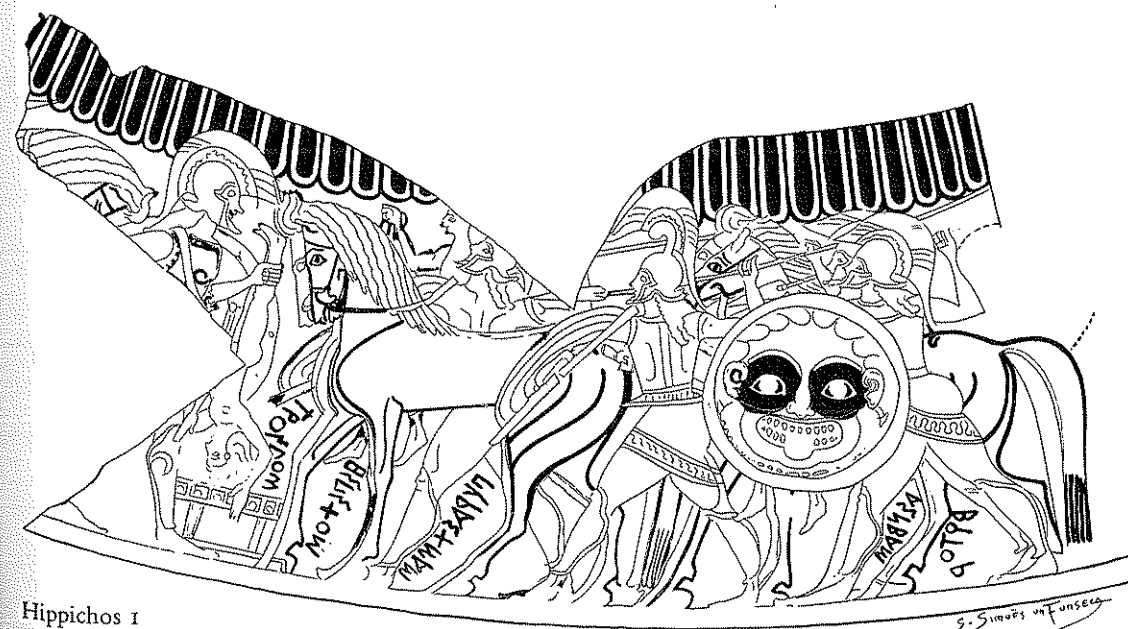
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MARIA CACCAMO CALTABIANO

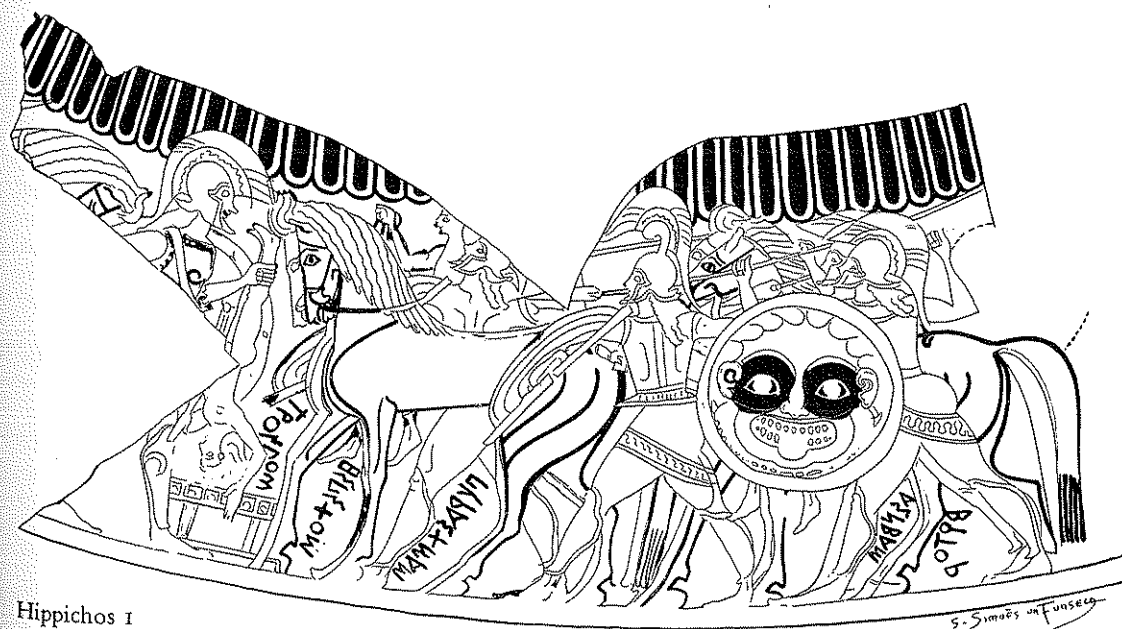
#### HIPPASOS I → Peliou Athla

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#### HIPPICHOS

(Ἱππῖχος) Cavalier troyen figuré sur un vase corinthien dans une scène représentant le meurtre de Troïlos par Achille (→ Achilleus).

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Hippichos I

quatre chevaux. Figuré au second plan, H. arrive le premier. Il est le seul à chevaucher sa monture. Partiellement masqué par → Pyraichmas et les chevaux, il lève le bras dr., tenant les rênes d'une deuxième monture. Ses pieds apparaissent entre les jambes des chevaux. Ses compagnons Pyraichmas, Enée et Hector (tous inscr.) brandissent déjà leur lance en direction d'Achille.

Par son nom, H. symbolise peut-être, pour le peintre de vase, la cavalerie troyenne. Mais comme tous les autres noms inscrits se rapportent au catalogue des Troyens (Hom. *Il.* 2, 816-848), où Hector est cité en tant que chef des Troyens, Enée en tant que chef des Dardaniens et Pyraichmas en tant que chef des Péoniens, on peut être tenté de rapprocher le nom d'H. de celui d'Hippothoos, le chef des «Pélasges habitants de la plantureuse Larisse» mentionné dans le même passage (*Il.* 2, 840).

JEAN-ROBERT GISLER

## HIPPOBATAS, HIPPOSTROPHOS

(ἵπποβάτης, ἵπποστρόφος) Die Wörter bedeuten «Reiter» und «Pferdewender», das zweite im Sinn von «Pferdeführer».

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Außer in der Vaseninschrift auf I ist das Wort ἵπποβάτης noch einmal im Sinn von «Reiter» überliefert (Aischyl. *Pers.* 26) und kommt außerdem in der Zusammensetzung τεθρ-ἵπποβάται im Sinn von «Lenker eines Viergespannes» vor (Hdt. 4, 170, 3-4). Im Gegensatz dazu ist das Wort ἵπποστρόφος nur auf I belegt.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Zur Bedeutung der Reiterei in der Antike: Alföldi, A., in *Festschr. K. Scheffold, AntK* 4. Beih. (1967) 13 ff.; Helbig, W., *Les hippeis athéniens* (1902); Lammert, E., *Neue Jbb* 10 (19), 1907, 610 ff.; idem, *RE* VIII 2 (1913) 1689-1700 s. v. «ἵππεῖς»; Martin, M. A., *Les cavaliers athéniens* (1886); Meyer, E., *Geschichte des Altertums* I (1893) 25 ff.; Petersen, E., *OeJh* 8, 1905, 25 ff. Zur Bedeutung der mit hippo- zusammengesetzten Namen: Curtius, E., *Antike* 3, 1927, 162 ff.; Letronne, M., *RA* 3, 1846, 380-381. Zu weiteren Informationen über die verschiedenen Theorien vgl. Alföldi a. O. 15 Anm. 30. 31. 32.

## KATALOG

1.\* Aryballos, frühkorinthisch sf. Athen, Nat. Mus. 341 (CC 618). Aus Karystos? - Collignon-Couve Nr. 618 Taf. 25; Payne, *NC* 99. 287 Nr. 482 Taf. 3, 1; Alföldi 14 Abb. 1; Lorber, *Inscriften* Nr. 18 Taf. 3; Amyx, *CVP* 556. 558, 7. - 4. Viertel 7. Jh. v. Chr. - Ein bärtiger, nackter Krieger nach r., mit Mäntelchen auf den Schultern und Beinschienen, bewaffnet mit korinthischem Helm, Rundschild und Lanze, folgt einem nackten Jüngling, der auf einem Pferd reitet und ein anderes am Zügel führt. Zwischen den Männern, auf eine Art boustrophedon geschrieben, steht *HIΠOCTPOΦOΣ*, während eine linksläufige

Inscription hinter dem ersten Krieger diesen klar als *HIΠΠOΒATAE* bezeichnet. Beides sind Funktionsbezeichnungen und daher generell als Eigenschaften gemeint. Vor den Pferden stürzt ein Adler auf einen Hasen herab.

## KOMMENTAR

Die attische und korinthische Vasenmalerei ist reich an Reiterdarstellungen in verschiedenen Motiven: schwer- oder leichtbewaffnete, berittene oder einherlaufende Krieger mit einem, zwei oder vielen Pferden. Das Besondere an I ist die Bestimmung der militärischen Eigenschaften der zwei Figuren durch Beischriften, und zwar die Charakterisierung des nicht berittenen Kriegers als Reiter. Die zweite, unbewaffnete Figur kann auch als Mitkämpfer und nicht nur als passiver Diener gelten, und zwar als der Nachfolger des Lenkers des heroischen Kampfwagens, der etwa von der Zeit um 1000 v. Chr. an allmählich abgeschafft wurde. Die ganze Szene erinnert an den Apobatenagon, der wiederum an die Streitwagentaktik erinnert, wo der Kämpfer vom Wagen abstieg, während der Lenker weiterlenkte. Zu beachten ist, daß der *hippostrophos* ein zweites Pferd am Zügel hält, das nur als Pferd des schon abgestiegenen Kriegers verstanden werden kann.

CHRISTINA TRAYTORAKI

## HIPPODAME → Hippodameia I

## HIPPODAMEIA I

(Ἰπποδάμεια, Ἰπποδάμη, Hippodamia, Hippodame[a]) Daughter of → Oinomaos and → Sterope (or Eurythoe or Euarete). Her father wishing to prevent her marrying, either because an oracle had predicted that he would be killed by his son-in-law or because he was in love with her himself, had agreed to give her only to the man who would defeat him in a chariot-race from Pisa to the Isthmus of Corinth. The suitors would leave first with H., and Oinomaos who possessed invincible horses, a present from his father → Ares, always overtook and killed them with his spear. Many had died thus until the arrival of → Pelops. With his magic horses, a present from → Poseidon, or by bribing → Myrtilos, Oinomaos' charioteer (→ Oinomaos), to remove the lynch-pins from his master's chariot-wheels or to replace them with wax pins, Pelops defeated Oinomaos who was killed, murdered Myrtilos and married H. They had several children including → Atreus, → Thyestes, → Alkathoos and, according to one tradition, → Chrysippos (I). Another tradition makes Chrysippos the son of Pelops and the

nymph Axioche. Jealous of Pelops' preference for Chrysippos, H. persuaded Atreus and Thyestes to kill him. When Pelops discovered her deed she fled to Midea in the Argolid or killed herself.

There was a hero-cult of H. at Olympia; women sacrificed annually in her honour at the Hippodameion, an open enclosure. She was believed to have founded the festival of the *Heraia* in memory of her marriage to Pelops.

LITERARY SOURCES: The story was probably told in the lost *Ehoiai*, ascribed to Hesiod, which had a list of the dead suitors (*fig.* 259a Merkelbach/West: thirteen suitors according to *Schol. Pind. O.* 1, 127b, sixteen according to Paus. 6, 21, 10-11, probably not referring to the same source). Epimenides (*FGrH* 457 F 14) also listed thirteen suitors. The earliest preserved literary source is Pind. *O.* 1, 67-96, who attributes Pelops' victory to the gold chariot and winged horses that he received from Poseidon. He gives no detail of the race and does not mention Myrtilos' sabotage which is otherwise a constant theme of the story already found in the 5th-cent. historian Pherekydes (*FGrH* 3 F 37a). Both Soph. (*TrGFIV* F 471-477) and Eur. (*TGF<sup>2</sup> fig.* 571-577) wrote an *Oinomaos* of which little remains and may be responsible for the popularity of the story with 4th-cent. vase-painters. An *Hippodameia* ascribed to Sophokles has sometimes been assimilated to his *Oinomaos* or regarded as a different play (Robert, C., *Oidipus I* [1915] 407; Pearson, A. C., *The Fragments of Sophocles II* [1917] 121; *TrGF IV* p. 380-381). Among comic poets Antiphanes (*CAF II fig.* 172) and Euboulos (*PCG V F* 73) wrote an *Oinomaos* or *Pelops* (*cf.* Athen. 4, 130e; 15, 678f). The story was also treated by the Roman dramatist Accius in his *Oenomaus* (*TRF<sup>3</sup>* p. 232-234). The most detailed accounts of the story are all late: Apollod. *epitome* 2, 3-9; Diod. 4, 73; Hyg. *fab.* 84; Tzetz. *Lykophr.* 156-165; *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.* 1, 752-758. *Cf.* also Nikolaos Damaskenos, *FGrH* 90 F 10; Lukianos *Charid.* 19; Nonn. *Dion.* 20, 154-165; Eust. 183, 13-184, 20 *ad* Hom. *Il.* 2, 104. Apollod. *epitome* 2, 7 and Paus. 8, 14, 11 relate that Myrtilos betrayed Oinomaos because he was in love with H. Paus. *l. c.* has Pelops promise Myrtilos a night with H. (in *Serv. georg.* 3, 7 it is H. herself who makes the promise). Elsewhere Myrtilos is promised half Oinomaos' kingdom (Hyg. *fab.* 84). For a more detailed account of the literary sources see → Oinomaos and → Pelops. For details on Myrtilos' sabotage and his death see → Oinomaos.

H.'s mother is called Sterope in Apollod. *bibl.* 3 (110) 10, 1 and Paus. 5, 10, 6, Eurythoe in Tzetz. *Lykophr.* 157, and Euarete in Hyg. *fab.* 84.

The names and number of the children of Pelops and H. vary. According to Pind. *O.* 1, 89, they had six sons, in *Schol. Eur. Or.* 4 thirteen sons and two daughters. The *schol.* on Pindar's passage give three different lists of names. One includes Chrysippos who was probably H.'s son in the *Chrysippos* of Eur. (*TGF<sup>2</sup> fig.* 839-844; *cf.* Robert, C., *Oidipus I* [1915] 408-410). In another of the three lists and in *Schol. Eur. Or.* 4 he is the son of Pelops by the nymph Axioche. Hellan. (*FGrH* 4 F 157) knew of H.'s part in the killing of

Chrysippos by Atreus and Thyestes. Paus. 6, 20, 7 has her flee to Midea in the Argolid when Pelops discovered her deed. In Hyg. *fab.* 85 and 243, 3 she kills herself.

For the Hippodameion at Olympia and the women's annual festival in honour of H. see Paus. 5, 22, 2 and 6, 20, 7. For H.'s role in the foundation of the *Heraia* see Paus. 5, 16, 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brommer, *Vasenlisten<sup>3</sup>* 539-540; idem, *Denkmälerlisten III* 370-375; Cressedi, G., *EAA IV* (1961) 182-183 s. v. «Ippodamia»; Cultrera, G., *Ausonia* 7, 1912, 116-150; Höfer, O., *ML I 2* (1886-90) 2667-2671 s. v. «Hippodameia I»; Lacroix, L., *BCH* 100, 1976, 327-341, esp. 337-341; Robert, *Heldensage<sup>4</sup>* 1, 206-221; Säflund, M.-L., *The East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 27 (1970) 131-142; Scheffold/Jung, *SB IV* 17-26; Séchan, *Etudes* 447-466; Zwicker, H., *RE VIII* 2 (1913) 1725-1728 s. v. «Hippodameia I».

## CATALOGUE

### A. Hippodameia in non-narrative scenes

1.\* Neck-amphora, Attic rf. Boston, MFA 03.821. From Suessula. - *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1186, 29; Kadmos P.; *Para* 460; Speier, H., *RM* 47, 1932, pl. 15, 1; Caskey/Beazley III 81-83 no. 170 pl. 102, suppl. pl. 27. - About 400 B. C. - *IIΠΠOΔAMH* (inscribed) seated in a garden (wearing a crown, chiton and himation) with other women (Asteria, Iaso, Eurythoe, Eros and Pothos). All figures are named. Hippodame is very probably Hippodameia, Oinomaos' daughter, a famous bride in antiquity.

2. Painting decorating one of the panels of the throne of Zeus in Olympia. Lost work of the painter Panaios. - Paus. 5, 11, 6; Giglioli, G. Q., *MemLinc* ser. 5, 16, 1921, 372; Völcker-Janssen, W., *Boreas* 10, 1987, 21-22. - 3rd quarter of 5th cent. B. C. - H. with her mother Sterope.

3. Bronze statue of H. at the Hippodrome of Olympia. - Lost. - Paus. 6, 20, 19; Bötticher, C., «Das Bild der Hippodameia im Hippodrom zu Olympia», *AZ* 11, 1853, 7-13. - H. holding a ribbon for the victorious Pelops.

### B. Hippodameia at the chariot-race between Pelops and Oinomaos

For fuller lists of all episodes of the race and a complete iconographical study of the story see → Pelops (*cf.* also → Oinomaos). The works listed here are those in which H. is present.

#### a) Hippodameia at Pelops' arrival in Pisa

4.\* (= Aphrodite 1277\*/1520 with *bibl.*) Situla, Apulian rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 18003. - *RVAp I* 212, 149; P. of Athens 1714; Cultrera 117 fig. 1 pls. 2-3; Säflund 132 fig. 86. - About 360 B. C. - Pelops standing before Oinomaos, seated in his palace, in the presence of Myrtilos holding a chariot-wheel and H. leaning on an Ionic column and lifting a corner of her hi-



mation. Above l., Aphrodite reclining and Pothos; above r., horses in a stable. Inscriptions.

5. Amphora, Apulian rf. Bari, De Blasi Cirillo Coll. 15. - *RVAp* II 868, 40 pl. 327: Baltimore P. - Last quarter of 4th cent. B.C. - Pelops standing before H. (seated on throne, crowned), Eros, women, Phrygian youth. Heads of slain suitors suspended between chariot-wheels. Below, Myrtilos in chariot, Oinomaos, Pelops, seated Erinyes.

Similar by the same painter: Loutrophoros, Ruvo, Jatta Mus. 37. - *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 154, 43c pl. 29, 1. - Among women, a woman on throne and a youth in oriental dress (Pelops and H.?). The scene below probably represents Pelops and Myrtilos before the race.

#### b) Hippodameia at the bribing of Myrtilos

6.\* (= Aphrodite 1521 with bibl. and further refs.) Calyx-crater, Apulian rf. London, BM F 271. From Ruvo. - *RVAp* I 415, 5 pl. 147, 2: Lycurgus P.; Séchan, *Etudes* 452 fig. 128; Säflund 134 fig. 89. - About 350 B.C. - In a sanctuary (basin, column surmounted by a tripod) Pelops seated, two women approaching from the l., and Myrtilos holding a chariot-wheel on the r. Above, Pan, seated Aphrodite, Eros and a seated woman (nymph?). The two women are probably H. (crowned, in chiton, himation and sandals) following her nymphetria (Säflund) rather than Sterope walking behind H. (Séchan).

7. Amphora, rf. Lost (?). From Ruvo. - *MonInst* IV pl. 30; Séchan, *Etudes* 452 fig. 127; Säflund 132 fig. 87. - About 340 B.C. - In a sanctuary (basin, altar and column surmounted by a crater) Pelops talks to Myrtilos who is holding a stick and a chariot-wheel. On the r., woman with mantle over her head, probably Sterope or the nymphetria (Säflund) rather than H. (Culttrera 128; Séchan; Floriani Squarciapino, M., *ASAtene* 30-32, 1952-54, 136; Becatti, G., *StudMisc* 18, 1970-71, 72), talking to another woman who is wearing a crown and lifts a corner of her veil, probably H. Above l., two Phrygians; above r., Hermes seated.

8. Bell-crater, Campanian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81444 (H 3227). - *LCS* 402, 281 pl. 157, 3: Group of Naples 3227; Séchan, *Etudes* 453, D; Schauenburg, K., *RM* 65, 1958, 61 n. 139 pl. 39, 1 (with caption of pl. 39, 2). - About 340 B.C. - Pelops seated talks to Myrtilos who is holding a chariot-wheel and carrying another. On the l., H. carrying a wreath and a tray with fruit, Eros.

9.\* (= Aiakos 1, = Amazonas 379, = Ananke 2 with bibl., = Danaides 9 with bibl., = Hades 127, = Herakleidae 10) Volute-crater, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81666 (H 3222). From Altamura. - *RVAp* I 431, 82 pl. 160, 2; Séchan, *Etudes* 453, E; Säflund 134 fig. 88. - About 330 B.C. - Side A: Among other scenes from the Underworld, Myrtilos seated holding a chariot-wheel (another wheel in the background) talks to Pelops in the presence of H. who puts an arm on Myrtilos' shoulder. Inscriptions (poorly preserved).

#### c) Hippodameia at the preparation for the race

10.\* (= Artemis 1441 with further refs., = Gan-

ymedes 72) Bell-crater, Attic rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. H 2200. From Santa Agata dei Goti. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1440, 1: Oinomaos P.; *Para* 492; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 377; Paribeni, E., *EAA* V (1963) 628 s.v. «Oinomaos, Pittore di» (colour plate). - 380-370 B.C. - Pelops and H. setting off in a chariot looking back at Oinomaos who is sacrificing at an altar before a column supporting a statue of Artemis. At the l., a youth leading a ram for sacrifice and a seated youth with spears and shield (Ares?). Above, Myrtilos in Oinomaos' chariot, Poseidon, Athena, Zeus, Ganymede, Aphrodite or Hera. Inscriptions.

11.\* Bell-crater, Lucanian rf. Paris, Louvre K 17. - *LCS* 101, 523; Dolon P.; *ML* III 1, 776-778 no. 3 fig. 3; Séchan, *Etudes* 454 n. 3; Becatti, o.c. 7, pl. 67, 2. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - At an altar H. holding out a phiale for Oinomaos. On the r., Pelops (?).

12.\* (= Aphrodite 1519 with bibl.) Amphora, Apulian rf. London, BM F 331. From Ruvo. - *RVAp* I 338, 5 pl. 109, 2: Varrese P.; Séchan, *Etudes* 453 fig. 129; Säflund 135 figs. 90-91. - About 360 B.C. - Oinomaos and Pelops libating at an altar and an inscribed pillar of Zeus. On the l., H. (wearing a crown and a veil) led by a woman with fan. On the r., Myrtilos carrying a stick and a wreath, Eros and seated Aphrodite. In the background severed heads of suitors hanging. Inscriptions.

13. (= Aphrodite 1522\* with bibl., = Erinyes 106) Volute-crater, Apulian rf. Leningrad, Hermitage 4323. From Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 487, 18 pl. 173, 2: Darius P.; Séchan, *Etudes* 454 fig. 130. - About 340 B.C. - Pelops and H. (crowned, in chiton, himation and veil) joining hands over an altar in the presence of Oinomaos. On the l., Eros and Aphrodite holding a fan. On the r., Myrtilos carrying a ram (chariot-wheel at his feet) and a winged Erinyes leaning on a spear.

14.\* (= Chrysippos 4a, = Erinyes 106a) Volute-crater, Apulian rf. Naples, Private Coll. 370. - *RVAp* II 866, 27 pl. 325, 2: Baltimore P. - Last quarter of 4th cent. B.C. - Pelops and H. (crowned, in chiton and himation) joining hands at an altar in the presence of Oinomaos. At the l., a youth bringing a ram for sacrifice and a winged Erinyes leaning on a spear. At the r., Nike. Severed head and chariot-wheel in the background. Below, chariot, charioteer, men in oriental dress, woman.

15. Imaginary (?) painting described by Philostratus. *im.* 9. - Pelops setting out in his chariot in the presence of H., while Oinomaos sacrifices to Ares, and Eros is cutting the axle of Oinomaos' chariot.

16.\* East pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, figure F or K. Marble. Olympia, Mus. - Paus. 5, 10, 6-7; Floriani Squarciapino, o.c. 7, 131-140; Ashmole, B./Yalouris, N., *Olympia. The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus* (1967); Simon, E., *AM* 83, 1968, 147-166; Säflund; Becatti, o.c. 7, 67-79; Grunauer, P., *OlympBer* 10 (1981) 281-301. - 2nd quarter of 5th cent. B.C. - According to Pausanias' description, Zeus stood in the middle of the pediment between Oinomaos and Sterope, Pelops and Hippodameia. The identification of the two female figures F and K, as well as their locations to the r. or l. of Zeus, are disputed. Floriani Squarciapino, Ashmole, Simon,

Säflund, Kardara (*ArchEph* 1965, 168 ff.), Herrmann (*Olympia* [1972] 136-137), among others, identify K, who is lifting a corner of her veil, with Hippodameia (Säflund places her next to Pelops on the spectator's right of Zeus, the other scholars on the left). Yalouris, Becatti, Dörig (BDFH 133), Grunauer, Fuchs (*Skulptur*<sup>3</sup> 390-391 fig. 432), Schefold (*SB* IV 18-19) and many others identify the pensive F with Hippodameia, which seems more likely, and place her to the spectator's right of Zeus.

H. before the chariot-race appears also, among other scenes of the story, on the sarcophagi 27 (seated, surrounded by women), 36 (seated in a loggia talking to Oinomaos) and Tipasa: *SarkRel* III 3, 393-394 no. 324 pl. 104; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 174 fig. 200 (watching Pelops mount). - Pelops.

#### d) The chariot-race

(i) Pelops and Hippodameia followed by Oinomaos

17. Chest of Kypselos, cedar-wood, gold and ivory. Olympia. Lost. - Paus. 5, 17, 7; v. Massow, W., *AM* 41, 1916, 27-29. - Perhaps mid 6th cent. B.C. - Oinomaos pursuing Pelops and H. Both chariots are bigae; Pelops' has winged horses.

18.\* Volute-crater, Apulian rf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. 127081. From Taranto. - *RVAp* I 169, 29; Forti, L., *BollArte* 52, 1967, 61-66 figs. 1. 12; Moret, *Ilioupersis* pl. 36, 1. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - On the neck, Oinomaos (in Phrygian dress) and Myrtilos in chariot moving l. pursue Pelops and H. (her head and part of her torso are missing).

19.\* (= Archemoros 10 [body], = Herakles 2686 [other side]) Volute-crater, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81394 (H 3255). From Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 496, 42: Darius P.; Séchan, *Etudes* 457 fig. 132; Säflund 138 fig. 94. - About 330 B.C. - On the neck, Oinomaos and Myrtilos (who is about to jump off the chariot) pursue Pelops and H. who is crowned and holds a spear. Both chariots are bigae and are moving r. An Eros flies over Pelops' chariot.

20. (= Erinyes 107\*) Volute-crater, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81667 (H 3256). From Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 495, 40: Darius P.; *ML* III 1, 778 no. 9; 783 fig. 7; Séchan, *Etudes* 456, J; Moret, *Ilioupersis* pl. 81, 2. - About 330 B.C. - On the neck, Oinomaos and Myrtilos in chariot moving r. chase Pelops and H. (wearing a crown and retaining her veil). Over Oinomaos' chariot is a bird carrying a snake, over Pelops' an Eros flying. An Erinyes with torch frightens Oinomaos' horses. Fish below.

21. (= Erinyes 108\*) Amphora, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg. 697. - *RVAp* II 525, 236: Related to the Perrone and Phrixos Groups; Séchan, *Etudes* 457, K; Floriani Squarciapino, o.c. 7, 138 fig. 6. - About 330 B.C. - Oinomaos in chariot moving l. led by Myrtilos (who is ready to jump off) pursues Pelops and H. (veil on shoulders). A winged Erinyes frightens Oinomaos' horses.

22.\* Volute-crater, Apulian rf. Swiss Market, Ga-

lerie Nefer. - *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 151, 21a: Baltimore P. - Last quarter of 4th cent. B.C. - On the neck, Oinomaos and Myrtilos pursuing Pelops and H. (*non vidi*).

(ii) Pelops and Hippodameia in chariot (Oinomaos not shown)

#### GREEK

23.\* Neck-amphora, Attic rf. Arezzo, Mus. Civ. 1460. From Casalta. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1157, 25; 1685: Manner of Dinos P.; *Para* 458; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 337; Séchan, *Etudes* 458 fig. 133; Arias/Shefton/Hirmer pls. 212-213; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pls. 224-225. - Around 410 B.C. - Pelops and H. in chariot moving r. (Pelops looks back; H. has a veil over her head and raises her r. hand). Pair of doves in a tree. Dolphin under the horses. Inscriptions.

24. Hydria, Lucanian rf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. From Policoro. - *LCS* 57, 284 pls. 26, 1; 27, 1: Policoro P.; Degraasi, N., *BollArte* 50, 1965, 7-8 figs. 2. 9. 10; *idem*, in *Archäologische Forschungen in Lukanien* II (ed. B. Neutsch), *RM* Erg.-H. 11 (1967) 202-204 no. 2 pls. 52, 2; 58, 1. - About 400 B.C. - Pelops and H. (both almost completely missing) in chariot moving l. over which Eros flies. On the l., a woman carrying an oinochoe and a tray with offerings (Aphrodite?).

25.\* Hydria, Apulian rf. Taranto, Mus. Naz. 4604. From the Arsenal. - *RVAp* I 164, 2: Sarpedon P.; Trendall, *ESIVP* 53, B 160; Degraasi, N., *BollArte* 50, 1965, 8 fig. 52. - Around 390 B.C. - Pelops and H. in chariot moving l.

26.\* Loutrophoros, Apulian rf. London Market, Sotheby. - *Auction* Dec. 1984, no. 366, fig.: White Saccos P. - Around 320 B.C. - Pelops and H. (lifting her veil) in chariot moving r. They both look back.

27. Attic sarcophagus. Athens, Nat. Mus. 11176. From Athens. - *SarkRel* III 3, 390-392 no. 322 pl. 103; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 404-405 fig. 438; Koch, G., *AA* 1978, 126 fig. 13. - Middle of 3rd cent. A.D. - On one narrow side a lovesick H. is seated surrounded by her mother or nurse, women and Erotes. One long side shows Pelops before Oinomaos, the other Oinomaos' death with the king lying under his horses (only part of his head is preserved) and Pelops on foot at the r. (H. is not present: Koch/Sichtermann 405 n. 6). On the other narrow side Pelops carries H. in his r. arm and drives his chariot over the sea; a servant leads the chariot.

#### ROMAN

28.\* Architectural clay reliefs («Campana reliefs»). a) New York, MMA 1926.60.32; b)\* Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 62752; c) Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 14575; d) London, BM D 606; e) Munich, Antikenslg. 381; f) Rome, Pal. Cons.; g) Paris, Louvre S 753 (*non vidi*). - Borbein, *Campanareliefs* 137-140 pls. 23, 1 (a); 24, 3 (b); 26, 2 (c); 26, 1 (d); 24, 1 (e); 27, 2 (f). - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - Pelops (shown like an apobates) and H. (mantle over her head) in a chariot moving r. Another type of relief, with a warrior and a charioteer in a chariot moving l., is probably a pendant and shows Oinomaos and Myrtilos.



## Uncertain

29. Glass intaglio. Hannover, Kestner Mus. K 874. – AGD IV no. 400 pl. 58; Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* III 375. – 2nd half of 1st cent. B. C. – Galloping chariot moving l. led by a man; behind him a woman (?) with raised arm. Pelops and H. (?).

## ETRUSCAN

## Reliefs (selection)

30. Alabaster urn. Volterra, Mus. Guarnacci 187. From Volterra. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 124–125 pl. 49, 1. – Pelops and H. (naked) in chariot between winged figures. Under the horses a fallen youth.

31.\* Alabaster urn. Florence, Mus. Arch. 78495. From Volterra. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 125 pl. 49, 2; CUEI 98 no. 138 fig. – 2nd cent. B. C. – Pelops and H. in chariot. Myrtilos on foot at l. embraces H. She stands to the l. in the chariot looking back at Pelops who grasps her with his r. arm. Under the horses fallen youth in Phrygian cap. Winged Erinyes next to the horses, and winged daemon (head missing) on the r.

32. Alabaster urn. Perugia, Mus. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 121–122 pl. 52 below. – At the l., Pelops (?) attacking Oinomaos with a chariot-wheel. At the r., Pelops carrying off H. in his chariot.

Some other urns have the same scheme for Myrtilos, Pelops and H. as 31, but show also Oinomaos lying on the ground sword in hand (Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 126–129 pls. 50–52).

## e) Hippodameia at the death of Oinomaos

The subject is most common on Etruscan relief urns where Oinomaos is attacked by Pelops with a wheel or with some other weapon. H. is present on some urns, either watching the action or taking part in the murder brandishing a double-axe or a wheel-spoke (Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 109–121 pls. 41–48). She is also present on some Roman sarcophagi showing, among other scenes, Oinomaos' death (33, 35; Vatican 2341: *SarkRel* III 3, 392–393 no. 323 pl. 104; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 174 fig. 199). On a painting described by Philostr. *im.* 1, 17 Pelops and H. stand victorious in their chariot, while Oinomaos' chariot lies shattered (cf. Jason's mantle: Apoll. Rhod. 1, 752–758). For full accounts see → Oinomaos.

## f) Hippodameia at the death of Myrtilos

On a South Italian vase Myrtilos is shown being thrown into the sea, while Pelops and H. are riding their chariot. On Etruscan urns Pelops attacks Myrtilos with a sword at an altar and is always helped by H. who pulls at the wheel with which Myrtilos defends himself. For these scenes see → Oinomaos.

## g) Pelops and Hippodameia after the race

## ROMAN

33.\* Sarcophagus. Paris, Louvre MA 974. – *SarkRel* III 3, 397–398 no. 327 pl. 106; Friederichs, K., *AZ* 1855, 83–84 pl. 79, 2; Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* 104–106 no. 42. – 2nd quarter of 3rd cent. A. D. – From l. to r.: Pelops before Oinomaos (behind the lat-

ter armed servant); the chariot-race shown as if in a Roman circus, with Oinomaos lying under his chariot led by Myrtilos, a spectator, Pelops as a winner in his chariot, a figure holding a wreath next to him, a goddess (?) reclining under his horses, a rider, and two figures (H. and her mother or nurse?) watching from a window; Pelops and H. as a wedded couple after the race, standing with joined hands and accompanied by a woman (nurse?); Eros kneeling at Pelops' feet and a bearded man behind Pelops.

34. Sarcophagus fr. Rome, Pal. Massimi. – *SarkRel* III 3, 396–397 no. 326 pl. 105. – 2nd quarter of 3rd cent. A. D. – From l. to r.: Pelops before Oinomaos (only the latter, seated on a throne, and a servant are preserved); the chariot-race similar to 33, but without Myrtilos and with a rider next to Oinomaos' chariot; of the wedding scene only the nurse is preserved.

35.\* Sarcophagus. Rome, Villa Albani. – *SarkRel* III 3, 395–396 no. 325 pl. 105; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 55–56 no. 57 pl. 144, 2; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 174 fig. 201. – 2nd quarter of 3rd cent. A. D. – From l. to r.: Pelops before Oinomaos seated on throne, servants, all looking at head of suitor hanging over the palace gate; the chariot-race similar to 33 but without Myrtilos and with a spectator and two riders next to Oinomaos' chariot, Phrygians and a youth holding a wreath near Pelops; Pelops and H. as a wedded couple, accompanied by a nurse (?) (cf. 33). On the narrow sides, men with spears.

36. Sarcophagus. Brussels, Mus. Roy. A 9167. From near Mons (?). – *SarkRel* III 3, 399–400 no. 329 pl. 106; Friederichs, *o.c.* 33, 86–87 pl. 80. – About A. D. 250. – From l. to r.: Pelops and follower standing at the gate of Oinomaos' palace, Eros on the r., H. seated in a loggia talking to Oinomaos, nurse (?) behind her; the chariot-race with Oinomaos lying under his horses, a figure (goddess?) reclining next to him, Pelops standing victorious in his chariot, a wreathed figure (identified with Honos by Robert) and a figure with a palm branch; Pelops helping H., who is holding a wreath (?), down from the loggia after the race; nurse behind H.

37.\* Sarcophagus (Campanian). Naples, Mus. Naz. 6711. From near Cumae. – *SarkRel* III 3, 398 no. 328 pl. 106; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 56 no. 58 pls. 144, 1; 145; 146. – Late 3rd cent. A. D. – From l. to r.: Pelops and warrior looking at heads of suitors hanging over the palace gate; Pelops talking to Oinomaos seated on throne flanked by servants; the chariot-race with Oinomaos lying under his chariot led by Myrtilos, spectators, Pelops in his chariot, deity (?) reclining underneath, a youth with a wreath and a palm branch and another youth blowing a horn; Pelops and H. embracing after the race.

38.\* AE coin, Smyrna, Antoninus Pius (A. D. 138–161). – *BMC Ionia* 278, 342 pl. 29, 6; Klose, D. O. A., *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna in der röm. Kaiserzeit* (1987) 256 pls. 38–39. – Rev.: Pelops and H. (mantle over her head) in chariot (biga) to the r. Pelops faces H. and grasps her r. hand. Inscription: ΠΕΛΟΨ. Nos. 30–31 may also belong here and show the couple after the race.

## C. Pelops and Hippodameia visiting the mourning Niobe

## UNCERTAIN

39.\* Loutrophoros, Apulian rf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 82.AE.16. – *RVAp Suppl.* 1, 100, 278a pl. 19, 1; P. of Louvre MNB 1148; Trendall, A. D., in *Getty-Vases II* (1985) 129–144 figs. 1. 8. – About 330 B. C. – Niobe mourning at her children's tomb, women with offerings; below, Pelops and H. (crowned and lifting a corner of her himation) in chariot moving l. The two scenes are not divided by an ornamental band, so Trendall sees a connection between them: Pelops and H. are coming to persuade Niobe to cease from her mourning (?).

40. Hydria, Apulian rf. Zurich Market, Galerie Nefer. – *RVAp Suppl.* 1, 70, 11a pl. 9, 1; Trendall, *o.c.* 39, 136–138 fig. 10; Ganymede P. – About 330 B. C. – Niobe mourning at her children's tomb accompanied by a girl holding an alabastron. On the r., Tantalos, an old woman and a woman with offerings. On the l., a youth in Phrygian cap carrying spears (Pelops?), a woman holding an oinochoe (H.?) and a woman with a mirror and box. Above r., Artemis and Apollo; above l., a seated youth and a seated woman with distaffs.

## D. Hippodameia at Chrysis' abduction

## UNCERTAIN

41. (= Chrysis 6\*) Volute-crater, Faliscan rf. Melbourne, Nat. Gall. D 87/1969. – Séchan, *Etudes* 315 fig. 90; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* 83–84 fig. III 3, 18; Trendall, A. D., *JbBerlMus* 12, 1970, 160 fig. 5. – About 380 B. C. – Laios carrying away Chrysis in a chariot moving l. Above, the bust of a woman who gesticulates, perhaps H. who was Chrysis' mother in one tradition (Robert, C., *JdI* 29, 1914, 172 n. 1 and *Oidipus I* [1915] 409).

## COMMENTARY

The story of Pelops and H. first appears in art in the 6th cent. on the Chest of Kypselos (17) which showed the chariot-race. The earliest literary source, the *Ehoiai*, though probably based on some Hesiodic material, likewise may not be earlier than the 6th cent. (West, M. L., *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* [1985] 125 ff.). The Chest is the only archaic depiction of the myth. 5th-cent. representations are equally rare until the last decade of the century. The Olympia pediment (16) shows the preparation for the race with H. not easily recognizable. Some identify her with figure K who lifts a corner of her veil in what is usually regarded as a bride-like gesture; others with figure F who is of a slighter build and pensive mood. The latter seems more probable. H., already in love with the newly arrived Pelops, had good reasons to be apprehensive about the race in which so many had already died. Figure K is more matron-like compared to F and, moreover, the lifting of the veil is not a gesture con-

finied to brides. A little later than 16 is the painting of the throne of Zeus (2) of which we know absolutely nothing.

The tragedies of Sophokles and Euripides probably inspired the vase-painters' interest in the story from the end of the 5th cent. and throughout the 4th. Attic scenes are, however, rare: 10 has the preparation for the race in a way which is reminiscent of Diodorus' description (Pelops setting out while Oinomaos sacrifices; cf. Philostratus' description of 15), while 23 shows the couple probably at the end of the race. Another Attic vase, 1, is contemporary with 23 and shows H. in a garden with friends. She was a famous bride, and as such could well be shown also independently of the chariot-race story (cf. 2).

All moments of the story are popular with South Italian vase-painters. In Pelops' arrival at Pisa, H. is standing behind her father looking at the newcomer (4) or is seated on a throne and greets him herself (5). On the vases showing the plot with Myrtilos (6–9) H. is always present but, apart perhaps from 9 where she puts an arm on Myrtilos' shoulder (cf. Apollod. *epitome* 2, 6, where she mediates between Pelops and Myrtilos), her role is secondary. Sometimes there are two women present (6, 7), presumably H. with her nymphetria rather than with her mother, and in these cases it is not easy to tell who H. is. The one wearing a crown is more likely to represent her. On those vases showing the preparation for the race H. holds out a phiale for her father (11) or joins hands with Pelops over the altar (13, 14) or is simply approaching led by an elderly woman (12). The chariot-race, with Oinomaos pursuing the couple, is a popular scene on South Italian vases, shown particularly on the neck of volute-craters (18, 19, 20, 22). When it is just Pelops and H. who are depicted (24–26 and cf. the Attic 23) it is not easy to tell whether they are meant to be shown during the race, with Oinomaos imagined as following or collapsing, or as a wedded couple after it. Pelops' turn of the head on 23, 24 (?) and 26 (where H. looks back too) and the fact that the horses are shown running at full speed would seem to suggest the former. But the two scenes, that of the victorious Pelops in his chariot and that of the wedded couple, are very close anyway (cf. Lacroix 340). On vases H. commonly wears a crown and has a veil over her head or on her shoulders. The erotic element of the story is regularly indicated, regardless of the episode shown: Aphrodite and Eros appear on 6, 12, 13, Aphrodite and Pothos on 4, Eros alone on 5, 8, 19, 20, 24, a pair of doves on 23. As for the Erinyes on 13 and 14, she alludes to Oinomaos' imminent death, while on 20 and 21 she has an active role standing before Oinomaos' chariot and frightening his horses.

Clearly shown after the race is the couple on 39 where Pelops looks at H. It is not certain, however, whether this image of Pelops and H. in the chariot should be connected with the scene above, the mourning of Niobe, and the couple regarded as coming to console Pelops' sister. The Phrygian youth standing by the tomb on 40 could well be Pelops, particularly since an old man, identifiable with Tantalos

is also shown. The woman carrying an oinochoe on the same vase is less certainly H.

In Roman art, apart from some clay architectural reliefs (28) and a type of coin (38), Pelops and H. appear on a few sarcophagi dating from the 2nd quarter to the end of the 3rd cent. A.D. (33-37). Each sarcophagus shows several scenes from the story, but the standard image of Pelops and H. in the chariot, so popular in the earlier period, does not appear here. Unlike the iconographic and literary tradition, the chariot-race is shown as a contest in a circus, so Pelops is alone in his chariot. The couple in the chariot appears, however, on a contemporary Attic sarcophagus (27), the only Attic sarcophagus decorated with the story. The chariot is shown here over the sea, and this scene, together with 23 where the marine element is also present, was taken by C. Robert (*Bild und Lied* [1881] 187 n. 35; *Heldensage* I 208-209) as a reflection of an earlier version of the story, according to which Oinomaos was king of Lesbos and Pelops, who was king of Argos, abducted H. and crossed the sea to the Peloponnese. It is very difficult to accept this early version which is attested only in *Schol. Eur. Or.* 990. The marine element on 23 and 27, as well as on a third work, 20, must be taken as indicating the final stage of the race somewhere near the Isthmus of Corinth, or (on 27) the journey back, during which Myrtilos was thrown into the sea, wherever this occurred according to ancient belief. On another side of 27 we see a lovesick H. in a scene copying the representations of Phaidra (cf. Robert in *Sarkel* III 3, 391). Only in Roman art are explicit representations of Pelops and H. as a wedded couple seen. On 33 and 35 (and presumably also on 34) they are depicted on foot after the race, with H. modestly inclining her head and clasping hands with Pelops in the conventional formula of the *dextrarum iunctio*. The composition is borrowed from the wedding scenes frequently shown on Roman sarcophagi. On 36 Pelops is helping H. down from a loggia and on 37 the couple is embracing in a group which copies that of Eros and Psyche. The image on the coin 38, where Pelops is facing H. and is holding her hand, has also a nuptial character.

Etruscan renderings of the story are very original. On some alabaster urns of the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. showing the couple in the chariot, H. clings to Myrtilos who is on foot and looks back at Pelops who grasps her (31), a composition regarded as deriving from a painting by Nicomachus representing the rape of Persephone (Mansuelli, G. A., *Ricerche sulla pittura ellenistica* [1950] 31). The exact meaning of the scene (Pelops abducting H. by force, or Myrtilos embracing her after the race as a prize for his help in Oinomaos' defeat) is not clear. Another relief urn (30) has a more conventional rendering of the couple in the chariot. H.'s total nakedness here (elsewhere, e.g. on 31, her dress leaves one breast bare) presumably emphasizes the erotic motif of the story. H. helping in the murder of her father and of Myrtilos on some other Etruscan urns of the 2nd cent. B.C. is without parallel in art.

MARIA PIPILI

## HIPPODAMEIA II

(*Ἰπποδάμεια*, Hippodame, Hippodamia) Tochter des → Boutes in der vorherrschenden attischen Version, also eine Angehörige des Adelsgeschlechts der Butaden. Seltener und spät heißt sie auch Tochter des Lapithen (→ Lapithai) Atrax oder, vielleicht durch Verwechslung mit diesem, des → Adrastos. Die Sage von ihrer Hochzeit mit Perithous (→ Peirithoos), zu der auch die Kentauren geladen waren, und die sich anschließende Kentauromachie (→ Kentauroi) gehörte zu den ältesten griechischen Mythen. Der Kampf begann im Festsaal und endete nach einem Jahr als Feldschlacht. Damals gebar H. dem Perithous den → Polypoites. Dieser führte ein thessalisches Schiffskontingent nach Troja.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Die Frau des Perithous ist in der ältesten Quelle (Hom. *Il.* 2, 742) und meist auch später H. genannt, wie auch die Frau des Pelops hieß (→ Hippodameia I). Bei Plut. *Theseus* 30, 3 heißt sie Deidameia, in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 1, 263 (in der einen Überlieferung) Hippoboteia. Ob auch Ischomache bei Prop. 2, 2, 9 ein Name für H. war, bleibe dahingestellt. Der Dichter könnte in kallimacheischer Weise auf eine wenig bekannte Sagengestalt aus dem Umkreis der Kentauromachie anspielen: Wie die Bildkunst zeigt (3-5. 8-13), raubten die Kentauren an der Hochzeit der H. auch andere weibliche Gäste. — Auf einem apulischen Vasenbild steht anstelle von H. Laodamia beigezeichnet (13), vielleicht eine Verwechslung des Malers mit der Frau im Halsbild. — Boutes als Vater der H.: Diod. 4, 70, 3; *Schol. Hom. Il.* 1, 263, vgl. Dindorf zu *Schol. Hom. Od.* 21, 295. Perithous hat in dieser Version seine Braut aus der Stadt seines Freundes Theseus. Dessen Mitwirkung an der thessalischen Kentauromachie ist bereits in der *Ilias* bekannt (1, 265). — Atrax als Vater der H.: Ov. *her.* 17, 248; Adrastus: Hyg. *fab.* 33, 3; *Schol. Hom. Od.* 21, 295. An dieser Odysseestelle ist von Freveltaten des Kentauren Eurytion (→ Kentauroi) im Haus des Perithous die Rede, aus denen die Kentauromachie entstanden sei. Diese ist im Zusammenhang bei Ov. *met.* 12, 210-535 geschildert. Der Kentaure heißt dort Eurytos, die Braut Hippodame.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Arias, P. E., *RivIstArch* 4, 1955, 95-100. 116-137; Beazley, J. D., in Caskey/Beazley III 86-87; v. Geisau, H., *KlPauly* II (1967) 1161 s. v. «Hippodameia 2»; Höfer, O., *MLI* 2 (1886-90) 2671 s. v. «Hippodameia 2»; Scheffold/Jung *SB IV* 264-271; Simon, E., «Versuch einer Deutung der Südmetopen des Parthenon», *Jdl* 90, 1975, 100-120; Zwicker, J., *RE VIII* 2 (1913) 1728-29 s. v. «Hippodameia 2».

## KATALOG

### A. Hippodameia unter den Athenerkindern

1.\* (= Antiochos I., = Ariadne 48, = Eriboia I) Volutenkrater, att. sf., sog. François-Vase. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 4209. Aus Chiusi. *ABV* 76, 1: Klitias; Para 29-30; *Add* 21; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 73-74 mit Lit. Taf. 52. 54; neue, überzeugende Deutung des Frieses: Shapiro, H. A., *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in*

*Athens* (1989) 146-147. — 570/65 v. Chr. — Seite B, Mündungsfries. Unter den 14 Jungen und Mädchen, die alle namentlich benannt sind, ist H. die Vorletzte. Ihr folgt Phaidimos, der soeben das Schiff verläßt, um sich dem von Theseus angeführten Zug anzuschließen. Vor ihr schreitet Daidochos (Daduchos), sie fassen einander an der Hand. H. trägt einen mit gefüllten Quadraten gemusterten Peplos. Ihr Haar, mit einer Binde, fällt teils auf den Rücken, teils ist es nach oben geschlagen. Hinter den Namen steht eine erstaunlich reiche Überlieferung der alten Geschlechter, Phylon und Demen von Attika. H. dürfte aus der Geschlechtertradition der Butaden stammen, die durch sie mit den Lapithen Thessaliens verschwägert waren. Umgekehrt war Lysidike, die ebenfalls in diesem Zug auftritt, eine Lapithin und wurde in Athen zur Stammutter der Philaiden. — Die beiden anderen sf. Vasen mit inschriftlich genannten Athenerkindern, eine Schale in München (*ABV* 163, 2) und eine Leidener Hydria (*ABV* 104, 126) haben den Namen H. nicht. Auch sonst wirken jene Namen im Vergleich mit dem Klitiaskrater «beliebig»; vgl. Herter, H., *RE Suppl.* XIII (1973) 1101 s. v. «Theseus».

### B. Hippodameia in genealogischen Gemälden (?)

2. (= Boutes 2) Unter den bei Paus. 1, 26, 5 genannten Wandbildern des Butadengeschlechtes im Erechtheion und auf dem Pinax des Ismenias ebendort (Overbeck, *SQ Nr.* 1974), die genealogischen Inhalts waren, hat H. wohl nicht gefehlt. — Zu den Butaden vgl. Davies, J. K., *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971) 351-353.

### C. Hippodameia an der Hochzeit mit Peirithoos (meist Kentauromachie, Ausnahme: 7)

#### Plastik

3.\* Westgiebel des Zeustempels von Olympia, Gruppe H/I. — Olympia, Mus. — Ashmole, B./Yalouris, N., *Olympia* (1967) 18 Taf. 110-117; Ashmole, B., *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece* (1972) 48 Abb. 55-57 (mit Rückansicht: Zeichnung aus der Olympia-Publikation); Robertson, *HGA* 283: «Greek tragedy, acted in masks, must have been much like this»; Herrmann, H.-V. (Hrsg.), *Die Olympia-Skulpturen* (1987) Taf. 4. 8. 9 (neue Aufstellung, während in den früheren hier zitierten Publikationen die beiden Gruppen zuseiten des Apollon vertauscht sind). — Der Tempel war 456 v. Chr. vollendet. — H. mit Eurytion (vgl. Paus. 5, 10, 8) gehört unter die ausgestreckte Rechte des Apollon (also vom Betrachter aus l. von ihm). Perithous kommt unter seinem Schutz der H. zu Hilfe, indem er ein Schwert schwingt. Die Waffe seines nach der anderen Seite hin kämpfenden Freundes Theseus war eine mit beiden Händen ergriffene Axt. Er wendet sich gegen den Kentauren, der die Brautführerin rauben will. Deren Kopf ist nicht erhalten, während das Haupt der H. zu den besterhaltenen der beiden Giebel gehört. Sie trägt eine kunstvoll geschlungene Haube, aus der nur vorn das volle,

in der Mitte gescheitelte Haar tritt. Der Kopf ist etwas geneigt, in der vorgeschobenen Unterlippe drücken sich Schmerz und Anstrengung aus. Eurytion hatte sie von hinten angesprungen und faßt sie mit der Rechten um die r. Hüfte. Ihr Peplos hat sich dabei von der l. Schulter gelöst; er greift nach ihrer nackten Brust. H. sucht seinen Kopf mit dem Ellbogen wegzuschieben und mit der anderen Hand den Griff seiner Rechten zu lockern. Trotz ihrer prekären Lage bewahrt sie Ruhe und Würde, ähnlich wie die junge Frau in der l. anschließenden Dreiergruppe. Dagegen agieren die Frauen in der r. Giebelhälfte mit stärkerer Erregung.

4.\* Südmetope 12 des Parthenon. Athen, Akr.-Mus. — Brommer, F., *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (1967) 95-96 Taf. 200. 201 mit Lit. — «Ähnlich ist die Brautgruppe im Giebel von Olympia» (Brommer). Anstelle der l. ist hier die r. Brust entblößt, und der l. Ellbogen der Frau fährt nicht dem Kentauren ins Gesicht (sein Kopf ist in der Carrey-Zeichnung erhalten). Dennoch ist die Gruppe der olympischen (3) so ähnlich, daß ihre Entstehung nicht ohne jene denkbar ist. Simon 103-105 zieht daraus den Schluß, daß die Gruppe auch inhaltlich als H. und Eurytion zu interpretieren sei, zumal der Lapith in der l. anschließenden Metope 11 (Brommer a. O. Taf. 199 und Carrey-Zeichnung Simon 104) sehr wahrscheinlich Perithous benannt werden kann.

5.\* Fries von Bassai-Phigalia. London, BM, Platte Nr. 524. — Kenner, H., *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassai-Phigalia* (1946) 42 Taf. 5; Hofkes-Brukker, Ch./Mallwitz, A., *Der Bassai-Fries* (1975) 55 H 4; Robertson, *HGA* 357-358; Fuchs, *Skulptur* 446-447: «Um 410»; Ridgway, B. S., *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (1981) 94-96: «Probably dates after 400 B.C.». — Unter den 11 Platten der Kentauromachie wurde die mit dem Idol und den beiden Frauen auf H. und die Nymphetria bezogen. Das Idol, mit Fackeln, ist wohl das der → Enodia, das den thessalischen Schauplatz festlegt. Links davon greift die oft mit ihr verschmolzene Artemis mit Apollon in den Kampf ein (BM Nr. 523; Kenner a. O. Taf. 4; → Apollon 915\* = Artemis 1345), falls die Rekonstruktion der Abfolge so angenommen werden kann. Das Eingreifen des Apollon ist gut mit dem Giebel von Olympia (3) zu vergleichen; das Auftreten der Artemis in der Nähe ihres Idols ist gerade für die Kunst des Reichen Stils typisch (Scheffold, K., *Jdl* 52, 1937, 45; Kenner a. O. 42). Für Artemis ist ferner charakteristisch, daß sie einer bedrängten jungen Frau zu Hilfe kommt. Obwohl das Bildschema der Frau am Idol von der Cassandra-Szene in der Iliupersis abhängt (vgl. etwa → Aias II 44\*), wird in diesem Fall die Göttin eingreifen, Eurytion wird nicht wie Aias zum Ziel kommen. H. trägt Ohrringe. Ihr Körper ist, ähnlich wie oft bei Cassandra, weitgehend entblößt, um die Absicht des Eurytion anzudeuten. Die Nymphetria fleht mit weit ausgebreiteten Armen Hilfe herbei.

#### Wandmalerei

6. Verlorenes Wandbild des Mikon im Theseion auf der Agora von Athen. — Paus. 1, 17, 2; Lippold, G., *RE XV* 2 (1932) 1560 s. v. «Mikon 2». — 2. Viertel



is also shown. The woman carrying an oinochoe on the same vase is less certainly H.

In Roman art, apart from some clay architectural reliefs (28) and a type of coin (38), Pelops and H. appear on a few sarcophagi dating from the 2nd quarter to the end of the 3rd cent. A.D. (33-37). Each sarcophagus shows several scenes from the story, but the standard image of Pelops and H. in the chariot, so popular in the earlier period, does not appear here. Unlike the iconographic and literary tradition, the chariot-race is shown as a contest in a circus, so Pelops is alone in his chariot. The couple in the chariot appears, however, on a contemporary Attic sarcophagus (27), the only Attic sarcophagus decorated with the story. The chariot is shown here over the sea, and this scene, together with 23 where the marine element is also present, was taken by C. Robert (*Bild und Lied* [1881] 187 n. 35; *Heldensage* I 208-209) as a reflection of an earlier version of the story, according to which Oinomaos was king of Lesbos and Pelops, who was king of Argos, abducted H. and crossed the sea to the Peloponnese. It is very difficult to accept this early version which is attested only in *Schol. Eur. Or.* 990. The marine element on 23 and 27, as well as on a third work, 20, must be taken as indicating the final stage of the race somewhere near the Isthmus of Corinth, or (on 27) the journey back, during which Myrtilos was thrown into the sea, wherever this occurred according to ancient belief. On another side of 27 we see a lovesick H. in a scene copying the representations of Phaidra (cf. Robert in *SarkRel* III 3, 391). Only in Roman art are explicit representations of Pelops and H. as a wedded couple seen. On 33 and 35 (and presumably also on 34) they are depicted on foot after the race, with H. modestly inclining her head and clasping hands with Pelops in the conventional formula of the *dextrarum iunctio*. The composition is borrowed from the wedding scenes frequently shown on Roman sarcophagi. On 36 Pelops is helping H. down from a loggia and on 37 the couple is embracing in a group which copies that of Eros and Psyche. The image on the coin 38, where Pelops is facing H. and is holding her hand, has also a nuptial character.

Etruscan renderings of the story are very original. On some alabaster urns of the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. showing the couple in the chariot, H. clings to Myrtilos who is on foot and looks back at Pelops who grasps her (31), a composition regarded as deriving from a painting by Nicomachus representing the rape of Persephone (Mansuelli, G. A., *Ricerche sulla pittura ellenistica* [1950] 31). The exact meaning of the scene (Pelops abducting H. by force, or Myrtilos embracing her after the race as a prize for his help in Oinomaos' defeat) is not clear. Another relief urn (30) has a more conventional rendering of the couple in the chariot. H.'s total nakedness here (elsewhere, e.g. on 31, her dress leaves one breast bare) presumably emphasizes the erotic motif of the story. H. helping in the murder of her father and of Myrtilos on some other Etruscan urns of the 2nd cent. B.C. is without parallel in art.

MARIA PIPILI

## HIPPODAMEIA II

(Ἰπποδάμεια, Hippodame, Hippodamia) Tochter des → Boutes in der vorherrschenden attischen Version, also eine Angehörige des Adelsgeschlechts der Butaden. Seltener und spät heißt sie auch Tochter des Lapithen (→ Lapithai) Atrax oder, vielleicht durch Verwechslung mit diesem, des → Adrastos. Die Sage von ihrer Hochzeit mit Perithous (→ Peirithoos), zu der auch die Kentauren geladen waren, und die sich anschließende Kentauromachie (→ Kentauroi) gehörte zu den ältesten griechischen Mythen. Der Kampf begann im Festsaal und endete nach einem Jahr als Feldschlacht. Damals gebar H. dem Perithous den → Polypoites. Dieser führte ein thessalisches Schiffskontingent nach Troja.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Die Frau des Perithous ist in der ältesten Quelle (Hom. *Il.* 2, 742) und meist auch später H. genannt, wie auch die Frau des Pelops hieß (→ Hippodameia I). Bei Plut. *Theseus* 30, 3 heißt sie Deidameia, in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 1, 263 (in der einen Überlieferung) Hippoboteia. Ob auch Ischomache bei Prop. 2, 2, 9 ein Name für H. war, bleibe dahingestellt. Der Dichter könnte in kallimacheischer Weise auf eine wenig bekannte Sagenform aus dem Umkreis der Kentauromachie anspielen: Wie die Bildkunst zeigt (3-5. 8-13), raubten die Kentauren an der Hochzeit der H. auch andere weibliche Gäste. – Auf einem apulischen Vasenbild steht anstelle von H. Laodamia beigeschrieben (13), vielleicht eine Verwechslung des Malers mit der Frau im Halsbild. – Boutes als Vater der H.: Diod. 4, 70, 3; *Schol. Hom. Il.* 1, 263, vgl. Dindorf zu *Schol. Hom. Od.* 21, 295. Perithous hat in dieser Version seine Braut aus der Stadt seines Freundes Theseus. Dessen Mitwirkung an der thessalischen Kentauromachie ist bereits in der *Ilias* bekannt (1, 265). – Atrax als Vater der H.: Ov. *her.* 17, 248; Adrastus: Hyg. *fab.* 33, 3; *Schol. Hom. Od.* 21, 295. An dieser Odysseestelle ist von Freveltaten des Kentauren Eurytion (→ Kentauroi) im Haus des Perithous die Rede, aus denen die Kentauromachie entstanden sei. Diese ist im Zusammenhang bei Ov. *met.* 12, 210-335 geschildert. Der Kentaure heißt dort Eurytos, die Braut Hippodame.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Arias, P. E., *RivIstArch* 4, 1955, 95-100. 116-137; Beazley, J. D., in Caskey/Beazley III 86-87; v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1161 s.v. «Hippodameia 2»; Höfer, O., *MLI* 2 (1886-90) 2671 s.v. «Hippodameia 2»; Scheffold/Jung *SBIV* 264-271; Simon, E., «Versuch einer Deutung der Südmetopen des Parthenon», *JdI* 90, 1975, 100-120; Zwicker, J., *RE VIII* 2 (1913) 1728-29 s.v. «Hippodameia 2».

## KATALOG

### A. Hippodameia unter den Athenerkindern

1.\* (= Antiochos I., = Ariadne 48, = Eriboia I) Volutenkrater, att. sf., sog. François-Vase. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 4209. Aus Chiusi. *ABV* 2 76, 1: Klitias; *Para* 29-30; *Add* 21; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 73-74 mit Lit. Taf. 52. 54; neue, überzeugende Deutung des Frieses: Shapiro, H. A., *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in*

*Athens* (1989) 146-147. – 570/65 v. Chr. – Seite B, Mündungsfries. Unter den 14 Jungen und Mädchen, die alle namentlich benannt sind, ist H. die Vorletzte. Ihr folgt Phaidimos, der soeben das Schiff verläßt, um sich dem von Theseus angeführten Zug anzuschließen. Vor ihr schreitet Daidochos (Daduchos), sie fassen einander an der Hand. H. trägt einen mit gefüllten Quadraten gemusterten Peplos. Ihr Haar, mit einer Binde, fällt teils auf den Rücken, teils ist es nach oben geschlagen. Hinter den Namen steht eine erstaunlich reiche Überlieferung der alten Geschlechter, Phylon und Demen von Attika. H. dürfte aus der Geschlechtertradition der Butaden stammen, die durch sie mit den Lapithen Thessaliens verschwägert waren. Umgekehrt war Lysidike, die ebenfalls in diesem Zug auftritt, eine Lapithin und wurde in Athen zur Stammutter der Philaiden. – Die beiden anderen sf. Vasen mit inschriftlich genannten Athenerkindern, eine Schale in München (*ABV* 163, 2) und eine Leidener Hydria (*ABV* 104, 126) haben den Namen H. nicht. Auch sonst wirken jene Namen im Vergleich mit dem Klitiaskrater «beliebig»; vgl. Herter, H., *RE Suppl.* XIII (1973) 1101 s.v. «Theseus».

### B. Hippodameia in genealogischen Gemälden (?)

2. (= Boutes 2) Unter den bei Paus. 1, 26, 5 genannten Wandbildern des Butadengeschlechtes im Erechtheion und auf dem Pinax des Ismenias ebendort (Overbeck, *SQ* Nr. 1974), die genealogischen Inhalts waren, hat H. wohl nicht gefehlt. – Zu den Butaden vgl. Davies, J. K., *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971) 351-353.

### C. Hippodameia an der Hochzeit mit Peirithoos (meist Kentauromachie, Ausnahme: 7)

#### Plastik

3.\* Westgiebel des Zeustempels von Olympia, Gruppe H/I. – Olympia, Mus. – Ashmole, B./Yalouris, N., *Olympia* (1967) 18 Taf. 110-117; Ashmole, B., *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece* (1972) 48 Abb. 55-57 (mit Rückansicht: Zeichnung aus der Olympia-Publikation); Robertson, *HGA* 283: «Greek tragedy, acted in masks, must have been much like this»; Herrmann, H.-V. (Hrsg.), *Die Olympia-Skulpturen* (1987) Taf. 4. 8. 9 (neue Aufstellung, während in den früheren hier zitierten Publikationen die beiden Gruppen zuseiten des Apollon vertauscht sind). – Der Tempel war 456 v. Chr. vollendet. – H. mit Eurytion (vgl. Paus. 5, 10, 8) gehört unter die ausgestreckte Rechte des Apollon (also vom Betrachter aus l. von ihm). Perithous kommt unter seinem Schutz der H. zu Hilfe, indem er ein Schwert schwingt. Die Waffe seines nach der anderen Seite hin kämpfenden Freundes Theseus war eine mit beiden Händen ergriffene Axt. Er wendet sich gegen den Kentauren, der die Brautführerin rauben will. Deren Kopf ist nicht erhalten, während das Haupt der H. zu den besterhaltenen der beiden Giebel gehört. Sie trägt eine kunstvoll geschlungene Haube, aus der nur vorn das volle,

in der Mitte gescheitelte Haar tritt. Der Kopf ist etwas geneigt, in der vorgeschobenen Unterlippe drücken sich Schmerz und Anstrengung aus. Eurytion hatte sie von hinten angesprungen und faßt sie mit der Rechten um die r. Hüfte. Ihr Peplos hat sich dabei von der l. Schulter gelöst; er greift nach ihrer nackten Brust. H. sucht seinen Kopf mit dem Ellbogen wegzuschieben und mit der anderen Hand den Griff seiner Rechten zu lockern. Trotz ihrer prekären Lage bewahrt sie Ruhe und Würde, ähnlich wie die junge Frau in der l. anschließenden Dreiergruppe. Dagegen agieren die Frauen in der r. Giebelhälfte mit stärkerer Erregung.

4.\* Südmetope 12 des Parthenon. Athen, Akropolis-Mus. – Brommer, F., *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (1967) 95-96 Taf. 200. 201 mit Lit. – «Ähnlich ist die Brautgruppe im Giebel von Olympia» (Brommer). Anstelle der l. ist hier die r. Brust entblößt, und der l. Ellbogen der Frau fährt nicht dem Kentauren ins Gesicht (sein Kopf ist in der Carrey-Zeichnung erhalten). Dennoch ist die Gruppe der olympischen (3) so ähnlich, daß ihre Entstehung nicht ohne jene denkbar ist. Simon 103-105 zieht daraus den Schluß, daß die Gruppe auch inhaltlich als H. und Eurytion zu interpretieren sei, zumal der Lapith in der l. anschließenden Metope 11 (Brommer a.O. Taf. 199 und Carrey-Zeichnung Simon 104) sehr wahrscheinlich Perithous benannt werden kann.

5.\* Fries von Bassai-Phigalia. London, BM, Platte Nr. 524. – Kenner, H., *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassai-Phigalia* (1946) 42 Taf. 5; Hofkes-Brukker, Ch./Mallwitz, A., *Der Bassai-Fries* (1975) 55 H 4; Robertson, *HGA* 357-358; Fuchs, *Skulptur* 3 446-447: «Um 410»; Ridgway, B. S., *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (1981) 94-96: «Probably dates after 400 B.C.». – Unter den 11 Platten der Kentauromachie wurde die mit dem Idol und den beiden Frauen auf H. und die Nymphetria bezogen. Das Idol, mit Fackeln, ist wohl das der → Enodia, das den thessalischen Schauplatz festlegt. Links davon greift die oft mit ihr verschmolzene Artemis mit Apollon in den Kampf ein (BM Nr. 523; Kenner a.O. Taf. 4; → Apollon 915\* = Artemis 1345), falls die Rekonstruktion der Abfolge so angenommen werden kann. Das Eingreifen des Apollon ist gut mit dem Giebel von Olympia (3) zu vergleichen; das Auftreten der Artemis in der Nähe ihres Idols ist gerade für die Kunst des Reichen Stils typisch (Scheffold, K., *JdI* 52, 1937, 45; Kenner a.O. 42). Für Artemis ist ferner charakteristisch, daß sie einer bedrängten jungen Frau zu Hilfe kommt. Obwohl das Bildschema der Frau am Idol von der Cassandra-Szene in der Iliupersis abhängt (vgl. etwa → Aias II 44\*), wird in diesem Fall die Göttin eingreifen, Eurytion wird nicht wie Aias zum Ziel kommen. H. trägt Ohrringe. Ihr Körper ist, ähnlich wie oft bei Cassandra, weitgehend entblößt, um die Absicht des Eurytion anzudeuten. Die Nymphetria fleht mit weit ausgebreiteten Armen Hilfe herbei.

#### Wandmalerei

6. Verlorenes Wandbild des Mikon im Theseion auf der Agora von Athen. – Paus. 1, 17, 2; Lippold, G., *RE XV* 2 (1932) 1560 s.v. «Mikon 2». – 2. Viertel



5. Jh. v. Chr., gleichzeitig mit den Skulpturen vom Zeustempel in Olympia (3). – Paus. erwähnt nur Theseus, der schon einen Kentauren erlegt hatte; sonst sei der Kampf noch unentschieden gewesen. Die olympischen Skulpturen und Reflexe in der attischen Vasenmalerei (8–11) legen nahe, daß auch Frauen, besonders die Braut H., dargestellt waren. Neben einer Amazonomachie war das dritte Thema des Mikon im Theseion, das Paus. nicht ganz verstand (vgl. I, 17, 3), der Sprung des Theseus ins Meer, wohl in Anwesenheit der Athenerkinder. Dann könnte H. ein zweites Mal dargestellt gewesen sein (vgl. I).

7. \* Neapel, Mus. Naz. 9044. Aus Pompeji, Haus des Gavius Rufus. – HBr Taf. 144; Lippold, *Gemäldeskopien* 127 Taf. 18, 98; Schefold, *WP* 170. – Um 70 n. Chr. – Als Gegenbild zu dem in den Vesuvstädten mehrmals dargestellten Theseus als Sieger über den Minotaurus (HBr Taf. 143; Lippold a. O. Taf. 18, 95) erscheint ein singuläres Thema: Der jungvermählte Perithous empfängt zusammen mit seiner Braut H. im Vestibül oder Atrium seines Palastes die zum Hochzeitsfest herbeikommenden Kentauren. Sie werden von ihrem König Eurytion angeführt, der wie Perithous ein Zepter trägt, sind bekränzt und bringen Geschenke. So steht zwischen Perithous und Eurytion, der ihm devot die Hand küßt, ein Fruchtkorb. Die im Rücken des Bräutigams stehende H. mit Stephane und Schleier und einem weißen Mantel über dem Chiton, eine kleine Dienerin an der Seite, scheint über die merkwürdigen Hochzeitsgäste nicht erfreut zu sein. Sie wendet sich ins Innere des Hauses.

#### Attisch rotfigurige Vasenmalerei

Sämtliche Bilder beziehen sich wie 3–6 auf die Kentaumachie am Hochzeitsfest, die sich durch die improvisierten Waffen und den z. T. inschriftlich genannten Perithous von anderen Kentaumachien (→ Kentauroi) unterscheidet. Beazley 87 stellt elf attische Vasen oder Fragmente zusammen, von denen vier in der Kentaumachie Frauen zeigen (Nr. 1, 5, 9, 11). Auf den großartigen Fragmenten Nr. 2 (Berlin, Niobidenmaler) und Nr. 10 (New York, Maler der New Yorker Kentaumachie) fehlen sie sicher nur wegen des Erhaltungszustandes. Auf den Schalen Beazley Nr. 6–8, die gut überliefert sind, fehlen sie aus Gründen der Komposition. Die Innenbilder der beiden Bostoner Schalen (Nr. 7, 8) zeigen zwar einen Kentauren beim Frauenraub, die Inschriften lauten jedoch Nessos und → Deianeira, der Herakles zu Hilfe kommt. Von den beiden Volutenkratern des Malers der wolligen Satyrn (Nr. 3, 4; *ARV* 613, 1, 2) in New York und Paris ist der letztere noch unpubliziert. Während in New York die Kentaumachie im Halsbild erscheint (Richter/Hall Taf. 98 oben), zieht sie sich beim Krater im Louvre über den Körper. Das anpassende Tübinger Fragment (Watzinger, *KatTübingen* Taf. 28) legt das Auftreten von Frauen nahe. Doch bleibt die Publikation abzuwarten. Der New Yorker Halsfries, der zu Recht immer wieder mit dem olympischen Westgiebel verglichen wird (3), zeigt wohl nur wegen der begrenzten Fläche keine Frauen. Nach alledem bleiben:

8. Kolonettenkrater. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 81268 (3997). – Beazley 87 Nr. 1; *ARV* 541, 1: Florenz-Maler; *Add* 256; FR Taf. 166, 2; Pfuhl, *MuZ* Abb. 489. – 470/60 v. Chr. – Hinter Theseus, der als Faustkämpfer auftritt, liegt eine Frau am Boden; ein Kentaure flieht im Hintergrund nach r., ein anderer greift mit einem Dinos als Waffe Theseus an, der ihm zuvorkommt. Die Liegende, mit entblößter l. Brust, streckt beide Arme weit aus. Die Entscheidung zwischen H. und einer beliebigen Teilnehmerin am Hochzeitsfest kann nicht gefällt werden.

9. Kelchkrater mit doppelten Friesen. Wien, Kunsth. Mus. IV 1026. – *ARV* 1087, 2: Nekyamaler; *Add* 327; Beazley 87 Nr. 5; *CVA* 3 Taf. 102, 1; 103, 2; Schauenburg, K., *RM* 79, 1972, 6 Taf. 7; Oakley, J., in *AGRP* (Amsterdam) 126 Nr. 39. – 460/50 v. Chr. – Seite B, oberer Fries. Der bärtige Mann l. oben auf A, der mit gezücktem Schwert zum Kampf eilt, ist inschriftlich als Perithous bezeichnet. Auf der anderen Seite der halb geöffneten Tür hinter dem Heros steht ein blutbespritzter Altar, der im Freien zu denken ist. Er gehört zum Fries auf B, der im Gegensatz zu A keinen mit einem Textilmuster versehenen Boden (Tepich? Klingenpolster?) zeigt. Die beiden Frauen l. von der Tür haben also den Festsaal verlassen und suchen am Altar Schutz. Sie können, obwohl Inschriften fehlen, als H. und Nymphetria gedeutet werden («Braut» auch im Text des *CVA*). Der weitausschreitenden Peplophoros H. folgt der Kentaure Eurytion, den sie mit der Rechten wegzudrängen sucht.

10. Volutenkrater. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 5081. Aus Spina (T. 136A VP). – Das gesamte Grab ist von Arias 95–178 veröffentlicht, s. Abb. 26 für diese Szene. Beazley 87 Nr. 9; *CVA* 1 Taf. 13; Alfieri, *Spina* Abb. 144. – Um 400 v. Chr. – Seite A des ringsum sorgfältig bemalten Kraters zeigt die Iliupersis. B: Zentrum der Kentaumachie ist Eurytion mit struppigem Haupt- und Barthaar, der H. mit beiden Händen hochgehoben hat und mit ihr entfliehen will. Sie trägt einen dünnen Chiton und wendet sich mit ausgestrecktem r. Arm zu Perithous zurück, der dem Kentauren in die Flanke sticht. R. davon schwingt Theseus eine Doppelaxt gegen einen mit einer Spitzamphora ansprengenden Kentauren. Hinter diesem flieht eine Frau nach r., am l. Bildrand entspricht ihr eine nach l. Fliehende. – Die Gruppe Eurytion/H. ist nicht für diesen Mythos erfunden, sondern für den Raub der Deianeira durch → Nessos, vgl. Arias 124 Abb. 35 (die oben erwähnte Schale des Aristophanes in Boston).

11. Pelike, fr. Barcelona, Mus. Arch. o. Nr. – Beazley 87 Nr. 11; Buschor, E., FR III 54 Abb. 25 (Zeichnung); Trias de Arribas, G., *Cerámicas Griegas de la Península Iberica* (1968) 184–185 Taf. 101. – Um 400 v. Chr. – In der über das ganze Bildfeld verteilten Kentaumachie sind vier Frauen fragmentiert erhalten. Welche von ihnen als H. gedacht war, läßt sich nicht sagen. Sie tragen gemusterte Gewänder des Reichen Stiles.

#### Außerattisch rotfigurige Vasenmalerei

12. Fragmente eines faliskisch-apulisierten Gefäßes, wohl einer «Amphora». Tübingen, Univ. F

16. – Beazley 87 Nr. 12; *EVP* 102. – «Full 4th cent.» (Beazley). Wegen der fragmentarischen Erhaltung ist H. nicht auszumachen; Frauen waren dargestellt.

13. Kelchkrater, apul. London, BM F 272. – *RVAp* II 480–481, 14 Taf. 171, 1. 2: Laodameiamaler (nammengebendes Stück); Beazley 87 Nr. 13; Smith, H. R. W., *Funerary Symbolism in Apulian Vase-Painting* (1976) 187–188; Trendall, *RFSIS* 87 Abb. 195. – Zur Vase und zum Thema Kentauren in Unteritalien allgemein: Schauenburg, K., *ÖJh* 51, 1976/77, 34 Anm. 78 und *passim*. – Mittleres 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Seite A, Hauptbild. Peirithoos (so die Beischrift) und Theseus (Beischrift) kommen mit Schwert und Keule der Laodameia (Beischrift) zu Hilfe, die von einem bekränzten, einen Olivenzweig schulternden Kentauren von ihrem Brautthron entführt werden soll. Eine Situla unter dem Kentauren deutet seine Trunkenheit an. Nach beiden Seiten flieht je eine Frau. «New typology, unconnected with the old» (Beazley 87). Die Umwandlung der Typologie resultiert aus dem von vielen apulischen Vasen bekannten Brauch, die Braut auf einem Thron darzustellen. Der Name Laodameia anstelle von H. ist nach Smith eine Verwechslung mit der jungen Frau im oberen Fries, die vor ihrem Brautbett steht. Trendall und andere nennen jene jedoch Phaidra. Beide sind mit einem dünnen Chiton bekleidet, die untere trägt die Brautkrone in der Form eines kleinen Polos.

#### KOMMENTAR

Allen Darstellungen der Braut des Perithous ist die Gruppe vom Westgiebel des Zeustempels in Olympia künstlerisch überlegen (3). Sie hat noch auf die Metopen des Parthenon eingewirkt, in denen sie fast wörtlich wiederholt ist (4). Als Anregung für die Gruppe H./Eurytion auf 3 und 4 wird meist das Wandbild des Mikon im Theseion angesehen (6), zumal sie nicht rundplastisch, sondern reliefmäßig angelegt ist. Leider kommt die Vasenmalerei der Frühklassik (8, 9) dieser alten Hypothese nicht zu Hilfe, da sie andere Gruppen zeigt und da die Hauptwerke nur fragmentiert erhalten sind (Einleitung zu 8–11). Allgemein wurden für die Kentaumachie an der Hochzeit des Perithous mit H. große, anspruchsvolle Kratere bevorzugt, nicht nur in der Frühklassik, sondern auch später (10). Im Reichen Stil findet sich allerdings die Gruppe des olympischen Westgiebels (3) nicht mehr. Auf H. wurden nun andere Bildtypen übertragen, das der Cassandra am Palladion (5) und das der von Nessos gepackten Deianeira (10).

Die Wahl von Kratern für die Darstellung der Kentaumachie hat wohl mehrere Ursachen. Einmal brauchten die Kompositionen des Mikon (6), die hier nachwirkten, große Flächen. Andererseits hatte Trunkenheit zur Hybris der Kentauren und zu deren Bekämpfung geführt. So paßt das Thema als Warnung auf ein Gefäß, das im Zentrum des Symposion stand. Schließlich verkündeten die meist exportierten attischen Kratere den Ruhm des Theseus, der neben Perithous der Vorkämpfer in der thessalischen Kentaumachie war, und damit den Ruhm Athens. Theseus, der «götterähnliche Aigeussohn», war sicher auch für die Athener zuerst in der *Ilias* (I, 265) genannt, und zwar als Kämpfer gegen die Kentauren. Neben Theseus war die Athenerin H. eine Gestalt aus der Kentaumachie, ja sie war deren Anlaß. Daß ihre Abstammung aus Athen alte Überlieferung war, zeigt das Auftreten der H. unter den Athenerkindern auf dem Klitiaskrater (1). Auch dort ist sie gemeinsam mit Theseus dargestellt, wenn auch bei einem anderen Anlaß. Es ist möglich, daß H. zweimal im Theseion auftrat, denn die Fahrt des Theseus nach Kreta war auch Thema eines der dortigen mikonischen Wandbilder (zu 6). Auch in den genealogischen Gemälden des Butadengeschlechtes, dem H. angehörte, ist sie zu erwarten (2). Eine singuläre Darstellung, die wohl auf einem hellenistischen Gemälde beruht, ist in einem pompejanischen Wandbild (7) erhalten. Zwar ist die Ankunft von Hochzeitsgästen ein altes Thema, etwa auf dem Hauptfries des Klitiaskraters (1), dort zur Hochzeit des Peleus und der Thetis. Hier aber liegt kommendes Unheil in der Luft. H. mißtraut dem unterwürfigen Gebaren des Kentaurenkönigs und ist im Begriff, sich in das Innere des Hauses zurückzuziehen.

ERIKA SIMON

#### HIPPODAMEIA III

(*Ἰπποδάμεια*) Name einer Dienerin der Penelope (Hom. *Od.* 18, 182–183; Eust. 1843, 29 *ad* Hom. *Od.* 18, 182). Nach der Hypothese Dörigs eine der beiden Figuren im l. Teil von 1.

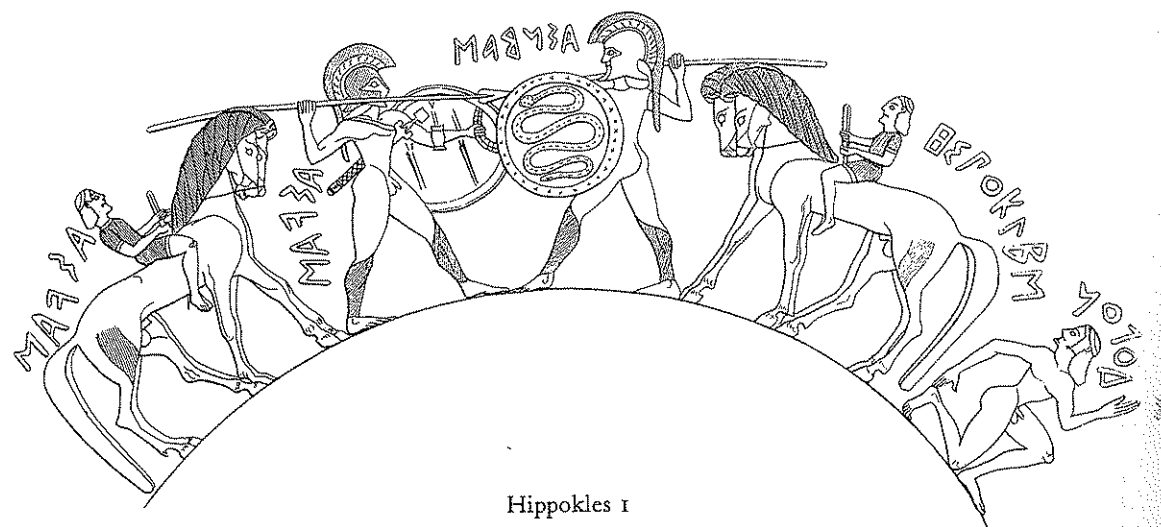
1. (= Eurykleia 2\*. 3. 4 mit Lit., = Eurynome II 3) Campanarelieff. Liste der erhaltenen Abdrücke bei v. Rohden/Winnefeld 110, Korrekturen bei Hiller, H., *AA* 87, 1972, 49 Anm. 9. – Dörig, J., *Art antique, Coll. privées de Suisse romande* (1975) Nr. 2A. – Matrizie frühkaiserzeitlich. – Im l. Teil des Reliefs zwei eng beisammen stehende, einander zugewandte Frauen in langem Chiton und Mantel. Der Chiton der l. Frau ist von ihrer r. Schulter gegliedert. S. dazu auch → Eurynome II, Kommentar. THOMAS GANSCHOW

#### HIPPODROMOS

(*ἵπποδρόμος*) Son of Herakles (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [162] 7, 8). See → Herakles 1696\*.

JOHN BOARDMAN

#### HIPPOKAMPOS → LIMC Suppl.



Hippokles I

## HIPPOKLES

(Ἱπποκλῆς) Cavalier troyen figuré sur un vase corinthien.

I. (= Aias I 22\* avec bibl., = Aias II 6 avec bibl., = Aineias 30 avec bibl., = Dolon I avec bibl.) Coupe corinthienne. Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. De Grèce. - Lorber, *Inchriften* n° 34 pl. 7; Cook, R. M., *BullAntBesch* 58, 1983, 3 n° 3. - Cor. moyen: 590-580 av. J.-C. - A: au centre, duel à la lance entre Ajax, fils de Télamon (→ Aias I), et Enée, escorté chacun d'un cavalier tourné vers le centre et qui tient une deuxième monture. A g. le cavalier grec est Ajax, fils d'Oilée (→ Aias II). A dr. le Troyen est H. (HIPPOKLES, courte tunique, bandeau dans les cheveux). Il tient les rênes de ses deux mains, ainsi qu'un fouet dans la main dr. Derrière lui, sous l'anse, Dolon s'enfuit vers la dr. en course agenouillée, le regard tourné vers la scène.

Absent des sources littéraires connues, le nom d'H. s'explique soit par une invention du peintre de vases, soit par une référence à une tradition littéraire aujourd'hui disparue. JEAN-ROBERT GISLER

## HIPPOKRENE

(Ἱπποκρήνη, Ἱππου κρήνη) Nome di una fonte che sgorga poco al di sotto della vetta dell'Eliona, presso cui Esiodo ebbe la sua iniziazione alla poesia (Hes. *theog.* 5-34), e della sua ninfa (→ Athena/Minerva 439\*; → Chariklo II). La tradizione che la fa sprizzare da un colpo di zoccolo di Pegaso (Hesych. s. v. Ἱππου κρήνη; Paus. 9, 31, 3; Prop. 3, 3, 2; → Pegasos) è probabilmente tarda, posteriore all'identificazione del favoloso cavallo con la costellazione dell'Hippos (→ Astra, sez. I). Secondo Euripide (Eur. *El.* 474-475)

Pegaso aveva invece fatto sgorgare la fonte Peirene a Corinto.

Nelle sue acque si bagna Athena in compagnia della ninfa Chariklo, quando viene scorta involontariamente dal figlio di questa, Tiresia (→ Teiresias), che per punizione viene accecato, ricevendo però doti profetiche (Kall. *h.* 5).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Meyer, E., *KlPauly* II (1967) 1172 s. v. «Hippokrene»; Sittig, E., *RE* VIII 2 (1913) 1853-1856 s. v. «Hippokrene»; Weizsäcker, P., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2679 s. v. «Hippokrene».

I. (= Athena/Minerva 439\*, = Chariklo II I) Piatto d'argento. Venezia, Mus. Arch. Br 281. Da Castelvint di Mel (Val Mor, in provincia di Belluno). - Fine IV-inizio VI sec. d. C. - Al centro Minerva; mentre si bagna in compagnia di due ninfe viene scorta da Tiresia, il cui busto appare sullo sfondo. Nella ninfa di d., seminuda, che si appoggia con la mano s. ad un'anfora e tende la d. in gesto di sorpresa e deprecazione, va certamente identificata la ninfa della fonte.

Si tratta dell'unica rappresentazione figurata del mito giunta a noi; si presenta come una puntuale illustrazione dell'inno di Callimaco. FULVIO CANCELANI

## HIPPOLOCHOS

(Ἱππολόχος, Hippolochus) Trojan, son of Antimachos, killed by → Agamemnon (Hom. *Il.* 11, 122-147).

I. (= Diomedes I 19\*, = Glaukos V 6 with further refs.) Amphora, Chalcidian bf. Melbourne, Mus. 1643/4. - Inscriptions P.; Schefold, *SBII* 209 fig. 287. - 540-530 B. C. - H. defends Charops who has been struck down by Diomedes. Other duels: between Glaukos and Menestheus, Odysseus and Me... Names inscribed.

## HIPPOLYTE V

(Ἱππολύτη) Weibliche Figur in einer Rüstungsszene auf I.

I. (= Demodokos III 1\*, = Glaukos VI 3 mit Lit.) Amphora, chalkidisch sf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 203. Aus Vulci. - Um 530 v. Chr. - H. (HIPPOLYTE) stehend im Profil nach l., bekleidet mit einem gegürteten roten Chiton, in der Rechten Speer, mit der Linken einen auf dem Boden stehenden Schild haltend; in den Haaren ein Band eingeritzt. Ihr gegenüber → Demodokos (III) beim Anlegen der Beinschienen. Eine Zuweisung der hier dargestellten Figuren zu einem bestimmten Mythos ist nicht möglich.

THOMAS GANSCHOW

The H. on I might be the son of Antimachos; and his companion Charops might be the Charops killed by Odysseus (Hom. *Il.* 11, 426-427), though here killed by Odysseus' rival, Diomedes. There was another H. who was father of the Lycian → Glaukos (V), who may be the Glaukos in the same scene; and yet another H. who, with a different → Glaukos (VI), both sons of Antenor, survived Troy. The possibilities for confusion are infinite. Cf. Stoll, H. W., *RE* I 2 (1886-90) 2679 s. v. «Hippolochos».

JOHN BOARDMAN

HIPPOLYTE I → Amazonas 67. 233. 240. 242. 244. 767

HIPPOLYTE II → Hesperides I

HIPPOLYTE III → Antinoe 2, → Peliades, → Peliou athla

## HIPPOLYTE IV

(Ἱππολύτη) Beigeschriebener Name einer möglicherweise mythologischen Figur auf I.

I.\* Kolonnettenkrater, fr., mittelkor. Palermo, Banco di Sicilia, Fondazione Mormino 755. - Amyx, *CVP* 319, C-1; 567, 42: related to the Detroit P.; Tusa, V., in *Odeon e altri «monumenti» archeologici* (1971) 26 Nr. 10 Taf. 6c; Benson, J. L., *AJA* 73, 1969, 119 Taf. 42, 37. - 590-570 v. Chr. - Erhalten sind l. mehrere Pferdefüße (von acht Vorderbeinen?) nach r., r. Unterteile und Füße von fünf stehenden, nach l. den Pferden zugewandten menschlichen Figuren in Chiton (die zweithinterste mit Mantel darüber). Namensbeischriften: JE vor der vorderen Person (könnte auch zu einem Pferd gehören, vgl. Lorber, *Inchriften* Nr. 126 Taf. 24); HIPPOLYTE, zur vordersten der vier anschließenden Figuren gehörig. Als dargestellte Szene ist ein Hochzeitszug oder die Ausfahrt eines Kriegers mit Viergespann zu denken, doch könnten die Hufe auch zu gerittenen Pferden gehören.

Zur Identifizierung der H. benannten Frau mit einer der bekannten H.s bestehen keine Anhaltspunkte: ganz unwahrscheinlich sind die Amazone (H. I) und die Hesperide (H. II); die Frau des Akastos (H. III) wäre bei den Leichenspielen für Pelias denkbar (→ Peliou athla; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* Taf. 39), doch ist keine Beziehung der Szene auf I zu deren Ikonographie greifbar. Zu willkürlich gewählten Namen heroischen Klangs auf korinthischen Vasen → Dion, Kommentar, und Amyx, *CVP* 553-554. PIERRE MÜLLER

## HIPPOLYTOS I

(Ἱππολύτος, Hippolytus) Fils de Thésée (→ Theseus) et de l'Amazone → Antiope (II) ou → Hippolyte (I). Passionné de chasse, il honore → Artemis et méprise → Aphrodite qui, pour se venger, suscite dans le cœur de Phèdre (→ Phaidra), sa marâtre, un violent amour pour H. Mais celui-ci repousse ses avances, et Phèdre, désespérée, se tue après avoir accusé H. auprès de Thésée. A la prière de ce dernier, → Poseidon provoque la mort d'H., qui est ensuite ressuscité par → Asklepios, puis transporté par Artémis à Aricie où on l'identifie à Virbius.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Peu répandue avant le V<sup>e</sup> s., la légende d'H. semble n'être, jusqu'à cette époque, qu'une fable locale, liée au sanctuaire de Trézène, mais pour laquelle nous n'avons aucune source directe. Le seul indice littéraire permettant de supposer une connaissance ancienne de la légende ailleurs qu'à Trézène est donné par Apollod. *bibl.* 3 (121) 10, 3 selon lequel on parlait déjà, dans les *Ναυπάκτια* (Davies *EGF* 10<sup>o</sup>), de la résurrection d'H. par Asklepios. Il faut attendre la tragédie attique du V<sup>e</sup> s. pour avoir une version complète de l'histoire d'H.: Euripide lui consacre deux pièces, que l'on distinguera plus tard, la première, dont il ne subsiste qu'environ 50 vers, sous le nom d'Ἱππολύτος καλυπτόμενος (*TGF*<sup>2</sup> *frg.* 428-447), la seconde, créée en 428 av. J.-C. et entièrement conservée, sous le nom d'Ἱππολύτος στεφανίας ou *Στεφανηφόρος*; à peu près à la même époque, Sophocle écrit une *Φαίδρα* dont ne subsistent qu'environ 25 vers (*TGF* IV F 677-693). Le sujet est traité ensuite par Kall. *frg.* 190 Pf., Asklep. *Trag.*, *FGH* 12 F 28, Diod. 4, 62; enfin par Ovide puis Sénèque qui, en dehors de quelques allusions faites ailleurs dans la littérature latine, restent nos sources majeures pour l'époque romaine.

H. est invariablement donné comme le fils de Thésée; en revanche les traditions varient quant au nom de sa mère, une Amazone, anonyme chez Eur. *Hipp.* 10. 307-310. 351-352. 581-582 et Ov. *her.* 4, 117-118,

mais nommée, le plus souvent, Antiopé (Hyg. *fab.* 250; Sen. *Phaëdra* 227. 927-929; Plut. *Theseus* 28, 2) ou, plus rarement, Hippolyte (Stesich., Page *PMG frg.* 193, 25-26; *argum.* Eur. *Hipp.*; Tzetz. *Lykoph.* 1329).

Les sources s'accordent à présenter H. comme un amoureux de la chasse et de la nature (Eur. *Hipp.* 18. 51-52. 1397; Ov. *her.* 4, 38-43. 81-83. 103-104. 170-172; Sen. *Phaëdra* 1-84, 483-520), un dresseur de chevaux (Eur. *Hipp.* 110-112. 1131-1133; Sen. *Phaëdra* 464), chaste (Eur. *Hipp.* 1003-1006; Sen. *Phaëdra* 231-232. 237. 704-705. 923. 1195), voire misogyne (Eur. *Hipp.* 616-617. 664-668; Sen. *Phaëdra* 230. 243. 559-579. 687). Étroitement lié à Artémis (Eur. *Hipp.* 54-56. 58-60. 84-85. 1092. 1394. 1397. 1441; Sen. *Phaëdra* 424-425), il aime chasser en compagnie de la déesse (Eur. *Hipp.* 17-18. 1093. 1397) et fleurir ses autels (Eur. *Hipp.* 73-83. 1137-1139). Cet attachement à Artémis le conduit à mépriser le culte d'Aphrodite (Eur. *Hipp.* 10-14. 21-22. 99-113) qui, pour assouvir sa vengeance, provoque dans le cœur de Phèdre une violente passion pour H. (Eur. *Hipp.* 21-28. 1400-1406). Les sources divergent sur la façon dont cet amour est révélé à H. Dans le second *Hippolyte* d'Euripide, Phèdre tente de lutter contre sa passion et c'est contre son gré que sa nourrice fait l'aveu à H. qui la repousse, horrifié (Eur. *Hipp.* 581-606); Phèdre se pend, après avoir écrit une lettre qui accuse H. auprès de Thésée (Eur. *Hipp.* 856-880. 1057-1058). Chez Sénèque, Phèdre déclare elle-même son amour à H., qui tire son épée pour la frapper, puis s'éloigne en jetant son arme (Sen. *Phaëdra* 706-718); Phèdre dénonce ensuite H. auprès de Thésée et ne se suicide qu'après la mort d'H. Ovide (*her.* 4) adopte lui aussi la version d'une confession directe de Phèdre, sous la forme d'une lettre qu'elle adresse à H. Il est probable que déjà dans le premier *Hippolyte* d'Euripide Phèdre déclarait elle-même son amour à H. (sur cette pièce, voir Barrett, W. S., *Euripides Hippolytos* [1964] 11-12. 15-45; Webster, T. B. L., *The Tragedies of Euripides* [1967] 64-71; Zwierlein, O., *Senecas Phaëdra und ihre Vorbilder* [1982]).

Apprenant, soit de la bouche de Phèdre, soit par la lettre qu'elle lui laisse avant de se tuer, qu'H. a tenté de lui faire violence, Thésée frappe son fils d'exil (Eur. *Hipp.* 973-975) et demande à Poséidon, qui lui avait accordé trois vœux, de châtier H. (Eur. *Hipp.* 887-890; Sen. *Phaëdra* 942-958; Ov. *met.* 15, 504-505). Sur les circonstances mêmes de sa mort, toutes les versions concordent: tandis qu'H. conduit son char au bord de la mer, un taureau surgit des flots, effraie les chevaux et H., traîné par son attelage, est mortellement blessé (Eur. *Hipp.* 1201-1248; Verg. *Aen.* 7, 765-767; Ov. *fast.* 6, 740-745; *met.* 15, 506-529; Hyg. *fab.* 47; Sen. *Phaëdra* 1007-1104).

La légende selon laquelle H. aurait été ressuscité par Asclépios semble ancienne (voir plus haut). Les sources plus récentes qui la mentionnent précisent généralement qu'Artémis avait intercédé auprès d'Asclépios et qu'elle aurait ensuite transporté H. en Italie, à Aricie, où il aurait pris le nom de Virbius (Kall. *frg.* 190 Pf.; Hyg. *fab.* 49. 251; Verg. *Aen.* 7, 767-777; Ov. *met.* 15, 533-546; Paus. 2, 27, 4).

H. était honoré comme un dieu à Trézène (Eur. *Hipp.* 1423-1425) où il avait un temple et recevait un culte régulier (Paus. 2, 32, 1). A Athènes, Paus. 1, 22, 1 mentionne la présence d'un *μνημα* d'H. sur la pente sud de l'Acropole, près de l'Asclépieion et d'un temple de Thémis, et diverses sources, littéraires (Eur. *Hipp.* 30-33; *Schol.* Eur. *Hipp.* 30; Diod. 4, 62, 2) ou épigraphiques, attestent l'existence, dans le même secteur, d'un temple d'Aphrodite *ἐφ' Ἰππολύτῳ* (IG I<sup>2</sup> 310, 280) ou *ἐν Ἰππολυτείῳ* (IG I<sup>2</sup> 324, 69). Cf. *etiam* IG I<sup>2</sup> 190 = LSCG IIA, 5.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Barrett, W. S., *Euripides Hippolytos* (1964); Burkert, W., *Structure and History* (1979) 111-122; Croisille, J.-M., *Poésie et art figuré de Neron aux Flaviens* (1982) 78-100 pl. 26-46; Fauth, W., *Hippolytos und Phaëdra* (1969); Herter, H., *RESuppl.* XIII (1973) 1183-1197; *idem*, *Kl. Schriften* 119-156; Kalkmann, A., «Über Darstellungen der Hippolytos-Sage», *AA* 41, 1983, 37-80. 105-154 pl. 6-9; Linant de Bellefonds, P., *Sarcophages attiques de la nécropole de Tyr. Une étude iconographique* (1985) 127-164 pl. 45-62; Schefold/Jung, *SB IV* 286-290; Séchan, L., «La légende d'Hippolyte dans l'Antiquité», *REG* 24, 1911, 105-151; Séchan, *Études* 323-340; Stoll, H. W., *ML* 12 (1886-90) 2681-2688 s.v. «Hippolytos 5»; Tschiedel, H. J., *Phaëdra und Hippolytos* (1969).

## CATALOGUE

### I. Hippolyte seul

Sont exclues du catalogue les images de chasseurs (en particulier celles des gemmes) qu'en l'absence de contexte précis on ne peut rapporter avec une quasi-certitude à H.

#### Ronde bosse

1. Statue attribuée à Timothéos. Trézène. Connue par Paus. 2, 32, 4. - Overbeck, *SQ* n° 1329. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Pausanias mentionne à Trézène une statue d'Asclépios, œuvre de Timothéos, dont les Trézéniens disaient qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'Asclépios mais d'une image d'H.

#### Sarcophages

2. (= 58 avec bibl., = 16) Petit côté dr. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Prof. 10400. - Vers 210 ap. J.-C. - H. (?) nu, le manteau flottant au vent, à cheval vers la g., brandit une arme de la main dr. levée en arrière.

3. (= 70 avec bibl.) Petit côté dr. Split, Mus. Arch. D 29. De Salona. - Vers 300 ap. J.-C. - H. nu, debout à côté de son cheval qu'il tient par la bride, s'appuie de la main g. sur sa lance.

#### Monnaies impériales de Trézène (Argolide)

4. AE, Commode (180-192), Septime Sévère (193-211). - Imhoof-Blumer/Gardner, *NumCommPaus* (repr. 1964) 162 n° 7. - *Rv.* H. debout, le manteau sur les épaules, s'appuie sur une lance de la main g.

5. AE, Commode. - Imhoof-Blumer/Gardner, *NumCommPaus* 48 n° 7 pl. M VIII - *Rv.* H. nu debout de face, accoudé à g. sur un tronc d'arbre, s'appuie de la main dr. sur une lance; un chien à ses pieds.

6. AE, Commode. - Imhoof-Blumer/Gardner, *NumCommPaus* 48 n° 7. - *Rv.* H., accompagné d'un chien, conduit un cheval.

## II. Hippolyte enfant

7. (= Amazones 782\* avec bibl., = Apollon 941, = Artemis 1391, = Herakles 2807\* avec bibl.) Cratère en calice apulien f.r. Bâle, Antikenmus. S 34. - *RV/AP* II 501 n° 64: p. de Darius; Schefold, *SB IV* 218-219 fig. 269. - 340-330 av. J.-C. - *Registre sup.*: → Pan, → Apollon, Artémis, Aphrodite et → Eros. *Registre inf.*: devant le roi → Skythes comparaît → Rhodope; à ses côtés, → Herakles, à qui elle tend une tablette, puis Antiopé qui pose la main sur l'épaule du petit H. L'enfant est drapé dans un manteau, sa chevelure bouclée est ceinte d'un bandeau. Tous les personnages sont accompagnés d'inscr.

## III. Hippolyte à la chasse

Sont exclues du catalogue les scènes de chasse (en particulier sur les sarcophages) dans lesquelles, en l'absence de contexte mythologique particulier ou d'indice précis, il est impossible d'identifier H. avec une quasi-certitude.

#### Mosaïque

8.\* (= Adonis 32, = Aktaion 125) Mosaïque. Antakya, Mus. Hatay 1016. D'Antioche (Yakto). - Levi, *Antioch* 338 fig. 136 pl. 78c. - Milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Autour d'un médaillon avec → Megalopsychia, scènes de chasse mettant six héros (inscr.) aux prises avec divers animaux: → Meleagros, Adonis, → Narkissos, Tirésias (→ Teiresias), Aktéon, et H. (tunique à manches, manteau et bottes) attaquant à la lance un animal disparu.

#### Sarcophages de marbre romains

9.\* (= 55 avec bibl.) a)\* Petit côté g. b)\* petit côté dr. Pise, Camposanto. - 180-190 ap. J.-C. - a) H. nu, le manteau rejeté dans le dos, debout à côté de son cheval qu'il tient par la bride de la main g., s'appuie de la main dr. sur une lance. A g. s'avance un serviteur, un filet sur l'épaule. b) H. nu, le manteau dans le dos, appuyé de la main dr. sur une lance, regarde un chasseur qui s'éloigne vers la g., tenant un chien en laisse. Voir aussi 17. 55-63. 65-67.

#### Sarcophages de marbre attiques

10.\* (= 87 avec bibl., = 119) Côté postérieur. Agrigente, Duomo. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Cinq chasseurs menacent de leurs armes (lances, épée, massue, pierre) un sanglier attaqué par des chiens. Un seul chasseur est à cheval et pourrait, pour cette raison, être identifié comme H.

11.\* (= 86 avec bibl., = 118) Côté postérieur. Tyr 330. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Trois cavaliers, parmi lesquels il est difficile d'identifier plus particulièrement H., pointent leurs lances contre un sanglier qui surgit de la dr. Trois autres chasseurs, à pied, armés d'une massue, d'une hache ou d'une pierre, et accompagnés de chiens, se précipitent sur l'animal.

12. (= 88 avec bibl., = 117) Côté postérieur. Leningrad, Ermitage A 432. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. -

Scène de chasse au sanglier comme sur 11, avec quatre cavaliers, parmi lesquels sans doute H., et deux chasseurs à pied. Un autre chasseur, renversé par le sanglier, se protège derrière un bouclier.

13.\* (= 52 avec bibl., = 81, = 98) Côté postérieur. Marsa Susa-Apollonia (Libye), Mus. D'Apollonia. - Fin du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Un sanglier surgit de la dr., attaqué à la lance par un cavalier nu, le manteau flottant au vent, probablement H. Un autre cavalier, en exomis, s'éloigne vers la dr. Trois chasseurs à pied et plusieurs chiens complètent la scène.

14. (= 53 avec bibl., = 99) a) Côté postérieur. b) Petit côté dr. Arles, Mus. Lap. Art Païen P. 541. De Trinquetaille. - Vers 250-260 ap. J.-C. - a) Un sanglier surgit de la dr., attaqué par trois chiens et par deux chasseurs, l'un à pied, l'autre à cheval, sans doute H., qui brandit une lance. Deux autres chasseurs à pied suivent à g. b) Deux chasseurs, l'un à pied, l'autre à cheval, sans doute H., qui brandit une lance, poursuivent deux cerfs vers la dr.

## IV. Hippolyte et Artémis

### A. Hippolyte devant l'autel ou la statue d'Artémis

#### DOCUMENTS GRECS

##### Gemme

15. (= Artemis 1450\* avec bibl.) Cornaline. Munich, Münzslg. A 1520. - III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. nu, la chlamyde rejetée dans le dos, est debout, jambes croisées, une main sur sa lance, l'autre sur la hanche, devant un rocher surmonté d'un petit édifice abritant une statue d'Artémis. Aux pieds d'H., deux chiens.

#### DOCUMENTS D'ÉPOQUE IMPÉRIALE

##### Sarcophages de marbre attiques

Voir 25-26. 28. 30.

##### Sarcophages de marbre romains

16. (= 2, = 58 avec bibl., = Artemis/Diana 65\* avec bibl.) Petit côté g. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Prof. 10400. De Rome, Via Latina. - Vers 210 ap. J.-C. - H. nu vers la dr., le manteau dans le dos, s'appuie de la main g. sur une lance et fait, de la dr., une offrande sur un autel placé devant un pilastre surmonté de la statue d'Artémis. Un autre chasseur s'éloigne vers la g.

17. Face antérieure. Los Angeles, marché (en 1982). - Koch, G., dans Andreae, B., *Symposium über die antiken Sarkophage Pisa 1982 = MarbWPr* 1984, 30-31 fig. 3. - 220-230 ap. J.-C. - A g., H. de face, nu, le manteau sur l'épaule, une lance dans la main g., fait de la dr. une offrande sur un autel placé devant une statuette d'Artémis dressée sur un rocher. A g. de l'autel, un autre chasseur. Au centre du relief, scène de chasse au sanglier avec H. à cheval comme sur 55, mais Virtus est remplacée par un chasseur courant. A l'extrémité dr., deux autres chasseurs.

18.\* (= 61 avec bibl., = Artemis/Diana 65a) Petit côté g. Florence, Uff. 98. - 230-240 ap. J.-C. - H. de face, nu, le manteau sur les épaules, une lance dans



la main g., fait une offrande sur un autel où brûle une flamme. A g., sur un rocher, la statue d'Artémis.

#### Gemmes

19.\* (= Artemis/Diana 50 avec bibl.) Calcédoine. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. IX 1919. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. nu, le manteau jeté sur l'épaule, une main sur la hanche, l'autre tenant deux lances, devant une statue d'Artémis dressée sur un rocher devant lequel ont été placées des offrandes: guirlande, hure, tête de cerf. Deux chiens aux pieds d'H.

20.\* Grenat. New York, MMA 21.88.47. - Richter, *MetMusGems* n° 419 pl. 52. - H. comme sur 19 mais avec une seule lance, devant une statuette d'Artémis dressée sur un rocher.

21. (= Artemis/Diana 51\* avec bibl.) Pâte de verre. Hanovre, Kestner-Mus. K 1001. - Époque augustéenne. - H. de trois quarts dos, nu, le manteau jeté sur l'épaule, deux lances en main, devant une statuette d'Artémis. A ses pieds, un chien.

22. Prase. Hanovre, Kestner-Mus. K. 1002. - AGD IV n° 984 pl. 131. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. nu, le manteau sur l'épaule et l'avant-bras, devant un édifice dressé sur un rocher orné d'une hure, contre lequel sont appuyées deux lances. A ses pieds, un chien.

23. Nicolo. Brunswick, Mus. - AGD III n° 126 pl. 16. - I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. nu, le manteau rejeté dans le dos, deux lances en main, devant un édifice dressé sur un rocher. A ses pieds, un chien.

#### B. Artémis intervient à la mort d'Hippolyte

Voir 123.

#### C. Artémis et Hippolyte héroïsés

Voir 126.

#### D. Interprétation incertaine

24. (= Artemis/Diana 343 avec bibl.) Peinture murale. Pompéi VI 9, 2, Casa di Meleagro. - Époque de Vespasien. - Artémis debout en compagnie d'un chasseur assis, H. ou Méléagre, près duquel surgit la tête d'un sanglier.

#### V. Hippolyte et Phèdre

##### A. Allusion au «mal d'amour» de Phèdre

###### Sarcophages de marbre attiques

25.\* Face antérieure. Beyrouth, Mus. Nat. 447. De Tyr. - Chéhab, M., *BullMusBeyrouth* 21, 1968, 45-49 pl. 27-30; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 393-394 fig. 425; Linant de Bellefonds 17-18. 127-133. 159. 161 pl. 45. - 3<sup>e</sup> quart du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - La représentation est divisée en deux groupes: à g., Eros agenouillé sur un cippe bande son arc dans la direction que lui indi-

que Aphrodite, debout derrière lui. Sa flèche vise Phèdre, assise vers la g., le visage incliné, drapée dans un manteau rabattu sur ses cheveux; elle abandonne son bras à la nourrice qui se détourne, la main dr. levée. Cette scène est séparée de la suivante par un petit édifice sur lequel un garçon est en train de clouer des bois de cerf. H., assis vers la dr., une main posée sur sa lance, se retourne pour surveiller cette opération; il n'est vêtu que d'un manteau jeté sur ses jambes. Près de lui, un chien; plus loin à dr., un serviteur décharge un sanglier d'une mule.

26. (= Ariadne 70 [petit côté dr.] avec bibl.) Face antérieure. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 125. De Thessalonique. - Linant de Bellefonds 128-129. 159. 161 pl. 46, 1. - Dernier quart du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Même représentation que sur 25, avec l'adjonction de deux personnages: dans le groupe de g. une servante à côté de Phèdre, dans la partie dr. un compagnon d'H.

Des fr. de quatre autres sarcophages peuvent être rattachés au même type iconographique:

27.\* Fr. de face antérieure. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 1415. - Mendel, *Sculpt* I n° 22; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 393-394; Linant de Bellefonds 129 pl. 47, 2. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H., assis vers la dr. sur un tabouret, les cuisses couvertes d'une draperie qui tombe de l'épaule g., et le petit serviteur occupé à clouer les bois de cerf.

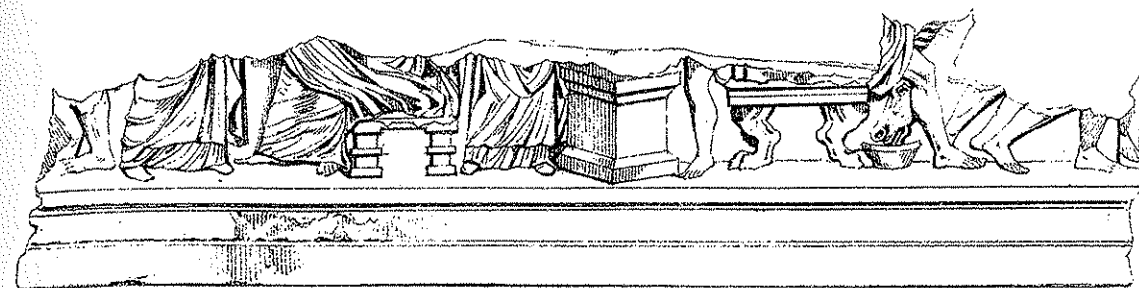
28.\* Fr. de côté postérieur. Disparu. Des environs de Sparte. - *SarkRel* III 2 n° 147c pl. 45; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 393; Linant de Bellefonds 130-131. 160-161 pl. 46, 2. - 220-230 ap. J.-C. - Le dessin de Vietty (*SarkRel* pl. 45) montre le tiers inférieur d'une représentation identique à 25.

29. Fr. de face antérieure. Antalya, Mus. A 702. - Wiegartz, H., *Gnomon* 37, 1965, 616 n° 21; Giuliano, A./Palma, B., *La maniera ateniese di età romana. I maestri dei sarcofagi attici* (1978) 21 n° 3 pl. 13, 31; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 393-394; Linant de Bellefonds 129. 160 pl. 47, 3. - 170-180 ap. J.-C. - Ne subsistent qu'Aphrodite et Eros agenouillé sur une haute base, et un pied de Phèdre.

30. Fr. de face antérieure. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2087. - *SarkRel* III 2 n° 145 pl. 45; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 393-394; Linant de Bellefonds 130. - Sont conservés la tête de la nourrice et le haut du petit édifice avec la main du garçon qui cloue le trophée de chasse.

31. Fr. de face antérieure. Athènes, Mus. Acropole 3305. - *SarkRel* III 2 n° 148; Walter, *RelAkr* n° 374; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 393-394. - Ne subsistent que la tête et le haut du corps de la nourrice avec son bras dr. levé.

32.\* (= 91, = 97) Face antérieure. Tyr 4230. - Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 395; Linant de Bellefonds 25-26. 151-152. 160 pl. 59, 1; Chéhab, M., *BullMusBeyrouth* 35, 1985, 527-528 pl. 97b-98-99. - Fin du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Phèdre est assise dans la partie dr., entourée de ses compagnes. Assise vers la dr., elle se retourne pour regarder la tablette que lui présente une servante. Un petit Eros lève une torche enflammée contre sa poitrine. A dr., la nourrice soulève un pan de l'himation rabattu sur les cheveux



Hippolytos I 28

de Phèdre, et deux femmes conversent. Le reste du relief, vers la g., est occupé par H. et quatre chasseurs, accompagnés de chiens et de chevaux. H. est vraisemblablement le jeune homme le plus proche du groupe de Phèdre: nu, la chlamyde rejetée dans le dos, chaussé de bottes, il tient son cheval par la bride.

33. Deux fr. de face antérieure. Woburn Abbey. - *SarkRel* III 2 n° 156 pl. 49; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 395. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur l'un des fr.: Phèdre assise, soutenue par la nourrice à g. et une servante à dr., qui lui soulève son voile; le groupe est entouré par deux chasseurs: celui de g., qui détourne son visage, est peut-être H. Sur le second fr. sont conservés quatre autres chasseurs.

34. Face antérieure fr. Rome, Villa Medici. - *SarkRel* III 2 n° 155 pl. 49; Cagiano de Azevedo, M., *Le Antichità di Villa Medici* (1951) n° 53 pl. 27, 40; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 395. - A dr., Phèdre assise avec trois compagnes; à côté de son siège, un petit Eros. Au centre, H. debout à côté de son cheval au milieu de ses compagnons de chasse. Très restauré.

#### B. Hippolyte et Phèdre: allusion à la déclaration d'amour, sans intervention directe de la nourrice

##### Mosaïques

35.\* Nea Paphos, Maison de Dionysos. - Nicolaou, K., *RDAC* 1963, 68; Heliades, G. S., *The House of Dionysos* (1980) 30-31; Balty, J., dans *ANRW* II 12/2 (1981) 420 pl. 16, 3; Michaelides, D., *Cypriot Mosaics* (1987) 17 n° 12 pl. 21. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A g. H. de face, nu (bottes, manteau sur l'épaule et le bras g.), la lance dans la main g., écarte sa main dr. qui tient un diptyque. A ses pieds, un chien. A dr. Phèdre, drapée et voilée, est assise sur un trône, le visage incliné, le bras dr. accoudé sur le dossier du siège. Un Eros, qui s'éloigne à dr., tend vers elle une torche enflammée.

36. Détruite. De Pitney (Somerset). - Smith, D. J., «The Mosaic Pavements», dans Rivet, A. L. F. (éd.), *The Roman Villa in Britain* (1969) pl. 3, 3 avec bibl. p. 124; *idem*, «Mythological Figures and Scenes in Romano-British Mosaics», dans Munby, J./Henig, M. (éd.), *Roman Life and Art in Britain I = British Archaeological Reports* 41/1 (1977) 151 n° 143-144 pl. 6, 27. -

IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Autour d'un médaillon avec → Dionysos/Bacchus sont disposés huit trapèzes portant chacun un personnage. Dans l'un d'eux, Phèdre est assise vers la dr., la main g. levée vers le visage, vêtue d'une draperie qui descend des épaules et ne lui couvre que le bas du corps; à ses pieds, un diptyque jeté sur le sol. Dans le trapèze contigu, à dr., H. nu, un manteau flottant dans le dos, s'élance vers la dr., tête retournée, une lance à la main g.: il fait de la main dr. un geste de refus. Dans les autres trapèzes: → Mercurius(?), Ménades (→ Mainades), Tirésias(?). Aux quatre angles, bustes des Vents (→ Venti).

##### Reliefs divers

37.\* Urne romaine de marbre. Londres, BM 2382. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2, 194; Smith, *BM Sculpture* III n° 2382; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 53 fig. 54; Sinn, F., *Stadtrömische Marmorurnen* (1987) 245-246 n° 636 pl. 93e. - 150-180 ap. J.-C. - A g., H. à demi nu est assis vers la dr. sur un rocher mais détourne le visage en levant la main dr.; il tient une tablette dans sa main g. A ses pieds, un chien; devant lui, deux compagnons de chasse. Symétriquement, dans la partie dr., Phèdre est assise, défaillante, sur une chaise à haut dossier, entourée par la nourrice, qui lui désigne H., et par une servante qui lui saisit le bras. Un Eros est accoudé sur ses genoux.

38. Plat d'argent. Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Coll. 49.6. De Constantinople? - Weitzmann, K., *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14, 1960, 53-55 fig. 14; Weitzmann, *Spirituality* 241-242 n° 217; Hanfmann, G. M. A., dans Weitzmann, K., *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium* (1978) 84 fig. 18. - 500-550 ap. J.-C. - A g., Phèdre de face, drapée et voilée, accoudée sur une petite colonne, tire un pan du manteau d'H. Le jeune homme, qui lui tourne le dos, est en train de lire un diptyque.

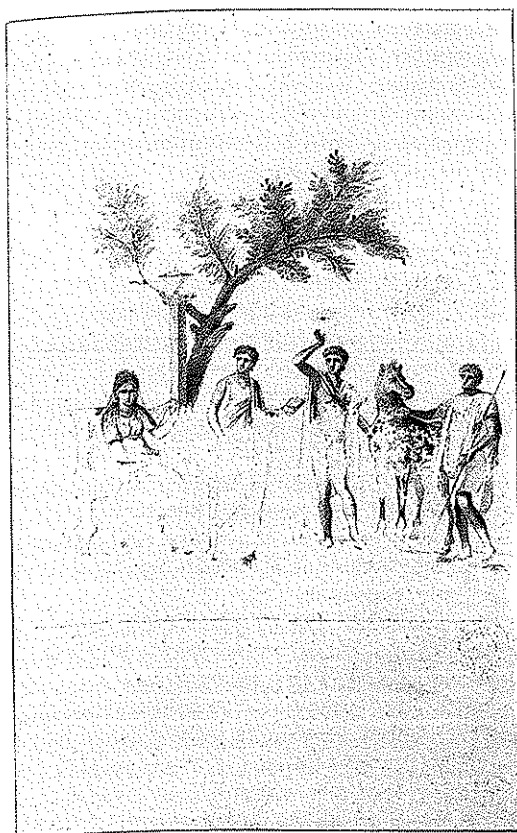
39.\* Diptyque en ivoire. Brescia, Mus. Cristiano. D'Italie du nord. - Simon, E., *Meleager und Atalante* (1970) 39-41 fig. 1; Volbach, W. F., *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (1976) 57 n° 66 pl. 38. - Vers 400 (Simon), V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Volbach). - Sur chaque volet est figuré un couple sous une arcade. H. à g., nu (bottes et baudrier), une lance à la main dr., lit une tablette qu'il tient ouverte devant son épaule g.; à ses pieds, un chien. A dr., Phèdre, drapée et voilée, accoudée contre une colonne, le regarde. Au-dessus, un petit Eros tend une torche enflammée vers Phèdre.

Sur l'autre volet: Didon et Enée (Simon), ou Diane et Virbius (Volbach).

### C. La déclaration d'amour par l'intermédiaire de la nourrice

#### Peintures murales

40. • Détruite (Rome, dessin nég. DAI 53.587). De Pompéi V 2, 9-12. — RM 5, 1890, 260; Reinach, *RépPeint* 210, 3; Schefold, *WP* 71; Croisille 81 n. 36a pl. 27, 2. — III<sup>e</sup> style. — A g., près d'un arbre, Phèdre, assise sur un fauteuil, soulève de la main g. un pan du voile qui lui couvre les cheveux. La nourrice, qui la regarde, s'éloigne en tendant une tablette à H. Le jeune homme nu, le manteau sur les épaules, lève la main dr. dans un geste de surprise. De la g., il tient par la bride son cheval qu'accompagne, à dr., un de ses compagnons.



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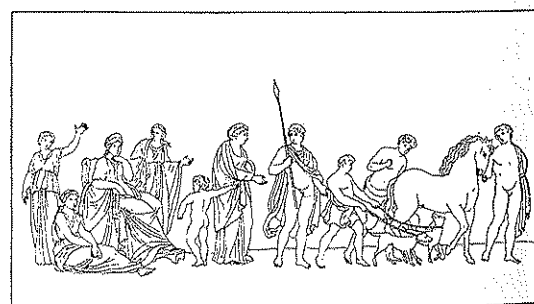
41. • Détruite (Rome, dessin nég. DAI 53.574). De Pompéi IX 1, 22. — Schefold, *WP* 239; *idem*, *VergP* pl. 59, 4; Croisille 82 n. 36 pl. 26, 2. — III<sup>e</sup> style. — Phèdre, drapée et voilée, est assise à g. sur un trône, la tête inclinée reposant sur la main g. Devant elle, la nourrice, un éventail à la main g., tend la dr. vers H. qui, vêtu d'un manteau, fait de la main dr. un geste de refus. A ses pieds, un chien.

42. • Rome, Domus Aurea. — Weege, F., *JdI* 28, 1913, 169-170 pl. 7; Reinach, *RépPeint* 209, 4 (dessin



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inversé); Croisille 81-82 n. 36e pl. 29, 1. — Epoque néronienne, après 64 ap. J.-C. — A g., Phèdre est assise sur un fauteuil, le menton reposant sur la main g., entourée de trois servantes qui attirent son attention vers la scène du centre, comme le fait aussi un petit Eros qui lui désigne H. Celui-ci, nu, le manteau sur les épaules, une lance dans la main dr., s'apprête à partir pour la chasse mais se retourne vers la nourrice qui l'aborde, une main tendue vers lui. A dr., deux compagnons d'H. avec un cheval et un jeune serviteur avec des chiens.



Hippolytos I 42

43. • Rome, Domus Aurea. — Reinach, *RépPeint* 209, 3; Croisille 81-82 n. 36f pl. 29, 2. — Epoque néronienne, après 64 ap. J.-C. — La scène se passe devant un édifice, représenté à l'arrière-plan par un mur et

une porte. A dr. Phèdre (diadème, tunique et manteau) est assise sur un fauteuil, sur le dossier duquel elle s'accoude. Derrière elle, une servante. A g., H. de face, nu, le manteau sur l'épaule dr., une lance dans la main dr., est abordé par la nourrice qui lui saisit le bras. H. se détourne, faisant de la main g. un geste de refus; une tablette est tombée à ses pieds.



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44. Londres, BM. De Pompéi VI 5, 2. — Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 1246; Hinks, *BMPaintings* 19-20 n° 35 pl. 16; Schefold, *WP* 97 (donnée comme perdue); Croisille 81 n. 36b pl. 27, 1. — Epoque de Vespasien. — A dr. Phèdre (tunique, manteau, voile), assise vers la g. sur un trône, le visage incliné, désigne H. de l'index g. Devant elle, la nourrice, qui tient un stylet, tend une tablette à H. qui détourne son visage en faisant un geste de refus de la main dr. Nu, le manteau sur les épaules, il tient trois lances de la main g.; à ses pieds, deux chiens.

45. • Naples, Mus. Naz. 9041. D'Herculanum. — Guida Ruesch n° 1367; Reinach, *RépPeint* 210, 1; Croisille 81-82 n. 36d pl. 26, 1. — Epoque de Vespasien. — A g. Phèdre assise vers la dr. sur un trône soulève de la main g. un pan de son voile; elle détourne le

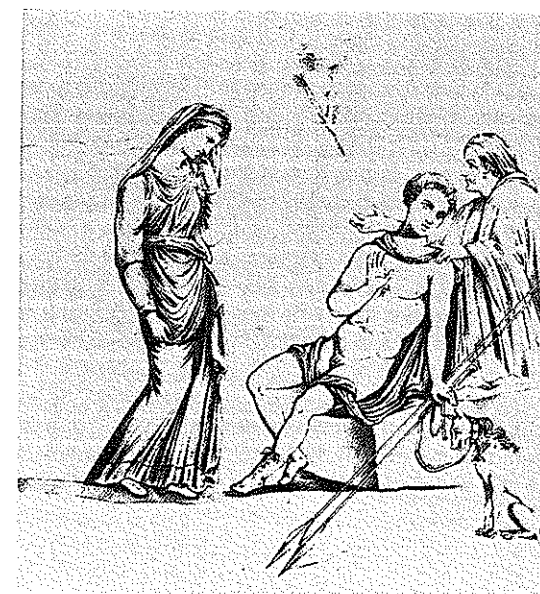


Hippolytos I 46

visage de la scène centrale où l'on voit la nourrice tendre les deux mains vers H. qui s'apprête à partir pour la chasse, nu, le manteau dans le dos, une lance dans la main g. A dr., devant l'embrasure d'une porte, un jeune serviteur conduit par la bride le cheval d'H.

46. • Détruite. Pompéi VI 9, 6 (45), Casa dei Dioscuri. — Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 1242; Schefold, *WP* 119; Croisille 81-82 n. 36g pl. 28, 2. — Epoque de Vespasien. — La scène se passe devant un édifice représenté par un mur et une porte. A g. Phèdre (tunique, manteau) est assise vers la dr. sur un trône, la main g. ramenée sur la poitrine, le visage incliné. Devant elle, la nourrice saisit le coude d'H. qui, le visage tourné vers Phèdre, fait un geste de surprise. Son himation est replié sur le bras g., qui tient une lance, l'épée pend au côté g.

47. • Détruite. Pompéi VIII 4, 34 (5). — Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 1245; Schefold, *WP* 225; Croisille 82 n. 37 pl. 28, 1. — Epoque de Vespasien. — A dr., H. (bottes, manteau dans le dos), accompagné d'un chien, est assis sur un rocher contre lequel sont posées deux lances; la main dr. levée dans un geste de surprise, il se penche en arrière vers la nourrice qui, une main posée sur son épaule, de l'autre lui désigne Phèdre. Celle-ci, debout, le visage incliné, regarde H. en écartant de la main g. un pan de son voile.



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#### Mosaïques

48. • Antakya, Mus. Hatay 1018. D'Antioche, Maison du Pavement rouge. — Levi, *Antioch* 71-75 pl. 11b. — Milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — A dr., H. (bottes, tunique courte et manteau), une lance dans la main g., vient de jeter à terre le diptyque. A g., près d'un piédestal surmonté d'une statuette d'Aphrodite, Phèdre, qui se drapait dans son manteau dont un pan est rabattu sur ses cheveux, regarde H. avec tristesse. Au centre, la nourrice lève la main vers elle.

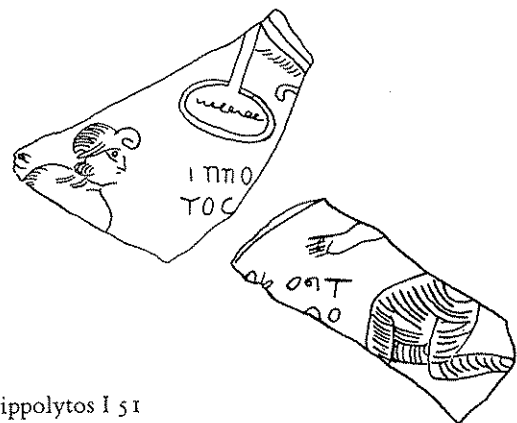


49.\* (= Eros [in periphéria or.] 99. III avec bibl.) Ismaïlia, Mus. 2401. De Cheikh Zouéide. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A g., Phèdre (ΦΕΔΡΑ) est assise dans son palais, représenté par un édifice à fronton; songeuse, le menton appuyé sur la main dr., elle regarde vers le centre de la scène où la nourrice (ΤΡΟΦΟΣ) est en train de remettre à H. (ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ) une tablette qui porte l'inscr. ΦΕΔΡΑ. H., en costume de chasseur, une lance dans la main g., est accompagné de son chien. Au-dessus de la nourrice, un Eros désigne H. Deux compagnons d'H. (ΚΥΝΑΓΟΙ) s'éloignent vers la dr. avec son cheval.

50. (= Aphrodite/Al-Uzza 8 avec bibl. [reg. sup.], = Eros [in periphéria or.] 87 [reg. sup.]) Pavement endommagé, registre inférieur. De Madaba. - Piccirillo, M., dans *I mosaici di Giordania* (1986) 51-54 pl. 4; Buschhausen, H., *ibidem* 120-127 fig. 94-95. - Milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A g., Phèdre (ΦΑΙΔΡΑ), accompagnée de deux servantes (ΘΕΡΑΠΕΝΑΙ) dont l'une lui soutient le bras tout en lui désignant H. Le héros, dont ne subsiste plus que le nom (ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ) et le fer de la lance, était représenté dans la partie dr., avec un jeune serviteur (ΔΟΥΛΟΣ), qui tenait un chien en laisse ou un cheval par la bride, et des compagnons (ΠΡΟΠΟΛΟΙ); celui qui est figuré à côté du groupe de Phèdre porte sur le bras g. un faucon. L'inscr. ΓΕΡΕ, à g. de la lacune, désigne vraisemblablement la nourrice, dont ne subsiste plus qu'un bras.

#### Verre gravé

51.\* Deux fr. de verre gravé. Corning Mus. of Glass 474 a (H.) et 474 b. (nourrice). D'Égypte? - Fremersdorf, F., *Figürlich geschliffene Gläser, eine Kölner Werkstatt des 3. Jh.* = *Röm.-Germ. Forsch.* 19 (1951) 12-13 n° 18-19 fig. 5 a-b; *Glass from the Ancient World, The Ray Winfield Smith Collection* (1957) 179-181 n° 361.363; Harden, D. B., *Glass of the Caesars* (1987) 182. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Fr. a: tête et épaules d'un personnage de profil, qui semble féminin, et restes d'une inscr. rétr.: ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ. Fr. b: bas du corps (drapé) d'un personnage agenouillé, la main dr. tendue, accompagné de l'inscr. rétr. ΤΡΟΦΟΣ. Si les deux fr. proviennent bien du même objet, il pourrait s'agir de la nourrice (fr. b) qui supplie H. (disparu mais inscrit), en présence de Phèdre (fr. a).



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#### Reliefs

Sarcophages de marbre attiques (et copie locale)  
Ateliers attiques

52.\* (= 13, = 81, = 98) Face antérieure. Marsa Susa-Apollonia, Mus. D'Apollonia. - Goodchild, R. G., *Libya Antiqua* 2, 1965, 138 pl. 67; Giuliano/Palma 33-34 n° 2 pl. 31, 74-75; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 395. 398; Linant de Bellefonds 147. 153. 156-157. 160 pl. 56, 3; 59, 2; 60. 62. - Fin du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A l'extrémité g. Phèdre (tunique, voile, manteau) assise vers la dr., se retourne vers une servante qui lui pose une main sur l'épaule; une autre servante lui soulève son voile. Devant le siège, un petit Eros. H., dont ne subsistent que les jambes, était au centre du relief, avec à sa dr. la nourrice courbée. Plusieurs compagnons d'H., avec chiens et chevaux, complètent la scène.

53. (= 14a-b, = 99, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 3 avec bibl.) Face antérieure. Arles, Mus. Lap. Art Païen P 541. De Trinquetaille. - Ward Perkins, J. B., *JRS* 46, 1956, 10-16 pl. 1-3; Giuliano/Palma 33-34 n° 2 pl. 31, 74-75; Linant de Bellefonds 146-147. 153-156. 160 pl. 56, 3; 58, 1; 59, 3; 60, 2; 61. - Vers 250-260 ap. J.-C. - A l'extrémité g., Phèdre (diadème, voile, chiton, manteau) est assise vers la dr., pressant sa main g. sur sa poitrine contre laquelle un Eros lève une torche enflammée. Devant elle, H. nu, le manteau sur le bras g., fait de la main dr. un geste de refus: la nourrice, agitant la main dr. devant son épaule, cherche à le persuader. Le reste du relief, vers la dr., est occupé par une rangée de chasseurs, parmi lesquels on pourrait reconnaître H. une seconde fois, au centre du relief.

#### Copie locale

54.\* Face antérieure. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 508. De Tripoli (Liban). - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 151 pl. 46; Mendel, *Sculpt* I n° 26; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 396. - A g., Phèdre (diadème, voile, tunique, manteau) assise vers la dr. se retourne vers une servante qui lui parle à l'oreille; elle abandonne sa main g. à un petit Eros appuyé contre son genou. H. est au centre du relief, nu, le manteau sur le bras g. qui porte un javelot; de la main dr. il tient les tablettes que vient de lui remettre, à sa dr., la nourrice, suivie d'une autre servante. Deux compagnons d'H. s'éloignent vers la dr. avec son cheval.

#### Sarcophages de marbre romains (et copies locales)

##### TYPE A

Les reliefs suivants présentent tous la même composition bipartite: à g., Phèdre, Hippolyte et la nourrice, à dr. la chasse au sanglier, les deux scènes étant séparées par une arcade.

#### Ateliers romains

55.\* (= 9a-b) Face antérieure. Pise, Camposanto. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 164 pl. 52; Arias, P. E./Cristiani, E./Gabbia, E., *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa. Le Antichità* I (1977) 135-138 pl. 76-77; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 33-34 n° 26 pl. 55, 2; 56-57; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 150 fig. 170. - 180-190 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: à l'extrémité g. Phèdre, (diadème, tu-

nique, manteau, voile), assise vers la dr., entourée par deux servantes, regarde H. Un Eros s'accoude sur ses genoux, un autre est à côté du trône. A l'arrière-plan, un édifice à fronton. La nourrice agite une main devant H. qui, de face, nu, le manteau rejeté dans le dos, fait de la main dr. un geste de refus. A ses pieds, un chien. Un compagnon d'H. s'éloigne vers la dr., conduisant son cheval. Sur le fond, un *parapetasma*. Partie dr.: H. nu, le manteau flottant au vent, une lance (disparue) à la main dr., galope vers la dr. Virtus court à ses côtés. Le héros est accompagné d'un autre cavalier, et d'un troisième chasseur qui apparaît à dr. derrière l'autre d'où surgit le sanglier, attaqué par les chiens.

56. Face antérieure fr. Rome, Villa Albani 135. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 168 pl. 54; Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV 3294; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 150. - 180-190 ap. J.-C. - Partie dr.: comme sur 55 mais Phèdre se retourne vers la servante de g. et H., qui porte une lance de la main g., lève la main dr. comme pour repousser la nourrice. L'édifice à fronton est situé derrière H. A dr., deux compagnons d'H. Partie dr. (fr.): comme sur 55.

57.\* Face antérieure. Louvre, Ma 1029. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 170 pl. 55; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 150-151. 262; Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* 78-81 n° 27. - 190-200 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: comme sur 56. L'édifice figuré derrière le groupe d'H. et de la nourrice abrite une statuette d'Artémis. A dr., un valet de chiens et trois autres chasseurs. Partie dr.: comme sur 55 mais à la place de Virtus est représenté un valet de chiens; à l'arrière-plan, deux autres chasseurs. A dr., au-dessus de l'arbre derrière lequel surgit le sanglier, une divinité locale barbue sur un rocher.

58.\* (= 2, = 16) Face antérieure. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Prof. 10400. De Rome, Via Latina. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 167 pl. 54; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I 1121; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 34-35 n° 27 pl. 58. 59, 2; 60-61; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151 fig. 171. - Vers 210 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: comme sur 56 mais le groupe d'Eros et Psyché remplace l'Eros de g., celui de dr. s'appuie sur une torche renversée. Partie dr.: comme sur 55 mais une divinité locale remplace le chasseur de dr.

59. Face antérieure. Rome, église San Clemente. - Lawrence, M., «The Phaedra Sarcophagus in San Clemente», dans *In Memoriam O. J. Brendel* (1976) 173-178 pl. 42; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - 210-220 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: comme sur 55, avec un seul Eros, appuyé sur les genoux de Phèdre, et H., qui s'appuie de la main g. sur un épieu, lève la dr. vers Phèdre. L'édifice à fronton n'est pas représenté. Partie dr.: comme sur 55 mais Virtus n'a pas encore rejoint H.

60.\* Face antérieure, aujourd'hui en grande partie détruite. Rome, Villa Doria Pamphilj. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 166 pl. 53; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 35 n° 28 pl. 55, 1; Calza, R., *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphilj* (1977) 154-155 n° 182 pl. 114; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - 220-230 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: comme sur 58 mais l'édifice à fronton n'est pas représenté, entre H. et la nourrice apparaît le visage d'un chasseur, et Virtus est figurée, s'éloignant vers la dr., la tête retournée vers H. dont elle entraîne le cheval par la bride; elle est précédée par le valet de chiens et un

chasseur. Partie dr.: Virtus fait une enjambée vers la g., tête retournée vers H. au galop vers la dr., précédé par un autre cavalier; au premier plan, un chasseur tombé avec son cheval. A dr., le sanglier, menacé par un chasseur, surgit de derrière un arbre, piétinant un cerf.

61.\* (= 18, = Eros/Amor, Cupido I avec bibl.) Face antérieure. Florence, Uff. 98. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 171 pl. 55. - 230-240 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: Phèdre est assise vers la dr., entourée de trois servantes; un Eros, arc dans la main g., brandit une torche vers elle. Pas d'édifice à fronton, mais une colonne surmontée d'un vase. La nourrice se penche vers H., qui lui tourne le dos, la lance dans la main g., la main dr. levée vers son visage incliné. Partie dr.: comme sur 60 sans le chasseur tombé; à dr., un garçonnet retient un chien.

62. Fr. de face antérieure. Milan, Mus. Arch. A 1129. - Arslan, E. A., *Le civiche raccolte archeologiche di Milano* (1979) n° 185; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - 230-240 ap. J.-C. - Ne sont conservés qu'H. et son compagnon, à cheval vers la dr., et, partiellement, Virtus qui semble plutôt se diriger vers la g. comme sur 60 et 61.

63. Fr. de face antérieure. Berlin, Schloß zu Klein-Glienicke Gl. 132. - Goethert, F. W., *Kat. der Antikenslg. ... im Schloß zu Klein-Glienicke bei Potsdam* (1972) 23-24 n° 112 pl. 38. 43-44; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - 230-240 ap. J.-C. - De la partie g. ne subsiste qu'un chasseur tenant un cheval par la bride. Partie dr.: ne subsistent que Virtus courant, H. à cheval comme sur 59 et le compagnon d'H. à cheval.

64. Petit fr. de face antérieure. Leningrad, Ermitage A 813. - Saverkina, I. I., *Römische Sarkophage I. Römische Sarkophage in der Ermitage* (1979) 46-47 n° 20 pl. 48; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 150 n. 1. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Ne subsiste qu'un fr. de la partie g. avec H., qui détourne le visage vers la dr., et un de ses compagnons (d'après Saverkina, même type que 66).

#### Ateliers locaux

65. Face antérieure. Bénévent, Mus. del Sannio 513. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 169 pl. 55; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - Partie g.: comme sur 58, avec une seule servante et un seul Eros dans le groupe de Phèdre. Partie dr.: H. à cheval vers la dr., suivi par Virtus et précédé par un autre cavalier; le sanglier surgit de la dr. L'extrémité du relief a disparu.

66. (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 2\* avec bibl.) Face antérieure. Capoue, Duomo. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 165 pl. 53; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - 230-240 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: Phèdre est assise vers la dr., la main g. appuyée sur un sceptre. Derrière elle, une servante; un Eros tient une torche enflammée contre sa jambe, un autre, devant le siège, court vers un oiseau. Derrière ce groupe, un *parapetasma*. H., une lance dans la main g., lève la dr., détournant son visage de la nourrice qui s'adresse à lui; derrière elle, un édifice à fronton. A côté d'H., à l'arrière-plan, un de ses compagnons. A dr., un chasseur emmène le cheval d'H. Partie dr.: Virtus court derrière H. à cheval vers la dr. et brandissant une lance. A dr., le sanglier surgit de

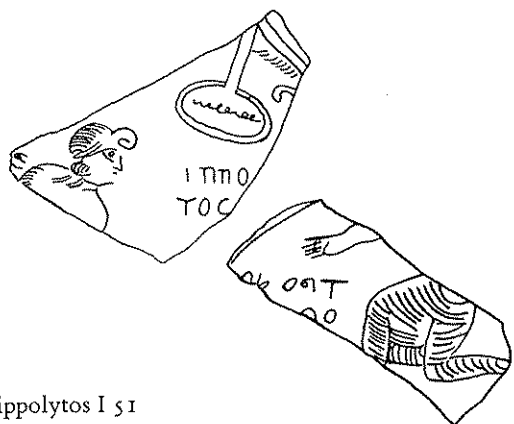


49.\* (= Eros [in periphèria or.] 99. III avec bibl.) Ismaïlia, Mus. 2401. De Cheikh Zoueide. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A g., Phèdre (ΦΕΔΡΑ) est assise dans son palais, représenté par un édifice à fronton; songeuse, le menton appuyé sur la main dr., elle regarde vers le centre de la scène où la nourrice (ΤΡΟΦΟΣ) est en train de remettre à H. (ΗΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ) une tablette qui porte l'inscr. ΦΕΔΡΑ. H., en costume de chasseur, une lance dans la main g., est accompagné de son chien. Au-dessus de la nourrice, un Eros désigne H. Deux compagnons d'H. (ΚΥΝΑΓΟΙ) s'éloignent vers la dr. avec son cheval.

50. (= Aphrodite/Al-Uzza 8 avec bibl. [reg. sup.], = Eros [in periphèria or.] 87 [reg. sup.]) Pavement en dommaque, registre inférieur. De Madaba. - Piccirillo, M., dans *I mosaici di Giordania* (1986) 51-54 pl. 4; Buschhausen, H., *ibidem* 120-127 fig. 94-95. - Milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A g., Phèdre (ΦΑΙΔΡΑ), accompagnée de deux servantes (ΘΕΡΑΠΕΝΑΙ) dont l'une lui soutient le bras tout en lui désignant H. Le héros, dont ne subsiste plus que le nom (ΗΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ) et le fer de la lance, était représenté dans la partie dr., avec un jeune serviteur (ΔΟΥΛΟΣ), qui tenait un chien en laisse ou un cheval par la bride, et des compagnons (ΠΡΟΠΟΛΟΙ); celui qui est figuré à côté du groupe de Phèdre porte sur le bras g. un faucon. L'inscr. ΓΕΡΕ, à g. de la lacune, désigne vraisemblablement la nourrice, dont ne subsiste plus qu'un bras.

#### Verre gravé

51.\* Deux fr. de verre gravé. Corning Mus. of Glass 474 a (H.) et 474 b. (nourrice). D'Égypte? - Frémersdorf, F., *Figürlich geschnittene Gläser, eine Kölner Werkstatt des 3. Jh.* = *Röm.-Germ. Forsch.* 19 (1951) 12-13 n°s 18-19 fig. 5 a-b; *Glass from the Ancient World, The Ray Winfield Smith Collection* (1957) 179-181 n°s 361.363; Harden, D. B., *Glass of the Caesars* (1987) 182. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Fr. a: tête et épaules d'un personnage de profil, qui semble féminin, et restes d'une inscr. rétr.: ΗΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ. Fr. b: bas du corps (drapé) d'un personnage agenouillé, la main dr. tendue, accompagné de l'inscr. rétr. ΤΡΟΦΟΣ. Si les deux fr. proviennent bien de l'inscr. rétr. ΤΡΟΦΟΣ, il pourrait s'agir de la nourrice (fr. b) qui supplie H. (disparu mais inscrit), en présence de Phèdre (fr. a).



Hippolytos I 51

#### Reliefs

Sarcophages de marbre attiques (et copie locale)  
Ateliers attiques

52.\* (= 13, = 81, = 98) Face antérieure. Marsa Susa-Apollonia, Mus. D'Apollonia. - Goodchild, R. G., *Libya Antiqua* 2, 1965, 138 pl. 67; Giuliano/Palma 33-34 n° 2 pl. 31, 74-75; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 395. 398; Linant de Bellefonds 147. 153. 156-157. 160 pl. 56, 3; 59, 2; 60. 62. - Fin du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A l'extrémité g. Phèdre (tunique, voile, manteau) assise vers la dr., se retourne vers une servante qui lui pose une main sur l'épaule; une autre servante lui soulève son voile. Devant le siège, un petit Eros H., dont ne subsistent que les jambes, était au centre du relief, avec à sa dr. la nourrice courbée. Plusieurs compagnons d'H., avec chiens et chevaux, complètent la scène.

53. (= 14a-b, = 99, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 3 avec bibl.) Face antérieure. Arles, Mus. Lap. Art Païen P 541. De Trinquetaille. - Ward Perkins, J. B., *JRS* 46, 1956, 10-16 pl. 1-3; Giuliano/Palma 33-34 n° 2 pl. 31, 74-75; Linant de Bellefonds 146-147. 153-156. 160 pl. 56, 3; 58, 1; 59, 3; 60, 2; 61. - Vers 250-260 ap. J.-C. - A l'extrémité g., Phèdre (diadème, voile, chiton, manteau) est assise vers la dr., pressant sa main g. sur sa poitrine contre laquelle un Eros lève une torche enflammée. Devant elle, H. nu, le manteau sur le bras g., fait de la main dr. un geste de refus: la nourrice, agitant la main dr. devant son épaule, cherche à le persuader. Le reste du relief, vers la dr., est occupé par une rangée de chasseurs, parmi lesquels on pourrait reconnaître H. une seconde fois, au centre du relief.

#### Copie locale

54.\* Face antérieure. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 508. De Tripoli (Liban). - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 151 pl. 46; Mendel, *Sculpt* I n° 26; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 396. - A g., Phèdre (diadème, voile, tunique, manteau) assise vers la dr. se retourne vers une servante qui lui parle à l'oreille; elle abandonne sa main g. à un petit Eros appuyé contre son genou. H. est au centre du relief, nu, le manteau sur le bras g. qui porte un javalot; de la main dr. il tient les tablettes que vient de lui remettre, à sa dr., la nourrice, suivie d'une autre servante. Deux compagnons d'H. s'éloignent vers la dr. avec son cheval.

#### Sarcophages de marbre romains (et copies locales)

##### TYPE A

Les reliefs suivants présentent tous la même composition bipartite: à g., Phèdre, Hippolyte et la nourrice, à dr. la chasse au sanglier, les deux scènes étant séparées par une arcade.

#### Ateliers romains

55.\* (= 9a-b) Face antérieure. Pise, Camposanto. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 164 pl. 52; Arias, P. E./Cristiani, E./Gabbia, E., *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa. Le Antichità* I (1977) 135-138 pl. 76-77; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 33-34 n° 26 pl. 55, 2; 56-57; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 150 fig. 170. - 180-190 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: à l'extrémité g. Phèdre, (diadème, tu-

nique, manteau, voile), assise vers la dr., entourée par deux servantes, regarde H. Un Eros s'accoude sur ses genoux, un autre est à côté du trône. A l'arrière-plan, un édifice à fronton. La nourrice agite une main devant H. qui, de face, nu, le manteau rejeté dans le dos, fait de la main dr. un geste de refus. A ses pieds, un chien. Un compagnon d'H. s'éloigne vers la dr., conduisant son cheval. Sur le fond, un *parapetasma*. Partie dr.: H. nu, le manteau flottant au vent, une lance (disparue) à la main dr., galope vers la dr. Virtus court à ses côtés. Le héros est accompagné d'un autre cavalier, et d'un troisième chasseur qui apparaît à dr. derrière l'autre d'où surgit le sanglier, attaqué par les chiens.

56. Face antérieure fr. Rome, Villa Albani 135. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 168 pl. 54; Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV 3294; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 150. - 180-190 ap. J.-C. - Partie dr.: comme sur 55 mais Phèdre se retourne vers la servante de g. et H., qui porte une lance de la main g., lève la main dr. comme pour repousser la nourrice. L'édifice à fronton est situé derrière H. A dr., deux compagnons d'H. Partie dr. (fr.): comme sur 55.

57.\* Face antérieure. Louvre, Ma 1029. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 170 pl. 55; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 150-151. 262; Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* 78-81 n° 27. - 190-200 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: comme sur 56. L'édifice figuré derrière le groupe d'H. et de la nourrice abrite une statuette d'Artémis. A dr., un valet de chiens et trois autres chasseurs. Partie dr.: comme sur 55 mais à la place de Virtus est représenté un valet de chiens; à l'arrière-plan, deux autres chasseurs. A dr., au-dessus de l'arbre derrière lequel surgit le sanglier, un divinité locale barbu sur un rocher.

58.\* (= 2, = 16) Face antérieure. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Prof. 10400. De Rome, Via Latina. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 167 pl. 54; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I 1121; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 34-35 n° 27 pl. 58. 59, 2; 60-61; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151 fig. 171. - Vers 210 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: comme sur 56 mais le groupe d'Eros et Psyché remplace l'Eros de g., celui de dr. s'appuie sur une torche renversée. Partie dr.: comme sur 55 mais une divinité locale remplace le chasseur de dr.

59. Face antérieure. Rome, église San Clemente. - Lawrence, M., «The Phaedra Sarcophagus in San Clemente», dans *In Memoriam O. J. Brendel* (1976) 173-178 pl. 42; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - 210-220 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: comme sur 55, avec un seul Eros, appuyé sur les genoux de Phèdre, et H., qui s'appuie de la main g. sur un épieu, lève la dr. vers Phèdre. L'édifice à fronton n'est pas représenté. Partie dr.: comme sur 55 mais Virtus n'a pas encore rejoint H.

60.\* Face antérieure, aujourd'hui en grande partie détruite. Rome, Villa Doria Pamphili. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 166 pl. 53; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 35 n° 28 pl. 55, 1; Calza, R., *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphili* (1977) 154-155 n° 182 pl. 114; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - 220-230 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: comme sur 58 mais l'édifice à fronton n'est pas représenté, entre H. et la nourrice apparaît le visage d'un chasseur, et Virtus est figurée, s'éloignant vers la dr., la tête retournée vers H. dont elle entraîne le cheval par la bride; elle est précédée par le valet de chiens et un

chasseur. Partie dr.: Virtus fait une enjambée vers la g., tête retournée vers H. au galop vers la dr., précédé par un autre cavalier; au premier plan, un chasseur tombé avec son cheval. A dr., le sanglier, menacé par un chasseur, surgit de derrière un arbre, piétinant un cerf.

61.\* (= 18, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 1 avec bibl.) Face antérieure. Florence, Uff. 98. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 171 pl. 55. - 230-240 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: Phèdre est assise vers la dr., entourée de trois servantes; un Eros, arc dans la main g., brandit une torche vers elle. Pas d'édifice à fronton, mais une colonne surmontée d'un vase. La nourrice se penche vers H., qui lui tourne le dos, la lance dans la main g., la main dr. levée vers son visage incliné. Partie dr.: comme sur 60 sans le chasseur tombé; à dr., un garçonnet retient un chien.

62. Fr. de face antérieure. Milan, Mus. Arch. A 1129. - Arslan, E. A., *Le civiche raccolte archeologiche di Milano* (1979) n° 185; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - 230-240 ap. J.-C. - Ne sont conservés qu'H. et son compagnon, à cheval vers la dr., et, partiellement, Virtus qui semble plutôt se diriger vers la g. comme sur 60 et 61.

63. Fr. de face antérieure. Berlin, Schloß zu Klein-Glienicke Gl. 132. - Goethert, F. W., *Kat. der Antikenslg. ... im Schloß zu Klein-Glienicke bei Potsdam* (1972) 23-24 n° 112 pl. 38. 43-44; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - 230-240 ap. J.-C. - De la partie g. ne subsiste qu'un chasseur tenant un cheval par la bride. Partie dr.: ne subsistent que Virtus courant, H. à cheval comme sur 59 et le compagnon d'H. à cheval.

64. Petit fr. de face antérieure. Leningrad, Ermitage A 813. - Saverkina, I. I., *Römische Sarkophage I. Römische Sarkophage in der Ermitage* (1979) 46-47 n° 20 pl. 48; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 150 n. 1. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Ne subsiste qu'un fr. de la partie g. avec H., qui détourne le visage vers la dr., et un de ses compagnons (d'après Saverkina, même type que 66).

#### Ateliers locaux

65. Face antérieure. Bénévent, Mus. del Sannio 513. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 169 pl. 55; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - Partie g.: comme sur 58, avec une seule servante et un seul Eros dans le groupe de Phèdre. Partie dr.: H. à cheval vers la dr., suivi par Virtus et précédé par un autre cavalier; le sanglier surgit de la dr. L'extrémité du relief a disparu.

66. (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 2\* avec bibl.) Face antérieure. Capoue, Duomo. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 165 pl. 53; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. - 230-240 ap. J.-C. - Partie g.: Phèdre est assise vers la dr., la main g. appuyée sur un sceptre. Derrière elle, une servante; un Eros tient une torche enflammée contre sa jambe, un autre, devant le siège, court vers un oiseau. Derrière ce groupe, un *parapetasma*. H., une lance dans la main g., lève la dr., détournant son visage de la nourrice qui s'adresse à lui; derrière elle, un édifice à fronton. A côté d'H., à l'arrière-plan, un de ses compagnons. A dr., un chasseur emmène le cheval d'H. Partie dr.: Virtus court derrière H. à cheval vers la dr. et brandissant une lance. A dr., le sanglier surgit de

son antre, attaqué par des chiens et par un chasseur qui brandit une pierre.

67. \* Face antérieure. Naples, Mus. Naz. – Robert, *SarkRel* III, 2 n° 173 pl. 56; Guida Ruesch n° 655; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 151. – Le relief est très érodé et tous les visages manquent. *Partie g.*: comme sur 56, avec un seule servante et un seul Eros dans le groupe de Phèdre. *Partie dr.*: H. à cheval, suivi par Virtus, s'élance vers un sanglier qui surgit de son antre; un autre sanglier gît à terre. A dr., deux chasseurs s'éloignent.

#### TYPE B

Les reliefs suivants présentent, en un ensemble unique, la scène de la déclaration d'amour par l'intermédiaire de la nourrice et l'annonce à Thésée de la mort d'H.

#### Ateliers romains

68. \* Face antérieure. Louvre, Ma 2294. – Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 198–200 n° 161 pl. 51; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 152; Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* 81–84 n° 28. – 290–300 ap. J.-C. – A g. Phèdre (diadème, voile, chiton, manteau) est assise vers la dr., se retournant vers une servante qui lui presse le bras. Appuyé contre ses genoux, un Eros la regarde. A côté d'elle, une autre servante. A l'arrière-plan, un *parapetasma*. La nourrice, la main g. tendue, se penche vers H. Nu, le manteau posé sur l'épaule, il s'appuie de la main g. sur une lance; sa main dr. devait tenir des tablettes (cf. 69). A ses pieds, un chien, derrière lui, son cheval que tient un des ses compagnons qui s'éloigne vers la dr., tête retournée. A l'extrémité dr. du relief, Thésée est assis vers la g. sur un tabouret; la main dr. au menton, il écoute le récit que lui fait un compagnon d'H. debout devant lui. Ce dernier est suivi par une servante qui porte un bébé et se retourne vers un vieillard qui lui adresse la parole.

69. \* Face antérieure. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 112 444. De Rome, Via Praenestina. – Helbig<sup>4</sup> III 2119; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 36 n° 30 pl. 65–67; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 152. – 290–300 ap. J.-C. – Même représentation que sur 68 mais H. tient

un diptyque ouvert contre sa poitrine et le messager qui s'adresse à Thésée est barbu.

70. \* (= 3) Face antérieure. Split, Mus. Arch. D 29. De Salona. – Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 163 pl. 51; Cambi, N., *AA* 1977, 453–455 n° 9 fig. 135–137; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 152. – Vers 300 ap. J.-C. – Comme sur 69 mais avec une servante supplémentaire dans le groupe de Phèdre, et la nourrice saisit le bras d'H.

71. Fr. de face antérieure. Tyr. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 152; Chéhab, M., *BullMusBeyrouth* 35, 1985, 552 pl. 112a–c. – 280–290 ap. J.-C. – Ne subsistent que Phèdre, Eros, une servante, l'épaule de la nourrice et l'arrière-train du cheval d'H., comme sur 68. Sur un autre fr. sont conservés les sabots antérieurs du cheval et la jambe d'un chasseur (H.).

#### AUTRE TYPE

72. \* Sarcophage de marbre romain, face principale. Rome, Villa Albani 534. – Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 159 pl. 49; Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV 3360; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 153. – Vers 300 ap. J.-C. – Dans la partie dr., devant une porte obturée par une tenture, Phèdre (diadème, tunique, manteau) est assise vers la g., accoudée contre un instrument de musique que soutient un petit Eros. Un autre Eros, contre son genou, tient une torche enflammée. La nourrice soutient le bras dr. de Phèdre, qu'entourent deux autres servantes. H. nu, le manteau dans le dos, s'éloigne du groupe, la main dr. levée devant la poitrine, une lance dans la g., un chien entre ses jambes. Il est représenté une deuxième fois au centre du relief, assis vers la g. mais se retournant vers un de ses compagnons qui lève une tablette(?). La nourrice, courbée devant H., lui remet une autre tablette. Dans la partie g., trois chasseurs avec deux chevaux et des chiens.

#### Reliefs provinciaux

73. Deux fr. de relief en calcaire (sarcophage?). Komarno (Tchécoslovaquie), Podunajské Muz. (fr. avec Phèdre) et Tata (Hongrie), Kuny Domokos Muz. (fr. avec H.) De Szöny (Brigetio). – Schober, A., *WSt* 47, 1929, 161–164 fig. 2; Erdélyi, G., *Acta Antiqua Acade-*

*miae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 14, 1966, 211–223; idem, *A romai köfaragás és kőszobrászat Magyarországon* (1974) fig. 196 b (H.); Toynbee, J. M. C., *Latomus* 36/2, 1977, 386 fig. 20; Kolnik, T., *Skvosty antiky na Slovensku* (1979) pl. 16 (Phèdre); idem, *Römische und Germanische Kunst in der Slowakei* (1984) 193 n° 91 fig. 91 (Phèdre). – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – A g. Phèdre à demi nue, les jambes, croisées, et l'avant-bras g. seuls recouverts d'une draperie, est debout, de face, accoudée du bras dr. sur un pilier. Un Eros porteur de torche lui a saisi le bras g. et tente de l'entraîner vers la dr. où la nourrice, agenouillée, est en train de supplier H. Celui-ci, debout de face, nu (bottes, manteau dans le dos et sur le bras g.), vient de laisser échapper de sa main dr. les tablettes et se détourne de la nourrice.

74. Relief de marbre fr. Schloss Seggau (Leibnitz). De Flavia Solva. – Schober, o. c. 73, 161–164 fig. 1; Erdélyi, o. c. 73, (1966) 214. 218 fig. 5; Toynbee, o. c. 73, 387. – A dr., H., vêtu d'une chlamyde, une lance à la main g., lève la main dr. vers la nourrice qui, agenouillée à ses pieds, lui tend les deux mains; contre la jambe d'H. un chien, à l'arrière-plan un cheval. Au-dessus de la nourrice, un Eros volette vers la dr., se retournant vers la partie g. du relief où était figurée Phèdre. Ne subsistent que quelques plis de son vêtement, qui ne semble couvrir que le bas du corps, et une tablette sur laquelle repose sa main que tient un stylet.

#### D. Document à séquence narrative

75. (= Hypnos/Somnus 145) Peinture de Gaza. Connue par la description (imaginaire?) de Procope de Gaza (Prok. *ecphr.*), autrefois attribuée à Choricus de Gaza. – Friedländer, P., *Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza* (1939). – V<sup>e</sup>–VI<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – La première scène se passe à l'intérieur d'un palais: Thésée, étendu sur un lit, dort, vaincu par → Hypnos; près de lui, ses serviteurs. Phèdre assise en compagnie de ses servantes lève son regard dans la direction que lui indique un Eros en vol, porteur de torche: sur le panneau supérieur, à côté des aventures de Thésée, est figurée une chasse au lion dont le héros est H. Un autre Eros tend à Phèdre l'encre et le stylet qui doivent servir à écrire la lettre d'amour que la nourrice, présente, l'incite à adresser à H. La scène suivante se déroule à l'extérieur: le texte, lacunaire, fait allusion à la lettre que la nourrice a dû remettre à H. et que celui-ci, horrifié, a jetée à terre. La nourrice est punie par un serviteur d'H. qui s'apprête à lui asséner un coup de massue; rempli de compassion, un fauconnier cherche à dévier le coup. H. n'assiste pas à la scène: il part à la chasse, à cheval, en compagnie de → Daphné.

#### E. Hippolyte hésite à tuer Phèdre: interprétation incertaine

76. (= Achilleus 112 avec bibl., = Alkmaion 15\*) Peinture murale. Naples, Mus. Naz. 8994. De Pompéi VII 1, 25, Casa di Cirico. – Kalkmann 131–132 pl. 9 (H. et Phèdre); Robert, C., *AZ* 41,

1883, 259–260 pl. 9, 1 (Oreste et Clytemnestre); Schefold, *WP* 166 (Achille et Déidamie?); Croisille 82 n. 38; 86. 90–92 pl. 30, 1 (H. et Phèdre). – Époque de Vespasien. – Un jeune homme presque nu, qui semble sur le point de fuir vers la g., brandit de la main dr. une épée dont il tient le fourreau de la g. A dr. une femme, genou à terre, tend la main dr. vers l'épée du jeune homme, tout en pressant son sein g., découvre, de l'autre main. Par les ouvertures pratiquées dans le mur du fond, deux personnages lèvent les bras. Kalkmann rattache cette scène aux vers de Sénèque *Phaëdra* 704–714 où H., comprenant que Phèdre souhaite la mort de ses mains, renonce à la tuer. Autres interprétations: Achille à Skyros. Alcméon tuant → Eriphyle (I), ou encore → Oreste sur le point de tuer Clytemnestre (→ Klytaimestra).

#### F. Hippolyte et Phèdre: contexte indéterminé et interprétation incertaine

#### DOCUMENTS GRECS

##### Vases italiotes

77. (= Helene 129) Cratère en calice apulien f. r. Genève, coll. M<sup>e</sup> P. Sciclounoff. – *RVAp Suppl.* 1 78, 64b: p. de Darius; Aellen, C./Cambitoglou, A./Chamay, J., *Le peintre de Darius et son milieu* (1986) 161–165; Schmidt, M., *JHS* 106, 1986, 256; Schefold, *SB IV* 287. – 335–330 av. J.-C. – *Registre sup.*: Aphrodite avec Eros, Athéna, Hermès. *Registre inf.*: à g., une vieille femme s'adresse à une autre femme, debout de face, drapée dans un manteau rabattu sur ses cheveux. A dr., un jeune homme nu, la chlamyde dans le dos, un pétase sur la nuque, s'avance en tenant un *labobolon* (ou une trompette?). La scène a été diversement interprétée: arrivée de Pâris à Sparte (Trendall), Iphigénie (→ Iphigeneia), sa nourrice et le héraut qui doit l'emmener (Aellen *et al.*), ou encore Phèdre, la nourrice et H. (Schmidt).

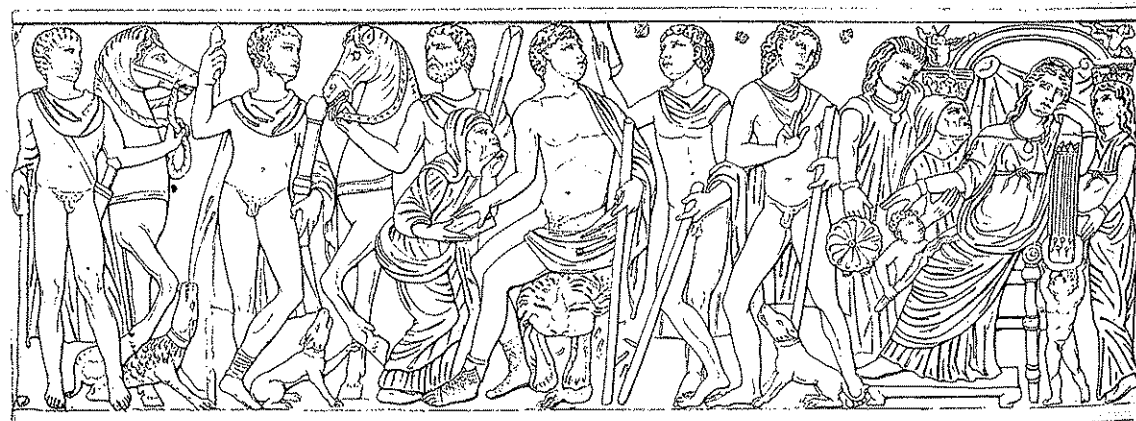
78. (= Erinys 98\* avec bibl.) Amphore à col campanienne f. r. New York, MMA 06.1021.239. – *LCS* 339, 795 pl. 131, 8: p. d'Ixion. – 325–300 av. J.-C. – A g., H. (?) nu, les mains levées vers son visage, regarde Phèdre (?) assise, à qui une servante présente une phiale. Assise au-dessus des personnages, une Erinye se retourne vers H.

#### DOCUMENTS D'ÉPOQUE IMPÉRIALE

##### Peintures murales

79. Pompéi VII 1, 40 (3), Casa di M. Caesius Balanus. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 1247; Schefold, *WP* 167; idem, *VergPpl.* 180, 2; Croisille 82 n. 38 pl. 30, 2; *PittPavPompei* III 44 n° 14. – IV<sup>e</sup> style. – Couple en buste dans un médaillon: à g. un jeune homme, manteau sur les épaules, épée au côté et lance sur l'épaule g., lève la main dr., paume en avant. A dr., une femme voilée le regarde. Le geste du jeune homme et le regard de la femme peuvent faire penser à H. et Phèdre.

80. Détruite. Pompéi IX 5, 11 (h). – Schefold, *WP*



Hippolytos I 72



259. - Époque de Vespasien. - Médaille avec deux bustes: H.(?), le manteau noué sur l'épaule dr., avec une hampe, et Phèdre(?) qui le regarde, de profil, la tête couverte d'un voile.

#### Reliefs

81.\* (= 52 avec bibl., = 13, = 98) Sarcophage de marbre attique, petit côté dr. Marsa Susa-Apollonia, Mus. D'Apollonia. - Fin du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Au centre un jeune homme nu, de face, tient un disque de la main g. et lève la main dr. à hauteur de son visage; à sa g., un herme au pied duquel est posé un vase. A g. un autre jeune homme nu tient un objet indistinct de la main dr. baissée. A dr. une femme dans une attitude pensive, jambes croisées, lève le visage vers la g. Il s'agit peut-être de Phèdre qui contemple H. et un de ses compagnons à la palestra.

82. (= 90 avec bibl., = 120) Sarcophage de marbre attique, petit côté g. Tarragone, Mus. Nat. Arch. 15.482. Découvert au large de Tarragone. - Fin du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A g., deux femmes: celle de g., en chiton, tient une coquille dans la main dr. baissée et de la main g. un objet anguleux (une tablette?) près de l'épaule de sa compagne; celle-ci, vêtue d'un chiton et d'un manteau, jambes croisées, regarde vers le centre du relief où sont figurés deux jeunes gens de face, l'un à demi nu, un manteau devant les cuisses, l'autre nu, accompagné d'un cheval. A l'extrémité dr., un jeune homme tourné vers la g. et un cheval. La scène a été diversement interprétée: Aphrodite, Phèdre, Thésée et H. ou plutôt Phèdre et une servante, H. et ses compagnons?

83. Sarcophage de marbre romain, face antérieure. Bourgneuf-Val-D'or (Saône-et-Loire). De Hyères. - Espérandieu IX n° 6686; X n° 7561; Michon, E., *Bull-SantF* 1927, 175-183; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 153. - Très endommagé: a g. deux hommes, puis Phèdre assise vers la dr., entourée par deux servantes, et H. nu, de face, le manteau sur l'épaule g., tenant son cheval par la bride. Au centre, un homme assis vers la g., peut-être Thésée, auquel s'adresse un homme, peut-être le messager qui lui fait le récit de la mort d'H. A l'arrière-plan un chasseur et au premier plan, sous le siège, une figure féminine émergeant du sol à mi-corps et tenant des deux mains une draperie enflée par le vent. Dans la partie dr., trois chasseurs, dont deux tiennent un cheval par la bride, et une figure féminine à demi étendue sur le sol.

84. Relief de stuc. Rome, «Basilique souterraine» de la Porte Majeure. - Bendinelli, G., *MonAnt* 31, 1926, 722-723 fig. 18; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 118-119 K 16. - Vers 40 ap. J.-C. - Phèdre (diadème, tunique longue et manteau), assise vers la dr., lève la main g. vers H. Le jeune homme, debout devant elle, nu, le manteau rejeté sur l'épaule, s'appuie de la main dr. sur sa lance et de la g. sur un pilastre.

#### Monnaie

85. AE, Argos, Hadrien (117-138). - *NumComm-Paus* 42 pl. L, LIV. - Rv. H.(?) debout, le manteau rejeté dans le dos, la main levée, devant Phèdre(?) assise sur un rocher, qui écarte son voile de la main dr.

## VI. Hippolyte et la nourrice

### Sarcophages de marbre attiques

86.\* (= 11, = 118) Face antérieure. Tyr 330. - Chéhab, o. c. 25, 50-60 pl. 31-35; Koch/Sichtermann 394; Linant 22-24. 135-138. 160-161 pl. 48. 51, 1; 53. 55. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Au centre du relief, H. nu, le manteau rejeté dans le dos, une épée au côté, fait de la main dr. levée devant la poitrine, paume ouverte, un geste de refus: courbée devant lui à sa dr., la nourrice semble lui présenter une tablette (le relief est endommagé). Une douzaine de compagnons d'H., armés de lances ou de massues, sont alignés de part et d'autre, avec chiens et chevaux.

87.\* (= 10, = 119) Face antérieure. Agrigente, Duomo. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 152 pl. 47; Giuliano/Palma 30-33 n° 10 pl. 26, 64-65; 27, 66-67; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 394. 398 fig. 426; Linant 138-139. 143. 146. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Même scène que sur 86 mais H., qui s'appuie de la main dr. sur une lance, est en train de lire la tablette qu'il tient de la main g. La nourrice, le visage levé vers H., a saisi sa lance.

88. (= 12, = 117) Face antérieure. Leningrad, Ermitage A 432. De Rome, Via Aurelia. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 154 pl. 48; Giuliano/Palma 45 n° 1 pl. 48, 115-117; Saverkina, o. c. 64, 26-28 n° 6 pl. 14-17; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 394; Linant 138-140. 142-143. 146. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Même scène que sur 86 mais on voit plus clairement le geste du refus d'H. et la tablette que lui tend la nourrice. De la main g. H. tient son cheval par la bride.

89.\* Fr. Trieste, Mus. Civ. 3081. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 3 n° 449 pl. 144; Giuliano/Palma 49-50 n° 3 pl. 55, 136; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 395; Linant 139. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Le fr. ne comprend que le groupe d'H. et de la nourrice comme sur 86 et 88.

90. (= 82, = 120) Face antérieure. Tarragone, Mus. Nat. Arch. 15.482. Découvert au large de Tarragone. - García y Bellido, A., *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (1949) 244 n° 262 pl. 199-201; *idem*, *AJA* 54, 1950, 395-397 fig. 1-2; Sichtermann, H., *AA* 1954, 422-430 fig. 101-104; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 394-395. 396; Linant 139. 143-144. 160. - Fin du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H., sous une arcade, entouré de neuf compagnons de chasse, dans la même attitude que sur 86; la nourrice est rejetée à l'arrière-plan.

91.\* (= 32 avec bibl., = 97) Petit côté g. Tyr 4230. - Fin du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Le groupe d'H. et de la nourrice comme sur 87, mais inversé; H. regarde la nourrice. A g. deux compagnons d'H. avec un cheval, à dr. un troisième.

### Divers

92.\* Monnaie AE. Trézène, Septime Sévère (193-211). - *NumCommPaus* 48. 162 n° 7 pl. GG XIII. - Rv. La nourrice, courbée, aborde H. qui s'éloigne, portant sa chlamyde sur le bras, lance et épée.

93.\* Relief en os fr. Athènes, Mus. Bénaki 22119. D'Égypte? - *BCH* 98, 1974, 587 fig. 45; Marangou, L., *Bone Carvings from Egypt I. Graeco-Roman Period*

(1976) 84-86 pl. 72a. - Époque antonine. - H. nu, le manteau rejeté dans le dos, fait de la main dr. un geste de refus en se détournant de la nourrice qui l'aborde; devant celle-ci, une petite servante accroupie.

### INTERPRÉTATION INCERTAINE

94. Peinture murale. Détruite. Pompéi I 3, 3. - Schefold, *WP* 12; Croisille 82 n. 41. - A g. H.(?) qui tient de la main g. un pan de son manteau, lève la main dr. en un geste de refus. A dr., la nourrice(?) ou Phèdre elle-même(?) se drapait dans son manteau.

94bis. Peinture murale fr. Stabies, Villa San Marco. - *Archéologia* 249, 1989, 41 (fig.). - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H.(?) vêtu d'un manteau agrafé sur l'épaule, fait de la main dr. un geste de refus. Derrière lui, un personnage presque entièrement détruit lui passe le bras g. autour des épaules et pose la main dr. sur son bras.

95. Relief funéraire fr. Pöchlarn (Autriche), encasté dans le mur sud de l'église. Probablement de Harlanden. - Ladek, F., *ArchEpigrMitt* 18, 1895, 33 fig. 8; *CISR Österreich* I 6 (1979) n° 55 pl. 24. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A g. H.(?) nu, le manteau plié sur l'épaule, la main g. posée sur une hampe, lève la dr. devant la poitrine. A ses pieds, un diptyque. A dr. une femme (la nourrice?) s'éloigne, portant une cruche et un tissu.

## VII. Hippolyte et Thésée

### A. Hippolyte et Thésée seuls

96. (= Aigeus 24\*, = Herakles 1688) Bol en argent de Bactriane. Washington, Freer Gall. 45.33. - Weitzmann, K., *ArtBull* 25, 1943, 309-311 fig. 13. 15. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av./I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Weitzmann a reconnu sur ce bol diverses scènes inspirées par des tragédies d'Euripide. Thésée, trônant vers la g., lève la main dr., l'index et le majeur tendus, en direction d'H., debout devant lui. Le jeune homme (tunique à longues manches et pantalons), les mains croisées devant la poitrine, détourne la tête.

### B. Hippolyte comparaît devant Thésée en présence de Phèdre(?)

#### Sarcophages de marbre attiques

97.\* (= 32 avec bibl., = 91) Petit côté dr. Tyr 4230. - Fin du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Thésée barbu, une massue dans la main dr., est assis vers la g. mais se retourne vers Phèdre qui s'appuie contre son épaule. A l'arrière-plan, une servante. H. nu, le manteau rejeté dans le dos, est debout, de face, devant Thésée; s'appuyant de la main dr. sur une lance, il tourne son visage vers la nourrice qui l'aborde. A g., un compagnon d'H. et un chien.

98.\* (= 52 avec bibl., = 13, = 81) Petit côté g. Marsa Susa-Apollonia, Mus. D'Apollonia. - Fin du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A g. Thésée, barbu, est assis vers la dr., la main g. appuyée sur une massue, le visage levé vers Phèdre qui est debout à ses côtés et semble lui

adresser la parole, la main dr. levée; ses cheveux sont dénoués et son vêtement a glissé, découvrant l'épaule g. H. est debout de face, au centre du relief, nu, l'himation plié sur le bras g., la main dr. écartée, le visage tourné vers Thésée. A dr., un chasseur avec un chien; à l'arrière-plan, derrière H., deux personnages: à g. une femme (la nourrice?), à dr. un chasseur.

99. (= 53 avec bibl., = 14a-b) Petit côté g. Arles, Mus. Lap. Art Païen P 541. De Trinquetaille. - Vers 250-260 ap. J.-C. - Thésée est assis vers la dr., une massue sur le bras g., le visage levé vers H. Debout de face au centre du relief, vêtu d'une chlamyde, H. s'appuie de la main dr. sur une lance; la nourrice lui a saisi le bras g. A dr. Phèdre, drapée dans un manteau, regarde la scène, soutenant son menton de la main dr. A g. deux chasseurs, l'un avec un cheval; à dr., derrière la nourrice, une autre femme qui lève une tablette.

### INTERPRÉTATION INCERTAINE

100.\* Fr. de petit côté g. Paris, Louvre MA 1663. - Robert, *SarkRel* III 2 n° 160 fig. p. 198; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 395; Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* 266-267 n° 173. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. est debout au centre, de face, la chlamyde rejetée dans le dos; la main g. tenait la lance, la dr. était levée à hauteur du visage, incliné sur l'épaule dr. A l'arrière-plan, à dr., la nourrice. Phèdre est assise à l'extrémité dr., le visage appuyé sur la main, et Eros accoudé sur sa cuisse; à sa dr., une servante et un jeune homme. A g., symétriquement, un homme est assis, le visage levé vers H., une épée ou une massue (disparue) à la main; imberbe, il semble cependant plus âgé qu'H. et une comparaison avec les reliefs précédents invite à l'identifier comme Thésée.

## VIII. Mort d'Hippolyte

### DOCUMENTS GRECS

#### Vases italiotes

Pour de nouvelles représentations de la mort d'H. sur des vases italiotes, cf. Oakley, J. H., *QuadTic* (sous presse).

101.\* Fr. de cratère apulien f.r. Bâle, coll. Cahn HC 237. - *RVAp* I 107, 42 p. de Hoppin; Bloesch, H., *Das Tier in der Antike* (1974) n° 261 pl. 44. - Vers 370 av. J.-C. - Zone sup.: Silène et Ménade. Zone inf.: ne subsiste que la partie antérieure des chevaux qui se cabrent à la vue du taureau surgissant de la dr.

102. (= Aphrodite 1527 avec bibl.) Cratère en calice sicilien f.r. Lipari, Mus. Arch. Eoliano 340<sup>bs</sup>. - *LCS Suppl.* 3 275, 46h: gr. de Maron; Bernabò-Brea, L./Cavalier, M., *Il Castello di Lipari e il Museo Archeologico Eoliano* (1977) 123-124 fig. 112. - Vers 360 av. J.-C. - H. vers la dr., en costume d'aurige, tirant des deux mains sur les guides, tente de retenir son attelage. Le char est déjà disloqué, trois des chevaux se cabrent, le quatrième, qui a rompu son trait, s'enfuit. La mer est représentée au premier plan par des vagues, le taureau est absent. En haut à g. apparaissent Aphrodite et Eros.

103.\* (= Eros 929) Cratère à volutes apulien f.r. Naples, coll. privée 488. - *RVAp Suppl.* 1 86, 293a pl. 17, 4: p. des Enfers. - 350-340 av. J.-C. - Zone sup.:



Eros, Poséidon et Aphrodite. *Zone inf.*: H., le buste auréolé par son manteau, est debout dans le char tiré par quatre chevaux galopant vers la dr. Devant eux, un taureau émerge des flots et une Erinye s'élance à l'encontre de l'attelage.

**104.** (= Erinyes 99\*) Loutrophore apulienne f. r. New York, coll. privée, autrefois Zurich, Galerie Nefer. - *RVAp Suppl.* 1 73, 20a pl. 11, 1: p. de Darius. - 340-320 av. J.-C. - H., en costume d'aurige, conduit son quadrigé vers la dr., se retournant vers une Erinye qui le menace; les chevaux se cabrent à la vue du taureau qui surgit de la mer.

**105.**\* (= Aphrodite 1528 avec bibl., = Athena 630) Cratère à volutes apulien f. r. Londres, BM F 279. - *RVAp* II 487, 17 pl. 173, 1: p. de Darius. - 3<sup>e</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - *Zone sup.*: Pan, Apollon, Athéna, Aphrodite et Eros, Poséidon. *Zone inf.*: debout sur son char, en costume d'aurige, H. tient les guides de la main g., le fouet de la dr. Sous les jambes des chevaux lancés au galop vers la dr., un taureau surgit de la mer, tandis qu'une Erinye se précipite sur l'attelage. A g., le vieux pédagogue, en costume de théâtre, court derrière le char.

#### Peinture murale

**106.** Peinture d'Antiphilos d'Egypte, disparue, connue par Plin. *nat.* 35, 114. Jadis Rome, portique de Philippe. - Overbeck, *SQ* n° 1943; Reinach, *RecMilliet* n° 514. - Vers 300 av. J.-C. - «H. effrayé à la vue du taureau lancé contre lui».

#### DOCUMENTS ÉTRUSQUES

##### Urnes de Chiusi en albâtre

**107.**\* Chiusi, Mus. 526. - Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1 pl. 34, 4; Levi, D., *Il Mus. Civ. di Chiusi* (1935) 58; Thimme, J., *StEtr* 23, 1954, 125 fig. 55. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., en tunique courte, est tombé contre la caisse renversée de son char. Le taureau surgit de l'arrière-plan, entre deux chevaux cabrés; deux autres chevaux gisent à terre. Une Furie enjambe le corps d'H., un guerrier accourt de chaque côté.

**108.**\* Chiusi, Mus. 975. - Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* III 1 n° 34, 4a; Levi, *o. c.* 107, 59; Thimme, *o. c.* 107, 133 fig. 56. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Même figuration que sur 107 mais H., tombé sur le genou dr., prend appui sur la caisse du char pour se redresser.

**109.**\* (= Erinyes 100) Sienne, Mus. Arch. 728 (autrefois Sarteano, Pal. Bargagli). - Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1 pl. 34, 3; Thimme, *o. c.* 107, 115 fig. 52. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Même figuration que sur 107 mais le taureau fonce sur H. (cuirasse et casque), tombé sur la roue du char disloqué.

Autre exemplaire avec peu de variantes: Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1 n° 34, 3a.

**110.** Florence, Coll. Rodolfo Giglio. - Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1 pl. 33, 1. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Les chevaux sont représentés comme sur 107 mais le char est invisible. H., en tunique longue et manteau, coiffé d'un bonnet phrygien, est tombé sur son côté g. Deux jeunes gens s'efforcent de repousser le taureau qui fonce sur lui. A dr., une Furie.

**111.** Palerme, Mus. Reg. 42. - Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1 pl. 33, 2; Thimme, *o. c.* 107, 119 fig. 53. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - L'attelage, le char et le taureau sont représentés comme sur 108. H., en tunique courte et manteau, est tombé en arrière sur la caisse du char. Une Furie le menace, deux autres tiennent par la bride les chevaux cabrés.

Un exemplaire proche, mais avec seulement deux Furies: Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1 n° 33, 2a; un autre avec deux guerriers à la place des Furies: Levi, D., *RivIstArch* 4, 1932-33, 43 fig. 33.

**112.**\* Londres, BM D 45. - Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1 pl. 36, 6; Pryce, *BMSculpture* I 2, 218 fig. 66. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - L'attelage, le char et le taureau comme sur 108. H. (casque, tunique courte) est tombé de son char contre lequel il s'appuie. Trois Furies comme sur 111, deux guerriers et deux compagnons d'H.

**113.** Londres, BM D 43. - Pryce, *BMSculpture* I 2, 208-209 fig. 64. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - L'attelage, le char et H. comme sur 108. Un compagnon d'H. tente de s'interposer, une Furie enjambe le corps d'H., une autre s'élance de la g., un guerrier se précipite à dr.

**114.** Chiusi, Mus. 563. - Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1 pl. 35, 5; Levi, *o. c.* 107, 59; Thimme, *o. c.* 107, 123 fig. 54. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - L'attelage et le char comme sur 107. H., en tunique courte, tombé à genoux contre la caisse du char, tente, à l'aide d'un bouclier, de se protéger contre l'assaut du taureau. Deux Furies, trois guerriers et deux compagnons d'H. complètent la scène.

Autres exemplaires avec peu de variantes: Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1 n° 35, 5a (Florence, Mus. 543; Levi, *o. c.* sous 111, 42 fig. 32) - d.

#### DOCUMENTS D'ÉPOQUE IMPÉRIALE

##### Peintures

**115.** Peinture décrite par Philostr. *im.* 2, 4. - Les quatre chevaux, effrayés par le taureau qui a surgi de la mer, se dispersent, abandonnant le char disloqué d'H. mourant. Ses compagnons sont figurés, les uns emportés par leurs chevaux, les autres jetés à bas de leur monture. Des personnifications caractérisent le paysage: *Skopiai*, prairies, Nymphes des sources.

**116.** Peinture mentionnée par Prud. *c. Symm.* 2, 49-56.

##### Sarcophages de marbre attiques

**117.** (= 88 avec bibl., = 12) Petit côté g. Lenigrad, Ermitage A 432. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Renversé à côté de son attelage disloqué, H. nu, la chlamyde sur les épaules, le corps emprisonné dans les guides, s'agrippe au rebord du char. La tête du taureau, couverte d'écailles, apparaît au-dessus de deux des chevaux cabrés; les deux autres ont fait volte-face et se cabrent au-dessus du char. A g. un compagnon d'H. à cheval, à dr. un autre debout.

**118.**\* (= 86 avec bibl., = 11) Petit côté dr., très fr. Tyr 330. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Même représentation que sur 117. H. tient encore le fouet dans la main dr.; sous sa tête renversée, des lignes ondulées indiquent la mer, d'où a surgi le taureau, visible à l'angle supérieur dr. Un cavalier était figuré à g.

**119.**\* (= 87 avec bibl., = 10) Petit côté g. Agri-

gente, Duomo. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - L'attelage, le taureau et le cavalier de g. sont figurés comme sur 117. H. nu, la chlamyde nouée autour du cou, les jambes retenues à la caisse du char, est traîné sur le sol.

**120.**\* (= 90 avec bibl., = 82) Côté postérieur. Tarragone, Mus. Nat. Arch. 15.482. - Fin du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - L'attelage et H., nu, sont représentés comme sur 118. De la g. surgit le taureau, tenu en laisse par une figure féminine à demi nue, appuyée sur un sceptre (Thalassa?). Entre le taureau et les chevaux, un homme debout tient un trident (Poséidon?). A dr., un homme barbu, nu, appuyé sur une massue, porte la main à son menton; à côté de lui, un jeune homme semble lui adresser la parole: il pourrait s'agir du messager qui fait à Thésée le récit de la mort d'H.

##### Relief provincial

**121.** Fr. de relief en calcaire (sarcophage?). Kornarino, Podunajské Muz. De Szöny (Brigetio). - Kolnik, T., *o. c.* 73, 193 n° 90 fig. 90; Toynbee, *o. c.* 73, 404-405 fig. 30 (→ Phaethon I). - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. nu, de face, le manteau rejeté dans le dos, est tombé de son char; de la main g. levée il tient encore par les guides l'un de ses chevaux. A l'arrière-plan, les quatre chevaux effarouchés se cabrent.

#### IX. Annonce à Thésée de la mort d'Hippolyte

Voir 68-70. 72. 120.

#### X. Suicide de Phèdre sur le corps d'Hippolyte: interprétation incertaine

**122.** Lécythe aryballisque campanien f. r. Adolphs-eck 167. - *LCS* 241, 113: «Sharp-nose Gr.»; *CVA* 2 pl. 74, 3-4; Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 67, 1960, 379. - 350-340 av. J.-C. - Une femme agenouillée, en chiton court et manteau, s'enfonce une épée dans la poitrine, devant un podium sur lequel est étendu le cadavre d'un jeune homme, enveloppé dans un linceul. Sur la plus haute marche du podium est posé un objet rectangulaire: une tablette? Schauenburg suggère d'interpréter la scène comme le suicide de Phèdre devant le corps d'H.

#### XI. Hippolyte ressuscité par Asclépios

**123.**\* Médaille d'applique fr. en terre cuite. Lyon, Mus. gallo-rom. De Lyon. - Desbat, A., *Vases d'*



Hippolytos I 123

médailles d'applique des fouilles récentes de Lyon = *Finglina* 5-6, 1980-81, 63-67 n° M.002 fig. p. 66. - A dr., Asclépios (inscr. AESCVLAPI[VS]), regarde Artémis qui lui désigne H. (inscr. HIPPOLYTUS) dont ne subsistent que quelques plis du manteau. A g. de la déesse, un chien au-dessus duquel on distingue une partie du monstre marin.

#### XII. Hippolyte héroïsé

**124.** (= Asklepios 101 avec bibl.) Relief votif de marbre fr. Rome, Mus. Torlonia 433. Trouvé à Rome, Via Appia, mais d'origine attique. - Beschi, L., *ASAtene* 45-46, 1967-68, 515-517 fig. 2; Mitropoulou, E., *Corpus I. Attic Votive Reliefs of the 6th and 5th Centuries B. C.* (1977) 40-41 n° 58 fig. 94. - Vers 420 (Mitropoulou), fin V<sup>e</sup>/début IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Beschi). - Tout le haut du relief manque. Au centre, un jeune homme (pétase, chlamyde), suivi par un chien, se dirige vers la g., tenant un cheval par la bride, un *lagobolon* à la main g. A g., autel et adorant; au-dessus, une femme assise sur des rochers: Aphrodite (Beschi) plutôt qu'Hygieia (Mitropoulou). En haut à dr. Asclépios assis sur un rocher, au centre, entre deux colonnes, le bas d'une statue: Thémis (Beschi) ou une statue de culte d'H. (Mitropoulou). Selon Beschi, ce relief illustrerait les cultes du flanc sud de l'Acropole.

**125.** (= Asklepios 53\* avec bibl., = Epione 11) Relief votif de marbre. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1392. D'Epidaure. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - Au centre, H.(?) de face, vêtu d'un chiton et d'une chlamyde, tient par la bride son cheval qui le suit, et tend de la main dr. une offrande à Asclépios trônant à g., une femme (Epione?) à ses côtés. A dr., un petit serviteur nu retient également le cheval.

**126.** (= Artemis 733 avec bibl.) Relief de pierre. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1475. D'Egine. - 1<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Au centre, H.(?) coiffé d'un pétase et vêtu d'un chiton et d'une chlamyde, s'avance, la main dr. levée, suivi par son cheval, vers Artémis-Hékate assise sur un rocher, un chien à ses pieds.

#### COMMENTAIRE

Pas plus que dans la littérature, la légende d'H. n'a laissé de traces dans les monuments figurés avant l'époque classique et il semble que ce soit la tragédie attique qui l'ait véritablement introduite dans l'art, comme dans les œuvres littéraires. Les premières représentations sûres du mythe n'apparaissent en effet que dans le courant du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., avec une série de vases d'Italie méridionale (101-105) qui illustrent la fin tragique d'H. Cet épisode, qui appartenait vraisemblablement aussi aux deux tragédies perdues, occupe une large place dans le second *Hippolyte* d'Euripide et l'on conçoit aisément que le long récit du messager ait frappé l'imagination des artistes. C'est le cratère apulien de Londres (105) qui présente la version la plus complète de l'épisode, avec le taureau qui émerge des flots et H., vêtu en aurige, qui tente vainement de rete-

nir son attelage; derrière le char, le vieux pédagogue en costume de scène dénote une probable influence du théâtre dans l'apparition du motif sur les vases d'Italie méridionale. Une autre influence possible est celle d'une grande peinture qui aurait pu introduire, entre autres détails communs aux vases italiotes, le motif de l'Erinye (103-105) qui incarne la malédiction lancée contre H. par Thésée. On sait d'ailleurs, par le témoignage de Plinie, que le sujet avait été représenté en grande peinture par Antiphilos (106) vers la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

Un autre vase apulien (7) nous offre l'unique représentation connue à ce jour d'H. enfant, en compagnie de sa mère Antiopé. La présence d'H. dans cet épisode de la légende de Rhodope n'est attestée par aucune source littéraire mais peut s'expliquer par la volonté du peintre de rapprocher deux héros au destin similaire: le sort de Rhodope, compagne d'Artémis punie par la jalousie d'Aphrodite, préfigure en quelque sorte celui d'H. qui, lui aussi, périra victime de la rivalité entre les deux déesses.

Deux autres vases italiotes (77-78) pourraient figurer H. et Phèdre selon un schéma qui évoque plutôt les scènes de gynécée; seule la présence d'une Erinye sur 78 pourrait faire allusion de façon plus précise au sort tragique d'H. Enfin un vase campanien d'interprétation très hypothétique (122) serait une représentation unique du suicide de Phèdre sur le corps d'H. Dans le second *Hippolyte* d'Euripide, Phèdre se suicide – par pendaison – alors qu'H. est encore vivant. Le vase campanien se rapporterait donc plutôt à la tragédie perdue dans laquelle, vraisemblablement, Phèdre se suicidait après la mort du jeune homme.

Une série de reliefs votifs attiques de la fin du V<sup>e</sup> ou du début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. (124-126) est à mettre en rapport, non point avec la légende telle qu'elle fut mise en scène par Euripide, mais plutôt avec l'ancien culte d'H. Tandis que le relief 126 évoque les liens privilégiés du héros avec Artémis, le relief 125 fait allusion aux liens qui unissent le culte d'H. à celui d'Asclépios qui, selon certaines versions de la légende, aurait ressuscité le héros. Ce relief provient d'Epidaure et l'on notera qu'à l'époque de Pausanias on montrait dans cette ville une stèle antique mentionnant qu'H. avait consacré vingt chevaux à Asclépios (Paus. 2, 27, 4). Quant au relief 124, il pourrait être une illustration des cultes du flanc sud de l'Acropole où Pausanias note l'existence d'un monument funéraire d'H. non loin du temple d'Asclépios et du temple de Thémis (cf. Sources littéraires).

Deux siècles environ après les peintres d'Italie méridionale, les sculpteurs étrusques reprennent le thème de la mort d'H., le seul épisode de la vie du héros qui paraisse s'être imposé en Etrurie, à Chiusi exclusivement. Le schéma de base, original, est le même sur toutes ces représentations (107-114): les quatre chevaux de l'attelage disloqué sont dirigés vers les quatre angles du relief et, au centre, H., généralement vêtu d'une tunique courte (sauf sur 110, où le vêtement est long) et d'un manteau, est renversé contre la caisse du char et semble directement menacé par le taureau. Ce schéma, commun à tous les reliefs, est enrichi par un nombre plus ou moins important de personnages an-

nexes, compagnons d'H. qui tentent de le protéger ou au contraire Furies qui excitent les chevaux comme sur les vases apuliens.

Curieusement, à part les représentations hypothétiques d'Italie méridionale mentionnées plus haut, nous ne possédons aucun document d'époque grecque qui mette en scène simultanément H. et Phèdre. Le thème, au contraire, connaît une grande faveur dans l'art romain, et tout d'abord, à partir des années 60 ap. J.-C., dans la peinture romaine qui privilégie la scène de la «révélation» par la nourrice à H. de l'amour que lui porte Phèdre (40-47). Celle-ci, assise à une extrémité du tableau, ne semble pas vraiment prendre part à l'action (sauf en 44, où elle désigne H. de son index, et en 42, où une servante et un Eros l'incitent à regarder H.); debout à l'autre extrémité, H. est abordé par la nourrice alors qu'il s'apprête pour la chasse, armé d'une ou de plusieurs lances et accompagné de chiens (41. 44), parfois aussi d'un cheval et d'un ou de plusieurs compagnons de chasse (40. 42. 45). Seul le tableau 47 s'éloigne de ce schéma: H. est assis sur un rocher et la nourrice, qui se penche sur son épaule, lui montre Phèdre qui s'approche. Sur 41-43. 45-47, la nourrice s'adresse à H. directement tandis que sur 40 et 44 elle lui présente une tablette; dans tous les cas le jeune homme lève la main, paume ouverte, dans un geste qui exprime à la fois sa surprise et son refus d'entendre le message. Mais, sauf peut-être sur 43 où H. a jeté à terre la tablette que lui présentait la nourrice, on est loin du dialogue enflammé qui oppose les deux personnages chez Euripide. A vrai dire, la présence de Phèdre, de même que le thème de la lettre – peut-être d'origine alexandrine – ne permettent pas de trouver dans ces peintures l'écho exact de la tragédie grecque, non plus d'ailleurs que celui de la pièce de Sénèque, plus proche chronologiquement, mais où Phèdre révèle elle-même son amour à H. Seul le tableau 47 pourrait dénoter une influence plus directe de la *Phèdre* de Sénèque (voir Croisille 88, qui le rapproche des vers 435-588 où la nourrice exhorte H. à l'amour, entretien interrompu aux v. 583-586 par l'arrivée de Phèdre qui s'évanouit à la vue d'H.). De même on a parfois rattaché la peinture 76 où l'on voit une femme, genou à terre, supplier un jeune homme brandissant une épée, aux vers 589-712 de Sénèque: Phèdre vient de déclarer son amour à H. et celui-ci, horrifié, tire son épée puis, comprenant que Phèdre souhaite mourir de ses mains, renonce à la tuer. Le tableau représenterait le moment précis où H. lâche Phèdre pour s'enfuir (voir, en dernier lieu, les arguments avancés en faveur de cette hypothèse par Croisille 90-92).

Le couple en buste peint sur deux médaillons (79-80) pourrait figurer H. et Phèdre: le regard suppliant de la femme, voilée, et sur 79 le geste du jeune homme qui lève une main, paume ouverte, font en effet songer à une version «raccourcie» de la scène de la révélation. Plus douteuse est l'interprétation de la peinture 94, qui montre peut-être H. et la nourrice, et celle du tableau 24 où le chasseur figuré en compagnie d'Artémis pourrait être aussi bien Méléagre.

C'est dans la seconde moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. que les ateliers de sarcophages, romains aussi bien qu'atti-

ques, commencent à illustrer le mythe d'H., avec sans doute une légère antériorité pour ces derniers. Les exemplaires attiques les plus anciens (25-26), datés autour des années 170-180, présentent en une composition unique deux tableaux très contrastés: à g. Eros, sur l'injonction d'Aphrodite, bande son arc en direction de Phèdre assise, soutenue par sa nourrice; à dr. H., au retour de la chasse, remercie sa divine protectrice dont il orne l'autel tout en surveillant le déchargement du butin. L'accent est donc mis sur l'opposition entre les sentiments et les préoccupations des deux protagonistes et la présence des deux déesses, réelle pour Aphrodite, symbolique pour Artémis, rappelle, comme le souligne constamment Euripide, qu'H. n'est que le jouet de la volonté divine.

Vers la même époque apparaît dans les ateliers romains une composition analogue, quoiqu'inspirée par des «cartons» très différents (groupe A du Catalogue). La face principale présente deux scènes, nettement séparées par une arcade: à g. Phèdre, malade d'amour, est assise au milieu de ses compagnes tandis que la nourrice s'approche d'H., prêt à partir pour la chasse, et lui révèle l'amour que lui porte sa belle-mère. La scène de dr. montre H. à cheval chassant le sanglier avec ses compagnons. Contrairement aux premiers sarcophages attiques, qui n'y font pas allusion, les sarcophages romains de ce premier groupe introduisent déjà la scène de la proposition d'amour, en une composition qui rappelle celle de la Domus Aurea (42). Les plus anciens exemplaires (55-56) sont datés des années 180-190 mais la série (55-64) se prolonge jusque dans le 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. et connaît aussi des imitations locales (65-67). Si Aphrodite elle-même n'est pas présente, un Eros, souvent même deux Eroses agissent en son nom pour enflammer de leur torche le cœur de Phèdre. Le rôle d'Artémis, quant à lui, est évoqué par son petit sanctuaire figuré derrière H. et la nourrice, mais seul l'exemplaire du Louvre (57) montre la stauette de la déesse à l'intérieur de l'édicule. On notera que deux sarcophages de la série (16. 18) montrent en outre sur un petit côté H. offrant un sacrifice à Artémis – thème assez fréquent sur les gemmes d'époque impériale (19-23). La scène de la «révélation» elle-même est comparable à celle des peintures de Pompéi; la nourrice ne présente jamais de tablettes, mais s'adresse directement à H. qui marque son refus en levant la main dr., parfois aussi en se détournant (61. 64. 66). La chasse au sanglier, qui occupe la moitié dr. des reliefs, connaît sur ces sarcophages un développement particulier. Alors que l'iconographie romaine montre généralement la chasse pedestre au sanglier, H., lui, attaque toujours l'animal à cheval – à tel point qu'on peut considérer cette particularité comme un critère d'identification sur les exemplaires où Phèdre n'est pas représentée (17). Sauf sur 57, où un valet de chiens prend la place de l'allégorie, H. est invariablement suivi par Virtus, sous les traits d'une femme casquée. La présence de la déesse, qui accompagne le héros comme, sur les sarcophages de bataille, elle suit le général victorieux, souligne l'importance symbolique du thème cynégétique qui, sur les sarcophages romains d'H., tend à prendre le pas sur le thème amoureux: au-

delà de la chasse d'H., c'est plus généralement l'exercice vertueux, la chasse en tant qu'épreuve exemplaire qui sont mis en valeur sur ces monuments funéraires.

Dans le courant du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s., au moment où sont sculptés à Rome les derniers sarcophages du groupe A, apparaît dans les ateliers attiques une nouvelle version iconographique de la légende (86-90). La face principale présente une juxtaposition de jeunes gens, compagnons de chasse d'H., qui est figuré au centre; la nourrice, petite et courbée, s'approche suppliante et lui tend les tablettes; sur 86. 88-90, H. fait de la main dr. levée le geste habituel de refus tandis que sur 87 il est en train de lire la lettre qu'il tient lui-même en main. On notera que le groupe d'H. et de la nourrice est figuré selon un schéma analogue sur des monnaies de Trézène (92) et sur un relief en os, d'origine peut-être égyptienne. Les mêmes sarcophages présentent sur leur côté postérieur une scène de chasse au sanglier (10-12) où H., comme sur les sarcophages romains, attaque l'animal à cheval. Le groupe de Phèdre est relégué sur un petit côté – la reine n'est donc pas présente à la scène de la «révélation», ce qui est plus conforme à la version de la légende transmise par la deuxième pièce d'Euripide – et l'autre petit côté (117-119) montre la mort d'H., épisode qui semble totalement absent du répertoire des ateliers romains. Se cabrant à la vue du taureau, les chevaux ont renversé H. qui, encore prisonnier des guides, est traîné sur le sol. Bien qu'elle ne soit pas sans évoquer celle – plus schématisée cependant – des urnes étrusques, cette composition dériverait plutôt d'un modèle pictural: de sources diverses nous savons en effet que la mort d'H. avait fait l'objet de peintures murales (106. 115-116) et qu'en particulier le peintre alexandrin Antiphilos avait peint le sujet (106). Certains détails des reliefs attiques – l'échelonnement des chevaux sur différents plans par exemple – dénotent d'ailleurs un procédé plus pictural que plastique. Le sarcophage de Tarragone (120) présente, cette fois sur le côté postérieur, une version plus développée de l'épisode: le char et H. sont figurés selon le même «carton» que sur les trois autres reliefs attiques (117-119) mais le taureau, dont la tête seule, sur les autres reliefs, surgit devant les chevaux, est ici entièrement représenté et il est tenu en laisse par une figure féminine à demi nue. Plus que l'animal, la principale source de frayeur des chevaux semble être le personnage au trident qui le précède et qui est probablement Poséidon lui-même, dont l'intervention dans la mort d'H. est donc ici clairement indiquée. Quant au personnage barbu appuyé sur une massue à l'extrémité dr. du relief, il s'agit sans aucun doute de Thésée à qui un compagnon d'H. fait le récit de l'accident. La présence de la divinité féminine qui retient le taureau – nymphe ou divinité marine – et l'évocation bucolique d'un paysage escarpé à l'angle g. du relief sont à mettre en parallèle avec les *Σκοπιαί*, *Λεμῶνες* et *Νύμφαι* dont Philostrate émaille sa description d'un tableau de la mort d'H. (115) et viennent étayer l'hypothèse d'un modèle pictural pour ces quatre reliefs.

Vers le milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s., un troisième groupe de sarcophages attiques (32-34. 52-53), imités par un



exemplaire de facture syrienne (54), juxtapose, sur la face antérieure, au groupe d'H. et de ses compagnons de chasse celui de Phèdre assise avec ses servantes – composition qui s'apparente donc à celle des sarcophages romains du type A (55–64). Les exemplaires d'Apollonia (52) et d'Arles (53) qui montrent en même temps la scène de la proposition d'amour par la nourrice se rapprochent davantage encore de ces derniers. Sur 52 Phèdre, comme sur les sarcophages romains, détourne son visage et ne prend donc pas vraiment part à la scène; sur 53 au contraire elle regarde H. d'un air implorant et paraît appuyer la demande de la nourrice. Cette mauvaise compréhension de la légende, peut-être due à la juxtaposition de deux «cartons», est encore plus sensible sur le sarcophage de Tyr 32 où la scène de la proposition – sans tablettes – est figurée sur un petit côté tandis que sur la face principale Phèdre et H. sont directement confrontés et qu'une servante anonyme – et non plus la nourrice – présente à Phèdre les tablettes qui ont donc perdu leur véritable signification. Les côtés postérieurs des mêmes sarcophages (13–14) montrent une scène de chasse au sanglier comme sur les exemplaires précédents. Les petits côtés (97–99) portent des scènes difficiles à interpréter qui mettent en présence Thésée assis, Phèdre, H. et la nourrice dans une sorte de dramatique huis-clos. Thésée semble écouter les paroles de Phèdre, qui n'est plus voilée comme sur la face antérieure; sur 97 et 98 ses cheveux dénoués et son vêtement défait trahissent son trouble. Une seule interprétation paraît s'imposer: Phèdre, encouragée par la nourrice qui entraîne H. devant Thésée, accuse le jeune homme auprès de son père. La servante qui, sur 99, tient une tablette, rappellerait au spectateur l'épisode précédent, la proposition d'amour et le refus d'H. Certes, tandis que dans le second *Hippolyte* d'Euripide Thésée n'intervient qu'à la fin de la pièce, pour apprendre que Phèdre s'est pendue, dans la pièce de Sénèque en revanche Phèdre, encore vivante, accuse elle-même H. auprès de Thésée, en présence de la nourrice (*Phaëdra* 882–897); mais H. n'assiste pas à cette scène et ce n'est qu'ensuite que Thésée la chasse et supplie Poseidon de le châtier. Les documents qui mettent en scène H. et Thésée sont d'ailleurs très rares: nous n'en connaissons qu'un, le bol d'argent 96 – fabriqué en Bactriane, mais vraisemblablement d'après un modèle grec – et, comme l'a montré Weitzmann, il illustre les vers 943–947 du second *Hippolyte* d'Euripide où Thésée, apprenant la mort de Phèdre, accuse violemment H.; le jeune homme, condamné au silence par le serment qu'il a fait à sa belle-mère, ne peut s'innocenter. Aucune œuvre littéraire connue ne réunit donc Thésée, Phèdre, H. et la nourrice, ne serait-ce que pour un bref instant, comme le font les sarcophages attiques. Mauvaise compréhension de la légende, influence d'une source littéraire aujourd'hui perdue, contamination entre «cartons», ou volonté délibérée de présenter les principaux protagonistes en une dramatique synthèse? La réponse est difficile, mais la constance du thème de la tablette sur les œuvres attiques – alors qu'elle n'apparaît pas sur les sarcophages romains avant la fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. – incite à supposer l'existence d'une œuvre littéraire,

peut-être alexandrine, qui aurait introduit ce motif tout en reprenant certains thèmes développés dans les œuvres antérieures, par exemple dans le premier *Hippolyte* d'Euripide où Phèdre, semble-t-il, voyant ses aveux d'amour rejetés par H., n'hésitait pas à l'accuser auprès de Thésée. La tablette apparaît toutefois, on l'a vu, sur quelques peintures pompéiennes (40. 43–44) qui avaient peut-être puisé leur inspiration plus directement dans la IV<sup>e</sup> *Héroïde* d'Ovide.

Après une interruption d'une cinquantaine d'années, les ateliers romains illustrent à nouveau la légende d'H., mais en adoptant une nouvelle présentation (type B). Il s'agit d'une série très restreinte de documents (68–71), chronologiquement très proches puisqu'ils furent tous exécutés entre la dernière décennie du III<sup>e</sup> s. et le tout début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. En une composition rigoureusement symétrique sont regroupés trois épisodes différents: à g. Phèdre entourée de ses servantes est assise selon le schéma habituel; puis H. debout tient devant sa poitrine les tablettes que vient de lui remettre la nourrice, tandis qu'un de ses compagnons de chasse s'éloigne, entraînant son cheval; à dr. enfin, un messenger, suivi d'une jeune femme et d'un vieillard, fait à Thésée assis à l'extrémité dr. du relief le récit de la mort d'H. Outre l'apparition du thème de la lettre, inconnu sur les sarcophages romains du groupe A, on note la disposition antithétique de Phèdre et Thésée assis aux extrémités du relief, encadrant ainsi le héros principal, H., représenté de face – une disposition fréquemment utilisée, dans d'autres contextes mythologiques, sur les sarcophages attiques du 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. Comme sur les derniers sarcophages attiques illustrant la légende d'H., on note donc sur ces sarcophages romains du type B une volonté de privilégier le symbolisme formel de la représentation aux dépens de son contenu narratif. Cette influence attique – à la fois stylistique et iconographique – et la date assez tardive de ce petit groupe de documents laissent supposer qu'ils auraient pu être exécutés par des sculpteurs venus de Grèce après que les ateliers attiques eurent cessé leur activité autour des années 260–270 ap. J.-C.

En dehors des ateliers de sculpture romains et attiques, d'autres officines ont illustré la légende d'H. et de Phèdre. En Italie même, certaines copient purement et simplement les sarcophages de la métropole romaine (65–67); de même, un sarcophage syrien (54) reprend les motifs créés dans les ateliers attiques. Mais dès le II<sup>e</sup> s., plusieurs reliefs sculptés dans la région du Danube présentent des compositions beaucoup plus originales. Sur un relief de Brigetio (73) la nourrice est agenouillée devant H. qui se détourne; la main tendue du jeune homme, doigts écartés, montre qu'il vient de jeter le diptyque représenté ouvert sur le sol. L'attitude de la nourrice est nouvelle – peintures et sarcophages la montrent debout, tout au plus courbée devant H. Plus inhabituelle encore est celle de Phèdre, accoudée sur un pilier, les jambes croisées, le haut du corps entièrement nu: une Phèdre séductrice qui n'a rien en commun avec la femme pudiquement drapée et voilée que montrent peintures et reliefs. On notera que seules les bottes caractérisent H. comme chasseur et

qu'aucun des attributs qui l'accompagnent généralement – lance, chien ou cheval – n'est figuré ici. Un relief de Flavia Solva (74) se rattache au même courant iconographique: la nourrice est agenouillée, les bras tendus vers H., cette fois figuré en chasseur; comme sur 73, un Eros, torche en main, fait le lien entre H. et Phèdre. Cette dernière a presque totalement disparu mais on voit qu'elle était en train de rédiger sur une tablette le message d'amour. Les deux reliefs s'accordent donc à la montrer désireuse de déclarer sa passion à H., et peut-être faut-il voir cette fois dans le motif de la lettre écrite par Phèdre l'influence directe de la création d'Ovide. Le diptyque figure aussi sur un relief de Pöchlarn (95): il vient d'être jeté à terre par H., qui fait de la main dr. le geste habituel de refus, tandis que la nourrice – si c'est bien elle – s'éloigne à dr. Enfin, un autre relief de Brigetio (121) montre une version très dépouillée de la mort d'H., avec le jeune homme tombé de pleine face devant ses chevaux cabrés.

L'art de la mosaïque n'a pas ignoré la légende d'H. et celle-ci semble avoir connu une faveur particulière en Orient, où l'on connaît quatre pavements qui l'illustrent. Tous représentent la scène de la révélation d'amour, avec ou sans l'intervention de la nourrice. La plus ancienne mosaïque provient d'Antioche et date de l'époque antonine. H. y est figuré en chasseur, vêtu d'une tunique courte et d'une chlamyde, et il vient de jeter à terre les tablettes dans un geste qui rappelle le relief de Brigetio (73) contemporain. La nourrice n'est pas en train de supplier H. comme sur la plupart des autres représentations de cet épisode, mais elle lui désigne Phèdre qui s'approche entièrement drapée et voilée. Cette composition, où Phèdre est debout et assiste à l'entrevue, n'est pourtant pas comparable à celle des reliefs danubiens: loin de chercher à séduire H., Phèdre se drape avec pudeur et la mosaïque d'Antioche est plutôt à mettre en parallèle avec la peinture pompéienne 47 où la nourrice tente d'apitoyer H. en lui montrant le désespoir qui accable sa maîtresse. Plus proche des représentations traditionnelles est la mosaïque de Paphos 35, datée de la 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s., qui oppose à Phèdre assise, drapée et voilée, un H. debout, presque nu, la tablette en main, dans une composition très sobre, dépouillée de tout décor et de tout personnage annexe. Eros seul assiste à la rencontre et sa présence renforce le caractère idyllique de cette scène dont le seul élément anecdotique demeure la tablette. Dans le courant du IV<sup>e</sup> s. la mosaïque de Cheikh Zoueide (49) donne une version plus développée de la scène de la révélation et reprend, trois siècles plus tard, la composition utilisée par la peinture de la Domus Aurea (42); mais Phèdre est assise à l'intérieur de son palais et n'est donc pas supposée assister à la rencontre entre H. et la nourrice, et l'aveu d'amour se fait au moyen de la tablette. H. porte le même équipement de chasse que sur la mosaïque d'Antioche. C'est avec un costume similaire qu'il figure sur la mosaïque de la «Mégaloptychia» d'Antioche (8), datée du V<sup>e</sup> s., en compagnie d'autres chasseurs célèbres. N'était l'inscription qui le désigne, H., pas plus que ses compagnons, ne se distinguerait sur cette mosaïque d'un chasseur «ordinaire»; en l'absence de lien précis avec la

légende, il apparaît plutôt ici comme une figure symbolique concrétisant la *mégaloptychia*, la Magnanimité dont l'allégorie occupe le centre de la mosaïque – symbolisme qui rejoint celui des sarcophages romains où Virtus chasse aux côtés d'H. Une mosaïque du VI<sup>e</sup> s. récemment découverte à Madaba (50) et malheureusement très endommagée illustre à nouveau l'épisode de la révélation. H. a totalement disparu mais l'inscription permet de voir qu'il était figuré dans la partie dr. avec ses compagnons de chasse, tandis que Phèdre est dans la partie g., cette fois-ci entourée de ses servantes; l'une de celles-ci semble lui désigner H., ce qui rend plus évidente encore l'analogie avec la peinture de la Domus Aurea. La principale lacune affectant le groupe d'H. et de la nourrice, il est impossible de savoir si cette dernière présentait une lettre à H. Il est tentant d'établir un parallèle entre cette mosaïque tardive et l'*Ἐκφρασις ἐκρόνος* de Procope de Gaza (75) à peu près contemporaine (voir à ce sujet Buschhausen, H., dans *I mosaici di Giordania* [1986] 124–126). La peinture décrite par Procope est une vaste composition où se mêlent, aux éléments traditionnels de la légende d'H., un certain nombre de détails insolites comme la chasse d'H. en compagnie de Daphné ou encore le châtiment de la nourrice par un compagnon d'H. Cette dernière scène se déroule sous les yeux d'un fauconnier dont la description correspond parfaitement à celui qui figure sur la mosaïque de Madaba à côté de la nourrice. Sans pour autant conclure à une relation précise entre le texte de Procope et la mosaïque, on peut supposer que la tradition rhétorique avait joué un rôle non négligeable dans la survivance tardive de thèmes classiques comme la légende d'H.

Deux autres documents témoignent d'ailleurs de sa popularité jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité. Un diptyque en ivoire du V<sup>e</sup> s. (39) présente, debout côte à côte, H. nu, en train de lire la tablette, et Phèdre qui le regarde; Eros volette au-dessus du couple – scène idyllique qui fait pendant à un autre couple d'amants figurés sur le second volet du diptyque. H. ne semble pas affecté à la lecture du message et rien ne laisse ici présager l'issue dramatique de l'aveu d'amour. Une autre étape est franchie dans cette perte du sens originel de l'image avec le décor d'un plat d'argent du VI<sup>e</sup> s. (38). H., toujours en train de lire la tablette, tourne le dos à Phèdre dont la pose lascive rappelle celle de la Phèdre à demi nue du relief de Brigetio (73). C'est elle, et non plus la nourrice, qui agrippe ici le manteau d'H.: la méconnaissance du motif original a donc entraîné une transformation du sens de ce geste qui traduit, non plus la supplication, mais la séduction. Weitzmann a voulu voir dans cette image l'influence du thème iconographique chrétien de la séduction de Joseph par l'épouse de Putiphar. Mais une comparaison avec les documents antérieurs montre clairement comment a pu s'effectuer pareille déviation du motif sans que l'on ait à invoquer une influence extérieure.

Il reste à signaler que parmi toutes les représentations recensées dans le catalogue, où dominant, parfois regroupés sur un même monument, le thème de l'amour fatal et celui du chasseur exemplaire, un document demeure tout à fait unique, jusqu'à présent, la



lampe gallo-romaine 123 qui illustre la résurrection d'H. par Asklépios – un épisode qui figure en bonne place dans la poésie latine (Verg. *Aen.* 7, 767-777; *Ov. met.* 15, 533-546).

PASCALE LINANT DE BELLEFONDS

## HIPPOLYTOS II

(Ἰππόλυτος) Nom désignant, sur des vases corinthiens, divers personnages (un hoplite, un guerrier en char, un guerrier mort), parfois dans un contexte troyen.

1. (= Alexandros 67\* avec bibl., = Automedousa 2, = Hektor 10, = Helene 190) Cratère à colonnettes, cor. moyen. New York, MMA 27.116. D'Italie. – Lorber, *Inscriften* n° 44 pl. 11. – P. de Detroit (Benson), vers 580 av. J.-C. – Au centre, Alexandros et Hélène en char, accompagnés de quatre autres couples: des inscr. désignent Daiphon, Hektor, Automedousa. A l'extrémité dr., un hoplite nommé *HIΠOΛΥΤΟΣ* (casque, cuirasse, cnémides) s'avance vers la g., lance dans la main dr., bouclier au bras g.

2.\* Cratère à colonnettes, cor. moyen. Paris, Louvre E 636. De Cerveteri. – Payne, *NC* 166 n° 54 cat. 1456; Benson, *KorVasen* 58 n° 100, 1: p. du Cratère d'Hippolyte; Banti, L., *EAA* II (1959) 925 s.v. «Cratere di Ippolito, Pittore del», fig. 1186; Arena, *Iscrizioni* n° 66; Lorber, *Inscriften* n° 85 pl. 20. – 570-550 av. J.-C. – Deux guerriers s'affrontent au-dessus du corps d'H. (*HIΠΠOΛYTOΣ*), nu, étendu sur le sol. De part et d'autre, un cavalier.

3.\* (= Damon 2\* avec bibl., = Eurylochos III 1, = Kebriones 4) Cratère à colonnettes, cor. récent. Naples, Mus. Naz. 80 996 (H 685). De Nola ou Capoue. – Lorber, *Inscriften* n° 125 pl. 38. – Manière du p. d'Amphiaros (Benson), 570-550 av. J.-C. – Scène de départ de guerriers, à pied et en char. Tous les noms, parmi lesquels ceux d'→Hektor et Kébrionès, sont inscrits. Sur le char de dr., H. (*HIΠΠOΛYΤ[OΣ]*) et son cocher.

Le nom H. appartient à ce groupe de noms fréquemment utilisés par les peintres de vases corinthiens dans un contexte mythologique, mais inconnus de nous dans la littérature épique (sur ces noms et leur utilisation →Dion, Commentaire). Bien que le contexte troyen semble assuré, sur 1 et 3, par les inscriptions – Hektor figure sur les deux représentations et 1 fait clairement allusion au mariage de Pâris et Hélène à Troie – il est impossible de préciser l'identité de cet H. Nous ne sommes pas davantage renseignés par l'image du cratère du Louvre (2), où les deux guerriers qui combattent au-dessus du corps d'H. – selon le schéma bien connu du duel d'Achille et d'Hektor au-dessus du cadavre de Patrocle – demeurent, en l'absence d'inscriptions, anonymes.

PASCALE LINANT DE BELLEFONDS

## HIPPOLYTOS III

(Ἰππόλυτος) Nom d'un guerrier sur un vase d'Euphronios.

1. (= Hermes 593\* avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche attique à f.r. New York, MMA 1972.11.10. – v. Bothmer, D., *AA* 1976, 493-494 fig. 2.5.8; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 98 fig. 103; Scheffold, *SB* II 225-226 fig. 303. – Euphronios (signé), vers 510 av. J.-C. – Tous les noms sont inscrits. →Hypnos, à g., et →Thanatos, à dr., soulèvent le cadavre de →Sarpédon. A l'arrière-plan, Hermès assiste à la scène qu'encadrent deux guerriers: à g. *Leodamas*, à dr. H., barbu (casque, cnémides), main dr. appuyée sur une lance, bouclier au bras g.

Le nom *Laodamas* apparaît plusieurs fois dans les sources littéraires, dans un contexte troyen: chez Hom. *Il.* 15, 516-517, c'est un Troyen tué par Ajax, et Q. Smyrn. 11, 20-21 en fait un guerrier lycien. *Leodamas* pourrait donc être un compagnon de Sarpédon. Pour H. en revanche, aucune source littéraire, à notre connaissance, ne mentionne le nom dans un contexte troyen et, bien qu'il soit inscrit sur au moins deux vases corinthiens illustrant un épisode du cycle troyen (→Hippolytos II 1. 3), rien ne permet d'affirmer qu'il s'agisse, sur le vase d'Euphronios, du même personnage. Sa présence et celle de *Leodamas* évoquent sans aucun doute le champ de bataille auquel les dieux vont soustraire le corps de Sarpédon; mais ni l'un ni l'autre ne paraissent s'intéresser à l'action qui se déroule sous leurs yeux, et leur indifférence accentue encore le côté surnaturel de l'enlèvement.

PASCALE LINANT DE BELLEFONDS

## HIPPOMACHE → Amazones 724

## HIPPOMACHOS

(Ἰππομάχος) Héros troyen, fils d'Antimaque.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Hom. *Il.* 12, 188-189 décrit la mort d'H. sous les coups de Léontée (Leonteus), qui le «frappe de sa javeline, en l'atteignant au ceinturon».

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *MLI* 2 (1884-86) 2687 s.v. «Hippomachos 1»; Scichilone, G., *EAA* IV (1961) 39 s.v. «Hippomachos».

1. (= Ainoi 1\* avec bibl., = Deiphobos 13 avec bibl., = Hekabe 15, = Hektor 12, = Kebriones 3\*) Cratère à colonnettes corinthien. Paris, Louvre E 638. De Cerveteri. – Friis Johansen, *Iliad* 80-82 fig. 19; 247 n° 14; Lorber, *Inscriften* 80-81 n° 126 pl. 34. – 570-560 av. J.-C. – Sur la g., départ d'Hektor en présence de Priam, Hécube, Déiphobe, Polyxène et Cassandre (tous inscr.). Au centre, à l'arrière-plan derrière

l'attelage conduit par Kébrionès (inscr.), H. est debout, tourné vers la g. Il est vêtu en hoplite (casque, cnémides, lance sur l'épaule dr., bouclier?) et il fait face à deux femmes drapées (sans inscr.).

L'épisode des adieux d'Hektor à ses parents, au contraire de celui des adieux à Andromaque, n'est pas relaté dans l'*Iliade*. La scène de 1 est donc à rattacher à une autre tradition, ou plutôt à l'individualisation d'une scène de genre (le départ de guerrier) au moyen de noms de héros empruntés à l'épopée (Friis Johansen 80-82; Scheffold, *Sagenbilder* 81). Dans ce contexte, rien n'interdit de voir en H. le héros des vers 188-189 du chant 12 de l'*Iliade*, une identification refusée jadis par O. Jahn et, à sa suite, Luckenbach, H., *Jahrbücher für class. Philologie*, 11. Suppl. (1880) 497. 544 n. 4. Sur le document figuré 1, l'iconographie de H. ne se distingue pas de celle de l'hoplite.

JEAN-ROBERT GISLER

## HIPPOMEDON I

(Ἰππομέδων, Hippomedon) One of the Seven against Thebes, brother of →Adrastos. For literary sources and (rare) iconography in the context of the Theban expedition see →Septem. The context of the following scene is unknown:

1. Neck amphora, Attic bf. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Cerveteri. – *ABV* 693, 8bis: Three-Line Group; *Para* 140; *Add* 86. – About 520 B.C. – «Hippomedon (*HIΠOMEDON*) laying a flower on an altar and invoking the god with the word *ὄναξ* (*ONAXS*); his wife *ΠOΛYKACTE* stands facing him, holding his helmet and girdle.»

The H. on 1 is more likely to be the H. who attacked Thebes than any of the other H.s known from literature. The Polykaste is unknown; she cannot be either of the two known Polykastes (a daughter of Nestor and the mother of Penelope, cf. Zechner, I., *RE* XXI 2 [1952] 1693-1695).

Scheffold/Jung, *SB* V 75. 408 (with fig. 57) recall Stephani's suggestion that H. rescuing →Hypsipyle (I) is shown on the Sotades Painter cup, London D 7 (= Archemoros 11), but recent studies have favoured other interpretations: see →Hesperie I with refs.

JOHN BOARDMAN

## HIPPOMEDON II

(Ἰππομέδων, Hippomedon) Victor over →Atalante in the footrace. The only literary authority naming H. rather than →Hippomenes or →Meilanion as victor over Atalante is *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.* 1, 769 (*varia lectio*).

That this is not an idle error is shown by two Roman representations which name him: a glass bowl on which Atalante pursues him with drawn sword (→Atalante 83\*) and a clay relief roundel on which he stands victorious beside her (→Atalante 82\*). There is no reason to identify this H. with the Hippomedon of the Seven against Thebes.

JOHN BOARDMAN

## HIPPO(MEDON) III → Alexandros 67 = Automedousa 2

## HIPPOMEDON IV → Doroi 1

## HIPPOMENES

(Ἰππομένης, Hippomenes) Son of →Megareus of Onchestos and Merope. Victor over →Atalante in the footrace, distracting her by throwing down golden apples. They lay together in a sanctuary and were turned into lions by Zeus or Kybele.

LITERARY SOURCES: For his parents see *Schol. Theokr.* 3, 40b, c; *Hyg. fab.* 185. The fullest version of the story is in *Ovid met.* 10, 560-707 where Aphrodite gives him three apples, of which the last he throws down is heavier, as an extra handicap to Atalanta. Hesiod (*fig.* 74 Merkelbach/West) has H. competing naked against Atalante, and a scene with her father →Schoineus (*fig.* 75. 76) in which the three apples are introduced but H.'s name does not itself appear. Theokritos (3, 40-42) alludes to H.'s ruse with the apples. The apples are said to be from Tamassos (*Ov. met.* 10, 644-651) or the Hesperides (*Schol. Theokr.* 3, 40b, c) or from Dionysos' wreath (*Schol. Theokr.* 2, 120, citing Philotas [*fig.* 18 Powell] and a Callimachus [medicus?]). Other authorities name →Meilanion or →Hippomedon (II) as the victor. Apollodoros (*bibl.* 3 [108-109] 9, 2), who prefers Melanion, remarks that Euripides (*Phoen.* 1162) names him H. For other sources about the race see →Atalante.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Beazley, J. D., *AJA* 64, 1960, 223-225 on 1; Drexler, W., *MLI* 2 (1886-90) 2688-2689 s.v. «Hippomenes 2»; Eitrem, S., *RE* VIII 2 (1913) 1887-1888, s.v. «Hippomenes 1»; Laser, S., *Hermes* 80, 1952, 372-376 (Hesiod and the race); Robert, *Heldensage* II 83; Trumpf, J., *Hermes* 88, 1960, 20-21 (the apples).

## CATALOGUE

1. (= Atalante 73\* with bibl., = Herakles 2803 with further refs.) Volute crater frs., Attic rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 2865 (T 404). From Spina. – *ARV* 2 1039, 9: Peleus P.; *Add* 319; Beazley pls. 53, 1. 3; 54. – About 440-430 B.C. – Atalante stands with arms raised and H. (named) crouches before her, possibly

holding her. At the l. is Kleomolpos, at the r. a boxer, Amykos. On the reverse Polydeukes receives a prize. Beazley suggests a confusion here between the Games, in which Peleus wrestled Atalante, and the Amykos episode, the latter being wrongly labelled and Peleus misnamed H.

2. (= Aphrodite 1523\* with bibl., = Atalante 81 with bibl.) Calyx crater, Attic rf. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 300 from Bologna. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1152, 7: Dinos P.; Add<sup>2</sup> 336. - About 420 B. C. - Aphrodite addresses H., apparently taking an apple (?) from Eros, who holds two others, to give to him. Beside them stands Atalante, naked, beside a laver.

3.\* (= Atalante 84\* with bibl.) Glass beaker, incised. Corning, Mus. of Glass 66.1.238, formerly Vincigliata, Lord Westbury Coll. From Vada, Maremma Toscana. - *Ausonia* 9, 1919, 82-83 figs. 1-2. - 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. - Atalante pursues H., who is naked, with a drawn sword. Both figures are named. Foliage in the background but not certainly apples.

## COMMENTARY

The only Greek representation naming H. (I) shows him with Atalante in unexpected company and the action appears to imply wrestling, not running, so the inscription may be mistaken. The preparation for the race is shown on 2 with H. receiving the apples from Aphrodite and Atalante naked. Admiration of her beauty at the preparation for the race is especially noted by Hesiod and Ovid. The only illustration of the race itself is Roman, 3, of a period in which the victor is more often named → Hippomedon (II) (→ Atalante 82\*. 83\*). In other scenes with Atalante as an athlete her companion is more probably Peleus (→ Atalante 85-89), or at least not demonstrably H.

JOHN BOARDMAN

## HIPPONIKA

(*Ἰππονίκα*) Beigeschriebener Frauenname auf I.

1. Kraterfr., spätkorinthisch. Delphi, Mus. Aus Delphi. - Amyx, *CVP* 581, 91; 638; Perdrizet, P., *FDelphes* V (1908) 144 Nr. 134 Abb. 594; Payne, *NC* 136. 166 Nr. 53; 328 Nr. 1453; Steuben 68. 123 K 6 mit Lit.; Lorber, *Inscriben* Nr. 84 Taf. 18; → Aias II S. 350. - 570-550 v. Chr. - Reste einer kämpfenden (?) Athena «Promachos» (ΑΘΑ); hinter ihr Namensbeischr. *Ἰππονίκα* (zugehörige Figur verloren).

Zu den verschiedenen bisherigen Deutungen (Kentauren- oder Gigantenkampf?, Palladion in Kassandraszene einer Iliouperis; Amazonomachie) cf. Lorber und Amyx; keine davon vermag ganz zu überzeugen. Der Versuch, die Striche vor Athenas Gesicht als Zweigspitzen zu erklären, die zu einem Ast, der Waffe des Athenagegners, gehören, ist mit der

Schwierigkeit verbunden, daß Athena in Kentaurenkämpfen nicht belegt ist (→ Kentauroi) und daß Giganten nicht mit Ästen kämpfen (→ Gigantes S. 215). Eher ist daher eine andere Deutung dieser Striche zu suchen (cf. Amyx). Der Name H., der als Amazonenname auf einer att. rf. Vase belegt ist (→ Amazonas 88\*, ARV<sup>2</sup> 653, 2), muß nicht ausschließlich für Amazonen verwendet worden sein. Athena ist selten in Amazonomachien (→ Amazonas 49\*. 50. 61; v. Bothmer, *Amazons* 68-69; in keinem der Beispiele kämpft sie).

PIERRE MÜLLER

## HIPPONIKE → Amazonas 88

## HIPPOPHORAS

(*Ἰπποφόρας*) Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses in Pisidien, heute Uluborlu Çay. Der antike Name des Flusses erscheint nur auf Münzen.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: v. Aulock, H., *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens* II, *IstanbMitt* Beih. 22 (1979) 20-23. 54-55. 61. 63.

*Münzen von Apollonia Mordiaion (Pisidien)*

1.\* AE, Prägungen mit Alexander dem Großen (Zeit des Caracalla); Philippus I. (244-249 n. Chr.), Gallienus (253-268 n. Chr.). - Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 336-337 Nr. 410-411 Taf. 13, 12. 13; v. Aulock 54-55 Nr. 34-53; 61 Nr. 146-148; 63 Nr. 184-206. - Rs.: H. bärtig, linkshin gelagert, ein Himation um den Unterkörper geschlungen; ein Zipfel des Gewandes fällt über den l. Unterarm herab. In der Rechten Schilfrohr, den l. Arm auf ein Quellgefäß gelehnt, in der l. Armbeuge Füllhorn. *ἸΠΠΟΦΟΡΑΣ* oder *Ethnikon*.

2.\* AE, 3. Jh. n. Chr. - v. Aulock 55 Nr. 54-56. - Rs.: Wie 1, jedoch ohne Füllhorn, l. Hand auf den Boden gestützt, r. daneben Quellgefäß; das Himation ist über die l. Schulter gezogen und scheint sich mit dem über den l. Unterarm gelegten Gewandzipfel zu vereinigen. *ἸΠΠΟΦΟΡΑΣ*. Vs.: → Tyche.

H. erscheint in dem in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit weit verbreiteten Schema des gelagerten Flußgottes (→ Fluvii).

THOMAS GANSCHOW

## HIPPO REGIUS

Personifikation der gleichnamigen Stadt (heute Annaba in Algerien).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Dessau, H., *RE* VIII 2 (1913) 2627-2628 s. v. «Hippo Regius»; Fellmann, R., *LAW* 1303 s. v. «Hippo Regius»; Romanelli, P., *EAA* II (1959) 132-134 s. v. «Bona».

## Münzen von Hippo Regius

1.\* AE, 1. Jh. v. Chr. - Babelon, *de Luynes* IV Nr. 3977-3979; Mazard, *CNNM* 152-153 Nr. 517-519 Abb. 517-518; 254 Abb. 517-519; - Vs.: Kopf der Stadtgöttin mit Mauerkrone und einigen gewellten, herabfallenden Haarsträhnen nach l. Rs.: Pferd.

Die Darstellung entspricht einem der geläufigsten Stadtpersonifikationstypen, der Kopf mit Mauerkrone nach l., der besonders gern, wie auch in unserem Falle, für die Vorderseiten von Münzen verwendet wurde. Bei Babelon wurde als Prägeort noch Gazauphala, ein kleiner, unbedeutender Ort im Innern Algeriens, angesehen, jedoch wies Mazard 152 diese Münzen überzeugend Hippo Regius zu.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

## HIPPOS

(*Ἴππος*) Satyrname (→ Silenos, Silenoi) in einer Vaseninschrift.

1. (= Dorkis 2 mit Lit. und Beschreibung) Kolonnenkrater, chalkidisch. Brüssel, Mus. Roy. A 135. Aus Vulci. - Fränkel, *Namen* 7. 82 Nr. B. - H. (..ΠΙΟΣ) tanzt zwischen → Xantho und Fio (→ Io III).

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## HIPPOSTROPHOS → Hippobatas, Hippostrophos

## HIPPOTES

(*Ἰππότης*) Sohn des korinthischen Königs → Kreon (II) und Bruder der → Kreousa (II), der unglücklichen Braut des → Iason, die durch die Geschenke der → Medea umkam. H. suchte die Schwester vergebens zu retten und machte nach ihrem Tod Medea den Prozeß. Seine Mutter war → Merope (nur auf I überliefert).

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Als Sohn des Kreon ist der auch in anderen Sagen begegnende Name H. («Reiter») bezeugt in: *Schol.* Eur. *Medea* 19; Diod. 4, 55, 5, wahrscheinlich nach Dionysios Skytobrachion (*FGrH* 32 F 14 p. 257; Rusten, J. S., *Dionysius Scytobrachion* [1982] *frg.* 38) und Hyg. *fab.* 27, wohl nach dem *Medus* des Pacuvius; vgl. Helm, R., *RE* XVIII 2 (1942) 2167 s. v. «Pacuvius 6». Daß H. der Medea den Prozeß machte, steht bei Diod., doch wurde die Stelle von Stoll unzutreffend interpretiert (H. habe anstelle von

Kreon Medea in Korinth aufgenommen), was sich über Kroll in Lexika fortgeerbt hat (s. Bibliographie). Es entspricht griechischem Rechtsempfinden, daß der Bruder die Mörderin seiner Schwester anklagt, zumal auch Kreon beim Tod seiner Tochter umgekommen war (Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 145; vgl. Hyg. *fab.* 25).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: v. Geisau, H., *KlPauly* II (1967) 1178 s. v. «Hippotes 3» (wiederholt unzutreffende Interpretationen von Kroll und Stoll); Kroll, W., *RE* VIII 2 (1913) 1923 s. v. «Hippotes 3»; Lesky, A., *RE* XV 1 (1932) 47-48 s. v. «Medea» (korrekt); Stoll, H. W., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2692 s. v. «Hippotes 3»; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* 110-111 (III 5, 4).

Mythologisch wichtiger, aber in der Bildkunst bisher nicht nachgewiesen, ist der Heraklide H., der in obigen Lexikonartikeln jeweils unter Nr. 2 behandelt ist; dazu: Prinz, F., *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie* (1979) 300. 305-307.

## KATALOG

1.\* (= Aietes I mit Lit., = Iason 74 mit Lit.) Volutenkrater, apul. München, Antikenslg. 3296. - *RVAp* II 533, 283 Taf. 195 und Suppl. 1, 69: Unterweltsmaler; Pfuhr, *MuZ* Abb. 795; Robert, a. O. 2. - 330/20 v. Chr. - In einem sechssäuligen ionischen Naikos sinkt Kreonteia (Inschrift am Architrav) vor dem Thron, auf dem sie als Braut saß, im Todeschmerz nieder. Gewand und Kranz, die tödlichen Geschenke der Medea, tun ihre Wirkung. Ihr greiser Vater Kreon (Inschrift am Architrav) faßt sie um die Hüfte und infiziert sich so ebenfalls mit dem Gift. Von r. eilt H. herbei (Inschrift über seinem Kopf eingeritzt) und versucht, sie von dem Kranz zu befreien. Von l. unten stützt die Mutter Merope (Inschrift) heran und führt die Rechte wie Kreon im Klagegestus zum Haupt. H. trägt einem schmalen, um beide Schultern geschlungenen Mantel und ein Schwert an der Seite. Der Petasos im Nacken - Jason im unteren Register besitzt ihn nicht - mag auf seinen Namen («Reiter») anspielen. Da er den vergifteten Kranz berührt, ist er ebenfalls gefährdet. Den Schriftquellen zufolge überlebte er jedoch als Zeuge und Ankläger. - Das Vasenbild kann trotz Robert (zu 2) nicht mit der Tragödie des Euripides verbunden werden, da es zu viele «literarische» Abweichungen von dessen *Medea* zeigt. Es wurde überzeugend mit einer uns völlig verlorenen Tragödie des 4. Jh. in Verbindung gebracht (Trendall/Webster, mit Lit.).

## HYPOTHETISCHE DEUTUNG

2. Links außen stehende Gestalt auf den Medeasarkophagen (Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 159-161), die im allgemeinen Jason genannt wird. Dagegen spricht jedoch der bekränzte junge Mann mit der Handgirlande an dieser Stelle auf dem Basler Medeasarkophag: Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* Abb. 181; gute Details: Schmidt, M., *Der Basler Medeasarkophag* (1969) Taf. 10, 1; 13. Da auf I nicht Jason, sondern H. sich in der Nähe der Braut befindet, kann man fragen, ob er in dem jungen Mann auf den genannten Sarkophagen jeweils zu erkennen ist. Eine sorgfältige ikonographische Analyse der gesamten Sarkophaggruppe könnte wohl weiter führen. Sowohl F. Matz d. J. als

auch Koch/Sichtermann stützen sich in der Sarkophagdeutung allgemein zu sehr auf C. Robert, dessen Hermeneutik in *SarkRel* stärker überholt ist, als in der Forschung angenommen wird. Entsprechendes gilt für Roberts Deutung von I, so sehr er sie in *Archäologische Hermeneutik* (1919) 159-167 vertritt. Die Rückführung auf die *Medeia* des Euripides läßt sich nicht halten (vgl. Trendall/Webster).

## KOMMENTAR

Die einzige inschriftlich gesicherte Darstellung des Bruders der Kreousa findet sich auf I. H. versucht vergebens, seine Schwester, die einfach als Kreontochter (Kreonteia) bezeichnet wird, von dem Giftkranz zu befreien. Dieser hat - Ironie der *Medeia* - die Form der Brautkrone und «paßt» so zu dem Thron im Hintergrund. Auf apulischen Vasen können nämlich Bräute am Hochzeitstag auf einem solchen prunkvollen Möbel thronen; vgl. Schmidt, M./Trendall, A. D./Cambitoglou, A., *Eine Gruppe apulischer Grabvasen in Basel* (1976) 98 Anm. 354 (Schmidt, M.). H. ist mit der Braut ungefähr gleichaltrig wiedergegeben, ein junger, fast nackter Heros. Er unterscheidet sich darin von dem bärtigen Jason im Register unmittelbar darunter, was durch das übereinstimmende Schema der Bewegung besonders deutlich wird. Seine Mutter Merope ist wie er nur auf I inschriftlich überliefert. Da die Mutter zur Schmückung der Braut gehört, dürfte sie sich unter den Gestalten der linken Szene des Basler Medeasarkophages (vgl. zu 2) befinden wie auch im Hintergrund der Mittelszene. Der junge Mann links außen wird hier hypothetisch H. genannt. Auch wenn sich diese Deutung bestätigen sollte, bleibt H. eine in der antiken Literatur und Bildkunst nur vereinzelt auftretende Gestalt. ERIKA SIMON

## HIPPOTHOE → Peliades

## HIPPOTHOON

(Ἱπποθῶν, HIPPOΘOON [9], ΙΠΠΟΘΩΝ [19], Ἱπποθῶν *Etym. m. s. v.*, Hippothoos bzw. Hippothous Hyg. *fab.* 187. 252) Eleusinischer Lokal- und Kultheros, später attischer Phylenheros. Sohn des → Poseidon (Variante: des → Theseus) und der → Alope, der Tochter des Kerkyon von Eleusis. Alope setzt das Kind aus, doch Poseidon schickt eine Stute, die es nährt. Zwei Hirten finden das Kind und geraten in Streit um die Gnorismata. Sie rufen Kerkyon als Schiedsrichter an, der das Kind seiner Tochter erkennt, diese zum Tode einsperren und das Kind erneut aussetzen läßt. Da die Stute es von neuem nährt, sehen die Hirten darin das

Walten der Götter und ziehen das Kind auf, das sie H. nennen. Theseus tötet den Kerkyon auf seinem Weg von Troizen nach Athen und übergibt die Herrschaft über Eleusis dem H., der wie er selbst ein Sohn des Poseidon ist. Alope wird von Poseidon in eine Quelle verwandelt. H. ist auch sonst dem eleusinischen Fürstenhaus verbunden, ja er wird sogar als Gatte der → Metaneira bezeichnet, die wir gewöhnlich als Gattin des → Keleos und Mutter des → Triptolemos kennen. Triptolemos und Kerkyon gelten auch als Halbbrüder, Söhne einer Tochter des Amphiktyon und des Rharos bzw. des Poseidon; oder Kerkyon wird Großvater des → Mousaios genannt.

H. genoß in Eleusis seit alters Kult; so wurde z. B. der Pelanos für den Priester des H. aus dem offiziellen Mysterienfond bezahlt und H. läßt sich wahrscheinlich auf einem Fragment des athenischen Staatskalenders unter den eleusinischen Gottheiten und Heroen nachweisen. Das Heroon des H. befand sich an der heiligen Straße bei Eleusis am Kephisos, nahe dem Heiligtum des Zarex (Paus. 1, 38, 4; Hesych. *s. v.* Ἱπποθῶν) und diente zugleich als zentrales Heiligtum der Phyle Hippotho(ontis). Das Hippothoontion ist das einzige der Phylenheiligümer, das sich außerhalb von Athen befand. Ungewöhnlich ist auch, daß der Kult des Phylenheros H. noch im 2. Jh. v. Chr. kein demokratisches Losamt, sondern ein gentilizisches Priesteramt geblieben war. Durch die Aufnahme des in Mythos und Kult fest in Eleusis verwurzelten H. unter die zehn attischen Phylenheroen hatte Kleisthenes Eleusis, das die Athener nach langen Kämpfen in ihren Staat eingegliedert hatten und das immer wieder zum Ausbruch neigte, fest an den athenischen Staat binden wollen.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Die erhaltenen Schriftquellen sind in der Mehrzahl recht spät, am ausführlichsten ist Hyg. *fab.* 187. Choirilos (*TrGF* 2 F 1) und Pherekyd., *FGH* 3 F 147 belegen jedoch den Mythos von H. und Alope schon für das 6. bzw. das frühe 5. Jh. Außerdem nennt z. B. ein unbekannter Epiker (Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* p. 37 Euphotion *frg.* 35 [c]) den H. zusammen mit → Eumolpos und Dolichos, die der homerische Demeterhymnos, Hom. *h. Cer.* 153-156, unter den eleusinischen Fürsten aufzählt, die die umherirrende Demeter aufnehmen; auch dies zeigt übrigens, daß H. zu den mit den eleusinischen Mysterien verbundenen Heroen gehörte (bei Herodianos ed. A. Lentz II 311, 33; Lobeck, C. A., *Aglaophamus* [1829] I 212 schrieb diesen Vers dem Choirilos zu, v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U., *Menander. Das Schiedsgericht* [1925] 129 dachte an die *Ehōen*). Der Alope-H.-Stoff war besonders im attischen Drama beliebt. Die Alope des Choirilos stammt noch aus dem 6. Jh., aus dem 5. das Satyrspiel *Kerkyon* des Aischylos, in dem möglicherweise auch das Geschick des H. und seiner Mutter behandelt war (*cf.* *TrGF* III p. 223) und die Alope des Euripides (*TGF* *frg.* 105-113), aus dem 4. Jh. die gleichnamige Tragödie des Karkinos (*TrGF* I 70 F 1b). Sie alle sind zwar größtenteils verloren, doch scheint Hyg. *fab.* 187 den Inhalt der euripideischen Alope wiederzugeben, in der das künftige Schicksal der Alope und des H. wahr-

scheinlich von Poseidon im Epilog verkündet wurde. Der Typus dieses von Hygin überlieferten Mythos ist uns vertraut: die Schicksale der heimlichen (Götter-) Geliebten und ihres Kindes, das gefährdet und auf wunderbare Weise gerettet wird, *cf.* z. B. → Antiope, → Auge, → Danae, → Hypsipyle und → Melanippe. Auch die tierische «Amm» ist ein geläufiger Bestandteil dieser Mythen, *cf.* etwa → Pelias und → Neleus, → Telephos oder → Romulus und Remus (McCartney, E. S., *Greek and Roman Lore of Animal-Nursed Infants. Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Art and Letters* 44, 1924, 25 ff.; Binder, G., *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes, Romulus und Kyros* [1963]). Die Stute, die den kleinen H. nährte, gehörte zur ursprünglichen Geschichte und wurde nicht erst aus dem Namen H. herausgesponnen (so z. B. Kroll). Eine Stute ist gerade bei einem Sohn des Poseidon (Hippios) besonders gut passend, wie auch die ebenfalls von einer Stute genährten Poseidonsöhne Pelias und Neleus zeigen. Das Stück des Euripides hatte große Nachwirkung, so diente etwa die Schiedsgerichtsszene der Alope dem Menander zum Vorbild für seine *Epitrepontes*. Die athidographischen Behandlungen des H. sind leider bis auf zwei winzige Exzerpte aus Pherekyd. (*s. o.*) und Hellan. (*FGH* 323a F 6), die hauptsächlich topographische Angaben vermitteln, verloren.

In Eleusis erinnerten nach Paus. 1, 39, 3 und Hesych. *s. v.* Ἀλόπη verschiedene Orte an den Mythos: Auf dem Weg nach Megara wurde das Grab der Alope, die Palaistra des Kerkyon und eine Quelle Alope oder Φιλότης gezeigt. Metaneira als Gattin des H. kennt *Schol. Eur. Or.* 964. Nach *TrGF* 2 F 1 wurden im Drama des Choirilos Kerkyon und Triptolemos als Halbbrüder bezeichnet; Kerkyon als Vorfahren des Musaios überliefert Suda *s. v.* Μουσάιος.

Kerkyon und H. sind nach anderen Versionen auch in Arkadien heimisch. Kerkyon ist dort Sohn des Agamedes und Vater eines Hippothoos, der an der Kalydonischen Eberjagd teilnimmt und der Eponyme einer Phyle in Tegea wird. Das Verhältnis der eleusinischen Heroen H. und Kerkyon zu diesen arkadischen Namensvettern ist umstritten (*cf.* Stoll 2693; Hepding; Latte). Vermutlich spielen hier alte gemeinsame kultische Traditionen eine Rolle (so, mit etwas weitgehenden Folgerungen, Gruppe; Jacoby, F., *Komm. zu Hellan.*, *FGH* 323a F 6, Anm. 8; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 180; anders vor allem Latte).

Die bei Istros (*FGH* 334 F 10) und Plut. *Theseus* 29 überlieferte Variante, daß Theseus und nicht Poseidon der Liebhaber der Alope und Vater des H. war, ist wohl eine politisch-tendenziöse Erfindung, um die athenische Vorherrschaft über Eleusis zu rechtfertigen (*cf.* ausführlicher Kron, *Phylenheroen* 179-180; anders Robert, *Heldensage* 2, 722: Abstammung von Theseus ist die ältere Version).

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bert, C., *Archäologische Hermeneutik* (1919) 397-405; *idem*, *Heldensage* 2, 721-722; Schauenburg, K., *LAW* 127 *s. v.* «Alope»; Schefold, *SB* IV 285-286; Séchan, *Etudes* 249-252; Stoll, H. W., *ML* I 1 (1884-86) 255-256 *s. v.* «Alope»; I 2 (1886-90) 2692 *s. v.* «Hippothoon»; 2693 *s. v.* «Hippothoos»; Toepffer, J., *RE* I 2 (1894) 1596 *s. v.* «Alope».

Zum Phylenheros H., zu Heiligtum und Kult des H.: Garland, R. S. J., «Religious Authority in Archaic and Classical Athens», *BSA* 79, 1984, 96-97. 110; Healey, R. F., «A Genetic Sacrifice in the Athenian State Calendar», in *Festschr. St. Dow* (1984) 135-141, bes. 137. 139-140; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 180-182; Martha, J., *Les sacerdoce Athéniens* (1882) Nr. 86; Riemann, H., *RE* Suppl. VIII (1956) 182 *s. v.* «Hippothontis»; Schlaifer, R., «Notes on Athenian Public Cults», *HSCP* 51, 1940, 241-260 bes. 251. 253; Sokolowski, *LSCG* Suppl. Nr. 10; Souders, S., *Die außerstädtischen Kulte Attikas und die Einigung Athens* (1931) 98.

Zu H. bei der Aussendung des Triptolemos: Dugas, Ch., «La mission de Triptolème d'après l'imagerie athénienne», *MEFRA* 62, 1950, 7 ff. = *Recueil Ch. Dugas* (1960) 123-139; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 185-186. 277-278 H 7-15; Metzger, *Recherches* 16-17; Prange, H., *Der Niobidenmaler und seine Werkstatt* (1989) 78-80; Schwarz, G., *Triptolemos. Ikonographie einer Agrar- und Mysteriengottheit* (1987) 110. 114. 119.

## KATALOG

(Der inschriftlich als H. bezeichnete Teilnehmer am Wagenrennen bei den Leichenspielen für Patroklos auf dem att. sf. Volutenkrater des Klitias und Ergotimos [sog. François-Vase], Florenz, Mus. Arch. 4209, *ABV* 76, 1; 682; *Para* 29, 1; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* Taf. 53. 55, ist wohl nicht mit dem Eleusinier identisch, sondern empfahl sich wegen seines hippischen Namens.)

## A. Hippothoon und Alope

### a) Säugung des kleinen Hippothoon durch die Stute

DEUTUNG DURCH DEN BILD-TYPUS UND -ZUSAMMENHANG GESICHERT

#### Attische Darstellungen

I.\* (= Alope I\* mit Lit.) Kanne Kertscher Stils, fr. rf. Tübingen, Univ. S./10 1610. - Watzinger, *KatTübingen* 56 Nr. 180 Taf. 39; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 182-183. 187. 276 H 2 Taf. 26, 5; *CVA* 4 Taf. 39, 1-3; Schefold, *SB* IV 285 Abb. 334. - Um die Mitte des 4. Jh. v. Chr. - R. eine sich aufbäumende Stute (ehemals gelblich aufgemalt; Vorderteil verloren), die den kleinen, nach l. knienden H. (hellgelb aufgemalt, Haare und Binnenzeichnung gelbbraun) säugt. L. zusehauende Frau mit zwei langen Fackeln (Ortsnymphē Eleusis [Watzinger], nicht Alope).

2.\* Attische Bleisymbola. Bisher sind fünf nicht stempelgleiche Exemplare, aber mit ähnlichem Bildtypus bekannt. - Svoronos, J. N., *JArchNum* 3, 1900, 331 Nr. 143 Taf. 2, 2; 331 Nr. 14 Taf. 2, 25; 331 Nr. 145 Taf. 2, 26; Lang, M./Crosby, M., *Weights, Measures and Tokens. The Athenian Agora* X (1964) 99 L 133 Taf. 24; 99 L 134 Taf. 24; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 183-184. 187. 276-277 H 3 Taf. 26, 1-4. - 4.-2. Jh. v. Chr. - Vs.: H. ähnlich wie auf I, Stute jedoch ruhig nach r. stehend.



## DEUTUNG WEGEN DES BILDTPYUS MÖGLICH

## Außerattische Darstellungen

3.\* Etr. Goldbulle. Paris, Louvre Bj 743 (C 190). Aus Etrurien. – de Ridder, *Bijoux antiques* 67 Nr. 743 Taf. 13 Abb. 743 (= H.); Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* III 164, 3 s. v. «H.»; Cristofani, M./Martinelli, M., *L'oro degli Etruschi* (1983) 64; 315 Nr. 262; 235 Abb. 262. – Mitte des 4.–2. Jh. v. Chr. – Nackter Knabe nach r. unter einer Stute kauend, die ihn mit zurückgewandtem Kopf säugt; r. nackter Mann, der mit der Rechten nach der Stute, mit der Linken nach dem Knaben greift.

4.\* Etr. Goldbullae. Vatikan, Mus. Greg. Etr. 13412. Aus Vulci. – Giglioli 70 Taf. 376, 3 (H.); Andren, A., *OpuscArch* 5, 1948, 95–96 Abb. 1; Becatti, G., *Oreficerie antiche dalle minoiche alle barbariche* (1955) 192 Nr. 359 Taf. 92 (H.); Dohrn, T., *Helbig I* 4 Nr. 764 (H.); Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* III 164, 2 s. v. «H.»; Cristofani/Martelli, a. O. 3, 64; 315 Nr. 260; 235 Abb. 259. – Mitte 4.–3. Jh. v. Chr. – Eine Kette mit sieben Bullae, zwei wie 3, auf den restlichen Bullae Szenen aus dem Achilleus-Mythos (→ Achille 65\*–66\*, → Hephaistos/Sethlans 4).

## b) Schiedsgericht und Erkennung des kleinen Hippothoon

## DEUTUNG UNWAHRSCHEINLICH

## Außerattische Darstellungen

5. (= Alkestis 56, = Ion 4) Graeco-baktrischer Silberbecher. Leningrad, Ermitage. Aus Kustanai, Kasachstan. – Weitzmann, K., *ArtBull* 25, 1943, 289–292, 295–296, 319–324 Abb. 5; *idem*, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (1970) 26–27 Taf. 9 (Lit. in Anm. 38); van Heland, M., *The Golden Bowl from Pietrosa. Acta Univ. Stockholm* 24 (1973) 17–18 Abb. 7; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 184–185, 277 H 6. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. (nach einem hellenistischen Vorbild)? – A–B: Vier Szenen, darunter nach Weitzmann das Schiedsgericht (statt des königlichen Richters Kerkyon allerdings eine Gottheit) mit den zwei streitenden Hirten, zwischen denen am Boden das Kind H. sitzt. S. aber → Ion 4.

## c) Schiedsgericht, Erkennung des kleinen Hippothoon und Rettung der Alope (?)

## DEUTUNG UNGESICHERT BZW. ABZULEHNEN

## Außerattische Darstellungen

6. (= Achilleus 182 mit Lit.) Goldener Gorytosbeschlag. Leningrad, Ermitage. Aus dem Grabhügel von Chertomlyk (und Duplikate aus Iljincy, Melitopol, Elisavetovskaja). – Stephani, L., *CRPetersb* (1864) 165–171 Taf. 4; Richter, G. M. A., *MetrMusSt* 4, 1932/33, 114–115, 125 Abb. 11, 12; Minns, E. H., *The Scythians and the Greeks* (1913) 164 Abb. 53; 206, 207, 285 Abb. 306; Artamonow, M. J./Talbot Rice, T., *Treasures from Scythian Tombs* (1969) 55–57 Abb. 181, 182; Blawatzki, W., in *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques* (1965) 399 Taf. 94, 2; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 277 ?H 4; Rätzl, W., *BonnJbb* 178, 1978, bes. 172–178 Abb. 7, 8; Pfrommer, M., *JdI* 97, 1982, 152–158 Abb. 29 (zur Werkstatt und Datierung); Piotrowski, B./Gulanina,

L./Gratsch, N., *Skythische Kunst. Altertümer der skythischen Welt, Mitte des 7. bis zum 3. Jh. v. u. Z.*, Leningrad (1986) Abb. 224, 225. – Griechische Arbeit, 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Stephani wollte im oberen Bildstreifen die Bestrafung der Alope erkennen, im unteren das Schiedsgericht, in dem Theseus selbst in Gegenwart des Kerkyon den Streit der Hirten um die Gnorismata und das Kind H., das die Amme trägt, entscheidet. Abgesehen von verschiedenen Beobachtungsfehlern ist diese Version literarisch nicht belegt, eine überzeugende Deutung wurde bisher nicht gefunden.

7. (= Alope 2\*) Sarkophag, römisch. Rom, Villa Doria Pamphilj 198. Aus Tivoli (?). – Robert 397–405 mit Abb. (ablehnend zur Deutung auf den H.-Mythos von J. J. Winckelmann); *SarkRel* III 3, 525–528 Nr. 436 Abb. 436–436b Taf. 141 (mit Lit.); Nachträge III 3, 576; Séchan, *Etudes* 251; Schefold, K., *RA* 1961, 199–200 Abb. 5 (H. und Alope); Schauenburg, 127 (H. und Alope); Kron, *Phylenheroen* 184–185 (ablehnend); Calza, R., *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphilj* (1977) 170–171 Nr. 198 (Deutung unsicher); Turcan, R., in *ANRW* II 16, 2 (1978) 1720, 1722, 1724, 1730 (H. und Alope); Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 190 mit Anm. 7 (Deutung problematisch); Schefold, *SB* IV 285–286 Abb. 335 (H. und Alope). – Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Beschreibung → Alope 2. – Die Deutung der einzelnen Szenen auf den Mythos von Alope und H. ist, wie schon Robert gezeigt hat, aus verschiedenen Überlieferungsgeschichtlichen sowie typologischen Gründen nicht überzeugend; cf. ausführlicher → Alope (anders wieder Schefold).

## d) Hippothoon bei der Befreiung der Alope?

## DEUTUNG ABZULEHNEN

8. Volutenkrater, att. rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 3031 (T 579). Aus Spina. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 612, 1: Maler von Bologna 279; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 268; *CVA* I Taf. 9–10 (1653–1654); Guarducci, M., *MonAnt* 33, 1929, 5 ff., bes. 28; Messerschmidt, R., *RM* 47, 1932, 149–151; Buschor, E., *Feldmäuse. SBMünchen* I, 1937, 19 Abb. 7; Brommer, *Satyrspiele* 52 Abb. 49; Webster, *MTSP*<sup>2</sup> (1967) 47 AV 18; 150; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* II 7; Bernard, C., *Anodoi* (1974) 92–93 Taf. 8; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 276 ?H 1. – Um 450 v. Chr. – Messerschmidt versuchte das Satyrspiel im Halsbild B auf die Befreiung der Alope durch einen Hirten und Satyrn mit Hilfe des Poseidon zu deuten, den Knaben unter den Satyrn als den kleinen H. Diese Version ist jedoch weder literarisch überliefert, noch aufgrund des Bildtypus wahrscheinlich; es handelt sich vielmehr um die Darstellung der Anodos der → Aphrodite, → Pandora oder → Persephone.

## B. Hippothoon als eleusinischer Heros bei der Aussendung des Triptolemos

## DEUTUNG DURCH DIE BEISCHRIFT AUF IO GESICHERT

## Attisch rf. Vasen

(Auf att. sf. Vasen lassen sich H. oder andere eleusinische Heroen nicht bei der Aussendung des Tripto-

lemon nachweisen, nur andächtige, dankbare Menschen, cf. Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* [1982] 35; Schwarz 74–75.)

9. (= Eumolpos 4 mit Lit., = Keleos 3 mit Lit.) Stamnos. Paris, Louvre G 371. Aus Etrurien. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 208, 158; Berliner Maler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 195; Schwarz, G., *ÖJh* 50, 1972–75, 129–130 Abb. 5; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 186, 277 H 7 (H.); Raubitschek, I. K. und A. E., in *Studies ... H. A. Thompson. Hesperia* Suppl. XX (1982) 113; Schwarz 36 V 45; 92–93 (Eumolpos). – Um 475/60 v. Chr. – A: Aussendung des Triptolemos in Gegenwart eleusinischer Heroen, darunter wohl Keleos und Metaneira. B: Hermes und weitere eleusinische Heroen, r. wohl H.

10.\* (= Demeter 346\* mit Lit., = Keleos 2) Glockenkrater. Palermo, Mus. Reg. V 779. Aus Agrigent. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 496, 5; Oreithyamaler; Dugas 134 Nr. 37; Metzger, *Recherches* 15 Nr. 22; Peschlow-Bindokat, A., *JdI* 87, 1972, 84 Abb. 17; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 185–187, 277 H 8; Schwarz 39 V 61; 109–110. – Beischriften: *ΗΙΠΠΟΘΟΟΝ, ΦΕΡΕΦΑΣΑ, ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ, ΔΕΜΕΤΕΡ, ΚΕΛΕΟΣ*. – Um 470/65 v. Chr. – A: Aussendung des Triptolemos im Beisein eleusinischer Heroen, darunter H.

11. (= Demeter 347 mit Lit. [A], = Keleos 8) Stamnos. Kopenhagen, Nat. Mus. 3612. Herkunft unbekannt. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 498, 7; Deepdene-Maler; *Para* 381; Dugas 134 Nr. 38; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 186, 278 H 9 (H.); Schwarz 39–40 V 62; 110 (Eumolpos oder H.). – Um 465/60 v. Chr. – A: Aussendung des Triptolemos. B: Frau mit Phiale zwischen zwei bärtigen Szepterträgern, wohl Metaneira, Keleos und H.

12. (= Eumolpos 6 mit Lit., = Keleos 10) Volutenkrater. London, BM E 469. Aus Altamura. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 589, 1; Altamura-Maler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 264; Dugas 135 Nr. 49; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 185–186, 278 H 10 (H.); Schwarz 44 V 73; 115 (eleusinische Würdenträger). – Um 470/60 v. Chr. – Hals A: Aussendung des Triptolemos in Gegenwart eleusinischer Heroen, darunter H.

13. (= Demeter 350 mit Lit. [A], = Keleos 9) Kelchkrater. Leningrad, Ermitage 1601 (B 639, St 1207). – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 591, 15; Altamura-Maler; Peredolskaja Nr. 170 Taf. 112, 1–3; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 185–186, 278 H 11 (H.); Schwarz 41 V 69; 114 (vielleicht H.). – Um 465/60 v. Chr. – A: Aussendung des Triptolemos. B: Zwei Paare eleusinischer Heroen beim Spendenopfer, darunter wohl Keleos und Metaneira sowie H.

14. (= Demeter 354 mit Lit., = Eumolpos 7 mit Lit., = Keleos 4) Kelchkrater. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 2891. Aus Spina (T. 313 VT). – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 602, 24; 1661; Niobidenmaler; *Para* 395; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 266–267; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 186, 278 H 12 (H.); Schwarz 43 V 80; 120–121 (eleusinisches Paar); Edwards, Ch. K., *AJA* 90, 1986, 316–317 mit Anm. 77 (l. Keleos, r. eine der Keleostöchter und H.). – Um 450/50 v. Chr. – Unterer Bildstreifen, A: Aussendung des Triptolemos im Beisein von zwei Paaren eleusinischer Heroen, r. wohl Keleos und Metaneira, l. H.

15. (= Keleos 12) Volutenkrater, fr. Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz. Aus Lokri. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 603, 40; Niobi-

denmaler; *NotSc* 1917, 154 Abb. 60; Dugas 135 Nr. 51; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 186, 278 H 13 (H.); Schwarz 44 V 82 (wohl Keleos und Metaneira). – Um 450 v. Chr. – A: Hinter dem Wagen des Triptolemos noch eine Frau mit zwei Fackeln erhalten, die sich nach l. zu einem Mann mit Szepter umwendet, Keleos und Metaneira oder H. und seine Gefährtin.

16.\* (= Eumolpos 8 mit Lit., = Keleos 5) Volutenkrater. Paris, Louvre G 343. Aus Etrurien. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 600, 17; Niobidenmaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 266; *CVA* 3 Taf. 5, 3–4; 6, 7; Metzger, *Recherches* 15 Nr. 26; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 185–186, 278 H 14 (H.); Schwarz 44 V 83; 119–120 (eleusinisches Heroenpaar); Edwards, a. O. 14, 316 Anm. 75 (l. Keleos und Metaneira, r. Ortsnymph Eleusis und wegen der Nähe zum Altar eher Keryx als H.). – Um 450 v. Chr. – Hals A: Aussendung des Triptolemos im Beisein eleusinischer Heroenpaare, darunter wohl Keleos und H.

17. (= Demeter 358 mit Lit. [A], = Eumolpos 9 mit Lit. [A], = Hera 144 mit Lit. [I], = Keleos 13) Schale, wgr. rf. München, Antikenslg. 2685. Aus Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 837, 9; Saburoff-Maler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 295; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 185, 278 H 15 (H.); Schwarz 45 V 89; 125–126 Taf. 12 (Hekate und Keleos. Daduchos und vier Mysteren). – Um 450 v. Chr. – I: Hera. A: Aussendung des Triptolemos im Beisein eleusinischer Heroen. B: fünf weitere eleusinische Heroen, darunter wohl H.

## C. Hippothoon als Phylenheros

## a) Hippothoon (?) beim Symposium (Siegesfeier für die Perserkriege?)

## DEUTUNG Z. T. DURCH BEISCHRIFTEN GESICHERT

18. (= Erechtheus 78\* mit Lit.) Widderkopfrhyton, att. rf. Richmond, Virginia Mus. 79.100. – Signatur des Töpfers Charinos längs der Widdernase; Triptolemosmaler. – Schefold, *SB* IV 66–68 Abb. 66, 67 (Evozierung der in den Perserkriegen hilfreichen attischen Heroen und Urkönige; Theseus kündigt dem Pandion seinen Aufbruch nach Kreta an). – Um 480/70 v. Chr. – Beischriften: *ΚΕΚΡΟΦΕ, [Ε]ΥΠΟ(Μ)Π[Ο]Σ* oder (verschrieben) *[Η]ΙΠΠΟ[ΘΟΟΝ], ΘΕΣΕΥΣ, [ΠΑΝΔΙ]ΟΝ*. – Fünf auf Kissen zum Symposium gelagerte Männer, darunter Kekrops, der greise Pandion und Theseus. Der Lyraspieler in ihrer Mitte vielleicht H.

## b) Im Hesperidengarten bzw. im Elysium

## DEUTUNG DURCH BEISCHRIFTEN GESICHERT

19. (= Akamas et Demophon 26\* mit Lit., = Antiochos 4\*, = Herakles 2717 mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Hydria, att. rf. London, BM E 224. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1313, 5; Meidiasmaler; *Para* 477; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 361–362; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 142, 166–168, 186–187, 189, 193, 278 H 16 Taf. 25, 2, 3; Metzler, D., *Hephaistos* 2, 1980, 76–82 und in *Festschr. J. Thimme* (1983) 77 (mit verfehlter schamanistischer Interpretation); Neils, J., *Bull. Cleveland Mus. of Art, Sept.* 1983, Abb. 19–20; Schefold, *SB* IV 31–32 Abb. 19; Shapiro, *Personifica-*

tions 242–244; Burn, L., *The Meidias Painter* (1987) 15–25. 97 M 5 Taf. 8b. 9a. – Um 410 v. Chr. – Beischriften: ΚΑΥΤΙΟΣ, ΥΓΙΕΙ[Ι]Α, ΑΣΤΕΡΟΠΕ, ΧΡΥΣΟΘΕΜΙΣ, ΛΙΠΑΡΑ, ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ, ΜΗΔΕΙΑ, ΑΡΝΙΟΠΕ, ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ, ΑΚΑΜΑΣ, ΙΠΠΟΘΩΝ, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ, ΚΑΥΜΕΝΟΣ, ΟΙΝΕΥΣ, ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ, ΧΡΥΣΙΣ. – Unter den Begleitern des Herakles im Hesperidengarten verschiedene attische Heroen und Phylenheroen, darunter H.

#### c) Bei der Ehrung eines Mannes, wohl eines Phylenangehörigen

20. Urkundenrelief, att. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. K 113. Aus Athen. – Blümel, *KlassSkulptBerlin* 80 Nr. 93 Abb. 127 (Weihrelief für zwei Heroen); Rohde, E., *Griechische und römische Skulpturen in Berlin* (1969) 153; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, N., *Gnomon* 40, 1968, 632 (Urkundenrelief mit Phylenheros); Langenfaß-Vuduroglu, F., *Mensch und Pferd auf griechischen Grab- und Votivstelen* (1973) 42 Nr. 84; 45. 101 (Phylenheros H.?). Kron, *Phylenheroen* 186. 238. 278 H 17 (Phylenheros, wahrscheinlich H.); Lawton, C., *Attic Document Reliefs of the Classical and Hellenistic Period* (1984) Nr. 107; Meyer, M., *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs, AM* 13. Beih. (1989) 290 A 89 Taf. 36, 1. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Heroine (Meyer a. O. 120. 194: Ortspersonifikation, Eleusis) und Heros mit Pferd, der einem Mann einen Ehrenkranz reicht.

#### d) Hippothoon unter den zehn Phylenheroen

21.\* (= Aias I 11\*, → Aigeus 40 mit Lit., = Antiochos 10\* mit Lit., → Erechtheus 79 mit Lit.) Ostfries des Parthenon. London, BM und Gipsabguß, früher Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, jetzt Versailles, Gipsabgußmus. – Cf. jetzt auch Hollein, H.-G., *Bürgerbild und Bildwelt der attischen Demokratie auf den rotfigurigen Vasen des 6.–4. Jh. v. Chr.* (1988) 255–259 (m. E. zu formalistisch). – 442–435 v. Chr. – H., einer der zehn Phylenheroen, die r. und l. von den sitzenden Gottheiten der Mittelgruppe die Panathenäenprozession erwarten, möglicherweise der Jüngling 19 (so Kron, Harrison).

22. (→ Aigeus 41 mit Lit., → Erechtheus 80 mit Lit.) Marathonweihgeschenk in Delphi, ein Werk des Phidias, nicht erhalten. – Datierung nicht gesichert, wahrscheinlich etwa 460/50 v. Chr. – Athena, Apollon, Miltiades, dazu (sieben) attische Phylenheroen und Kodros, Theseus und Philaios, sowie später Antigonos, Demetrios und Ptolemaios als Eponyme der neuen hellenistischen Phylen.

23. (→ Aigeus 42 mit Lit., → Erechtheus 81 mit Lit.) Phylenheroenmonument auf der Agora von Athen (Reste der Basis des 4. Jh. v. Chr. mit Einlassungen erhalten). – Zu den hellenistischen Bauphasen cf. auch Schalles, H.-J., *Untersuchungen zur Kulturpolitik der pergamenischen Herrscher im 3. Jh. v. Chr. IstForsch* 36 (1985) 140–143. – Genauer Zeitpunkt der Errichtung nicht bekannt, durch die antike Literatur seit den 20er Jahren des 5. Jh. bezeugt. – Auf einer hohen Basis standen Bronzestatuen der zehn Phylenheroen, darunter die des H.

#### KOMMENTAR

Bezeichnenderweise stammt die bisher älteste durch eine Beischrift gesicherte Darstellung des H. aus dem eleusinischen Sagenkreis. Auf 10, einem rf. Glockenkrater aus dem 2. Viertel des 5. Jh., wohnt H. der Aussendung des Triptolemos bei. Er steht, als älterer, bärtiger Mann, in Chiton und Himation gehüllt, mit Szepter und Myrtenkranz im schwarzen Haar am linken Bildrand. In Aussehen und Tracht entspricht er dem König Keleos von Eleusis, dem Vater des Triptolemos, der, ebenfalls inschriftlich benannt, rechts die Szene rahmt und die Rechte halb staunend, halb in ehrfürchtiger Gruß- oder Gebetsgeste vor dem Geschehen in der Bildmitte hebt. Hinter Keleos deutet eine Säule mit Gebälk Architektur an, den Königspalast oder den Tempel von Eleusis. Das würde gut zu dem betont kultischen Charakter der Szene passen. Ähnliche Architekturangaben finden sich auf 12. 13. 16. Auf 16, einer besonders reichen Darstellung des Niobidenmalers, der dieses Thema liebte und in immer neuen Variationen gestaltete, sehen wir links und rechts ein Heroenpaar. Die Frauen halten einen Strauß Ähren, die linke trägt außerdem eine große Spendschale in der Rechten, während die andere zierlich ihren Schleier hebt. Die beiden Männer sind bärtig, bekränzt und reich gekleidet, mit langem Chiton und Himation, der linke noch zusätzlich mit einem bunt gemusterten Ependytes, beide halten ein Szepter, der linke noch einen Zweig, während er die Rechte ähnlich wie Keleos auf 10 erhebt. Hinter dem linken Paar sind wieder Säule und Gebälk zu sehen, während neben dem rechten ein Altar steht, so daß dadurch der kultische Charakter der Szene sogar noch mehr betont wird. Zu H., durch Sakralgesetze als Kultheros der Mysterien nachzuweisen, würde der Altar ebenso gut passen wie zu Keryx, dem Ahnherrn der Keryken, den man hier auch erkennen wollte. Ohne die Beischrift auf 10 hätte man kaum gewagt, den königlichen Mann H. zu nennen, obwohl auch der Mythos, wie der bei Herodianos erhaltene Vers zeigt, den H. unter den Fürsten von Eleusis kannte. Bezeichnenderweise stammt diese Namensbeischrift vom Oreithyamaler, der attische Themen liebte und in einer Zeit, als die Praxis der Namensbeischriften nachließ, noch gerne Benennungen zufügte. Die Beischriften auf 10 sind uns bei der Interpretation figurenreicher Vasenbilder mit der Aussendung des Triptolemos eine große Hilfe, da sie uns zeigen, daß es sich dabei nicht um ein Mysterienritual, sondern um eine Szene aus dem Mythos handelt und daß nicht nur eleusinische Gottheiten, sondern auch eleusinische Heroen der Aussendung beiwohnen können.

Die Benennung H. erscheint vor allem dann möglich, wenn wie auf 9. 11–17 zwei königliche Gestalten der Szene beigegeben sind, doch mögen die Vasenmaler auch bei einem «König» nicht immer nur an Keleos gedacht haben. Ohne Beischrift ist nicht sicher zu sagen, wer jeweils Keleos bzw. H. sein soll. Auf 9 und 14 ist der eine durch sein weißes Haar als der ältere gekennzeichnet, so daß ich in ihm den Vater sehen möchte, allerdings trägt gerade diese Figur auf 14 nur

einen Stab, während sein Pendant ein Szepter hält, so daß eben deswegen auch die umgekehrte Benennung vorgeschlagen wird. Meist sind jedoch beide Männer durch ein Szepter ausgezeichnet. Auf 17 ist der bärtige Mann in Chiton und Himation, mit einer Binde im Haar, wohl als der königliche Vater aufzufassen, weil er sich auf der Schallenseite mit der Aussendung des Triptolemos befindet, obwohl er nicht auf ein Szepter, sondern einen Stab aufgestützt ist, während der bärtige Szepterträger der Rückseite wohl H. ist. Der Mann mit den beiden Fackeln in der Mitte wird Eumolpos sein, in den beiden Frauen zu seiner Rechten wird man zwei der Keleostöchter sehen, die dritte Keleide steht neben H.; durch nichts sind die drei Frauen und der Szepterträger als Mysterien ausgewiesen, wie man sie auch genannt hat. Hier ist vielmehr an die Tradition zu erinnern, die von einer ehelichen Verbindung des H. mit dem königlichen Haus von Eleusis wußte. Sogar Metaneira, die sonst als Gattin des Keleos und Mutter des Triptolemos bekannt ist, wird als seine Gattin genannt. Vielleicht war H. ursprünglich mit einer anderen eleusinischen Prinzessin verbunden, z. B. mit einer Tochter von Keleos und Metaneira. Die Vasen 9–17 stammen aus dem 2. Viertel des 5. Jh. Man hat vermutet, daß diese neuartigen, figurenreichen Darstellungen der Aussendung des eleusinischen Heros vom Triptolemos des Sophokles (468 v. Chr.) beeinflusst sind, doch lassen die wenigen erhaltenen Fragmente keine weiterreichenden Schlüsse zu. In der Zeit nach den Perserkriegen läßt sich ja überhaupt ein verstärktes Interesse der Bildkunst an attischen Themen feststellen.

Auch die Darstellungen des H. in seiner Eigenschaft als Phylenheros setzen etwa um diese Zeit ein. Die älteste wäre auf dem neuen Widderkopfrhyton in Richmond aus der Zeit um 480/70 v. Chr. (18) zu sehen. Fünf Athener, vier ältere Männer und ein schöner Jüngling, sind, rings um den eigentlichen Gefäßkörper zu einem Symposium gelagert, durch ihre Namensbeischriften überraschend als attische Heroen ausgewiesen. Vom Namen des Lyraspielers in ihrer Mitte sind nur wenige Buchstaben erhalten; er könnte Eupompos (cf. Pompeus auf → Akamas et Demophon 13) heißen oder Eumolpos, was gut zu seiner Tätigkeit passen würde, oder vielleicht auch H. Wenn die Lesung H. stimmt, wären die Symposiasten, die hier mit Theseus, dem attischen Nationalheros par excellence, feiern, alle attische Phylenheroen. Man hat vorgeschlagen, das Symposium in Zusammenhang mit den siegreich bestandenen Perserkriegen zu sehen, an denen die einheimischen Heroen nach attischem Glauben wichtigen Anteil hatten. Es sei nur an das Marathongemälde in der Stoa Poikile (Paus 1, 15, 3) und an das Marathonweihgeschenk (22) erinnert, bei dem die Phylenheroen das siegreiche attische Bürgerheer bei Marathon verkörperten. Möglicherweise spielt hier auch die antike Vorstellung der Theoxenie oder des *lectisternium* eine Rolle, zumal eine Theoxenie für Aias, den salaminischen Hauptheros und zugleich attischen Phylenheros, zum Dank für seine Hilfe bei Salamis überliefert ist (Belege bei Kron, *Phylenheroen* 172–173).

Die älteste Darstellung des H. als Phylenheros in der großen Kunst ist das Marathonweihgeschenk in Delphi (22), nach Paus. ein Werk des Phidias. Anlaß und Datierung sind umstritten, doch sprechen verschiedene Argumente dafür, daß es auf Veranlassung des Kimon errichtet wurde, um seinen Vater, den Marathonsieger Miltiades, zu feiern. Miltiades erscheint hier nämlich als einziger Mensch unter Göttern und Heroen, und aus der Wahl der dargestellten Heroen läßt sich ein auf die Philaiden, die Familie des Kimon und Miltiades, zugeschnittenes «Bildprogramm» ablesen. Aus der Beschreibung des Paus. 10, 10, 1 wissen wir, daß Athena, Apollon und Miltiades dargestellt waren, dazu (sieben) der attischen Phylenheroen, außerdem Theseus, Kodros und Philaios, sowie später die Könige Antigonos, Demetrios und Ptolemaios als Vertreter der drei neuen hellenistischen Phylen. Oineus, H. und Aias, die in der Beschreibung des Paus. fehlen, waren sicher ursprünglich vorhanden, da die Phylenheroen in 22 ja das attische Bürgerheer bei Marathon verkörpern sollten, und gerade die Oineis, Hippothontis und Aiantis den siegreichen rechten Flügel der marathonschen Schlachtreihe stellten. Wahrscheinlich hatten die Statuen dieser drei Phylenheroen bei der Zufügung der drei hellenistischen Eponymen von der Basis weichen müssen (cf. die ausführliche Diskussion dieser kontroversen Frage bei Kron, *Phylenheroen* 215–226). Möglicherweise waren die Phylenheroen hier als Krieger dargestellt, über ihr Aussehen läßt sich aber sonst nichts sagen, da weder die Originale – zuletzt hat man versucht, die Riace-Bronzen zuzuweisen – erhalten sind, noch sich Kopien nachweisen lassen. Einen anderen Charakter hatte das offizielle Phylenheroenmonument auf der Agora von Athen (23), an dessen Basis die öffentlichen Bekanntmachungen phylenweise ausgehängt wurden. Die Phylenheroen verkörperten hier sozusagen das politische System Athens und wachten symbolisch über die Bürgerpflichten. Auch dieses Denkmal ist größtenteils verloren (s. dazu → Erechtheus, LIMC IV S. 950).

Am Parthenon-Ostfries (21) hat sich dagegen eine Darstellung der zehn Phylenheroen erhalten (s. dazu allgemein → Erechtheus, LIMC IV S. 950–951). H. ist möglicherweise der Jüngling 19, der sich mit dem anderen «Ausländer» unter den Phylenheroen unterhält, dem Heraklessohn → Antiochos.

Durch eine Beischrift ist die Benennung eines lokalen Jünglings als H. auf 19 gesichert. Der Meidiasmaler hat auf seiner Londoner Hydria aus den letzten Jahrzehnten des 5. Jh. v. Chr. die idyllische Welt des Hesperidengartens geschildert, in dessen Mitte Herakles sitzt und zusieht, wie die Hesperiden selbst ihm die Äpfel der ewigen Jugend pflücken. Unter seinen Begleitern befinden sich sein treuer Gefährte Iolaos, aus dem Argonautenkreis die Zauberin Medea mit Dienerinnen und drei der Argonauten, aber auch mehrere attische Heroen und Phylenheroen, darunter H. in attischer Ephebentracht. Die Rechte lässig in die Hüfte gestützt, unterhält er sich, wie am Parthenon, mit dem neben ihm sitzenden Phylenheros Antiochos. Man hat längst erkannt, daß der Meidiasmaler



hier nicht eine lokalpatriotische attische Version der Argonautensage geben wollte, sondern ein paradisi-sches Zustandsbild. In seinem Hesperidengarten, gleichbedeutend mit dem Elysium, dessen goldene Äpfel Glück, Gesundheit und ewiges Leben versprechen wie die Namen seiner schönen Bewohnerinnen, weilen auch attische Phylonheroen gleichsam stellvertretend für die Athener der Zeit. Die Friedens- und Glückssehnsucht der Menschen des späten 5. Jh. hat hier einen besonders deutlichen Ausdruck gefunden.

Eine Darstellung des Phylonheros H. läßt sich möglicherweise auf einem Urkundenrelief (20) der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh. v. Chr. nachweisen. In der Bildmitte steht ein nackter Jüngling, von einer Frau begleitet, neben einem Pferd, der einem nach der Bildkonvention der Gattung kleiner gebildeten Menschen einen Ehrenkranz reicht. In Analogie zu anderen Darstellungen handelt es sich dabei vermutlich um die Ehrung eines Phylonangehörigen durch den Phylonheros. Ungewöhnlich ist dabei aber das Pferd, so daß das Pferd zusammen mit dem jugendlichen Alter den Jüngling als einen bestimmten Phylonheros charakterisieren soll, etwa als H. Die Frau zu seiner Linken dürfte seine Gattin sein; denn der Phylonheros galt als fiktiver Ahnherr seiner Phylonmitglieder und wurde im Phylonheiligtum vermutlich gemeinsam mit seiner Gattin verehrt, so wie es uns zahlreiche Opfergesetze zeigen (z. B. LSCG Nr. 19, A 19, E 3-4; Nr. 20, *passim*; SEG 33, 1983 [1986] 42 ff. Nr. 147, A *passim*; Kron, U., in *Festschr. E. Berger, AntK* [1988] 295 Anm. 27, 32 mit Lit.).

Seit dem 4. Jh. kennen wir aus der Bildkunst auch Darstellungen der wunderbaren Kindheit des H. Die Säugung des H. durch die Stute ist auf einer fragmentierten Kanne Kertscher Stils in Tübingen (1) zu sehen, wie zuerst B. Schweitzer erkannte. Der Bildtypus der Kindessäugung ist uns vor allem aus Darstellungen der Sage des → Telephos oder → Romulus und Remus her vertraut (cf. z. B. Bauchhenß-Thüridl, Ch., *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst* [1971] 38-40; Dulière, C., *Lupa Romana. Recherches d'iconographie et essai d'interprétation* [1979] 21-137). Die Bildfassung von 1 unterscheidet sich dadurch, daß das Muttertier seinen Kopf nicht liebevoll zu seinem menschlichen Pflegekind herabwendet.

Die Säugung des H. findet sich auch auf attischen Bleisymbola 2 wieder, die besonders in der Darstellung des Kindes 1 sehr ähnlich sind. Solche Bleisymbola wurden in Athen seit dem späten 5. Jh. für mannigfache Zwecke im öffentlichen Leben verwendet, z. B. als Theaterkarten oder als Einlaßmarken für die Volksversammlung und andere politische Gremien. Sie wurden phylonweise ausgegeben, wie Symbola mit den Namenszeichen oder den Namen und Bildern der Phylonheroen zeigen. Trotz der großen Zahl der erhaltenen Marken sind stempelgleiche Typen selten, weil die aus billigem Material, meist Blei hergestellten Symbola eingeschmolzen und mit neuer Prägung versehen werden konnten. Bei den Bleisymbola 2 handelt es sich wohl eher um solche Phylonmarken als um Eintrittsmarken für Theateraufführungen, so daß die Phyle neben den Symbola mit der blo-

ßen Inschrift *ΙΠΠΗ* auch solche mit dem markanten Motiv aus der Kindheitsgeschichte des H. verwendet hätte.

Das gleiche Motiv erscheint auf etruskischen Goldbullae nachklassischer bzw. hellenistischer Zeit (3. 4). Besonders interessant ist 4, eine Halskette mit sieben Bullae, von denen zwei die Säugung des H. zeigen. Der nackte Knabe kauert nicht nach links wie auf 1 und 2, sondern fast frontal dem Betrachter zugewandt, nach r. unter der Stute, Kopf und Arm zur Nährmutter emporgestreckt, während diese Kopf und Hals zurück- und zu ihrem Pflingling hinabwendet. Die kühne Verkürzung läßt verstehen, warum man diese Bullae auch schon in das 3. oder 2. Jh. v. Chr. datieren wollte. Rechts greift ein nackter Mann mit der einen Hand nach dem Arm des Knaben, mit der anderen scheint er die Stute zu streicheln, vielleicht einer der Hirten, die das Kind finden. Solche Bullaeketten wurden in Etrurien von Frauen wie von Männern getragen, während man Kindern als Amulett gewöhnlich eine Bulle umhängte (cf. André, a. O. 4, 91-116 Abb.; Cristofani/Martelli a. O. 3, 19 Taf. VIII; 20 Taf. IX. X; 21 Taf. XI; 24 Taf. XXI; 64). Die Bullae mit der wunderbaren Säugung eines Kindes durch eine Stute würden zwar besonders gut zu einem Kinderamulett taugen, aber zumindest die Kette 4 wurde eher von einem Erwachsenen, vielleicht sogar von einem Mann getragen, da die restlichen Bullae Szenen aus dem Achilleusmythos aufweisen. Falls es sich wirklich um H. handelt und nicht um ein anderes Götterkind, mag dieser Stoff über die beliebte *Alope* des Euripides, aber ebenso gut über ein Bildmodell nach Etrurien gelangt sein.

Szenen aus der euripideischen *Alope* glaubte man auch auf verschiedenen (meist außerattischen) Darstellungen nachweisen zu können, etwa auf einem graeco-baktrischen Silberbecher (5), einem graeco-skythischen Gorytosbeschlagn, von dem verschiedene Duplikate existieren (6) oder auf einem viel diskutierten römischen Sarkophag antoninischer Zeit (7), ohne daß diese Deutungen überzeugen können.

Zusammenfassend läßt sich festhalten, daß H. als eleusinischer Lokal- und Kultheros wie als attischer Phylonheros in der Bildkunst kaum eine Rolle spielt. Durch die Beischrift auf 10 ist H. als bärtiger eleusinischer König auf einer Reihe von attisch rf. Vasenbildern des 2. Viertels des 5. Jh. v. Chr. bei der Aussendung des Triptolemos belegt. Diese Vasenbilder, vielleicht von *Triptolemos* des Sophokles abhängig, sind wesentlich älter als die meisten literarischen Quellen, deren Aussagekraft für die Frühzeit sie aber unterstreichen. Auch die seltenen Darstellungen des H. als Phylonheros (18-23) setzen nach den Perserkriegen ein, ein Phänomen, das man auch an anderen attischen Themen nachgewiesen und wohl zu Recht mit dem politischen Aufstieg Athens und seines wachsenden Nationalstolzes in Zusammenhang gebracht hat. Nach dem 5. Jh. versiegt mit dem Niedergang der athenischen Macht gewöhnlich auch das Interesse der Bildkunst an solchen urattischen Themen wieder. Bezeichnenderweise taucht das Bild des H. aber immer noch auf «Realien» der Phylonverwaltung wie Urkun-

denreliefs (20) oder den Symbola (2) auf. Auf letzteren wird ein Motiv aus der wunderbaren Kindheit des H. gewählt, vielleicht von der erfolgreichen euripideischen Tragödie beeinflusst, die dem Mythos von H. und Alope ein gewisses Nachleben in der attischen (1) und vielleicht sogar in der außerattischen Kunst (3. 4) beschert hat. Eine feste Ikonographie des H. läßt sich daraus nicht gewinnen. Er kann als Kind, als Jüngling und als bärtiger König dargestellt werden, je nachdem, um welchen Mythos es sich handelt und welche Darstellung dem Zeitgeschmack entspricht.

UTA KRON

## HIPPOTHOOS, HIPPOTHOUS → Meleagros

### HIPPOTION I

(*Ἰπποτίων*) Jüngling (Pferdeknecht?) bei der Ausfahrt des → Amphiaraios auf 1.

1. (= Ainippe II 1, = Amphiaraios 7\* mit Lit., = Baton I 3\*, = Halimedes 1\*) Kolonettenkrater, spätkor., sog. Amphiaraioskrater. Ehem. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1655, verschollen. Aus Cerveteri. - Amyx, *CVP* 263, 1; 571-572, 66; 553-554: Amphiaraios P.; Wrede, W., *AM* 41, 1916, 267. - Um 570 v. Chr. - Nackter Jüngling (*HIPPOTION*) mit Chlamys über den Schultern, vor den Gespannpferden des aufbrechenden Amphiaraios stehend, die r. Hand auf Kopfhöhe, die l. auf Brusthöhe erhoben, den Pferden zugewandt. Nicht klar wird, ob er den anderen Personen zuwinkt oder sich mit den Pferden beschäftigt.

Eine vor Gespannpferden und diesen zugewandt stehende Figur (auch mehrere Figuren, bekleidete Männer, Krieger, Frauen) ist geläufig in anonymen Ausfahrtsszenen (cf. Wrede a. O. Taf. 15-18. 21-23. 28. 31. 34 u. a.); mehrfach faßt ein Mann die Pferde, um sie vor der Abfahrt ruhig zu halten. Der Amphiaraiosmaler hat die Figur offenbar als Typus übernommen (ältere Beispiele cf. Wrede a. O. 241) und mit einem sprechenden Namen versehen. In anderen Darstellungen der Abfahrt des Amphiaraios scheint aber kein gleichartiger nackter Mann mehr vorzukommen; vor den Pferden sind meistens Frauen und der Seher → Halimedes plaziert (entfernt vergleichbar nur im 4. Jh. v. Chr. → Amphiaraios 74\*).

Der Name H. erscheint weiter für einen Reiter (kor., Amyx, *CVP* 581-582, 92, → Laodamas) und in einer Wagenszene (att., *ABV* 266, 5).

PIERRE MÜLLER

## HIPPOTION II → Laodamas

### HIPPOURIOS

(*Ἰππούριος*) Nebenfluß des Mäander im östlichen Lydien. An seinem Oberlauf lag Temenothyrai, nahe seiner Mündung Blaundos. Er ist vermutlich identisch mit dem heutigen Ilver Çai. Einzige Quelle für den Namen H. ist die kaiserzeitliche Münzprägung von Blaundos.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 296, 331; Keil, J./v. Premerstein, A., *DenkWien* 54/2 (1911) 144 (Blaundos), 124 (Temenothyrai); Ruge, W., *REV* 81 2 (1913) 1926 s. v. «Hippurios».

### KATALOG

#### a) Gelagerter Flußgott

1.\* AE, Blaundos (Lydien), Mitte 3. Jh. n. Chr. - Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 296, 305 Taf. 10, 11; SNG v. Aulock 2923; SNG Copenhagen Taf. 3, 80-82. - Rs.: Gelagerter H. mit Füllhorn und Quellgefäß. Inschrift *ΙΠΠΟΥΡΙΟΣ*. Verschiedene Magistratsnamen. Vs.: Büste des Demos.

2. AE, Blaundos, Philippus II. (244-249 n. Chr.). - Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 296, 306 Taf. 10, 12; SNG v. Aulock 2930; SNG Copenhagen Taf. 3, 98. - Wie 1.

#### b) Herakles ringt mit dem gelagerten Flußgott

3.\* AE, Temenothyrai (Phrygien), Salonina (Gattin des Gallienus, 253-268 n. Chr.). - BMC Phrygia 416, 38 Taf. 48, 8; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 331, 396 Taf. 13, 2; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 69-71. - Herakles, mit der Keule bewehrt, ergreift den r. Oberarm des gelagerten H. und stemmt sein l. Bein in dessen Hüfte. H., halbnackt, stützt sich auf das Quellgefäß, aus welchem Wasser fließt, das in Wellen die Basis der Szene bildet. (Die Benennung des Flusses ergibt sich aus der Lage der Stadt.)

### KOMMENTAR

Während die Prägungen von Blaundos dem Schema des gelagerten Flußgottes (→ Fluvii) folgen, ist das Münzbild von Temenothyrai ganz ungewöhnlich und stellt vielleicht einen sonst nicht überlieferten lokalen Mythos dar. Voegtli (70-71) vermutet eine Kontamination mit Darstellungen des Kampfes mit Acheloos, es besteht jedoch keine ikonographische Verbindung zu den Bildtypen des Herakles-Achelooskampfes.

HERBERT A. CAHN



HISPANIA → LIMC Suppl.

HISTIAIA → LIMC Suppl.

## HISTORIA

(Ἱστορία, history) The personification of history. H. as a female figure is only represented on the relief by Archelaos of Priene with other allegorical personifications.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: → Ilias; Pinkwart, D., *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die «Musen des Philiskos»* (1965) 69, 71, 90; eadem, *API IV* (1965) 55-65 pl. 30; Papadaki, Προσωποποιήσεις 14, 56, 65-66.

I.\* (= Apollon 972, = Arete I I with bibl., = Chronos I\* with bibl., = Ilias I) Marble relief of the «Apotheosis of Homer» by Archelaos of Priene. London, BM 2191. From Bovillae near Rome. - 130-120 B.C. - For a description see → Apollon 972. In the lowest register Homer as a God is crowned by → Chronos and → Oikoumene; the personifications of the → Ilias and → Odysseia are kneeling at his feet. Before him an altar on which → Mythos, depicted as a little boy, serves with sacrificial jug and bowl. H., the continuation of «Mythos», strews incense on the altar where a sacrifice takes place, and behind the altar a bull is visible. Beyond H. the personifications of → Poesis, → Tragodia, → Komodia, a boy, the Human nature (→ Physis), and the four Virtues (→ Arete).

## COMMENTARY

History is usually personified by the Muse Klio (→ Mousa, Mousai). In the Archelaos relief, for the first time, and despite the presence of Klio in the third register, H. appears as a personification near Homer in the bottom register, where Homer's apotheosis is depicted. Here, the personification is derived from the cult of Homer which occasioned many allegorical compositions, of which the most elaborate is the relief by Archelaos of Priene. H. is a female figure wearing chiton and himation, dress reminiscent of classical types, mainly of the 4th cent. B.C. H., with the personifications of other kinds of literature (Mythos, Poesis, Tragodia, Komodia) and with the allegorical figures of Physis, Arete, Mneme, Pistis and Sophia, forms a group in front of the heroized Homer; between Homer and this group, in the middle of the scene, the sacrifice of a bull takes place. The representations of these varieties of literature imply their close relationship to Homer's work. H. as well as → Poesis played the most important role in Homer's poetry. According to Elderkin (*AJA* 40, 1936, 496) the fact that H. is at the head of the personifications of the varieties of literature, relates her to Klio, who was the first Muse mentioned by Hesiod in his list of Muses (*theog.* 77).

EFFIE LYGOURI-TOLIA

## HLUDANA

In Germania Inferior verehrte Göttin, keltischen oder wahrscheinlicher germanischen Ursprungs und dann möglicherweise mit der Herd- oder Erdgöttin Hlōdyn, der Tochter und zugleich Frau des Odin und Mutter des Thor, in Verbindung zu setzen.

EPIGRAPHISCHE QUELLEN: Als Gottheit bezeugt durch vier niedergermanische Weihinschriften, aus Birten (Vetera) bei Xanten (*CIL XIII* 8611; Espérandieu, *Recueil IX* Nr. 6587), aus der Umgebung von Beetgum bei Leeuwarden (I), aus Iversheim bei Münster (II) (*CIL XIII* 7944) und aus Hortedoorn oder Holdoorn bei Nijmegen (*CIL XIII* 8723).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Keune, J. B., *RE VIII* 2 (1913) 2128 s. v. «Hludana»; idem, *RE Suppl. III* (1918) 1156 s. v. «Hludana»; Steuding, H., *ML I* 2 (1886-90) 2697-2698 s. v. «Hludana, Hludena dea».

I.\* Altar, Kalkstein. Leeuwarden, Fries Mus. 46A-551. Gefunden «in einer Terp» bei Beetgum, in der Nähe von Leeuwarden. - *CIL XIII* 8830; Boissevan, U. Ph., «Romeinsche Steen te Beetgum gevonden», *De Vrije Fries* 17, 1899, 327-337 Abb. 1; Espérandieu, *Recueil IX* Nr. 6678; *Kat. Fries Museum, Romeinse Resten* 3 (o. J.) 5 Abb. - 2.-3. Jh. n. Chr. - In einer von zwei Pfeilern getragenen Nische frontal sitzende bekleidete H. Darunter die Inschrift *DEAE HLUDANAE; CONDUCTORES PISCATUS, MANCIPE Q(UINTO) VALERIO SECUNDO, V(OTUM) S(OLVERUNT) L(IBENTES) M(ERITO)*.

Diese einzige bisher bekannte Darstellung von H. scheint an einem auch sonst in Niedergermanien bekannten Typus der frontal sitzenden, bekleideten Göttin anzuschließen, wie er z. B. für die Reliefs der → Matronae oder der → Nehalennia verwendet wurde.

RAINER VOLKKOMMER

HODIOS → Achilles 438 = Eurybates II 2

## HOMONOIA

(Ὁμόνοια) Personification of concord, unanimity, oneness of mind. Roman Concordia (→ Homonoia/Concordia). As a personification and an object of cult worship, H. is not attested before the 4th cent. B.C. She is first given a genealogy by the Alexandrian scholar Mnaseas (*apud Suda s. v. Πραξιόδωμ*): H. and → Arete are daughters of Zeus Soter and Praxidike, and sisters of Ktesios. H. does not figure in any mythological narrative.

LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHICAL SOURCES: The concept *Ὁμόνοια* first occurs in Greek texts (not personified) only in the late 5th cent. Fragments of a speech *περί ὁμονοίας* of Antiphon the Sophist are preserved

(Diels *Vorsokr.* 5 87 B 44a-71). The concept most often signifies the political ideal of harmony within the polis (Thuk. 8, 93), especially as a contrast to *stasis* (Lys. 18, 17) or as a reconciliation among political factions (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 40, 3; Demosth. 20, 12). For Isokrates (*Panath.* 217) it can describe the solidarity among Spartan men which helps insure military preparedness, but most often refers to the ideal of the unity of the Greek states against the Barbarian, i. e., Persia (*Panath.* 13). In this plea Isokrates had apparently been anticipated by Gorgias the Sophist, in a speech *περί ὁμονοίας* given at Olympia probably in 408 B.C. (Diels *Vorsokr.* 5 82 B 8a; Philostr. *v. s.* 1, 9 Kayser). In the text of a law cited by Demosth. (18, 164), *ὁμόνοια* designates an agreement or compact between Philip II of Macedon and the Athenians.

The cult of H. is attested in many parts of the Greek world from the 4th cent. on. Among the earliest testimonia are an altar at Olympia in 363 (Paus. 5, 14, 9) and, in the 3rd cent., altars in Athens (*IG II/III* 4985), Thera (*IG XII* 3 Suppl. 1336), and Syracuse (Liv. 24, 22). A joint cult of the H. of the Greeks (Ὁμόνοια τῶν Ἑλλήνων) and Zeus Eleutherios at Plataea is now attested in an inscription dated ca. 261-246, found in 1971 (*cf.* Etienne and Piérart). The dual cult may have been founded somewhat earlier, by Philip II or Alexander (West) or, at the latest, at the time of the Chremonidean War (Etienne/Piérart). Apoll. Rhod. (2, 718) has the Argonauts build a temple to H. on the island of Thynias, probably an aetiological invention. By the Roman period there were temples and cults of H. particularly concentrated in Asia Minor, as at Tralles (App. *Mithr.* 23), Miletos (Chariton, *Erot.* 3, 2, 16), Iasos in Caria (*Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum III* 62 no. 443), Kition on Cyprus (*CIG* 2641), Perge (*CIG* 4342b), Apameia in Thrace (*REG* 85, 1972, 424-425 no. 286), and Aphrodisias (Reynolds, J., *Aphrodisias and Rome* [1982] 6 no. 1). The Roman Empress could be celebrated as *θεὰ Ὁμόνοια* or *σεβαστή Ὁμόνοια* e. g., *IGRom IV* 1098 (Drusilla); *Sylloge* 3 819 (Domitia).

Many statues of H. are mentioned in inscriptions, again primarily in Asia Minor: in Phrygia (Drew-Bear, T., *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie* [1978] 50 no. 26); Kos (Paton, W. R./Hicks, E. L., *The Inscriptions of Kos* [1891] no. 61; Lystra/Antiochia (*IGRom III* 302; *OGIS II* 536); Mopsos/Anazarbos (*Syria* 2, 1921, 280 no. 11); Ephesos (Wankel, H., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos I* [1979] no. 27, 470-477); Kyzikos (*AM* 6, 1881, 130 no. 15); also on the Greek mainland at Delphi-Chaironeia (*Sylloge* 3 816) and Thessalonike (*infra* I). In most instances these statues seem to have been set up to celebrate the reestablishment of friendly relations between two neighboring cities (*cf.* Robert).

It should be noted that the thousands of so-called Homonoia-coins of the Roman East do not necessarily, or in most cases, have any connection with the personified H. or her cult. These coins bear the legend *OMONOIA* on the reverse, usually with deities representing two (or more) cities, and were issued to demonstrate a political agreement or other link between these cities. To that extent they serve somewhat the

same purpose as the statues of H., but generally do not depict the goddess H. herself (*cf.* 16, 18).

The word *OMONOIA* alone occurs engraved on various objects, where it is doubtful that the goddess is referred to, e. g., a black-glaze plate of ca. 400 B.C. (*CVA Heidelberg* 4 pl. 182, 4-5; the inscription a modern forgery according to A. E. Raubitschek); or Roman cameos with a depiction of two clasped hands (e. g., Walters, *BMGems* no. 3695 and *cf.* no. 3697).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The political use and meaning of ὁμόνοια*: Funke, P., *Homonoia und Arche, Historia Einzelschr.* 37, 1980; Grossmann, G., *Politische Schlagwörter aus der Zeit des Peloponnesischen Krieges* (1950) 32 ff.; Kramer, H., *Quid valeat ὁμόνοια in litteris Graecis* (1915); Moulakis, A., *Homonoia* (1973); de Romilly, J., in *Mélanges P. Chantraine* (1972) 199-209.

On H. as a personification: Bisi, A., *EAA V* (1963) 690 s. v. «Omonoia»; Stoll, H. W., *ML I* 2 (1886-90) 2701-2706 s. v. «Homonoia»; Zwicker, J., *RE VIII* 2 (1913) 2265-2269 s. v. «Homonoia».

Cults and statues of H.: Fears, J. R., in *ANRW II* 17, 2 (1981) 937-938; Robert, L., *Studi Clasiche* 16, 1974, 68-69.

H. of the Hellenes and Zeus Eleutherios: Etienne, R./Piérart, M., *BCH* 99, 1975, 51-75; West, W. C., *GRBS* 18, 1977, 307-319.

H. on coins: Pera, R., *Homonoia sulle monete da Augusto agli Antonini* (1984) 119-125; Vacano, O., *Typenkatalog der antiken Münzen Kleinasien* (1986) 181 and *passim*.

## CATALOGUE

## Marble statuette

1. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. 966. From the Serapeion in Thessaloniki. - Inscribed base (*IG X* 2, 61, dated 182 A.D.): *ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΙ*. Dedicated by the priest Pontianos. - Late Hellenistic or Early Imperial. - She wears chiton and himation and held a cornucopia in her l. arm. Inscription and statue are not contemporary (the original inscription has been erased).

## Apulian red-figure vase

2. Pelike. Malibu, Getty Mus. - Workshop of the Darius P., probably by his own hand (Trendali). - Ca. 330 B.C. - → Kassiepeia kneels before her daughter → Andromeda, in the presence of → Perseus and → Kephheus. H. (*OMONOIA*) stands behind the throne of Andromeda.

## Wall- or panel-painting

3. (= Homonoia/Concordia 126) Painting by Habron, lost. - Plin. *nat.* 35, 141.

## Coins

The catalogue is complete for representations of H. on coins earlier than the 1st cent. A.D. Thereafter, a selection is given for various types and attributes.

4. AR nomos, Metapontum (Lucania), 400-350 B.C. - *BMC Italy* 244; Noe, S. P., *The Coinage of Metapontum* 2 (1984<sup>2</sup>) no. 420 pl. 32. - Obv.: head of H. with wavy hair radiating from the crown and wearing a large earring in the form of a kantharos. Leg. *OMONOIA*. Rev.: ear of corn.

5.\* AR hemidrachm, Kimissa (Sicily), late 4th cent. B.C. - *NC* 1896, pl. 9 fig. 13; Rizzo, *MGS* 276

pl. 59, 22; Ziegler, K., *RE* Suppl. VIII (1956) 247 s. v. "Kimissa"; Cahn, H. A., et al., *Antikenmus. Basel und Slg. Ludwig, Griech. Münzen* (1988) 103–104 no. 346. – Obv.: head of H. crowned with myrtle and wearing earrings and necklace. Leg. *OMONOIA*. Rev.: flaming altar wreathed with laurel.

6. AE, Kimissa (Sicily), after 254 B. C. – *NC* 1896, pl. 9 fig. 14. – Obv.: head of H. Leg. *OMONOIA*. Rev.: altar.

7. \* AR cistophore, Tralleis (Lydia), 145–140 B. C. – *SNG* v. Aulock 3253, 8281 (H.); Kleiner, F. S./Noe, S. P., *The Early Cistophoric Coinage* (1977) 71 series 36–37 pls. 24, 12; 15, 1–2 (Tyche). – Rev.: two snakes coiled around a bow-case; at l., a double cornucopia and star; at r., H. standing, holding cornucopia and phiale. Obv.: cista mystica in ivy wreath.

8. \* AE, Thessalonike, ca. 40 B. C. – *BMC* Macedonia 113, 43; Gaebler, *Makedonia* II 121, 24 pl. 23, 17. – Obv.: veiled head of H. Leg. *OMONOIA*.

9. \* AR drachm, Tabae (Caria), 1st cent. B. C. – *BMC* Caria 160, 1; Robert, J. and L., *La Carie* II (1954) 124 A pl. 20, 8–9. – Rev.: H. standing to l., wearing a long chiton and kalathos, holding phiale and cornucopia. Obv.: head of Dionysos.

10. AR drachm, Tabae (Caria), 1st cent. B. C. – *BMC* Caria 163, 26–28; Robert, o. c. 9, 126 y pl. 20, 23. – Rev.: H. standing to l., holding phiale and cornucopia. Obv.: head of Herakles.

11. AE, Panormus (Sicily), 1st cent. B. C. – *SNG* ANS 4 no. 559. – Rev.: H. standing to l., holding a patera and filleted cornucopia. Obv.: bust of Athena.

#### Greek Imperials (selection)

#### Homonoia seated

12. \* Bi tetradrachm, Alexandria, Nero, A. D. 56–60. – *BMC* Alexandria 18, 150; *SNG* Copenhagen 93, 105; Geißén, *AlexKaisermünzen* I nos. 120, 136, 146. – Rev.: H. holding a patera only. Leg. *OMONOIA*.

13. AE, Nicaea (Bithynia), Lucius Verus. – *SNG* v. Aulock 365. – Rev.: H. holding patera and cornucopia, an altar before her.

14. AE, Nicomedia (Bithynia), M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus. – *RecGen* 13, 531, 112 pl. 91, 28. Rev.: H. seated in a temple, holding patera and sceptre. Leg. *NIKOM. NEΩKO[PQN] OMONOIA*.

15. \* AE, Tralleis (Lydia), Antoninus Pius. – *SNG* v. Aulock 3287. – Rev.: H., wearing a polos, holds a cornucopia in her l. hand, a statuette of Zeus Nikephoros in her r.

16. \* AE, Caesarea (Cappadocia) and Smyrna, Julia Domna, A. D. 205–206. – *SNG* v. Aulock 6481; Klose, D. O. A., *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna in der röm. Kaiserzeit* (1987) 57 n. 340. – Rev.: H. holding cornucopia and Mt. Argaios. Leg. *ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ HOMONOIA*.

17. \* AE, Nicaea, Julia Domna. – *SNG* v. Aulock 587; *BMC* Bithynia 162, 66. – Rev.: H. enthroned, holding sceptre and patera. Leg. *OMONOIA NIKAIΩN*.

18. \* AE, Philadelphia-Smyrna, time of Caracalla

or later. – *BMC* Lydia 209, 118; Klose, o. c. 16, 62. – Rev.: H. seated to l., wearing mural crown and holding cornucopia and statues of the Nemeseis of Smyrna. Obv.: bust of Demos.

19. \* AE, Tios (Bithynia), Severus Alexander. – *SNG* v. Aulock 7172. Rev.: H. wearing a polos and holding ears of corn and a cornucopia.

#### Homonoia standing, alone

20. \* AE, Koinon of Bithynia, Domitian. – *SNG* v. Aulock 6912. – Rev.: H. holding cornucopia and wreath. – Leg. *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ OMONOIA*.

21. AE, Iuliopolis (Bithynia), Trajan. – *SNG* v. Aulock 466. – Rev.: H. stands to l., holding a cornucopia in her l. hand, a branch in her r. Leg. *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ OMONOIA IOY*.

22. AE, Prusias (Bithynia), Trajan. – *SNG* v. Aulock 886. – Rev.: H. holding a cornucopia in the l., a branch in the r. Leg. *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ OMONOIA*.

23. \* AE, Apameia, Marcus Aurelius. – *SNG* v. Aulock 3496; *BMC* Phrygia 97, 161. – Rev.: H., veiled, holds a wreath. Leg. *OMONOIA ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ*.

24. \* AE, Alexandria, Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 161. – *BMC* Alexandria 156, 1292 pl. 10. – Rev.: H. holding ears of corn and cornucopia. Leg. *OMONOIA*.

25. \* AE, Patara (Lycia), Gordian III. – *SNG* v. Aulock 4384. – Rev.: H., wearing a polos, holds a cornucopia and rudder, a bird at her feet. She stands between two fat columns, on each of which is a genius holding up a spreading baldacchino. Leg. *ΠΑΤΑΡΕΩΝ OMONOIA*.

#### Homonoia standing, with other figures

26. AE, Alexandria, Trajan, A. D. 113/114. – *Dattari* 1031. – Rev.: H. stands at r., holding a cornucopia in her l. hand. With the r. she extends a cornucopia to Sarapis.

27. AE, Alexandria, Trajan, A. D. 112–114. – *BMC* Alexandria 52, 428–434; Geißén, *AlexKaisermünzen* I nos. 603, 604, 641, 642. – Rev.: H. stands at the r., facing l., holding a double cornucopia in her l. She shakes hands with → Eirene (→ Pax), who holds ears of corn. Leg. *ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΚΑΙ OMONOIA* or *OMONOIA ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ*.

28. \* AE, Koinon of Bithynia, Trajan. – *SNG* v. Aulock 6913. – Rev.: H., at r., wearing a polos and holding a cornucopia, shakes hands with → Demeter. Between them, an altar. Leg. *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ OMONOIA*.

29. \* AE, Phocaea, Septimius Severus. – *BMC* Ionia 223, 145. – Rev.: H. stands to l., wearing a polos and holding patera and cornucopia. Behind her stands Nike, placing a wreath on H.'s head and holding another wreath.

30. AE, Nicaea, Caracalla. – *SNG* v. Aulock 590. – Rev.: H. at the r., holding sceptre and patera, at altar at her feet. At the l., Septimius Severus and Caracalla shaking hands.

31. \* AE, Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis, Gallienus. – *BMC* Lydia 287, 15. – Rev.: H., holding patera and cornucopia, facing Asklepios.

#### COMMENTARY

The creation of the personified goddess H. took place relatively soon after the word *ὁμόνοια* is first attested in Greek writers of the late 5th cent. B. C. Aside from the altar at Olympia (Paus. 5, 14, 9), the earliest evidence for H., on coins (4–6) and one vase (2) is concentrated in Magna Graecia. On the early coin of Metapontum (4), the legend naming H. was taken by Noe as an epithet of Demeter and the head as that of the goddess. But the new Apulian vase, not far in date or place of manufacture from this coin, supports the view that the head is H. herself. The pelike 2 is, however, unique in placing H. within a mythological context, Kassiopeia entreating the pardon of her daughter Andromeda. It shows that H., though most often signifying a political ideal, could also operate in the private sphere, as harmony and concord within the family. Plutarch plays upon this double connotation in his advice to a bride and groom (*coniugalia praecepta* 144c), and Harmonia can similarly be applied to both spheres, political and private.

The earliest evidence for the tremendous popularity which H. and her cult would later experience in Asia Minor in the Roman period is a Hellenistic coin of Tralles (7). H. is not identified as such, but her attributes, cornucopia and phiale, match those of H. on many Greek Imperials, including those of Tralleis itself (15). The earliest instance of H. signifying a reconciliation between Rome and one of her conquered subjects in the East is probably the coin of Thessalonike, which bears the names of Rome and Thessalonike (8) together in the legend on the reverse.

On Greek Imperials, H.'s attributes may vary, making it often impossible to distinguish her from several other personifications. Thus the mural crown (18) is also associated with → Tyche, and the cornucopia may be held by → Eirene and various city personifications. But the combination of patera or phiale and cornucopia seems to be particularly characteristic of H. (13, 29), as it is of the Roman Concordia (→ Homonoia/Concordia 44–48). Other possible elements of H.'s iconography which accord with that of Concordia include the branch (21–22; cf. → Homonoia/Concordia 42–43); the veil (23; cf. → Homonoia/Concordia 1–7); the association with Eirene/Pax (27; cf. → Homonoia/Concordia 113); or with two emperors, to symbolize the peaceful succession to the throne (30; cf. → Homonoia/Concordia 10 and Commentary; 93) The latest issues with H. belong to the time of Gallienus and Valerian, in the 250's and 260's.

H. ALAN SHAPIRO

#### CONCORDIA

Personifikation der Eintracht. Der Begriff c. bezeichnet Eintracht vom persönlichen Kreis der Familie über größere Gruppen wie Berufskollegien bis zum Staat und zur ganzen Menschheit. Er setzt gewöhnlich

ein Verhältnis zwischen Gleichgestellten voraus. Inhaltliche Verwandtschaft besteht besonders mit den Begriffen *fides*, *pietas* und *pax* (→ Fides, → Pietas, → Pax), von denen c. sich durch ihren mehr affektiven Charakter unterscheidet. Griechisches Äquivalent ist → Homonoia. In der römischen Kunst begegnet die Gestalt der C. vor allem zur Bezeichnung innerer politischer Eintracht zwischen den verschiedenen Mächten und Gruppen des Staates, ferner zur Darstellung beispielhafter Eintracht der Ehe. Kultische Verehrung der C. ist in Rom seit dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. bezeugt.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Zur Personifikation und Gottheit C. s. *ThLL* Onomasticon II 555–558 s. v. «Concordia». Zum Begriff c. s. *ThLL* IV 83–87 s. v. «concordia». Wichtig für Rom die philosophisch geprägte Reflexion des Begriffs bei Polybios und Poseidonios, s. die Stellen bei Skard 74–87. Danach vor allem Cicero, s. dazu Nicolet 633–722 und Strasburger.

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Zum Begriff weiterhin: Axtell, H. L., *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions* (1907) 11–13; Boudreau Flory, M., «Sic exempla parantur: Livias Shrine to Concordia and Porticus Liviae», *Historia* 33, 1984, 309–330; Cairns, F., «Concord in the Aeneid of Virgil», *Klio* 67, 1985, 210–215; Hellegouarc'h, J., *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la République* (1963) 125–127; Jal, P., ««Pax civilis» – «concordia»», *REL* 39, 1961, 210–231; Kantorowicz, E., «Marriage Belt and Rings at Dumbarton Oaks», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14, 1960, 4–16 (Weiterleben in christlicher Zeit); Momigliano, A., «Camillus and Concord», *ClQ* 36, 1942, 111–120 (= idem, *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici* [1960] 89–104); Nicolet, C., *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine* I (1966) 633–722; Skard, E., *Zwei religiös-politische Begriffe, Euergetes – Concordia, Avhandling utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Hist.-Fil. Kl.* 1931 Nr. 2 (1932), 67–105; Strasburger, H., *Concordia ordinum* (1931); Wissowa, *Religion* 328–329.

#### KATALOG

Die Denkmäler, auch die Münzen, werden für die Zeit bis Marc Aurel nach Möglichkeit vollständig auf-



geführt; für die Zeit danach ist wegen der stereotyp werdenden Ikonographie eine Auswahl getroffen worden; dabei ist jedoch (soweit nicht anders angegeben) bei den einzelnen Kaisern für die betreffenden Typen jeweils Vollständigkeit angestrebt, um einen Eindruck von der Häufigkeit der Typen zu geben. Bei den kaiserzeitlichen Münzen werden nur die Teile der Legenden zitiert, die auf das Bild der C. Bezug nehmen.

## A. Köpfe

### Römische Münzen

1.\* Denar, Rom, L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, allein und zusammen mit L. Scribonius Libo, ca. 62 v. Chr. – Crawford, *RRC* 415/1; 417/1; Hamilton, J. R., *NC* 1955, 224–225; Amit 142–143; Richard 319–321; Béranger, *Principatus* 370; Levick 231 Anm. 26. – Vs.: Kopf der C. mit Schleier und Diadem nach r. Leg.: *PAVLLVS. LEPIDVS – CONCORDIA*. Rs. (415/1): Tropaeum zwischen Togatus r. und drei Gefangenen l. Leg.: *TER/PAVLLVS*. Rs. (417/1): Puteal Scribonianum mit Girlande, zwei Leiern und unten Hammer. Leg.: *PVTEAL. SCRIBON/LIBO*.

2. Denar, Rom, P. Fonteius Capito, ca. 55 v. Chr. – Crawford, *RRC* 429/2; Hamilton, a. O. 1, 224–228; Amit 141–142; Richard 323–326; Morgan, M. G., *Klio* 55, 1973, 215–231; Levick 231 Anm. 26. – Vs.: Kopf der C. mit Schleier und Diadem nach r. Leg.: *P. FONT(N)EIVS. CAPITO. III. VIR. CONCORDIA*. Rs.: Villa Publica.

3.\* Denar, Rom, L. Vinicius, ca. 52 v. Chr. – Crawford, *RRC* 436/1; Hamilton, a. O. 1, 225; Amit 142–143; Richard 318–319; Béranger, *Principatus* 370. – Vs.: Kopf der C. mit Lorbeerkrantz nach r. Leg.: *CONCORDIAE (CONCORDIAI)*. Rs.: Victoria mit Palmzweig, der mit vier Kränzen geschmückt ist.

4. Denar, Rom, L. Mussidius Longus, 42 v. Chr. – Crawford, *RRC* 494/41–42; Hamilton, a. O. 1, 225; Amit 143–144; Richard 328–329. – Vs.: Kopf der C. mit Schleier und Diadem nach r.; im Feld z. T. (42b) Stern bzw. (42c) Halbmond. Leg.: *CONCORDIA*. Rs. (41): Verschränkte Hände mit Caduceus. Rs. (42): Heiligtum der Venus Cloacina (als Ort der C., weil hier die Heere der Römer und Sabiner nach Beilegung des Kampfes gemeinsam entsühnt worden waren).

5.\* Quinar, Octavian und Antonius, ca. 39 v. Chr. – Crawford, *RRC* 529/4; Hamilton, a. O. 1, 225; Richard 336–337. – Vs.: Kopf der C. mit Schleier und Diadem. Leg.: III. VIR. – R. P. C. Rs.: Verschränkte Hände mit Caduceus. Deutung der Vs. gesichert durch den Schleier, der damals sonst nur bei Vesta sicher bezeugt ist, im Zusammenhang mit der Rs. und den übrigen Typen der Emission aber wie auf Nr. 1, 2 und 4 C. bezeichnen muß.

6. AE, Bouthroton, P. Pomponius Graecinus und Milesius, augusteisch, ca. 10 v. Chr. – Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 140, 36; Grant, M., *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (1946) 271–272; Richard 350. – Vs.: Kopf der C. mit Schleier und Diadem. Leg.: *CONCORDIA*. Offenbar angeregt von der Weihung von Standbildern

der Salus, Concordia und Pax durch Augustus 10 v. Chr. (113); vgl. dazu die etwa gleichzeitige Prägung von Bouthroton, Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 139, 35 mit dem Kopf der Salus. Älter dagegen anscheinend die Prägung von Pella mit dem Kopf der Pax: Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 88 Nr. 102; Gaebler, *Makedonia* II 98 Nr. 24; Grant a. O. 281–283; Richard 349–350.

7. Denar (subärat), Spanien/Gallien, anonyme Prägung des Galba, 68 n. Chr. – Bonnetterre, D./Nony, D., *Bull. Soc. française de numismatique* Mai 1973, 384–385; Martin, P.-H., *Die anonymen Münzen des Jahres 68 n. Chr.* (1974) 51 Anm. 40a; 75 Nr. 48a. – Vs.: Büste der C. mit Schleier und Diadem nach r. Leg.: *CONCORDIA ORB TER*. Rs.: Felicitas stehend nach l. mit kurzem Szepter, hält Opferschale über brennenden Altar. Leg.: *PIA FELICITAS*.

8. Denar, Rom, Traian, 107 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp III 140, 27 Taf. 23, 2; lxxxvi–xciii; Mattingly, H., *NC* 1926, 245. 249. 271. 273. – Restituierte Prägung von I.

### Rundplastik

9.\* Marmorbüste mit Inschrift-Basis. Sabratha, Mus. Aus dem Capitolium. – Reynolds, J. M./Ward Perkins, J. B., *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (1952) 29 Nr. 4; Ward, Ph., *Sabratha* (1970) 52 Taf. 24. – Um 180 n. Chr. – Büste der C. mit Diadem. Inschrift: *CONCORDIAE AFRICANVS*.

### Relief

9a) Brunnenrelief. Pompeii, vor Nebeneingang des Eumachia-Gebäudes. – Eschbach, H., *AntW* 13, 3, 1983, 23 ff. Abb. 27; Kockel, V., *AA* 1986, 458; Zanker, P., *Pompeii*, 9. *TrierWPr* (1988) 31. – Spät augusteisch bis tiberisch. – Büste der C., frontal, mit Füllhorn.

## B. Concordia sitzend

10.\* Aureus und Denar, Lugdunum, Augustus, 11–13 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp I 91, 544–546 Taf. 14, 8–9; cxvii (Mattingly: «Livia (?) as Ceres»); Kraft, K., *Zur Münzprägung des Augustus* (1969) 42–51. – Rs.: C. sitzend nach r., hält Zweig und stützt Szepter auf. Überzeugende Deutung bei Kraft.

11.\* Aureus und Denar, Lugdunum, Tiberius, 14–37 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp I 124–127, 30–60 Taf. 22, 20–26; 23, 1–9; cxxxi; Kraft, a. O. 10, 43–51. – Rs.: Wie 10.

12. (= Herakles 739\*) Sesterz, Rom, Tiberius, 34–37 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp I 137, 116 Taf. 24, 14; 139, 132–134 Taf. 25, 4–5. 7; cxxxviii; Brown, F., *Temples of Rome as Coin Types* (1940) 14; 17–19; Vermeule, C. C., *JHS* 77, 1957, 284; Küthmann, H., *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 58, 1960, 70–71; Guarducci, M., *RendPontAcc* 34, 1961/62, 107–108; Nash, *TopRom* I 292–294 Abb. 347; Pekary, Th., *RM* 73/74, 1966/67, 105–133; Fuchs, G., *Architekturdarstellungen auf römischen Münzen der Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit* (1969) 45 Taf. 9, 110–111; Kraft, a. O. 10, 51; Zanker, P., *Forum Ro-*

manum (1972) 19–23; Gasparri, C., *Aedes Concordiae Augustae* (1979) 21–22. S. oben 10–11. – Rs.: Fassade des von Tiberius erneuerten C.-Tempels am Forum Romanum (s. 123). Durch die Tür Kulbild der C. auf Basis zu sehen, frontal auf lehnenlosem Stuhl sitzend, in der r. Hand patera ausgestreckt, mit der l. Hand Szepter schräg haltend. Zankers Vermutung, bei der als First-Akroter dargestellten Trias könne es sich um C., Pax und Salus handeln, bleibt unsicher. Zu dem Gewerberelief im Vatikan s. 128.

13.\* Aureus und Denar, Rom, Nero, 64–68 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp I 209, 61–63 Taf. 39, 15–16; clxvi und clxxiv; Amit 147; Béranger, *Principatus* 372. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält patera und (z. T. Doppel-)Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGVSTA*.

14.\* Denar und Sesterz; Spanien/Gallien, anonyme Prägung Galbas; Rom, Galba; 68–69 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp I 304 † (Mattingly: mit Ähren); 317–318, 55–61 Taf. 55, 17–18, cxcvii–cxcviii. ccv; Martin, a. O. 7, 83 Nr. A 9. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält Zweig und Szepter. Leg.: *CONCORDIA (IA) (AVG)*. Die angeblichen Ähren auf dem Denar nicht mehr zu prüfen, wohl eher Zweig. Derselbe Typus in der römischen Serie Galbas als → Pax: *BMC* Emp I 320, 76. Die Darstellung muß aber wohl auch dort C. meinen, da in derselben Serie die Sesterze mit C.-Legende weitaus häufiger sind; die Pax-Legende ist also anscheinend komplementär.

15.\* Aureus, Denar und Dupondius, Rom, Vitellius, 69 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp I 368, 1 Taf. 60, 15; 369, 6–7 Taf. 60, 18–19; 371, 20–21; 380, 65 Taf. 62, 16; 382, 72; 383; cccxxiii; Béranger, *Principatus* 372. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält Füllhorn, streckt patera nach vorne aus; auf Dupondius vor ihr Altar. Leg. Aureus und Denar: *CONCORDIA P R*. Dupondius: *CONCORDIA AVGVSTI*.

16. Sesterz, Rom, Vitellius, 69 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp I 375, 48 Taf. 62, 14; cccxxv. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält Zweig und Szepter. Leg.: *CONCORD AVG*. Deutung als C. mit Zweig der Pax (und nicht etwa Pax mit Legende C.) dadurch sicher, daß in derselben Serie Pax in anderem Typus erscheint: *BMC* Emp I 377, 54–57 Taf. 63, 2–3.

17. Denar, Spanien/Gallien, anonyme Prägung Galbas, 68 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp I 308 (b); cc; Martin a. O. 7, 34. 51. 69 Nr. 2. – Rs.: Weibliche Figur sitzend, hält Eberstandarte und caduceus. Leg.: *CONCORDIA*. Nicht römische Feldzeichen bei C. ungewöhnlich, vgl. aber *BMC* Emp I 308 (c): verschränkte Hände mit Eberstandarte (dazu Martin 34. 50–51. 69 Nr. 5). Der Typus ist in diesem Sinne besser als Umbildung von C.-Darstellungen wie 14–16 denn als Personifikation Galliens mit komplementärer C.-Legende (wie 146, vgl. 166) zu verstehen, da die Provinzpersonifikationen in dieser Zeit nicht thronend dargestellt werden.

18. Aureus, Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Vespasian und Titus, Rom und syrische Prägestätten, 69 (?), 71–73 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp II 12, 65–66 Taf. 2, 2; 106, 505 Taf. 18, 14; 108, 514–515 Taf. 19, 4; 110, 524 Taf. 19, 10; 113, 528 Taf. 20, 1; 127, 588–589 Taf. 23, 2; 130, 603 Taf. 23, 9; 150, 660; 153, 669–669A

Taf. 27, 2; xxxv. xlv. lxix. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält patera und Füllhorn. Auf As-Prägungen Roms 71 n. Chr. vor ihr Altar. Leg. Aureus und As: *CONCORDIA AVG*; Denar und Dupondius: *CONCORDIA AVGVSTI*; Sesterz: *CONCORDIA (IA) AVG(VSTI)*.

19.\* Aureus, Denar, Dupondius, As, verschiedene Prägestätten, vor allem in Kleinasien, ferner Tarraco, Lugdunum, Narbo (?); Vespasian und unter seiner Regierung Titus und Domitian, 69–74 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp II 73, 368 Taf. 12, 4; 88, 429 Taf. 15, 8; 90; 92, 442 Taf. 15, 19; 93, 445 †; 95, 453–454 Taf. 16, 6; 97, 465–467 Taf. 16, 16–18; 98, 470–472 Taf. 17, 1; 99, 474 †; 100, 477–478 Taf. 17, 7–8 (Mattingly durchweg: «Ceres») 191, 786 †; 199, 805 \* (Mattingly: «Concordia»); lxvi. – Rs.: C. auf Thron sitzend, hält r. Ähren, meist auch Mohn, l. Füllhorn. Auf As-Prägungen von Tarraco und Lugdunum vor ihr Altar. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVG*; Leg. Dupondius Lugdunum: *CONCORDIA AVGVSTI*. Deutung auf C. in allen Fällen wahrscheinlich. Der Typus erscheint gleichzeitig wie der sichere C.-Typus 18 in den Prägestätten, in denen jener fehlt. Er ist nicht zu trennen von den As-Prägungen aus Tarraco und Lugdunum, die durch den Altar auch mit den gleichzeitigen As-Prägungen Roms 18 wie auch mit 12 und 15 verbunden sind. Vgl. verschränkte Hände mit Ähren: *BMC* Emp II 16, 86 Taf. 2, 15 etc. (s. auch → Fides).

20.\* Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Titus und unter seiner Regierung Domitian, Iulia Titi und Divus Vespasianus, 80–81 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp II 263, 194 Taf. 50, 4; 266 \*; 273, 238–240 Taf. 52, 5; 277, 251 Taf. 53, 2; 279 \* Taf. 53, 7; lxxvii; Amit 150–151. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält patera und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA (IA) AVG(VSTI)*.

21.\* Denar und Sesterz, Rom, Traian, 98–102 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp III 32, 4–6 Taf. 9, 3; 35, 29–30 Taf. 9, 14; 37, 46 Taf. 9, 20; 39, 64–65 Taf. 10, 7; 44 †; 148, 714. 717 Taf. 25, 2. 5; 151, 730; 156, 744 Taf. 26, 8; 158, 755 Taf. 27, 3; 166 \* (ca. 104–107); 229, 1079 Taf. 44, 4 («barbarous»); lxv; Strack, *Reichsprägung* I 56–57. – Rs.: C. sitzend, mit Diadem, hält Doppelfüllhorn, opfert aus Schale über Altar. Deutung durch 12, 13, 15 und 18 begründet.

22. Aureus, Rom, Traian, 107 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp III 143, 700 Taf. 24, 1; xcii; Mattingly, H., *NC* 1926, 258. 262. 277. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält patera und Doppelfüllhorn. (Vs. Divus Claudius). «Restituierte» Prägung. Deutung wie 21.

23.\* Aureus, Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, Rom, Hadrian, 117 bis ca. 125/28 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp III 237–238, 9–10 Taf. 46, 5; 239, 17–19 Taf. 46, 9; 241, 33 Taf. 46, 14; 241–242, 36–37 Taf. 46, 17; 247–248, 59–63 Taf. 48, 1–2; 251 †; 261, 164–166 Taf. 50, 6; 271, 257–261 Taf. 51, 15; 282 Anm. \*; 397–398, 1102–1104 Taf. 76, 2; 398–399, 1107–1108. 1109 †; 400, 1114. 1115; 403, 1128–1129 Taf. 77, 2; 405 \*; 408 \*; cxxiv; Hamberg 20; Strack, *Reichsprägung* II 49–51. – Rs.: C. auf Thron sitzend, stützt l. Arm auf kleine Spes-Figur mit gerafftem Gewand auf Basis, hält r. patera; unter Thron Füllhorn. Leg. (kann fehlen): *CONCORDIA*.

24.\* Aureus, Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As,



Rom, Sabina, Hadrian, Aelius Verus, Antoninus Pius, ca. 128–138 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp III* 317 \* («almost barbarous»); 353–354, 894–906 Taf. 64, 12–17; 357, 928 Taf. 65, 11; 358–359, 932–935 Taf. 65, 14–15; 361 (a); 363 Anm. zu 964; 366, 981–988 Taf. 66, 20–67, 3; 367–368, 997–1002 Taf. 67, 8–9; 369 \*; 526 §; 527, 1834 Taf. 97, 9; 536, 1864–1868 Taf. 98, 14; 538–539, 1888–1893 Taf. 99, 6; 543, 1918 Taf. 100, 3; 547, 1935 Taf. 101, 3; 549 †; 550 \*; 551 †; cl–clii; Strack, *Reichsprägung II* 168. Hamburg 20; Béranger, *Principatus* 377. – Rs.: C. auf Thron sitzend, stützt l. Arm auf kleine Spes-Figur mit gerafftem Gewand auf Basis, hält r. patera; unter Thron Füllhorn. Varianten: Spes fehlt; Füllhorn fehlt; l. Hand auf Szepter gestützt; l. Arm auf Füllhorn oder auf Armlehne gestützt. Leg. (kann fehlen): *CONCORDIA AVG* (Sabina), *CONCORDIA* (Hadrian, Aelius Verus, Antoninus Pius).

25. Aureus, Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Faustina d. Ä., 138–141 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 8–9 \* und 38–41 Taf. 1, 20; 2, 1; 172 \*; 174, 1127 Taf. 25, 3; lii; Strack, *Reichsprägung III* 46. – Rs.: C. auf Thron sitzend, hält patera, stützt l. Arm auf Füllhorn neben Sitz; unter Thron Füllhorn. Variante: stützt l. Arm auf Spes-Statuette. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVG*.

26. \* Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius oder As, Rom, Faustina d. J., 147–161 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 163, 1080–1081 Taf. 23, 6; 164–165, 1086–1088 Taf. 23, 10; 166 Anm. \*; 376, 2167 Taf. 52, 6; 378, 2175–2176 Taf. 52, 8; 380 †; lxxvi; vgl. 397, 85 Taf. 55, 2 und cxxxii (früh in Regierungszeit des Marc Aurel); Strack, *Reichsprägung III* 116, 121; Hamburg 20. – Rs.: C. sitzend (z. T. auf Thron), hält in r. Hand Blüte, stützt l. Arm auf Füllhorn, das auf Globus am Boden steht. Leg.: *CONCORDIA*.

27. \* Denar, Rom, Marc Aurel, 161–163/64 n. Chr., Lucius Verus, 161 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 385–386, 1–6 Taf. 53, 11–12; 389–390, 25–28 Taf. 54, 1–2; 390 †; 408–409, 177–185 Taf. 56, 16–17; 410, 193–195 Taf. 56, 20; 413–414, 209–217 Taf. 57, 6; 417, 242; vgl. 514, 4; cxv–cxvi. Sonst selten: Aureus und Denar, Lucilla, nach 164 n. Chr.: *BMC Emp IV* 427, 304–307 Taf. 58, 12; 430, 332 Taf. 59, 1; Dupondius, As, Faustina d. J.: 539, 971; 969–970 Taf. 74, 7 (ohne Spes und Füllhorn). Weitere Varianten (ohne Spes): Aureus, Denar, Sesterz: 414 \*; 510, 818 Taf. 70, 13; 517, 840; 523 \*; s. die folgende Nr. (Übergänge fließend). – Rs.: C. auf Thron sitzend, hält patera, stützt l. Arm auf kleine Spes-Figur, unter Sitz Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORD AVG*; bei Faustina und Lucilla *CONCORDIA*.

28. \* Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Lucilla, nach 164 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 430, 333–335 Taf. 59, 2; 568–569, 1140–1142 Taf. 76, 11; 576 \*; 578, 1214 Taf. 78, 1; cxxxiv, cxlv. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält patera und (teils Doppel-)Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA*.

Von da an bleibt der Typus mit diesen Attributen sehr häufig. Hervorzuheben sind folgende Varianten:

29. \* AE Medaillon, Commodus und Crispina, 180–192 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* clxxxiii; Gnechi, *Medaglioni II* 72, 1 Taf. 91, 7. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält pa-

tera, stützt l. Arm auf kleine Spes-Figur; unter Sitz Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA*. (Vs. Büsten des Commodus und der Crispina, vgl. dazu 146–151).

30. Denar und AR Quinar, Rom und östliche Prägestätte, Iulia Paula, 219–220 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp V* 554–555, 171–176 Taf. 88, 12–14; 582, 316–317 Taf. 92, 11. – Rs.: C. auf Thron sitzend, hält Schale. Leg.: *CONCORDIA*.

31. \* Denar, östliche Prägestätte, Iulia Paula, 219–220 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp V* 582, 321–322 Taf. 92, 13. – Rs.: C. auf sella curulis sitzend, hält patera und Doppelfüllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG*.

32. \* Antoninian, AR Quinar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As; Rom und Antiochia, Gordian III., 240 n. Chr. – *RIC IV* 3; 23, 65; 24, 75; 38, 219A; 47, 288. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält patera und Doppelfüllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILIT* (neben der üblichen Legende *CONCORDIA AVG*, z. B. 19, 35 Taf. 1, 11).

33. \* Antoninian, Rom, Otacilia Severa, 246–249 n. Chr. – *RIC IV* 3, 81, 110; 83, 126 Taf. 7, 13; 84, 129. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält patera und Füllhorn, vor ihr Altar. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG*. (Daneben die übliche Version ohne Altar, teils mit Doppelfüllhorn, z. B. 82, 119, 125).

34. Antoninian und As, Rom und Mediolanum, Valerian und Gallienus, 254–257 n. Chr. – *RIC V* 1, 53, 191; 56, 236; 98, 376. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält patera und (teils Doppel-)Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA EXERCIT* bzw. *CONCOR LEGG* (neben der üblichen Legende *CONCORDIA AVGG*, z. B. 45, 79).

35. \* Antoninian und Denar, Rom, Salonina, 253–268 n. Chr. – *RIC V* 1, 192, 2; 195, 34. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält patera und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORD AET* (neben der üblichen Legende *CONCORDIA AVG*, z. B. 172, 471).

36. Aureus, Trier, Ticinum und Aquileia, Diocletian, Constantius Chlorus und Mitherscher, 294–307 n. Chr. – *RIC VI* 203, 618–619; 287, 49–50; 310, 2; 317, 41–42. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält patera und Doppelfüllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG ET CAESS NN* (o. ä.). Letzte Beispiele des Typus.

37. \* Solidus, verschiedene Prägestätten, Konstantin, Licinius und Crispus, 317–325 n. Chr. – *RIC VII* 375, 101–103 Taf. 10; 406, 116; 473, 38–39 Taf. 14; 610–611, 59–62 Taf. 20; 646, 20 Taf. 22; 685, 50 Taf. 24; Alföldi, M. R., *Die constantinische Goldprägung* (1963) 47, 78 Anm. 2; 91, 93, 158 Nr. 13a–24. – Rs.: C. auf Thron sitzend, hält caduceus und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG NN*. Letzte Darstellung der C. auf Münzen.

38. AR Medaillon, Licinius I., 308–324 n. Chr. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni I* 57, 2. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält Steuerruder und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG*.

39. Antoninian, Antiochia, Philippus Arabs, 247–249 n. Chr. – *RIC IV* 3, 78, 83. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält Waage und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG*.

40. \* Aureus und Antoninian, verschiedene Prägestätten, Aurelian, 270–275 n. Chr. – *RIC V* 1, 268, 25; 275, 87–88; 277, 106; 283, 166; 286, 194–197;

288, 214. – Rs.: C. sitzend, hält zwei Feldzeichen. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILIT*.

#### Rundplastik

41. Kultbild im Tempel der C. Augusta, Rom, Forum, am Fuß des Kapitols; 7 v. Chr. von Tiberius gelobt, 10 n. Chr. geweiht. S. zu 12 und 123.

#### C. Concordia, stehend, allein

##### Münzen

42. Aureus und Denar; Spanien/Gallien und Rom; Galba, 68–69 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp I* 305–306, 61–63 Taf. 51, 19; 306 \*; 308 (a) Taf. 51, 24; 309, 1–2 Taf. 52, 1; 337, 164–165 Taf. 53, 3; 347–348, 216–225 Taf. 54, 16–21; 349 †; 352, 239–240 Taf. 55, 4–5; cxcix–cc. cciv (Zweig, nicht Ähren wie z. T. im Katalog); Hamburg 22; Kraay, C. M., *NC* 1949, 141–142; 1952, 78–86; Mattingly, H., *NC* 1952, 72–77; Martin, a. O. 7, 14, 30, 34, 43, 45, 49–51, 69, 1, 3–4. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält Zweig und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA (PRAETORIANORVM* bzw. *PROVINCIALIARUM)*. Deutung als C. mit Zweig der Pax (und nicht etwa Pax mit komplementärer Legende C.) wird dadurch bestätigt, daß in einer dieser Serien Pax in einem anderen Typus dargestellt ist: *BMC Emp I* 352, 242, Taf. 55, 7.

43. Denar, Spanien, Vitellius, 69 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp I* 384 † (Mattingly: «style of obv. very curious»); cxxxix; Béranger, *Principatus* 374–375. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält Zweig und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA PRAETORIANORVM*. Deutung als C. mit Zweig der Pax (und nicht etwa Pax mit komplementärer Legende C.) aufgrund von 42 wahrscheinlich.

44. Dupondius, Rom, Vespasian und Titus, 71–72/3 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp II* 127, Anm. zu 588; 147 †; vgl. 61, 12 (hybrid). – Rs.: C. stehend, hält patera, bei Vespasian auch Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA (DIA) AVGG(VST)*.

45. \* AU Quinar, Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Hadrian und unter seiner Regierung Sabina, Aelius Verus, Antoninus Pius, ca. 128–138 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp III* 355, 907 Taf. 64, 18; 358, 929–931 Taf. 65, 12–13; 363, 964–966 Taf. 66, 11–12; 370, 1010–1011 Taf. 67, 14; 480 \*; 535, 1861–1863 Taf. 98, 13; 538, 1887 Taf. 99, 5; 544 \*; cl–clii; Strack, *Reichsprägung II* 168. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält r. patera, trägt l. (meist Doppel-)Füllhorn, stützt meist l. Arm auf Säule. Leg. (kann fehlen): *CONCORDIA AVG* (Hadrian, Sabina), *CONCORDIA* (Aelius Verus, Antoninus Pius). Dazu *BMC Emp III* 361 (e) mit Leg. *MONETA AVG* (hybrid).

46. Aureus, Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Antoninus Pius, 140–144 n. Chr.; Faustina d. Ä., 138–141 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 8, 36; 9, 42 Taf. 2, 2; 22–23, 132–135 Taf. 4, 1–2; 31, 202–203 Taf. 5, 7; 171 Nr. 1114–1115 Taf. 24, 6; 173, 1125 Taf. 25, 2; lii, lvi, lxxvii; Strack, *Reichsprägung III* 46. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält r. patera, trägt l. (meist Doppel-)Füllhorn, stützt meist l. Arm auf Säule. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVG*.

47. Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Marc Aurel und Faustina d. J. unter Antoninus Pius, 145–161 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 168, 1103–1105 Taf. 23, 19; 289–290, 1788–1789 Taf. 43, 9 (Variante); 383–384, 2198–2199, 2203–2204 Taf. 53, 1 und 10, lxxvi, lxxvii; Strack, *Reichsprägung III* 109. – Rs.: Wie 46. Variante bei Marc Aurel: Füllhorn auf Altar gestellt. Leg. (kann fehlen): *CONCORDIA*.

48. Denar, Dupondius, As, Rom, Marc Aurel, 163–164 n. Chr.; Faustina d. J., 161–176 n. Chr.; Lucilla, nach 164 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 418–419, 250–251 Taf. 57, 17; 426, 303; 538, 968; 573, 1182 Taf. 77, 4; cxxxiv, cxliv–cxlv. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält patera und (meist Doppel-)Füllhorn, stützt meist l. Arm auf Säule. Leg. (kann fehlen): *CONCORDIA*.

49. \* Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom und östliche Prägestätte, Aquilia Severa, 220–222 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp V* 558, 184–187 Taf. 88, 20–89, 1; 585, 335–336 Taf. 93, 2; 609, 432–434 Taf. 96, 8; 609–610, 435–437 Taf. 97, 1. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält Doppelfüllhorn, opfert aus patera über Altar mit Flamme. Leg.: *CONCORDIA*.

50. Aureus und Antoninian, Antiochia, Gordian III., 239–244 n. Chr. – *RIC IV* 3, 34, 176, 178 Taf. 3, 9; 37, 208. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält Füllhorn, opfert aus Schale über Altar. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVG*.

51. AU Medaillon, Aureus, Antoninian, Sesterz, Dupondius, As; Rom und Mediolanum; Valerian und Gallienus, 253–257 n. Chr. – *RIC V* 1, 45, 80–81; 50, 154–155; 56, 237; 73–74, 70–71 etc.; Gnechi, *Medaglioni I* 6, 3; Béranger, *Principatus* 376. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält patera und Füllhorn oder Doppelfüllhorn. Leg.: *CONCOR(DIA[E]) AVGG* oder *EXERC(ITI)* oder *MIL(IT)*. Variante: *RIC V* 1 56, 233–235; Gnechi, *Medaglioni III* 51, 12: C. opfert an Altar.

52. \* Aureus und Denar, Rom, Antoninus Pius, 140–144 n. Chr.; Faustina d. Ä., 139–140 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 22, Anm. zu 132; 30–31, 196–201 Taf. 5, 6; lvi; Strack, *Reichsprägung III* 46. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält Szepter und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVG*.

53. \* Aureus, Denar, Sesterz, As, Rom, Commodus, 190–191 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 739, 272–274 Taf. 97, 18; 744, 295–297 Taf. 98, 14–15; 830 \* und 668; 832 \*; clxv–clxvii, clxxvii. – Rs.: C. stehend, im Peplos und mit Mantel hinter dem Rücken, hält patera und Szepter. Leg.: *CONCORDIAE COM(MODI) (AVG)*.

54. \* Denar, Rom, Plautilla, 202–205 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp V* 235, 398–399 Taf. 37, 17; 236–237, 411–415 Taf. 38, 4. – Rs.: C. stehend wie 53. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG*.

55. \* Aureus und Denar, Rom, Marc Aurel, 148–149 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 98, 680–681 Taf. 14, 14–15; lxxvii; Strack, *Reichsprägung III* 115; Reekmans 34; Belting-Ihm, Chr., «Sub matris tutela», *AbhHeidelb* 1976 Nr. 3, 18; Fittschen, K., *Die Bildnistypen der Faustina minor und die Fecunditas Augusta*, *AbhGöttingen* 126, 1982, 25. – Rs.: C. im Peplos frontal stehend, breitet mit beiden Händen Manteltuch in Hüfthöhe weit aus; davor, in kleinem Maßstab, zwei kleine Figuren stehend, als kaiserliche Enkel oder als deren El-

tern Marc Aurel und Faustina minor gedeutet. Leg.: *CONCORDIA*. Deutung nach Strack.

56. Aureus, Antiochia, Pescennius Niger, 193–194/5 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp V* 75 §. – Rs.: C. stehend, hebt r. Hand, hält l. Doppelfüllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA*.

57. Antoninian, Londinum, Carausius, 286–293 n. Chr. – *RIC V* 2, 465, 27. – Rs.: C. stehend, streckt r. Hand aus, hält l. Szepter. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AV*.

58.\* Aureus, Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Faustina d. J., ca. 147–161 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 159, 1041; 163, 1078–1079; 164, 1084–1085 Taf. 23, 8–9; 372 \*; 374 †; 376, 2166; 377 \*; 377–378, 2173–2174 Taf. 52, 7; 380 \*; lxxvi; vgl. 397 \* und cxxxii (früh in Regierungszeit des Marc Aurel); Strack, *Reichsprägung III* 116. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält Füllhorn, zieht mit r. Hand Gewandbahn zur Seite. Leg.: *CONCORDIA*.

59.\* Sesterz und As, Rom, Hadrian, ca. 119–120/121 n. Chr.; Antoninus Pius, 138 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp III* 414, 1182–1187 Taf. 78, 9; 551 \*; clxv. clxxxvi; Strack, *Reichsprägung II* 71; Hamberg 20; Béranger, *Principatus* 375. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält seitlich je ein Feldzeichen aufgestellt. Leg.: *CONCORDIA EXERCITIVM*.

60.\* AE Medaillon, Sesterz, Dupondius, As; Rom, Antoninus Pius, 140–143/144 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 198, 1232–1235 Taf. 28, 7; 213, 1332 Taf. 32, 5; 218, 1361; lxxxi; Gnechi, *Medaglioni III* 26, 125; Strack, *Reichsprägung III* 56; Hamberg 20. – Rs.: C. stehend, stützt mit l. Hand Feldzeichen auf, hält mit r. Hand kleine Victoria. Leg.: *CONCORDIA EXERCITIVM*.

61. Sesterz, Rom, Marc Aurel, 170–171 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 618, 1394. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält mit jeder Hand Feldzeichen aufgestellt. Leg.: *CONCORDIA EXERCITIVM*. – Danach bleibt der Typus sehr häufig bis zu Konstantin; hervorzuheben sind folgende Beispiele bzw. Varianten (62–64):

62. Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Commodus, 184–186 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp IV* 717, 159 Taf. 95, 3; 724, 195–196 Taf. 96, 1; 801 †; 802 \* und †; 804, 576 Taf. 106, 8; 807 //; clxx; Grant, M., *Roman Anniversary Issues* (1950) 110, 161; Béranger, *Principatus* 376. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält seitlich je ein Feldzeichen aufgestellt. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILIT*.

63. Aureus, Sesterz, Dupondius, As; Septimius Severus, Geta, 208 n. Chr. – *BMC Emp V* 214, 313 Taf. 34, 20; 339 \*; 340, 841 Taf. 50, 10; clxxii. cliv. – Rs.: C. stehend zwischen je drei aufgestellten Feldzeichen, nach einem greifend. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILIT*.

64. AU Medaillon, Severina, 270–275 n. Chr. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni I* 9, 1 Taf. 3, 14. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält seitlich je ein Feldzeichen aufgestellt. Leg.: *CONCORDIAE MILITVM*.

65. Aureus und Antoninian, Rom und Mediolanum, Claudius Gothicus und Quintillus, 268–270 n. Chr. – *RIC V* 1, 213, 25; 222, 140–142; 239, 1; 243, 45–46; 244, 48; Lafavrie, J., *RNum* 1958, 84–85 Abb. 3; 88, 102–103 Nr. 23 Taf. 9. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält Feldzeichen und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA* oder *LEG*.

66.\* Follis, Aquileia, Licinius I. und II., 317 n. Chr. – *RIC VII* 393–394, 11–13 Taf. 11. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält caduceus und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG NN*.

67. Antoninian, Mediolanum, Gallienus, 260–268 n. Chr. – *RIC V* 1, 172, 472; Amit 163. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält patera und Ruder auf Globus. Leg.: *CONCORDIA EQVIT*. Möglicherweise Fortuna mit komplementärer Legende als C. Vgl. dazu *RIC V* 2, 367–368, 366 und 370–375 Taf. 13, 17 (Postumus); 391, 44 (Victorinus, «barbarous»).

68. Antoninian, Carausius, 286–293 n. Chr. – *RIC V* 2, 527, 757. – Rs.: C. stehend, hält Stab und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG*. Vgl. schon *RIC IV* 3, 77, 77 (keine Benennung, Deutung unsicher).

69.\* Aureus und Follis, Alexandria und Siscia, Severus II., 305–308 n. Chr. – Folles: *RIC VI* 475, 172–175 Taf. 9 (a); 477, 186–188 (b); 669, 52 (c); Aurei: 671, 61 Taf. 16 (d); Alföldi, a. O. 37, 158 Nr. 13 (e). – Rs.: C. stehend, auf Kopf Modius, hält Szepter und Gewand (Folles a–c) bzw. patera und Szepter (Aureus d) bzw. patera und cornucopiae (Aureus e). Leg.: *CONCORDIA* (*LA*) *AVG ET CAES* (Aureus) bzw. *CONCORDIA* (*LA*) *IMPERII* (Follis).

#### Rundplastik

70. Terrakottastatuen. Cosa. Aus Cosa, Tempel der Concordia (vgl. 120). – Unpubliziert. S. Brown, F., *Cosa, The Making of a Roman Town* (1980) 39. – Anscheinend 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Ca. 10 Figuren, bei 2 Exemplaren Schleier, Diadem und Füllhorn erhalten.

71. Marmorstatue. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 6362. Aus Pompeii, Gebäude der Eumachia. – Guida Ruesch Nr. 1002; Spano, G., *RendNapoli N. S.* 36, 1961, 12–16; Richardson 267–269; Kockel, V., *AA* 1986, 458; Zanker, a. O. 9a, 31–32. – Spätagustisch oder tibetisch. – C. stehend, hält Füllhorn. Deutung als C. wahrscheinlich, da das ganze Gebäude der C. Augusta und der Pietas geweiht war. Für die gelegentlich vertretene Ergänzung des Kopfes als Bildnis der Livia fehlen Anhaltspunkte.

72. Marmorstatue. Tunis, Bardo. Aus Gigthis. – Gauckler, P., *RA* 41, 1902, 402 Taf. 15, 7. Antoninisch. – C. stehend, mit Ährenkranz und Schleier, hält l. Füllhorn, r. Arm war auf Szepter gestützt. Inschrift.

#### D. Concordia stehend in Gruppen

##### Architektonisches Relief

73.\* Bogen des Galerius, Pfeiler B, Südost-Seite, 3. Relief v. o. Thessaloniki. – Kinch, K.-F., *L'arc de triomphe de Salonique* (1890) 36–37; Laubscher, H. P., *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* (1975) 52–57 Taf. 29, 40; Meyer, H., *Jdl* 95, 1980, 400–405 Abb. 17. – 303 n. Chr. – Siegesopfer des Diocletian und des Galerius, umgeben von Personifikationen. Zwischen den Herrschern im Hintergrund Homonoia-Concordia mit Diadem, legt r. Hand der Oikumene um die Schulter. Der ikonographische Typus an westlichen Vorbildern orientiert.

##### Römische Sarkophage

74.\* Sarkophage mit vier Szenen aus der Laufbahn römischer Feldherren, z. B. a) Florenz, Uff.; b) (= Iuno 189\*) Frascati, Villa Taverna; c) (= Iuno 188) Mantova, Pal. Ducale; d) Los Angeles, County Mus. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 99–100 Abb. 93, 94; Rossbach, A., *Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmalerei* (1871) 153–162; Levi, A., *Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova* (1931) 86–88 Nr. 186 Taf. 95–96; Rodenwaldt 3–27; Scott Ryberg, I., «Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art», *MAAR* 22, 1955, 165 Abb. 90; Weinstock, St., *RE* XXIII 1 (1957) 751–752 s. v. «Pronuba»; Reekmans 40–41; Brilliant, R., *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (1963) 157–160 Abb. 3; 134; Kampen, N. B., *AJA* 85, 1981, 47–58; Reinsberg, C., *Jdl* 99, 1984, 301–303. – Wichtig zur Deutung der C. die Stelle bei Severianus von Gabala, zit. bei Kantorowicz 8–9. – Um 170–190 n. Chr. – Szenenfolge von Kampf (bzw. Jagd oder Victoria, Zeichen der virtus), Unterwerfung (clementia), Auszugsoffer (pietas); am r. Ende Mann in Toga und Frau verhüllt im Handschlag verbunden. Die Frau von einer Gefährtin, der Mann von einem Togatus begleitet. Zwischen dem Paar im Hintergrund C. mit Diadem stehend, legt beiden Hand um die Schulter. Im Vordergrund Hymenaeus, klein, mit Fackel.

75. Schlachtsarkophag, Deckel. Rom, Mus. Naz. Rom. 112327. Aus Portonaccio. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 92 Abb. 76; Hamberg, P. G., *ActaArch* 7, 1936, 44; idem, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art* (1945) 176–179 Taf. 40; Reekmans 41–42; Andrae, B., in Helbig<sup>4</sup> III Nr. 2126. – Um 190–200 n. Chr. – Auf dem Deckel in der Mitte zwischen Szenen aus der Kindheit und Unterwerfung von Barbaren: Szene der *dextrarum iunctio* mit C. wie auf 74.

76. (= Iuno 186 mit Lit.) Hochzeitssarkophag. Vatikan, Sala delle Muse Inv. 268. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 99; Rossbach, a. O. 74, 94–105; Lippold, *SkulptVatMus III* 1, 79–82 Nr. 522 Taf. 30; Scott Ryberg, a. O. 74, 166 Taf. 59, 94; Reekmans 38 Abb. 9; Andrae, B., in Helbig<sup>4</sup> I Nr. 72. – 3. Viertel 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Hochzeitsszug nach r. Am r. Ende der Brautgarnitur in Toga stehend, hinter ihm Virtus, die ihn bekränzt, und ein sitzender Bärtiger; ihm wird von Venus (?) die verhüllte Braut zugeführt, deren ausgestreckte Hand er ergreift; zwischen beiden im Hintergrund C. stehend, legt beiden Hand um Schulter.

77.\* «Hochzeits»-Sarkophag. Leningrad, Ermitage A 433. Aus Monticelli. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 100–101; Himmelmann, N., in *Festschr. F. Matz* (1962) 120; Jucker, H., *AA* 1966, 512 Anm. 24; Saverkina, I. I., *Römische Sarkophage in der Ermitage* (1979) 38–42 Nr. 14 Taf. 28–29, 34–35; Andrae, B., *SarkRel I* 2 (1980) 16–17; Himmelmann, N., *Über Hirten-Genre in der Antiken Kunst* (1980) 125 Taf. 55; Koch, G., *BonnJbb* 182, 1982, 694; Reinsberg, a. O. 74, 291–317 Abb. 1. – Um 180 n. Chr. – In der Mitte Mann in Toga und verhüllte Frau beim Opfer. Zwischen beiden im Hintergrund C. stehend, mit Diadem und Peplos, der (wie sonst bei Venus) eine Brust freiläßt; sie wendet sich leicht zur Frau und legt ihr die Hand um die Schulter. Der Mann von Victoria be-

kränzt, dahinter Opferpersonal mit Stier, Lictor. Die Frau von Venus mit Amor und Hymenaeus geleitet, dahinter die drei Grazien.

78.\* «Hochzeits»-Sarkophag. Vatikan, Belvedere. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 100–101; Robert, C., *SarkRel III* 2 Nr. 195; Amelung, *SkulptVatMus II* 290–294 Nr. 102 n. Taf. 27; Scott Ryberg, a. O. 74, 165–166 Taf. 59 Abb. 93; Reekmans 36; Himmelmann, a. O. 77, 120 Taf. 36, 2; Horster, M., *AA* 1975, 408–410 Abb. 8a–b; Geyer, A., *Jdl* 93, 1978, 372, 386–387 Abb. 3; Reinsberg, a. O. 74, 291–317 Abb. 2. – Um 190–200 n. Chr. – Mann in Toga und verhüllte Frau beim Opfer an Altar; zwischen beiden im Hintergrund C. mit Diadem stehend. Der Mann von Victoria bekränzt, dahinter zwei Opferdiener mit Stier; hinter der Gemahlin Venus, Amor und zwei Frauen.

79.\* (= Abundantia 5\*, = Honos 32, = Iuno 190) Hochzeitssarkophag. Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 101 Abb. 97; Rossbach, a. O. 74, 40–94; Scott Ryberg, a. O. 74, 166–167 Abb. 95; Matz, F., *Ein römisches Meisterwerk, Jdl* 19. Erg.-H. (1958) 151–153 Taf. 28b; Reekmans 38 Abb. 10; Fittschen, K., *AA* 1971, 117–119; Andrae, B./Jung, H., *AA* 1977, Tabelle zu 434. – Um 180 n. Chr. – Opferszene mit Idealgestalten. Am r. Ende Brautpaar, in Handschlag verbunden, mit Begleitern; zwischen ihnen im Hintergrund C., ohne Diadem, stehend, legt beiden Hand um Schulter.

80. (= Abundantia 7\*) Sarkophag, meist dem Kaiser Balbinus zugewiesen. Rom, Prätextat-Katakomben. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 101–102; Gütschow, M., *Das Museum der Prätextat-Katakomben, MemPontAcc* 4, 2, 1938, 77–109 Taf. 10; Jucker, H., *AA* 1966, 501–514 Abb. 9; Geyer, a. O. 78, 382–393; Andrae, B., *SarkRel I* 2 (1980) 28 ff.; Reinsberg, C., *MarbWPr* 1985, 3 ff.; Goette, H. R., *Jdl* 103, 1988, 419–420 Anm. 79. – Ca. 238 n. Chr. – Links Grabherr in Rüstung und Gemahlin beim Opfer, umgeben von Idealfiguren. Rechts Grabherr in Toga und Gemahlin mit verhülltem Haupt im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen beiden im Vordergrund Hymenaeus (weitgehend verloren), im Hintergrund C. mit Diadem und Schleier stehend, legt beiden Hand um Schulter.

81.\* Säulensarkophag. Rom, Pal. Giustiniani. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 105; Matz/Duhn II Nr. 3098; Horster, M., *AA* 1975, 413–415 Abb. 13b. – Um 230 n. Chr. – In Mittelnische Mann in Toga und verhüllte Frau im Handschlag verbunden. Zwischen beiden im Hintergrund C. mit Diadem, kleiner; über der Gruppe zwei schwebende Erosen einen Giebel bildend.

82. «Brüder-Sarkophag». Neapel, Mus. Naz. 6603. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 102–103; Guida Ruesch Nr. 1053; Reekmans 44–45 Abb. 14; Himmelmann, a. O. 77, 110–124; Stročka, V. M., *Jdl* 83, 1968, 221–239 Abb. 1; Himmelmann, N., *Typologische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs des 3. und 4. Jh. n. Chr.* (1973) 5–6; Geyer, a. O. 78, 369–393; Fittschen, K., *Jdl* 94, 1979, 589–593. – Um 260 n. Chr. – Der Verstorbene in verschiedenen



Aspekten, als Konsul, als Philosoph, als Magistrat mit Camillus. Rechts der Verstorbene mit seiner Gemahlin im Handschlag verbunden; die Frau von Venus bekränzt, hinter dem Mann Genius mit Füllhorn, im Vordergrund Hymenaeus (weitgehend verloren); zwischen dem Paar im Hintergrund C. stehend.

**83.\*** Feldherrn-Adonis-Sarkophag, Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 1987.2. – Dutschke, H., *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien II* (1875) 129 Nr. 316; Heilmeyer, W.-D., *Antikenmuseum Berlin, Die ausgestellten Werke* (1988) 17 Abb. 2. – Anfang 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Mann in Toga und verhüllte Frau im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen beiden Hymenaeus (weitgehend verloren), im Hintergrund C. mit Diadem und Schleier stehend, legt beiden Hand um Schulter. Weitere Szenen: Feldherrn-Opfer mit Pietas, Jagd des Adonis.

**84.** (= Abundantia 8\* mit Lit., = Africa 35 mit Lit., = Annona 3, = Iuno 191 mit Lit.) «Annona-Sarkophag». Rom, Mus. Naz. Rom. 40799. Aus Rom, vor Porta Latina. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 102 Abb. 102; Reekmans 42–43 Abb. 13; Andreae, B., in *Helbig<sup>4</sup> III* Nr. 2122; *idem*, *JbAC* 13, 1970, 85–86 Taf. 3; Uggeri, G., *RendPontAcc* 40, 1967/68, 113–122. – Um 270–280 n. Chr. – In der Mitte hoher Beamter der Annona mit Gemahlin im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen ihnen brennender Räucheraltar, im Hintergrund C. mit Diadem stehend, zur Frau gewandt, legt ihr die Hand auf die Schulter. Seitlich Personifikationen: r. Genius Senatus, Annona (?), Africa; l. Ostia (?), Portus.

**85.** (= Dioskouroi/Castores 75\* mit Lit. und Querverweis) Säulensarkophag. Rom, Mus. Naz. Rom. 203. Von der Via Appia. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 78 Anm. 17; 104 Anm. 68; Rodenwaldt, G., *RM* 38/39, 1923/24, 19–20 Abb. 9; Reekmans 36–37; Andreae, B., in *Helbig<sup>4</sup> III* Nr. 2150; *Mus-NazRom*, *Le sculpture I* 8, 312–315 Nr. VI 18 (L. Musso). – Um 250–260 n. Chr. – In Mittelnische Frau, in venushafter Tracht, legt Mann in Toga Arm um Schulter; zwischen beiden im Hintergrund C. stehend.

**86.\*** Strigilis-Sarkophag (christlich). Vatikan, Mus. Pio Cristiano Inv. 26. – Bovini 110; *idem*, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani* (1949) 198–199, 319 Nr. 130 (um 320–330 n. Chr.); Reekmans 61–65 Abb. 26; Deichmann, F. W. (Hrsg.)/Bovini, G./Brandenburg, H., *Repertorium der christlich antiken Sarkophage I: Rom und Ostia* (1967) 71–72 Nr. 86 Taf. 25. – 1. Drittel 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Im Mittelfeld Mann in Toga und Frau verhüllt, im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen ihnen im Vordergrund Amor und Psyche, im Hintergrund C. mit Diadem stehend, legt beiden Hand um Schulter. In Außenfeldern christliche Szenen. Weitere Beispiele auf christlichen Sarkophagen bei Bovini 103–117; Kötting 885–888; Reekmans 60–65.

#### Mythologische Sarkophag

**87.** (= Apollon/Apollo 428\* mit Lit., = Ares/Mars 386, = Helios/Sol 186, = Hypnos/Somnus 137) Ares-Aphrodite-Sarkophag. Grottaferrata, Abbazia. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 98 Abb. 150; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 24 Nr. 13 Taf. 26, 1;

Schefold, K., *MEFRA* 88, 1976, 778–779 Abb. 14–16; Blome, P., *RM* 90, 1983, 203. – Um 160 n. Chr. – Am l. Ende Vulcanus und Venus, im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen ihnen im Hintergrund C. stehend, legt beiden Arm um Schulter. R. davon Hauptszene mit Aufdeckung der Affäre von Venus und Mars.

**88.** (= Aietes 4\*, = Iason 49\* mit Lit.) Argonauten-Sarkophag, Rom, Prätextat-Katakomben. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 98. 153–154 Abb. 173; Gütschow, a. O. 80, 44–56 Taf. 1; Reekmans 36 Abb. 15; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* Nr. 31 Taf. 71, 1; 74, 2; Blome, a. O. 87, 203. Weitere Exemplare: Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 154; Robert, C., *SarkRel* II Nr. 189–190; Blome, a. O. 201 ff. – Um 160–170 n. Chr. – Am r. Ende gerüsteter Mann und verhüllte Frau, im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen ihnen im Vordergrund Hymenaeus, im Hintergrund C. mit Diadem und Schleier stehend. Gütschow und Sichtermann/Koch deuten das Paar als Darstellung der Verstorbenen. Die in den anderen Szenen durchgehaltene Kohärenz des Themas sowie die von Reekmans beigebrachten Parallelen (vgl. dazu 87) legen die Deutung als Iason und Medea näher.

#### Römisches Grabrelief

**89.\*** Grabrelief. Manziana, Villa G. Tittioni. – Röm. Inst. Neg. 76.460. – Um 180 n. Chr. – Mann und Frau im Handschlag verbunden, im Vordergrund Hymenaeus (weitgehend verloren); zwischen ihnen im Hintergrund C. mit Diadem und Schleier stehend, auf Frau blickend.

#### Lampe

**90.** Tonlampe. Ehem. Pesaro, Slg. Passeri. – Passeri, *Lucernae fictiles Musei Passerii, Pesaro I* (1739) 44–45; Rosbach, a. O. 74, 35–36; Reekmans 37. – Antoninisch. – Mann und Frau im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen ihnen im Hintergrund C. stehend.

#### Münzen

**91.\*** Sesterz, Rom, Titus, 80–81 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp II 258, 177 Taf. 49, 2; lxxv («Pietas»); Hamburg 26; Reekmans 33 («Pietas»). – Rs.: Titus und Domitian, beide in Toga, im Handschlag verbunden. Zwischen ihnen im Hintergrund C. (oder Pietas?) stehend, in reichem Gewand, mit Schleier und Diadem, auf Titus (r.) blickend. Leg.: *PIETAS AVGVST*. Figur im Hintergrund nicht sicher bestimmbar. Aufgrund der Legende Deutung als Pietas möglich; dagegen könnte die spätere Tradition des Typus (93–97) sowie die Tatsache, daß Pietas auf flavischen Münzen selten und meist in anderem Sinn erscheint, für die Deutung als C. sprechen. Der Sinn wäre dann wie bei 93 mit komplementärer Legende.

**92.** Sesterz, Rom, Matidia, 113–117 oder 118–119 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp III 562 zu S. 231 («Marciana»); Reekmans 33 («Pietas»); vgl. Strack, *Reichsprägung II* 67–69. – Rs.: Hadrian und Sabina (?) im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen ihnen im Hintergrund weibliche Figur stehend. Leg.: *PIETAS AVG*. Figur

im Hintergrund nicht sicher bestimmbar, für die Möglichkeit der Deutung als C. s. zu 91.

**93.\*** AE Medaillon, Hadrian und Aelius Verus, 136–137 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp III clxxxiv; Gnechi, *Medaglioni II* 3, 4 Taf. 38, 3; 9, 1 Taf. 42, 7; Strack, *Reichsprägung II* 168; Hamburg 25–26; Reekmans 33. – Rs.: Hadrian und Aelius Verus im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen ihnen im Hintergrund C. stehend, legt beiden Hand um Schulter. Leg.: *CONCORDIA (AVG)*.

**94.\*** Aureus, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Faustina d. Ä., 141–161 n. Chr.; Marc Aurel, 145–160 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp IV 48–49, 326 Taf. 8, 5; 51 f; 87, 611–612 Taf. 13, 4; 289, 1786–1787 Taf. 43, 4; 292, 1801 Taf. 43, 14; lx; Strack, *Reichsprägung III* 109; Hamburg 26; Weinstock, St., *RE* 23, 1 (1957) 753; Fittschen, a. O. 55, 22. – Rs.: Marc Aurel und Faustina d. J. im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen ihnen C. stehend, blickt auf Marc Aurel. Leg.: *VOTA PVBLICA*.

**95.\*** AE Medaillon, Commodus und Crispina, 180–192 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp IV, clxxxiii; Gnechi, *Medaglioni II* 72, 2–3 Taf. 91, 8–9. – Rs.: Commodus und Crispina im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen ihnen im Hintergrund C. stehend, legt beiden Hand um Schulter. Leg.: *VOTA PUBLICA*.

**96.\*** Aureus, Rom, Caracalla, 202 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp V 206, 271 Taf. 33, 16; cxlvi–cxlvii; Béranger, *Principatus* 378. – Rs.: Caracalla und Plautilla im Handschlag verbunden. Zwischen ihnen im Hintergrund C. stehend, legt beiden Hand um Schulter. Leg.: *CONCORDIA FELIX* (Daneben der übliche Typus ohne C., s. u. 139).

**97.** AE Medaillon, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Iulia Paula, 219–220 n. Chr.; Aquilia Severa, 220–222 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp V 605, 420 Taf. 96, 3; 422–423 Taf. 96, 5; 610 \*; vgl. Aureus 555 \* (?); Gnechi, *Medaglioni III* 41, 2. – Rs.: Elagabal und Iulia Paula bzw. Aquilia Severa im Handschlag verbunden, zwischen ihnen C. im Hintergrund stehend, legt beiden Hand um Schulter. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AETERNA* bzw. *CONCORDIA* (Medaillon).

**98.\*** Antoninian, verschiedene Prägestätten, Probus, 276–282 n. Chr. – *RIC* V 2, 52–54, 325–328, 331–342, 345–346 Taf. 2, 17; 87–88, 650–657 Taf. 4, 3, 10–11; 88–89, 663–668 Taf. 3, 14–15; 117, 906. – Rs.: Kaiser und C. im Handschlag verbunden. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MIL(ITVM)*. Typus nicht zu unterscheiden von Darstellungen des Kaiserpaars. Deutung auf C. hier wahrscheinlich, da Probus anscheinend unverheiratet war, eine Kaiserin jedenfalls in seiner Münzprägung keine Rolle spielt. Von hier aus möglicherweise Deutung derselben Typen bei Aurelian, Tacitus und Florian mit der Legende «Concordia militum» zu begründen; aber nicht sicher, da militärische c. auf Münzen auch in Verbindung mit Kaiserinnen proklamiert wird. Vgl. 101, wo statt des Kaisers sein Schutzgott Hercules auftritt, ähnlich 100 mit C. und Sol.

**99.\*** Aureus, Antoninian, Denar, verschiedene Prägestätten, Carausius, 286–293 n. Chr. – *RIC* V 2, 465, 23; 482, 205–208; 510, 551; 514, 600; 517,

622–624 Taf. 16, 5; 518, 634; 523, 702; 528, 761–762; 547, 1077; 548, 1080. – Rs.: Carausius und C., z. T. mit Szepter im Handschlag verbunden. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MIL(ITVM)*. Deutung als C. wahrscheinlich, da bei Carausius auch → Fides, → Pax und Uberitas (→ Ubertas) mit dem Kaiser im Handschlag verbunden dargestellt sind.

**100.\*** Antoninian, Lugdunum und Ticinum, Probus, 276–282 n. Chr. – *RIC* V 2, 22, 23; 51, 323–324 Taf. 2, 15–16; 54, 343–344. – Rs.: C. links stehend, hält in jeder Hand Feldzeichen aufgestellt; gegenüber Sol stehend, r. Hand zu C. erhoben, in l. Hand Globus haltend. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILIT* bzw. *CONCORDIA AVG*. Vgl. *RIC* V 2, 110, 844–850 Taf. 4, 18; Leg.: *PROVIDEN DEOR* (C. mit komplementärer Legende?). S. auch → Providentia und → Fides.

**101.** (= Herakles 3414\*) Aureus, Rom, Maximianus Herculius, 306–307 n. Chr. – *RIC* VI 367, 134; 373, 175–176; Alföldi, a. O. 37, 26–27, 159, 25 Taf. 2, 25. – Rs.: C. verhüllt mit Szepter und Hercules mit Keule, im Handschlag verbunden. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILIT(UM) FELICITAS ROMA-NOR(VM)*.

**102.** Antoninian, Carausius, 286–293 n. Chr. – *RIC* V 2, 547–548, 1078–1079. – Rs.: C. und Victoria im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen ihnen Kranz. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILITVM*.

**103.\*** Aureus und Antoninian, Mediolanum und Siscia, Aurelian, 270–275 n. Chr. – *RIC* V 1, 277, 107; 283, 167; 287, 198–202 Taf. 7, 97; Variante: 203. – Rs.: Zwei Concordien halten zusammen Feldzeichen zwischen sich aufgestellt, dazu jede für sich weiteres Feldzeichen. Variante: eine C. hält Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILI(T)*. Vgl. den Typus mit drei Victorien: *RIC* V 2, 508, 530.

**104.** Antoninian, Carausius, 286–293 n. Chr. – *RIC* V 2, 515, 601. – Rs.: Zwei Concordien, einander gegenüberstehend, zwischen ihnen Feldzeichen aufgestellt. Leg.: ... *CORD*...

**105.** Antoninian, Lugdunum, Diocletian und Mit-herrscher, 293–294 n. Chr. – *RIC* V 2, 223, 17; 262, 354–355; 297, 628; 304, 678; Béranger, *Principatus* 381–382. – Rs.: Zwei Concordien im Handschlag verbunden; beide halten Füllhörner. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG*. Vgl. den Typus mit zwei Victorien: *RIC* V 2, 103, 799–800; 113, 875–876.

#### E. Frauen des Kaiserhauses als Concordia

##### Münzen

**106.\*** Sesterz, Rom, Caligula, 37–38 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp I 152, 36–37 Taf. 28, 4; cxlv–cxlvi; Grant, M., *Roman Imperial Money* (1954) 140–143 Abb. 49. – Rs.: Die drei Schwestern Caligulas als Personifikationen, stehend: l. Agrippina als Salus-Securitas; r. Iulia Livilla als Fortuna, in der Mitte Drusilla als C. mit patera und Füllhorn. Leg.: *AGRIPPINA DRVILLA IVLIA*. Deutung als C. aufgrund der Attribute nicht völlig eindeutig; jedoch wegen der Identifizierung mit Drusilla, der Lieblingsschwester Caligulas, gut begründet.



**107.\*** Aureus und Denar, Rom, Nero, 64–68 n. Chr. – BMC Emp I 208, 52–55 Taf. 39, 11–12; clxvi, clxxiii–clxxiv. – Rs.: Nero stehend, mit Toga, Strahlenkranz, patera und Szepter; r. Kaiserin stehend, verhüllt, mit patera und Füllhorn. Leg.: AVGVSIVS AVGVSTA. Deutung der Kaiserin als C. nicht ganz sicher, aber in Anschluß an **44–51** und **106** begründet.

## F. Concordia als Attribut

### Münzen

**108.\*** AE Medaillon und Sesterz, Rom, Antoninus Pius, 140–143/44 n. Chr.; Faustina d.Ä., 141–161 n. Chr. – BMC Emp IV 198–199, 1236–1240 Taf. 28, 8; 229, 1416; 230\*; lx. lxxxi; Gneccchi, *Medaglioni* III 26, 124 Taf. 148, 11; Strack, *Reichsprägung* III 96–97; Hamberg 26–27; Weinstock, St., *RE* 23, 1 (1957) 752–753 (auch zu Vorläufern der Eheschließung vor Kaiserstatuen; vgl. dazu auch Wilcken, U., *Zeitschr. Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, röm. Abteilung* 29, 1909, 504); Reekmans 27, 35; Kantorowicz 15; Fittschen, a. O. 55, 22. – Rs.: Antoninus Pius und Faustina d.Ä., jeder auf Basis stehend, im Handschlag verbunden; Antoninus hält in l. Hand kleine stehende C. mit Füllhorn und patera, Faustina hält Szepter. Zwischen beiden kleines Paar, im Handschlag verbunden, dazwischen Altar. Leg.: CONCORDIAE (AVG).

**109.\*** AR Medaillon, Rom, Iulia Domna, 196–211 n. Chr. – BMC Emp V 169 Anm. zu 97; Gneccchi, *Medaglioni* I 45, 2 Taf. 22, 4. – Vs.: Büste der Iulia Domna mit Füllhorn, hält kleine C. mit Doppel-Füllhorn und patera. Deutung auf C. wohl sicher durch das Doppel-Füllhorn, das auf severischen Münzen fast nur bei C. vorkommt.

**110.\*** Denar und Sesterz, Rom, Commodus, 181–185 n. Chr. – BMC Emp IV 714, 144–145 Taf. 94, 18; 717, 157–158 Taf. 95, 2; 777, 479 Taf. 103, 14; 780, 492; 781, 497–497A; 783, 502; 790, 523 Taf. 105, 3; clviii. – Rs.: Annona stehend, hält in r. Hand kleine C. mit patera und Szepter, in l. Hand Füllhorn; seitlich Modius mit Ähren und Heck eines Schiffes. Leg.: ANN(O) (AVG).

## G. Statuen von unsicherem Typus

**111.** Statue der C., Rom, 164 v. Chr. vom Censor Q. Marcius Philippus an öffentlichem Platz geweiht; 154 v. Chr. Versuch des Censors L. Cassius Longinus, sie in der Curia zu weihen. Cic. *dom.* 130, 136. – Skard 72–73; Scullard, H. H., *Roman Politics 220–150 B. C.* (1951) 221–233; Zehnacker, H., *Moneta* I (1973) 514 (unzutreffend); Levick 220; Coarelli, F., *Il Foro Romano II. Periodo repubblicano e augusteo* (1985) 155–156.

**112.** Statue der C., Casinum, 40 v. Chr. von den Duoviri M. Papius und L. Matrius wiederhergestellt, mit Altar etc. versehen. Degr. *ILLRP* 562a. – Pais, E., *Dalle guerre puniche a Cesare Augusto* (1918) 369–373; Weinstock, St., *Divus Julius* (1971) 263.

**113.** Statue der C., Rom, zusammen mit Statuen der Pax und der Salus Publica 11 v. Chr. von Augustus

aus Geldern, die Senat und Volk für Kaiserbildnisse gestiftet hatten, aufgestellt. Cass. Dio 54, 35, 1–2; Ov. *fast.* 3, 881–882; vgl. *CIL* II 3349. – Scott, K., *ArRelW* 35, 1938, 125–126; Liegle, J., *Hermes* 77, 1942, 299–301; Bömer, F., P. *Ovidius Naso, Die Fasten* (1958) II 204; Hanell, K., *OpuscRom* 2, 1960, 95–98; Weinstock, St., *JRS* 50, 1960, 48–49; *InscrIt* XIII 2, 433; Richard 347–348, 358–359; Colini, A. M., *RendPontAcc* 43, 1970–1971, 68–69; Torelli, M., *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (1982) 35; Simon, E., *Eirene und Pax. Sitzungsber. Wiss. Ges. Univ. Frankfurt am Main* 24, 3 (1988) 72.

**114.** Statue der C., bezeugt durch sechseckige Basis, Cori, Pal. Riozzi. – *CIL* X 6508; Peter 921. – Spätrepublikanisch. – Typus der Statue unbekannt, wahrscheinlich Standbild. Geweiht von M. Aulus Buxsus und L. Saleivius Philocles (Freigelassener).

**115.** Statuenbasis und Altar für C. Augusta, Rom, Forum Boarium. – Colini, A. M., *RendPontAcc* 43, 1970/71, 55–70. – Augusteisch. – Unsicher, ob Stand- oder Sitzbild. Anscheinend zu einem Compitum gehörig. Identifizierung mit der Weihung des Augustus von 11 v. Chr. (**113**) unbegründet: Da jenes Bildwerk sehr wertvoll gewesen sein muß (Gold? Silber?), wäre eine Travertin-Basis unwahrscheinlich.

**116.** Statuette der C. aus Silber, Ostia; Stiftung eines C. Antistius Hermes in ein Lokal eines unbekannten Collegiums. – Antoninisch. – Calza, G., *Epigraphica* 1, 1939, 28–36; Herz, P., *BullCom* 87, 1980–81, 153–157. – Als weitere Stiftungen von Bildwerken werden ausschließlich Bildnisse männlicher Mitglieder des Kaiserhauses genannt. C. ist in diesem Zusammenhang zu sehen. Der Typus ist unbekannt.

Die vielen Statuen und Statuetten der C. aus der Kaiserzeit, die aus Weih-, Stiftungs- und sonstigen Inschriften bekannt sind, können in diesem Zusammenhang nicht aufgeführt und behandelt werden (würden aber eine Bearbeitung lohnen). Einige Beispiele zusammengestellt (sehr zufällig und auf veralteter Materialgrundlage) bei Engelhard 54–55; Axtell 12–13; Pais, a. O. **112**, 370 Anm. 3.

## H. Tempel der Concordia, deren Kultbilder für die Ausbildung der Ikonographie von Bedeutung oder charakteristisch gewesen sein müssen

**117.** Tempel der C., Rom, Forum, am Fuß des Kapitols; nach der Überlieferung 367/66 v. Chr. aufgrund eines Votums des Camillus errichtet. Ov. *fast.* 1, 641–645; Plut. *Cam.* 42. – Rebert, H. F./Marceau, H., *MAAR* 5, 1925, 53, 55–56; Platner/Ashby 138 s. v. «Concordia, aedes, templum»; Momigliano 89–104; *InscrIt* XIII 2, 399; Weinstock, St., *Divus Julius* (1971) 260–265; Levick 219–220; Richardson 260–261; Gasparri, C., *Aedes Concordiae Augustae* (1979) 16, 61; Coarelli, F., *Roma* (1980) 62–65; Fears, J. R., in *ANRW* II 17, 2 (1981) 740–741; Hafner, G., *AA* 1984, 591–594. – Authentizität der Überlieferung über den Tempelbau des Camillus umstritten. Über Kultbild nichts überliefert.

**118.** Aedicula der C., Rom, Comitium, auf der Graecostasis, 304 v. Chr. von Cn. Flavius errichtet. Liv. 9, 46; Plin. *nat.* 33, 19. – Aust 833; Platner/Ashby 138 s. v. «Concordia, aedicula»; Momigliano 95, 99; Levick 220–221; Richardson 261–262; Gasparri, a. O. **117**, 16; Hafner, a. O. **117**, 594. – Über Kultbild nichts bekannt.

**119.** Tempel der C., Rom, Arx; 218 v. Chr. von L. Manlius gelobt, 216 v. Chr. geweiht. Liv. 22, 33, 7; 23, 21, 7; *Fast. Ant. mai.* und *Fast. Praen.* zum 5. Februar: *InscrIt* XIII 2, 406–407. – Münzer, F., *RE* XIV 1 (1928) 1222 s. v. «Manlius»; Platner/Ashby 137–138 s. v. «Concordia, aedes»; Lippold, A., *Consules* (1963) 338–339; Richardson 262–263; Gasparri, a. O. **117**, 16. – Über Kultbild nichts bekannt.

**120.** Heiligtum mit Altar, später Tempel der C., Cosa, Forum, neben Curia und Comitium. – Brown, F., *Cosa, The Making of a Roman Town* (1980) 30, 38–39. – Ende 3. Jh. (Heiligtum) bzw. 1. Viertel 2. Jh. (Tempel). – Über Kultbild nichts überliefert. Möglicherweise folgten die Votivstatuen 70 dem Typus des Kultbilds.

**121.** Tempel der C., Rom, Forum, am Fuß des Kapitols; 121 v. Chr. von L. Opimius gebaut (Neubau von **117**?). Varro *l. l.* 5, 156; App. *civ.* 1, 26, 120; Cic. *Sest.* 140; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17; Fest. p. 470 Lindsay; Aug. *civ.* 3, 25; *Fast. Ant. mai.* und *Fast. Pinc.* zum 22. Juli(?): *InscrIt* XIII 2, 486–487. – Aust 832–833; Rebert/Marceau, a. O. **117**, 56–64; Platner/Ashby 138–139 s. v. «Concordia, aedes, templum»; Levick 218–220; Richardson 263–265; Gasparri, a. O. **117**, 17, 31–36, 60–63, 130; Coarelli, a. O. **117**, 62–63; Hafner, a. O. **117**, 594–596. – Über Kultbild nichts bekannt.

**122.** Tempel für C. nova, Rom; 44 v. Chr. vom Senat zu Ehren Caesars beschlossen. Cass. Dio 44, 4, 5. – Weinstock, St., *Divus Julius* (1971) 260–266. – Vielleicht nicht ausgeführt.

**123.** Tempel der C. in der Porticus der Livia, Rom, Oppius; Porticus nach 15 v. Chr. von Augustus gebaut, 7 v. Chr. von Livia und Tiberius eingeweiht; Tempel der C. von Livia errichtet. Ov. *fast.* 6, 637–640; Suet. *Aug.* 29; Cass. Dio 54, 23, 6; 55, 8, 2; weitere Quellen bei Lugli, I., *Fontes ad topographiam veteris urbis Romae pertinentes* III lib. X (1955) 129 Nr. 1–2; 185–187 Nr. 386–397; Fragment der *Forma urbis*: Carettoni, G./Colini, A./Cozza, L./Gatti, G., *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica* (1960) 69–70 Taf. XVIII. – Jordan, H./Huelsen, Chr., *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* I 3 (1907) 315–316; Platner/Ashby 423 s. v. «Porticus Liviae»; *InscrIt* XIII 2, 469; Grimal, P., *Les jardins romains* (1969)<sup>8</sup> 176–178; Colini, a. O. **115**, 67; Coarelli, F., *Guida archeologica di Roma* (1974) 206; Richardson 265–270; Bourdeau Flory 309–330; Zanker, P., in *Urbis. Espace Urbain et histoire* (Ecole Française Rome 1987). – Über Kultbild nichts bekannt.

**124.** Tempel der C. Augusta, Rom, Forum, am Fuß des Kapitols; 7 v. Chr. von Tiberius, zugleich im Namen seines verstorbenen Bruders Drusus, gelobt, 10 n. Chr. von ihm geweiht (Neubau von **121**). Ov. *fast.* 1, 639–650; Suet. *Tib.* 20; Cass. Dio 55, 8, 1–2; 56,

25, 1; *Fast. Verul.* zum 16. Januar: *InscrIt* XIII 2, 398–400. Weitere Quellen bei Gasparri, a. O. **117**, 13–15; Fr. der *Forma Urbis*: Carettoni/Colini/Cozza/Gatti, a. O. **123**, 75–76 Taf. XXI 19 und B 6. – Darstellung (mit Kultbild): **12**; Nachklang des Kultbilds viell. auch **10–11**. Vgl. zu **128**. – Rebert/Marceau, a. O. **117**, 54–55, 64–75; Platner/Ashby 138–140 s. v. «Concordia, aedes, templum»; Vermeule, C. C., *JHS* 77, 1957, 284; Richard 345–349; Pekáry, Th., *RM* 73/74, 1966/67, 105–133; Kraft, K., *Zur Münzprägung des Augustus* (1968) 49–51; Zanker, P., *Forum Romanum* (1972) 19–23; Gros, P., *Aurea Tempia* (1976) 91–92, 146–147; Levick 224–226; Richardson 270–272; Gasparri, a. O. **117**; Coarelli, a. O. **117**, 62–63; Bourdeau Flory 323–324; s. zu **10–12**, **128**. – Kultbild thronend, Kopf verhüllt, hält Szepter und patera. Altar von Livia gestiftet. Auf der Türschwelle caduceus aus Bronze eingelassen (Gasparri, a. O. **117**, 40 Abb. S. X).

**125.** Tempel der C., Patavium, zu erschließen aus dem Collegium der Concordiales. – *CIL* V 1, 2307. 2825. 2843. 2865. 2869. 2872. 2874–2875 S. 268 (Th. Mommsen); vgl. 3130 (Vicenza); Gasparotto, C., *Patavium* (1927) 36; *idem*, *Padova Romana* (o. J.) 42–43. – Über Kultbild nichts bekannt.

Weitere Heiligtümer der C. im ganzen Reich können hier nicht aufgeführt werden; eine Zusammenstellung fehlt bisher.

## I. Varia

**126.** Gemälde mit C. (und Amicitia?) eines unbekannten Malers Habron. Plin. *nat.* 35, 141. – Zeit, Ort und Aussehen unbekannt.

## K. Deutung als C. unsicher

Deutungen als C. sind bei verschiedenen weiblichen Idealfiguren ausgesprochen worden, die Unsicherheiten sind jedoch wegen der wechselnden und wenig charakteristischen Ikonographie der C. besonders groß. Es ist darum weniger als bei anderen Gestalten sinnvoll, die gelegentlich als C. gedeuteten Figuren, etwa mit Füllhorn und Schale, vollständig zu erfassen. Einige Beispiele:

**127.** Marmortalter für C. Manlius. Vatikan, Mus. Greg. Prof. 9964. Aus dem Theater von Caere. – Niebling, G., *FuF* 26, 1950, 148–150; Scott Ryberg, a. O. 74, 84–87; Herrmann, W., *Römische Götteraltäre* (1961) 95–97 Nr. 31; Simon, E., in Helbig<sup>4</sup> I Nr. 1058; Alföldi, A., *Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus* (1973) 34–35; Bianchi Bandinelli, R./Torelli, M., *Etruria Roma* (1976) Schede Roma Nr. 84; Torelli, a. O. **113**, 16–20. – Um 40 n. Chr. – Rs.: auf einem steilen Felsen weibliche Figur auf Thron sitzend, hält Füllhorn und Schale. L. drei Frauen, die sich in kultischer Verehrung (supplicatio?) nähern. R. drei Männer mit Toga in heftiger Aktion (Streit? Schuldeneinzziehung?). Nach der Ikonographie Deutung als C. möglich, die auch an den Compita zusammen mit den La-

ren verehrt wurde (115; Laren auf den beiden Nebenseiten des Altars), nach dem Kontext aber auch Pietas denkbar (Bianchi Bandinelli/Torelli), ebenso Fortuna; der Fels könnte schließlich auch auf eine Lokalgottheit deuten.

128. Gewerberelief (Ladenschild). Vatikan, Gall. statue, Inv. 568. – Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II 611 Nr. 401a Taf. 53; Vermeule, C. C., *JHS* 77, 1957, 284 Anm. 11; Guarducci, M., *RendPontAcc* 34, 1961/62, 93–110; Simon, E., in Helbig<sup>4</sup> I Nr. 140; Gasparri, a. O. 117, 23–25. – Fassade eines Gebäudes mit sechs Säulen an der Front und seitlich vorspringenden Flügeln. Darin auf gemeinsamem Thron Bilder der Roma und einer weiteren weiblichen Figur, verschleiert, mit Füllhorn, mit der r. Hand aus patera über Rundaltar offernd. Die Deutung von Guarducci als Tempel mit Kultbild der C. am Forum Romanum zuletzt von Gasparri mit beachtenswerten Gründen angezweifelt.

129. Blaue Glaspaste. München, Münzslg. A 287. – AGDI 3 Nr. 3127. – Kaiserzeit. – Stehende Frau in Chiton und Mantel, hält patera und Füllhorn, l. Arm auf Säule gestützt. Deutung als C. nach 45–47 etc., wegen der sehr verbreiteten Attribute nicht zwingend.

130. Rote Glaspaste. Kopenhagen, Thorv. Mus. I 603. – Fossing, *ThorvGems* Nr. 667 Taf. 8. – Kaiserzeit. – Stehende Frau in Chiton und Mantel, hält patera und Füllhorn. S. zu 129.

131. Fragmente von Bilderschüsseln, Terra sigillata. Florenz, Mus. Arch.; Rom, Mus. Naz. Rom. – 2. Hälfte 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Klumbach, H., *JbRGZM* 8, 1961, 191–194 Taf. 73, 1; 73, 2. – Sitzende weibliche Figur auf Thron, hält Patera und Füllhorn. Nach Klumbach Fortuna oder Concordia.

132. Tonlampen; Hannover, Kestner-Mus. K. S. 1022; Mainz, RGZM 33782. – Klumbach, a. O. 131, 190–194 Taf. 72, 3. – Mitte 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Sitzende weibliche Figur auf Thron, hält patera und Füllhorn. Nach Klumbach Fortuna oder Concordia.

133. Bronzestatuette. Trier, Rhein. Landesmus. G 53. – Menzel, H., *Die römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland II: Trier* (1966) 35 Nr. 74 Taf. 34. – Kaiserzeit. – Stehende weibliche Figur mit Diadem, in Chiton und Mantel, hält patera und Füllhorn.

#### L. Weitere Denkmäler, die mit dem Begriff der concordia verbunden sind

C. wird nicht nur als Personifikation dargestellt, sondern auch im Bild anderer Idealgestalten assoziiert und in Handlungsszenen exemplifiziert. Hier werden mit wenigen Ausnahmen nur Münzen und einige andere Werke der Kleinkunst aufgeführt, deren Deutung im Sinne der c. durch eine Beischrift sicher ist. Sie können als Grundlage für die Interpretation einer großen Zahl weiterer Denkmäler der verschiedensten Gattungen dienen, die Assoziationen dieser Art wecken sollten – und die z. T. weit älter sind als die frühesten Beispiele mit ausdrücklicher erklärender Beischrift. Dabei ist jeweils zu berücksichtigen, daß viele dieser Bildmotive auch durch andere Legenden in anderen

Aspekten erklärt werden können. Es wurde versucht, alle Motive und Varianten zu erfassen, jedoch jeweils nur in ausgewählten Beispielen.

#### a) Verbindung durch Handschlag (*dextrarum iunctio*)

134. (= Italia 9\* mit Lit.) Denar, Rom, Q. Fufius Calenus und Mucius Cordus, ca. 70 v. Chr. – Crawford, *RRC* 403/1; Hölscher, T., *JdI* 95, 1980, 278. – Vs.: Gestaffelte Köpfe von Virtus und Honos (= Honos 8). Leg. *HO.VIRT/KALENI*. Rs.: Italia und Roma im Handschlag verbunden. Leg.: *ITAL.RO/CORDI*. Frühestes römisches Beispiel der *dextrarum iunctio* als politisches Motiv.

135. Denar, Rom, Faustina d. Ä., 141–161 n. Chr. – BMC Emp IV 44, 298–300 Taf. 7, 13; 65, 466; lx; Strack, *Reichsprägung* III 96–97. – Rs.: Antoninus Pius in Toga und Faustina d. Ä. im Handschlag verbunden. Leg.: *CONCORDIAE*.

136.\* Aureus, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus, 161–162 n. Chr. – BMC Emp IV 386, 7–9 Taf. 53, 13; 390\*; 391, 31–32 Taf. 54, 3 etc.; 518\* und 844 Taf. 72, 6; 521†; 523, 856–862 Taf. 71, 3 etc.; Hamburg 25 Taf. 1 l–m. – Rs.: Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus, beide in Toga, im Handschlag verbunden. Leg.: *CONCORDIAE* *AVGVSTOR*.

137. AE Medaillon, Lucilla, nach 164 n. Chr. – BMC Emp IV cxlviii; Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 50, 2 Taf. 76, 1. – Rs.: Lucius Verus und Lucilla im Handschlag verbunden. Leg.: *CONCORDIA FELIX*.

138. Sesterz, Rom, Caracalla und Geta, 211–212 n. Chr. – BMC Emp V 407, 232 Taf. 60, 3. – Rs.: Caracalla und Geta, beide gerüstet, im Handschlag verbunden, von Hercules bzw. Liber bekränzt. Leg.: *CONCORDIAE AVGG*.

139. Aureus und Denar, Rom, Caracalla und Plautilla, 202–205 n. Chr. – BMC Emp V 206–207, 272–274 Taf. 33, 20; 233, 390 Taf. 37, 12; 235, 400–404 Taf. 37, 18, 20, Taf. 38, 1; 237, 418–419 Taf. 38, 7; cxlvi. cliv–cliv. – Rs.: Caracalla und Plautilla im Handschlag verbunden. Leg.: *CONCORDIA FELIX* bzw. *CONCORDIAE AETERNAE*.

140. Aureus, Rom, Septimius Severus und Caracalla, 201–211 n. Chr. – BMC Emp V 214, 312 Taf. 34, 19; 255 §; 366\*. – Rs.: Caracalla und Geta, beide in Toga, einander gegenüberstehend, halten zusammen kleine Victoria. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM*.

141. AU Medaillon, Siscia, Constantius Chlorus, 305–306 n. Chr. – RIC VI 472, 148; Gnechi, *Medaglioni* I 13, 1 Taf. 5, 9. – Rs.: Constantius Chlorus und Severus, beide in Toga, einander gegenüberstehend; Severus erhält Globus von Constantius. Zwischen ihnen vota-Kranz mit Angabe XX. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG ET CAESS*.

142. Aureus und Denar, Illyricum, Gallien und Spanien, Vespasian, ca. 69–72/3 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 69\*; 74, 369 Taf. 12, 6; 78†; 85, 414–416 Taf. 14, 11–13; vgl. 60, 4–7; lv. lviii. lxiii; Hamburg 24. – Rs.: Zwei Soldaten, jeder einen Legionsadler haltend, im

Handschlag verbunden. Leg.: *CONSEN(SVS) EXERCIT(VS)*.

143. Aureus, Rom, Commodus, 186 n. Chr. – BMC Emp IV 724, 197–198 Taf. 96, 2; clx; Hamburg 28. – Rs.: Vier Soldaten mit Feldzeichen, die beiden mittleren im Handschlag verbunden. Im Zentrum im Hintergrund Commodus in Militärkleidung stehend. Leg.: *CONC MIL*.

144.\* Goldgürtel mit Relief-Medaillons. Dumbarton Oaks Collection 37.33. – Kantorowicz 4, 16; Ross, M. C., *Cat. of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Coll.* 2 (1965) 37–39 Nr. 38 Taf. 30–32 und Farbtaf. A. – 6.–7. Jh. – Ehepaar im Handschlag verbunden; zwischen ihnen im Hintergrund Christus stehend. Leg.: *EX ΘΕΟΥ-ΟΜΟΝΥΑ*, im Abschnitt *ΧΑΡΙΣ ΥΠΑ*.

#### b) Sonstige Darstellungen der Verbundenheit menschlicher Personen

145. Aureus, Cyzicus, Diocletian, Maximianus Herculeus, Constantius Chlorus, Galerius, 284–295 n. Chr. – RIC V 2, 251, 292; 254, 313; 290, 601; 293, 615–616 Taf. 12, 15; Pink, K., *NumZ* 64, 1931, 43 (datiert 293 n. Chr.). – Rs.: Die beiden Kaiser, in Toga, auf sella curulis nach l. sitzend, jeder einen Globus haltend; beide zusammen von einer Victoria bekränzt. Leg.: *CONCORDIAE AVGG NN*. Vgl. Gnechi, *Medaglioni* I 13, 6 Taf. 5, 7; Leg.: *PERPETVA CONCORDIA AVGG*.

146. AE Medaillon, Caracalla, 199 n. Chr. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 77, 2 Taf. 95, 3. – Rs.: Caracalla und Geta, beide gerüstet, an Dreifußaltar offernd, von zwei Victorien bekränzt. Leg.: *CONCORDIAE AVGG*. Vgl. BMC Emp VI 144, 307 (= Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 85–86, Alessandro Severo e Orbiana 2 Taf. 102, 3; der Tempel im Hintergrund kaum der der C.); RIC V 2, 586, 1–2; RIC VI 279, 1 (= Gnechi, *Medaglioni* I 12, Massimiano Erculeo 1 Taf. 5, 3).

#### c) Büsten

Vgl. 134 (Vs.).

147. Denar, Spanien/Gallien, anonyme Prägung des Galba, 68 n. Chr. – BMC Emp I 293 † Taf. 50, 3; cxcii; Kraay, C. M., *NC* 1949, 141–142; Martin, a. O. 7, 33. 50. 82 Nr. 98 Taf. 9. – Vs.: Büsten der Hispania und der Gallia einander gegenüber; unter ihnen Füllhorn bzw. Sechseckschild. Zwischen ihnen Victoria auf Globus, darüber Mondsichel und Stern. Leg.: *CONCORDIA HISPANIARVM ET GALLIARVM*.

148. Aureus und Denar, Rom, Septimius Severus und Söhne, 199–206 n. Chr. – BMC Emp V 185 †; 196\*; 204, 260 Taf. 33, 8; 207, 275 Taf. 33, 17; 233, 389 Taf. 37, 11; 298 †. – Rs.: Büsten des Septimius Severus mit Strahlenkranz und der Julia Domna mit Halbmond über dem Scheitel, parallel hintereinandergestaffelt. Leg.: *CONCORDIAE AETERNAE*. Vgl. BMC Emp V 360\*.

149. AE Medaillons, Philippus Arabs und Familie, 244–249 n. Chr. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 97–99, 1–2. 4. 6–17 Taf. 108, 10; 109, 1–8. – Vs.: Büsten des Philippus sen. und der Otacilia gestaffelt nach r., gegen-

über Büste des Philippus iun. nach l. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM*.

150. AE Medaillon, Traianus Decius und Familie, 249–251 n. Chr. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 101, 1 Taf. 110, 5. – Vs.: Büsten des Traianus Decius und der Etruscilla einander gegenüber. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM*. Rs.: Büsten des Herennius und des Hostilian einander gegenüber. Leg.: *PIETAS AVGVSTORVM*.

151. Bronzering, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 993. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 993; Neverov, O. J., *WZRoStock* 19, 1970, 610 Taf. 29, 6. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Männliche und weibliche Büste einander gegenüber. Beischrift: *CONCORDIA*.

152. Goldring. München, Antikenslg. – Henkel, F., *Die römischen Fingerringe der Rheinlande* (1913) 13–14 Nr. 87; 332; CIL XIII 10024, 56. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Drei gelötete Auflagen. In der Mitte verschränkte Hände, auf den Seiten männl. bzw. weibl. Kopf, nach innen gewendet (wohl Marc Aurel und Faustina d. J.). Beischrift: *SIT IN EVM CONCORDIA (animo)*.

Christliche Beispiele mit Beischrift *OMONOIA* bei Kantorowicz 11, 13.

#### d) Verschränkte Hände

Vgl. 152.

153. Denar, Mussidius Longus, 42 v. Chr., = 4. Vgl. Quinar, Octavian und Antonius, ca. 39 v. Chr., = 5. Rs.; Beziehung auf C. durch Vs. Ältere Beispiele des Typus auf Münzen: Crawford, *RRC* 450/2; 451/1, 480/6. Auf Grabstelen: Zanker, P., *JdI* 90, 1975, 288–289 Abb. 22.

154. Aureus, Denar, Sesterz, Dupondius, As, Rom, Nerva, 96–97 n. Chr. – BMC Emp III 1–2, 4–9 Taf. 1, 2–5; 4–5, 25–30 Taf. 1, 14–16; 7–8, 53–55 Taf. 2, 9–10; 14, 86 Taf. 4, 1 usw.; xxxvii; Amit 151; Hamburg 20–21 Taf. 1h–i. – Rs.: Zwei verschränkte Hände; sie halten z. T. einen Legionsadler, der auf eine Prora gestellt ist. Leg.: *CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM*.

155. As, Rom, Marc Aurel, 174–175 n. Chr. – BMC Emp IV 638, 1495–1497 Taf. 84, 9; cxl. – Rs.: Verschränkte Hände, halten gemeinsam Legionsadler. Leg.: *CONCORD EXERC*.

156.\* Antoninian, Rom, Balbinus und Pupienus, 238 n. Chr. – BMC Emp VI 256–258, 67–94 Taf. 47. – Rs.: Zwei verschränkte Hände. Legg.: *AMOR MVTVVS AVGG, CARITAS MVTVA AVGG* (→ Caritas 1a\*-b), *CONCORDIA AVGG, FIDES MVTVA AVGG, PATRES SENATUS, PIETAS MVTVA AVGG*.

157. Goldring. Ehem. Darmstadt, Hess. Landesmus. (verschollen). – Henkel, a. O. 152, 32 Nr. 222; 322; Weinstock, St., *RE* XXIII 1 (1957) 755 (weitere Beispiele). – Kaiserzeit. – Zwei verschränkte Hände. Beischrift: *OMONOIA*. Vgl. Henkel, a. O. 152, 196 Nr. 2217 mit Beischrift: *FIDES*.

158. As, Rom, Antoninus Pius, 161 n. Chr. – BMC Emp IV 363, 2114 Taf. 51, 8; xcii; Strack, *Reichsprägung* III 161–162. – Rs.: Drei verschränkte Hände. Leg.: *CONCORD*.



## e) Kaiser einzeln

159. AE Medaillon, Geta, 203–208 n. Chr. – BMC Emp V clxxvi; Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 78, 3–4 Taf. 95, 9–10; Hamburg 28–29. – Rs.: Geta zwischen fünf aufgestellten Feldzeichen stehend. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILITVM*.

160. AU Medaillon, Claudius Gothicus, 268–270 n. Chr. – RIC V 1, 211, 1. – Rs.: Claudius Gothicus stehend, hält zwei Feldzeichen. Leg.: *CONCORDIA EXERCITVS*.

161. AE, Constantius II., 335–361 n. Chr.; Vetrano, 350 n. Chr.; Constantius Gallus, 351–354 n. Chr. – Cohen VII 439, 3; VIII 3–4, 1; 32, 1–3. – Rs.: Kaiser in Rüstung stehend, hält in jeder Hand Labarum. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILITVM*.

## f) Kaiser mit Gottheiten

162. Sesterz, Rom, Vespasian, 71 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 113 § Taf. 20, 3; xxii, xlvi; Hamburg 27; Bé-ranger, *Principatus* 374; Kunkel, H., *Der römische Genius*, RM 20. Erg.-H. (1974) 38. 130 Nr. 2. – Rs.: Kaiser im Panzer stehend, hält Victoria und Zweig; hinter ihm Genius Senatus in Toga stehend, hält Zweig, bekränzt den Kaiser. Leg.: *CONCORDIA SENATVI*. Vgl. BMC Emp I 359, 260 a und § Taf. 59, 3.

163. Antoninian, Cyzicus, Florianus, 276 n. Chr.; Probus, 276–282 n. Chr. – RIC V 1, 360, 116; RIC V 2, 117, 907–908. – Rs.: Kaiser stehend, von Victoria bekränzt. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILITVM*.

164. Antoninian, verschiedene Prägestätten, Aurelianus, 270–275 n. Chr.; Diocletian und Mitherr-scher, ca. 293–298 n. Chr.; Constantius und Mitherr-scher, 305–307 n. Chr. – RIC V 1, 303, 342; RIC V 2, 246, 256–258; 249, 284 Taf. 12, 5; 253, 306; 255, 321 etc.; RIC VI 283, 25–26; 355, 47; 358, 68–70; 465, 91–92; 531, 13–16 Taf. 12, etc.; 670, 59–60; 675, 84–85. – Rs.: Kaiser empfängt Victoria auf Glo-bus (bzw. Globus oder Victoria allein) von Iuppiter. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILITVM*. Variante: *CONCORDIA(E) AVGG*.

## g) Gottheiten

165. (= Ares/Mars 223\*) Aureus, Denar, As, Tar-raco und Lugdunum, Vitellius und Vespasian, 69 n. Chr. – BMC Emp I 385, 81–85 Taf. 61, 16–18; 388–389, 99–102 Taf. 64, 10; 390–391, 110–112 Taf. 62, 1–2; 400, 83 bis; ccxxix; BMC Emp II 67, 349 Taf. 10, 17; lv; Hamburg 24–25. – Rs.: Mars, nackt mit wehendem Mantel, ausschreitend, hält Lanze und Legionsadler mit Vexillum. Leg.: *CONSENSVS EXERCITVM*.

166. As, Tarraco, Vitellius, 69 n. Chr. – BMC Emp I 389 \*; ccxxix. – Rs.: → Hispania stehend, hält Rund-schild und zwei Speere. Leg.: *CONSENSVS HISPANIARVM*.

167. Goldring. Ehem. Metz (verschollen). – Henkel, a. O. 152, 192 Nr. 2137. – Kaiserzeit. – Amor und Psyche. Beischrift: *CONCORDIA NOSTRA PERPETVA SIT*.

168. Antoninian, Antiochia, Gordian III., 238–239 n. Chr. – RIC IV 3, 34, 179 mit Anm. – Rs.: → Providentia mit Globus und Szepter. Leg.: *CON-*

*Cordia* AVG. Vgl. 68 (C. mit Stab der Providen-tia?).

169. Aureus, Rom, Philippus Arabs, 244–247 n. Chr. – RIC IV 3, 71 Anm. zu 27. – Rs.: → Aequitas mit Waage und Füllhorn. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGG*. Vgl. 39 (C. mit Waage der Aequitas).

170. Antoninian, Carausius, 286–293 n. Chr. – RIC V 2, 527, 754. – Rs.: Neptun sitzend mit Anker und Dreizack. Leg.: *CONCOR*.

171. Siliqua, AE, Trier, Gratian, Valentinian II., Theodosius, 378–383 n. Chr. – RIC IX 25, 55 Taf. 2, 10; 26, 66–67 Taf. 3, 13; 27, 72 Taf. 3, 16, etc. – → Constantinopolis sitzend, hält Szepter und Füllhorn, Fuß auf Prora. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGGG*. Variante unter Valentinian II. und Theodosius, Soli-dus, 383–388 n. Chr.: Constantinopolis hält Szepter und vota-Schild: RIC IX 77–78, 7 Taf. 6, 5 (Mai-land); 102, 39 Taf. 7, 5 (Aquilaia) etc.

172. AE, Gratian, Valentinian II., Theodosius, 378–393 n. Chr. – RIC IX 26–27, 68–69 Taf. 3, 11–12. – Roma sitzend, hält Globus und umgedrehte Lanze. Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGGG*.

## h) Verschiedene Wesen und Gegenstände

173. Aureus und Denar, Rom, Diva Domitilla, 80–81(?) n. Chr.; Domitia, ca. 81–84 und 91–92 n. Chr.; Iulia Titi, ca. 86–91 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 246, 136 Taf. 47, 11; 311, 60–61 Taf. 61, 4–5; 347, 244 Taf. 67, 11; 350, 249 und \* Taf. 67, 17, 19; lxxv. lxxxviii–lxxxix; Amit 151. – Rs.: Pfau (der Iuno). Leg.: *CONCORDIA AVGVST(A) oder I*.

174. Aureus und Gold-Quinar, Faustina d. J., un-ter Antoninus Pius, ca. 148–161 n. Chr. – BMC Emp IV 65 \*; 159, 1042; 163 \*; 165, 1089–1090 Taf. 23, 11; lxxvi; Strack, *Reichsprägung* III 113, 116. – Rs.: Taube (der Venus). Leg.: *CONCORDIA*.

175. Denar, Antiochia, Elagabal, 218–219 n. Chr. – BMC Emp V 573, 274–276 Taf. 91, 3; vgl. 442 (a) und (b); Hamburg 30. – Rs.: Vier Feldzeichen aufge-stellt. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MILIT*.

176. Antoninian, Carausius, 286–293 n. Chr. – RIC V 2, 528, 763. – Rs.: Wölfin mit Zwillingen. Leg.: *CONCORDIA NILITVM (sic)*.

177. Argenteus, Galerius, ca. 302 n. Chr. – RIC VI 510, 8. – Rs.: Lagertor. Leg.: *CONCORDIA MI-LITVM*.

178. Fischmosaik (christlich), von einer Grab-Mensa in der Nekropole von Tipasa. – Bouchenaki, M., *Fouilles de la nécropole occidentale de Tipasa* 1968–72 (1975) 16–17, 40–45 Abb. 129–132. – 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Inschrift: *IN DEO PAX ET CONCORDIA SIT CONVIVIO NOSTRO*.

## KOMMENTAR

Die Idee der *c.* hat in Rom, offenbar unter griechi-schem Einfluß, zunächst in den Ständekämpfen des 4. Jh. v. Chr. als innenpolitischer Leitbegriff Bedeutung gewonnen. Sie ist anscheinend die erste der vielen ge-danklichen Konzeptionen, die in der mittleren Repu-blik als Gottheiten staatlichen Kult erhielten und da-

durch als staatstragende Mächte anerkannt wurden. Die Rezeption des griechischen Begriffs der → Homo-noia ist wohl über Großgriechenland erfolgt, wo ihr Bild auf Münzen von Metapont und ihr Kult in Syra-kus (Liv. 24, 22) bezeugt ist. In Rom gewann die Göt-tin C. bald weit größere Bedeutung als in Griechen-land.

Die Überlieferung über einen ersten Tempelbau für C. nach dem Ausgleich der Ständekämpfe durch die licinisch-sextischen Gesetze 367/66 v. Chr. auf-grund eines Gelöbnisses des Camillus (117) ist z. T. bestritten worden, ohne völlig zwingende Gründe. Da der C.-Tempel in Cosa (120) in seiner Funktion als Haupttempel des Forums eher den späteren großen C.-Tempeln am römischen Forum (121, 124) als der Aedicula auf der Graecostasis (118) entspricht, könnte ein Bau des Camillus an dieser Stelle das Vorbild ge-wesen sein. 304 v. Chr. hat Cn. Flavius als curulischer Aedil zur Wiederherstellung der inneren Eintracht auf der Graecostasis am Comitium eine «bronzene» Aedi-cula errichtet (118), 218 v. Chr. der Praetor L. Manlius nach einer Meuterei der Soldaten einen Tempel der C. auf der Arx gelobt (119), der bald darauf ausgeführt wurde.

Seit dem 2. Jh. v. Chr. hat der Begriff *c.* eine um-fassendere, stoisch geprägte Reflexion erfahren (Poly-bios, Poseidonios) und ist danach vor allem von kon-servativen Kreisen wegen seiner stabilisierenden Aspekte aufgenommen worden. 121 v. Chr. hat L. Opimius auf Senatsbeschuß auf dem Forum am Fuß des Kapitols einen Tempel der C. gebaut (bzw. den des Camillus erneuert), der den Mord an C. Gracchus als Eintracht stiftende Tat feiern sollte, von den Gegnern jedoch als Zynismus empfunden wurde (121).

Die Kultbilder dieser Tempel müssen die ältesten bildlichen Darstellungen der C. gewesen sein; ob sie an griechische Darstellungen der Homonoia an-schlossen, ist nicht zu erkennen. Wegen ihrer eindeu-tigen Funktion brauchen sie noch keine sehr charakte-ristische Ikonographie gehabt zu haben. Dasselbe kann für das Standbild der C. gelten, das Q. Marcus Philippus 164 v. Chr. als Censor an einem öffentli-chen Platz errichtete und das zehn Jahre später C. Cas-sius Longinus ebenfalls als Censor in der Curia aufzu-stellen versuchte, die damit der C. geweiht werden sollte (111). Votivfiguren aus dem C.-Tempel in Cosa mit Schleier, Diadem und Füllhorn können eine Vor-stellung von den ikonographischen Möglichkeiten in republikanischer Zeit geben (70).

Breite Aktualität erlangte C. dann in den letzten Jahrzehnten der Republik, insbesondere unter dem Einfluß Ciceros: zunächst als *c. ordinum*, in diesem Sinn vielleicht auf den Denaren des Cicero-Anhän-gers L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus (1); dann als *c.* der führenden Politiker des 1. Triumvirats, entsprechend wohl auf Prägungen des P. Fonteius Capito (2) und des L. Vinicius (3); schließlich als vorbildliche Haltung und Gnade des übermächtigen Caesar, dem zu Ehren der Senat 44 v. Chr. einen Tempel der *Concordia nova* beschloß (122), entsprechend seiner als «nova ratio vin-cendi» propagierten *clementia* (→ Clementia). Das Thema wird in der Münzprägung weitergeführt von

L. Mussidius Longus zur Feier des 2. Triumvirats (4) und dann von Octavian und Antonius nach dem Ver-tag von Brundisium (5); daß dies Ereignis auch außer-halb Roms gefeiert wurde, zeigt eine Statue mit Altar in Casinum (112). Auch sonst hat der Kult der C. be-reits in republikanischer Zeit über die Hauptstadt hin-aus ausgestrahlt (114, 120, vielleicht 125). Die Mün-zen zeigen nur den Kopf der C., gewöhnlich mit Dia-dem und, im Gegensatz zu vielen Darstellungen der Kaiserzeit, mit Schleier als Zeichen der Verwandtschaft mit Pietas, die zumal im Umkreis Caesars ein wichtiges Leitbild wurde; der Lorbeerkanz bei L. Vi-nicius dürfte nach gleichzeitigen Analogien die Sieg-haftigkeit dieser Eintracht betonen, passend zum Rs.-Bild mit der Victoria des Pompeius; bei Mussidius Longus könnten die Astralsymbole Halbmond und Stern im Feld schon die (damals allgemein gesuchte) Ausweitung dieser Konzeption als Element eines neuen Zeitalters anzeigen. Entsprechend erscheint das Motiv der *dextrarum iunctio* schon seit Prägungen aus dem Umkreis Caesars mit dem Glückszeichen des *ca-duceus* (152–153). Daß das Münzbild mit dem Kopf der C. als typisch republikanisch empfunden wurde, zeigt seine Wiederaufnahme durch Galba (7) und seine Restituierung durch Traian (8).

In der Kaiserzeit wurde *c.* in umfassender Weise als Grundlage des inneren Friedens und glücklicher Zu-stände angesehen. Bei der Begründung des Principats hat Octavian sich besonders auf den *consensus universorum* berufen. Ovid (*fast.* 6, 91–92) verbindet C. eng mit dem ersten Princeps. Augustus selbst errichtete 11 v. Chr. Standbilder der Salus Publica, der Concordia und der Pax (113): ein Programm, das der gleichzeiti-gen Ara Pacis entspricht, auf der die vereinte Kaiserfa-milie und ihre Verbindung mit Vertretern des römi-schen Volkes ebenfalls zur Demonstration allgemei-ner *c.* dient. Die Statuengruppe hat, wie Münzen aus Bouthroton zeigen (6), bis weit außerhalb Roms ge-wirkt. Livia feierte mit einem Tempel der C. in der Porticus Liviae die harmonische Ehe mit Augustus und unterstützte damit dessen Politik der moralischen Restauration (123). Noch bedeutsamer war der Neu-bau eines Tempels der C. an der Stelle des Baues des Opimius, den Tiberius 7 v. Chr., zugleich im Namen seines verstorbenen Bruders Drusus, zur Feier seines Germanentriumphs aus der Beute gelobt hat (124); er hat damit zu Beginn seines Konsulats programmatisch den zwiespältigen Charakter der republikanischen C.-Konzeptionen im Sinne einer neuen umfassenden So-lidarität zu überwinden versucht, indem er einen all-seits anerkannten Kriegserfolg ins Innenpolitische wendete und neben brüderlicher Verbundenheit die (freilich nicht ungefährdete) Eintracht sowohl im Kai-serhaus als auch im ganzen Staatswesen bekräftigte. Die exemplarische Demonstration idealer Zustände im Kaiserhaus als Garantie für entsprechende Verhält-nisse im ganzen Staat ist bei C. immer besonders deut-lich geblieben. Die Weihung des Tempels im Jahr 10 n. Chr. wurde am 16. Januar vollzogen, dem Jahrestag der Senatsitzung, die 27 v. Chr. die Alleinherrschaft des Augustus begründet hatte; durch den Beinamen Augusta wurde die Bindung der C. an das Kaiserhaus



noch besonders betont. Damals kam dem Tempel zugleich neue Aktualität als Bekräftigung der *c.* mit Drusus' Sohn Germanicus zu. Das Kultbild, thronend, rechts wohl eine Schale, links ein Szepter haltend (12, vgl. 10–11), ist in dieser Ausprägung das erste Beispiel für einen Typus, der lange weitergewirkt hat. Rückschlüsse aus den Varianten dieser Nachwirkungen auf das Kultbild selbst, etwa im Sinne auswechselbarer Attribute oder späterer Restaurierungen mit leichten Veränderungen, sind jedoch angesichts der Praxis römischer Münzstempelschneider kaum möglich. Der Hinweis auf Frieden und Glück, später bei *C.* häufig, ist an dem Tempel durch einen in die Türschwelle eingelassenen *caduceus* deutlich gemacht.

Für die reibungslose Übergabe der Herrschaft an Tiberius mußte die *c.* des Kaiserhauses von zentraler Bedeutung sein. Die Deutung des Münztypus 10 mit *patera* und Zweig aus einer Serie, die das Verhältnis zwischen Augustus und Tiberius darstellt, auf *C.* als Garant des äußeren wie des inneren Friedens ist darum plausibel. Tiberius hat den Typus übernommen (11) und später zu seinem 20jährigen Regierungsjubiläum sogar den ganzen Tempel mit dem Kultbild auf seine Sesterze gesetzt (12).

Seit Beginn der Kaiserzeit erhielten Kult und Verehrung der *C.* von Rom aus eine immer stärkere Verbreitung über das ganze Imperium. In der Hauptstadt konnte sie in den Compitalheiligtümern verehrt werden (115), im Reich gehörte ihr Bild vielfach zur Ausstattung von öffentlichen Anlagen, Heiligtümern etc. (9, 71, vgl. 128; s. zu 115).

In einer programmatischen Gruppe von Personifikationen wie unter Augustus (113) erscheint *C.* auf Sesterzen des Caligula (106), Person geworden in der Lieblingsschwester des Kaisers (vgl. schon Livia als *→ Salus* mit *Pietas* und *Iustitia* unter Tiberius); *patera* und Füllhorn deuten auf die Aspekte der *pietas* und *felicitas*. Erstmals ist hier die (in diesem Fall eher exzentrische) *c.* des Herrscherpaares explizit als Exempel und Garantie für allgemeine glückliche Eintracht dargestellt, ähnlich wie in der Folgezeit öfters. Unklar sind Anlaß und Aspekt der Opfer, die die Arvalbrüder *«pro salute»* des Kaisers Claudius u. a. im Tempel der *C.* und an der Ara Providentiae darbrachten (Henzen, W., *Acta fratrum Arvalium* [1874] LVI und 165). Sehr eng ist die Beziehung auf das Herrscherhaus jedenfalls bei den Feiern an den Geburtstagen der Agrippina von 57 und 58 sowie des Nero von 58 und 60 n. Chr., wo von den Arvalbrüdern bei der Kaisermutter für *C. ipsius*, beim Kaiser für *C. honoris Agrippinae Aug.* geopfert wird (Henzen a. O. LXIV, LXX, LXXVII, 57). In ähnlichem Sinne kann später auf neronischen Prägungen Poppaea mit *Patera* und Füllhorn in der Verbindung mit Nero (mit Strahlenkranz) auf *C.* hinweisen (107). Dieselbe Beziehung auf das Herrscherpaar muß die gleichzeitige Prägung der *Concordia Augusta* haben, die hier wie eine Reihe weiterer Personifikationen glücklicher Stabilität thronend dargestellt ist (13).

In den Bürgerkriegen nach Neros Ende erlangt die Idee der *c.* unmittelbare Aktualität; sie betrifft nun nicht mehr nur die Eintracht des Kaiserhauses, die die Dynastie sichert, sondern im Sinne einer *pax interna*

das gute Einvernehmen und die Zustimmung (*consensus*) aller Machtfaktoren des Reiches: Kaiser, Senat, Heer, Provinzen. *C.* bildet hier mit *→ Clementia*, *→ Fides*, *→ Pax* und *→ Pietas* einen geschlossenen Ideenkomplex; die entsprechenden Personifikationen werden sehr ähnlich und mit vielfachen Hinweisen auf wechselseitige Querverbindungen dargestellt, so daß sich häufig Überschneidungen in der Ikonographie ergeben. – Teilweise ist die Bedeutung der *C.* noch eher traditionell, allgemein, oft eng auf den Kaiser bezogen. Bei Galba und Vitellius ist der Sitztypus als *Concordia Aug.* durch ein Szepter ins Feierliche gesteigert und durch einen attributiven Zweig mit Assoziationen an *Pax* versehen (14, 16, s. auch *→ Clementia*) wie bereits unter Augustus und Tiberius (10–11). Daneben nimmt Vitellius die neronische Charakterisierung mit *patera* und Füllhorn noch einmal auf; mit dem erstmals explizit eingesetzten Genitiv der Legende *«Concordia Augusti»* betont er die Beziehung auf die eigene Person (15), ähnlich wie es bei Nero zu erschließen war. Daß bei aller Hervorhebung der Eintracht verschiedener Machtfaktoren weiterhin breite Tendenzen bestanden, den Kaiser als persönlichen Garant der *c.* zu verstehen, zeigt auch die Episode bei der vergeblichen Abdankung des Vitellius, als seine Anhänger ihn mit den Worten beschworen, er selbst sei die *C.*, worauf er nicht nur im Herrscheramt blieb, sondern auch den Beinamen *C.* angenommen haben soll (Suet. *Vit.* 15; vgl. Tac. *hist.* 3, 68). Desgleichen wird wie unter Nero die Eintracht des Herrscherpaares anlässlich des Geburtstags der Kaiserin Galeria durch ein Opfer der Arvalbrüder an *C.* als Grundlage der Einigkeit im Reich gefeiert (Henzen a. O. XCV, 57). Auf den Dupondien des Vitellius ist der Sitztypus, zum verstärkten Hinweis auf *pietas*, durch einen Altar erweitert, auf dem das Opfer stattfindet (15). Hier ist die Bedeutung als *C. populi Romani* stark ausgeweitet; schon unter Galba war *→ Fortuna*, ebenfalls opfernd, auf *«salus generis humani»* bezogen worden. Bereits bei Galba wird der Sitztypus auch erstmals durch Eberstandarte und *caduceus* zur Formulierung der gleichgewichtigen Aspekte Sieg und Frieden als Folge der *c.* benutzt (17).

Die programmatische Ausweitung der Idee der *c.* findet sich bei Galba auch in dem bewußt auf die Republik (1–5) zurückgreifenden Typus mit dem Kopf der *C.* und der Erklärung als *c. orbis terrarum* (7).

Neben diesen umfassenden Konzeptionen wird von Galba zur Darstellung der konkreteren *c. provinciarum* (vor allem Gallien und Spanien, vgl. 147) sowie der *c. praetorianorum* ein stehender Typus mit Zweig und Füllhorn eingesetzt (42), der dann von Vitellius mit Bezug auf die Praetorianer (vgl. Suet. *Galba* 16) übernommen wird (43). Die Beliebtheit des Zweiges als Attribut der *Pax* zeigt besonders deutlich, warum und in welchem Aspekt *C.* gerade in der Bürgerkriegssituation neue Aktualität bekommen hat.

Seit den ersten Regierungsjahren des Vespasian wird endgültig die sitzende *C.* mit Füllhorn und *patera*, z. T. auch mit Altar, für lange Zeit der vorherrschende Typus (18). Daneben wird vor allem in verschiedenen kleinasiatischen Prägstätten *C.* als reich-

tumspendende sitzende Gestalt mit Ähren, Mohn und Füllhorn gepriesen (19), die dort in der Tradition der alten Fruchtbarkeitsgöttinnen Anklang finden konnte. Vielleicht sind hier Maßnahmen bzw. Hoffnungen für die öffentliche Versorgung gemeint. Der stehende Typus begegnet nur noch selten (44). Die *C.*, die hier als Grundlage der neuen Regierung gefeiert wird, hat mehrere Aspekte: zum einen die Einigkeit zwischen dem Kaiser und seinem Heer, das ihn auf den Thron gebracht hat, entsprechend den Prägungen mit Soldaten im Handschlag oder Mars mit Feldzeichen als Ausdruck des *consensus exercituum* (142, 165); zum zweiten das gute Verhältnis zum Senat, wie auf dem Sesterz, auf dem der Genius Senatus Vespasian bekrönt (162); schließlich die Eintracht in der Herrscherfamilie, deretwegen *C.* in Rom seit der Erhebung des Titus zum Mitkaiser 71 n. Chr. besonders betont wird (18).

In demselben Sinne erscheint der Sitztypus darum wieder unter Titus zu den Vs.-Bildern aller wichtigen Mitglieder des flavischen Kaiserhauses (20). Gleichzeitig erfährt das Motiv der *dextrarum iunctio* seine endgültige Ausgestaltung. Nachdem es schon in der späten Republik zur Darstellung programmatischer Verbundenheit eingesetzt (4–5, 134) und diese Bedeutung unter Vespasian mit dem Begriff *«consensus»* auch explizit in der Legende formuliert worden war (142), wird jetzt erstmals die im Handschlag verbundene Gruppe um eine zentrale Idealgestalt erweitert, die den Sinn der Szene verkörpert und wohl als *C.* zu deuten ist (91). – Als dann Domitian allein übrig geblieben war, reduzierte sich die Demonstration von *c.* auf die (wechselhaften) ehelichen Verhältnisse; sie wurde hier erstmals Domäne der kaiserlichen Frauen, die mit dem Pfau der Iuno ihre Verbundenheit mit dem jupiterhaften Herrscher bezeichneten (173).

Damit hat die Gestalt der *C.* zwei Schwerpunkte bekommen: allgemeine politische Eintracht, die vor allem zu Beginn der Regierung hervorgehoben wird, und Eintracht des Herrscherhauses, die zugleich die Nachfolge sichert. Nachdem Nerva den Nachdruck auf die *c.* des Heeres mit dem Motiv der verschränkten Hände gelegt hatte (154), hat Traian in den ersten Regierungsjahren den Sitztypus offenbar in sehr umfassendem Sinn zur Demonstration des guten Einvernehmens mit Senat und Heer, Vorgänger und Göttern eingesetzt (21, vgl. auch 8 und 22); das Opfer über einem Altar betont besonders die *pietas*. In demselben Sinn hat Hadrian den Typus (ohne Altar) mit der lapidaren Legende *«Concordia»* zu Beginn seiner Regierung aufgenommen, wobei eine zusätzliche *Spes*-Figur den Aspekt der Zukunftshoffnung hervorhebt (23). Auf Aes-Prägungen wird dies Bild bald von einem Typus abgelöst, der einen Vorläufer unter Galba hatte (17), von jetzt an aber eine lange Tradition haben sollte: der stehenden *C.* mit Feldzeichen als Ausdruck der *c. exercituum* (59), wichtig als Grundlage der angestrebten Herrschaft – und darum von Antoninus Pius in den letzten Monaten vor dem Regierungswechsel wieder aufgegriffen (59). Ebenfalls wohl unter Hadrian wurde auf Prägungen der Matidia der seit Titus bekannte (91) Typus der *dextrarum iunctio* mit *C.* (?) in

der Mitte für den Kaiser und Sabina wieder aufgenommen (92). Vor allem aber ist *C.* in den letzten Jahren Hadrians von Sabina und dann den adoptierten Nachfolgern Aelius Verus und Antoninus Pius in einem weiteren Sinn proklamiert worden: zum einen mit dem bisherigen Sitztypus (24), der z. T. in der Variante mit *patera* und Szepter Verwandtschaft zu *→ Iustitia* und *→ Pietas* annimmt; zum anderen in einer neuen und langlebigen Darstellungsweise der stehenden *C.*, die sich auf einen Pfeiler stützt (45); schließlich in dem Typus der *dextrarum iunctio* mit einer zentralen *C.*-Figur, die Hadrian und Aelius Verus zusammenführend die Hände um die Schultern legt (93).

Das breiteste Spektrum wird unter Antoninus Pius entfaltet. Auf Prägungen des Kaisers selbst erscheint *C.*, wieder bald nach Regierungsantritt, stehend mit Füllhorn und dem Herrschaftssymbol des Szepters, im umfassenden Sinn wie bei den Vorgängern (52); ferner, ebenfalls früh, als *c. exercituum* mit Feldzeichen und kleiner Victoria als Attributen (60). Wie stark auch in der Bevölkerung die Verehrung des Kaisers und seiner vorgesehenen Nachfolger mit der Idee der *c.* verbunden war, zeigt die Stiftung einer silbernen Statuette für ein *collegium* in Ostia (116). Bei der Kaiserin dagegen steht mehr die Eintracht des Herrscherpaares im Vordergrund. Neben die überkommenen Typen der sitzenden *C.* mit *patera*, Füllhorn und *Spes*-Statuette (25) sowie der stehenden *C.* mit *patera* und Füllhorn an der Säule (46) tritt bei ihr betont die Darstellung der *dextrarum iunctio* im Sinne der einträchtigen Ehe (135). Nach ihrer Divinisierung wurde offenbar, wie später auch beim Tod der jüngeren Faustina, beschlossen, daß alle Jungverheirateten Paare vor ihrem und des Kaisers Standbild *«ob insignem eorum concordiam»* (Cass. Dio 71, 31, 1–2; Altar Ostia: CIL XIV 5326) opfern sollten; dies wird auf einem reich gestalteten Sesterz-Typus verkündet, der das Kaiserpaar als *exemplum* einträchtiger Ehe zum Vorbild für alle Eheschließungen im Reich darstellt (108; vgl. 152; Vorläufer des Verfahrens schon in der frühen Kaiserzeit!). – Entsprechend ist dann die Ehe des vorgesehenen Nachfolgers mit der jüngeren Faustina gefeiert worden: Der stehende Typus ist von Marc Aurel bei dieser Gelegenheit um einen Altar zur Verkündung der *vota publica* erweitert worden (47); der Sitztypus erscheint mit der Blüte der *Spes* und einem Globus unter dem Füllhorn als Ausdruck weitreichender (besonders dynastischer) Zukunftshoffnungen und kosmisch ausgeweiteter Glückserwartungen neu gestaltet (26). An *Spes* erinnert weiterhin das neue Motiv des herausgezogenen Gewandzipfels (58), das gleichzeitig etwa auch bei *→ Clementia* erscheint. Schließlich wird mit dem einprägsamen Motiv des ausgebreiteten Mantels, in dessen Schutz zwei Töchter des jungen Paares stehen, ein Aspekt der *→ Pietas* auf *C.* übertragen (55). Die Göttin erscheint daher auch in den Darstellungen der *dextrarum iunctio* des Paares als zentrale Mittelfigur (94).

Damit hat das ideelle wie das ikonographische Spektrum der *C.* eine gewisse Konsolidierung erfahren; die folgenden Epochen bringen nur vereinzelte Erweiterungen. Die bisher ausgebildeten ikonogra-

phischen Möglichkeiten reichten im wesentlichen auch unter gewandelten historischen Verhältnissen aus, als sich durch die gleichzeitige Herrschaft mehrerer Kaiser sowie durch manifeste dynastische Ansprüche neue Anlässe zur Demonstration von *c.* ergaben. Man konnte, wie etwa Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus, entweder auf einen der allgemeinen *C.*-Typen oder auf das Motiv der *dextrarum iunctio* und vergleichbare Zusammenstellungen der betreffenden Partner zurückgreifen (27. 28. 136–137). Für die folgenden anderthalb Jahrhunderte ist daher eine systematische Aufstellung möglich, die zugleich die früheren Denkmäler unter typologischen Gesichtspunkten einbezieht.

Der im Kultbild des spätaugusteischen Tempels zuerst greifbare Typus der sitzenden *C.* (10–12) wird bis in konstantinische Zeit weitergeführt. Die frühkaiserzeitliche, an Pax erinnernde Variante mit dem Zweig als Attribut (10–11. 14. 16) findet sich nach Vitellius nicht mehr. Die von Hadrian eingeführte Bereicherung durch eine *Spes*-Figur als Stütze des Armes (23–25) wird noch einmal von Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus in programmatischer Weise zu Regierungsbeginn aufgenommen, um die *c.* des neuen Doppelkaisertums zu etablieren (27), und erscheint ein letztes Mal auf einem Bronze-Medaillon des Commodus und der Crispina (29); üblich wird jedoch, im Sinne schlagwortartiger Vereinfachung, wieder der ursprüngliche augusteische Typus mit Füllhorn und *patera* (28. 30–32. 34–36), unter Philippus Arabs auch noch einmal mit Altar (33). Insbesondere wird dies der beliebteste Typus bei Kaiserinnen, deren Würde durch das feierliche Thronen am angemessensten zum Ausdruck gebracht werden konnte. Die Bedeutung ist entsprechend meist *C. Augusti* bzw. *Augustorum*, gelegentlich aber auch *C. militum* o. ä. (32. 34).

Ebenso häufig findet sich weiterhin der seit Caligula (106) gebräuchliche Typus der stehenden *C.* mit Schale und Füllhorn (44–48), häufig an einem Altar opfernd (49–51); er gehört meist, aber nicht ausschließlich, den Kaisern selbst, wieder vor allem in der Bedeutung als *C. Augusti* bzw. *Augustorum*, aber gleichfalls auch als *C. exercitus*, *militum* etc. (51). Der Zweig findet sich auch beim stehenden Typus nach Galba und Vitellius (42–43) nicht mehr. Das Szepter bleibt als Attribut selten, fast durchweg bei der stehenden Figur (52–54. 57. 69, Ausnahme: 24, vgl. schon 10–12. 14. 16), gewöhnlich auf Prägungen der Herrscher selbst.

Neben diesen allgemeinen Typen gewinnt mit zunehmender Militarisation der Herrschaft die *C.* mit Feldzeichen, fast durchweg stehend (59–65. 100. 103; Ausnahmen: 17. 40), als Ausdruck der *c. militum* o. ä. immer mehr an Bedeutung; nach dem Vorläufer unter Galba (17) erstmals unter Hadrian (59) geprägt (also nicht erst unter dem Einfluß der äußeren Bedrohung des Reiches seit den Markomannen-Kriegen, vgl. auch die Legenden 42–43. 142. 154. 165), erscheint sie wieder bei Marc Aurel zum 10. Jahrestag seiner Übernahme des Heeres (61), bei Commodus anlässlich der Perennis-Affäre (62), bei Didius Iulianus und Pescennius Niger in den Thronprätendenten-

Kriegen, bei Septimius Severus im Parther- und im Britannien-Feldzug (63), dann ständig von Valerian bis Konstantin, z. T. auch bei Kaiserinnen in ihrer Eigenschaft als *mater castrorum* (64, vgl. 65). Der Typus ist von *Fides militum* o. ä. oft nicht zu unterscheiden (vgl. Hamberg 20).

Neben diesen geläufigen Typen wurde in vereinzelten Fällen der Charakter der *C.* mit ungewöhnlichen Attributen erweitert. Schon seit Beginn der Kaiserzeit ist die Praxis zu beobachten, auf diese Weise verwandte oder komplementäre Vorstellungen mit *C.* zu assoziieren: Außer Füllhorn, Schale und Altar erscheint etwa der Zweig der Friedensgöttin (10–11. 14. 16. 42–43), der *caduceus* (17) oder die gallische Eberstandarte (17). Die unter Galba auftauchende Legende «*Concordia orbis terrarum*» (7) hat eine bildliche Entsprechung im Attribut des Globus bei Faustina d. J. (26). Vor allem aber hat das 3. Jh. mit seiner Tendenz zu pauschalen und verschliffenen Konzeptionen einige neue Motive eingeführt. Der Aspekt der Fortuna und der Felicitas, gewöhnlich durch das Füllhorn repräsentiert, wird noch einmal unter Licinius und Konstantin zusätzlich durch den *caduceus* vorgetragen (37. 66, vgl. Legende 101). Seit Gallien findet sich ferner ein stehender Typus mit Steuerruder, der mit der Legende «*C. equitum*» zum Spezialtypus für die Loyalität der Reitertruppen wird, die gegen die östlichen Gegner Bedeutung gewinnen (67, vgl. 38). Zu den vielen alten Verbindungen mit Motiven der *pietas* (*patera*, Altar) ist nicht nur unter Antoninus Pius der ausgebreitete Mantel (55), sondern vielleicht auch unter Pescennius Niger das vereinzelt Motif der erhobenen Hand zu zählen (56, vgl. 57?). Von *Aequitas* erhält *C.* unter Philippus Arabs die Waage (39, vgl. 169), gleichzeitig und unter Carausius von *Providentia* den Stab (68, vgl. 100. 168). In frühkonstantinischer Zeit trägt sie als *C. imperii* den *Modius* auf dem Kopf wie der → *Genius Populi Romani* (69, vgl. schon 110). Ebenso wird sie mit den globalen Hoffnungen in Zusammenhang gebracht, die sich an die *vota* zu den kaiserlichen Regierungsjubiläen knüpfen (94. 141). Eine Liste von Attributen, an denen *C.* zu erkennen wäre, läßt sich somit nicht aufstellen, da es vielfach gerade Attribute anderer Gottheiten und Personifikationen sind, mit denen *C.* umschrieben wird. *C.* zeigt damit eine große Offenheit zu anderen Vorstellungskreisen, die als Ergebnisse der grundlegenden Eintracht angesehen werden. Die Pauschalität der Glückserwartungen, die mit *C.* verbunden werden, zeigt sich auch in den Epitheta: Auf Münzen heißt sie *Felix* (96. 137. 139, vgl. 101), *Aeterna* (35. 97. 139. 148) oder *Perpetua* (145, vgl. 167), vor allem unter den Severern in dem Aspekt des Zusammenhalts innerhalb der kaiserlichen Familie, insbesondere der Herrscherpaare.

Im Grund jedoch ist das Wesen der *C.*, da es sich um einen Begriff zwischenmenschlicher Beziehung handelt, in einer einzelnen Figur schwer darzustellen. Der angemessenste Bildtypus für das zugrundeliegende Verhalten ist die *dextrarum iunctio*, die vielfach als Ausdruck der *c.* eingesetzt wird (s. u.). Die Einfügung der *C.*-Figur in diese Szenen, unter Titus erstmals belegt (91), bleibt seit Hadrian vielfach üblich

(92–97). Seit Marc Aurel und Faustina d. J. (unter Antoninus Pius) wird der Typus mit der zentralen *C.* vor allem für Ehepaare des Kaiserhauses verwendet, der regierenden Herrscher (95. 97) wie der Thronfolger (94. 96): Gemeint ist also nicht nur der Akt der Eheschließung, sondern die allgemeine eheliche Eintracht.

In diesem Sinne ist der Szenentypus seit antoninischer Zeit auf die Sarkophage, insbesondere von hohen Militärs und Beamten, übernommen worden (74–86). Vor allem antoninische Feldherrensarkophage zeigen die Szene als Teil eines programmatischen Zyklus von Darstellungen, in denen sie neben Exempeln von *virtus*, *clementia* und *pietas* vorbildliche *c.* dokumentieren soll (74). Sie lehnen sich eng an die kaiserliche Repräsentationskunst an, ahmen vielleicht sogar ein kaiserliches Denkmal unmittelbar nach – das dann freilich den Szenentypus schon aus älterer Tradition übernommen hätte. Varianten zeigen *C.* auch in Darstellungen, in denen die Frau dem Mann den Arm um die Schulter legt (80) oder beide beim Opfer vereinigt sind (77. 78. 85). Wie auf Münzen ist vom Typus her eheliche Eintracht ohne eine bestimmte ereignishaft Fixierung gemeint, der Kontext kann dies aber durchaus im Sinne der Hochzeit konkretisieren (76). Gegen die in diesem Zusammenhang gelegentlich immer noch vertretene Deutung der Mittelfigur als Iuno Pronuba spricht eindeutig, daß sie auf den Münzen im politischen Bereich auch zwischen zwei männlichen Partnern erscheint; in Hochzeitsbildern wird sie von Severianus von Gabala (zit. bei Kantorowicz 8–9) ausdrücklich *C.* genannt. Die Geltung des Typus als Chiffre war schließlich so eingespielt, daß er auch für Vulcanus und Venus sowie für Iason und Medea Verwendung finden konnte (87. 88); die Konstellation der Verstorbenen hat auch den Mythos geformt, in dem sie präfiguriert ist. Es ist deutlich, daß *C.* in all diesen Szenen nicht mehr als konkrete göttliche Gestalt gemeint ist, sondern rein als Verkörperung eines ideellen Gehalts. In diesem abstrakten Sinne konnte sie auch noch auf christlichen Sarkophagen der konstantinischen Zeit erscheinen (86).

Im politischen Bereich der großen Staatsreliefs ist der Typus dagegen nur ein einziges Mal und spät in einer Variante erhalten (73): Am Bogen von Thessaloniki legt Homonoia-Concordia eine Hand um die Schulter der Oikumene, um sie dem Galerius – gewissermaßen als Braut – zuzuführen. Die Tendenz zu gedanklicher Abstraktheit ist auch hier deutlich.

Diese Entwicklung zu immer abstrakteren Vorstellungen führt im 3. Jh. weiterhin dazu, daß *C.* die Verbindung durch Handschlag selbst ausführen kann. Einige Münzbilder dieser Zeit müssen wohl so verstanden werden, daß der Kaiser auf diese Weise mit *C.* verbunden ist (98. 99). Das Motiv ist alt (→ *Clementia*), es bezeugt trotz seines «handgreiflichen» Charakters die immer stärkere Abstraktion dieser Vorstellungen, die hier in Metaphern dargestellt werden, deren Auflösung rational kaum mehr gelingt. In ähnlicher Weise erscheint *C.* zusammen mit den großen Schützgöttern der Herrscher, Sol, Hercules und Victoria (100. 101. 102). Diese Entwicklung geht schließlich

so weit, daß *C.* verdoppelt wird und als reines Substitut der partnerschaftlichen Herrscher mit ihrem eigenen Ebenbild, z. T. im Handschlag, vereinigt erscheint (103–105, vgl. → Victoria). *C.* ist auch hier nicht mehr göttliche Gestalt, sondern ein zentraler Aspekt des göttlichen Herrschers. Die Kehrseite dieses Befunds ist, daß nun immer mehr auch der Kaiser selbst in verschiedenen Funktionen und Aspekten als Verkörperung und Garant allgemeiner *c.* erscheinen kann (s. u.).

Dieser gedanklich-abstrahierende Zug der *C.* ist alt und etwa bei Ovid (fast. 6, 91–92) in der Erklärung der *C.* als «*numen opusque ducis*» impliziert. Er ist an der konkreten bildlichen Figur in vielen weiteren Symptomen zu fassen. Dazu gehört zunächst, daß die Attribute sie nicht als eine personenhafte Gestalt mit festen Charakteristika und Funktionen darstellen, sondern je nach dem aktuellen Bezug wechseln und gedankliche Verbindungen zu anderen Begriffen herstellen: zu Pax, Felicitas, Pietas, Fides, Clementia, aber auch zu Providentia, Aequitas, Fortuna. Dazu gehört weiterhin, daß *C.* – wie die ebenfalls zur Begrifflichkeit tendierende → Victoria – sogar anderen Gestalten attributiv beigegeben werden kann: Nicht nur Antoninus Pius kann auf den Münzbildern, die ihn zusammen mit Faustina d. Ä. als einträchtiges Vorbild für jedes römische Ehepaar darstellen, eine kleine *C.* in der Hand tragen (108), nicht nur Iulia Domna wird auf ähnliche Weise als Garant der *c.* gefeiert (109); sondern sogar Annona wird unter Commodus mit einer *C.*-Figur ausgestattet, um die friedlichen Voraussetzungen für die Getreideversorgung zu dokumentieren (110).

Der begriffliche Charakter des ganzen Vorstellungsbereichs findet schließlich seinen Ausdruck auch darin, daß schon seit früher Zeit ungewöhnlich viele andere Bildmotive mit dem Begriff *c.* erläutert werden bzw. ihn erläutern können. Wichtigster Typus ist die *dextrarum iunctio*, die schon in republikanischer Zeit in diesem Sinn erscheint (134), später durch die Legenden der Münzen ausdrücklich als Bezeugung von *consensus* oder (meist) *c.* gedeutet wird (135–144). Wie die entsprechenden Szenen mit eingefügter *C.* wird auch der einfache Typus sowohl für gemeinsame Herrscher bzw. Thronfolger (136. 138. 140. 141) als auch für Ehepaare des Kaiserhauses (135. 137. 139) verwendet. Auf Vertreter des Heeres angewandt, kann das Motiv die einträchtige Loyalität der Soldaten proklamieren (142–143); das früheste republikanische Beispiel feiert die Eintracht von Roma und Italia nach dem Bundesgenossenkrieg (134). Auch dieser Typus wird im Sinne der *c.* unproblematisch in die christliche Ikonographie übernommen (144). – Daneben finden sich Varianten, indem die Herrscher gemeinsam eine kleine Victoria oder einen Globus halten (140. 141), gemeinsam opfern (146) oder nur nebeneinander als Weltherrscher auf je einer *sella curulis* sitzen (145).

Der schlagwortartige Charakter des Begriffs hat vielfach zu einprägsamer Abkürzung der Motive geführt. Statt ganzer Figuren werden vielfach nur Köpfe zusammengestellt, die in paralleler Staffellung oder symmetrischer Gegenüberstellung ihre Verbunden-



heit deutlich machen (147-152, vgl. 134). Das Motiv des Handschlags ist schon in spätrepublikanischer Zeit im Sinne von *c.*, *fides*, *pax* etc. auf zwei verschränkte Hände reduziert worden (4. 5. 153), die dann häufig mit gemeinsam gehaltenen Attributen weiter ausgestattet wurden (154-158): ein besonders deutliches Indiz für den abstrakt-ideellen Charakter der Vorstellung, deren weites Bedeutungsspektrum auf Prägungen des Balbinus und Pupienus außer mit *c.* auch mit *amor*, *caritas*, *fides* und *pietas* umschrieben wird (156). Die Flexibilität des Typus zeigt sich unter Antoninus Pius, wo die Eintracht mit den beiden Nachfolgern mit drei verschränkten Händen bezeichnet wird (158). In der symbolhaften Verkürzung erscheint der Typus mit zwei Händen häufig auf Fingerringen (*anulus pronubus*) (152. 157).

Vielfach wird *C.* ein reiner Aspekt des idealen Kaisers, der dies Leitbild in eigener Person verkörpert: mit Feldzeichen (159. 160), später mit dem Labarum (161) ausgestattet. Desgleichen demonstriert er sein Verhaltensmuster der *c.* in der Verbindung mit Göttern: Schon auf der Prägung des Vespasian (162) ist kein wirkliches Gleichgewicht zwischen Kaiser und Senat dargestellt; und wenn später der Herrscher von Victoria bekrönt wird (163) oder von Iuppiter den Globus und die Victoria als Zeichen der Weltherrschaft überreicht bekommt (164), ist weniger die Eintracht mit den Göttern gemeint als vielmehr die *c. militum*, die von ihm allein realisiert wird.

Andererseits können auch die verschiedensten Wesen und Gegenstände wie der Pfau der Iuno (173), die Taube der Venus (174), ferner Feldzeichen (175), die Wölfin mit den Zwillingen (176) oder ein Lagerort (177) die verschiedenen Aspekte von *c.* illustrieren. Auf der Ebene göttlicher Wesen können Amor und Psyche noch die Vorstellung von *c.* wirklich darstellen (167, vgl. auch 86); aber ganz im Bereich des Ideellen bleiben wieder Darstellungen, in denen Figuren des Mars (165) und der Hispania (166), der Providentia (168, vgl. 68. 100), der Aequitas (169, vgl. 39), des Neptun (170), schließlich der Constantinopolis (171) und der Roma (172) mit der Vorstellung von *c.* assoziiert werden.

Dieser Abstrahierungsprozeß war die Voraussetzung dafür, daß sowohl das Bild der personifizierten *C.* als auch der Begriff der *c.* noch auf christlichen Denkmälern erscheint (37-38. 86. 178).

TONIO HÖLSCHER

## HONOS

(Honos, Honor) Personification masculine et divinité de l'honneur.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES ET ÉPIGRAPHIQUES: Comme la plupart des allégories, H. n'a pas de généalogie et n'a de rôle dans aucun mythe. Seul Ovide (*fast.* 5, 23-26) évoque son mariage avec Reverentia, d'où est issue Maiestas qui assure le respect des honneurs dus à chacun. H. est aussi cité par Horace (*c. s.* 57)

parmi d'autres allégories dont le retour est dû à l'action bénéfique d'Auguste, et par Sil. (15, 98-99) dans un contexte militaire.

Les attributions d'H. sont précisées par diverses inscriptions provenant de plusieurs régions de l'empire: protecteur de l'aigle de la légion (*CIL* XIII 6752) (pour d'autres inscriptions, cf. von Domaszewski, A., *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst* 14, 1895, 40-42), d'un poste militaire ou douanier (*CIL* III 5123). Il peut être aussi une divinité personnelle (*CIL* III 10528). Il apparaît même sans spécificité sur d'autres témoignages (*CIL* VIII 302. 6950).

Une autre série de textes se rapporte à l'histoire des sanctuaires d'H. à Rome: le plus ancien, celui de la porte Colline, construit après la découverte d'une plaque portant son nom (*Cic. leg.* 2, 58); le second à la porte Capène (*Liv.* 29, 11, 13), enrichi et agrandi par la suite (*Cic. nat.* 2, 61; *Verr.* 2, 4, 121. 122; *Liv.* 27, 29, 7; 25, 40; *Plin. nat.* 35, 120). H. est fréquemment associé à *→* Virtus, rapprochement justifié dès l'antiquité (*Aug. civ.* 5, 12; *Symm. epist.* 1, 20, 1). Ils possèdent en commun plusieurs sanctuaires à Rome: un non localisé (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1 p. 195, XVIII, 16-18; *InscrIt* XIII 3, 83, 16-18; *Fest.* 468, 1 L.; *Vitr.* 3, 2, 5; 7 *praef.* 17), un autre au théâtre de Pompée (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1 p. 217. 244. 324; *Fast. Allif.* et *Amit.*, 12 août) où ils sont associés à *→* Venus Victrix et à *→* Felicitas. En dehors de Rome leur culte est attesté à Pouzzoles (*CIL* X 1781) et dans d'autres provinces (*CIL* III 3307; IX 2214); sont aussi attestés des jeux en leur honneur (*CIL* X 8260) et un clergé (*CIL* XII 4371; XI 3205; VIII 6951). Mais on ne sait rien du culte si ce n'est qu'Auguste en fixa la fête au 29 mai (*Cass. Dio* 54, 18) et que l'on sacrifiait selon le rite grec (*Plut. quaest. Rom.* 266 f).

Mais la notion d'honneur est souvent mentionnée dans les textes en dehors du monde des allégories; elle apparaît aussi comme une conséquence de la *virtus*; pour une étude de ce mot cf. Klose, F., *Die Bedeutung von honos und honestus* (Diss. Breslau 1933) et Drexler, H., «Honos», *Romanitas* 3, 1961, 135-137.

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## CATALOGUE

### I. Honos hors de tout contexte historique

#### 1. Honos seul, tête

1.\* AR deniers, Rome, monétaire L. Palikanus, 48/7 av. J.-C. - Crawford, *RRC* 482 n° 473, 2 pl. 56;

Mannsperger 336 pl. 30, 4-5. - Av. Tête d'H. à dr. (cheveux courts, couronne de laurier). Lég. HONORIS. Rv. Chaise curule.

2.\* AU, AR, Rome, monétaire M. Durmius sous Auguste, 18 av. J.-C. - a)\* AU aurei - BMC Emp I 10 n° 51 pl. 2, 8. - Av. Tête d'H. à dr. (cheveux enroulés au-dessus du front), entre deux étoiles. Lég. M. DURMIUS. III. VIR. HONORI. Rv. Couronne de chêne. b) AR deniers. - BMC Emp I 10-11 n° 52-58 pl. 2, 9-11. - Av. Même type sans étoiles. Rv. Auguste sur un bige d'éléphants; quadriges; Parthe agenouillé.

#### 2. Honos seul, en pied

Les émissions de la période 140-152 ont comme lég. HONOS, HONORI AVG, et/ou l'indication TR.P. COS.

3a)\* AU aurei; AR deniers; AE sesterces et dupondi ou asses. Rome, Marc Aurèle César, 140-144 ap. J.-C. - BMC Emp IV 40 n° 263-266 pl. 6, 19-20. 26; 225 n° 1395-1396 pl. 33, 13; 227 n° 1406 §. - Rv. H. debout de face, en toge, la tête à g., tient un rameau dans la main dr. et une corne d'abondance dans la g. Lég. HONOS. - 3b) AR deniers, AE sesterces, Rome, Marc Aurèle César, 144/5 ap. J.-C. - BMC Emp IV 73 n° 508-509 pl. 11, 10; 85-86 n° 594-602 pl. 12, 20; 266 pl. 43, 1. - Rv. Même type (un ou plusieurs rameaux dans la main dr.).

4.\* AE sesterces et dupondi, Rome, Antonin, 145/6 ap. J.-C. - BMC Emp IV 271-272 n° 1683-1686 pl. 40, 2; 280 n° 1783 pl. 42, 3; Turcan, R., *Religion romaine* I (1988) 46 n° 130 pl. 47. - Rv. H. debout de face, en toge, la tête à g., un rameau dans la main dr. et une corne d'abondance dans la g. Lég. HONORI AVG COS IIII.

5. AE sesterces et dupondi ou asses, Rome, Marc Aurèle César, 147-149 ap. J.-C. - BMC Emp IV 296-297 n° 1819-1820 pl. 44, 9; 303 n° 1845-1848 pl. 45, 8. - Rv. H. (toge) debout à dr., un sceptre dans la main dr. et une corne d'abondance dans la g. Lég. HONOS TR POT II (ou III) COS II.

6.\* AE sesterces, dupondi ou asses, Rome, Marc Aurèle César, 151/2 ap. J.-C. - BMC Emp IV 318-319 n° 1914-1915. 1918 pl. 46, 15. - Rv. H. debout de face, en toge, tête à g., un rameau dans la main dr., une corne d'abondance dans la g. Lég. HONOS SC (dans le champ).

#### DOCUMENT D'INTERPRÉTATION INCERTAINE

7. Pâte de verre. Copenhague, Mus. Thorv. I 618. - Fossing, *ThorvGems* 102 n° 584; Scichilone 55. - Ep. romaine. - H. (?) debout de face, le corps nu, les jambes drapées, sceptre dans la main g. et corne d'abondance dans la dr. Cf. un objet similaire: Berlin, Staatl. Mus. - Furtwängler, A., *Geschnitt. Steine im Antiquarium zu Berlin* (1896) n° 2925.

#### 3. Honos et Virtus, têtes

8.\* AR deniers (serrati), Rome, monétaires Kalenus et Cordus, après 67 av. J.-C. - Crawford, *RRC*

413 n° 403, 1 pl. 50; Richard, J.-Cl., *MEFRA* 75, 1963, 313-315; Richardson 244; Turcan, *o. c.* 4, 46 n° 128 pl. 47. - Av. Tête d'H. de profil à dr. (cheveux courts et couronne de laurier); derrière, tête de Virtus. Lég. HO. VIRT. KALENI. Rv. Italia (→ Italia 9) et → Roma, debout face à face, se donnent la main.

#### 4. Honos et Virtus en pied

9.\* AE sesterces, Rome. a)\* Galba, 68 ap. J.-C. - BMC Emp I 357 n° 255-257 pl. 58, 10; *RICP* 254, 474-478; Kent/Hirmer, *RömMünze* n° 214 pl. 61. - Rv. H. debout de profil à dr., nu, les jambes drapées, s'appuie du bras dr. levé sur un sceptre; le bras g. baissé tient une corne d'abondance; devant lui Virtus en tunique courte, casquée, s'appuie sur une lance renversée et tient le *parazonium*, un pied posé sur un casque (une tête de sanglier?). Lég. HONOS ET VIRTUS SC. - b) Vitellius, 69 ap. J.-C. - BMC Emp I 375; *RICP* 274, 113. - Rv. Semblable (frappé avec des coins de a): Virtus a le pied posé sur un casque.

10.\* AE sesterces, Rome et Tarragone, Vespasien, 71 ap. J.-C. - BMC Emp II 114 n° 530-531 pl. 20, 2; 185 n° 760 pl. 32, 8. - Rv. Semblable à 9, mais la pointe de la lance de Virtus est levée. Lég. HONOS ET VIRTUS SC.

#### DOCUMENT DISPARU

11. Base de statue. De Visentium. - *CIL* XI 2910. - Dédicace à H. sur une base de statue, trouvée avec une autre mentionnant Virtus (*CIL* XI 2911).

#### DOCUMENT D'INTERPRÉTATION INCERTAINE

12.\* AR denier, Rome, P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, 100 av. J.-C. - BMC Rep. n° 1704. 1713. 1724; Crawford, *RRC* 329 n° 329, 1 pl. 42; Richardson 245 n. 18. 19. - Rv. H. (?) debout de face; le bras g. baissé porte une corne d'abondance, le bras dr. levé tend une couronne au-dessus de la tête de Virtus, debout de face, casquée, tenant une lance (Richardson) (Crawford: → Genius Populi Romani et Roma).

## II. Honos dans un contexte historique

### 1. Divinité de la victoire et des triomphes

#### Reliefs monumentaux (pierre)

13.\* (= Ares/Mars 459). Socle de calcaire, Mayence, Mittelrhein. Landesmus. S 265. De Mayence. - Kähler, H., «Ein röm. Siegesdenkmal in Mainz», *Germania* 15, 1931/1, 20-28 pl. 2, 4; Picard, G. C., *Les trophées romains* (1957) 348-349. - 73/4 ap. J.-C. - Sur un pilier rectangulaire, H. debout de face (seule la partie supérieure est conservée); un pan du manteau qui lui drapait les jambes passe sur l'épaule et le bras g.; le bras dr. levé s'appuie sur un sceptre, le bras g. baissé tient une corne d'abondance. H. est figuré avec Mars, → Victoria et Virtus.

14.\* Arc de Titus, Rome, *in situ*. - Bieber 25 fig. 1; Pfanner 49, 68-71 pl. 48. 78; Van de Grift, J., *AJA* 88, 1984, 428-430; Oppermann 35-36. 39. 42. - 4°



quart du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - a)\* Intérieur du pylône nord. Triomphe de Titus: H. (tête arrachée), nu, les jambes drapées, le bras dr. tendu, marche près du char de Titus couronné par Victoria; l'attelage est mené par Roma ou Virtus. b)\* Clé de voûte, côté ville. H. debout de face, drapé dans un manteau, tient une corne d'abondance dans le bras g. De chaque côté, une Victoire lui tend palme, couronne de chêne et trophée. Sur l'autre face, Virtus.

#### Gemmes

15.\* Sardoine. New York, MMA 42.11.32. - Richter, G. M. A., *Ancient Gems from the Evans and Beatty Collections* (1924) 54; Bieber, M., *AJA* 48, 1944, 111-112; eadem, *AJA* 49, 1945, 27 fig. 4; Richter, *MetrMusGems* 132 n° 658 pl. 75. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. nu (manteau drapé autour des jambes), le bras dr. en avant, une branche dans la main g., marche à côté du char d'un général victorieux mené par Virtus; un Amour (→ Eros/Amor, Cupido) survole la scène.

16. Sardoine, Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. Du sud de la France. - Bieber 25-27 fig. 3. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Scène centrale analogue, mais le char est précédé par un homme, suivi par deux autres, et il n'y a pas d'Amour.

17. Sardoine brune. Philadelphie, coll. priv. - Bieber 25-27 fig. 2; eadem, *Archeology* 10, 1957, 61; Hölscher, T., *Victoria Romana* (1967) 82 n. 485. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Scène centrale comme sur 15, mais le char est suivi par un seul homme en toge.

18. Londres, Victoria and Albert Mus., anc. coll. Hawkins, Bignor Park (G-B). - Conze, A., *AA* 1864, 167; Michaelis, A., *AZ* 1874, 12; Michaelis, *AntM* 213; Bieber 25, 27; Richter, *MetrMusGems* 132. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Proche des précédentes.

## 2. Honos dans l'entourage de l'empereur

19. Ara Pacis Augustae, façade est, panneau de g. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1937 (Simon, E.); Torelli 37-38 pl. 2, 13 (bibl.); Oppermann 16. 18. - 9-13 ap. J.-C. - H. (seule la tête est conservée: cheveux courts, bandeau), à la dr. de Roma assise sur des armes; à g. Virtus.

20.\* (= Ares/Mars 286) Coupe en argent dite «d'Auguste». Perdue, anc. coll. Rothschild. De Boscoreale. - Héron de Villefosse, A., *MonPiot* 5, 1899, 13-138 n° 103 pl. 32, 1-2; Hölscher, o. c. 17, 181 VG 15 pl. 3, 1; idem, *JdI* 95, 1980, 281-288 fig. 14 (bibl.); Simon, E., *Augustus* (1986) 143 fig. 147. - Milieu du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. nu (jambes drapées dans un manteau), debout de face, les bras baissés, tient dans la main dr. une patère et dans la g. une corne d'abondance, la tête tournée à g. vers Virtus; à dr. un Amour et Vénus Victrix tendant une Victoire à Auguste; de l'autre côté Mars guide les provinces pacifiées vers l'empereur.

21. Relief de marbre de la «Cancellaria», frise B. Vatican, inv. 13392-13395. - Keller, E., «Studien zu den Cancellaria-Reliefs», *Klio* 49, 1968, 213; Koepel, G., *BonnJbb* 169, 1969, 138. 172-174 (bibl.). - Fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - *Adventus* de Vespasien: au se-

cond plan, H. (nu, drapé dans un manteau), de profil à g., est figuré sur une base; du bras dr. levé il s'appuie sur un sceptre, le bras g. baissé tient une corne d'abondance; derrière lui le → Genius Senatus.

22.\* Arc de Trajan à Bénévent. Façade côté campagne, pylône g., relief supérieur. - Hassel, F. J., *Der Trajansbogen* (1966) 14 pl. 8, 1 (bibl.); Fittschen, K., *AA* 1972, 756-758; Oppermann 87-88. 99-100. - 114 ap. J.-C. - H. (cuirasse et couronne de laurier) présente à Trajan (tunique et *paludamentum*) les provinces pacifiées.

23.\* (= Ares/Mars 291, = Iuno 4 avec bibl.) Base circulaire en marbre. Rome, Mus. Nuovo 3320. De l'abbaye de Grottaferrata. - Pensabene, P., dans Calza, R., et al., *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphili* (1977) 117-120 n° 138 pl. 90-92 (bibl.). - Milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. nu, debout de face, couronné de laurier, un bouclier derrière la jambe g., un manteau sur l'épaule g.; les bras baissés, il tenait une corne d'abondance de la main g. et de la dr. un rameau. Il est figuré parmi des divinités et des personnages historiques: Vénus Victrix sous les traits de Faustine l'Aînée, Virtus, le Génie du Sénat, → Victoria, Iuno Sospita et Antonin le Pieux.

24.\* Relief de marbre. Rome, arc de Constantin, côté sud de l'attique. Provient de l'arc de Marc Aurèle. - Pfanner 70 n. 165; Oppermann 160 fig. 32 (bibl.). - 176 ap. J.-C. - Face à Marc Aurèle lors de sa *profectio*, H. debout de face, en légionnaire (cuirasse, manteau, épée, casque), tient le *vexillum*; sur le sol, devant l'empereur, → Tellus (?).

25.\* Relief de marbre. Tripoli, Mus. Arch. De Lepcis Magna, attique de l'arc de Septime Sévère, frise sud-ouest. - v. Heintze, H. F., dans Kraus, *PKG* 339 n° 235 (bibl.); Strocka, V. M., *AntAfr* 6, 1972, 157-160 avec pl.; Pfanner 69. - 206-209 ap. J.-C. - *Concordia Augustorum*: au centre Septime Sévère, Caracalla, Géta et Julia Domna; à dr. H. debout (cuirasse, manteau), à g. Virtus; au second plan Minerve (→ Athena/Minerva), Hercule (→ Herakles), → Tyche/Fortuna, Liber (→ Dionysos/Bacchus).

#### DOCUMENTS D'INTERPRÉTATION INCERTAINE

26. Fr. de relief de marbre. Local. inconnue, anc. coll. C. Albizzati, Milan. - Saletti, C., «Due frammenti di un rilievo storico romano», *Athenaeum* 67, 1976, 255-270; Pfanner 69. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Tête masculine juvénile de profil à dr. (cheveux dans le cou, couronne de chêne; près du visage une hampe tenue par la main): H. ? Sur un autre fr. du même relief une tête féminine: Virtus?

27. (= Demeter/Ceres 174\* avec bibl.) «Grand Camée de France». Sardoine. Paris, Cab. Méd. 264. - Jucker, H., «Der grosse Pariser Cameo», *JdI* 91, 1976, 211-250 (bibl. et interprétations ant.). - 20-40 ap. J.-C. - Au registre médian, face à un groupe de personnages historiques, un jeune homme assis (cheveux courts, tunique) tient un *volumen* (le *cursus honorum* de Germanicus: Simon, E., *KölnJbb* 9, 1967-68, 17): H. ?

28. (= Athena/Minerva 444, = Demeter/Ceres 175\* avec bibl.) «Gemma Claudia». Sardoine. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. IX a 63. - Möbius, H., *Abh-München* NF 59, 1964, 28 pl. 7, 2; Zwierlein-Diehl,

E., *KölnJbb* 17, 1980, 36; Oberleitner, W., *Geschnittene Steine. Die Prunkkameen der Wiener Antikensammlung* (1985) 55 fig. 37-38; Simon, o. c. 20, 82-83 fig. 106. - 48/9 ap. J.-C. - Deux couples de bustes jumelés se font face, émergeant de cornes d'abondance séparées par un aigle: à g. Claude et Agrippine la Jeune, à dr. H. de profil à g., couronné de chêne, sous les traits de Germanicus, et derrière lui Virtus casquée, sous les traits d'Agrippine l'Aînée.

## III. Honos, divinité privée

29. (= Abundantia 5\* avec bibl., = Homonoia/Concordia 79\* avec bibl., = Iuno 190) Sarcophage de marbre. Rome, San Lorenzo fuori le Mura. - Fittschen, K., *AA* 1971, 117-119 (bibl.); Koch/Sichter-mann, *RömSark* 101 fig. 97. - Fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Scène de *dextrarum iunctio*: parmi les Vertus présentes, entre Fortuna et → Pietas, H. (toge, couronne de laurier) debout de face, la tête tournée à dr. vers la scène du mariage, tient un *volumen* dans la main g.

30. Autel dédié à H. et Virtus. Budapest, Mus. Nat. R-D 352. D'Eszék ou de Pečs. - *CIL* III 10285; Toutain, *Cultes* 420; Samter 2294; Kähler, o. c. 13, 22. - 4<sup>e</sup> quart du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. en légionnaire, debout de face, une lance dans la main dr. et un bouclier dans la g.; à ses pieds, à une échelle réduite, un homme nu à terre. Sur la face opposée, Virtus, sous l'apparence d'une Victoire sur un globe.

## COMMENTAIRE

H. est une divinité essentiellement liée à Rome et qui ne s'est pas implantée dans les provinces. Les dédicaces proviennent toutes d'établissements, légions ou postes douaniers (*CIL* III 5123), ou de personnages officiels (*CIL* III 10285). Son culte et son clergé ne sont attestés, en dehors de Rome, que dans des colonies au sens strict: Sicca Veneria (*CIL* VIII 6951), Cirta, dont le nom officiel *Colonia Iulia Iuvenalis Honoris et Virtutis Cirta* (*CIL* VIII 7041. 7071) mentionne le nom du dieu, et Narbo (*CIL* XII 4371). Les monnaies à son effigie ont été émises à Rome ou dans la ville d'origine de l'empereur (9-10). De même, si dans quelques textes grecs on utilise pour désigner la divinité le mot (féminin) *Τιμή* (Cass. Dio 54, 18, 2), Plut. (*quaest. Rom.* 266 f) lui préfère la transcription (masculine) du nom latin, *Ovop*.

#### L'apparence d'Honos

H. agit dans plusieurs domaines, aussi son aspect est-il variable. Le plus souvent, il est figuré comme un jeune homme aux cheveux courts, fréquemment couronné de laurier, nu, drapé dans un manteau, portant une corne d'abondance et un sceptre ou des rameaux, suivant ainsi le type iconographique le plus courant des *Genii* (pour des images particulièrement indécises: 7), notamment le Genius Populi Romani (12. 14-18. 20-21). Ce type reflété par les monnaies (9-12) est probablement celui des statues de culte à Rome et à Vientium (11).

Le caractère militaire d'H. est parfois traduit par le port de la cuirasse (22. 24-25. 30). Sur un autel (30) seule l'inscription permet de reconnaître H. dans le personnage dont l'aspect est celui de Mars. Il est aussi indiqué par la présence de Virtus et par le port du sceptre (9-10).

Mais H. peut aussi, dans un contexte civil, être vêtu de la toge (3-6. 29) ou d'une tunique (27). Enfin seul le contexte permet d'identifier H. dans un personnage nu (23).

#### Les attributions d'Honos

##### a) Dans le domaine militaire

Le caractère militaire d'H. est marqué par l'association à des victoires de la construction et de l'aménagement de ses sanctuaires: celui de la Porte Capène fut dédié en 233 av. J.-C. pour une victoire sur les Ligures, enrichi avec les chefs-d'œuvre de Syracuse et agrandi à l'occasion de la bataille de Clastidium; celui d'H. et Virtus au Capitole fut construit par Marius avec le butin pris sur les Cimbres et les Teutons (*CIL* XI 1831). Une monnaie (12) où H. (?) couronne Virtus (?) fait peut-être allusion, comme le souligne le revers, à l'union nationale réalisée grâce à Pompée (Richard, o. c. 8). Mattingly, enfin, associe à la pacification d'une révolte gauloise une émission monétaire de Galba (9a).

H. est aussi divinité de la légion, comme en témoignent les inscriptions réparties dans l'empire: il protège plus particulièrement l'aigle ou les soldats à titre personnel (cf. Sources littéraires et épigraphiques).

Par sa nature même H. prend place parmi les *divinités du triomphe et de la victoire*. Il est figuré à ce titre sur plusieurs reliefs, sur l'arc de Titus (14) où H. est aussi nécessaire au triomphe terrestre de l'empereur qu'à son apothéose, et sur des gemmes (15-18). Ce rôle est souligné par la situation même des sanctuaires au Champ de Mars et au Capitole, soit au départ et à l'arrivée des triomphes. H. a, pour la même raison, été identifié à l'entrée de l'Ara Pacis (19), où il semble accueillir Auguste sur ce monument construit pour évoquer la paix revenue à la suite de victoires.

Il est associé non seulement à la célébration de la victoire mais aussi à la pacification et à l'hommage rendu à l'empereur par les provinces conquises, dans un premier temps comme témoin de l'action de Mars qui les guide (20) et dans un second comme acteur à la place du dieu (22).

Les liens d'H. et de la victoire sont soulignés à plusieurs reprises par son association avec Mars (13), marquée par la proximité de leurs temples, et avec Vénus Victrix (20. 23, et sanctuaire commun au théâtre de Pompée, cf. Sources litt.). H. revêt d'ailleurs sur un autel (30) l'aspect du dieu et Virtus celui de la Victoire; sur cette image dédiée par un personnage officiel, il illustre l'honneur de la légion victorieuse en terrassant un Barbare.

##### b) Dans l'ordre civil

H. apparaît en plusieurs occasions comme Ovide le dépeint: divinité civile de l'ordre social. Ce rôle est

exprimé par le monnayage de Marc Aurèle (3-6) où H., vêtu de la toge, seul, tient un rameau symbolisant la paix. Son illustration est encore plus évidente dans une scène de *dextrarum iunctio* où H. remplace Virtus (29): il est là en tant que divinité privée. Parmi les divinités qui entourent Antonin le Pieux dans un contexte politique, il illustre par son voisinage avec le *Genius Senatus* l'accord de l'empereur et du Sénat (cf. Pensabene, o. c. 23).

Il apparaît aussi comme la personnification du *cursus honorum* sur une gemme (28) où sous les traits de Germanicus il sert de garant au mariage de Claude; dans ce même contexte il est figuré sur un sarcophage (29), tenant un *volumen* qui concrétise le *cursus honorum*, comme peut-être sur une autre gemme où il participe à une apothéose (cf. arc de Titus, 14). Il est sous cet aspect beaucoup plus intimement lié à une personne comme *Genius* personnel; il peut aussi représenter l'empereur (4; *CIL* VIII 6951) ou la personnification de son esprit (23): ainsi, H. est-il probablement figuré sous les traits de Marc Aurèle (3a).

**Honos et Virtus.** Il est impossible d'évoquer H. sans Virtus. Leur union fréquemment illustrée découle du fait que l'honneur est la rétribution de la *virtus*. Elle est particulièrement marquée par l'utilisation des *capita iugata* (8. 28), qui supprime toute hiérarchie entre les deux divinités. Ces liens n'ont pas toujours été si étroits: les témoignages les plus anciens - temple de la Porte Colline, plaquette gravée (*CIL* VI 30913) - sont dédiés à H. seul; l'opposition des Pontifes à un sanctuaire commun vient confirmer cette indépendance. Sur les monnaies, à une époque plus tardive, la signification d'H. diffère lorsqu'il est seul (1-6) ou avec Virtus (8-10. 12): son caractère militaire s'affirme alors davantage.

**Honos dans l'entourage de l'empereur.** Par deux fois H. porte la *corona civica* (26. 28) et sur l'arc de Titus (14b) une Victoire la lui tend. Cette couronne le rapproche de l'empereur à qui elle est attribuée fréquemment. Il est présent près de l'empereur à des moments particulièrement solennels, fictifs (20. 22) ou réels: à Lepcis Magna (25) où il est parmi les garants d'une union politique, et pendant l'*adventus* de Vespasien (21) et la *profectio* de Marc Aurèle (24) où, comme les licteurs sont le signe de la dignité de celui qui a droit à leur escorte, H. accompagne l'empereur.

CATHERINE LOCHIN

## HOPLADAMAS, HOPLODAMAS

(Ὁπλαδάμας, Ὁπλοδάμας, Ὁπλόδαμος, celui qui dompte par les armes) Géant (→ Gigantes).

Paus. 8, 32, 5; 36, 2, mentionne à Méthydrion, en Arcadie, le Géant Hoplodamos (Hoplodamas, selon

une conjecture de Xylander; Ὁπλάδαμος *codd.*) qui, avec ses compagnons, a protégé → Rhea enceinte de → Zeus, lorsqu'elle s'est réfugiée sur le mont Thaumasion. Sur cette tradition, sans doute ancienne, qui assimile les Géants à une confrérie armée pareille à celle des Courètes, cf. Waser, O., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 746; Vian, F., *La guerre des Géants* (1952) 238-246; Jost, M., *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (1985) 243-245. 277-278. Ce nom, sous la forme Hoplodamas ou Hopladamas, est restitué avec vraisemblance sur deux vases attiques à f. n. figurant des Gigantomachies:

1. (= Gigantes 105 avec renvois) Frs. d'un dinos signé Lydos. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr 607. - 560-550 av. J.-C. - Géant... ἸΑΔΑΜΑΣ tombé à genoux devant Apollon.

2. (= Gigantes 171) Dinofr. Malibu, Getty Mus. 81.AE.211. - 560-550 av. J.-C. - Géant... ἸΜΑΣ terrassé devant Zeus.

FRANCIS VIAN

**HOPLON** → Lapithai

**HOPLOS** → Lapithai

## HORAI

(Ὥραι, Horae) Filles de → Zeus et de → Themis, sœurs des Moires (→ Moirai). Forces physiques et morales personnifiées plutôt que divinités du panthéon grec, elles sont les protectrices de la végétation (leur nom exprime l'idée de croissance, de fructification) ainsi que de l'ordre divin, en tant qu'hypostases de Thémis.

Êtres abstraits à la personnalité incertaine, elles se présentent d'ordinaire en groupe, le plus souvent d'abord en triades, comme les Charites (→ Charis, Charites), les Moires, les Muses (→ Mousa, Mousai), les Nymphes (→ Nymphai). Par la suite, elles en viennent à personnifier les changements dans la nature, les saisons: leur nombre se fixe à quatre, et elles se distinguent par leurs symboles (→ Horai/Horae, → Kairoi/Tempora anni).

**SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES:** D'après la tradition littéraire, les H. sont filles de Zeus, dieu du temps et souvent de l'agriculture, et de Thémis, déesse de la justice (Hes. *theog.* 901-903; *erg.* 74-75; Pind. *Pae.* 1, 5-8; O. 13, 6-8; *fig.* 30 Snell/Maehler; Panyassis, Davies *EGF* 13 = Bernabé *PEG* *fig.* 17; Apollod. *bibl.* 1 [13] 3, 1; Diod. 5, 73); leurs noms, chez Hésiode, sont → Eunomia, → Dike et → Eirene (Εὐνομία, Δίκη, Εἰρήνη), qui d'après certains seraient de simples hypostases de Thémis.

En Attique, Pausanias (Paus. 9, 35, 2; cf. Hyg. *fab.* 183) cite les noms Thallô (Θαλλώ) et Karpô (Καρπώ)

comme ceux des H. tandis que Auxô (Αὐξώ) et Hégémoné (Ἡγεμόνη) sont des Charites; suivant d'autres versions Thallô, Auxô et Karpô (Pollux 8, 106: Thallô, Auxô, Hégémoné) sont les trois H. et caractérisent les trois étapes de la floraison.

Étymologiquement, ὥρα signifie «période définie de temps; saison, heure; la belle saison», l'adjectif ὥραιος «de la saison», pour des jeunes gens «en fleur», d'où «joli, gracieux» (Chantraine s. v. ὥρα; cf. Pind. *N.* 8, 1; Hesych., Suda et *Etym. m. s. v.* ὥρα; Eust. 1349, 8-10 ad Hom. *Il.* 24, 262). Les H. sont aussi mentionnées comme déesses de la beauté juvénile.

Leur séjour est situé dans l'Olympe, parmi les divinités du panthéon; elles sont chargées d'ouvrir et de fermer les portes du ciel aux nuages et, comme auriges des dieux, de tenir les chevaux divins d'→ Hera et d'→ Athena (Hom. *Il.* 5, 749-751 = 8, 393-395; 8, 433-435; Paus. 5, 11, 7; Nonn. *Dion.* 2, 703-705; Philostr. *im.* 2, 34; Ov. *fast.* 1, 125; *Etym. m. s. v.* ὥρα).

On ne sait si depuis la plus haute antiquité l'on se représentait les H. sous forme humaine. La tradition littéraire les décrit comme de belles jeunes femmes directement liées à la végétation, exerçant une influence bénéfique pour les mortels, surtout dans les domaines de la fécondité et de la santé, en raison de leur force apotropaïque (cf. Philoch., *FGH* 328 F 173).

Elles sont liées à la naissance et à l'enfance des dieux olympiens, présentes en particulier lors de la naissance d'→ Hermes; elles confèrent des charmes et des dons exceptionnels aux nouveaux-nés, p. ex. à → Pandora (→ Charis, Charites 4) et à → Aphrodite (Hes. *erg.* 74-75; Hom. *h.* 6, 5-13). D'autres divinités, comme Héra et → Dionysos, bénéficient de leurs soins au cours de leur enfance (Antigenes, Sutton, D. F., *Dithyrambographi Graeci* [1989] n° 8 T 1; Pind. *dith.* pour Athènes, *fig.* 75, 14-15 Snell/Maehler; Paus. 2, 13, 3).

Les H. s'occupent aussi d'Aristée (→ Aristaios I), le fondateur de Cyrène (Pind. *P.* 9, 59-65); elles donnent la beauté à la Nymphé Okyrrhoë (Apoll. Rhod. *fig.* 7 Powell).

Leur présence aux mariages de → Thetis et Pélée (→ Peleus), de Zeus et Héra, de Zeus et → Europe (I) (Moschos 2, 164; Hyg. *astr.* 2, 5), de Dionysos et Ariane (→ Ariadne; Eratosth. *kat.* 5; cf. Robert, *Heldensage* 66), d'→ Eros et → Psyche (Apul. *met.* 6, 24) indique leur influence favorable et bienfaisante. Avec Zeus, qui est leur père d'après toutes les généalogies, les H. partagent un but commun, celui de protéger l'agriculture (Pind. O. 4, 1-3; *Pae.* 1, 5-6; Aristoph. *Pax.* 1168).

Comme saisons, elles sont proches de → Demeter (Hom. *h.* Cer. 54. 192. 492; cf. Paus. 3, 19, 4; un paysan sacrifie à Déméter et aux H.: *Anth. Pal.* 6, 98), qui est appelée Δημήτηρ Ὠρηφόρος (Hom. *h.* Cer. 54. 192. 492); au printemps, ce sont elles qui ramènent → Persephone sur terre (Orph. *h.* 29, 9; 43, 7). Les H. ont donc très tôt une relation implicite avec l'arrivée du printemps, et plus généralement avec le changement du temps. Plus tard, il arrive qu'on les associe aux Génies des saisons, qui apportent des fleurs et des fruits (cf. Philoch., *FGH* 328 F 173; Technau, W., *JdI* 1937,

102 n° 2). Leur culte est dans ce cas étroitement lié à celui que l'on rend aux divinités de la végétation.

Une relation étroite existe aussi entre les H. et le dieu du soleil, → Apollon, qui, assimilé à → Helios, a pour fonction de favoriser la fécondité de la terre (Porph. *de abst.* 2, 7). Callimaque (Kall. *h.* 2, 87) appelle les H. *Καρυστάδες Ὥραι* (saisons des «fêtes Carnéiennes», trad. E. Cahen), et Apollon lui-même a pour éphithètes Ὠρίτης, Ὠρεσιδότης, Ὠρομέδων.

Protectrices de la beauté, elles sont liées à la déesse de la beauté et de l'amour, Aphrodite (*Kypria*, Davies *EGF* 4 = Bernabé *PEG* *fig.* 4; Hom. *h.* 6, 5-13), comme le montre le culte reçu en commun sur le même autel (Aristoph. *Pax* 456). Les H. dansent avec Aphrodite et les Charites dans l'Olympe (Hom. *h.* Ap. 194-196).

D'autre part, elles aident Dionysos à faire mûrir le vin. Le sanctuaire des H. à Athènes abritait un autel consacré à Dionysos Orthos (Philoch., *FGH* 328 F 5b) et une inscr. provenant du sanctuaire de Dionysos Orthos est dédiée aux H. et aux Nymphes (*IG* II/III<sup>a</sup> 4877). Cette relation et confirmée par Antigenes, Sutton o. c. n° 8 T 1, qui appelle les H. *Διονυσιάδες*.

Enfin → Pan est σύνδρομος des H., il reçoit lui aussi un culte en commun avec elles (Orph. *h.* 11, 4).

Les H., divinités qui incarnent d'abord le changement de temps, finissent par se confondre en nombre avec les quatre saisons (Hom. *Od.* 10, 469; 11, 295; 14, 294; Soph. *Oid. t.* 156; Aristoph. *Aves* 696; Kall. *h.* 2, 80-83).

Dans la comédie attique, les H. n'apparaissent que comme des figures conventionnelles. Pourtant, en Attique, elles sont considérées comme divinités du climat, de la végétation, comme des divinités locales. Un fait indique bien l'importance de leur culte en Attique: dans le serment que prêtaient les éphèbes athéniens parvenus à leur vingtième année, les H. étaient invoquées au même titre que les autres divinités (Pollux 8, 106; G. Daux, «Deux stèles d'Acharnai», dans *Charisterion A. Orlandos* I [1965] 81).

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## CATALOGUE

### I. Les Horai seules ou en groupes

#### A. Sans autres personnages

*Œuvres connues par des témoignages littéraires*  
Relief et ronde bosse

1. Statues de marbre. Erythrées (Ionie). - Paus. 7, 5, 9: œuvre d'Endoios. - Des statues des H. et des Charites étaient érigées en plein air, devant l'entrée du temple d'Athéna Polias.



2. (= Charis, Charites 7) «Trône» de marbre. Amyclées (Laconie). – Paus. 3, 18, 10: œuvre de Bathylès. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Deux H. et deux Charites soutiennent le «trône» d'Apollon.

3. (= Hyakinthos 1 avec renvois et bibl.) Autel d'Hyakinthos dans le «trône» d'Amyclées. – Paus. 3, 19, 3-4: les H. et les Moires avec d'autres divinités (Déméter, Coré, Hadès, Aphrodite, Athéna, Artémis). Paus. 3, 19, 5: les H. et les Muses avec les filles de → Thestios (→ Thestides).

4. (= Charis, Charites 43) Ornaments du trône de la statue chryséléphantine de Zeus. Olympie, temple de Zeus Olympien. – Paus. 5, 11, 7: œuvre de Phidias. – 435 av. J.-C. – Le haut du dossier, au dessus de la tête de Zeus, est décoré d'un côté des trois H., de l'autre des trois Charites.

5. Décor de la statue de Zeus Olympien, dans son sanctuaire à Mégare. – Paus. 1, 40, 4: œuvre de Théokosmos, aidé par Phidias. – Au-dessus de la tête de Zeus sont représentées les H. et les Moires.

6. (= Charis, Charites 44) Ornaments de la statue chryséléphantine d'Héra. Argos, temple d'Héra. – Paus. 2, 17, 4: œuvre de Polyclète, 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – La couronne de la déesse a pour décor les H. et les Charites.

7. (= Apollon 803, = Demeter 437) Décor en relief d'une table cultuelle. Agora de Mégalopolis, périoche des Grandes Déeses. : Paus. 8, 31, 3: œuvre de Damophon de Messène, II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Froning, *Schmuckreliefs* 40 n. 45; Jost, M., *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (1985) 227. – Deux H. sont représentées à côté de Pan et d'Apollon.

#### Reliefs de marbre

8.\* Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 1150 (anc. coll. Tyszkiewicz). De Laconie? – Fröhner, W., *La coll. Tyszkiewicz* (1892-97) pl. 30; Lippold, *GrPl* 31 n. 17: Euménidenrelief; Langlotz, E., *Frühgriech. Bildhauerschulen* (1927) 86-87. 91 n. 3 pl. 44 d. – 2<sup>e</sup> quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Trois H. (ou Korai?) de profil vers la dr., en péplos, tenant des objets indéterminés. Inscr. ΚΟΡΑΣ ΕΟΤΙΑΣ.

9.\* Plaque de marbre pentélique. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 259. Du théâtre de Dionysos. – Kavvadias, P., *Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθν. Μουσείου, Κατάλογος* (1890-92) n. 259; Reinach, *RépRel* II 371, 3; Svoronos 239 pl. 32; BrBr 600; Weege, F., *Der Tanz in der Antike* (1926) fig. 85; Karouzou, S., *Cat. des sculpt.* (1967) 188-189; Fuchs, W., *Die Vorbilder der neuatt. Reliefs*, JdI 20. Erg.-H. (1959) 99-101. 172 n. 16 pl. 99 b; 102 a; 103; Edwards, Ch., *Greek Votive Reliefs to Pan and the Nymphs* (1985) 205-207 pl. 74 fig. 44. – Fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. (chiton, himation) dansant vers la g.

10.\* Marbre pentélique. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 260. – Reinach, *RépRel* II 372, 2; Fuchs, o. c. 9, 99-101. – H. (chiton, himation) se retournant vers la g.; les cheveux serrés dans un *sakkos*, elle porte une couronne.

11.\* Marbre pentélique. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2667. – Becatti, G., *RivIstArch* 7, 1940, 81; Fuchs, o. c. 9, 99-101. 172 n. 16 pl. 99 c; Edwards, o. c. 9, 205-206 pl. 74 fig. 43. – Fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. (chiton) dansant sur la pointe des pieds.

12.\* Delphes, Mus. 5752 + 2170. – Ducat, J./Fuchs, W., *BCH* 89, 1965, 15 fig. 1; Fuchs, o. c. 9, 72 n. 53; Zagdoun, M. A., *FDelphes* IV 6, *Monuments figurés, les reliefs* (1977) 99-100 n. 25 fig. 88. – Fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.; ép. d'Hadrien (Fuchs). – Trois H. dansant (fin péplos agité par le vent).

13. (= Charis, Charites 23\*) Reliefs copiés sur un original perdu. Florence, Uff.; Vatican; Munich, Glypt. – Ducat/Fuchs, o. c. 12, 18 fig. 2; Edwards, o. c. 9, 777 n. 86 pl. 39. – Ep. d'Hadrien. – Groupe de trois H. (ou Charites: Harrison) qui se tiennent par les mains et avancent vers la dr. La première tient un épi de blé.

14. (= Artemis Ephesia 88\* avec bibl.) Relief ornant une statue de marbre. Tripoli (Libye), Mus. Arch. 150. De Leptis Magna. – I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Sur le buste, autour du cou, quatre H. portant une corne d'abondance décorent le haut du vêtement.

#### Reliefs de terre cuite

15. (= Horai/Horae 3\* avec bibl.) Reliefs architectoniques. – Campana, *Antiche opere in plastica* II (1842-51) pl. 31; v. Rohden/Winnefeld 89-92 fig. 179-180 pl. 57; Hanfmann II 141-142 n. 69-73. – Ep. d'Auguste, ou fin I<sup>er</sup>-début II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Borbein, A. H., *Campanareliefs*, RM 14. Erg.-H. (1968) 189, n'identifie pas les figures comme des H.

16. (= Horai/Horae 9\* avec bibl.) Vases «arétins» à reliefs. – Hanfmann II 140-141 n. 57-60; Marabini Moevs, M. T., «Penteteris e le tre Hore nella pompè di Tolomeo Filadelfo», *BollArte* 42, 1987, 1-36. – Début de l'ép. impériale. – Quatre H.: portant des fruits dans le rabat de son vêtement; chasseresse, avec le *lagobolon* et du gibier; avec une phiale et un chevreau; avec des fleurs et une couronne. Hanfmann juge difficile de préciser l'original, Furtwängler pense à une influence directe des reliefs classicisants en métal du cercle de Pasitélès, Marabini Moevs montre que ce sont les figures les plus proches des H. de la procession de Ptolémée II.

#### Ronde bosse

17. a) (= Horai/Horae 35) Statue de marbre. Florence, Uff. 136. – Reinach, *RépStat* I 217 n. 806; Hanfmann II 139 n. 48; Mansuelli, *SculUff* 153 n. 124 fig. 120. – Œuvre archaïsante de la 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – H. de l'Automne (chiton, himation) portant des fruits. – b) Statue fr. de marbre. Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts 4757. De Rome. – Hekler, A., *Die antiken Skulpturen im ungar. Nat. Mus.* (1929), 26 n. 17; Hanfmann II 139-140 n. 53. – Œuvre classicisante du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Ces deux répliques font partie d'une série d'une dizaine de copies reconnaissables à l'attitude dansante des figures ou aux fleurs, guirlandes etc., qu'elles portent. Elles ont été pour la plupart trouvées en Italie et attribuées à Pasitélès et à son atelier (sur ce type, cf. Hanfmann II 139-140 n. 46-56; Schlörb, B., *Timotheos* [1965] 81 n. 241; Lippold, *GrPl* 213: le copiste romain montre une préférence pour les types féminins du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. et même pour ceux, archaïsants, de la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s., de l'atelier de Callimaque).

#### Mosaïque d'époque impériale

18. Pavement polychrome. Castelli (Crète), Mus. De Castelli Kissamou, villa romaine. – Markoulaki, St., «Οι Ὁρές και οι Εποχές από το Καστέλλι Κισάμου», *Κρητική Έστια* D 1, 1987, 33-58. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Les trois H. forment une ronde autour d'un autel cylindrique (elles ne font que se toucher les mains): H. (chiton, himation autour de la taille), des bandeaux multicolores et une couronne de fleurs dans les cheveux; H. vue de dos (chiton, himation, bracelet), avec une couronne de feuillage vert; H. de l'Hiver? (chiton, himation, voile) au second plan derrière l'autel. A g., un arbre.

#### B. Avec d'autres personnages

##### 1. Les Horai avec Phinée

19.\* (= Boreadai 7\*, = Harpyai 14) Coupe chalcidienne f.n. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 164. De Vulci(?). – Rumpf, *ChalkVasen* n. 20 pl. 40-44; Simon, *FührerWüzb* 84-85 pl. 19; Schefold, *SB* II 176 fig. 232; Vojatzki, M., *Frühe Argonautenbilder* (1982) 66 n. 553. 559. – Vers 530 av. J.-C. – Deux H. (inscr. de lecture difficile) dont l'une tient une fleur, debout à côté du lit de Phinée.

##### 2. Les Horai en procession conduites par Dionysos

20.\* Pyxide f.n. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 3989. De Béotie. – Furtwängler, *BerlinVasen* II 1010 n. 3989. – Vers 540 av. J.-C.

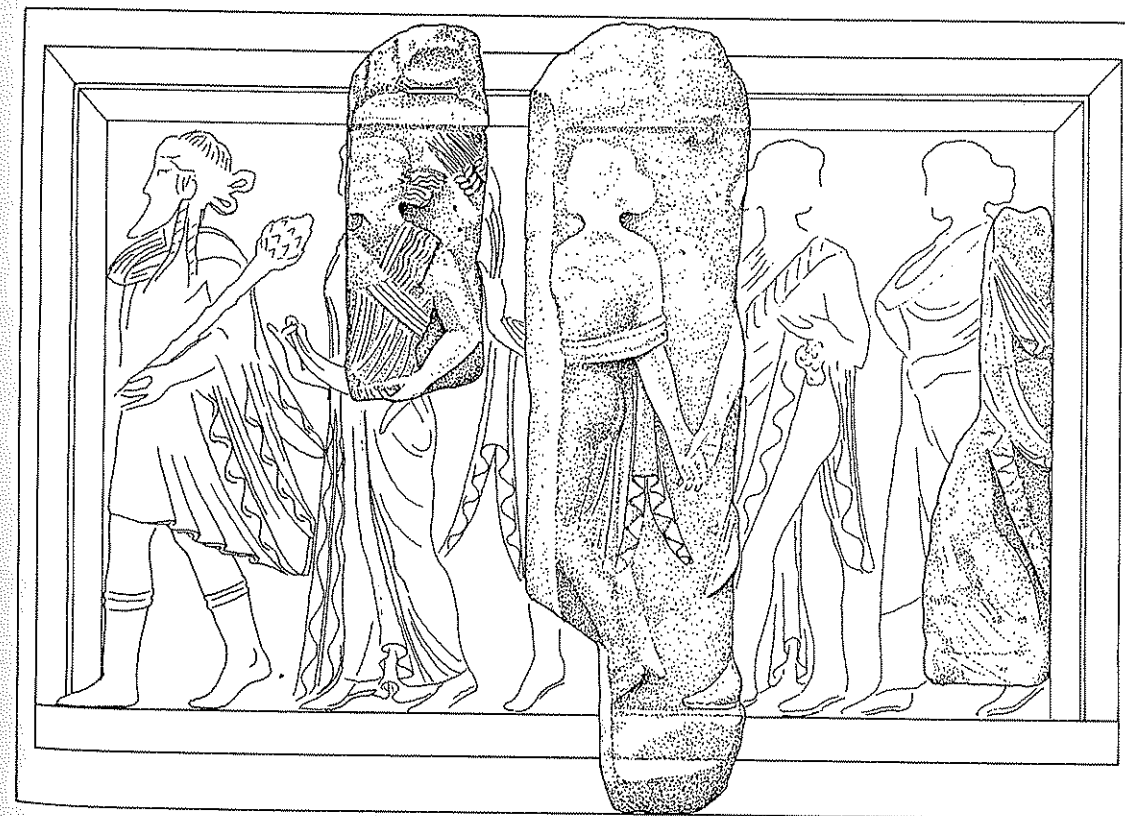
21. Procession de Ptolémée II Philadelphe. – Athen. 5, 198a-b; Price, E. E., *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (1983); Marabini Moevs, o. c. 16. – Quatre personnages costumés en H., portant chacun les fruits caractéristiques d'une saison, suivent le cortège dionysiaque pentétérique dédié à la mémoire des parents du roi.

#### Reliefs de marbre

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Becatti, G., «Lo stile arcaistico», *CrArt* 6, 1941, 32-48; Edwards, o. c. 9, 171-179; Froning, *Schmuckreliefs* 71 n. 42; Fuchs, o. c. 9, 151-159. 172 n. 9 pl. 11b; Hanfmann I 111-113; II 137-139; Harrison, E., *Agora XI, Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (1965) 59; Hauser, F., *Die neuattischen Reliefs* (1889); Havelock, C. M., «Archaistic Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period», *AJA* 68, 1964, 55-59 pl. 22 fig. 18-19, 22; Marabini Moevs, o. c. 16; Schmidt E., *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* (1922) 92; Tiverios, M., «Archaistica II», dans *Festschr. N. Himmelmann, BonnJbb* 47. Beih. (1989) 393-397 pl. 62, 2; Zagdoun, M.-A., *La sculpture archaïsante dans l'art hellénistique et dans l'art romain du Haut Empire* (1989) 122-126: Dionysos et les H.

#### Type I: Louvre-Fribourg

22. a)\* (= Dionysos 596 avec bibl., = Horai/Horae 1a) Paris, Louvre MA 968. – Fin de l'ép. républicaine (Fuchs, Froning, Zagdoun) d'après un original de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. sous l'influence de Lysippe (Schmidt); début de l'ép. hellénistique (Harrison); 4<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. (Havelock, Edwards); vers 160 av. J.-C. (Fuchs, Zagdoun) d'après des modèles de la 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. (Tiverios). – Dionysos barbu (himation court, bottes montantes), le thyrsé à la main, conduit les trois



Horai 23



H. conservées: le Printemps (chiton, himation long), tenant de la main dr. l'extrémité de l'himation, porte des fleurs dans le rabat ainsi formé; l'Été (chiton, himation enroulé en bourrelet), de trois quarts dos, tient deux épis de blé de la main g.; l'Automne est vêtu d'un chiton et d'un himation drapé en oblique. - **b**) (= Horai/Horae 1b) Relief fr. en marbre. Anc. Fribourg-en-Brigau, Univ. - Fuchs, *o. c.* 9, 172 n° 10 avec bibl. - Fin de l'ép. républicaine d'après un original grec. - Les figures fragmentaires des H. de l'Été, de l'Automne et de l'Hiver aident à compléter le schéma du relief 22a et à constituer le type I, Louvre-Fribourg (cf. Zagdoun pl. 40 fig. 145).

23. \* (= Horai/Horae 1c) Relief très fr. Le Pirée, Mus. Arch. 2034 + 2089 + 2091. Du port du Pirée. - Fuchs, *o. c.* 9, 51. 187 n° 6; Harl, *o. c.* 29, 135 n° 7; Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Th., *Neoattika* (1979) 40 n° 68-70 fig. 6; Zagdoun 123. 247 n° 356; Tiverios 391-394 pl. 63. - Tout début de l'ép. d'Antonin, d'après un original créé très probablement à Athènes sous l'influence alexandrine (Tiverios). - L'H. du Printemps (chiton long, himation oblique) s'avance à grand pas vers la g., soulevant avec les mains un pan de son vêtement qui contient des fleurs. Derrière elle, deux épis de blé, attribut de l'Été (chiton long, petit himation en bourrelet) qui de sa main dr. tenait la main dr. de l'Automne - très fr., la seule H. qui tourne la tête vers l'arrière. Suit l'Hiver, en chiton et himation long. Dionysos devait figurer sur ce relief, conduisant le cortège (Tiverios 393).

24. Fr. de relief. Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti. - Amelung, *Skulptur VatMus I* 545-546 n° 358 pl. 58; Tiverios 396 n. 34. - Seuls sont conservés le dos et le bras g. de l'H. de l'Été (chiton, himation en bourrelet).

#### Type II: Pourtalès-Gorgier

25. (= Charis, Charites 39, = Dionysos 597 avec bibl.) Varsovie, Mus. Nat., anc. Cracovie, coll. Czartoryski, de la coll. Pourtalès-Gorgier. - Copie romaine d'un original du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.; vers 150 av. J.-C. (Havelock, Harrison); après la fin de l'ép. hellénistique (Zagdoun); création romaine (Schmidt). - Dionysos (chiton, himation à rabat) s'avance solennellement, la main dr. tendue en avant, la g. appuyée sur un long thyrsos. Les trois H. (deux d'entre elles en chiton et himation, la troisième en péplos archaïsant) se tiennent par les mains. Elles ne portent aucun attribut mais se distinguent par les vêtements et les gestes.

26. \* Reliefs fr. du type Pourtalès-Gorgier. **a**)\* Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. 2440. - Schmidt 92 n° 3 pl. 12, 5; Zagdoun 124. 258 n° 507. - Partie inférieure des deux dernières H. - **b**) Klagenfurt, Landesmus. - Schmidt 92 n° 2; Hanfmann 137 n° 27; Zagdoun 124. 238 n° 215.

#### Glyptique

27. Pâte de verre. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. - Hanfmann 137 n. 28; Zagdoun 121. 321 n° 103. - Trois H. se tenant par les mains, du type II.

#### Reliefs mixtes ou dérivés

28. Reliefs mixtes combinant des figures de types I

et II. **a**) Base ronde de marbre. Wilton House. - Schmidt 94 pl. 11, 2-3; Fuchs 57; Zagdoun 126. 257 n° 504. - Règne de Claude. - Dionysos (type II) suivi de l'Hiver et du Printemps. - **b**) Base de candélabre de marbre. Rome, Villa Borghèse CXVI. - Schmidt 94 n° 5; Fuchs 57; Cain, H. U., *Röm. Marmorkandelaber* (1985) 174 n° 73 pl. 68, 2 Beil. 6. 7; Zagdoun 126. 253 n° 440. - Début de l'ép. d'Auguste (Cain). - Sur les panneaux de la base, deux Dionysos (type II) et l'H. du Printemps (type I).

29. \* Deux fr. d'un même relief. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. 913 + 944. De l'agora d'Ephèse. - Harl, F., «Reste eines archaischen Reliefs in Epheesus in Wien», *AA* 88, 1973, 133-137; Edwards, *o. c.* 9, pl. 64; Zagdoun 126. 202. 257 n° 497. - Début de l'ép. impériale. - Sont conservées une partie de l'H. de l'Été, la tête et l'épaule de l'Hiver (de type I); l'état de conservation très fragmentaire ne permet pas de savoir si le relief reproduisait un seul type ou combinait les deux.

30. Relief fr. Tripoli, Mus. Arch. De Leptis Magna. - Traversari, G., *QuadLibia* 9, 1977, 93-96; Zagdoun 126. 209. 255 n° 464 pl. 41 fig. 152. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sont conservés Dionysos (type I), l'H. du Printemps (type II) et un autre personnage.

#### 3. Les Horai avec Dionysos et Pan

31. \* Relief en marbre des îles. Rhodes, Mus. Arch. BE 2103. - Zagdoun 126. 248 n° 370 pl. 41 fig. 152a. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Dionysos tient le thyrsos et une amphore (Zagdoun: adaptation très libre du type II); il tourne le dos à l'H. de l'Hiver, figurée de trois quarts vers la g. Pan s'avance de trois quarts vers la dr. Quel qu'en soit le modèle, la liberté dans la représentation du sujet ainsi que la présence de Pan éloignent ce monument des stéréotypes.

#### 4. Les Horai avec Pan

32. \* Relief votif de marbre. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1449. De Mégapolis ou de Sparte. - Michaelis, A., *Adl* 35, 1863, 292-293 suppl. pl. L2; Dressel, H./Milchhöfer, A., *AM* 2, 1877, 379, 80; Svoronos 450-451 pl. 76; Pottier, E., *BCH* 5, 1881, 353-354; Hauser, F., «Disiecta membra neuattischer Reliefs», *OeJh* 6, 1903, 86-87; Fuchs, *o. c.* 9, 21-23. 70-71. 139; Becatti, G., *o. c.* 11, 80 pl. 54; Lippold, *GrPl* 299; Hanfmann 83. 139 n° 44; Karousou, *o. c.* 9, 96; Harrison, E., *AJA* 1977, 267; Edwards, *o. c.* 9, 777 n° 86 pl. 39; Jost, *o. c.* 7, 464 n. 3; Marabini Moevs, *o. c.* 16, 22 n. 155 fig. 45. - Après 323 av. J.-C.: type conçu par Céphissodote le Jeune. - A l'entrée d'une grotte, Pan assis sur un rocher joue de la syrinx. Trois H. (ou Nymphes) viennent presque en dansant vers lui. Elles sont vêtues d'un chiton et enveloppées dans leur himation; la première à g. porte des épis de blé et un pavot.

#### 5. Les Horai avec Thémis, Zeus et Héra

33. Statues de marbre disparues. Olympie, temple d'Héra. - Paus. 5, 17, 1. Œuvre de Smilis. - VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Les trois H. étaient représentées assises sur des trônes.

## II. Les Horai dans un contexte de naissance/anodos et d'enfance

### A. Naissance/apparition-anodos

#### 1. Naissance et enfance d'Artémis

34. \* (= Apollon 987, = Artemis 1260/1262) Plaque de marbre de la frise du *scaenae frons*. Hiérapolis, Mus. T 471. Du théâtre de Hiérapolis (Phrygie). - D'Andria, Fr./Ritti, T., *Le sculpture del Teatro: i rilievi con i cicli di Apollo e Artemide. Hierapolis, scavi e ricerche II* (1985) 102 pl. 29, 1. 2. - Fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., influence hellénistique. - Les H. (ou les Moires) assistent à l'éducation d'Artémis: l'Été (chiton, himation) porte des épis et des pavots; l'Automne tient une grappe de raisin et retourne la tête; l'Hiver repose la tête sur sa main g. pliée, et de la dr. verse de l'eau avec une cruche; à g. se trouve vraisemblablement le Printemps, à côté de Zeus qui tient Artémis. Les vêtements des H. ne correspondent pas aux saisons, l'Hiver ayant le plus léger, mais les attributs sont canoniques.

#### 2. Naissance d'Aphrodite et anodos de Perséphone/Coré

35. \* (= Demeter 332 avec bibl.) Pinax attique à f.r. Athènes, Mus. Nat. Acr. 1051. De l'Acropole d'Athènes. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1341: P. de Mikion (Euemporos?); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 367; Graef/Langlotz II pl. 81 n° 1051; Hanfmann II 136 n° 7. - Vers la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Perséphone/Coré émerge des Enfers assistée d'une H.(?).

36. (= Aphrodite 1170 avec bibl.) Corniche d'autel, dite «trône Ludovisi». Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 8570. - Paribeni, E., *EAA VII* (1966) 1020-1022 s. v. «Trono Ludovisi». - 470-460 av. J.-C. - Le plus généralement acceptée comme une naissance d'Aphrodite; selon une autre hypothèse, il s'agirait de Perséphone émergeant des Enfers, avec les deux H. qui l'accueillent.

### B. Les Horai avec des enfants

#### 1. Aétion

37. (= Aétion 1\*, = Dike 17 avec bibl.) Plusieurs éléments fr. d'un groupe statuaire de marbre. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. I 344 + I 696. De Samothrace, devant la façade nord du Hiéron en 1873. - Conze, A./Hauser, A./Niemann, G., *Archäol. Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* (1875) pl. 37-38. 41; Schober, A., «Der neue Tempel von Samothrake», *OeJh* 29, 1935, 8-10 fig. 4. 16; Lehmann, Ph., *The Hieron I. Samothrace* (1969) 268-272. 289-300 fig. 231. 233. 256; Oberleitner, W., et al., *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake. Kat. der Antikenslg. II* (1978) 135-137 n° 241. 244 fig. 122. - 150-125 av. J.-C. - Du groupe des trois H. auxquelles Diké confie le petit Aétion, il reste une figure féminine assise sur un rocher (chiton, himation) et, d'une deuxième statue, le torse et la jambe dr. drapés. Pour la reconstitution de l'ensemble, cf. *Kat. Ephesos Museum* fig. 120 n° IV-VI (d'après Lehmann).

### 2. Képhalos

38. (= Aglauros 36, = Aphrodite 1261, = Eukleia 13 avec bibl., = Eunomia 1\*) Lécythe attique f. bl. Kansas City, Nelson Gall. 31.80. D'Apéro, Mace-rata(?). - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1248, 8: P. d'Erétrie; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 353; Jucker, I., «Kephalos im Göttergarten», dans *Festschr. H. Bloesch, AntK* 9. Beih. (1973) 63-68 pl. 20. - 430-420 av. J.-C. - L'H. Antheia (inscr.) derrière Peitho.

### III. Les Horai parmi les dieux olympiens dans une scène mythologique

#### A. Les Horai présentes dans une assemblée divine

39. Hydrie attique f. n. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 1899. De Vulci. - *ABV* 329, 1: P. de Berlin 1899 (proche du P. de Madrid); Furtwängler, *Berlin Vasen I* n° 1899; Neugebauer, *Führer Berlin II* 79-80. - 530-520 av. J.-C. - Zeus et Athéna assistés des deux H.; d'autres déesses sont figurées, ainsi qu'Hermès et Dionysos.

40. (= Dodekathēoi 4b\*, = Demeter 463\* avec bibl. et une identification différente) Statues de marbre. Londres, BM. Figures G, E, F du fronton est du Parthénon. - Berger, E., *Die Geburt der Athena* (1974) 32-33 n. 25. - 438/7-433/2 av. J.-C. - Les trois H. attiques (Auxō, Thallō, Karpō) parmi les dieux au moment de la naissance d'Athéna.

#### B. Jugement de Pâris (→ Paridis iudicium)

41. Stamnos attique f. r. Detroit, Inst. of Arts 1924.13. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 291, 28: Tyszkiewicz P.; Clairmont, C., *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst* (1951) pl. 31-32; Philippaki, B., *The Attic Stamnos* (1967) 36 pl. 23. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - A: Aphrodite, Héra, Hermès; B: Aphrodite tenant le miroir, flanquée de deux H. (chiton, himation).

#### C. Accueil d'Héraclès dans l'Olympe

42. \* (= Herakles 2859 avec bibl. et renvois, = Hestia 8\*) Coupe attique f. r. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2278. De Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 21, 1; 1620: P. de Sosias; *Para* 321; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 154; *CVA* 2 pl. 49-50; Karousos, C., *JHS* 71, 1951, 100; Hanfmann 135 n° 6; Knell, H., *Die Darstellungen der Götterversammlung* (1965) 65-68; GGK, *Führer Berlin* 136-137; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 102 fig. 117-119; Tiverios, M., *ArchEph* 1977, 3 pl. 3a; Marabini Moevs, *o. c.* 16, 23 n. 162. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - Parmi les dieux assemblés pour la réception d'Héraclès dans l'Olympe, les trois H. (inscr. *HOPAI*) apportent les fruits de l'automne: un rameau de vigne, des branches avec des fruits et un fruit (Tiverios [Bibl. I B 2] 392).

43. (= Athena 437 avec bibl., = Hera 473 avec bibl., = Herakles 2870 avec bibl. et renvois) Cratère en cloche attique f. r. Rome, Villa Giulia 2382. De Falterii. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1339, 4: proche du P. de Talos; *Add*<sup>2</sup>

367. – Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Athéna présentant Héraclès à Zeus et à Héra accompagnée de deux H.(?) ; Aphrodite et Eros ; Niké attend, tenant une couronne.

#### D. Noces de Thétis et Pélée

44.\* (= Hera 419\* avec bibl. et renvois) Dinos attique f.n. Londres, BM 1971.11-11.1. – Para 19, 16 bis: Sophilos; Add<sup>2</sup> 10-11; Bakir, G., *Sophilos* (1981) 64 pl. 1-4; Tiverios [Bibl. I B 2] 396 n. 40. – 580 av. J.-C. – Les trois H. (inscr. probablement dans la lacune) à côté du char de Zeus et d'Héra lors du mariage de Thétis et Pélée.

45.\* (= Dionysos 496 avec renvois, = Hera 421 avec renvois) Cratère à volutes attique f.n., dit «Vase François». Florence, Mus. Arch. 4209. De Chiusi. – ABV 76, 1; Kleitias; Para 29-30; Add<sup>2</sup> 21; Hanfmann 135 n° 1; Cristofani, M., et al., *Il vaso François, BollArte ser. spec. 1* (1981) 67. 132. 202 fig. 81. – 580-560 av. J.-C. – Dans la procession lors du mariage de Thétis et Pélée, les trois H. (inscr.) suivent Dionysos.

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49. (= Apollon 934) Cratère en cloche apulien f.r. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81946 (H 690). D'Armento. – *RVAp* I 423, 51 pl. 155, 4: proche du P. de Lycurgue –

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Hors du contexte mythologique, leurs représentations les plus fréquentes suivent l'iconographie des danseuses (9-12) ou celle d'une procession: les H. sont conduites par Dionysos ou par Pan (20-32). Cette imagerie s'inspire directement des reliefs des Nymphes (cf. Edwards, *o. c.* 9) et se développe suivant l'évolution des figures de danseuses (atelier de Callimaque, avec ses Ménades et ses danseuses à kalathiskos: cf. Tiverios, M., «Saltantes Lacaenae», *ArchEph* 1981, 25-37; → 9-11). Le Pan de 32 est lui aussi emprunté aux reliefs des Nymphes, avec lesquelles il reçoit en commun un culte.

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L'Hiver est enveloppé dans un lourd himation, qui couvre même la tête: sur 9 la danseuse est drapée de la même façon, ce qui impliquerait une H. de l'Hiver. L'H. de l'Automne porte un vêtement moins léger que celle du Printemps. L'évolution des figures, ainsi que leur relation iconographique, sont très claires sur les reliefs néoattiques (22a-23) et transparaissent sur les statues classicisantes (17a-b). En plus des vêtements, de l'allure, de l'âge, leurs attributs aussi les distinguent les unes des autres. Le Printemps porte les fleurs, l'Été l'épi de blé, l'automne des fruits, l'Hiver le *lagobolon* et le gibier, ce qui fait de lui une H. chasseresse (16).

Les H. étant dans la littérature et dans l'art d'abord au nombre de trois (Hanfmann I 78-79), la typologie de leurs représentations suit l'iconographie plus commune des Nymphes. Cette division correspond d'une part aux trois étapes de la végétation, la naissance, la croissance et la mort (cf. les noms Thallō, Auxō et Carpō des H. attiques: Hanfmann, *l. c.*), et d'autre part

367. – Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Athéna présentant Héraclès à Zeus et à Héra accompagnée de deux H.(?) ; Aphrodite et Eros ; Niké attend, tenant une couronne.

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Hors du contexte mythologique, leurs représentations les plus fréquentes suivent l'iconographie des danseuses (9-12) ou celle d'une procession: les H. sont conduites par Dionysos ou par Pan (20-32). Cette imagerie s'inspire directement des reliefs des Nymphes (cf. Edwards, *o. c.* 9) et se développe suivant l'évolution des figures de danseuses (atelier de Callimaque, avec ses Ménades et ses danseuses à *kalathiskos*: cf. Tiverios, M., «Saltantes Lacaenae», *ArchEph* 1981, 25-37; → 9-11). Le Pan de 32 est lui aussi emprunté aux reliefs des Nymphes, avec lesquelles il reçoit en commun un culte.

C'est comme danseuses que les H. incarnent les Génies des saisons (16-17a-b). Au début leurs caractéristiques personnelles ne sont pas clairement rendues; par la suite elles se distinguent par l'âge, la plus jeune étant celle du Printemps, la plus âgée celle de l'Hiver. L'Été porte le vêtement le plus léger et le plus fin: son himation enroulé passe comme une bande d'une main à l'autre.

L'Hiver est enveloppé dans un lourd himation, qui couvre même la tête: sur 9 la danseuse est drapée de la même façon, ce qui impliquerait une H. de l'Hiver. L'H. de l'Automne porte un vêtement moins léger que celle du Printemps. L'évolution des figures, ainsi que leur relation iconographique, sont très claires sur les reliefs néoattiques (22a-23) et transparaissent sur les statues classicisantes (17a-b). En plus des vêtements, de l'allure, de l'âge, leurs attributs aussi les distinguent les unes des autres. Le Printemps porte les fleurs, l'Été l'épi de blé, l'automne des fruits, l'Hiver le *lagobolon* et le gibier, ce qui fait de lui une H. chasseresse (16).

Les H. étant dans la littérature et dans l'art d'abord au nombre de trois (Hanfmann I 78-79), la typologie de leurs représentations suit l'iconographie plus commune des Nymphes. Cette division correspond d'une part aux trois étapes de la végétation, la naissance, la croissance et la mort (cf. les noms Thallô, Auxô et Carpô des H. attiques: Hanfmann, *l. c.*), et d'autre part



aux saisons du calendrier, compte tenu du fait que l'Été et l'Automne sont personnifiés en une seule et même H. (12-13, où elles ne portent pas d'attributs: seule l'H. conduisant le cortège sur 13 porte un épi de blé).

Dès l'ép. hellénistique l'iconographie des H. s'adapte au calendrier et à la division de l'année en quatre saisons; c'est lors de la fête célébrée par Ptolémée II en l'honneur de la Pentétéride (21) que fut officiellement adopté dans l'iconographie le type de la procession en file de quatre saisons (Marabini Moevs, o. c. 16, Tiverios: → 22a).

A une époque plus tardive des Génies masculins (*Amorini, putti*: cf. en général → Kairoi/Tempora anni) viennent s'ajouter aux figures féminines des saisons.

En tant que divinités du changement de temps, les H. ont, d'abord dans la littérature puis dans l'art, un rapport très étroit avec la déesse de l'agriculture Déméter ainsi qu'avec sa fille Coré, dont le retour du royaume de Hadès/Pluton coïncide avec la floraison, la végétation. De même leur relation avec Dionysos dans la littérature et l'art (20-31) ainsi que dans le culte est très importante. Il est - si l'on met à part Pan (32) et Zeus (44) - le compagnon par excellence de leur cortège.

VASSILIKI MACHAIRA

## HORAE

(Ἥραι, Horae) Roman version of the Greek Horae, on whom they are exactly modelled. Daughters of → Zeus and → Themis, and sisters of the → Moirai, although rare late sources make them daughters of → Helios and → Selene. One of them, whose name is not specified, had a son by → Zephyros, named Karpōs. Because of their direct derivation from Greek prototypes, they almost appear in threes and are related to some classical divinities, above all to → Dionysos and → Hermes.

LITERARY SOURCES: The extant Roman literary sources referring to the Horae inevitably repeat themes current in the Greek. Thus, the three sisters are the guardians of Olympus (Ov. *fast.* 1, 125; Paus. 5, 11, 7; Q. Smyrn. 2, 594-602; Nonn. *Dion.* 2, 176; *Etym. m. s. v.* Ἥραι), are servants of Helios (Ov. *met.* 2, 118; Val. Fl. 4, 92; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 410) and of Hera (Paus. 2, 17, 4; Q. Smyrn. 10, 334-342), take part in the nourishment and nursing of the gods when children (Philost. *im.* 1, 26), especially of Dionysos (Nonn. *Dion.* 9, 11-12); attend the marriages of gods (Moschos 2, 164; Apul. *met.* 6, 24; Nonn. *Dion.* 8, 5) and take care of the food set on their table (Q. Smyrn. 4, 134-136). They are young and beautiful (Q. Smyrn. 1, 50-51; 4, 142; Pollux 8, 106; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 70; *Etym. m. s. v.* Ἥραι), with rose coloured skin (Nonn. *Dion.* 11, 487; 47, 90), they protect law and order (Diod. 5, 73), help child-birth (Nonn. *Dion.* 3, 381-382; 9, 12-15; 48, 801); they announce the fu-

ture (Nonn. *Dion.* 7, 107; 9, 13) and recall the past (Paus. 3, 19, 4, 5). They live in Aether (Nonn. *Dion.* 2, 176) enjoying their powers (Q. Smyrn. 2, 603; Nonn. *Dion.* 2, 176) as goddesses (Philoch., *FGH* 328 F 173; they receive offerings) and as their father Zeus' representatives (Paus. 5, 11, 7; Diod. 5, 72, 5); hence they distribute dew (Paus. 9, 35, 2) and the fruit of their garden (Ov. *fast.* 5, 215-218). For their appearance we know that they wore long and undulating garments (Ov. *fast.* 5, 217; Nonn. *Dion.* 11, 498-499). They move quickly and silently because they have wings (Philost. *im.* 2, 34; Nonn. *Dion.* 7, 107) and can walk on tiptoe over ears of corn without bending them (Philost. *im.* 2, 34). Their number, when it is mentioned, is normally three (Paus. 5, 11, 7), although the figure can vary (Artemidoros 2, 34); Artemidoros says that the difference between Moirai, Horae, and Nymphs is that the first are dressed, the second naked and the third bathers (o. c. 2, 44). Other texts already mention four Horae; as in the description of Athen. 5, 198b, who refers to Ptolemy's Procession and cites among the various attendants four Horai, who are carrying their corresponding fruits (καρπός).

This record is the first in which it is possible to identify the four Seasons through their respective attributes. The idea will develop in Roman Imperial times. Thus Ovid, besides mentioning the Horae in the traditional way, describes them with their corresponding attributes (*met.* 2, 23-26) with other chronological personifications, possibly derived from a Hellenistic poem. Ovid also tries to connect the Horae with traditional Roman divinities, considering them as assistants of → Janus and → Flora (*fast.* 1, 125; 5, 215-218) who had a temporal function to the Romans. In this author we also find the first Roman mention of the Seasons as representing the cycle of birth and death (*met.* 15, 199-213). This is the result of the earlier process (Stoicism, Neopythagorism) of association of the Seasons with gods, with parts of the world or with divisions of time in general. In this sense Varro (*ap. Geoponica* 1, 1, 2) associated → Zephyrus with Spring, other sources associate Notus with Summer, Eurus with Autumn, and → Boreas with Winter, and Lucretius (5, 737-744), Spring with → Venus and → Flora, Summer with Ceres (→ Demeter/Ceres), and Autumn with Bacchus (→ Dionysos/Bacchus); Ovid (*met.* 15, 199-213) himself associated the Seasons with the four Ages. The succession of the Seasons will occupy a central position in the concepts of the Roman religious world during the 2nd cent. A. D. They are associated with Zeus, inasmuch as he is invoked as the creator of order and responsible for the proper distribution of the Seasons (Q. Smyrn. 10, 343; Paus. 1, 40, 4; Plut. *de exilio* 601a-b). This function is transferred to Helios when he assumes the role of director of the Cosmos (Orph. *h.* 8, 5, 10). This role of Helios acquires special importance with the Neopythagorians. Porphyrius, in the 3rd cent. A. D. (*de abstinentia* 2, 7; *de antro nymphaeum* 27) mixes both traditional conceptions of the Horae: Helios, as → Horos, reigns over the Seasons of Heaven, but those of Earth belong to Demeter and wear a crown of flowers, the symbol of

Spring, and a crown of wheat ears, the symbol of Summer. Julian also mentions Helios as the father of the Seasons (or. 11 [4] 147-148d). Macrobius (*Sat.* 1, 17, 18, 8; 21, 13) says that Apollo, as the Σὺν, is called Horus, and that from his name the twenty-four hours of the day and the four Seasons that fill the circle of the year are called Horae.

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## CATALOGUE

Reference is only made to female representations with seasonal attributes, because those without attributes cannot be certainly identified (cf. → Horai, → Charis, Charites, → Nymphae, → Moirai). For male personifications see → Kairoi/Tempora anni. Cataloguing is complicated by the fact that they are not isolated representations, but groups of four figures (Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter), which also derive from different iconographic traditions. Representations of → Tropai corresponding to the Solstices are not included, although their iconography is so close to that of the Seasons that they are only distinguishable through inscriptions.

### A. Horae following Dionysos in procession. Archaistic type.

1. Horae in archaistic marble reliefs from a lost Attic original with their corresponding seasonal attributes. These make it possible to differentiate them from other groups of three female figures without attributes, that have frequently and unjustly been identified as Horae (→ Charis, Charites, → Moirai, → Nymphae). - Schmidt, E., *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* (1922) 26-28 Beilage 4; Fuchs, W., *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* (1959) 51-55. - From comparison of the different extant copies, it can be deduced that the four Seasons were originally represented. The original has been dated by Schmidt c. 300 B. C., and more probably by Fuchs c. 160 B. C. - a) (= Horai 22a\* with further refs.) Paris, Louvre MA 968. From Villa Albani. - Schmidt, o. c. pl. 18, 1 Beil. 4; Fuchs o. c. pl. 11b. - Dionysos followed by three young women. Spring with flowers on a fold of her garment. Summer with naked torso, carrying a sheaf of corn. A third figure with tunic and mantle who probably carried a bunch of grapes in the l. hand. - b) (= Horai 22b) Once Freiburg, Univ. From Italy. -

Schmidt, o. c. pl. 18, 2 Beil. 4; Fuchs, o. c. Upper part of three Horae; Summer with naked torso, Autumn with head turned and a bunch of grapes in the l. hand. Winter (?) with mantle crossed over the breast. - c) (= Horai 23\* with bibl.) Piraeus Mus. - Fuchs, o. c. 51. - Late Hadrianic copy of the same original.

### B. Horae alone. Archaistic type.

2. (= Artemis 1192\*, = Charis, Charites 38, = Dodekathēoi 30\*) Marble base of a candelabrum («Ara Borghese»). Paris, Louvre MA 672. From Gabii. - Schmidt, o. c. 1, 58; Fuchs, o. c. 1, 58; Hanfmann II no. 34; Reinach, *RépStat* 1, 66. - Probably mid 2nd cent. A. D. - The three sides of the base are divided into three registers: in the upper one the twelve gods, and in the lower one groups of personifications: Charites, Moirai and Horae. It is one of the rare monuments, though late, that differentiates these groups of personifications. The Horae are three, wear different kinds of archaistic garments, *stephanai* and are bare-foot. Spring with turned head and a flower in the hand; Autumn with a bunch of grapes; Summer with an ear of corn.

### C. Dancing Horae in procession. Neoclassical type.

#### 1. Related to the marriage of Thetis and Peleus

3.\* (= Horai 15) Terracotta «Campana» reliefs. London, BM D 583-584; Paris, Louvre S 750; Rome, Villa Albani 173. From Rome. - Campana, G. P., *Antiche opere in plastica discoperte, raccolte e dichiarate* (1842); Walters, *BM Terracottas* D 583-584 pl. 42; v. Rohden/Winnefeld 89-92 pls. 47, 57, 98; Reinach, *RépRel* 2, 139, 262; Hanfmann II no. 69; Simon, E., *RM* 60/61, 1953/54, 211-223 pl. 88-89. - From mid-1st cent. B. C. to Hadrianic; probably about 1st quarter of 1st cent. A. D. - The series of plaques would be as follows:

a) Campana proposed the existence of an original group representing the marriage of Thetis and Peleus, towards which the four Seasons would be walking preceded by a young man with a bull on his shoulders (Campana, o. c. pl. 62; Reinach o. c. 2, 262). However, v. Rohden/Winnefeld doubted this reconstruction because one of the plaques on which Campana relied, was neither in his Collection Catalogue nor known from other sources (o. c. 89). But the original plaques are preserved, one with the marriage of Thetis and Peleus and another with Hercules with the boar followed by Winter. So we may suppose that, although the next plaque has been lost, or perhaps never existed, the Horae could have been taking part in such a representation. In one of the preserved series it seems that the succession of Horae who walked to the r. was as follows: Summer with hair tied back, dressed with tunic and mantle, with a garland in the r. hand and sheaf of corn and poppies in the l.; Spring, with wavy hair covered by a hat, a tunic that leaves her r. shoulder un-

covered and mantle drawn over her l. arm, holding a basket with leaves and flowers in her l. hand, and a kid by the front legs with the r.; Winter, also with wavy hair covered with a bonnet, wearing tunic and mantle drawn over the l. arm, and shoes, holding a boar by the hind legs with the r. hand and, on her l. shoulder, a curved shepherd's stick from the front of which two birds hang and from the back a hare; Autumn, coiffed in a similar way to Summer, with chiton and mantle which, as for Spring, leaves the r. shoulder uncovered, carrying on a fold of her garment bunches of grapes and a pomegranate. All figures are looking front and walking.

b) This plaque might have existed (see above) at least in another series, related to the marriage of Thetis and Peleus, where the first Hora, heading the procession and immediately after Hercules, was Winter who, furthermore, was exactly like the one just described (v. Rohden/Winnefeld pl. 57).

c) E. Simon (o. c. 214 n. 26 pl. 91, 2) has brought to light the Ascoli Piceno fragment where, after Winter, depicted in the normal way, appears Spring shown in the characteristic manner of the Arretine reliefs (9): a vessel in the l. hand, although the fruit are not seen, and a kid in the r. hand but placed in front of her, as frequently on the other reliefs though not on other Campana reliefs. Although the relief is fragmentary, it seems that she is also turning her head.

4. Marble puteal with the marriage of Thetis and Peleus. Copenhagen, Glypt. - Simon, o. c. 3, pls. 91, 1; 92, 1-2; Fuchs, o. c. 1, 158, n. 75. - Late Republican. - The H. are taking part in a procession, preceded by a young man with a bull on his shoulders, as in the Campana relief. Everything is framed in the marriage of Thetis and Peleus. After him is Winter who, despite the poor preservation, seems to carry the two birds, hare and boar, as on the Campana reliefs.

5.\* Glazed relief skyphos. Munich, Antikenslg. SL 492. - Simon, o. c. 3, 215 pls. 93, 1-2; 94, 1; Hanfmann II no. 67; Hochuli-Gysel, A., *Kleinasiatische glasierte Reliefkeramik* (1977) 63. 151 T 45 pl. 42. - 1st cent. A.D. (Hochuli). - Poorly preserved. Interpretations of the figures differ. Hanfmann identifies: Hermes, Summer, Spring, Hercules with the bull, Winter, Autumn and Peleus, while Simon sees: Thetis and Peleus, Dionysos, Hermes, Spring, Summer, Hercules and Autumn. Hochuli identifies: Autumn (holding fruit in a fold of her garment), Hercules, Winter (with an animal held before her), Spring (with turned head, holding a bowl in the l. and a kid in the r. hand), Peleus and Thetis, Dionysos, and a youth. The position of the animal of Winter is changed with regard to the Arretine representations and the Albani sarcophagus (6).

6.\* (= Athena/Minerva 397, = Hymenaios 5\* with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus with the marriage of Thetis and Peleus. Rome, Villa Albani 131. From Rome. - Robert, *SarkRel* II 2-6 pl. 1; Toynbee, J., *The Hadrianic School* (1934) 189-191 pl. 39, 2; Hanfmann II no. 65; Simon, o. c. 3, 211-223 pls. 88-89. - About 140 A.D. - As central group on the sarcophagus front are the four H., very close to 3a. The procession is

headed by Winter, who only differs in that she holds a duck instead of birds at the front of the stick; she is followed by Spring, with more fruit in the basket and more folds in her tunic; Summer, with a long garland; Spring, without hat. All wear sandals.

7. Glass vase. London, BM. From Zicycum. - Carabella, T., *RA* 1879, 204-207 pl. 7; Robert, *SarkRel* II 5; Hanfmann II no. 68; Simon, o. c. 3, 215 n. 33. - Separated by columns are the figures of a young man with a boar, Winter, in the traditional attitude, although the boar is exchanged for a stick. Hermes and a figure identified by Hanfmann as Summer, but who is actually → Hymenaios, who appears on the Villa Albani sarcophagus (6) with a torch (here exchanged for a curved shepherd's stick, probably influenced by Winter) in the l. hand, and a *loutrophoros* in the r.

## 2. Not related to the marriage of Thetis and Peleus

8.\* Marble altar. Rome, Villa Albani 66. From Rome. - *ML* I 2, 2734; Fuchs, o. c. 1, 158 n. 75; Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV no. 3225; Simon, o. c. 3, 213; Hanfmann II no. 63. - Neoattic; 2nd cent. A.D. (Hanfmann), late Hellenistic (Fuchs). Around Selene are the four H. in procession, lightly dancing. The cortege is headed by Summer, with a similar attitude and garment to the former, although quieter: in the r. hand she holds a wreath, more clearly defined than in the former examples, and in the l. hand sheaf of corn and poppies; then follows Spring, who turns her head back and holds a kid in the r. hand and a vessel, seemingly empty, in the l.; then Winter with the characteristic boar, birds and hare, although now there are three birds hanging on the front of the stick; finally Autumn, showing the fold of the garment without fruit. The garments of Summer and Autumn are identical: tunic and mantle billowing at their backs; Autumn's garment only differs in that the mantle is raised by the wind as a result of her movement; Winter, on the other hand, wears it in the usual manner.

9.\* (= Horai 16 with bibl.) Arretine Terra Sigillata by Cn. Ateius, shape Dragendorff 1. London, BM L 54. From Capua. - Walters, *BMVases* IV L 54 pl. 6; Oxe, A., *Arretinische Reliefgefäße vom Rhein* (1933) no. 132a-g pl. 32-34; Hanfmann II no. 59. - 10-1 B.C. - Numerous examples essentially identical. Six figures separated by columns and candelabra. All wear tunic and mantle except Summer, who has her head covered with a bonnet. Winter also wears boots, holds a boar by one of its back feet in the l. hand and with the r. holds, on the l. shoulder, a curved shepherd's stick from which hang a hare at the back and a bird at the front. Spring is looking back, holding a basket of fruit in her l. hand while with the r. she is holding the hind legs of a kid. Summer is moving ahead, with a crown in the r. hand and ears of corn in the l., her hair in a top-knot; Autumn holds with both hands a basket containing flowers and fruit. Summer and Autumn are twice repeated. The identification of Spring and Autumn is exchanged in Walter's description.

10. Glass intaglio. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 6232. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no. 6232 pl. 43; Robert, *SarkRel* II 5; Hanfmann II no. 61. - Augustan. - Three H. walking to the r.: Spring with turned head and the kid ahead: Summer and Autumn with the usual attributes.

11. On many other intaglios some of these figures are repeated, isolated: a) Sardonyx. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 6712. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 39, 25; Hanfmann II no. 74. - Autumn. - b) Glass. London, A. J. Evans Coll. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 38, 3; Hanfmann II no. 62. - Summer. - c)\* Glass. New York, MMA 74.51.4296. - Richter, *MetMusGems* no. 385; Hanfmann II no. 72 fig. 81. - Winter.

12. Candelabrum base, marble. Chantilly, Mus. Condé. From Rome. - Robert, *SarkRel* II 3 (from Codex Coburgensis); Müller, F. G., *MedetRome* II, 1985, 103-106 pl. 27, 5; Hanfmann II no. 74a. - About 100 A.D. - Four sided, with sphinxes below and terminals in the shape of rams above. One H. on each side: Winter shows the usual attitude, with the order of the animals on the lagobolon changed: two birds at the upper end and a hare at the lower; she wears trousers and her attitude reminds us more of Hymenaios on the sarcophagus 6 and the glass vase 7 than Winter on these same monuments. Spring looks ahead, holds a kid behind, and with the other hand picks up her dress. Summer, without attributes, has a naked torso, with the mantle billowing back. Autumn has the usual fruit on a fold of her garment. The figures are shown less mobile than others, and less in profile. This monument was copied by Piganiol in the Codex Coburgensis and by a pupil of Raphael in a drawing in the Fogg Museum (Müller, o. c.).

13.\* (= Demeter/Ceres 138 with bibl.) Onyx vase with engraved figures called «Braunschweiger Vase». Braunschweig, Mus. Gem 300. From near Mantua. - Furtwängler, *AG* III 339 figs. 185-188; Hanfmann II no. 14 and 73. - 1st cent. A.D., perhaps Neronian. - In a procession with → Triptolemos (Nero?) and Demeter appear the H. among other characters. The procession is headed by Winter who looks back, holds in the r. hand a young boar by the hind legs (the lagobolon, otherwise characteristic, is lacking); with the other hand she picks up her dress hem, the head covered with a bonnet. After her is Spring with the kid in front of her held with her r. hand and the basket with flowers and fruit in the l.; she does not turn her head, but looks ahead. Finally, Summer, seated with ears of corn and a basket of fruit. After her a young man carrying a basket with fruit on his head, who could be interpreted as Autumn. This monument, therefore, is already iconographically quite far from the usual pattern of the group; only Winter, who combines features of Spring on the Arretine reliefs (9) and the sarcophagus 6, and Spring close to the Campana reliefs, recall it.

## D. Dancing Horae not in procession

An extensive group of figures who keep, to a certain extent, a dancing attitude, variously emphasized,

but do not form a procession, although sometimes some or all may appear together.

## 1. Forming a frieze

### Wall paintings

14.\* Pompeii VII 13, 4 (House of Ganymede). - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 975. 981. 989. 1000; *DA* III 1 (1899) 255 fig. 3880 s. v. «Horae»; Hanfmann II no. 85. - One of the rare Pompeian paintings that show the four H. together, although not in procession, but frontal. Spring, with tunic, mantle and shoes, holds with the l. hand a lamb around her neck and with the r. a vessel with *ricotta*. Summer, naked above the waist, holds a sickle in the l. hand; Autumn with tunic, mantle and shoes holds with the l. hand and on her knee a basket with fruit, while with the r. she rests an olive branch on her shoulder; Winter is well protected with the mantle that covers her head, holding two ducks in the r. hand and a dry stick in the l.; Spring and Autumn are crowned.

To this group possibly belong two representations known from literary sources:

14a) Picture. Philostr. *im.* 2, 34. - 3rd cent. A.D., although perhaps much earlier. - Dancing H.; Spring is related to hyacinths and roses. Winter walking on soft fields makes them fruitful. Autumn is related to the grape and the making of wine.

14b) Horae in a Dionysiac context. Nonn. *Dion.* II, 484-521. - 5th cent. A.D. - H. dressed. Winter hides her face with a veil and is blowing through black clouds; a circle of white snow covers her breast. Spring, crowned with dew, blows a wind to enliven the mortals. Summer is carrying a corn sheaf and a sickle. Autumn is crowned with olive branches.

## 2. Horae alone

### Wall paintings

This type, isolated in the middle of a panel, is quite common in Pompeian painting. Spring and Autumn usually wear tunic and mantle, leaving one shoulder uncovered. Autumn usually has the mantle billowing back, and wears boots. Summer has a naked torso, and Winter tunic and mantle that covers the head, and boots.

15.\* Pompeii VI 16, 7 (House of the Amorini Dorati). - Hanfmann II no. 97 pls. 87. 91. 94. 97. - Spring holds a hare in one hand and a basket in the other. Summer, naked, holds a sickle. Autumn, with fruit on a fold of the garment. Winter with two ducks in one hand and a stick in the other.

16. Pompeii VI 5, 13 (House of Modestus). - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* nos. 979. 994. 1001; Reinach, *RépPeint* 136, 13. - Spring with a kid in one hand and a garland in the other. Autumn with fruit on a fold of the garment. Winter with two ducks and a stick.

17. Pompeii VI 8, 3 (House of the Tragic Poet). - Hanfmann II no. 87 pl. 88; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* nos. 997. 990. 1004; Reinach, *RépPeint* 133, 10. - Spring with basket of flowers and a branch of fruit, perhaps pomegranates; Autumn also with a basket. Winter is

shown in an unusual attitude, with fruit on a fold of the garment in the manner of Autumn.

18. Pompeii VII 12, 26 (Vicolo del Balcone Pensile). – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* nos. 976. 992. – Spring with a hare in one hand and a basket in the other. Autumn with a bunch of grapes.

19. Pompeii VIII 4, 34 (Strada di Iside). – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* nos. 982. 988. 1002. – Summer with sheaf of corn and a sickle. Autumn with basket and a bunch of grapes. Winter with a stick from which two ducks are hanging, and perhaps fruit on a fold of the garment.

20. Pompeii VIII 4, 4 (Strada di P. Olconio). – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* nos. 984. 993. – Summer with ears of corn and sickle. Autumn with a bunch of grapes.

21. Pompeii VIII 4, 48 (House of the Caccia antica). – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* nos. 987. 998; Hanfmann II no. 89 pl. 96. – Autumn with torso completely covered and legs naked from the knees up, holding a basket in one hand and a wreath in the other. Winter with a pole from which three ducks are suspended and a jar in the hands, her l. leg uncovered.

22. Fullonica della Via dell'Abbondanza. – Spinazzola, *Pompei* 784. – Summer with ears of corn and sickle.

23. Pompeii I 7, 10–12 (House of P. Cornelius Tegeus or of the Ephebs). – Maiuri, A., *MonPitt III Pompei* II 19 fig. 14. – Summer, similar to the former but with a more emphasized movement.

24. Pompeii V 5, 2 (Vicolo di Modesto). – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 995. – Autumn carrying fruit on a fold of the garment.

25. Pompeii VI 13, 6 (House of the Forno di Ferro). – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 991. – Autumn with a bunch of grapes.

26. Rome, Domus Aurea of Nero, painted vault of room 60. Lost. – Egger, R., *Codex Escorialensis. Ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaios. Sonderschriften des Österr. Arch. Inst. IV* (1906) 96–98 pl. 3; Weege, F., *JdI* 28, 1913, 174 pl. 6; Rizzo, *PER* pl. 29; Hanfmann II no. 102. – A.D. 64–69. – In each corner of the vault, which has Iuppiter as central subject, there is a H. placed on the diagonal. Spring holds a crown. Summer, naked from the hips up, holds a sickle and ears of corn. Autumn, also with naked torso, holds a vessel and a bunch of grapes. Winter with the head covered.

#### Stucco

27. Vault of the Tomb of the Pancratii, Via Latina, Rome. – Petersen, E., *AdI* 1861, 204–205; *MonInst* 6, 1861, pl. 49; Wadsworth, E., *MAAR* 4, 1942, pl. 25–32; Hanfmann II no. 119; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* no. K 115. – Mid 2nd cent. A.D. – Four stucco figures in relief in the four angles of the vault, with Iuppiter on an eagle as central motif; two are quite well preserved. Spring dressed with tunic and mantle, has the r. breast naked, and part of an animal, probably a kid, is preserved; Summer, naked, with a chlamys hanging at her back and covering her l. leg, holds a sickle. Autumn and Winter are almost completely lost.

#### Mosaics

28. Black and white mosaic. Ancona, Mus. Naz. From Pesaro. – Blake, *MAAR* 13, 1936, 98–99. 177–180 pl. 44; Hanfmann II no. 117 pl. 86. – Antonine. – Four Seasons are placed in octagons around the central motif: → Leda and the Swan. Spring naked above the waist, crowned with flowers, holds a basket in her l. hand and seems to be sowing seeds as she walks. Summer, perhaps the less dancing figure, completely naked, crowned with stalks, holds a sickle and a basket with ears of corn; Autumn, naked above the waist, crowned with leaves and vine tendrils, holds a basket with fruit in one hand and a bunch of grapes in the other. Winter, hooded, has a hand hidden under the mantle and with the other holds a pole from which something, maybe a dead animal, is suspended.

29.\* (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 192) Polychrome mosaic. – Tunis, Bardo A 292. From La Chebba (Tunisia). – *InvMos* II no. 86 colour pl.; Hanfmann II no. 118 = 445; Parrish no. 49 pls. 66b–68. – 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. – Four frontal figures in the vault corners. Spring, naked, with mantle hanging at her back and draped over the forearms; crowned with roses, with a rose in one hand and a basket of roses in the other; wears necklace and bracelet and is flanked by two rose stems crossed over her, a dog at one side and a bed of roses at the other. Summer, crowned with ears of corn, with a sickle in one hand and a sheaf of ears of corn in the other; a mantle draped over the l. arm; wearing a necklace and a bracelet, and is surrounded by two corn stalks crossed before her. A lion and a young man gathering corn are by her side. Autumn, crowned with grapes, is half naked, with a jug in one hand and a thyrsos in the other, flanked by vines, with a panther at one side and a young man loading barrels full of grapes at the other. Winter, in a dance movement, is fully dressed with tunic and mantle draped over the head, wears a crown of reeds and boots and carries a pole from which two ducks are suspended; the figure is framed by olive branches and flanked by a boar among reeds and by an olive-harvester.

30. (= Ganymedes 213) Polychrome Mosaic. Thysdrus (Tunisia), *in situ*. – Foucher, L., *Découvertes archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1961* (1961) 22–25 pls. 23–24; Parrish no. 32 pls. 48b–49. – Late Severan. – Four women placed in the dome diagonals but next to the central circle, occupied by the kidnapping of Ganymede. Spring, with tunic that leaves a shoulder naked, and crown of roses, holds up a basket with roses in the l. hand and a hare in the r. Summer, naked, with a chlamys hanging at her back, wears a crown of ears of corn, holds a sheaf of corn up in the l. hand and a sickle in the r. Autumn, naked, dancing, with a mantle hanging at her back and extending her legs, a vine crown, bunch of grapes in one hand and a basket in the other. Winter, wrapped in a mantle that covers her head, with shoes, and a pole on the shoulder, on which a duck is hanging; the other hand is hidden under the mantle.

31. Polychrome Mosaic. Trier, Rhein. Landesmus. From Trier, Walramsneustraße. – Hanfmann II no. 122; Parlasca, C., *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland*

(1959) 40 pls. 40–41. – 2nd half of 3rd cent. A.D. – Four women in the corners of the mosaic, but only two and part of a third remaining. Autumn, naked above the waist and with the mantle billowing at her back, a thyrsos in the r. hand and a tray with fruit, is dancing. Summer, naked above the waist, with a thyrsos and a basket with ears of corn. Spring is lost. Winter is all covered, even the head, holding a pole from which two ducks are suspended. By the sides of each H. there are allegorical animals in compartments in the order: leopards, lions, fawns and boars.

#### Stone reliefs

32. Relief of the Concordii. Reggio Emilia, public garden. From Boretto. – Aurigemma, S., *RivIstArch* 1931/32, 271–274 pl. 5–8; Hanfmann II no. 115. – Mid 1st cent. A.D. – Central relief of a funerary monument; four frontal female H., who still maintain a certain attitude of movement and dance; between the two central ones a Cupid reclines on a tree. Spring wears tunic and mantle billowing behind her head, a garland of flowers across her breast, and seemingly flowers in the mantle; by her side, a bird in a small tree and a goat suckling a kid. Summer, naked above the waist, holds a sheaf of ears in the r. hand and wears a crown of corn stalks. Autumn wears a crown of vine and holds a vine branch; her mantle is also billowing, and she wears a crown of vine-leaves. Winter, head covered with the mantle, is resting on a sort of stele, and has a dog in front of her.

33. Funerary Relief of Clodia, limestone. Rocca-giovane. – Lugli, *MonAnt* 31, 1926, 495–499 figs. 9–11; Hanfmann II no. 116 pl. 83–84. – 1st cent. A.D. – Front of a funerary monument with inscription and Seasons. Three H. preserved: Autumn, dressed with tunic and mantle, on a fold of which much fruit (according to Hanfmann, she should be Winter); Summer, naked, with a mantle that hangs at her back although one end covers her sex, is crowned with stalks and holds a sheaf of corn, flowers and a jar from which liquid is pouring; Spring with tunic and mantle, is the quietest of the three, and holds in the r. hand the back feet of a new-born fawn and in the l. what Lugli identifies as a bow, but which may be a simple branch.

34. (= Endymion 73\* with further refs.) Endymion sarcophagus. Rome, Pal. Doria. From Rome. – Robert, *SarkRel* III no. 77 pl. 20. – 3rd cent. A.D. – The H. flank the main subject and are placed at the ends of the sarcophagus front. To the l., Summer or Spring, barefoot, with naked torso, extending her hand; next to her, almost hidden, Winter, hooded; at the opposite end, Autumn, the most classical of them, dancing, seems to be leaving the central scene; she wears tunic and mantle swept over the head as if it was blown by the wind, holds fruit on a fold of her garment and wears sandals.

#### Statuary

Dispersal of original groups of H. make it difficult to identify any such groups with certainty.

35. (= Horai 17a with bibl.) Marble statue. Florence, Uff. 136. – Reinach, *RépStat* 1, 217, 806; Hanfmann II no. 48. – 1st cent. A.D. – Autumn, dancing, fully dressed or with a naked shoulder, carrying fruit on a fold of her garment.

36.\* Marble statue. Venice, Arch. Mus. – Ame-lung, W., *EA* 2438; Reinach, *RépStat* 5, 1, 106, 4; Hanfmann II no. 51; Traversari, G., *RdA* 11, 1987, 75–77 fig. 1. – 1st–2nd cent. A.D. – As 35.

37. Marble statue. Once Rome, Ludovisi Coll. – Reinach, *RépStat* 2, 1, 253, 2; Hanfmann II no. 55; Palma, B., *MusNazRom, Le sculpture* 16, 27–28 no. II, 6. – 1st–2nd cent. A.D. – As 35. Head lost.

38.\* Bronze figurine. London, BM 1513. From Padova. – Reinach, *RépStat* 5, 107, 3; Hanfmann II no. 47. – As 35.

39. Marble statue. London, Leconfield Coll. – Reinach, *RépStat* 5, 1, 106, 5; Hanfmann II no. 54. – 1st half of 2nd cent. A.D. – Winter: a figure dressed with tunic and mantle, the head uncovered, wearing sandals and holding two ducks in the r. hand and a hare in the l.

40.\* Marble statue. Rome, Pal. Barberini. – Ame-lung, W., *EA* 2909; Reinach, *RépStat* 5, 1, 107, 4; Hanfmann II no. 52. – 1st cent. A.D. – Spring wears tunic and mantle, r. shoulder uncovered, and holds flowers and fruit on a fold of her garment, a kid in the r. hand. Heavily restored.

#### E. Dancing Horae with a male partner

##### Painting

41. Wall painting. Pompeii VI 15, 1 (House of the Vettii), Room of Ixion, *in situ*. – A.D. 62–79. – Schwinzer 87–88 no. 22–24 pls. 12–13. – Three groups including a H. and satyr, each with seasonal attributes, in the centre of wall panels. Autumn: satyr depicted frontally, naked and with a crown, a chlamys that hangs at his back, and a goatskin over the shoulder; the corresponding H. wears a tunic that leaves the r. shoulder uncovered and is billowing at the back, a hair net and shoes. The H. and the satyr are looking at each other while the H. is helping the satyr to carry the goatskin. Summer: H. crowned, naked above the waist, with a billowing chlamys, sickle in her l. hand and a snake or taenia in the r.; the corresponding satyr is naked, with a chlamys at his back; in his r. hand he holds a pedom and in the l. carries a basket full of fruit, with branches on his shoulders. Spring is similar to Autumn: the crowned satyr holds a dish with fruit in his l. hand, while the attribute of the H. is lost. All the groups are surrounded, above, by a garland that they hold in their hands.

42. Vault painting. Rome, tomb of the Nasonii. Lost. – Andrae, B., *Studien zur römischen Grabkunst* (1963) 88–127 pls. 41–71. – Late 1st or beginning of 2nd cent. A.D. – Vault with → Pegasos as central subject; the diagonal corners are decorated by compartments with couples, arranged beside a floral candelabrum. Spring: naked satyr with a pedom in one hand and a kid held around the neck in the other; the H.



wears tunic and chlamys, and holds a basket with flowers and fruit and an object that seems to be a small thyrsos; above her a square with scenes of hunting a fawn. Summer: naked satyr with a chlamys over the shoulder and corn ears in the hair, holding a fruit basket; the maenad, naked above the waist, picks a flower; above, a lion hunt. Winter: satyr with tunic and a heavy mantle that covers the head, a reed in one hand and a duck in the other; the maenad, dressed, holds a duck in one hand; the hunting scene above her is lost, but it would likely be of a boar. Autumn: satyr with short skirt carrying two grape baskets, one in the hand and the other hanging on a pole; the H. has bare breast and is holding a similar basket from which vine branches emerge; above them a panther hunt.

#### Polychrome mosaics

43. Madrid, Arch. Mus. From Hellin (Albacete). – Stern, H., *MonPiot* 54, 1965, 39–59; Hanfmann II no. 377a. – 1st half of 3rd cent. A.D. – Personifications of the Months and the Seasons, the latter represented by a Bacchic dancing couple identified by inscriptions. Winter (*HIEMS*): H. with tunic and mantle that covers her head, with a basket in her r. hand covered with sticks and many objects that cannot be clearly determined, leans on a naked satyr who plays a flute. Spring (*VER*): there remain the legs of a satyr in profile and the lower part of a dressed maenad. Summer (*AESTAS*): H. in profile, naked except for a leg partially covered with the chlamys; wears a crown of ears of corn and carries a basket full of ears of corn in one hand; the satyr, with horns, wears a chlamys and carries a small basket. Autumn (*AUTUMNVS*): H. dressed in a short tunic that leaves bare the r. breast, wears a crown of tendrils and in her r. hand carries a stick that she puts in a cup held by her pair of dancers; she has also a small basket full of grapes and holds the maenad by the waist.

44. El Djem, Arch. Mus. A 17–18. From Thysdrus. – Parrish no. 34 pl. 52–53. – Severan. – In hexagons around a central floral motif, couples representing the Seasons. Three remain: Winter, an old woman with head covered and crowned with olives and branches, in her arms an unidentified winged figure; by her side a hoe and two ducks. Summer: H. dressed in a flowing garment, dancing, with a basket of stalks and a sickle; a naked satyr next to her. Autumn is also dancing: a naked satyr with chlamys that hangs at his back hides in part a female figure with floral crown and a branch of flowers.

#### Stucco relief

45. Tomb of San Urbano alla Caffarella, Via Appia, Rome. – Gros, P., *MEFRA* 81, 1969, 175–180 pls. 7–8; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 89 no. K 114. – About A.D. 160. – Caissons vault; in the centre remains part of a female figure with tunic and mantle around her hips, with two ducks held by the feet in her r. hand; to her l., part of another figure, male, with naked torso, with a bird in one hand (according to the old drawings). He seems to be Winter, but the figure is quite unlike any met so far, and his central position is strange, since it

leaves eccentric the medallions with the other Seasons.

#### F. Horae with a male figure

##### Wall Painting

46. Vault of the tomb of Grottarossa, Via Flaminia, near Rome. – Bendinelli, G., *NotSc* 1927, 298–309 pls. 6–7; Hanfmann II n. 120a. – Late 2nd cent. A.D. – Four female figures in an almost frontal position, enclosed in panels, mark the transition between the central circle and the angles. Spring, partly lost, had a naked torso and an attribute in her r. hand. Summer, seemingly male, wears a short tunic and a hat and holds a sickle. Autumn, with a bowl or a vessel in the l. hand, and another attribute, perhaps a branch in the r. hand, and another attribute, perhaps a branch in the r. hand. Winter is hooded, holding a twig in her r. hand.

##### Mosaics

47. Lost. Tivoli, Villa of Hadrian. – Ashby, T., *BSR* 7, 1914, pl. 15b; Hanfmann II no. 377. – A.D. 125–135. – The four Seasons placed in the corners enclosed within circles. There are doubts about their sex and their identification. The most dressed one must be Winter, though the crown and the dish carried in the hand are not the usual attributes. The following H. is Autumn with a pedom and a basket with fruit, naked except for the chlamys that hangs behind. Summer is very similar to Autumn, although with another dish instead of the pedom. Spring, almost naked, with a drapery that covers her sex and without visible attributes. Winter and Spring seem to be female figures; both others male.

48. Black and white Mosaic. Mérida, Nat. Mus. From Mérida. Mosaic signed by Seleukos and Anthius. – Blanco, A., *MosEsp* I no. 9 pls. 12–16; late 2nd cent. A.D. – Muses, a bucolic poet and, in the corners, the Seasons: three female and one male. Spring: young woman with tunic and mantle drawn over the arms, a basket with flowers in her r. hand and a stick in the r.; a branch and three roses around her; Summer, lost, seems to have been dressed too, with a sheaf of corn and a sickle in her hands; next to her a bunch of ears of corn. Autumn is a naked young man surrounded by a vine; Winter, hooded, a duck in the r. hand and a cane in the l.; a mushroom alongside.

49. (= Dirke 20, = Kairoi/Tempora anni 122) Mosaic with polychrome emblem depicting the Punishment of Dirke. Sagunto, Arch. Mus. From Sagunto. – Vall de Pla, M. A., *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina* 9, 1961, 157–165 pl. 5. – Severan. – Around the emblem, at the mosaic corners, are the four Seasons, three males naked and one female: Winter, with naked arms, wears tunic, mantle and shoes, a branch with leaves in her r. hand and a tray in the l. This is a very unusual representation.

50. Polychrome mosaic. Loupian, France. – Lavagne, H./Proudhomme, R./Rouquette, H., *Gallia* 34, 1976, 226 pl. 10–11. – 5th cent. A.D. – Four compartments in the mosaic corners with representations placed in parallel: two busts, seemingly male, and two

female full figures: one of them, almost lost, has still parts of a chlamys billowing at the back and a garland of roses and leaves in the r. hand; it may be Spring. The other, whose breast is missing, is a figure with tunic and mantle, also billowing, with a duck held by the hind legs in the r. hand and a hare in the l.; in front of her a basket with fruit and green leaves. The last figure is difficult to identify since, although the duck seems to indicate Winter, the hare and the basket with fruit and leaves point to another Season, probably Autumn.

##### Reliefs

51. (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 121) Marble plaque. Rome, Antiquarium Palatino. From the Stadium of Domitian, Palatine, Rome. – Fabbrini, L., *NotSc* 1965, Suppl. 140–145 pl. 2–3; Kranz no. 862. – Late Gallienic. – Parts of two figures. Winter is almost complete except for the head; it might have been carved on a slab profiled by the four sides; wears a long mantle clung to the body suggesting its form; a reed in the l. hand and two ducks held by the hind legs in the r. Another fr. was found near this, which though very damaged, allowed identification of a young male, naked, with something on the shoulder, who could be Spring.

52. (Uncertain) Funerary Ara, marble. Althofen, Saint Thomas Church. From Althofen (Austria). – Piccottini, G., *CSIR Österreich* II 2 (1984) no. 324 pl. 14. – Mid 2nd cent. A.D. – A maenad and a satyr depicted on the small sides; the first is Spring, naked, dancing, holding a bird in her l. hand, and a knife down in her r. hand; the second is Autumn, naked, holding a basket with fruit in one hand and a bunch of fruit in the other. It is possibly a Dionysiac representation.

#### G. Horae related to the former, but with restrained movement

A quite heterogeneous and long-lasting group, although with few examples.

##### Wall painting

53. Pompeii III 2, 3 (House of Loreius Tiburtinus, peristyle). – Spinazzola, *Pompei* 385 pl. 441; Hanfmann II no. 100. – Mid-1st cent. A.D. – Summer: standing, with hat, chlamys that falls down her back and hides her r. leg, a sickle in her r. hand and stalks in the l. Iconographically she reminds us of some representations of Aphrodite.

##### Polychrome mosaics

54. (= 117, = Annus I with bibl., = Kairoi/Tempora anni 130) El Djem, Arch. Mus. A 53. From Thysdrus. – Parrish no. 25 pls. 34b–37a. – Late Antonine. – Floral tendrils, with Annus in centre; in the diagonals remain three different superimposed personifications of each Season; the centre is occupied by the main figure: a female bust with her attributes; above her a naked satyr and below her a female figure dressed with tunic, over her head a big tray, various objects, and a seasonal symbol in the other hand:

Spring a crown, Summer grapes, Autumn, thymiaterrion; Winter a metal vessel. The maenad of Summer seems to be correctly identified, in spite of her attribute of grapes, because the superimposed bust has the hair adorned with ears of corn.

55. Known by a drawing. Pfeffikon. – v. Gonzenbach, V., *Die röm. Mosaiken der Schweiz* (1961) 201 no. 100 pl. 44. – Frontal female figure, of which only the upper part preserved; her r. hand rests on her breast, the l. one, down, holds a patera; on her head a crown with a big flower at one side and a fruit at the other. This is possibly Spring or Autumn.

56. From Antioch, «Tomb of Mnemosyne». – Levi, *Antioch* 295. 626 pl. 66a. 67c; Hanfmann II no. 124 = 145. – 5th cent. A.D. – Winter, a female figure draped in a mantle that covers her head, is holding a vessel with both hands, from which bare branches or a sheaf are emerging. Beside her, the inscription *XEIMON*; very close to her a bust that repeats the shape, with the inscription *ΤΡΟΠΗ ΧΕΙΜΕΡΙΝΗ*.

57. (Uncertain) Littlecourt Park (England). – Walters, B., in *III<sup>e</sup> Colloque sur la mosaïque antique, Ravenna 1980* (1983) 433–441 pl. 1–3. – About 360 A.D. – Orpheus in centre, and around him four female figures standing in front of animals; Venus, with naked torso and a mirror in her hand, is in front of a fawn; a figure with a swan, whom the author identifies with Nemesis, also with naked torso, is in front of a leopard; a third one, fully dressed, is holding a pole in front of a bull. This is identified with Ceres by the author. A fourth, also dressed in tunic and mantle, is in front of a goat, and could be Proserpina. They might be a representation of the four Seasons.

##### Reliefs

58. Marble base. Rome, Mus. Torlonia 381. From Rome. – Visconti, C., *I monumenti del Mus. Torlonia riprodotti con la fototipia* (1885) 285 no. 381 pl. 94; Hanfmann II no. 64. – 1st–2nd cent. A.D. – On three of the sides are represented female personifications who pick up their mantles with one hand and display an attribute in the other: Spring with a bulb; Summer with a flower and Autumn with a fruit; but the one with the flower turns her head and this relates her rather to the figures of Spring.

59. Marble relief. Florence, Mus. Arch. – Minto, A., *Hommages à J. Bidez et F. Cumont* (1949) II 208 pl. 10, 2. – 2nd cent. A.D. – Upper part of a relief, probably funerary; in the lower part, a shell. Four female figures, fully dressed with tunic and mantle, in frontal standing position. Spring with a branch of flowers in the r. hand and a kid in the l. Summer with sickle and stalks. Autumn with a cornucopia full of fruit and a thick cane. Winter with two big fishes, a strange attribute, and hooded.

60. Marble sarcophagus. Genoa, S. Lorenzo, embedded in the Campanile. From Genoa. – Kranz 102–103 no. 7 pl. 18, 1. – 190–220 A.D. – Sarcophagus with columns and six arches in front; both ends are occupied by the Dioscuri; the other four by H., all on moulded bases. They wear tunic and mantle. Spring holds with her r. hand the horns of a kid. Sum-

mer is in front of a flowered tree. Autumn near a grapevine. Winter, without attributes, with the mantle billowing at the back of her head.

61. Sarcophagus fr., marble. Aquileia, Mus. Naz. 135. From Udine. - Kranz 102-103 no. 555 pl. 117, 1; Canciani, F., *Aquileia Nostra* 57, 1986, 515; *idem*, *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 29, 1987, 143. - Time of Gallienus. - Parts of two arcades and heads of female figures; one has an ear of corn near her (Summer); the other has the mantle billowing, as Winter on 60.

#### Marble statues

62. Rome, Mus. Torlonia 102a. - Reinach, *RépStat* 2, 1, 252, 8; Hanfmann II no. 46. - Autumn holds fruits in a fold of the garment.

63.\* Vatican, Belvedere. - Reinach, *RépStat* 4, 163, 5; Hanfmann II no. 49. - As 62.

### H. Horae standing and forming part of scenes related to other gods

#### I. Not taking part in the action

##### Wall painting

64. (= Apollon/Apollo 419\*, = Helios/Sol 170) Rome, Domus Aurea, vault of room 34. Lost. - Ponce, *Description des bains de Titus* ... (1786) 10-17 pl. 12; Hanfmann II no. 18 pl. 82; Perrin, Y., *MEFRA* 94, 1982/2, 876-884. - Neronian. - In the centre of the vault, under a baldachin and near a vase with vine leaves, there is a male divinity crowned with tendrils, a sceptre in one hand and a cup in the other; he seems to be Bacchus, but some authors identify him with Sol. He is surrounded by four female figures: one, dressed, with crown of olive (?) (Summer?), another with flowers (Spring) and the third carrying an empty dish (Autumn).

##### Reliefs

65. (= Helios/Sol 173\* with bibl.) Back of a Mithraic Altar, stone. Dieburg Mus. 220.52. From Dieburg. - Strong, E., *JRS* 27, 1937, 124 n. 47 pl. 20; Hanfmann II no. 19; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* no. 1247 pl. 324. - Sol naked, seated on a throne, and near him Mithras. To his l. Summer, naked, with a mantle that falls down her back and that covers her r. leg, with an indeterminate object in her hands which Vermaseren thinks is a corn ear. Autumn, in the middle distance, with naked torso and a dish in the l. hand and the r. raised over her head; Winter, with a mantle that covers the head, and a rush (?) in the l. hand. In the lower part, Caelus, Tellus and Oceanus.

66. (= 81) Phaëthon sarcophagus, marble. Liverpool, Merseyside County Mus., once Ince Blundell Hall. Probably from Rome. - *SarkRel* III 3 no. 332 pl. 108; Ashmole, B., *A Cat. of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (1929) no. 87. - 190-200 A.D. - The four Seasons are placed at the l. of the front, three standing and one seated. Winter with tunic and mantle that covers the head, has a hand hidden and with the other holds a reed or a bare branch; Autumn dressed, to whom the old descriptions attribute a crown full of grapes, vine shoots and some bunches of

grapes; Summer, seated, with naked torso, ears of corn in the l. hand and a lamb and a sheep at her feet; Spring, with tunic and mantle that leaves the r. breast uncovered, and with a bunch of flowers in the l. hand.

67. (= 82) Phaëthon sarcophagus, marble. Paris, Louvre. From Ostia. - *SarkRel* III 3 no. 336 pl. 108. - Tetrarchic. - The four H. are grouped in the l. part of the front, two seated and two standing. Winter, almost hidden, hooded. Autumn, with the r. shoulder uncovered, grapes and grape leaves in the hair, and a basket with fruit. Summer, seated, naked torso, hat, and a basket of fruit in the l. hand and a sickle in the r. Spring, with a garland on the head and a basket of flowers to her l. on which she leans a hand. Summer and Spring are seated.

#### UNCERTAIN

##### Marble sarcophagi

68. Sarcophagi with the representation of the Rape of Proserpine. Robert, *SarkRel* III 3 thinks that the female figures - winged or not - placed in the corners are H., clad in a tunic that sometimes may leave exposed one or both legs, placing flowers.

a) (= Demeter/Ceres 126\* with further refs.) Rome, Villa Giustiniani-Massimo and Vatican 741 (right half). *SarkRel* III 3 no. 362 pl. 120. - About A.D. 150. - In the corners, two winged H. with garlands in the hands; both figures appear between Minerva and Ceres, with the baskets on the floor.

b) (= Hades/Pluto 36\* with bibl., = Demeter/Ceres 127 with bibl.) Rome, Pal. Rospigliosi. - *SarkRel* III 3 no. 363 pl. 120. - Mid-Antonine. - As a; winged female figures with hitched up dress, in the corners.

c) (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 15\* with further refs., = Demeter/Ceres 128 with further refs.) Florence, Uff. 86. - *SarkRel* III 3 no. 372 pl. 121. - Late mid-Antonine. - Like b, winged figures with hitched up garments, placed in the corners.

69. Sarcophagi with the representation of the Rape of Proserpine. Both figures, who as a rule are placed between the chariots of Pluto and of Proserpine, and who have baskets with flowers as attributes, could be H. However, the fact that they are only two and that both have baskets of flowers as attributes, makes this identification doubtful.

a) Villa Giustiniani, embedded in front of the Via Merulana. From Rome. - *SarkRel* III 3 no. 377 pl. 122. - Hadrianic or early Antonine. - One H. standing and another kneeling, the first with tunic, the second with mantle billowing over the head; vases with flowers at their feet.

b) (= Demeter/Ceres 133\* with further refs., = Ianitor Orci 5\*) The so called sarcophagus of Charlemagne. Aachen, Münster G 3. - *SarkRel* III 3 no. 378 pl. 122; Hanfmann II no. 114. - About 225 A.D. - Both H. are kneeling, both wear crowns and hold a basket with flowers that are fallen on the floor. Hanfmann considers that the chariot driver is a third H.; but, though she also wears a crown, this seems unlikely. Both female figures appear again at the l. end (fig. 378a); one standing and the other leaning over,

with a basket of flowers; near them, a nude youth holds another basket of flowers. According to Robert the first two are representations of the Oceanids - the same that appear on the Pluto and Ceres frontal - the third would be the representation of Spring. However, if we consider this as Spring, we have also to consider as Seasons the two youths, and this is not clear since all have the same seasonal symbol. One the small r. side, three youths look more like Seasons: Spring with flowers on garment, Summer crowned with ears of corn and holding a sickle; Autumn with thyrsos.

70. (= Dioskouroi/Castores 148\* with bibl.) Sarcophagus with the Rape of the Leucippides. Florence, Uff. 104 K. - *SarkRel* III 2 no. 180 pl. 57. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - Two female winged figures with garlands in their hands.

#### 2. Taking part in the action

##### Wall painting

71. (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 45) Stabiae, Antiquarium. From the villa of Stabiae. - Elia, O., *Pitture di Stabia* (1957) 26-32 pl. 1. - 50-79 A.D. - Armillary sphere formed by the interlacing of several archs. Inside are couples of H. and → Karpoi moving forward. Summer: naked torso, with the mantle billowing at the back of the head, is turning towards the boy who is near her, carrying a sheaf of corn. The rest of the group is less well preserved: one female figure similar to the last, of whom only one side remains, who rests her hand on a putto who carries a leveret; she must be Spring. A third, dressed with a nebris that leaves a shoulder uncovered, and with a putto near by, must be Winter, and a fourth, crowned with tendrils, Autumn. The Karpoi of these two last figures are lost.

##### Mosaics

72. (= Aion 11\* with bibl.) Black and white mosaic. Ostia, Mus. From Ostia, tomb no. 101. - Calza, G., *La necropoli del porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (1940) 183-184 pl. 92; Hanfmann II no. 81. - Hadrianic. The four Seasons move to pass through the zodiacal circle, a single ring; first Spring, with crown of flowers; then Summer, crowned with stalks and with a sickle to the l., though rather far from her hand; Autumn crowned with tendrils, and Winter, hooded. The circle is held by Aion, seated on a rock, and above is a reclining figure who can be identified as Tellus. There are no Karpoi.

73.\* (= Aion 12 with bibl., = Aeternitas 72, = Karpoi 4, = Kairoi/Tempora anni 46) Polychrome mosaic. Mérida, House «of the Mithraeum». From Mérida. - Blanco, A., *MosEsp* I no. 17 pls. 32-36; Alföldi 6-7 figs. 1. 4 pl. 13 col. pl. 3; Quet, M.-H., *La mosaïque cosmologique de Mérida. Propositions de lecture*. (1981); Musso, L., *RivIstArch* 1984, 160-167 figs. 12-13. - Many dates have been suggested from Late Antonine (Blanco) to the 4th cent. Scholars now seem inclined to a Late Antonine or a Severan date. - In the centre, part of two H.: an arm which carries a bunch of grapes with the inscription *AVTVMNVS* and a female figure, almost complete, who has the breast and r. arm uncovered, leading by the hand a dressed boy who

holds a sheaf of stalks; at her feet the inscription *AES-TAS*. They are approaching a larger figure, of which remains only part of the head, with wings and the inscription *AET[ernitas]* at her feet. Recently, L. Musso proposes a reconstruction based on the mosaic of Silin (74), which is, in our opinion, quite fitting. Thus it would be the representation of the Seasons with their respective Karpoi, passing through the Zodiac circle. It can be deduced that Summer had a Karpos with ears of corn and herself a sheaf of corn in her l. hand.

74. (= Helios/Sol 199, = Kairoi/Tempora anni 47) Polychrome mosaic. Silin, Tunisia. From Silin. - Al Mahjub, O., *III Congr. Int. sul mosaico antico Ravenna 1980* (1983) I 299-300 col. pl. after p. 148; Musso, o. c. 73. - Probably Severan. - The central emblem represents the seated Aion supporting the zodiac circle, through which the Seasons are walking. Spring with uncovered breast, a tray full of flowers and fruit, crown of flowers and a small branch in the r. hand. Summer, with naked breast, crown of corn stalks, a big stalk in the l. hand and a Karpos held in the r. hand, also crowned with stalks. Autumn, similar to the last, crowned with grapes and tendrils, holds a Karpos on her l. shoulder with a bunch of grapes in the hand. Winter with tunic and mantle that covers her head, wears crown of reeds, a reed in her l. hand and a Karpos under her r. arm.

##### Coins and medallions

75.\* A series of Roman medallions present variations of this subject: Aion (→ Aion 24) standing, grasping with the r. hand the Zodiac circle and three H. crossing through it: Spring with a flower basket, Autumn with a bunch of grapes and Summer with stalks. a)\* AE medallion, Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161). - Alföldi 7 pl. 12, a; Hanfmann II no. 80; Gneecchi, *Medaglioni* II 15, 54 pl. 48, 9. - b) (= Aion 24\*) AE medallion, Commodus (A.D. 177-192). - Gneecchi, *Medaglioni* II 60, 75 pl. 83, 3; Alföldi 7 pl. 12b. c; Hanfmann II no. 82-83. - c) AU medallion, Siscia, Probus (A.D. 276-282). - Gneecchi, *Medaglioni* I 10, 6-7 pl. 4, 2; Alföldi 7-8 pl. 12d; Hanfmann II no. 84. - In the last the four Seasons are already depicted. Legend *TEMP FELICITAS*; in the exergue *SIS*.

76.\* Medallions with Tellus reclining on the reverse and the four Seasons as small female figures in procession: a) AE medallion, Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). - Gneecchi, *Medaglioni* III 19, 90 pl. 145, 12. - Rev.: Tellus reclining to the l., resting her r. hand on the globe and the four Seasons around her, in the shape of female figures as on b. - b)\* AE medallion, Commodus, A.D. 187. - Toynbee, o. c. 6, 143 pl. 19, 11; Gneecchi, *Medaglioni* II 65, 125-131 pls. 86, 8-10; 87, 11. - The Seasons are approaching Tellus, carrying in their hands the corresponding seasonal products. Above Tellus, a grapevine. In the exergue *TELLVS STABIL(ITA)*. The seasonal fruits are hard to identify. The first H. portrays Winter and holds a reed over her l. shoulder and a duck (?) in her r. hand. After her Spring, with a garland held with both hands, Summer with a crown in the r. and a stalk in the l., and Autumn with something that seems to be a bunch of grapes in



the r. hand and a tray with fruit and flowers in the l. – c) AU aureus, AR denarius, AE sestertius, Rome, Iulia Domna (A.D. 196–211). – Hanfmann II no. 79; BMC Emp V 159, 20. 21 pl. 27, 9; 307, 766 pl. 46, 17. Rev.: →Fecunditas and four Seasons, as b. In the exergue *FEVNDITAS*.

### I. Seated Horae

77. (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 166) Painted vault. Villa of Hadrian, Tivoli. – Ponce, *o.c.* 64, pl. 10; Wirth, *RM* 49, 1929, 158, who doubts that it belongs to the Villa of Hadrian; Hanfmann II no. 16. – The vault is a circle with four octagons inside; in each and also inside another circle are the seated H.: three female and one male. Spring, naked torso, rests the r. hand on a flower basket. Summer, naked torso too, holds a sheaf of stalks in the r. and a sickle in the l. hand. Autumn, clad in the same way, holds a basket with flowers or fruit and a flowered thyrsos in the l. Winter is an old bearded man, fully dressed, who warms his hands at the fire.

78. Wall painting described by John of Gaza, in Gaza or Alexandria. Lost. – John of Gaza 2, 253–313; Friedländer, P., *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius* (1912) 209–212 pl. 1; Krämer, G., *De Tabula Mundi ab Joanne Gazaeo descripta* (1920) fig. 1 (also reproduced in Blanco, *o.c.* 48, II fig. 3); Hanfmann, *Latomus* 3, 1936, 111–118. – Not before the 5th cent. A.D. – John of Gaza describes two cycles of H. (cf. 103). One cycle shows them seated together and looking at Helios. Spring, crowned with roses with a necklace of roses and roses held in the kolpos of her garment, as well as in a silver patera that she holds in one hand «full of flowers from Cythera». Autumn has still some remains of the corresponding fruit on her garment. Summer wore a light garment and a hat, though, in spite of it, drops of sweat fall down her brow; in her hands ears of corn and a sickle, and the serpent of destiny that she showed to the travellers. Winter is covered with a green mantle and holds a vase from which rainwater pours.

79. Polychrome mosaic. Lost. From Fernan Nuñez (Córdoba). – Blazquez, J. M., *MosEsp* III no. 32 pl. 39; Debord, *REA* 1–4, 1984, 217. – 3rd cent. A.D. – The central part of a rectangular mosaic can be partially recomposed. In it seem to be two seated female figures; one of them half naked, holds in one hand an object, hard to identify; the other, clad, has at her feet a bearded male figure, a group that Blazquez identifies as Antioch and the Orontes; another two figures, who might have been inserted in this square, portray two Seasons; each is seated on a stool or bench; the one at the l. is wrapped in a dark mantle and has her head covered (inscr. *ΜΕΤΟΙΠΩΝ*); near her, a figure that in part hides her, is wrapped in a light mantle, has her legs extended and seems to hold something in her hands; inscr. *ΜΕΤΟΙΠΩΝ*, that identifies her as Autumn. It would be possible, in this context, that the figure with naked torso was Spring, however, she seems not to have had the corresponding inscription.

80. (= 107, = Kairoi/Tempora anni 57\*/193) Polychrome mosaic. St-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. From Saint-Romain-en-Gal. – Lancha, J., *Rec-MosGaule* III 2, Vienne (1981) no. 368 pls. 109–111. – 200–225 A.D. – Mosaic with a calendar representation in a series of vignettes. There is a double cycle: seasonal activities and Erotes riding animals. The nude Erotes are riding a bull, a lion and a tiger corresponding respectively to Spring, Summer and Autumn, while a female figure similar to the putti, but wrapped in a mantle that covers her head, with a crown of reeds and a reed in her hand, is riding a boar, which corresponds with Winter.

81. (= 66) Phaëthon sarcophagus. – Summer, see 66.

82. (= 67) Phaëthon sarcophagus. – Summer and Spring, see 67.

83. (= Euthenia I with bibl.) Sardonyx patera, the «Tazza Farnese». Naples, Mus. Naz. 27611. – Furtwängler, *AG* III 253 pl. 55; Hanfmann II no. 13. – The identification of Triptolemos with Ptolemy Soter has been proposed, in which case 3rd cent. B.C.; certainly 3rd–2nd cent. B.C. – There are several Egyptian or Egypt-related divinities: →Neilos, →Euthenia, →Triptolemos, two Winds and possibly two H.: one seated and the other standing, both with naked torso; the first holds a bowl in the l. hand; the second, a horn or an empty rhyton; after her, five stalks. According to Furtwängler, the first would symbolize the Season of the flood, and the second of the sowing and harvest, the only two Seasons in Egypt.

84. (= 13\*) Braunschweig onyx vase. – Summer, see 13.

85. (= Demeter/Ceres 164\* with further refs.) Silver patera. Wien, Kunsthist. Mus. VII A 47. From Aquileia. – Matz, F., *MarbWPr* 1964, 22–31 pl. 12; Kraus, *PKG* pl. 370b. – 2nd quarter of 1st cent. A.D. – Representation of an Eleusinian sacrifice. Triptolemos helped by several boys; above, Ceres and Iuppiter and below, in the exergue, Tellus. Four female figures, probably H.; two to the r. of Triptolemos, one of them standing, with flowers on the head, wears a light tunic and rests on another who is seated, with head turned towards the centre of the patera; her naked torso and the big stalks on her head identify her as Summer. The other two H. are to the l. of the patera; one stoops, with naked torso, to feed from a tray the swans that pull the chariot, and can be identified as Autumn; another standing, fully dressed, strokes one of the swans' heads; she can be Winter, although the crown on her head seems to be made with leaves instead of reeds.

86.\* (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 81/214) Silver Situla. London, BM. From near Vienne (France). – Walters, *BMSilverPlate* 18–20 pls. 10–11; Hanfmann II no. 384; Strong, D., *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (1966) 176–177. – Disputed date: 1st–5th cent. A.D.; probably 1st–2nd cent. – H. on animals alternating with putti and vegetable motifs. Spring seated sideways on a panther, with a mantle that covers the legs and is billowing over her head; crowned with flowers, holding a branch with two flowers in her r. hand; in front of the panther there is a basket full of

flowers and around her some Erotes are fluttering: one of them is in front of her, and crowned with flowers; behind her are two, one with a garland in his hands, another without wings, with a lamb on his back. Summer, seated on a reclining bull, wears a crown of ears of corn, clad as the last, and with a sheaf of ears in his l. hand; behind, two genii, one winged and the other not, the last holding a sickle and a winnowing device. Autumn reclining on a panther, with a crown of vine leaves and a mantle that covers the legs; in his r. hand, a vine branch with a bunch of grapes, and with his l. hand holding on his knees a basket full of grapes and of other fruit; in front, a winged putto with a dish of fruit on his head; behind, another with a bunch of grapes and a third holds the panther's claw. Winter is portrayed as an old woman seated on a boar, with long tunic and mantle that also covers her head. Behind her, a winged genius with hood, a shepherd's stick in his l. hand and two birds held by the legs in his r. Almost every Eros wears a mantle floating over the shoulders.

### J. Reclining Horae

#### Reliefs

87. Cinerary Urn of Cassius. Boston, MFA 1972.356. – Comstock/Vermeule, *SculptBoston* no. 243; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 54 n. 161 pl. 59. – 2nd cent. A.D. – Two reclining figures at the front of the lid: a bearded satyr and an H. (Comstock/Vermeule: maenad) with naked torso. Two Erotes offer a garland to the Satyr (Spring), and a basket to the H. (Autumn).

88. (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 90\*) Sarcophagus lid, marble. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 121657. From Rome, Vigna Casali. – Kranz no. 374 pl. 96, 2. – About 160 A.D. – Four recumbent H. confronted in pairs, rest their hands on baskets with seasonal products, served by Erotes that lean on one of their legs. Spring, with tunic and mantle billowing back, wears a wreath of flowers, holds a basket with flowers; Summer with nude torso, crowned with ears of corn, with ears in the background and also a basket with ears carried by an Eros. Autumn, in the opposite direction, clad like Spring, with a basket of grapes, is served by an Eros who brings her a bunch of grapes; at her feet grows a vine; Winter, with tunic and mantle that covers the head, with a crown of reeds and in front of a landscape of reeds, with a basket and a sheaf of reeds in her hand; her Eros, dressed, brings a hare in his l. hand and a duck in the r.

89.\* (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 93) Sarcophagus lid, marble. Vatican, Gall. Lapidaria 9265. – Kranz no. 400 pls. 104, 3–4; 105. – Last decade of the 2nd cent. A.D. – Like 88, although with some differences; the order is: Winter, Autumn, Summer and Spring; the products are inside cornucopiae; here there is no landscape against which the figures stood out; the Erotes are portrayed frontal, independent of the H., and bring their products in baskets, except the one of Winter who brings them in his hands. Moreover, the cornucopia of Winter is full of olive branches.

90.\* (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 92) Sarcophagus lid. Cleveland Mus. of Art 28.856. From Rome. – Kranz no. 343 pl. 96, 4. – 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. – Like 88, 89, with the succession: Autumn, Summer, Spring and Winter. Winter's basket also contains olive branches.

91. (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 244) Sarcophagus lid. Rome, Gall. Borghese 87. – Kranz no. 368 pl. 100, 7. – About A.D. 150. – Four H. of the same type, with the usual attributes, although some of the baskets seem to be empty; between them, instead of Erotes, there are craters, the first full of flowers and ears of corn, the second, of grapes and olive leaves. The succession is: Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter.

92.\* (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 89/189/200) Sarcophagus lid, marble. Vatican, Cortile Ottogono of the Belvedere 941. – Kranz no. 399 pls. 96, 1; – A.D. 140–150. – Three H. naked above the waist, with mantle billowing behind the head; Autumn, with grapes, a stick behind her on which she rests her hand, and a winged putto who also brings grapes; Summer, with stalks in her hand and behind, and a harvesting putto; Spring, with a vessel full of flowers and two putti, one supporting it and another getting ready to bring a similar vessel; Winter, veiled, before a landscape of reeds, surrounded by two putti with short tunics and trousers; one carries a kid on his shoulders and another holds a hare by the ears. On both sides of the frieze, at the ends of the lid, by way of acroteria, there are two heads: one crowned with vine leaves and another with reeds, next to Autumn and Winter respectively, which can also be considered as representing these Seasons.

93.\* (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 91, →Iason 67 with bibl.) Sarcophagus lid, marble. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 75248. From Porta Maggiore. – Kranz no. 372 pl. 96, 3. – About A.D. 160. – The four H. are dressed with a sleeveless tunic and a mantle billowing behind the head; Winter, with covered breast, Spring and Autumn with uncovered breast and Summer naked above the waist. They have the characteristic attributes, except Spring who has a circular garland in her r. hand.

#### Gem

94.\* Glass. Copenhagen, Thorv. Mus. I 344. – Fossing, *ThorvGems* 116, 686 pl. 9. – Autumn: H. reclining on a rock under a vine, whose grapes are gathered by Eros.

#### Sculpture in the round

95.\* Sculptural group, marble. London, BM. – Smith, *BMSculpture* III no. 1764; Hanfmann II no. 379; Toynbee, *o.c.* 6, 106 pl. 27, 1 (Hispania). – Late 2nd cent. A.D. (Toynbee). – Winter: reclining female figure, fully dressed, with tunic and mantle that covers her head, rests her r. hand on a hare which is in a basket on her r. leg, a little raised, offered by a young man dressed in a long-sleeved tunic and trousers.

96. Sculptural group, marble. Paris, Louvre. – Reinach, *RépStat* I 72, 94. – 2nd cent. A.D. – Autumn: reclining female figure, with tunic and mantle billow-



ing over her head, rests her l. hand on a basket with fruit and grapes served by a naked Eros.

**97.\*** Sculptural group, marble. Vatican, Chiaramonti Mus. 6. From a Roman villa. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* I 314 pl. 31; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I no. 384. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. or early 3rd cent. A.D. - Autumn: reclining female figure, dressed in tunic and mantle around her waist; holds a bunch of grapes in the r. hand and with the l. holds a vine branch; in front, four Erotes with bunches and baskets of grapes.

**98.\*** Sculptural group, marble. Vatican, Chiaramonti Mus. 13. Found with 97. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* 321 pl. 32; Hanfmann II no. 398; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I no. 384. - Same date as 97. - Winter: reclining female figure completely wrapped in a mantle from which only the face, neck and hands emerge; in the l. hand she holds a reed; around her, five Erotes are playing with ducks and with a turtle in a stream.

## K. Winged Horae

### 1. Alone

#### a) Standing

**99.** (Uncertain) Painted ceiling. Villa of Hadrian, Lost. Drawing by F. Bartoli, reproduced by Ashby, T., *BSR* 7, 1914, 32 pl. 14, 1. - The ceiling has in its centre a square with curved sides, held by four winged figures, who have been interpreted as seasonal representations. However, they have not the corresponding attributes; Spring would wear a light tunic that leaves her r. breast uncovered; Summer would have the torso totally uncovered; Autumn would be fully dressed, although in dancing the l. knee is uncovered; Winter would be dressed with a heavier and dark garment. There is a chromatic gradation from the brightest (Spring) to the darkest (Winter). Underneath, following the same diagonals, wingless busts, also Seasons, framed on wreaths. In the centre of the vault, a Victory. The H. have big wings that stretch from head to waist.

**100.\*** Polychrome mosaic. Paris, Louvre. From Antioch (Syria), House of Daphne. - Levi, *Antioch* pls. 52-57, esp. 54-55. - About A.D. 325. - Large mosaic in two parts; one depicting personifications of abstract ideas and the other in which we are interested, an octagonal well at centre. Four lateral trapezia with hunting scenes were separated by four bands, set according the pavement diagonals; the four corners of these bands were occupied with plants, from which emerge female figures representing the Seasons. Spring, with a sheer tunic, crowned with flowers, grows out of a bed of flowers and holds open a garment full of flowers; Summer, with a similar tunic, although with more movement, is emerging from stalks, wears a big hat and has a sheaf of corn in her arms; Autumn, rising from olive and vine, is crowned with olive leaves and carries a garment full of fruit (grapes and others); Winter, who grows out of reeds, wears tunic and mantle that covers the head and a wreath of reeds; the central part with the objects she would carry is lacking. This is

the only Season depicted standing, without the rhythmic movement of her sisters. All wear earrings and necklaces, and Spring also wears two bracelets. Above Spring and Summer, apparently branches of olive; above Autumn, branches of olive and vine, and above Winter, reeds.

**101.\*** Bronze statuette. Paris, Cab. Méd. - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* 42 no. 94. - 2nd cent. A.D. (?) - Autumn: female figure growing out of an acanthus chalice; wears a nebris on which is carried various fruit.

### b) Seated

**102.\*** Polychrome mosaic. Tunis, Bardo. From Carthage. - Parrish no. 12 pls. 20-21. - A.D. 300-325. - Mosaics, whose figure motives were in four squares with the representation of a Season in each; two are lost. Spring, clad in tunic and mantle, and with haloed head, is seated on a rock, placed in a rocky landscape, with a column behind which sits a bird. She wears a crown of pine branches (?) and flowers on a fold of her garment; next to her a goat. Summer, similar except for the naked torso and the stalks crown, also carries stalks on her garment. At the back a vase on a column, and partridges pecking the floor alongside.

### 2. With other figures

**103.** (= 78) Painting described by John of Gaza. - The second cycle shows six H. (who seem to have wings), pulling Eos' chariot, and another six, surely winged, following it, and a seventh H., dark, walking beside; they are the personifications of the hours of the day (six of the morning, six of the afternoon and one of the night, the dark one) who are very different to our seasonal H., in spite of the identity of name. All of them carry a light yoke around their necks, that they hold in their hands.

**104.** Vault mosaic. Samos, Imperial Baths. - Martini, W., *Das Gymnasium vom Samos* (1984) 200 colour pls. 1a, b, 3; pl. 28. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. - Only parts of two heads survive, one frontal, of a winged female figure, of whose wings only the upper part is preserved, and another in profile, with a crown of ears of corn. They could be two winged female Seasons forming part of the vault's iconographical plan. A reconstruction of the first figure has been proposed carrying in her hands an object or dress which probably held seasonal products; in this case, the first could be Autumn or Spring, and the second is certainly Summer.

## L. Heads with attributes only in the hair

### 1. Emerging from vegetal or floral motifs

**105.** Ceiling painting in the tomb of the Pancratii. Rome, Via Latina. - Petersen, E., *AdI* 1860, 348-415; *MonInst* 6 pl. 53, 1. - Probably 2nd cent. A.D. - In the corners heads of H. that grow out of

acanthus leaf calyxes. Two remain: Summer, crowned with ears of corn and with two young bulls alongside, and Autumn, with vine leaves and two panthers by her side.

### Mosaics

**106.** Black and white mosaic. Lost. From near the SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini Church, Rome. - Blake, *o.c.* 28, 169-170 pl. 39, 3; Hanfmann II no. 221 pl. 113. - Antonine. - In the centre Mercury and Abundantia surrounded by scrolls, which in the corners of the mosaic each frame a Season. They include the head, neck and part of the shoulders, and grow out of an acanthus leaf calyx. Winter, veiled, with bare stalks alongside her head. Spring with a crown of leaves. Autumn, with a crown of vine leaves with bunches of grapes hanging by her head. Summer with a crown of stalks.

**107.** (= 80., = Kairoi/Tempora anni 57\*/193) Polychrome mosaic. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. From Saint-Romain-en-Gal. Hanfmann II no. 227-303; Lancha, *RecMosGaule* III 2 (1981) no. 368 pls. 119, 121-122. - About A.D. 225. - Seasons and Months. On one of the small sides (the other is lost), four heads are emerging, without neck. At the sides, from the floral calyx grows a vertical stalk that opens in a corolla from which the head emerges; in the two panels between them the heads emerge directly from the floral calyx and wear a kind of helmet; alongside scroll-shaped stalks which end in flowers. Lancha 221 suggests in the exterior two panels representations of Spring and in the interior of Summer and supposes that in the lost end, similar representations would be of Autumn and Winter.

**108.\*** Polychrome mosaic. Vatican, fourth stanza of Raffael, called Sala di Costantino. From Laterano. - Nogara, B., *I mosaici antichi conservati nei palazzi pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano* (1910) 7-8 pls. 10-14. - 3rd cent. A.D. (?) - Mosaic with geometric decoration except for the four octagons of the centre, which have the heads and upper necks of the Seasons. Three grow out of an acanthus leaf calyx; only Winter does not, and is hooded, with a pair of aquatic plants growing alongside. Spring with flowers; Summer with ears of corn; Autumn with fruit, complete the four Seasons, all the attributes being on the heads.

**109.** Polychrome mosaic. Vienne (Isère), rue des Colonnnes. - Stern, H., in *III Coll. Int. sul mosaico antico, Ravenna 1980* (1983) II 328 fig. 4. - Circular geometric mosaic, surrounded by a scroll with female busts (head, neck and part of the shoulders) resting on pairs of leaves. Spring with a crown of flowers.

**110.** Polychrome mosaic. Aquileia, Oratory of the Good Shepherd of the Abito Singulare. - Bertacchi, L., «Architettura e mosaico», in *Da Aquileia a Venezia* (1980) 266-268 pls. 213-215. - 5th cent. A.D. - Christian. Mosaic of the good Shepherd in the central circle, surrounded by a floral scroll band with birds. In the corners, busts of the H. with nimbi, growing out of acanthus calyxes and flanked by stalks with leaves and flowers. Spring: crown of flowers. Summer: stalks in the hair. Autumn: crown of fruit. Winter: mantle that covers her head and aquatic plants.

### 2. Related to floral or vegetable elements, but not emerging from them

**111.** Polychrome mosaic. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. (formerly Antiquarium Com.). From Rome. - Blake, *MAAR* 17, 1940, 100-101 pl. 14, 2. - Period of decline (Blake); 2nd cent. A.D. (?) - Twelve squares separated by cable; at the corners, set on the diagonal, are the busts (head, neck and part of the shoulders), resting on the closed central leaf of a group of three acanthus leaves emerging from the angle; the lateral leaves are longer and frame the busts partially. The Seasons are depicted quite schematically: two of them seem to correspond to Winter, hooded and with bare stalks by the side. The other two are hard to identify; one has a crown with small pointed leaves and the other small branches, Y-shaped with small balls at the ends; these could belong to Spring or to Summer.

### 3. Independent of floral elements, although they may be inserted in them

**112.** Polychrome mosaic. El Djem, Arch. Mus. A 86. From Thysdrus. - Parrish no. 27 pl. 39a-c. - Late Antonine. - Four floral rings with four female heads with seasonal attributes at their centre: Spring, with hair adorned with flowers; Summer, with stalks; Autumn, with a crown of vine leaves; Winter, with covered head and crown of reeds. All of them wear earrings.

**113.** Polychrome mosaic. Synagogue of 'Isfiya (Israel). - Avi Yonah, M., «A 6th cent. synagogue at 'Isfiya», *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 3, 1934, 125-126 pl. 44. - 4th cent. A.D. - Circular Zodiac; heads of the Seasons in the angles between the Zodiac circle and the square inside which it is inserted. Only one survives: head and neck very schematic, necklace and crown; by the side, pomegranates, ears and objects difficult to identify. It is probably Autumn.

### UNCERTAIN

**114.** Polychrome mosaic. Knossos, Roman villa. - Payne, H., *JHS* 55, 1935, 164 pl. 11; Hanfmann II no. 219. - Mid-2nd cent. A.D. - Dionysos in the centre, surrounded by plants of the four Seasons; below, in squares at the corners of the mosaic, four heads without attributes that may symbolize each Season.

**115.** Marble relief. Klagenfurt, Landesmus. für Kärnten 246. - Piccottini, G., *CSIR Österreich* II 4 no. 312 pl. 11. - 2nd cent. A.D. - Central medallion with a nude maenad; to the l., two smaller medallions: a youth, perhaps a male (Autumn), and a female head wrapped in a mantle (Winter); two symmetrical medallions should be at the opposite side of the central motif.

## M. Busts with attributes only in the hair

### 1. Growing out of plants

#### Painting

**116.** (Uncertain) Vault of a room in the Via della Navicella. Rome, Antiquarium Comunale. - Collini, M., *MemPontAcc* ser. 3, 7, 1944, 240 fig. 198; Hanf-

mann II no. 225. – 3rd cent. A.D., belonging to a repair of the decoration. – In the vault corners are four busts growing out of acanthus calyxes: head, neck and part of the breast; wearing tunic, haloed and crowned with seasonal fruits; the attributes are hard to identify.

#### Polychrome mosaics

117. (= 54) El Djem, Arch. Mus. A 53. From Thysdrus. – Late Antonine. – Three lines of floral scrolls; in the centre, a medallion with a male bust crowned with plants of the four Seasons; in the diagonals, three figures alluding to each of them. From the baskets which they hold, grow floral stalks framing the busts; these lean on floral tendrils emerging from the junctions. Spring, a youth with tunic and crown of roses. Summer, naked, with necklace and stalks in the hair. Autumn, clad, with crown of grapes and the hair pinned in two curls tied with a wide band. The satyrs also have similar attributes. All the figures have African type faces.

118. From Vibo Valentia (Catanzaro, Italy). – Delplace, C., *AntClass* 43, 1974, 413 pl. 64. – Octagon with curved sides inserted in a square, with a central medallion with fishes. At the interior and exterior of the octagon, floral motifs and birds; inside the octagon, following the diagonals of the square, busts of the Seasons flanked by floral tendrils that seem to grow out of them, separated by peacocks and pairs of partridges. Spring, with a thick necklace, naked breast and crown of flowers; Autumn, with a tunic that leaves the l. shoulder uncovered and crown of vine leaves; Winter with mantle and covered head; Summer, half naked torso, wearing a hat.

119.\* London, BM. From Thrupton. – Hinks, *BMPaintings* no. 35 pl. 111; Smith no. 94. – 4th cent. A.D. – Circular emblem with Bacchus, lost; in the corners between the exterior circle and the square in which it is inserted, four busts flanked by long leaves emerging from the shoulders. Although damaged, it is possible to identify Winter from her hooded head; the other two preserved are quite similar, with flowers and leaves in the hair, and seem to be Spring and Autumn, or Spring and Summer. All the busts, except Winter, are depicted naked.

120. (Uncertain) Knossos, Roman villa. – Payne, o.c. 114, 164 pl. 12. – 2nd cent. A.D. – Christian. Head of Medusa surrounded by triangles with curved angles. Inside the circle, in the angles formed by the square in which they are inserted, busts of the Seasons (?) growing out of floral scrolls.

#### Relief

121. (Uncertain) Stone capital. Kreuznach, Mus. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* VIII 6159. – Four busts growing out of an acanthus chalice. Without visible attributes.

### 2. Outlined busts separated from the frame

#### a) Straight bust

##### Painting

122.\* Miniature. Leyden, Univ., Cod. Voss. Lat. Q 79, fol. 82v. – Thiele, G., *Antike Himmelsbilder*

(1898) 133–134 pl. 57; Hanfmann II no. 159. – The original probably belongs to the last 3rd of 4th cent. A.D. – Four female busts in the corners of the folio. All of them wear a light tunic and a mantle over the l. shoulder, except Winter who is covered with a mantle. Spring, with crown of flowers. Autumn, with crown of tendrils. Summer, with crown of stalks.

#### Polychrome mosaics

123. Lost. St. Colombe. – Lancha, *RecMosGaule* III 2 no. 355 pl. 98. – 1st–2nd cent. A.D. – Two hexagons with birds and one with a female figure veiled, the hair tied with a fillet and a crown of small leaves and bunches of grapes alongside the head (Autumn).

124. Lost. From Hadrumetum. – Parrish no. 60 pl. 82. – Severan. – Four tondi framed by floral garlands with three medallions inside. There remain: Winter hooded; Summer with a sleeveless tunic and crown of stalks; Autumn with a red band and grapes as a crown, with a nebris over the breast and tunic.

125. Córdoba, Alcazar of the Christian Kings. From Córdoba, Plaza de la Corredera. – Blazquez, J. M., *MosEsp* III no. 27 pl. 1, 1. 9. – Late 3rd or beginning of fourth cent. A.D. – Central medallion with Amor and Psyche; the four Seasons in the smallest. Only Winter, hooded and crowned with olive branches, and Spring, crowned with flowers, are preserved.

126.\* Mérida, Nat. Mus. 3366. From the Hinojal (Mérida). – Blanco, A., *MosEsp* I no. 65 pls. 95–98. – 4th cent. A.D. – Boar-hunting emblem, framed by floral scrolls in the middle of which are the Seasons. Winter, wrapped in a mantle that covers the back of the head, a fillet with two big leaves encircles her front; with earrings; inscr. *HIB(ernus)*. Spring with a tunic and a fillet in the hair with two round flowers; inscr. *VIRAN(us)*. Summer, a garment drawn over the l. shoulder, crown of ears and inscr. *HESTAS*. Autumn, tunic and mantle, band in the hair and bunches of grapes by the sides; inscr. *AVTMNVVS*.

127. Lost. From La Quintilla (Murcia). – Ramallo, S., *Mosaicos romanos del Conventus Carthaginiensis* (1986) 100–101 pl. 19. – 4th cent. A.D. – In the central medallion, Venus with the shell; in the corners, four female busts set following the diagonal. Autumn, with the hair tied with a fillet and uncovered shoulders; Winter, with mantle and the head covered, leaves probably of ivy, around; Spring, with leaves and flowers; Summer, with naked torso, except the l. shoulder, and crown of stalks.

128. Aquileia, Theodosian Basilica, *in situ*. – Menni, L., «Architettura e mosaico», in *Da Aquileia a Venezia* (1980) 202 pls. 173, 175. – Various busts inside circles in the central mosaic; among them, at least two Seasons; Summer, draped with tunic and big spikes alongside the head. Spring, clad in the same way and with a band and flowers on the head in the manner of a crown.

#### Reliefs

129. Sarcophagus of C. Ateius Valerius, marble. Ivrea, in front of the Cathedral. – Gabelmann, H., *Die Werkstattgruppen der oberitalischen Sarkophage* (1973)

no. 61; 124. 139 pl. 28. – Severan. – Sarcophagus of the tabernacle type, in which acroteria are depicted as busts of the four Seasons. In the front Spring and Summer; at the back Autumn and Winter; all of them show the r. shoulder uncovered, though Winter covers her head with a mantle. Autumn wears grapes in the hair; Spring, crown of flowers; Summer, of stalks.

130.\* Sarcophagus of P. Vettius Sabinus, marble. Modena, Mus. Lapidario Estense. From Modena. – Gabelmann, o.c. 129, no. 80; 139 pls. 45–47. – Severan. – Sarcophagus of the tabernacle type. There is a complete cycle of birds and seasonal plants in the acroteria. In those at the back are the busts of Spring crowned with flowers and of Summer with a crown of stalks.

131. Capital with reliefs. Treves, Rhein. Landesmus. From Neumagen. – Espérandieu, *Germanie* 5194. – 3rd cent. A.D., probably. – Capital with four «anguipedes» in the corners, and four female busts, crowned with leaves, in the centre of each side.

132. (= Helios/Sol 288\* with bibl.) Bronze plaque. Budapest, Nat. Mus. 6.1943.1. From a Mithraeum in Brigetio. – Vermaseren, *CIMRM* no. 1727 pl. 448. – Mithras relief; four busts in medallions at the corners, seemingly without attributes, except Winter in the lower l. corner who is hooded. According to Vermaseren, Spring and Autumn are male and the other two female.

#### b) Slightly curved busts

##### Wall painting

133. (Uncertain) Naples, Mus. Naz. From Pompeii IX 5, 2. – HBr pl. 139; Curtius, *WP* 220 pl. 130. – Mid 1st cent. A.D. – On Achilles' shield it is possible to see among other figures four small heads, that have been interpreted as Seasons. They are, however, too small for certainty.

#### Polychrome mosaics

134. Tunis, Bardo. From Carthage. – Parrish no. 15 pl. 24. – Severan. – Rows of triple concentric circles of floral elements with various busts and animals inside; in the third row (the last preserved, and damaged in the lower part), four busts; one satyr and a bearded man in profile, and two Seasons; Spring with a crown of flowers and a light tunic, and Winter with mantle and hooded. It seems illogical to try to complete here a mixed cycle with the satyr and the bearded head in profile. It rather seems that the two lacking Seasons are under the extant ones.

135. (= Helios/Sol 272 with further refs.) Orbe, Boscéaz (Switzerland), *in situ*. – v. Gonzenbach, o.c. 55, 184–194 no. 95 V pls. 60–67. – A.D. 200–225. – Nine octagons separated by squares with geometric borders. The planetary gods, among others, are shown on them. All is surrounded by a band with animals and, in the corners, the four Seasons. Spring and, in bad condition, Autumn still survive. Spring wears a diadem, and green branches and red flowers at the temples, and has the l. shoulder uncovered; Autumn, with crown of vine leaves and grapes, with both

shoulders covered. Part of another bust, seemingly naked, who might be Summer, is also preserved.

#### c) Round busts

136. Polychrome mosaic. Seville, House of the Countess of Lebrija. From Itálica. – Blanco, A., *MosEsp* I no. 1 pls. 1–3. – 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. – A cable moulding forms a net or circles alternately large and small, with several mythological figures: young Polyphemus or Apollo, Leda, Ganymede, Europe, etc.; those at the corners are occupied with Seasons, set following the diagonals. Summer, with nude torso and crown of ears of corns; Autumn, probably a male figure, is naked, with a skin over the shoulder and crown of tendrils; Winter, with covered head and crown of reeds; Spring, tunic and crown of flowers.

### 3. Busts not outlined nor separated from the frame

#### a) Busts in squares

##### Polychrome mosaics

137. (= Dionysos/Bacchus [in peripheria occ.] 201\* with bibl.) El Djem, Arch. Mus. A 70. – From Thysdrus. – Parrish no. 38 pl. 56. – Mid-3rd cent. A.D. – Twelve squares, the central occupied with Bacchus, and the next four with the Seasons: Autumn, Summer and Spring wear a sleeveless tunic and crown of grapes, stalks and flowers respectively. Winter with mantle over the head.

138. Ephesus, Thermae of Scholastikia, *paidiskeion*. – Mellink, M., *AJA* 63, 1959, 84 pl. 24, 10. – Late 1st cent. A.D. – Four squares separated by a cable frame and occupied by the four Seasons: Summer and Spring are lost; Winter, wrapped in a mantle that covers the head; Autumn, with a sleeveless tunic and crown of vine leaves.

139. Lyon, Guimet Mus. From Lyon. – Stern, *RecMosGaule* II 1 no. 48 pls. 29–31. – A.D. 170–180. – Five squares separated by guilloche. Dionysos in the centre; in the others the Seasons: Spring, with crown of flowers tied with a fillet and mantle across the l. shoulder. Winter, hooded and with crown of reeds. Only part of the head of Autumn, with a crown of leaves, is preserved.

140. Saint-Roman-en-Gal. – Lancha, *RecMosGaule* III 2 no. 407 pls. 170–171. – 3rd cent. A.D. – Twenty squares separated with bands; in the biggest ones, geometric decorative motifs, animals and part of two Seasons: Spring or Autumn with tunic and band with small leaves by way of crown. Winter, quite damaged, with a crown of ivy leaves and covered head.

141. Rome, Antiquarium Comunale. – Blake, o.c. 111, 109 pl. 25. – Caracallan. – Summer, with tunic, necklace and band surrounding the hair and two stalks at the temples.

142. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 1252. From the villa of Baccano. – Becatti, G., *Mosaici antichi in Italia, Reg. VII: Baccano: Villa romana* (1970) 9–11 pl. 1. – 2nd cent. A.D. (Becatti); late 3rd–4th cent. (Parlasca); probably Severan, for its relationship with the Zliten



mosaics. – Spring, with tunic and mantle hanging over the arms; crown of small leaves tied with a fillet and flowers at the ears.

**143.** Rome, Pal. of the Quirinal. – Becatti, G., in *Mosaïque gréco-romaine* II (1971) 185 n. 54 pl. 52, 2. – Late 2nd or beginning of 3rd cent. A.D. – Insert in a modern mosaic. Summer with light tunic and mantle across the breast; hat, and ears of corn by the head side. She possibly had wings, but it is likely that this is the result of restoration.

**144.** Destroyed. From Hadrumetum. – Parrish no. 59 pls. 80–81. – Thirteen squares with the representation of animals, plants and, in the centre, an inscription; four of them, with the Seasons. Only part of the mantle and of the band which formed the crown of Winter survive. Autumn, with tunic, without mantle, and a crown of grapes joined with a band. Spring, a crown of flowers; Summer, of stalks.

**145.** Köln, Röm.-Germ. Mus. From near the south tower of the cathedral of Köln. – v. Boeselager, D./Precht, R., *BonnJbb* 183, 1983, 417–419 pls. 16–20. – Mid 3rd cent. A.D. – In one of the extant squares is Venus; in another, Winter as a veiled woman crowned with reeds.

#### Reliefs

**146.** Mithras relief, stone. Schloß Philippsruhe, Hanau. From the Mithraeum of Rüdingen, Hanau. – *CIMRM* II 1137. – Late 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D. – Mithras tauroctonos; above him a series of friezes with several figures related to him; among them, four small busts, the four Seasons: two are lost, and a female head and a bearded man with veil, probably Winter.

**147.** Mithras relief, stone. Wiesbaden, Städtisches Mus. – From the Mithraeum of Hedderheim, Nida. – *CIMRM* 1083 A 10 pl. 274. – The four Seasons in profile placed in the frame of the relief next to the Winds. Spring, with flowers in the head and a wreath of leaves over the shoulders; Summer, with a fillet in the hair; Autumn, with crown of stalks in the hair and leaves on the breast; Winter veiled.

#### b) Busts inside pointed squares

**148.** Polychrome mosaic. Vienne, Mus. Lap. Grenoble, Mus. Dauphinois. From Saint-Roman-en-Gal. – Lancha, *RecMosGaule* III 2, no. 383 pls. 135–137. – Advanced 2nd cent. A.D. – Alternation of stars with eight points and squares; in those at the corners are the Seasons, placed following the diagonal in their corresponding square. Winter (?), tunic across the r. shoulder, fillet in front with pine cones alongside; Spring (?), a sleeveless tunic with a fibula at each shoulder, fillet with leaves and fruit, perhaps grapes.

#### c) Slightly curved busts

##### Polychrome mosaics

**149.** (= Ganymedes 216 with bibl.) Partly destroyed. The rest in the Mus. Lap., Vienne. From Saint-Romain-en-Gal. – Lancha, *RecMosGaule* III 2, no. 366 pls. 89b. 103b. 104. – A.D. 175–200. – Rape of Ganymede in the central medallion; at the sides, squares with curved sides with the busts of the Sea-

sons. Only the bust of Winter, with head covered and crown, maybe of pine leaves, is preserved.

**150.** Sens, Mus. Municipal. From Sens. – Darmon, P., *RecMosGaule* II 3, no. 415 pls. 11. 15. – 225–275 A.D. – Emblem of a big mosaic with the Sun subduing the horses of Phaethon. In the corners between the medallion and the exterior square, are the four haloed busts of the Seasons. Winter, with mantle over the head; Autumn, with crown of grapes joined with a band. Summer, a crown of leaves.

#### d) Semicircular busts

##### Painting

**151.** Miniature. Illustration of a Codex with the *Notitia Dignitatum*. a) Copy of the 15th cent. Paris, Bibl. Nat. – Hanfmann II no. 143a pl. 116. – Four busts with nimbi, tunic and mantle, without visible attributes, with the inscriptions *AVTVMNVS*, *HIE-MIS*, *AESTAS*, *VERNVS* (sic), in the four corners of the ara, the front presenting a *Divina Electio* held by two winged Victories. Winter has a mantle over the head. – b) Copy of the 15th cent. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Latinus 10291. – Seek, O., *Notitia Dignitatum* (1876) 102. – Similar to a, except that Winter has the head covered and the inscription *HIEMS*.

##### Polychrome mosaics

**152.** Tunis, Bardo A 402. From Oued Glat. – Parrish no. 55 pl. 74a. – Severan. – Only part of the mosaic survives. In a medallion, bust of Winter, with the upper part of the head lost; the head was covered with a mantle; below, two small squares with a rabbit and a feline, respectively, maybe related to the Season. In the next medallion, which might belong to a corner of the mosaic, a rose basket, probably the symbol of Spring. It seems to be a double cycle: female busts with animals as attributes and seasonal plants.

**153.\*** Palermo, Mus. Reg. 2289. From Marsala. – v. Boeselager, D., *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien* (1983) 146–149 pl. 95–99. – 2nd–3rd cent. A.D. – Spring with a sleeveless tunic and a fillet in the hair. Summer with a crown of stalks tied with a fillet. Winter, tunic, mantle that covers the head and reeds tied with a fillet. Autumn, tunic that leaves the r. arm uncovered and a crown of vine leaves.

**154.\*** Cremona, Mus. Civ. – Donderer, M., *Die Chronologie der römischen Mosaiken in Venetien und Istrien bis zur Zeit der Antonine* (1986) no. 19 pl. 46. – 3rd quarter of 2nd cent. A.D. – A series of octagons and squares; the first, with an eight-petalled rosette inside; the second, with stylized floral motifs and busts of the Seasons. Of these survive only Spring, with floral crown and chlamys across the l. shoulder, and another with naked torso, the head covered with a veil and a crown of leaves. If it is Winter, as has been suggested, it is unorthodox.

**155.** Vienne, Mus. Lap. From Vienne. – Lancha, *RecMosGaule* III 2, no. 313 pls. 52–53. – A.D. 175–180. – Several motifs in squares or circles: one part with animals and the other with Theseus and Ariadne, each with a medallion, flanked by others with the four Seasons, arranged following their diagonals.

Summer, whose upper part is lost, wore a crown of ears of corn; over the shoulders there are remains of a chlamys. Autumn, a tunic and on the head a band that holds vine leaves and bunches of grapes. Winter, a mantle that covers the head and pine cones with pine leaves by the head side, tied with a fillet in the manner of a crown.

**156.** Loupian (Hérault), Gallo-Roman villa. – Lavagne, H./Rouquette, D./Prudhomme, R., *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise* 14, 1981, 198–200 pls. 18–19. – 4th cent. A.D. – The four Seasons in the circles at the corners. Spring with a sleeveless tunic buttoned up the shoulders and a crown with leaves and flowers. Winter covered with mantle.

**157.** Seville, Santiago del Campo Coll. From Itálica. – Blanco, A., *MosEsp* II 25 pls. 50–51. – A.D. 200–225. – There might have been five busts but only three survive: all wear a fillet in the hair as if it was a diadem, to support the seasonal attributes; Spring, with tunic and crown of leaves; Winter, with tunic and mantle over the head and a crown of bare branches. Another figure, seemingly male, has a baldric across the naked breast and laurel crown. It could be Apollo, surrounded by the Seasons.

**158.\*** London, BM M 29. From Carthage. – Parrish no. 10 pls. 17–18. – 2nd half of 4th cent. A.D. – Panels with the representation of the twelve Months and in the corners busts of the four Seasons. Spring, tunic adorned with clavi and mantle on the l. shoulder; a bun at the middle of the head with a pearl or a flower on it, and earrings; Summer, nude torso, except the mantle over the l. shoulder; crown of stalks, earrings and necklace.

#### Relief

**159.** Stone, Volubilis, Arch of Caracalla, *in situ*. – Domergue, C., *Mél. A. Piganiol* (1966) 463–472. – Round medallions with the seasonal attributes. Autumn, crown of tendrils, mainly lost; Winter, with covered head and crown of reeds; Summer, chlamys across leaving uncovered the r. shoulder, and crown of ears of corn; Spring, lost, crown of small leaves. This kind of representation is more mosaistic than sculptural.

#### e) Busts at the exterior corners of mosaics

##### Polychrome mosaics

**160.** Cherchel, Park of the Mosaics. From Caesarea (Algeria). – Parrish no. 18 pls. 27–28a. – 1st half of 4th cent. A.D. – Vintage scenes on a wide band around the central square with Bacchic scenes; in the corners busts of the Seasons. Only two are partially preserved: Winter with the head covered and Spring with crown of flowers.

**161.** Sousse, Arch. Mus. From Thysdrus. – Parrish no. 24 pls. 33–34. – Early Severan. – In the centre, Achilles on Skyros; marine subjects. In the corners, busts of the Seasons. Autumn, only part of the face and of a crown of grapes survive; Winter, with mantle that covers the head and crown of reeds; Summer, parts of a crown of ears of corn.

**162.** El Djem (Thysdrus), *in situ*. – Parrish no. 31

pls. 46–48a. – Severan. – Bacchic figures, birds and Seasons. Spring, crowned with flowers and tunic across the l. shoulder; Summer, crown of ears of corn and necklace; Winter, head covered with mantle, which also covers her chin.

#### N. Heads with attributes also at the sides

#### 1. Growing out of vegetal motifs

##### Polychrome mosaics

**163.** Aquileia, House of Calendio and Iovina. Aquileia. – Brusin, *BollArte* 49, 1964, 261 pl. 16; Bertacchi, L., *Aquileia Nostra* 34, 1963, 19–83 pls. 21–25. – 1st half of 4th cent. A.D. – Six square panels, two with geometric motifs and the others with heads of the Seasons, with the neck and part of the shoulders. Winter grows out of a calyx of acanthus leaves. Spring wears a tunic over the r. shoulder, a crown of flowers, with two birds next to her: a dove and a magpie. Summer, with the same garment, with a fibula at the r. shoulder and a crown of ears of corn; next to her two partridges. Autumn, with a crown of flowers and vine leaves, with birds hard to identify because of the break. Winter, with tunic and mantle that covers the head, marshy leaves, a robin and another bird.

**164.** (= Achilles 121) La Olmeda, Pedrosa de la Vega, Palencia, *in situ*. – Palol, P./Cortés, J., *La villa romana de la Olmeda (Palencia)* (1974) 46–50 pls. 37–38. – Late 4th cent. A.D. – Exterior band of the mosaic of Achilles. Floral frieze with ducks and medallions with portraits. In the corners, placed diagonally, busts of the Seasons. Only the bust of Winter and the faces of Spring and Autumn are preserved. All of them grow out of calyxes of acanthus leaves. Winter had a veiled head and an amphora next to her. Autumn, a crown of tendrils and grapes tied with a fillet. Spring, a crown of small flowers.

#### 2. Not growing out of floral motifs

##### Polychrome mosaics

**165.** Toledo, Santa Cruz Mus. From the Vega of Toledo. – Blazquez, J. M., *MosEsp* V no. 26 pls. 20–23. 47–48 (colour). – 3rd cent. A.D. – Emblem with fishes; around it, heads of the Seasons surrounded by seasonal attributes. Spring, apparently without attributes in the hair, is surrounded by baskets full of flowers and of isolated fruit. Summer with a crown of stalks and stalks growing next to her, is surrounded by baskets full of ears of corn, big isolated ears and a sickle. Autumn, crowned with vine leaves and grapes, is also surrounded by bunches and fruit, maybe pomegranates. Winter, wrapped in the mantle and with covered head, is surrounded by birds and olive branches full of olives.

**166.** Madrid, Arch. Mus. From Palencia, street Arbol del Paraíso. – García y Bellido, A., *ArEspArg* 39, 1966, 148–150 pls. 2–3. – 3rd cent. A.D. – A cable band divides among other spaces, five octagons, one central with the head of Medusa, and four following the diagonals with the heads of the Seasons. Summer, crowned with ears and a sickle near her; Autumn,



quite damaged; Winter, with the head frontal and covered; Spring, with crown of flowers and a garment across the r. shoulder.

## O. Busts with attributes also at the sides

### 1. Busts outlined

#### Polychrome mosaics

**167.\*** Rome, San Paolo alle Tre Fontane. From Ostia, Imperial Palace. - Blake, *MAAR* 17, 1940, 108 pl. 24, 2; Beccatti, G., *Scavi di Ostia, I mosaici e pavimenti figurati* (1961) no. 313 pl. 104. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - Four squares framed by a meander with the representation of the Seasons. Spring clad with tunic, wears a crown of small flowers. Summer, also clad with tunic, crown of stalks in the hair and a sickle on the r. shoulder. Autumn, with a leopard skin and crowned with grapes. Winter, covered head and aquatic plants at the shoulders and head. Inscriptions: *AVTV[mnus]*, *HIEMS*, *VER*, *AESTAS*.

**168.** (= Ganymedes 215, = Herakles 1740) Volubilis, Maison des Travaux d'Hercule, *in situ*. - Parrish no. 67 pls. 91-93. - Late Severan. - Squares and ovals, with an octagon with curved sides at the centre with the Rape of Ganymede. Busts of the Seasons in the squares and the Labours of Hercules in the ovals. Spring, with a sleeveless tunic and crown of flowers. Winter, head covered with the mantle, l. shoulder naked and, by her side, two reed stalks. Autumn, naked, with two belts that cross her breast; grapes in the hair.

**169.** Sousse, Arch. Mus. 28. From Thysdrus. - Parrish no. 36 pl. 54b. - 3rd quarter of 3rd cent. A.D. - Four squares with the Seasons around a central one with the *toilette* of Venus. Each H. holds a basket as attribute. Summer is almost completely lost; only the l. shoulder and the basket with corn ears remain; Spring, sleeveless tunic, crown of roses and rose basket; Winter, mantle and covered head, and a basket full of olives or nuts; Autumn, sleeveless tunic, crown of grapes and basket with grapes.

**170.** Sfax, Mus. M 10. From Taparuta. - Parrish no. 57 pls. 77-78. - 3rd quarter of 3rd cent. A.D. - A big circle with nine smaller inside, framed by a floral band; inside are a philosopher and the Muses. In the corners, busts of the Seasons. Autumn, lost; it is perhaps possible to see part of a pedum; Winter, a mantle that covers the head and olive crown, flanked by an olive branch, a pot and a stick with ducks; Spring, tunic and mantle, crown of roses and branches of roses by her side; Summer, tunic and mantle, crown of ears of corn and by the side a sheaf of stalks and sickle.

**171.** Lost. From Villacarrillo, Jaén. - Blazquez, J. M., *MosEsp* III no. 52 pl. 60. - 2nd cent. A.D. - A central circle and four semicircles tangent to this; in the centre, the → Lupa Romana and the twins; in the semicircles, lions and tigers; in the corners are the Winds, and in the curved squares that remain in the interior are the Seasons. The two of the lower part are lost. The upper ones are: Winter, with a mantle that covers the head and by her side something that seems to be a bare

stick or reed; Spring with tunic, seemingly sleeveless and a garland by her side.

**172.** York, Yorkshire Mus. From York. - Smith 132 no. 95; Toynbee, J. M. C., *Art in Britain under the Romans* (1964) 289 pl. 64b. - Central square with the head of Medusa and four in the corners with the four Seasons. Winter, clad, uncovered head and a bare stick by her side; Spring with a bird; Summer, with a bunch of grapes (according to Ling it is a modern restoration); Autumn with a rake. The busts of Spring and Summer are rather unreal. It is doubtful whether the one with the grapes is Summer. Both Autumn with a rake and Summer with grapes are strange. Judging from 176 it is likely that the one with the rake is Summer and the other with the grapes Autumn.

#### Relief

**173.\*** (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 212 with bibl.) Sarcophagus, marble. Modena, Mus. Lapidario Estense. From Modena, Piazza Matteotti. - Gabelmann, *o. c.* 129, no. 57; 125. 139 pl. 25. - Antonine. - At the acroteria, four busts of the Seasons. At the front, Summer and Autumn, both with garment across the l. shoulder, the r. one uncovered, a crown of ears of corn and sickle for the first, and ivy leaves and tendrils for the second. At the back, Spring and Winter with a garment that covers both shoulders, the first with a crown of flowers and the second with a crown of reeds.

### 2. Curved busts

**174.\*** (= Aion 10 with bibl., = Kairoi/Tempora anni 171) Painted Vault. Ostia, tomb 57. - Calza, *o. c.* 72, 140-142. 319-320 figs. 66-68 colour pl. 1. - Mid 3rd cent. A.D. - A central circle with Aion inside the Zodiac, and four quarters of circles at the corners, with busts of the Seasons. Spring with crown of flowers; Summer with stalks; Autumn is missing; Winter (perhaps male, cf. Calza: «dal viso maschio»), with covered head and reeds on the head and alongside.

**175.** Black and white mosaic. Ostia, Forum of the Corporations, statio 11, *in situ*. - Becatti, *o. c.* 167, no. 93 pl. 174. - A.D. 190-200. - Three dolphins, one of them ridden by an Eros; above them, two busts inside circles. The one to the r., the best preserved, shows a head crowned with ears, a small sickle over the r. shoulder and a stalk on the l. one, clad with tunic. The one to the l. is harder to identify. It is also dressed and has no attributes, although, according to Becatti, it had once a small sickle on the l. shoulder. If it is really a sickle it would be Summer, which is quite strange; if it is another attribute, it should probably be Spring or Autumn.

**176.** Polychrome mosaic. Seville, Arch. Mus. 1053. From Itálica. - Blanco, *o. c.* 48, II no. 3 pls. 11-13. - 2nd half of 2nd or beginning of 3rd cent. A.D. - Nine round medallions inside a geometric frame, with representations of Bacchus and Ariadne in the centre, and wild animals and two busts, hard to identify, in the others. Between these medallions, four pointed squares with the Seasons. Spring, clad, crowned with flowers, with two rose buds over the shoulders; Autumn, dressed with an animal skin and

crowned with tendrils; Winter with covered head and two reeds on the shoulders; Summer, crowned with ears of corn, with a sickle on the r. shoulder and a rake over the l.

**177.** Polychrome mosaic. El Djem, Arch. Mus. A 26, 43, 44, 49, 50, 56. From Thysdrus. - Parrish no. 28 pls. 40-41. - Late Antonine. - Within a bigger composition, with animals and Bacchic scenes, there is a roof with circles; inside the four corners, female busts with the representation of the Seasons. Winter, with tunic and mantle that covers the head, crown of olive and weeding hoe; Spring, sleeveless tunic and rose crown; Summer, tunic, sickle and ears crown of ears of corn; Autumn, a sash of vine leaves crossing her breast is her only dress; she also wears a vine leaves crown.

### 3. Fairly curved busts

#### Polychrome mosaics

**178.** Seville, Arch. Mus. From Dos Hermanas. - Blazquez, J. M., *MosEsp* IV (1982) no. 5-6 pl. 4. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. - Two round medallions with Spring and Winter. Both wear tunic; Spring, with a sleeveless one, has small flowers in the hair; Winter has a bare stick alongside.

**179.\*** Timgad, Mus. 43. From Thamugadi. - Parrish no. 63 pls. 84b-85. - Late Severan. - Four Seasons inside medallions. Spring, tunic, mantle and flowers crown; Summer, tunic and mantle, and a crown of stalks and a sickle; Autumn, tunic and nebris.

**180.** Tunis, Bardo. From Leptis Minor. - Parrish no. 52 pl. 71. - Severan. - Medallions with Apollo and the Muses. The upper four are for the Seasons. Spring, mantle over the shoulders, crown of flowers and thyrsos adorned with ribbons; Summer, a sleeveless tunic, crown of ears, ears and sickle; Autumn, crown of grapes and thyrsos with ribbons; tunic and mantle across shoulder and neck; Winter, the head covered with a mantle and crown of reeds.

**181.\*** El Djem, Arch. Mus. F 3 (A 54). From Thysdrus. - Parrish no. 34 pls. 50-52. - Early Severan. - Six round medallions with the busts of the Sun, the Moon and the Seasons. In the centre Saturnus (→ Kronos/Saturnus). Spring wears a crown of roses, tunic and necklace. Summer, a tunic that leaves the l. shoulder uncovered and corn crown. Autumn, nebris and olive branches; Winter, reeds over her l. shoulder.

**182.** (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 86) Lost. From Acholla. - Parrish no. 3 pl. 5. - Severan. - Each Season is represented by a pair of figures: a female bust and a winged putto. Spring: the putto (the only one surviving) holds a garland of flowers in his r. hand and a basket with roses in the l. Winter: female bust with the head covered and a reed behind her r. shoulder; her putto, also with mantle, seems to hold an olive branch. Autumn with a sleeveless tunic and nebris, crown of vine leaves; her putto has a short tunic and, seemingly, a pedum.

### 4. Round busts

#### Polychrome mosaics

**183.** Palermo, Mus. Reg. 2286. From Palermo, House A, Victory Square. - v. Boeselager, *o. c.* 153,

175-183 pl. 121. - 1st half of 3rd cent. A.D. - A cable surrounds a series of octagons with concave-sided medallions with varied scenes inside them (Bacchic scenes, Neptune and Sol, Leda and the Swan, Pegasus and Bellerophon, etc.). Four of the smallest round medallions are occupied with the Seasons alternating with the Winds and geometric elements. Spring with tunic and a crown of leaves and flowers; Summer with tunic across the breast, crown of ears of corn and sickle; Autumn is lost; Winter, tunic and mantle across the breast, reeds behind the l. shoulder and a reed crown.

**184.** (= Dionysos/Bacchus [in peripharia occ.] 28 with bibl., = Kairoi/Tempora anni 119) Volubilis, House of Dionysos and the four Seasons, room 7, *in situ*. - Parrish no. 66 pls. 87b-90; Etienne, R., *MEFRA* 63, 1951, pl. 4. - A.D. 217-235. - Composition similar to 183. In the main medallions, Bacchus and maenads. Double cycle. Spring: a man wears a tunic draped over the shoulder and holds a rose, and a female bust with golden tunic and a fibula at the r. shoulder, and a rose crown that ends in two big flowers. Summer, bust like the last, with a big crown of ears of corn, and a young woman, naked but with a mantle billowing at her back and ears of corn in her hand. Autumn, a female bust like the last, with crown of tendrils and grapes. Winter is a young male, depicted frontal like the last, with two birds in the hand; the female bust, with tunic adorned with *clavi*, has the head covered, a crown of reeds and sheafs of reeds behind the shoulders.

**185.** Volubilis, House of the Cortege of Venus, room 10, *in situ*. - Parrish no. 65 pls. 86-87a. - Late Severan. - Spring, with a sleeveless tunic and roses in the hair. Summer, with a crown of ears of corn and a sickle, wears a sleeveless tunic with central *clavus*. Autumn, with a similar tunic, nebris and mantle that hangs from her l. shoulder; crown of grapes and perhaps a destroyed pedum. Winter, mainly lost, with covered head and reeds.

**186.** Lost. From Tourmont (Poligny, Jura). - Stern, *RecMosGaule* I 3, no. 346 pl. 43. - About A.D. 220. - This mosaic probably imitates a vault decoration: in the central medallion a lion, centaurs and griffins. Spring, a young woman with flower crown and a bunch in front of her breast. Summer, young (male?), with a sheaf of stalks. Autumn, a man with a vine branch full of bunches of grapes. Winter, an old woman with covered head; by her side a bare wood branch and a fork.

**187.\*** (= Aktaion 73) Cirencester, Corinium Mus. From Cirencester. - Smith no. 86; 130 pl. 6, 11; Toynbee, J. M. C., *Art in Roman Britain* (1962) no. 181 pl. 210-212. - About A.D. 200. - Centaur (?), satyr, Actaeon. Four medallions with Seasons, only three survive: Summer, naked torso, with leaves and crown of ears of corn and a sickle over her r. shoulder; over the l. one a bunch of ears of corn; Autumn, with a nebris across the l. shoulder, crown of vine leaves and grapes; in front of her l. shoulder a pruning knife; Spring, with a sleeveless tunic and crown of flowers and leaves; over her r. shoulder a branch with

flowers and over the l. shoulder a swallow. Winter is missing.

#### 188. *Vacat*.

189. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus., and Orange (Texas), Stark Mus. of Art. From Gerasa. - Kriseleit, L., *Forschungen und Berichte* 24/25, 1984, 75-97 pl. 2, 10. 18; Joyce, *RM* 87, 1980, 307-325 pls. 101. 105. 110. - Bacchic scenes. There is a frieze with the busts of the Muses on garlands surrounding it and in the corners, inside circles, the busts of the Seasons. Spring, almost lost, seems to wear a sleeveless tunic and an object over the shoulder. Summer, with a sickle over the r. shoulder, a chlamys across the breast, a crown of ears of corn and the inscription ΘΕΡΟΣ. Autumn, flowers on the lap, sickle over the shoulder and inscription ΜΕΤΟΠΙΩΝ. Winter, covered head (even the mouth), and inscription ΧΕΙΜΩΝ.

190. Tunis, Bardo 2967. From Thugga. - Parrish no. 20 pls. 29-30. - 3rd quarter of 3rd cent. A.D. - Five medallions, the central one occupied with a time god and the others with the four Seasons. Autumn, sleeveless tunic, buttoned up the shoulders, and a vine crown. Winter, with covered head and a hoe. Spring, with sleeveless tunic adorned with *clavi*. Summer, with a sleeveless tunic and crown of ears of corn.

191.\* Algiers, Nat. Mus. From Ain-Babouch. - Parrish no. 4 pls. 6-7. - Severan. - Four round tondi. Winter, tunic and mantle over the head, a reed crown, branch of olive to the l. and hoe to the r. Autumn, nebris, thyrsos, and vine crown tied with a fillet. Summer, tunic with *clavi*, sickle and crown of stalks. Spring, with a tunic like Summer's, rose crown and a basket with roses in her l. hand.

192.\* Tunis, Bardo 3599, 3602, 3603. From Acholla. - Parrish no. 2 pls. 2-4. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - Beside the large central mosaic, there are small mosaics with the Triumph of Bacchus as the central emblem. By the sides, candelabra with tondi in their centres with the busts of the Seasons, and thiasos scenes around. Winter, with tunic and mantle that covers her head, crown of olive and necklace; a hoe over her r. shoulder. Spring, tunic and mantle, a floral crown, earrings and necklace. Summer, mantle across the breast, crown of stalks and necklace.

193.\* Tunis, Bardo 3591. From Acholla. - Parrish no. 1 pl. 1. - Severan. - Two garlands of laurel leaves frame six medallions, four with the Seasons and two with floral motifs. Winter, with tunic and mantle that covers the head, crown of olive and a branch of olive to her l.; to the r., reeds. Spring, a sleeveless tunic and mantle over the shoulder; crown of roses, roses in a basket and one rose to her r. Summer, tunic and mantle, crown of stalks, sickle and stalks. Spring, sleeveless tunic and nebris, crown of tendrils, basket with grapes and a vine branch. Each Season has two attributes, one beside the head.

194. Cordoba, Cruz Conde street, *in situ*. - Blazquez, *o. c.* 79, III (1981) no. 12, pls. 13-16. - Late 2nd cent. A.D. - Central octagon with the head of Bacchus; satyrs and maenads around, and in the corners medallions with the Seasons. Summer, with tunic, crown of ears of corn and sickle. Autumn, nebris

across the breast, pedom and crown of tendrils. Winter, veiled, quite damaged. Spring is lost. According to García y Bellido, they seem to be male not female.

195. Taranto, Mus. Naz. From Taranto, Giordano Bruno Square. - De Juliis, E./Laiacomo, D., *Taranto. II Mus. Arch.* (1985) 135 pl. 19. - Late 4th cent. A.D. - Medallion with a veiled head and a branch, probably olive, to the l.; the rest is lost. The veil is tied with a fillet and two fibulae beside the head.

196. Ptolemais, room 5 of the villa. - Kraehling, C. H., *Ptolemais, City of the Libyan Pentapolis* (1962) 250-251 pl. 61. - Four medallions with the Seasons. In spite of the break it is possible to see the covered head of Winter. Spring with a shepherd's cane, next to what seems to be an animal skin. Autumn, crown of vineleaves and grapes, with a similar garland crossing her breast, and tunic across the l. shoulder. Summer, naked, with a garland of stalks crossing her breast and crown of ears of corn.

197.\* Lullingstone (Kent), Roman villa, *in situ*. - Toynbee, *o. c.* 187, no. 193 pls. 228-229; Smith no. 89; 131 pl. 25. - Ca. A.D. 330. - Curve-sided rectangle with Bellerophon and the Chimaera. In the corners there are round medallions with the four Seasons. Summer, with chlamys across the l. shoulder, wears crown of ears of corn. Autumn, lost. Spring, tunic and bird over her r. shoulder. Winter has the head covered. According to Smith, they should be male busts. Fairly poor quality.

198. Kingston upon Hull, Mus. of Transport and Arch. From Rundston (York). - Smith no. 92; 132 pl. 6, 28. - Mid 4th cent. A.D. - Mosaic with a victorious auriga. At the sides, following the mosaic diagonals, the four Seasons. Winter, quite damaged, had a rake over the l. shoulder (Ling thinks that this is Autumn). Summer, naked torso, ears of corn and flowers in the hair. Spring, naked torso, with a small bird over the r. shoulder.

### 5. Busts not separated from the frame

#### a) Busts in hexagons

##### *Painting*

199. Millière-aux-Mesnuls (Yvelines, France). - Zuber, F./Depraeter-Darguery, M., *Peinture murale en Gaule. Actes des Séminaires de Limoges et Sarrebourg* (1984). - Late 1st and beginning of 2nd cent. A.D. - Spring, crown of flowers and small leaves, with two V-shaped floral stalks. Summer, crown of leaves without flowers; corn ear over her l. shoulder. Autumn, three birds, one over the l. shoulder and two on a branch over the r. one. Winter is seemingly without attributes. All wear tunics, Winter's adorned with *clavi*.

##### *Polychrome mosaics*

200. Bignor villa, Sussex, *in situ*. - Smith no. 81 pl. 4a; Toynbee, *o. c.* 187, no. 188 pl. 218. - 4th cent. A.D. - Mosaic with a lost central medallion and four with the Seasons; only one with Winter, wrapped in a mantle, with the head covered and a bare branch over the shoulder, survives.

201. Hippo Regius, *in situ*. - Parrish no. 47 pl. 63. - Severan. - Only two H. remain: Autumn, who seems male, with tunic and mantle over the shoulder, crown of grapes and pomegranates, and a thyrsos. Winter, tunic and mantle that covers her head, crown of reeds and reeds by her side.

202. Orbe, Boscéaz (Switzerland), partially *in situ*. - v. Gonzenbach, *o. c.* 55, 177-180, III pls. 54-57. - A.D. 200-225. - Pastoral representations with animals, floral motifs and Seasons. Summer, with sickle, ears of corn and hat, and seemingly a chlamys across the l. shoulder. Winter, draped, with reeds crown and reeds alongside. Spring and Autumn are not clearly distinguishable in the old drawings.

#### b) Busts in squares

##### *Polychrome mosaics*

203. Carmona, Town Hall. From Carmona. - Blazquez, *o. c.* 79, IV 15 pls. 11-12. - Late 2nd cent. A.D. - Head of Medusa and the four Seasons. Autumn, with tunic, mantle and cornucopia. Winter, tunic and mantle that covers her head, chin and neck, with a vessel to her r. Spring, with tunic, flowers over the shoulders and basket with flowers to her l. Summer, with tunic, and crown of twisted ears of corn and a hoe.

204. Coimbra (Conimbriga), *in situ*. - Oleiro, B., in *La mosaïque gréco-romaine I* (1965) 261 pl. 9; Camargo e Almeida, F., *Actas do II Congresso Nacional da Arqueologia* (1970) 496-498 pl. 1. - 3rd cent. A.D. - Mosaic with a quadriga, taken to be that of the Sun. In the outer squares: Summer, with a sickle over the r. shoulder; Autumn, with a crown of grapes and vine leaves; Spring, crown of leaves and flowers; Winter, veiled head.

205. Lost. Drawings in the Royal History Academy, Madrid. From Comuni6n (Alava). - Blazquez, *o. c.* 79, V no. 2 pl. 3. - Late 4th cent. A.D. - Seasons placed in diagonals of the square in which they are inserted. Winter, with tunic and a mantle that covers the head, reeds alongside. Spring, tunic and mantle buttoned up the shoulders and flowers around. Summer, similar garment, with sickle and ears of corn by the sides; the sickle is very small. Autumn, similar garment, with vine branches around. All, except Winter, have a fillet in their hair.

206. Tetuan, Arch. Mus. From Lixus, House of the Three Graces. - Parrish no. 53 pl. 73. - Severan. - In the central part, the three Graces; at the small sides the Seasons. Winter, with tunic, mantle and crown of reeds; by her side, reeds and a basket with fruit, hard to identify. Spring is almost lost. Summer, with a sleeveless tunic and hat, sickle and sheafs of stalks. Autumn, with a sleeveless tunic, crown of grapes and a basket with grapes by her side.

207. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 59585. From the Via Appia. - Blake, *o. c.* 111, 101 pl. 20, 5-7; Dorigo, *Pittura tardoromana* (1966) colour pls. 37-38. - Late 4th or beginning of 5th cent. A.D. - In the central panel Apollo and Marsyas. Autumn, with a sleeveless tunic and mantle over the l. shoulder; to her r. a bunch of grapes and leaves or floral buds. Winter, with sleeve-

less tunic, mantle over the l. shoulder and two reeds over the shoulders. Spring, with similar garment, bunch of roses to her r. and loose roses to the l. Summer, similarly draped, with ears of corn over the shoulders.

208. Destroyed. From Saint-Romain-en-Gal. - Lancha, *RecMosGaule III* 2 no. 362 pl. 101. - 3rd quarter of 2nd cent. A.D. - Achilles in the house of Lycomedes; above him, the Seasons flank the central square with the Gorgon. Winter, covered head, crowned with leaves - probably of olive - and reeds alongside, over the shoulders. Autumn, tunic, thyrsos and crown of vine leaves and bunches of grapes. Summer, tunic, sickle and crown of flowers and ears of corn. Spring, whose face is lost, has tunic and pedom. Each Season has the attribute resting on the r. shoulder.

209. From Malton (Yorkshire). - 4th cent. A.D. - Smith no. 90; Cookson, *Romano-British Mosaics* (1984) pl. 89. - Only Winter, wrapped in a mantle that also covers the head, and a bare branch behind her r. shoulder, survives.

#### c) Busts set obliquely in the corners

##### *Polychrome mosaics*

210. Messina, outside the Mus. From the foot of Lipari Acropolis. - Boeselager, *o. c.* 153, 133 pl. 82. - Advanced 2nd cent. A.D. - Emblem with the Rape of Europe. Winter, mantle that covers the head and reed on the l. shoulder. Autumn, tunic and crown of vine leaves. Summer, crown of ears of corn and sheaf of corn in the l. hand. Spring, garment across the l. shoulder and crown of flowers.

211. Vienne, Mus. Lap. From Vienne, House of the Athletes. - Lancha, *RecMosGaule III* 2 no. 264 pl. 13. - Late 2nd or beginning of 3rd cent. A.D. - Nine hexagonal medallions within a round geometrical background with victorious athletes. In the outer angles, the Seasons. Autumn, naked, with a thyrsos over the r. shoulder and crown of vine leaves and a bunch of grapes hanging over each ear; she wears a fillet in the hair that hangs over the l. shoulder, and has male features. Winter, wrapped in a mantle and covered head; pine branch with leaves and cone in front of the r. arm. Spring lost. Summer, quite damaged; crown of leaves, ears of corn and flowers or fruit; over the r. shoulder a branch that ends in a fruit or a flower similar to those of the crown.

212. Brading (England), *in situ*. - Smith 129 no. 83 pl. 6b. - 4th cent. A.D. - Corners of a mosaic with remains of mythological scenes. Autumn is missing although there are remains of tendrils and leaves from her crown; below, part of a peacock. Spring, tunic and crown of leaves and flowers. Summer, tunic and crown of luxuriant ears of corn and flowers, and a peacock. Winter, with mantle that covers the head and, over the l. shoulder, a pole from which a dead bird is suspended.

213. (= Helios/Sol 292 with bibl.) Na'aram Synagogue, Israel. - Sukenik, E. L., *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha* (1932) 39-40. 54 fig. 49 pl. 5. - 6th cent. A.D. - Sun and the zodiac, similar to 226. Winter and



Autumn destroyed. Spring, upper part of the breast destroyed; a bird to her l., to the r. a tree; remains of the Hebrew inscription. Autumn, the best preserved, is also a bust with a bird to the l. and a pedum in her r. hand; Hebrew inscription.

#### Relief

**214.** Bronze helmet. Frankfurt, Hist. Mus. From Hedderheim, Roman camp. - Woelcke, K., *Germania* 14, 1930, 149-151 fig. 3 pl. 3, 1. - 3rd cent. A.D. - In the four corners, busts of the Seasons. Summer, naked, with a leather strip crossing the breast, crown of ears of corn and a sickle. Spring, tunic across the breast, four-petal flowers on the head and a similar one, with a big stalk, over her l. shoulder. Autumn, like Spring, with bunches of grapes on the head and a bunch over her r. shoulder.

#### P. Busts with hands

##### Polychrome mosaics

**215.** Known from an old drawing. Algiers, Mus. Nat. 787. From Lambaesis. - Parrish no. 50 pl. 69. - Severan. - Octagons curved with Bacchus in the centre surrounded by medallions with busts of the Seasons. Autumn, light white tunic with a nebris falling down the l. side of the breast and buttoned up on the r. near the neck, ivy leaves and bunches of grapes beside the head, tied with a fillet. Winter, covered head, holds with the l. hand a mantle in order to cover the chin and with the other a hoe. Spring, naked breast, except for the mantle that covers the l. shoulder; crown of leaves and flowers tied with a fillet. Summer, clad like Spring, holds a sickle with the r. hand and wears a crown of stalks. They seem real portraits.

**216.** Djebel Oust, *in situ*. - Parrish no. 48 pls. 65, 66a. - 2nd half of 4th cent. A.D. - Winter, a sleeveless tunic and a mantle over the l. shoulder, with the l. hand holds an olive basket and with the r. an olive branch, has necklace and bracelet. Summer, dressed similarly, holds a peacock's feather and a disc-shaped *flabellum*. Spring, tunic with wide sleeves adorned with *clavi* has also a necklace; to the l. there is a basket with flowers and a flower that she is putting in her hair. Autumn, with tunic and mantle holds a bunch of grapes and a pruning knife, has a pearl necklace and a golden bracelet.

**217.** Carthage, Mus. From Carthage. - Parrish no. 7 pls. 10-12. - 1st half of 4th cent. A.D. - Six tondi, four with the Seasons, one with a duck and the other with a peacock. Among them, Aion, Venus and maybe Pan. Winter, mantle covering the shoulder, tied with a fibula, two hoes and an olive branch. Autumn, vine branch and thyrsos on the shoulder, floral wreath and a sleeveless tunic, necklace. Summer, tunic, necklace and earrings, sickle and stalks alongside. Spring, almost lost, tunic with *clavi* and a necklace; rose crown in the l. hand and rose branches beside.

**218.** Eleutheropolis (Beit Djibrin). - Vincent, L. H., *RBibl* 31, 1922, 275 pls. 9-10. - 4th cent. A.D. - Ge, the Seasons and hunting scenes. Spring, with tunic

and mantle, a bowl in the l. hand with flowers and a bird on it, covered head, a pearl necklace, l. arm bent in front of the waist; two flowers beside the head and to her r. the inscription *EAP*. Summer, part of the head lost, wears a sleeveless tunic girt at the waist, a sickle in the l. hand and a sheaf of stalks in the r., remains of an inscr. *ΘΕ(ρην)*. Winter, tunic and mantle covering the head, the hand hidden by the mantle holds a hare, and over the shoulders an amphora to the r. and an olive branch to the l. Frontal figures.

##### Marble reliefs

**219.** Vatican, once Mus. di S. Pietro. - Strong, E., *La scultura romana* (1926) 306 figs. 183-184; Hanfmann II no. 160; Manganaro, G., *ArchClass* 12, 1960, 191 pl. 63, 2. - Severan. - Tellus in centre, framed by two stalks with four spirals enclosing the four Seasons, two above and two below the central figure. Autumn, with tunic across the r. shoulder, crown of tendrils and in the l. hand a bunch of tendrils and a bunch of grapes. Winter, wrapped in the mantle, has the head covered, and wears a crown of reeds and a big reed in the r. hand. Spring, with a sleeveless tunic, crown of flowers and a branch that finishes in three flowers in the r. hand and a basket of flowers in the l. hand. Summer, naked, with crown of ears of corn, a sheaf of ears in the r. hand and a sickle in the l.

**220.** Capital. Tunis, Bardo. From Segermes. - Diehl, C., *BullArchCTH* 1904, 465-466 pls. 61-62. - From the Christian basilica, but reused from a former building. Probably 3rd cent. A.D. - Corinthian capital. Instead of the usual rosettes appear female busts, clad with tunic and seasonal attributes. Spring has a sheaf of flowers on a fold of the garment. Summer, sickle and ears. Autumn, situla full of grapes. Winter, a hoe.

#### Q. Busts with wings (Without hands.)

##### Polychrome mosaics

**221.\*** (= Kairoi/Tempora anni 238) Tunis, Bardo 529. From Thysdrus. - Parrish no. 40 pl. 57b. - Late Antonine. - Apollo and Marsyas in the emblem and the four Seasons in medallions following the mosaic diagonals. Each personification is followed by a crater with the corresponding fruit. It is in fact a double cycle. Winter, with a mantle that covers the head and which she brings near her face to cover her chin, crown of reeds and to her l., a golden krater full of olive branches. Spring, tunic and mantle across the l. shoulder, necklace and crown of leaves and flowers, and roses in the krater. Summer, naked torso, except for the mantle that covers the l. shoulder, necklace and crown of ears of corn, her krater is full of ears. Autumn, tunic and mantle that covers both shoulders, necklace and crown of leaves and bunches of grapes. Her krater is full of grapes.

**222.\*** Tripoli, Arch. Mus. From Zliten (Dar-Buc-Ammera). - Parrish no. 68 pls. 94-95. - Late Severan. - Eight square panels, five with marble intarsia motifs

and four with the busts of the Seasons. There are other squares beside with animals and scenes showing pygmies hunting and fishing. Spring, with a sleeveless tunic, crown of flowers tied with a fillet, earrings and necklace; two vessels with ricotta in front of the breast, and a pedum; pointed wings. Autumn, with a sleeveless tunic, crown of leaves and flowers with fillet, earrings and necklace; in front of her a red flower and a bunch of grapes; pointed wings. Summer, chlamys drawn across the l. shoulder, necklace, crown of ears and a sickle on the r. arm. Winter, with tunic and mantle that covers the head, crown of reeds and a reed behind the l. shoulder.

**223.\*** Lambèse Mus. M 10. From Lambaesis. - Parrish no. 73 pl. 100. - Severan. - In the centre of a geometric mosaic, in the manner of an emblem, the bust of a young female, seemingly winged, quite damaged. She wears a sleeveless tunic and remains of a vine crown; behind her a stalk with reddish flowers.

**224.** (= Charis, Charites/Gratae 12a) Shahba Mus. From Shahba-Philippopolis. - Balty, J., *ANRW* II 12, 2 (1981) 409-410 pl. 43. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. - The three Graces in the central emblem; beside there are two small panels with three personifications in each, among them the four Seasons. Only two are reproduced, and the others are not described. Autumn, with inscription *ΜΕΘΟΠΙΩΡΟΝ*, with chlamys over the l. shoulder, crown of leaves and flowers and two small protuberances like small horns at the front. Summer, with crown of fruit and leaves and inscription *ΘΕΡΟΣ*.

**225.** Caesarea Maritima. - Spiro, M., *AJA* 85, 1981, 219. - A.D. 450-550. - Two panels with traces of Greek inscriptions; it seems to be a complete cycle of Seasons. Summer, with crown and sheaf of ears of corn. Spring, with crown and basket of roses.

**226.\*** (= Ananeosis I with bibl.) Antakya, Mus. Hatay. From Antioch, sector 10-Q. - Levi, *Antioch* 320 pl. 73b. - Mid 5th cent. A.D. - Personification of Ananeosis inside a wreath; in the cardinal points there are small busts with the Seasons. Two are clearly distinguishable: Winter with covered head and Summer, above, with crown of flowers; the others are harder to identify.

#### COMMENTARY

##### Standing Horae

The first evidence for the H. with seasonal attributes, although not specified, is Ptolemy's Pompe in which they take part in a Bacchic thiasos. A series of later archaistic reliefs (1-3), derived, according to Fuchs, from an original of about 160 B.C., also show the H. in a Bacchic procession, but already with some of the attributes that will be characteristic: flowers for Spring, naked torso for Summer, a bunch of grapes for Autumn and mantle crossed over the breast for Winter. This type of archaistic Horae soon disappears from Roman iconography, although they remain isolated in some Imperial monuments (2).

More frequent are the processional H. of the Neo-

classical type, who are shown related to the marriage of Thetis and Peleus (3-7), following a classical tradition depicted in works as old as the François Vase or the dinos of Sophilos. Various series exist which differ only in the order of the H., whose personal features and classical attributes are already perfectly shown; they wear tunic and mantle and carry various attributes: Spring, flowers and a kid held by the hind legs, as a rule held behind her, however she can also hold it in front (3c. 5. 6); she turns her head back, as if looking at the animal. Summer, crown, ears of corn and poppies in her hands. Autumn, grapes and pomegranates carried on a fold of her mantle. Winter, with birds and hares hanging from a pedum held over the shoulder in one hand and in the other holding a boar by the hind legs; occasionally, instead of the boar, she carries another pole (7) or a duck suspended from a cane (6). Spring and Summer wear bonnets. These representations occur in different monuments, from the Campana reliefs to the Villa Albani sarcophagus (6), dating from the end of the 1st cent. B.C. to the mid-2nd cent. A.D. Here, to the traditional characters are added a young man with a bull on his shoulders, who is perhaps Hercules, and another with a torch or cane who seems to be Hymenaios (6. 7).

Related to these, although independent of the marriage of Thetis and Peleus, is a series of monuments (8-13) that include terracotta reliefs, marble altars and various gems; they may be processional H. around a divinity (8. 13), but more often they appear alone (10. 11) or in a group, but they are always independent of each other; that is the case, for example, of the Arretine reliefs (9), where they are separated by candelabra and columns, and where some are represented twice. It seems clear that on these monuments the H. are considered personifications in their own right, independent of the gods or of the mythological scenes, to which they had hitherto been related. The attributes and personal features of each are basically the same as before, though there exist variants; Spring may not turn the head or, as seen before, not carry the kid before her (10. 13). In some of the later monuments, as the «Braunschweiger Vase» (13), there are combined standing and seated figures, as well as male (one) and female (three); Winter combines features of Spring on Arretine reliefs (9) and some from the Villa Albani sarcophagus (6), and Spring is close to the Campana type (2). Summer, seated, and Autumn, male, are, on the other hand, far from these groups.

Dancing H., not taking part in processions, are quite frequent in the Roman world. There are pictures described by Philostratos and Nonnos, with this type of H., although it is not possible to understand these scenes exactly (14b. c). Only in one Pompeian painting (14) is a group of four H. forming a frieze preserved. Some of their attributes are peculiar: for example, a lamb around Spring's neck and the vessel with *ricotta* carried in the hand, attributes more suitable to other Seasons, and the olive branch (?) which with the fruit basket is an attribute of Autumn. Summer and Winter, on the other hand, with a sickle and two ducks and a bare branch respectively have the usual attri-



butes. All wear tunic and mantle, except Summer who is naked above the waist. Winter has a covered head. Spring and Autumn are crowned with flowers and sheaf of corn respectively.

The rest of the representations of this group (15-40) are isolated and it is not always possible to recompose the whole cycle. They are quite frequent on Pompeian paintings (15-25), where, as a general rule, Spring and Autumn appear with tunic and mantle that leaves a shoulder uncovered; Autumn usually wears a mantle billowing at her back, and boots. Summer, with naked torso, and Winter with tunic and mantle that covers the head, and with boots. For the attributes: Spring holds a basket and hare (15, 18), kid and garland (16), basket with flowers and fruit, maybe pomegranates (17). Summer, a sickle (15), a sheaf of corn and a sickle (19, 20, 22). Autumn, fruit on a fold of her garment (15, 16, 24), basket with fruit (17), bunch of grapes (18, 20, 25), basket and bunch of grapes (19), basket and crown (21). Winter, two ducks and a branch (15, 16), fruit on a fold of her garment, in the manner of Autumn - an exceptional representation (17) that can be combined with the most traditional, consisting of two ducks suspended from a pole (18), in this case however it is not certain that she carries fruit. There can also be three ducks suspended from the pole, while in her other hand she holds a jug (21). In vault spandrels we have paintings of this type attested until the mid-2nd cent. A. D. In one of them (26) Spring wears a crown, Summer carries a sickle and ears of corn, Autumn a glass and a bunch of grapes, and Winter covers the head with a mantle. From another (27), a stucco relief, only remain Spring and Summer; the first with tunic and mantle and, at least, a kid nearby; the second naked, with a chlamys hanging at her back, and a sickle.

This type of H. is less common (28-31) on mosaics, even though the extant monuments run from the mid 2nd to mid 3rd cent. A. D. Spring and Autumn may have a naked torso (28, 31) or be naked with a chlamys hanging at their backs (29), or wearing a tunic that leaves one of their shoulders uncovered (30). Summer is completely naked (28-31) or with naked torso (33). Winter with covered head. As attributes Spring once carries a basket and is sowing out of it while walking (28); sometimes roses and a basket with roses (29), a basket with roses and a hare (30). Summer, a sickle and basket with sheaf of corn (28), a sickle and sheaf of corn ears (29, 30), a basket with ears of corn and thyrsos (31). Autumn, a basket with fruit and a bunch of grapes (28), pitcher and thyrsos (29), bunch of grapes and basket (30), thyrsos and a tray with fruit (31). Winter, a pole from which animals are always suspended. As a general rule, in vaults as in mosaics, the figures are placed at the outer ends of the diagonals. Frequently these representations are flanked by plants or scenes with seasonal meaning.

They are attested on reliefs from Hellenistic times to the 3rd cent. A. D. The most ancient representation, the frieze of the Church of St. Eleutherios (→ Horai 50), belongs to a Greek context and it is not completely canonical. On the others Spring wears tunic

and mantle, and occasionally, a billowing mantle at her back. Summer, naked above the waist or with a chlamys hanging at her back. Autumn, with tunic and mantle (33), which in some cases is billowing behind her head (32, 34). Winter, with covered head. As attributes, Spring wears a garland of flowers over the breast and flowers in a fold of her garment (32), or carries a branch and a new-born fawn (33). Summer, sheaf of corn (32), or ears, flowers and a jug from which liquid pours. Autumn, a vine branch (32) or fruit held on a fold of her garment (33). Winter is once resting on a stele and has a dog nearby (32). On sculptures dated to the 1st and 2nd cent. A. D., there remain chiefly Autumns, dressed but with naked shoulder and fruit on garment (35-37), and Winters wearing tunic and mantle with head uncovered, and two ducks and a hare as attributes (39). One Spring holds a kid (40).

Of special interest are the dancing couples of H. and satyrs, or, at least of H. with a male figure (41-45), in painting as in reliefs. With several variants these can be found from the 2nd half of the 1st cent. A. D. to the mid 3rd cent. A. D. The satyr corresponding to Spring once has a dish with fruit (41) and in another case a pedum and a kid on the shoulders (42), while the maenad holds a basket with flowers and fruit and a small thyrsos (42). The satyr of Summer clad only with a chlamys over his shoulder, holds a basket with fruit and leaves (42, 43) and on one occasion also a pedum (41), whereas the H. with, at least, naked torso, carries various attributes: sickle (41) with an indeterminate object in the other hand, sheaf of corn (43), a basket with sheaf of corn and sickle (44), a flower (42). With Autumn the half-naked satyr fills a goatskin (41) or a basket of grapes (42, 43) and the H. with a breast or at least a shoulder naked may hold vine branches (43) or other attributes, hard to identify (43). Winter is a satyr with tunic and mantle covering his head, once carrying reeds and ducks (42), or naked and playing the flute (43). His H. holds a duck (42), hoe and ducks (44) or other attributes, hard to determine.

There are also H. who form a seasonal cycle combined with male figures (46-52). They are not numerous and have no uniform typology, while they range in date from the beginning of the 2nd cent. A. D. to the 1st half of the 4th cent. As a rule there are three female and one male figure, although sometimes (49) there can even be three male and one female. Spring can have a naked torso (46), almost naked (47) or dressed with tunic and mantle (48), sometimes billowing at her back (50). Summer is naked (47). Autumn also naked (48) or with tunic and mantle billowing (50). Winter with tunic and mantle (49) sometimes also with covered head (48). As attributes, a basket with flowers and a stick or a branch (48), garland and roses (50). Summer, a sheaf of ears and sickle (48). Autumn, with bowl or glass and branch (46), dish (47), hare, basket with fruit and leaves, and ducks (50), although the last is not certain. Winter, branch (46), branch and tray (49), and a reed and two ducks (51). It is not a homogeneous group and is quite problematic.

Less frequent (53-63) in comparison, are the H. shown in restrained movement on mosaics and reliefs

between the mid-1st cent. A. D. and the fifth cent. (most of them belong to the 2nd or 3rd cent.). In one case (54) they are female figures dressed with tunic, with a tray on their heads and differing only in the seasonal symbol carried in their hands; they are unusual attributes (Spring, crown; Summer, grapes; Autumn thymiaterion; Winter, metal vessel) although they seem to correspond to the Seasons, because they are placed under other busts with clearer attributes. Included in this group are the only two sarcophagi with seasonal H. (60-61) dated to the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd cent. A. D., clad with tunic and mantle, with Winter attributeless, Spring holding a kid by the horns, Autumn near a grapevine and Summer once in front of a tree and once in front of an ear of corn. In almost every other case the four H. are dressed with tunic and mantle and their attributes vary. On 58, they are a bulb, a flower and a fruit, probably corresponding to Spring, Summer and Autumn, the figure of Winter missing; while on 59 Spring has a bunch of flowers and a kid, Summer a sickle and spikes, Autumn a cornucopia and cane, and Winter with covered head and two big fishes, a very strange attribute. The earliest representation, from Pompeii (53), is also quite rare in the Pompeian context since it shows the only static figure in this group: Summer, who is naked, with a hat, sickle and sheaf of corn.

Sometimes the H. are shown taking part in scenes where they are related to other gods, whether taking part in the action, or not. In the latter case, they appear in relationship with Dionysos and Helios, in Mithraic scenes or on sarcophagi with the myth of Phaëthon (64-67); there are very doubtful examples of their presence on some sarcophagi with the myth of Proserpine (68-69). In relationship with Bacchus - though probably he is Sol - some scholars have tried to relate the Domus Aurea paintings (64), with four quite hieratic figures: Winter draped and with an olive crown as unique attribute, and the other three respectively with naked torso, crown of olive, flowers and an empty dish in the hands. However, the fact that we know them only through very idealized copies prevents secure identification. On sarcophagi with the myth of Phaëthon (66-67), there are both standing and seated H., varying in number, as well as some of their attributes, which are always, however, normal (flowers for Spring, ears of corn for Summer, grapes for Autumn and covered head and reed for Winter). On one relief from Dieburg (65) Spring and Autumn have naked torsos, while Summer is naked and Winter has a mantle that covers the head; as attributes, Spring has none, Summer holds a sheaf of corn, Autumn a dish and Winter a reed.

Most interesting are the H. who take a direct part in the divine scenes in which they appear. The most numerous group and the most important is the one related to the zodiacal circle or with corresponding divinities. The earliest evidence (71) shows, in a painting from Stabiae of the mid-1st cent. A. D., the four H., including Summer with naked torso and a nebris, and Autumn walking, with their respective → Karpoi through the interior of an armillary sphere; judging by

the little evidence extant, it seems that in this case the Karpoi indicate the seasonal attributes, although the H. can also show some of these, like the vineleaves crown of Autumn. Other evidence is simpler, and depicts the H. crossing the zodiac circle on monuments of the 2nd and 3rd cent. A. D. Some of them (73-74) show the H. again in relationship with the Karpoi. In the mosaic from Silin (74), Aion, seated, supports the zodiac circle, towards which the four H. are walking, three with naked breast and the fourth, Winter, with a mantle that covers her head. Thus, they as well as their Karpoi carry the usual attributes in the form of a crown or of branches in their hands. This mosaic has suggested a new reconstruction of the well-known cosmic mosaic from Mérida (73), which possibly has a similar composition, with H. and Karpoi with their seasonal attributes walking towards the zodiac circle, supported by a seated Aion (Aeternitas according to the inscription). In both cases, the figures are dressed, though Spring and Summer have naked breasts.

The most numerous examples are those on which the H. appear without Karpoi. The mosaic from Ostia (72) shows the four personifications dressed only with a chlamys hanging at their backs, and crowned with their respective fruit, except Winter who, as usual, wears a mantle that covers the head, and only Summer has an added seasonal attribute: a sickle near one of her hands. Here Aion, also seated, shares the scene with Tellus who is on a lower level. Variations on this subject (H. walking through the zodiac circle supported by Aion who is standing), are found on several medallions of the 2nd and 3rd cent. A. D.; at first (75a, b) there seems to be only three Seasons: Spring, Summer and Autumn; however, in the 3rd cent. (75c), Winter is added. The legend on some of these coins, *Temporum Felicitas*, clearly alludes to the succession of time. In Antonine and Severan times also we can see H. approaching Tellus who is reclining and with one hand on the globe (76a-c); Winter with a reed and a duck leads the procession; the other Seasons with floral attributes in their hands follow her; the legends *Tellus stabilita* and *Fecunditas*, allude to seasonal renewal and to the Earth's fertility thanks to the course of the Seasons.

#### Horae seated and reclined

Seated H. are not very numerous among the Roman representations; they are attested from Hellenistic times until the 3rd cent. A. D. and curiously the oldest are on reliefs made of silver, onyx and sardonyx, expensive and luxury objects (83-86), on which the H. are frequently in relationship with Triptolemos. The earliest, the «Tazza Farnese» (83), shows only two seated H., probably alluding to the two seasons of the Egyptian climate. The other two already show a combination of seated and standing H., and in both cases Summer is the one seated. On 84 she holds ears and a basket with fruit; on 85, she has big ears of corn on the head, while the other two are standing and the fourth is crouching; the one who feeds the swans that pull the chariot can be identified with Autumn. In all of them the seasonal representations show unusual features.

On 86 the typology of the H. is closer to the most characteristic, but they are most unusually seated on animals; Spring, Summer and Autumn are naked with a mantle that covers their heads; as attributes, branch with flowers, ears, vine branch, in addition to the characteristic crowns for the first three and no special attribute except the covered head and the boar on which the fourth is seated. In the mosaic 80 the four seasonal representations are also riding animals, the only female being Winter, also on a boar. Completely feminine cycles are described by John of Gaza (78), where Spring and Autumn hold flowers and fruit respectively on a fold of their garments; Summer, with a lighter garment, ears of corn, sickle and serpent, and a hat; finally Winter, covered with a mantle and pouring water from the pitcher she holds; and perhaps also on the mosaic 79, where the Seasons wrapped on mantles are named in Greek and seem to form part of a wider composition.

Related to these seated H. must be the reclining, who are especially frequent on sarcophagus lids with the Seasons (88-94) and in sculpture (95-98). On the first the H. are usually in confronted pairs repeating usual schemata and sometimes surrounded by winged putti who bring them the seasonal attributes. Almost all these monuments are dated in the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. A.D.; according to Kranz, Spring and Autumn wear tunic and billowing mantle, Summer has a naked torso and Winter tunic and mantle that covers her head; the seasonal attributes are almost always the same; flowers, grapes, ears of corn and reeds (92) or vine branches respectively. What varies is the arrangement of the H. and of the surrounding putti, but in any case, all these representations are strongly related. And they are also in relationship with the less numerous sculptural groups in which a reclining H. is playing with rabbits (95), ducks (98) (Winter) or resting her hand on grapes (97) and fruit (96) (Autumn).

#### Winged Horae

These constitute a special group with standing as well as seated H., always few in number, and except for isolated or doubtful examples they occur only on oriental monuments. Among the first there are some of the most beautiful representations in ancient mosaic, the figures of the House of Daphne from Antioch (100), clad with light tunics and with the usual attributes (flowers for Spring, ears for Summer, olive and grapevine for Autumn and possibly reeds for Winter), completed with a hat for Summer. Rather more numerous are the seated H. on oriental mosaics and paintings. In some of these, for example in the Chahba-Philippopolis mosaic (→ Aion 3 = Karpoi 1) of the 2nd half of the 3rd cent., they appear as Solstices (inscr. ΤΡΟΠΙΑΙ) and not as Seasons. In a north African mosaic (102), Spring also wears tunic and mantle and Summer has a naked torso; the first is seated on a rock with a column in the background on which rests a bird; she holds flowers and there is a goat nearby; in the second there is also a column with a pitcher on it and partridges alongside. The attributes are the characteristic flowers and ears of corn.

#### Heads and busts without added attributes

Heads with seasonal attributes only in the hair (105-114) are exclusively found on paintings and mosaics, though some isolated examples may be found on reliefs and sculpture (115); dates range from the 2nd cent. A.D. to the 6th, the majority belong to the 2nd-3rd cent. A.D., and the latest are Christian (110) or Jewish (113). As a general rule they are related to vegetable or floral elements (111), from which they can emerge directly (105-110). The attributes are the usual ones: crown of flowers, ears of corn, grapes, fruit and reeds or bare branches; Winter usually has the head covered.

The busts that show attributes only in the hair appear mainly on mosaics, although they also appear on paintings and reliefs. The distinction made in the catalogue, according to the bust shape, makes easier the localization of parallels, but has no special interest from an iconographical point of view, and is not to be used as a basis to establish iconographically differentiated groups. The oldest examples are dated in the 2nd cent. A.D., though some isolated monuments seem to belong to the last decades of the 1st cent. A.D. (138). The apogee occurs from 2nd to 4th cent. A.D., but in the orient they can reach the 6th cent. The busts can appear naked or half-naked, especially Summer (117-119, 127, 135, 136, 158), and more rarely Spring (118, 119) and Autumn who as a rule appear with tunic (Spring, 117, 121, 126, 128, 134, 136, 144, 157; Summer, 117, 121, 128, 141; Autumn 144, 154, 155) or with tunic and mantle (Spring, 139, 142, 158; Summer, 124, 143, 151; Autumn 126; Winter with the head covered with the mantle, 118, 119, 124-126, 129, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 144, 145, 149, 152, 153, 156, 159, 160-162); on some monuments they wear a sleeveless tunic (Spring, 137, 148, 153, 156; Summer, 137; Autumn, 137, 138) or tunic that leaves at least one shoulder uncovered (Spring, 135; Summer 129, 159; Autumn 118, 127). Autumn can likewise wear a nebris drawn over one of the shoulders (124, 136) and sometimes it is hard to determine if it is a female figure or a Bacchic representation with female features.

As characteristic attributes, Spring wears a crown of flowers, Summer of ears of corn, Autumn of grapes or vineleaves and Winter of reeds (136, 139, 145, 153, 157, 159, 161) or, less frequently, of olive branches (125), ivy leaves (127, 140), pine leaves and cones (148, 149, 155); in the case of Winter, they may be hidden under the mantle that covers the head. Some of these attributes can vary; for example, Summer can wear a hat (118), Spring and Autumn cornucopia with flowers and fruits (121), Winter, cones (148), pine leaves (149), bare branches (157) and cornucopia or a vessel from which water is pouring (121); in the last case the examples are always oriental. Some busts have inscriptions to identify them, in the west they are Latin (126, 151) and in the east Greek. Quite infrequent are the busts with nimbi (150). The association of seasonal busts with Bacchic motifs is common (119, 137, 139, 160), although they are also associated with Amor and Psyche (125), Venus (127), the

hunt of the boar (126), Ganymede (149), Theseus and Ariadne (155), Achilles in Skyros (161) and, on reliefs, Mithra (132, 146, 147).

#### Heads and busts with added elements

This group differs very little from the last, except that the H. have supplementary attributes, though often not carried by every H.

Some heads of this group are also closely related to vegetable elements. Almost every one is depicted on mosaics dated between the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D. The complementary symbols are birds (163), and baskets with flowers (165) for Spring; for Summer, birds (163), baskets with ears of corn (163) and sickle (163, 166); bunches of grapes and fruit (165) for Autumn; and birds (163), amphora (164) and olive branches (165) for Winter.

The considerations stated for the former group apply also to the busts. Chronologically it goes from the 2nd to the 6th cent. A.D., the last also in Jewish contexts (213); in some cases it is possible to propose a date at the end of the 1st cent. A.D. (199), though this is not completely sure. The majority of the monuments are mosaics, however the busts also appear, less numerous, in paintings and reliefs. The general appearance differs very little from the last group. The most repeated attribute is beyond doubt the sickle for Summer (167, 175, 176, 179, 183, 185, 189, 194, 202, 204, 208) which occasionally alternates with ears of corn (180, 187, 193, 205) or with ears of corn and a hat (202, 206), and the reeds and aquatic plants for Winter (167, 168, 174, 181-185, 205, 208, 210) once in alternation with a basket full of objects that are hard to identify (206); there are also many baskets with ears of corn and the ears alone (199, 207, 210), the ears and flowers (211) for Summer (169); garlands (171), flowers (186, 205, 207, 214) baskets with flowers (191, 193, 203), birds (172, 197, 198), sometimes in alternation with flowers too (187, 212) and thyrsos (180) or pedom (196, 208) for Spring; grapes (172, 206, 214), grapes and a vine branch (193), or only a vine branch (205), bunches of grapes and flowers (207), thyrsos (180, 201(?), 208, 211) or pedom (194), pruning knife (187), cornucopia (203) and birds (199) for Autumn; and bare branches (176, 200, 209) or of olive (191, 193), pine branches and cones (211), and agricultural implements, a vessel (203) or a pole with a dead bird hanging (212) for Summer (186, 190, 192, 198). There are also some atypical representations, as the Autumn with flowers and sickle, who is however clearly identified by inscription (189) or the Summer with an agricultural implement (203). On the latest monument, the Jewish mosaic from Na'aram (213), Spring has a bird and a tree alongside, and Autumn a bird and a pedom. Some of these representations are haloed (150).

#### Busts with hands

Much less frequent are the busts with the representation of hands. As in the former group, the four figures do not always show their hands but frequently only one or two of them. The busts with hands often

appear also in mosaics, dating from the 3rd to the 6th cent. A.D., more common after the 4th cent. and especially in eastern Imperial areas. It seems evident, therefore, that this type of representation begins after the last group, and spread all over the eastern part of the Empire. They are indeed a next development of the last group, because the logical following step to the inclusion of attributes alongside the busts is to give them hands in which they hold them. The inclusion of hands and arms means that many of these busts are longer than the older ones. The attributes are sometimes also different.

Spring can be shown with naked breast (215) or more frequently dressed with tunic, generally sleeveless (216, 217, 220), or with tunic and mantle (218). Her attributes are the usual ones: basket with flowers, alone or with a flower in the other hand (216), crown of flowers and flowers (217), basket with flowers on which a bird is perched (218), branch with flowers and a bowl with fruit (219) or flowers gathered on a fold of her garment, as in the oldest scenes. Summer with a dress in the manner of Spring, except (219) where she is naked, and in some isolated cases in which she has no mantle (218). Her more usual attribute is the sickle (219) that can alternate with a sheaf of corn (217-220). In some cases there appear strange attributes such as the *flabellum* and the peacock's feather on the Djebel Dust mosaic (216). Autumn is like Spring, although in some cases she can also wear a light nebris (215). Her usual attributes are the crown of grapes and ivy leaves (215), the grapes and a pruning knife (216), grapes and thyrsos (217), or only the grapes (219), which in some cases can be carried in a basket or situla (220). Winter, besides the traditional type that covers the head with the mantle (215, 218, 219), can also appear with mantle over the shoulder (216, 217). Her attributes are the hoe (215, 220), sometimes with the olive branch (217), or the basket with olives and the olive branch (216), the reed (219) or a hare in the hands and an amphora and an olive branch in the most elaborate example (218). The eastern mosaics (218) usually have inscriptions with the Seasons' names in Greek or Hebrew (213).

#### Winged busts

This last group consists of female winged busts. All are North African or eastern monuments which, as in the latter group, have their corresponding inscriptions. Their date goes from mid 2nd cent. A.D. to the end of the 6th, when they are found especially on Christian and Jewish monuments. Spring occasionally wears tunic and mantle (221), although this can also be a sleeveless tunic or a tunic that leaves one of the shoulders uncovered (222); as attributes, roses in a crater (221), vessels with *ricotta* and a *pedum* (202). Summer can be shown with uncovered breast, but she usually wears a chlamys or dress draped over the shoulders (221, 222). Her attributes are sheaves of corn in a crater (221) and a sickle (222). Autumn usually wears similar garments to the corresponding Spring, with grapes (221, 222). Winter, a tunic and mantle that covers the head (221, 222), and as attributes, olive



branches (221) and reeds (222). All the figures, except Winter who is hooded, wear the characteristic crowns.

LORENZO ABAD CASAL

## HOROS

(Ἥρος, Horus) est le nom génériquement donné à différents dieux-faucons adorés dans plusieurs villes d'Égypte sous divers noms: Horus l'Ancien, Horus d'Edfou, Horus de Hérakléopolis, Harsomtous, Haroëris, Harmachis, Harendotes, Harsiesis, Onouris etc. Ils étaient représentés soit sous forme de faucon coiffé du *pschent*, soit avec une tête de faucon sur un corps humain, soit sous une forme purement humaine. Pour les Grecs et les Romains, H., dieu solaire, est assimilé à Apollon; toutefois dans l'iconographie, H. se présente surtout comme un dieu guerrier, cuirassé à la manière de Ares et de Heron, Anubis, Apis, Makedon.

Horus passait pour être le fils tantôt d'Isis et d'Osiris, tantôt de Hathor et d'Osiris. H. enfant s'appelle aussi Harpokrates. L'épisode le plus connu de sa légende est sa lutte contre le dieu Seth.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Outre les textes déjà cités dans Harpokrates, on trouve des mentions de l'assimilation par les Grecs de H. avec Apollon dès le V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.: Hdt. 2, 144 et 156. Tous deux sont des dieux solaires et utilisent comme animal l'épervier ou le faucon: Apollon comme messager (Apollon, commentaire p. 185) et H. sous l'aspect thériomorphe ou mixte. Ail. nat. 10, 14 parle de la vénération des Égyptiens pour les faucons considérés comme H., et Plut. de Is. et Os. 358b-c, du choix du cheval par H. comme le meilleur animal pour la guerre.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Bénédict, G., «Une nouvelle représentation d'Horus légionnaire», RA 4<sup>e</sup> sér., 3, 1904, 111-118; ExpSieglin I (1908) 149 fig. 93; 158 n. 76; Chapot, V., «L'Horus garde-frontière du nome Sethroïte», dans Mél. G. Maspero II, MémlnstArchO 67 (1937) 225-231 pls. 1-2; Clermont-Ganneau, Ch., «Horus et Saint Georges d'après un bas-relief inédit du Louvre», RA 32, 1876, 196-204 pl. 18; 372-399; idem, «Horus et Saint Georges. Note additionnelle», RA 33, 1877, 23-31; Kantorowicz, E. H., «Gods in Uniform», ProcAmPhilSoc 105, 1961, 368-393 figs. 7, 8, 10; Lewis, S., «The Iconography of the Coptic Horseman in Byzantine Egypt», Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt 10, 1973, 34-35 fig. 36; Mercer, S. A. B., Horus. Royal God of Egypt (1942); Paribeni, R., «Divinità straniera in abito militare romano», BullAlex 13, 1910, 177-183; Roeder, G., RE VIII 2 (1913) 2433-2457; Schenkel, W., LA III (1980) 14-25 s. v. «Horus»; Seyrig, H., «Les dieux égyptiens en habit militaire», Syria 47, 1970, 101-107.

## CATALOGUE

### A. Horos hiéracocéphale vêtu à l'égyptienne

Les monuments de l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine représentant H. en costume égyptien sont parfois difficiles à distinguer de ceux de l'époque saïte.

Parmi ceux dont le style dénote une influence classique, on peut citer:

1. (= Dioskouroi 17\*) Stèle en calcaire. Turin, Mus. Egizio Suppl. 1321. Provient d'Égypte. - v. Bissing, W. Frh., Aegyptus 33, 1953, 347-349 fig. - Fin de l'ép. hellénistique (?) - Au-dessus des Dioscures, dans le champ, H. (ou Rê?) vers la dr., tenant un sceptre.

#### Intailles

2. Amulette ovale. Loc. inc. (seule une empreinte semble être connue). - Cades, T., Imprime Gemmarie vol. 21 verso, P 101 (dactylothèque consistant en 75 vols. d'empreintes et en un vol. manuscrit de catalogue; exemplaires à Bâle, Univ.; Hanovre, Kestner-Museum; Rome, DAI). - Av.: H. marchant vers la dr., couronné du *pschent*, tient un sceptre orné d'un faucon dans la g. et un signe *ankh* dans la dr.

3.\* (= Abraxas 48) Amulette ovale. Loc. inc. - Bonner, C., Hesperia 20, 1951, 323 n° 12 pl. 96, 12. Av.: représentation similaire à 2 (H. avec disque solaire sur la tête).

4.\* (= Abraxas 50) Amulette ovale. Loc. inc. - Bonner, C., Hesperia 23, 1954, 145 n° 28 pl. 35, 28. Rv.: représentation similaire à 2 (H. coiffé d'une couronne composite, tient un sceptre *w3s* dans la g.).

### B. Horos hiéracocéphale (sauf 8) cuirassé, debout

#### Reliefs en calcaire

5.\* Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 17549. Acheté à Gizeh. - Erman, A., Religion der Ägypter (1934) 394 fig. 167; Bonnet, H., Reallex. der ägypt. Religionsgeschichte (1952) 313 fig. 79; Parlasca, K., dans Festschr. zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägypt. Mus. (1974) 487 pl. 87a (et non 82a). - H. coiffé de la perruque et du *pschent*, tient une lance de la dr., l'arc de la g.; il a un carquois sur le dos et un bouclier rond derrière lui; il porte la *lorica squamata*, le *paludamentum*, un ceinturon et des bottes.

6.\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27573. De Louxor. - Edgar, CatGénCaire. Greek Sculpture (1903) n° 27573 pl. 25; Lewis 34-35 fig. 36; Tran tam Tinh, Sérapis debout, EPRO 94 (1983) 121-122 n° IC 1 fig. 56. - Ep. romaine tardive. - H. a la dr. levée, la g. sur la garde de l'épée; il porte la perruque, le *pschent* et le *paludamentum*. A ses côtés, Isis, Harpocrate, Sarapis, Ammon-Rê et un cavalier.

7.\* (= Isis 196) Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 40715. Provient d'Égypte. - Kraus, Th., MDIK 19, 1963, 97-98 pl. 15; Tran tam Tinh, o. c. 6, 89-90 n° IA 2 fig. 2. - Dans un naos, H. entre Isis et Sarapis debout accompagné du Cerbère tricéphale. H. porte la *thorax*, est coiffé de la perruque et du disque solaire et porte le *paludamentum* drapé sur les épaules. Il lève la main g. et tient un objet (patère?) dans la dr. baissée.

8.\* Fr. Hildesheim, Pel.-Mus. 2242. - Kayser, H., Die ägypt. Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaemus-Mus. in Hildesheim (1973) 130 n° 2242; Götter und Pharaonen (Expos. Hildesheim 1979) n° 194 et fig. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sans doute H. tenant une lance de la g. Au-dessus: Isis

trônant couronne Harpocrate; une statue de divinité (à g.) et Harpocrate (à dr.).

9. Grès. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 3167. - Breccia, E., Alexandria ad Aegyptum (1922) 170 n° 19; Kraus, o. c. 7, 100 pl. 16b. - H. debout vers la dr., avec bouclier, perruque et *pschent*.

#### Intailles

10.\* Jaspe noir. Göttingen, Univ. G 78. - AGD III n° 604 pl. 81. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. tient une lance de la dr., un fourreau d'épée de la g.

11. Pâte de verre bleu foncé. Munich, Ägypt. Slg. - H. coiffé d'un emblème (?), tient une lance dans la dr. levée.

#### Monnaies de plomb

12.\* Nome d'Athribis. - Milne, Cat. of Alexandrian Coins (1933) 5277 pl. 6. - Av.: Nil assis. Rv.: H. vers la g., cuirassé, tient un faucon sur la main dr. et une lance dans la g.

13.\* Nome de Hérakléopolis (?). - Milne, o. c. 12, 5338 pl. 6; Geissen, AlexKaisermünzen IV 3604; - Av.: H. cuirassé, botté, tient sur la main dr. une Nikè volant le couronnant et de la g. une lance. Rv.: Nikè.

#### Statuettes en pierre

14.\* Fr. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. M. 1964.181.

15.\* Fr. Copenhague, Glypt. AE.I.N.332. - Morgensen, M., La coll. égyptienne (1930) 28 n° A 114 et Album pl. 26. - Ep. romaine. - H. (tête endommagée) porte la *lorica squamata* et le *paludamentum*; il avait le bras dr. levé et pose sa g. sur la poignée de son épée; trou au sommet de la tête (pour emblème ou *pschent* rapporté).

#### Statuettes en bronze

16.\* Athènes, Mus. Nat. Dimitrios 675. Sans doute d'Alexandrie, où a été formée cette collection. - Breccia, E., BullAlex 17, 1919, 185 n. 2. - Ep. romaine. - H. coiffé d'un *pschent* avec uraeus; il porte la *lorica squamata* avec *gorgoneion* et ceinturon et est chaussé de bottes; le bras dr. levé tenait sans doute une lance.

17.\* Moscou, Mus. Poushkin, Cat. 2985. Anc. coll. V. Golenishev. - Hodjache, S., Les antiquités égypt. au Mus. des Beaux-Arts Pouchkine (1971) fig. 69; Pavlov, V. V./Hodjache, S. I., Egipetskaja plastika malich form (1985) 70 fig. 124. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. est coiffé d'un *pschent* avec uraeus, porte la *lorica squamata* avec *gorgoneion* et ceinturon et est chaussé de bottes; il semble darder une lance vers un ennemi disparu.

18.\* London, BM, Dept. of Egyptian Antiqu. 36062. - Clermont-Ganneau, Ch., RA 33, 1877, 23-25 fig.; Bénédict 116; Chapot 228 pl. 2; Kleopatra (Expos. Munich 1989) n° 128 pl. - Ep. romaine. - H. est coiffé d'une perruque égyptienne, porte la *thorax* et le *paludamentum* autour du bras g., et est chaussé de bottes; le bras dr. manque.

19. Alexandrie, anc. coll. Sinadino. - ExpSieglin I (1908) 149 fig. 93; 158 n. 76. - H. est coiffé du *pschent* et de la perruque, porte la *thorax* avec ceinturon, le *paludamentum*, des bracelets et est chaussé de bottes; il

tient un faucon de la g. et devait tenir une lance de la dr.

20. Paris, Louvre, Dépt des Antiquités égyptiennes E 7977. De Basse-Égypte (?). - Hoffmann/Fröhner, W., Coll. Br. Gréau (1885) 170-171 n° 849 pl. 17; Chapot 225-231 pls. 1-2; Kantorowicz 370 fig. 7. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (?) - H. est coiffé de la perruque, du *pschent*, d'une couronne de feuilles et de sept rayons; il porte la *lorica squamata*, le *paludamentum*, un ceinturon et des bottes.

21.\* London, BM, Dept. of Egyptian Antiqu. 36052. - Bénédict 116.

22.\* Fr. London, BM, Dept. of Egyptian Antiqu. 36051 (68.5-10.2). - Bénédict 116. - H. est coiffé d'une perruque et tient un objet dans la dr. levée.

23.\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27696. De Médinet Habou. - Edgar, CatGénCaire. Greek Bronzes (1904) n° 27696 pl. 4. - Emblème indistinct (disque?); *paludamentum* autour du bras g., bras dr. tendu.

24. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27695. De Médinet Habou. - Edgar, o. c. 23, n° 27695. - H. coiffé de la perruque et du *pschent*, avec *paludamentum* autour du bras g.

25.\* Boston, MFA 1974.415. - Morgan, S. K., The Ancient Mediterranean (1975) 59 n° 91 fig. 30; Romans and Barbarians (1976) 18 n° 22 fig. - Vers 150 ap. J.-C. - H. est coiffé du *pschent* et porte la *lorica squamata*, un ceinturon et le *paludamentum*; il tient une patère de la dr. et devait tenir une lance dans la g.; le bas des jambes a disparu.

### C. Horos hiéracocéphale cuirassé, à cheval

26.\* Relief ajouré en grès. Paris, Louvre, Dépt des Antiquités chrétiennes X 5130. D'Antinoë. - Clermont-Ganneau, Ch., RA 32, 1876, 196-204 pl. 18; Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil (Expos. Essen 1963) 235 n° 77 fig.; du Bourguet, P., L'art copte (1968) 95-96 pl. p. 78; Lewis 63 fig. 32; Badawy, A., Coptic Art and Archaeology (1978) 152 fig. 371. - V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. vers la g., avec *lorica squamata*, *paludamentum* et perruque, transperce de sa lance un crocodile piétiné par son cheval.

### D. Horos hiéracocéphale cuirassé, trônant

27.\* Patère fr. en stéatite. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1891.501. - Ep. romaine. - H. trônant entre un lion et un faucon.

28.\* Statuette en calcaire. London, BM, Dept. of Egyptian Antiqu. 51100. - Ep. romaine. - H. avec *lorica squamata*, *paludamentum* et bottes, les bras baissés.

### E. Horos hiéracocéphale cuirassé, en buste

#### Patères en stéatite

29. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 26726 (anc. coll. Farouk). - Bustes d'H. et d'Isis se donnant la main.



30.\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt, CG 18753. - v. Bis-sing, F. W., *CatGénCaire. Steingefässe* (1907) 161 n° 18753 fig. - Quatre bustes: H. (ou Osiris?) hiéracocéphale avec *pschent* donnant la main à Isis; autre buste d'H. hiéracocéphale avec disque solaire; quatrième personnage disparu.

31.\* Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 17347. Acquis à Kénch. - *Ägypt. Mus. Berlin* (1967) n° 1017. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Trois bustes: H. cuirassé avec disque solaire; H. cuirassé avec *pschent*; Hathor (ou Isis?).

32.\* Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1941.1252. Acquis à Louxor. - Petrie, F., *Objects of Daily Use* (1927) 38. - Deux bustes: H. avec cuirasse, *paludamentum*, perruque et *pschent*; Isis.

33. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1891.546. - Petrie, o. c. 32, 38. - Deux bustes: H. cuirassé et Isis.

34. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. Temp. No. 13.11.01.9. - Deux bustes: H. avec perruque et petit emblème; Isis.

35. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 26424. - Deux bustes: H. avec perruque et déesse (Isis?).

36. Paris, Louvre, Dépt des Antiquités égyptiennes. - Bustes d'H. avec perruque et *pschent*.

#### Bijou

37. Pendentif rond en or. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. - *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Expos. Brooklyn 1941) 42 n° 131 fig. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (?) - Bustes sur piedouches d'H. avec *lorica squamata*, perruque et emblème (*pschent* ou disque?) et d'Isis-Déméter.

#### Monnaie de plomb

38.\* Nome de Hérakléopolis. - Milne, o. c. 12, n° 5331 pl. 6. - Av.: buste de Sarapis. Rv.: buste d'H. cuirassé vers la dr., avec perruque et emblème *atef*.

#### Ronde bosse

39.\* Buste de calcaire. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 66143. - H. avec nimbe radié, *pschent*, perruque et couronne de feuilles, portant la *lorica squamata* et le *paludamentum*.

40.\* Buste de stéatite. Hambourg, Mus. KG 1960.8. - Hoffmann, H., *AA* 1960, 73-75 figs. 9-10; *idem*, *JbHamburg* 6, 1961, 323 sq. fig. - I<sup>e</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. cuirassé, avec *paludamentum*, baudrier et la poignée d'une épée, sortant d'une corolle de feuilles de lotus; bec et emblème cassés.

41.\* Buste en terre cuite. Anc. coll. Fouquet. - Perdrizet, P., *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la coll. Fouquet* (1921) 36 n° 110 pl. 51 en bas. - H. avec perruque, *lorica squamata*, *gorgoneion* et *paludamentum*; emblème cassé. Au revers, inscription qui serait, selon Perdrizet, la signature du potier.

42. Buste de bronze. Marseille, Mus. Borély 1300. - Maspero, G., *Cat. du Mus. égyptien de Marseille* (1889) n° 644. - H. avec perruque, *lorica squamata* et *paludamentum*; emblème brisé.

43.\* Applique (?). Munich, Ägypt. Sig. 3421. - H. avec perruque et *pschent*, *lorica squamata*, *paludamentum* et baudrier.

44.\* Poids de balance. London, BM, Dept. of

Egyptian Antiq. 36053 (68.11-2.7). - H. cuirassé, avec perruque et *pschent*.

#### F. Horos hiéracocéphale en costume militaire, à cheval

45. Patères de pierre. H. chevauchant, vêtu de braies collantes, d'une *tunica manicata* ceinturée et d'un *paludamentum* flottant, semblant darder sa lance. - Ep. romaine. - a) Anc. coll. A. Wiedemann. Acquis à Ptolemaïs. - Wiedemann, A., *Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archeol.* 36, 1914, 107-117 n° 26 pl. 8, 26 en haut; Parlasca, K., dans *Das römisch-byzant. Ägypten*, Symposium Trier 1978 (1983) 151 n. 4; 157 n. 75 pl. 22, 5. - b) Fr. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 10183. - Parlasca, o. c. 151 pl. 22, 6. - H. avec perruque et *pschent*. - c) Deux frs. Mayence, Univ., Kunstgeschichtliches Inst. (anc. coll. du prince Johann-Georg de Saxe, Inv. 516 et Inv. 967). - Parlasca, o. c. 157 n. 76; 159 pl. 24, 2 (Inv. 516); *idem*, dans *Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst ... des Orients* (1982) 21 pl. 11, 1 (Inv. 967). - d) Londres, Univ. College 2450. Petrie, o. c. 32, 38 pl. 34, 29 (le cheval avait été identifié à tort par Petrie comme une panthère); Parlasca, o. c. 157 n. 74. - e) Fr. Faenza, Mus. Internaz. delle Ceramiche 103. - Parlasca, o. c. 157 n. 74.

46.\* Statuette en terre cuite. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 9685. Acquis au Caire. - Weber, W., *Die ägyptisch-griech. Terrakotten, Königl. Mus. zu Berlin* (1914) 89 n° 82 pl. 7; Erman, o. c. 5, 395 fig. 168; Philipp, H., *Terrakotten aus Ägypten* (1972) 9. 13. 32 n° 46 fig. 42. - Env. 400 ap. J.-C. - H. sur un cheval paradant vers la dr., dardant sa lance; il est coiffé de la perruque et du *pschent*, vêtu d'une *tunica manicata* ceinturée sur des braies collantes, avec *paludamentum*.

#### G. Horos hiéracocéphale, en costume militaire, trônant

47.\* (= Anubis 68\*) Fr. de sarcophage en marbre. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 665 (M. 40). De Hiérapytna (Crète). - Mendel, *Sculpt I* (1912) 135-145 n° 40 fig. p. 138; Dunand, F., *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, *EPRO* 26 II (1973) 209 pl. 27. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. trônant vers la dr., en compagnie d'autres divinités, vêtu de la *tunica manicata* ceinturée sur des braies collantes, d'un *paludamentum* et chaussé de bottes; la main dr. fait un geste de salut, la g. tient un long sceptre et un objet mal identifiable, peut-être un fouet.

#### MONUMENTS INCERTAINS

Représentations de H. (?) à tête humaine, debout et imberbe

48.\* Stèle en calcaire. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 7802. Acquis à Louxor (provenant d'Edfou?). - Parlasca, o. c. 5, 486-487 pl. 86a (et non 81a). - Ep. romaine. - H. (?) couronné, vêtu d'une tunique courte ceinturée, botté, tenant une lance et un bouclier rond;

il porte sur l'épaule dr. un faucon avec *pschent*; un second faucon couronné est près de son épaule g.

#### Bijoux

49.\* Ornement de collier en or repoussé, Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. Misc. 11863,6. Provient sans doute d'Égypte. - Greifenhagen, A., *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall II* (1975) 32 n° 3 et 6 pl. 28, 6; Tran tam Tinh, o. c. 6, 109 n° IB 8 fig. 34a-b. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. (?) cuirassé, avec emblème, levant le bras dr. et portant un bouclier rond.

50. Pendentif en or repoussé. Athènes, Mus. Benaki 104/72. - Segall, B., *Kat. der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten* (1938) 135 n° 207 pl. 42. - H. (?) cuirassé, avec emblème indistinct, *paludamentum*, lance et bouclier.

51.\* Pendentif en or repoussé. London, BM 2979. - Marshall, *BM Jewellery* 355 n° 2979 pl. 69. - H. (?) cuirassé, avec *pschent* et bouclier rond, en compagnie d'autres divinités.

#### Monnaies

52. AE, nome de Léontopolis, Antonin le Pieux, 144/145 ap. J.-C. - *BMC Alexandria* 344, 16; Dattari 6284 pl. 36; 6285; Milne o. c. 12, 1829; Geissen, *AlexKaiser Münzen IV* 3433. 3434. - Rv.: H. (?) demi-drapé, avec sceptre dans la main dr. et lion sur la main g.

53. Plomb, nome de Hérakléopolis (?). - Dattari 6540; Milne, o. c. 12, 5335 pl. 6; Geissen, *AlexKaiser Münzen IV* 3605. 3606. - Av.: H. (?) radié, cuirassé, portant une Nikè sur la main dr., tenant une lance dans la g. Rv.: Nikè.

54. (= Ares [in peripheria orientali] 18a) Bi, AE, nomes sébennyte et sébennyte inf., de Domitien (81-96 ap. J.-C.) à Antonin le Pieux (138-161 ap. J.-C.) - *BMC Alexandria* 354, 56-60; Dattari 6376-6381. 6383-6385 pls. 33. 34. 36. - Av.: Arès. Rv.: H. de Sébennytos, cuirassé.

#### IDENTIFICATION ERRONÉE

55. Paris, Louvre MA 2732. - Michon, E., *Cat. sommaire des marbres antiques* (1896) 157 n° 2732. - Trois bustes: dieu à tête de béliet (et non H. hiéracocéphale) avec gorgerin et emblème entre deux cornes torsadées, encadré par deux déesses identiques.

#### COMMENTAIRE

Le plus ancien type de représentation de H. est, avec la forme purement thériomorphe du faucon (→ Anubis 68. 69) ou de l'épervier (ni les artistes antiques ni la plupart des archéologues modernes ne semblent s'être beaucoup préoccupés des différences ornithologiques) couronné du *pschent*, la forme mixte: un homme à tête de rapace. Sur les monuments qui suivent la tradition pharaonique, H. est vêtu de son costume égyptien traditionnel: un pagne laissant le torse nu; il est coiffé d'une perruque surmontée du *pschent* et tient le sceptre et le signe *ankh* (2-4). En l'absence d'attributs spécifiques, il est parfois difficile de le distinguer d'un autre dieu-faucon comme Rê (1).

Ces monuments sont difficiles à dater mais la présence de ce type de H. sur des intailles gnostiques (2-4) montre qu'il était encore utilisé à la fin de l'antiquité.

Le second type de H., H. cuirassé souvent appelé H. «légionnaire» (terme utilisé par Bénédictine) est une symbiose d'éléments égyptiens et gréco-romains. H. a gardé, de la tradition égyptienne, la tête de faucon coiffée de la perruque (18. 22. 26. 34. 35. 41. 42), le plus souvent surmontée du *pschent* (5. 6. 9. 19. 20. 32. 36. 38 [?]. 43. 44), parfois du disque solaire (7. 30. 31) ou de l'emblème *atef* (38). Plus rarement, H. est couronné du seul *pschent* (25. 30), parfois décoré d'un uraeus (16. 17).

Exceptionnellement, H. porte, entre la perruque égyptienne et le *pschent*, une couronne de feuilles et un nimbe radié (39) ou des rayons (20) à la manière romaine. Par contre, les vêtements et les armes sont ceux des officiers romains. Sur quelques monuments seulement, H. porte la *thorax* musclée (7. 18. 19), cuirasse de type grec mais encore utilisée par les officiers romains (ce qui ne facilite pas la datation des monuments). Sur les autres - lorsque les détails sont discernables - H. revêt la *lorica squamata* (5. 15-17. 20. 25. 26. 28. 37. 39. 41-43) dont les écailles se confondent avec les plumes du faucon, en particulier sur les œuvres de petites dimensions comme les patères en stéatite (29-36). La cuirasse est parfois ornée d'un ceinturon (5. 16. 17. 19. 20. 25) et d'un *gorgoneion* (16. 17. 41. 42). H. porte presque toujours le *paludamentum* (5-7. 15. 18-20. 23. 25. 26. 28. 32. 39-41. 43) et est chaussé de courtes bottes découvrant les orteils (5. 13. 15. 16-20. 28). D'après les positions du bras et de la main (ou ce qu'on peut en reconstituer), H. devait darder une lance vers un crocodile (26), un adversaire disparu (17) ou il la tenait à la manière d'un sceptre (5. 8. 10-13). Il porte parfois aussi une épée (6. 10. 15. 40), un bouclier (5. 9), un arc et un carquois (5) ou un baudrier (40. 43). Il peut aussi tenir un faucon (12. 19) ou une Nikè qui le couronne (13) ou faire une libation avec une patère (7 [?]. 25).

La plupart du temps, H. est représenté debout, dans une attitude majestueuse, soit seul (5. 9. 15. 25), soit en compagnie d'Isis et Sarapis (7), d'Harpocrate, Ammon-Rê, et d'un cavalier (6) ou d'Isis et Harpocrate (8). Beaucoup plus rares semblent être les monuments montrant H. cuirassé trônant (27. 28) ou plus étonnamment, H. à cheval transperçant de sa lance un crocodile, l'animal du dieu Seth; c'est là le seul épisode légendaire représenté (26); ce relief, datable du V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., a été considéré comme un prototype de Saint Georges avec le dragon.

De nombreuses représentations d'H. le montrent en buste, soit seul (36. 38. 39. 44) soit avec Isis (29-35. 37) parfois sortant d'une corolle de feuilles de lotus (40).

Un autre type de H. militaire hiéracocéphale est H. portant le costume «de campagne» des soldats: la *tunica manicata* ceinturée sur des braies collantes, avec le *paludamentum* (45-47); il est coiffé de la perruque et du *pschent* (45b. 46). Il est toujours représenté à cheval. La seule exception est celle d'un sarcophage du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., provenant de Crète, d'un style plus égyptisant

30.\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt, CG 18753. - v. Bis-sing, F. W., *CatGénCaire. Steingefässe* (1907) 161 n° 18753 fig. - Quatre bustes: H. (ou Osiris?) hiéracocéphale avec *pschent* donnant la main à Isis; autre buste d'H. hiéracocéphale avec disque solaire; quatrième personnage disparu.

31.\* Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 17347. Acquis à Kéneh. - Ägypt. Mus. Berlin (1967) n° 1017. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Trois bustes: H. cuirassé avec disque solaire; H. cuirassé avec *pschent*; Hathor (ou Isis?).

32.\* Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1941.1252. Acquis à Louxor. - Petrie, F., *Objects of Daily Use* (1927) 38. - Deux bustes: H. avec cuirasse, *paludamentum*, perruque et *pschent*; Isis.

33. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1891.546. - Petrie, o. c. 32, 38. - Deux bustes: H. cuirassé et Isis.

34. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. Temp. No. 13.11.01.9. - Deux bustes: H. avec perruque et petit emblème; Isis.

35. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 26424. - Deux bustes: H. avec perruque et déesse (Isis?).

36. Paris, Louvre, Dépt des Antiquités égyptiennes. - Bustes d'H. avec perruque et *pschent*.

#### Bijou

37. Pendentif rond en or. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. - *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Expos. Brooklyn 1941) 42 n° 131 fig. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (?) - Bustes sur piédouches d'H. avec *lorica squamata*, perruque et emblème (*pschent* ou disque?) et d'Isis-Déméter.

#### Monnaie de plomb

38.\* Nome de Hérakléopolis. - Milne, o. c. 12, n° 5331 pl. 6. - Av.: buste de Sarapis. Rv.: buste d'H. cuirassé vers la dr., avec perruque et emblème *atef*.

#### Ronde bosse

39.\* Buste de calcaire. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 66143. - H. avec nimbe radié, *pschent*, perruque et couronne de feuilles, portant la *lorica squamata* et le *paludamentum*.

40.\* Buste de stéatite. Hambourg, Mus. KG 1960.8. - Hoffmann, H., *AA* 1960, 73-75 figs. 9-10; *idem*, *JbHamburg* 6, 1961, 323 sq. fig. - I<sup>re</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. cuirassé, avec *paludamentum*, baudrier et la poignée d'une épée, sortant d'une corolle de feuilles de lotus; bec et emblème cassés.

41.\* Buste en terre cuite. Anc. coll. Fouquet. - Perdrizet, P., *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la coll. Fouquet* (1921) 36 n° 110 pl. 51 en bas. - H. avec perruque, *lorica squamata*, *gorgoneion* et *paludamentum*; emblème cassé. Au revers, inscription qui serait, selon Perdrizet, la signature du potier.

42. Buste de bronze. Marseille, Mus. Borély 1300. - Maspero, G., *Cat. du Mus. égyptien de Marseille* (1889) n° 644. - H. avec perruque, *lorica squamata* et *paludamentum*; emblème brisé.

43.\* Applique (?). Munich, Ägypt. Slg. 3421. - H. avec perruque et *pschent*, *lorica squamata*, *paludamentum* et baudrier.

44.\* Poids de balance. London, BM, Dept. of

Egyptian Antiq. 36053 (68.11-2.7). - H. cuirassé, avec perruque et *pschent*.

#### F. Horos hiéracocéphale en costume militaire, à cheval

45. Patères de pierre. H. chevauchant, vêtu de braies collantes, d'une *tunica manicata* ceinturée et d'un *paludamentum* flottant, semblant darder sa lance. - Ep. romaine. - a) Anc. coll. A. Wiedemann. Acquis à Ptolemaïs. - Wiedemann, A., *Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archeol.* 36, 1914, 107-117 n° 26 pl. 8, 26 en haut; Parlasca, K., dans *Das römisch-byzant. Ägypten*, Symposium Trier 1978 (1983) 151 n. 4; 157 n. 75 pl. 22, 5. - b) Fr. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 10183. - Parlasca, o. c. 151 pl. 22, 6. - H. avec perruque et *pschent*. - c) Deux frs. Mayence, Univ., Kunstgeschichtliches Inst. (anc. coll. du prince Johann-Georg de Saxe, Inv. 516 et Inv. 967). - Parlasca, o. c. 157 n. 76; 159 pl. 24, 2 (Inv. 516); *idem*, dans *Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst... des Orients* (1982) 21 pl. 11, 1 (Inv. 967). - d) Londres, Univ. College 2450. Petrie, o. c. 32, 38 pl. 34, 29 (le cheval avait été identifié à tort par Petrie comme une panthère); Parlasca, o. c. 157 n. 74. - e) Fr. Faenza, Mus. Internaz. delle Ceramiche 103. - Parlasca, o. c. 157 n. 74.

46.\* Statuette en terre cuite. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 9685. Acquis au Caire. - Weber, W., *Die ägyptisch-griech. Terrakotten, Königl. Mus. zu Berlin* (1914) 89 n° 82 pl. 7; Erman, o. c. 5, 395 fig. 168; Philipp, H., *Terrakotten aus Ägypten* (1972) 9. 13. 32 n° 46 fig. 42. - Env. 400 ap. J.-C. - H. sur un cheval paradant vers la dr., dardant sa lance; il est coiffé de la perruque et du *pschent*, vêtu d'une *tunica manicata* ceinturée sur des braies collantes, avec *paludamentum*.

#### G. Horos hiéracocéphale, en costume militaire, trônant

47.\* (= Anubis 68\*) Fr. de sarcophage en marbre. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 665 (M. 40). De Hiérapytna (Crète). - Mendel, *Sculpt I* (1912) 135-145 n° 40 fig. p. 138; Dunand, F., *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, *EPRO* 26 II (1973) 209 pl. 27. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. trônant vers la dr., en compagnie d'autres divinités, vêtu de la *tunica manicata* ceinturée sur des braies collantes, d'un *paludamentum* et chaussé de bottes; la main dr. fait un geste de salut, la g. tient un long sceptre et un objet mal identifiable, peut-être un fouet.

#### MONUMENTS INCERTAINS

Représentations de H. (?) à tête humaine, debout et imberbe

48.\* Stèle en calcaire. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 7802. Acquis à Louxor (provenant d'Edfou?). - Parlasca, o. c. 5, 486-487 pl. 86a (et non 81a). - Ep. romaine. - H. (?) couronné, vêtu d'une tunique courte ceinturée, botté, tenant une lance et un bouclier rond;

il porte sur l'épaule dr. un faucon avec *pschent*; un second faucon couronné est près de son épaule g.

#### Bijoux

49.\* Ornement de collier en or repoussé, Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. Misc. 11863,6. Provient sans doute d'Égypte. - Greifenhagen, A., *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall II* (1975) 32 n° 3 et 6 pl. 28, 6; Tran tam Tinh, o. c. 6, 109 n° IB 8 fig. 34a-b. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. (?) cuirassé, avec emblème, levant le bras dr. et portant un bouclier rond.

50. Pendentif en or repoussé. Athènes, Mus. Benaki 104/72. - Segall, B., *Kat. der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten* (1938) 135 n° 207 pl. 42. - H. (?) cuirassé, avec emblème indistinct, *paludamentum*, lance et bouclier.

51.\* Pendentif en or repoussé. London, BM 2979. - Marshall, *BM Jewellery* 355 n° 2979 pl. 69. - H. (?) cuirassé, avec *pschent* et bouclier rond, en compagnie d'autres divinités.

#### Monnaies

52. AE, nome de Léontopolis, Antonin le Pieux, 144/145 ap. J.-C. - *BMC Alexandria* 344, 16; Dattari 6284 pl. 36; 6285; Milne o. c. 12, 1829; Geissen, *AlexKaiser Münzen IV* 3433. 3434. - Rv.: H. (?) demi-drapé, avec sceptre dans la main dr. et lion sur la main g.

53. Plomb, nome de Hérakléopolis (?). - Dattari 6540; Milne, o. c. 12, 5335 pl. 6; Geissen, *AlexKaiser Münzen IV* 3605. 3606. - Av.: H. (?) radié, cuirassé, portant une Nikè sur la main dr., tenant une lance dans la g. Rv.: Nikè.

54. (= Ares [in peripheria orientali] 18a) Bi, AE, nomes sébennyte et sébennyte inf., de Domitien (81-96 ap. J.-C.) à Antonin le Pieux (138-161 ap. J.-C.) - *BMC Alexandria* 354, 56-60; Dattari 6376-6381. 6383-6385 pls. 33. 34. 36. - Av.: Arès. Rv.: H. de Sébennytos, cuirassé.

#### IDENTIFICATION ERRONÉE

55. Paris, Louvre MA 2732. - Michon, E., *Cat. sommaire des marbres antiques* (1896) 157 n° 2732. - Trois bustes: dieu à tête de bélier (et non H. hiéracocéphale) avec gorgerin et emblème entre deux cornes torsadées, encadré par deux déesses identiques.

#### COMMENTAIRE

Le plus ancien type de représentation de H. est, avec la forme purement thériomorphe du faucon (→ Anubis 68. 69) ou de l'épervier (ni les artistes antiques ni la plupart des archéologues modernes ne semblent s'être beaucoup préoccupés des différences ornithologiques) couronné du *pschent*, la forme mixte: un homme à tête de rapace. Sur les monuments qui suivent la tradition pharaonique, H. est vêtu de son costume égyptien traditionnel: un pagne laissant le torse nu; il est coiffé d'une perruque surmontée du *pschent* et tient le sceptre et le signe *ankh* (2-4). En l'absence d'attributs spécifiques, il est parfois difficile de le distinguer d'un autre dieu-faucon comme Rê (1).

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La plupart du temps, H. est représenté debout, dans une attitude majestueuse, soit seul (5. 9. 15. 25), soit en compagnie d'Isis et Sarapis (7), d'Harpocrate, Ammon-Rê, et d'un cavalier (6) ou d'Isis et Harpocrate (8). Beaucoup plus rares semblent être les monuments montrant H. cuirassé trônant (27. 28) ou plus étonnamment, H. à cheval transperçant de sa lance un crocodile, l'animal du dieu Seth; c'est là le seul épisode légendaire représenté (26); ce relief, datable du V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., a été considéré comme un prototype de Saint Georges avec le dragon.

De nombreuses représentations d'H. le montrent en buste, soit seul (36. 38. 39. 44) soit avec Isis (29-35. 37) parfois sortant d'une corolle de feuilles de lotus (40).

Un autre type de H. militaire hiéracocéphale est H. portant le costume «de campagne» des soldats: la *tunica manicata* ceinturée sur des braies collantes, avec le *paludamentum* (45-47); il est coiffé de la perruque et du *pschent* (45b. 46). Il est toujours représenté à cheval. La seule exception est celle d'un sarcophage du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., provenant de Crète, d'un style plus égyptisant

qu'égyptien, où H. trône en compagnie de divinités du cercle isiaque (47); il tient alors un long sceptre et un attribut qui est peut-être un fouet.

Le dernier type, dont l'identification n'est pas certaine (sauf sans doute 8), est le H. anthropomorphe, portant la cuirasse, le bouclier (48-51) et la lance (48. 50. 53); il se distingue des autres dieux cuirassés par la présence de faucons (48) ou le port du *pschent* (51) ou d'un emblème peu distinct (49. 50).

A part le sarcophage de Hiérapytna en Crète (47) et un relief d'Antinoë (26), tous les monuments sont de provenance inconnue. Certains ont été acquis en Egypte (1. 5-7. 16 [?]. 20 [?]. 23. 24. 31. 32. 45a. 46) et presque tous semblent de fabrication locale. Les rares monnaies représentant sûrement H. ont été frappées en Egypte, pour le nome d'Athribis (12) et de Hérakléopolis (38) mais ce sont des monnaies de plomb non datées. D'après leur style, la plupart des monuments pourraient dater du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. Cependant, les intailles gnostiques (2. 4. 10. 11) semblent plus tardives et récemment M. Pfrommer (dans Parlasca, o. c. 45a, 159-160) a proposé une datation des patères en stéatite au II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. au lieu des I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., comme le pensent plusieurs auteurs.

MARIE-ODILE JENTEL

## HOSIOS KAI DIKAIOS

(*Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος*, auch *Θεός Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος*, *Ἀγγελος Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος*, *Ὅσιοι καὶ Δίκαιοι*, *Ὅσια καὶ Δικαία*, *Θεῖον Ὅσιον καὶ Δίκαιον*) Nur epigraphisch bezeugte kleinasiatische Gottheit, die vor allem in Phrygien und Lydien, aber auch in Mysien, Galatien und Moesien verehrt wurde. Nach den Votivgaben zu schließen, setzte der Kult im 1. Jh. n. Chr. ein und erlebte seine Blüte im späten 2. und frühen 3. Jh. n. Chr. Aus den Inschriften geht hervor, daß die Gottheit keinen fest umrissenen Charakter besaß, denn sie wurde nicht nur unterschiedlich bezeichnet, sondern oft auch mit anderen Gottheiten assoziiert, besonders mit → Helios, → Apollon und → Zeus.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Crusius, O., *MLI* 2 (1886-90) 2751 s. v. «Hosios»; Cumont, F., *REV* 1 (1903) 564 s. v. «Dikaios 2»; Malten, L., *REV* 8 (1913) 2492 s. v. «Hosioi 3»; Tacheva-Hitova, M., *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Thracia*, *EPRO* 95 (1983) 266-268.

## KATALOG

Da sich die zumeist sehr einfachen Darstellungen auf den Votivstelen und -altären in mehr oder weniger stereotyper Weise wiederholen, wird im folgenden nur eine kleine Auswahl der Denkmäler angeführt.

## A. Hosios kai Dikaïos als Reiterfigur

1. Marmorstele. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. 6298. Aus der Umgebung von Kula (Lydien). – Sayar, M. H., *ZPE* 49, 1982, 191-192 Nr. 3 Taf. 10; *SEG* 32, 1215. – 182/83 n. Chr. – H. k. D. reitet nach r., hält einen Palmzweig über der l. Schulter. Inschrift *ΜΕΤΑΛΩ ΘΕΩ ΟΣΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΩ*...

2. Marmorstele. Manisa, Mus. 1944. Aus der Umgebung von Kula (Lydien). – Herrmann, P./Polatkan, K. Z., *SbWien* 265, 1 (1969) 50 Nr. 7 Taf. 6. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – H. k. D. reitet nach r., flankiert von zwei Zypressen. Darunter zehn Adorantenfiguren in drei Registern. Inschrift *ΘΕΩ ΟΣΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΩ*...

3. Marmorstele. Manisa, Mus. 1945. Aus der Umgebung von Kula (Lydien). – Herrmann/Polatkan, a. O. 2, 50-51 Nr. 8 Taf. 6. – 257/58 n. Chr. – H. k. D. reitet nach r., trägt einen Strahlenkranz. Darunter drei Adorantenfiguren um einen Altar. Inschrift *ΘΕΩ ΟΣΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΑ*...

4. Marmorstele. Manisa, Mus. 1948. Aus der Umgebung von Kula (Lydien). – Herrmann/Polatkan, a. O. 2, 51-53 Nr. 9 Taf. 6. – 256/57 n. Chr. – H. k. D. reitet nach r. Darunter zwei Adorantenfiguren um einen Altar. Inschrift *[Σ]ΤΡΑΤΟΝΕΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΚΟΛΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ [Ι]ΕΡΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ*...

5. Marmoraltar. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. 51. Aus der Umgebung von İnönü (Phrygien). – Mendel, *Sculpt III* Nr. 846. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf der Hauptseite: H. k. D. reitet nach r., hält in der erhobenen r. Hand eine Doppelaxt. Auf den übrigen Seiten: weibliche Figur mit Waage und Elle, weibliche Figur mit Füllhorn, → Asklepios. Inschrift ... *ΘΕΟΙΣ ΟΣΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙΣ*...

6. (= Dioskouroi [in peripheria or.] 15\* mit Lit.) Marmorstele. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. 748. Aus Dorylaeion (Phrygien). – Mendel, *Sculpt III* Nr. 847. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Oben im Giebfeld: H. k. D. reitet nach r., hält ein Blitzbündel (?) in der erhobenen r. Hand, wird von einem Hund begleitet. Unten auf dem Stelenschaft: in der Mitte sitzende → Selene, flankiert von den stehenden → Dioskouroi, darunter → Helios in Quadriga. Inschrift ... *ΟΣΙΩ ΔΙΚΕΩ ΕΥΧΗΝ*.

## B. Hosios kai Dikaïos als stehendes Paar

7. Kalksteinstele. Kütahya, Mus. Aus Yayla Baba Köy (Phrygien). – Sheppard, A. R. R., *Talanta* 12/13, 1980/81, 87-90 Nr. 8 Taf. 1; *SEG* 31, 1130. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – H. k. D. stehen frontal nebeneinander, tragen Manteltracht und weisen beide schulterlanges Haar auf; sie reichen sich die Hand (vgl. 8) und halten eine Waage bzw. eine Meßlatte. Oben im Giebfeld Büste des Helios. Inschrift ... *ΟΣΙΩ ΔΙΚΕΩ ΕΥΧΗΝ*. Vom gleichen Fundort stammen gegen 40 weitere Votive (sehr wahrscheinlich auch 8), was auf ein Heiligtum schließen läßt.

8. Marmorstele. Privatbesitz. Aus Phrygien. – Unpubliziert. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Genau wie 7, wohl aus

derselben Werkstatt. Inschrift *ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΣ ΟΣΙΩ ΚΕ ΔΙΚΕΩ ΕΥΧΗΝ*.

9. Marmorstele. Paris, Louvre MA 4288. Aus Dorylaeion (Phrygien). – Robert, L., *RPh* 13, 1939, 202-207 Nr. 4 Taf. 1. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – In der Mitte stehen H. k. D. frontal nebeneinander und reichen sich die Hand, wobei sie in der anderen Hand eine Waage bzw. eine Meßlatte halten; sie werden flankiert von einer Reiterfigur l. und einer weiblichen Büste r. Darunter → Herakles mit Keule, → Hermes mit Kerykeion und Geldbeutel, Ochsen gespannt. Oben Büsten von Helios, Zeus und Selene, Adler. H. k. D. werden in der Inschrift nicht genannt.

10. Steinaltar. Afyon, Mus. 825. Aus Phrygien. – Drew-Bear, T., *GRBS* 17, 1976, 262-266 Nr. 17 Taf. 10; *SEG* 26, 1386. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – H. k. D. stehen frontal nebeneinander, halten eine Waage bzw. eine Meßlatte. H. k. D. werden in der Inschrift nicht genannt.

11. Marmorstele. Afyon. Aus dem Gebiet von Dokimeion (Phrygien). – *MAMA* VI (1939) Nr. 389 Taf. 69. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – H. k. D. stehen frontal nebeneinander und blicken sich an, die Figur r. hält eine Meßlatte. Inschrift *ΝΕΣΤΩΡ ΣΤΡ[Α]ΤΩΝΟΣ ΟΣΙΩ [ΕΥΧ]ΗΝ*.

12. Steinaltar. Kara Ağıl. Aus Hadrianopolis (Phrygien). – *MAMA* VII (1956) Nr. 132 Taf. 8. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – H. k. D. stehen frontal nebeneinander, die Figur l. hält eine Meßlatte. Inschrift *[Ο] ΔΗ[ΜΟΣ] ΟΣΙΩ[ΙΣ ΚΑΙ] ΔΙΚΑ[ΙΟΙΣ]*...

## C. Identifizierung unsicher

13. Marmorstatuette. Adana, Mus. Angeblich aus Sardis. – Petzl, G., in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens. Festschr. F. K. Dörner*, *EPRO* 66 (1978) 756-761 Nr. 4 Taf. 180-183; *SEG* 28, 929. – 2./3. Jh. n. Chr. – Barfuß stehende männliche Gestalt (Kopf und r. Unterarm weggebrochen), trägt kurzen Chiton und Chlamys, hält in der gesenkten l. Hand ein Kerykeion. Inschrift *ΘΕΩ ΟΣΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΩ*...

14. Marmorstele. Avdan. Aus der Umgebung von Dorylaeion (Phrygien). – Frei, P., in *I. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1983 (1984) 61 Nr. 3 Abb. 4; *SEG* 34, 1294. – 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Ältester bisher bekannter Beleg von H. k. D. Bei den in der Inschrift genannten silbernen und marmornen «Eikones» handelt es sich – nach dem üblichen Sprachgebrauch zu schließen (s. Robert, L., *REA* 62, 1960, 316-324) – kaum um Darstellungen von H. k. D. und Helios, sondern eher um Bildnisse der Stifter oder römischer Kaiser. Inschrift ... *ΟΣΙΩ ΔΙΚΑΙΩ ΤΕ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΩ Θ ΗΛΙΩ ΡΟΔΟΔΑΚΤΥΛΩ ΑΞΙΑ ΔΩΡΑ ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣ ΑΡΓΥΡΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΙΝΟΥΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ*...

## KOMMENTAR

Seit dem 2. Jh. n. Chr. weisen ein Teil der Votivstelen und -altäre an H. k. D. bildliche Wiedergaben dieser Gottheit auf. Die Darstellungen sind mehrheit-

lich sehr bescheidener Art und lassen sich im wesentlichen in zwei Gruppen gliedern.

Die erste Gruppe (1-6) gibt H. k. D. als Reiterfigur wieder, die eine Doppelaxt (5), einen Palmzweig (1) oder evtl. auch ein Blitzbündel (6) als Attribut aufweisen kann. Es handelt sich dabei nicht um einen spezifischen, sondern um einen sehr geläufigen ikonographischen Typus, der im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien zur Darstellung verschiedener bekannter und lokaler Gottheiten verwendet wurde und daher auch zur Wiedergabe von H. k. D. rezipiert werden konnte. Auf 3 wurde H. k. D. mit einem Strahlenkranz versehen, womit die in den Inschriften oft vollzogene Angleichung an Helios hier auch bildlich vorgenommen wurde.

Die zweite Gruppe (7-12) stellt H. k. D. als frontal nebeneinander stehendes Paar dar. Es handelt sich um zwei in Manteltracht gekleidete männliche Figuren, die allerdings manchmal (sicher auf 7. 8) schulterlanges Haar aufweisen. Auf 7-9 sind die beiden Figuren durch Handschlag verbunden. Besonders kennzeichnend sind die Attribute, welche H. k. D. als eine Gottheit der Gerechtigkeit charakterisieren: eine Waage und eine Elle bzw. eine längere Meßlatte. Diese Attribute sind jedoch keineswegs spezifisch für H. k. D., sie wurden vielmehr aus der Ikonographie der → Dikaïosyne bzw. der → Nemesis übernommen. Der ikonographische Typus insgesamt ist durchaus eigenständig und bringt die dualistische Auffassung der Gottheit sinnfällig zum Ausdruck, stellt also wohl gegenüber dem traditionellen, polysemen Reitertypus eine jüngere Entwicklung dar.

Zu den beiden genannten Kategorien kommen weitere Darstellungen hinzu, deren Identifizierung mit H. k. D. möglich, aber nicht sicher ist. Besonders interessant ist die bisher einzigartige Statuette 13, die möglicherweise H. k. D. in Gestalt von Hermes wiedergibt, was etwa damit zu erklären wäre, daß H. k. D. als Mittler zwischen göttlicher und menschlicher Sphäre aufgefaßt wurde. Gerade aufgrund des nicht klar definierten Charakters von H. k. D. ist grundsätzlich mit weiteren bildlichen Erscheinungsformen zu rechnen, doch wird eine weitergehende Differenzierung und Analyse der Ikonographie von H. k. D. erst möglich sein, wenn die Denkmäler dieser noch kaum erforschten Gottheit auf wesentlich breiterer Basis untersucht werden können.

RUDOLF KÄNEL

HUSRNANA → Maris

## HYADES

(*Ύαδες*, *Suculae*) Nymphen (→ Nymphaï), filles d'→ Atlas et d'Aithra ou Pleioné. Leur nombre varie de deux à sept. Inconsolables après la mort de leur



frère → Hyas, elles se suicident; Zeus, pris de pitié, les transforme en une constellation (→ Astra, → Zodiakus) située à la tête du Taureau, tout près des → Pleiades (→ Astra). Elles sont également connues comme Nymphes de Nysa, comme Nymphes de Dodone ou Naïades, ainsi que comme membres du cortège dionysiaque, s'identifiant dans ce cas aux Ménades (→ Mainades).

**SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES:** Dans les premiers textes littéraires, les H. sont uniquement citées comme une constellation (parmi les premières mentions: Hom. *Il.* 18, 486; Hes. *erg.* 615; «Hes.» *astronomia* frg. 291 Merkelbach/West) qui sert de repère aux navigateurs (Eur. *Ion* 1156). C'est seulement chez les scholiastes et les auteurs tardifs que nous trouvons des indications sur la vie et la personnalité des H.: les traditions ne s'accordent pas sur leur généalogie, leur nombre et l'origine de leur nom.

**Origine du nom:** pour les uns, il est tiré de la lettre Y, d'après la forme de la constellation dans le ciel (Eratosth. *kat.* 14; Hyg. *fab.* 192); pour d'autres, du verbe *ὕειν*, pleuvoir (Hellan., *FGrH* 4 F 19a; Eratosth. *kat.* 14; Cic. *nat.* 2, 43, 111) car leur lever et leur coucher coïncident avec une période de pluie (Verg. *Aen.* 1, 743; 3, 516; Ov. *fast.* 5, 165-166; Horat. *c.* 1, 3, 14; Hyg. *fab.* 192; Plin. *nat.* 2, 106; *Etym. m. s. v.* Ὑάδες); pour d'autres encore du mot *ὑς*, porc, truie (Hesych. *s. v.* Ὑάδας αἰ σῶες), d'où le diminutif poétique latin *suculae*, les petites truies (Cic. *l. c.*). Les Romains appellent aussi la constellation *Palilicium* ou *Parilicium* parce que la fête des *Palilia* (21 avril) coïncide avec l'apparition des H. (Plin. *nat.* 18, 247).

Une autre étymologie rattache le mot à Ὑης, nom de Dionysos, ou à Ὑη, nom de Sémélé (Pherekyd., *FGrH* 3 F 90); c'est pourquoi les H. sont connues comme nourrices de Dionysos (*o. c.*).

Selon une troisième tradition, elles sont appelées H. d'après le nom de leur frère (ou père) Hyas: ce sont d'abord des Atlantides, filles d'Atlas; après la mort de leur frère, Zeus transforme cinq d'entre elles en H., les sept autres en Pléiades (Eust. *Il.* 55, 43-48 ad Hom. *Il.* 18, 486; Serv. *Aen.* 1, 744).

Sur l'identité de leurs parents, les traditions sont moins divergentes: leur mère est Aithra (Mousaios, *Diels Vorsokr.* 2 B 18; Timaios, *FGrH* 566 F 91; Ov. *fast.* 5, 171) ou Pleioné (Hyg. *fab.* 192, 248; Tzetz. *Lycophr.* 149; Serv. *Aen.* 1, 744; Eust. *l. c.*), mais dès l'antiquité, on admet l'idée que Pleioné soit un autre nom d'Aithra, indiquant le grand nombre de ses enfants (Timaios *l. c.*).

Outre Atlas on cite, comme père des H., → Okeanos (Mousaios *l. c.*; Ov. *fast.* 5, 171-172; Hyg. *fab.* 182), le roi de Crète Mélissée (Parmeniskos frg. 20 Breithaupt), Hyas lui-même, uni à Boiotia (Hyg. *astr.* 2, 21), → Erechtheus (Eur., *TGF* 466 frg. 357; Serv. *Aen.* 1, 744), → Kadmos I (Myrsilos, *FGrH* 477 F 15).

Enfin Claud. *paneg.* 28, 172-173 confond les H. avec les Héliades (→ Phaethon I).

Le nombre des H. varie de deux à sept, mais selon certains elles seraient douze, confondues avec les Pléiades. Leurs noms les plus couramment cités sont

Ambrosia, Coronis, Eudora, Dioné (ou Thyoné), Phaisylé (ou Aisylé), Polyxo, Phaio (nombre différent et diverses combinaisons des noms: «Hes.» *astronomia* frg. 291 Merkelbach/West; Pherekyd. *l. c.*; Timaios, *FGrH* 566 F 91; Hyg. *fab.* 182, 192; *astr.* 2, 21; Diod. 5, 52; Serv. *georg.* 1, 138).

Les mythes relatifs à la vie et aux occupations des H. ne sont pas non plus uniques. Elles sont en général connues comme nourrices des enfants divins. Nymphes de Dodone, elles sont les nourrices de Zeus (Timaios *l. c.*; Hyg. *fab.* 182): les noms cités sont alors ceux des Nymphes dodonides ou bien ceux des Naïades.

Elles sont plus généralement mentionnées comme nourrices de Dionysos (Ov. *met.* 3, 314-315): elles le préservent de l'acharnement d'→ Hera (Hyg. *astr.* 2, 21; Pherekyd., *FGrH* 3 F 90d) et le confient à → Ino; après quoi elles se réfugient chez leur grand-mère → Tethys (I) pour échapper à la poursuite de Lycurgue (→ Lyskourgos I); Zeus vient à leur secours et les transforme en constellation après que Médée (→ Medeia) les a rajeunies (Hyg. *fab.* 182; Eratosth. *kat.* 14; Ov. *fast.* 5, 163-168; *met.* 7, 294-296; Apollod. *bibl.* 3 [29] 4, 3; Aischyl., *TrGF* III F 246a; Schol. Aristoph. *Equ.* 1321). Ou bien, comme on l'a vu, Zeus les catastrophe en tant que sœurs d'Hyas (Serv. *Aen.* 1, 744; Eust. *Il.* 55, 43-46 ad Hom. *Il.* 18, 486), pour les consoler de la perte de leur frère au cours d'une chasse en Libye.

Dans la littérature astronomique, les H. ne sont pas mentionnées parce qu'elles font partie du signe du Taureau. Elles se trouvent à la tête du Taureau, près d'→ Orion et des Pléiades (Hom. *Il.* 18, 486). Leur apparition annonce les pluies du printemps ou de l'automne: les agriculteurs peuvent alors commencer les labours, mais les marins doivent tirer leurs navires à terre (Hes. *erg.* 614-630). Cependant elles servent de repères célestes aux marins (Eur. *Ion* 1156-1157); Ptolémée (*tetr.* 1, 9 Boll/Boer) les mentionne comme une étoile très brillante (Λαμπαδίας, ὁ λαμπρὸς τῶν Ὑάδων) suivie de quatre autres.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Baudrillart, A., *DA* IV 1 (1905) 509 s. v. «Pleiades-Hyades»; Boardman, J., «Herakles in extremis», dans *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei, Festschr. K. Schauenburg* (1986) 127-132; Bouché-Leclercq, A., *L'astrologie grecque* (1899) 134 n. 1; 576; Cook, Zeus II 274-276; III 506-524; Engelmann, R./Weizsäcker, P., *ML* I (1886-90) 2752-2758 s. v. «Hyades»; v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* 2 (1975) 1251-1252 s. v. «Hyades»; Grimal, *Dictionnaire* 215 s. v. «Hyades»; Gundel, W., *RE* VIII (1913) 2615-2624 s. v. «Hyades»; Metzger, *Représentations* 210-211, 217, 277-278; Scichilone, G., *EAA* IV (1961) 57-58 s. v. «Hyades»; Seyrig, H., «Tristes Hyades», *RNum* 1968, 283-285 = *Scripta Numismatica* (1986) 485-487; Vocotopoulou, L., *Χαλκαὶ κορινθιωτικαὶ πρόχοι* (1975) 96-97.

## CATALOGUE

### A. Les Hyades porteuses d'hydries

Représentées comme des femmes qui apportent ou versent de l'eau pour éteindre un bûcher, elles interviennent dans deux épisodes:

### a) Les Hyades au bûcher d'Alcmène

Céramique italote (f. r.)

1.\* (= Alkmene 6\*, = Antenor II 1 avec bibl.)

Amphore camp. à col. Londres, BM F 193. De Capoue. - LCS 231, 36 pl. 90, 7: P. du Louvre K 491. - 350-325 av. J.-C. - Au-dessus de l'arc-en-ciel qui encadre la scène principale (Alcmène assise sur un autel, Antenor s'approchant pour mettre le feu), deux H. debout de part et d'autre versent l'eau de leurs hydries.

2.\* (= Alkmene 5, = Amphitryon 2\*, = Antenor II 2 - avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche paestan. Londres, BM F 149. De S. Agata dei Goti. - RVP 139, 239 pl. 88: Python (sign.). - 350-325 av. J.-C. - De part et d'autre de l'arc-en-ciel, les H. versent de l'eau (cf. 1); derrière elles Zeus et Eos.

3. (= Alkmene 7, = Amphitryon 3\* - avec bibl.) Amphore camp. New York, marché des ant. De Grande-Grèce. - LCS Suppl. 3, 123, 147b: Parrish P. - 350-325 av. J.-C. - Scène en trois registres: au-dessus d'Alcmène et d'Amphitryon, deux H. versent de l'eau. Au-dessus d'elles et sur la g., Zeus.

### b) Le bûcher d'Héraclès sur l'Oeta et son départ pour l'Olympe.

Céramique attique à f. r.

4. (= Herakles 2909 avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche fr. Rome, Villa Giulia 11688. De Conca. - EVP 103-104. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - A: Héraclès sur le bûcher; de part et d'autre deux femmes portent des hydries. B: porteuses d'hydries.

5.\* (= Arethousa 4\*, = Athena 533, = Herakles 2916\*, = Hybris II 1 - avec bibl.) Péliké. Munich, Antikenslg. 2360. De Vulci. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1186, 30: P. de Cadmos; Add<sup>2</sup> 341. - 420-400 av. J.-C. - Héraclès sur le char d'Athéna. Au registre inférieur, au centre, le bûcher d'Oeta: à g. deux Silènes (→ Silenos, Silenoi), à dr. deux Nymphes qui apportent de l'eau avec leurs hydries: inscr. APEΘOEA, IIPEMNOEIA (→ Arethousa 4).

6.\* (= Amymone 15 (B), = Apollon 924, = Herakles 2917\*, = Hyas 1 - avec bibl.) Cratère en calice. New York, MMA 52.11.18. - 400-380 av. J.-C. - A: Au registre inférieur, de part et d'autre du bûcher, deux Nymphes versent l'eau de leurs hydries; une troisième se hâte du côté dr.

7. (= Herakles 2918\* avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche. S. Agata dei Goti, coll. Mustilli. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1420, 5: P. de Londres F 64. - 400-380 av. J.-C. - Héraclès monte vers l'Olympe sur un quadriga conduit par → Nike. En bas, une Nympe verse de l'eau sur le bûcher pendant que Philoctète (→ Philoktetes) s'éloigne vers la dr., tenant les armes d'Héraclès.

Céramique italote (f. r.)

8. (= Herakles 2919\* avec bibl.) Cratère à volutes apul. Milan, coll. H. A. 260. De Ruvo. - RVAp I 417, 13: P. de Lycurgue. - 360-340 av. J.-C. - Héraclès part vers l'Olympe. Au registre inférieur, deux Nymphes versent l'eau de leurs hydries sur le bûcher et une troisième s'approche, portant une hydrie.

9. (= Herakles 2920 avec bibl.) Cratère à volutes apul. Tokyo, coll. privée. - RVAp Suppl. 1, 84-85,

287a: Underworld P. - 330-320 av. J.-C. - Au registre inférieur, deux Nymphes en train d'éteindre le bûcher.

Relief romain

10. (= Herakles 2912 avec bibl.) Relief de calcaire. Vienne, Niederösterreich. Landesmus. De Lichtenwörth (près de Wiener Neustadt). - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Héraclès sur le bûcher; en haut à dr. deux bustes de femmes de face.

### c) Hors de tout contexte mythologique

INTERPRÉTATION INCERTAINE

11. Intaille, jaspe jaune et brun. Paris, Cab. Méd. 255, anc. coll. W. Froehner. - Delatte, A./Derchain, Ph., *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (1964) n° 255; Seyrig 283-285 (= 485-487) fig. 1. - Femme voilée vêtue d'une longue robe, «debout sur une roue, versant d'une main le contenu d'une cruche et montrant de l'autre une constellation de sept astres, disposée au ciel en forme de triangle» (Seyrig: H.; Delatte/Derchain: → Nemesis ou → Tyche).

## B. Les Hyades, Nymphes et nourrices

12.\* (= Dionysos [in per. or.] 97\* avec bibl.) Pavement de mosaïque. Néa Paphos, «maison d'Aion», in situ. - Michaelides, D., *RDAC* 1987, 243 pl. 62, 4; idem, *Cypriot Mosaics* (1987) 29 n° 27 pl. 22; Daszewski, W. A./Michaelides, D., *Mosaic Floors in Cyprus* (1988) 59. 62 fig. 28. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Panneau rect. supérieur à dr.: une H. (inscr. AMBPOEIA) parmi les Nymphes de Nysa qui entourent Dionysos enfant.

13. (= Achilleus 3\*, = Ambrosia II 1\*, = Anatrope 1\* - avec bibl.) Pavement de mosaïque. Néa Paphos, «villa de Thésée», in situ. - Michaelides, *RDAC* 1987, 247 pl. 61, 5; idem, *Cypriot Mosaics* 44-45 n° 50 pl. 31. - Fin IV<sup>e</sup>/début V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Le premier bain d'Achille: à g. une H. (inscr. ANBPOEIA), apportant une cruche pour le bain, se précipite vers Anatrope qui tient le nouveau-né.

## COMMENTAIRE

Les H. sont mentionnées dans les textes antiques comme Nymphes et comme nourrices, en relation étroite avec Zeus: elles lui rendent des services et il leur montre de la bienveillance. En tant que constellation, elles annoncent l'arrivée des pluies et des orages. C'est ainsi qu'elles apparaissent sur les monuments figurés, d'une part comme des porteuses d'hydries en train d'éteindre un bûcher (1-10), d'autre part comme Nymphes et nourrices (12-13).

Dès le milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. et au cours du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., les H. (une ou plusieurs, le plus souvent deux) sont représentées en train de se précipiter pour éteindre le bûcher de l'Oeta, soit en présence d'Héraclès (4), soit après son départ pour l'Olympe (5-9). Ces figures, identifiées aux H. par Cook, sont aussi interprétées

comme des Nymphes, Nymphes locales ou Nymphes des fontaines (Beazley, Boardman; cf. *etiam* → Arethousa 4 pour le nom inscrit sur 5). La façon de représenter les deux Nymphes sur le relief romain 10 rappelle beaucoup l'aspect des H. sur 1-3; leur identification comme H. reste malgré tout douteuse.

Sur les vases italiotes, deux H. sont figurées dans l'épisode du châtement d'Alcmène par Amphitryon (1-3): placées au-dessus de la scène principale, elles versent l'eau de leurs hydries pour éteindre le bûcher et accomplir ainsi la volonté de Zeus. Sur 2, Zeus et Eos encadrent la scène: il s'agit en fait d'une représentation théâtrale de l'orage envoyé par Zeus au secours d'Alcmène.

Dans ces deux épisodes mythologiques les H. agissent sous les ordres de Zeus. Leur présence coïncide avec deux moments cruciaux dans la vie d'Héraclès, où Zeus intervient directement pour sauver son fils de l'acharnement d'Héra: sa naissance (châtement d'Alcmène par Amphitryon, 1-3) et son apothéose (4-10), conformément à l'oracle d'Apollon (Diod. 4, 38, 3).

De même, dans les textes littéraires, Zeus demande aussi l'aide des H. pour sauver le bébé Dionysos. Sur une mosaïque tardive (12) Ambrosia, l'une des H., est représentée parmi les Nymphes de Nysa. Sur l'autre mosaïque de Néa Paphos (13), Ambrosia a une fonction similaire, bien que le contexte mythologique diffère (→ Ambrosia II 1); signalons à ce propos qu'aucune légende ne met en relation les H. et la vie d'Achille (→ Achilleus 3). VASSILIKI MACHAIRA

## HYAKINTHOS

(*ῥάκινθος*, Hyacinthus) Figure de nature héroïque et divine, d'origine peut-être préhellénique d'après son nom, qui est aussi celui d'une fleur; mis en rapport avec la Laconie pré-dorienne, puisque fils d'Amyclas et inhumé à Amyclées, il était cependant aussi en liaison étroite avec → Apollon: le fameux «trône» d'Amyclées, élevé par les Spartiates en l'honneur du dieu, renfermait la tombe du héros (Paus. 3, 19, 3-4). Pourtant le même monument le représentait aussi emmené au ciel en compagnie de sa sœur → Polyboia, et dans les mêmes conditions qu'→ Herakles (Paus. 3, 19, 4).

Mais si les *Hyakinthia* étaient l'une des fêtes les plus importantes de l'Etat spartiate (cf. Hdt. 9, 7, 11; Eur. *Hel.* 1468-1475; Thuk. 5, 23, 4; Xen. *Hell.* 4, 5, 11), les Lacédémoniens n'étaient pas les seuls Doriens à honorer H., puisque le mois *Hyakinthios* se retrouve non seulement à Théra, d'origine laconienne, mais aussi à Rhodes, Cos, Calymnos dans le Dodécannèse, à Lato en Crète, à Byzance, de même qu'en Sicile dans les colonies doriennes de Géla et de Syracuse. Enfin les Tarentins, eux aussi d'origine laconienne, abritaient «le tombeau dit d'Hyakinthos ou, comme on l'appelle aussi, d'Apollon Hyakinthos» (Pol. 8, 28) et l'honoraient, semble-t-il, d'un culte.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Il faut souligner les liens étroits qui unissent Apollon au bel éphèbe dont il tombe amoureux, au point «de lui offrir tout ce qu'il possède et de participer à tout ce qui lui est attaché: c'est ainsi qu'il lui enseignera la connaissance de la divination, le tir à l'arc et la musique, l'usage de la lyre sans notes discordantes; il le chargera des jeux de la palestres et lui donnera de parcourir, transporté sur des cygnes, toutes les contrées chères à Apollon» (Philostr. *im.* 14). Aussi la figure d'H. n'est-elle pas toujours facile à distinguer de celle du dieu.

Cependant son identification est rendue plus aisée par la poursuite amoureuse que le rival d'Apollon, → Zephyros, exerçait sur lui (Palaiph. 46 Festa). Mais il fut aussi aimé de → Thamyris, qui inventa pour lui la pédérastie (Apollod. *bibl.* 1 [16] 3, 3).

Les circonstances enfin de la mort d'H. apparaissent dans la plus ancienne mention connue du mythe, chez Hésiode peut-être (*frg.* 171 Merkelbach/West), et surtout chez Euripide (*Hel.* 1472-1473; cf. aussi Apollod. *bibl.* 1 [17] 3, 3; 3 [116] 10, 3): il aurait été frappé involontairement par le disque que lançait Apollon et qu'aurait peut-être, par malveillance, détourné le souffle jaloux de Zéphyros (Philostr. *im.* 1, 24; Lukianos *d. deor.* 16, 2). Et c'est du sang du bel adolescent que serait née, comme on le sait, la fleur qui porte son nom (Palaiph. 46 Festa; Ov. *met.* 10, 162-219).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Beazley/Magi, *Raccogliammi* 1 (1939) 88-89; Beazley, *EVP* (1947) 50; Brommer, *Vasenlisten* (1973) 526-528; Caprino, C., *EAA* III (1960) 869-870 s.v. «Giantino»; Curtius, L., «Neue Hermeneutische Miscellen», *AA* 1948-49, 48-50; Dietrich, B. C., «The Dorian Hyacinthia», *Kadmos* 14, 1975, 133-142; Eitrem, S., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 7-16 s.v. *ῥάκινθος*; v. Geisau, H., *KlPauly* 2 (1975) 1254-1255 s.v. «Hyakinthos 1»; Hauser, F., «Hyakinthos», *Philologus* 52, 1893, 209-218; Kaempf-Dimitriadou, S., *Die Liebe der Götter in der att. Kunst des 5. Jh. v. Chr.*, *AntK* 11. Beih. (1979) 14-16. 80-81 pl. 6-7; Lacroix, L., «Hyakinthos et les monnaies incuses de Tarente», *Etudes d'archéol. num.* (1974) 23-35 pl. 1, 45-4; Mellink, M. J., *Hyakinthos* (Diss. Utrecht 1943); Pasquier, A., «Une nouvelle représentation d'Hyakinthos», *RA* 1980/2, 197-212; Piccirilli, L., «Ricerche sul culto di Hyakinthos», *Studi classici ed orientali* 16, 1967, 99-116; Roscher, W. H./Greve, M. L. 2 (1886-90) 2759-2766 s.v. «Hyakinthos»; Rossi, D., «Sei terrecotte tarentine e il culto di Hyakinthos», dans *ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ, Nuove ricerche... in onore di P. E. Arias* II (1982) 563-567 pl. 161-162; Schefold, *SB* II (1978) 49-50; *SB* III (1981) 324-327; Sichtermann, H., «Hyakinthos», *Jdl* 71, 1956, 97-123.

## CATALOGUE

Si l'on excepte le document probablement le plus ancien - le trône d'Amyclées (1) - et le plus récent, figurant H. en discobole (48), l'essentiel de l'iconographie, qui se répartit en gros sur deux siècles et demi, de la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> jusqu'au milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., concerne soit les amours d'H. et d'Apollon soit la poursuite amoureuse d'H. par Zéphyros.

On peut naturellement hésiter sur l'identité des personnages qui figurent sur des documents de petites dimensions, comme les pierres gravées ou les monnaies, puisque Apollon prête à son amant certains de ses attributs. Le fait cependant que les figures juvéniles

chevauchant des cygnes soient d'incontestables H. dans la céramique attique des VI<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> s. (cf. H. échappant à la poursuite de Zéphyros grâce au cygne d'Apollon sur le skyphos de Vienne 191, 41), et que cette monture soit rarement l'attribut d'Apollon en personne - qu'il chevauche le cygne ou qu'il le monte de côté (→ Apollon 343-344) - incite à reconnaître H. sur les nombreuses pierres gravées grecques et étrusques où apparaît une figure analogue (17-28, 33); de la même façon, puisqu'Apollon prête incontestablement à H. son char tiré par des cygnes (cf. l'oenochoé étrusque 35 = Apollon/Aplu 74), la reprise du même thème sur des scarabées étrusques (37-40) se réfère sans doute aussi à H. Enfin, plus anciennement, le char ailé monté par un jeune homme debout, illustré par Douris (34), ne correspond guère à celui de → Triptolemos, qui est figuré assis sur un char ailé, mais dépourvu d'attelage.

Précisons toutefois qu'H. n'est jamais nommé désigné, sauf sur une pierre gravée tardive figurant un discobole, d'après Myron (48)!

## A. Hyakinthos divinisé

### a) Apothéose d'Hyakinthos laconien

1. (= Demeter 304, = Hades 67 avec *bibl.*, = Horai 3) Elément de frise figurant sur l'autel qui formait sans doute la base de la grande statue d'Apollon, elle-même placée au centre du monument appelé le «trône» d'Amyclées en Laconie (→ Apollon 55). - Paus. 3, 19, 3-4; Martin, R., *RA* 1976, 205-218 = *Architecture et urbanisme* (1987) 369-386: œuvre de Bathyclès de Magnésie. - Dernier quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Déméter, Coré (→ Persephone) et Hadès, les Moires (→ Moirai) et les Saisons (→ Horai), Aphrodite, Athéna et Artémis emmènent au ciel H. barbu et sa sœur Polyboia, une jeune fille.

### b) Hyakinthos tarentin

2. Statuettes en terre cuite. Pisc, Antiquarium, Ist. Arch. Univ., et Tarente, Mus. Arch. De Tarente (dépôt votif d'un sanctuaire suburbain). - Rossi 563-567 pl. 161-162. - Fin IV<sup>e</sup>-début III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu tenant une cithare, une lyre, un coq ou une phiale (ces statuettes sont accompagnées de figurines symétriques de jeunes filles drapées tenant une oenochoé ou une phiale, interprétées comme Polyboia).

## B. Hyakinthos amant d'Apollon

### a) Hyakinthos sur le cygne d'Apollon

Vases attiques

3.\* Coupe fr. f.r. Paris, Louvre Cp 11217-11218 + Erlangen I 459 (actuellement déposé au Louvre). - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 58, 45-46; Oltos; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 164; Sichtermann 104 fig. 8; *CVA* 19 pl. 28, 2-3; Pasquier 209 fig. 11. - Vers 515-510 av. J.-C. - A: entre des palmettes et des yeux prophylactiques, jeune homme drapé à dr. chevauchant un cygne.

4.\* Coupe f.r. type C. - Vente Sotheby, Londres

10-11 juillet 1989, 86-87 n° 212. - Oltos (? attr. cat.). - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - I: (incomplet) adolescent à longue chevelure chevauchant un cygne aux ailes déployées passant à dr.; il avance les bras comme pour tenir les rênes ou le col de l'oiseau.

5. Fr. de plat f.r. Athènes, Mus. Nat. De Brauron. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 17, 23; Euphronios; Sichtermann 97-98 fig. 1; Schefold, *SB* II 50 fig. 53. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - I: jeune homme nu, drapé, allongé (?) sur un cygne volant vers la dr. auquel il s'accroche du bras g.

6. Coupe f.r. Oxford (Mississippi), Univ. 1977.3.102 (anc. coll. Robinson). - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 121, 25; Apollodoros; *CVA* Baltimore, Robinson Coll. 2, pl. 4; Sichtermann 100 fig. 3; Schefold, *SB* III 325 fig. 472. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - I: jeune homme nu, sauf une draperie sur les épaules, chevauchant un cygne au long col volant vers la g. au-dessus de flots peuplés de dauphins.

7. Fr. de coupe f.r. Leipzig, Univ. T 521. D'Orvieto. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 121, 24; Apollodoros; Sichtermann 104 fig. 7. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - I: jeune homme drapé chevauchant un cygne volant vers la g. au-dessus de flots peuplés de dauphins.

8.\* (= Apollon 342 avec *bibl.*) Lécythe f.n. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. 30852. - Stella 165; Schefold, *SB* III 325 n. 708. - P. d'Athéna, vers 500-490 av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne volant vers la g. au-dessus des flots où bondissent des dauphins; il est couronné des mêmes rameaux de points qui garnissent le champ.

9.\* Coupe f.r. Bâle, coll. Cahn H C 665. - Inédite: Douris (? attr. H. Cahn). - Vers 480-470 av. J.-C. - I: jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne volant vers la g. au-dessus des flots avec deux dauphins: il tient une couronne dans la main dr.

10.\* Coupe f.r. Bâle, coll. privée. - *Para* 417: P. d'Akestoridès; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 289; *MuMAukt.* 34 (1967) 82 n° 158 pl. 50; Boardman, *ARFH* I fig. 368. - Vers 480-470 av. J.-C. - I: jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne volant vers la g. au-dessus des flots; tous deux tendent le nez vers le ciel; le jeune homme tient de la main g. une tige florale à volutes.

11. Fr. de coupe f.r. Arezzo, Mus. Arch. 142. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 784, 19; P. de Munich 2660; Sichtermann 100-101 fig. 4. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - I: jambes d'un éphèbe chevauchant un cygne volant vers la g. au-dessus des flots.

## Céramique italiote (f. r.)

12.\* Cratère à volutes apulien. Naples, Mus. Naz. 82261 (H 3252). De Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 977, 200 pl. 382; P. du Saccos blanc; Sichtermann 106 fig. 11. - Vers 320 av. J.-C. - Dans une frise au bas de la vasque, jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne blanc volant vers la g.; il porte un plateau de la main dr. et tient de la g. un rameau.

## Céramique étrusque (f. r.)

13.\* Hydrie fr. Paris, Louvre S 5081 = 9830054 AGR. - Jolivet, V., *Rech. sur la cér. à f. r. tardive du Mus. du Louvre* (1982) 93 fig. 1 p. 141: style falisque, P. de l'hydrie du Louvre; *CVA* 22, 38-39 pl. 16, 1-4. -



Vers 320-300 av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu allongé sur un cygne volant vers la g.

14.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 70 avec bibl.) Stamnos. Carlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. 348 = B 1879. De Vulci. - EVP 142, 6: Funnel Gr. - Dernier quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne passant à g.

15.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 69 avec bibl.) Stamnos. Bâle, coll. privée. - Funnel Gr. - Vers 330-320 av. J.-C. - A: jeune homme drapé, couronné de laurier, assis sur un cygne tourné à g. qui tient dans son bec une sorte de panier.

16.\* Amphore. Mayence, RGZM 33836-33837. - Büsing-Kolbe, A., CVA 2, 14-15, pl. 3: P. du Funnel Gr. de Berlin. - Dernier quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: jeune homme drapé assis sur un cygne passant à dr.; il enlace son col recourbé.

#### Pierres gravées grecques

17.\* (= Apollon 346\* avec bibl.) Scarabée, cristal de roche. Londres, BM H 367 (anc. coll. Hamilton). - Sichtermann 100-101 fig. 6. - Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne volant vers la dr., au-dessus des flots d'où bondissent des dauphins; il tient un rameau de la main g.

18.\* (= Apollon 347 avec bibl.) Agate. Paris, Cab. Méd. - Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne volant vers la dr., les ailes déployées; inscr. EPOΣ.

19. Calcédoine. Londres, BM 1931.5-17.1. - Vente Sotheby, mai 1931, 123 pl. 11; BMQ 6, 1931-32, 34 pl. 344; Sichtermann 100-101 fig. 5. - V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme demi-nu allongé sur un cygne volant vers la dr., relevant la tête et battant des ailes; il tient un rameau de la main g.

#### Scarabées étrusques, cornaline

20.\* Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1941.349. - Zazoff, EtrSk 133 n° 276 pl. 51; Boardman/Vollenweider, CatGemsOxford I n° 242 pl. 40. - Style a globolo: IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne volant vers la g., la tête levée.

21. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. Fortnum FR. 799 (anc. coll. Castellani). - Boardman/Vollenweider, CatGemsOxford I 59-60 n° 247 pl. 41. - Style a globolo: fin IV<sup>e</sup>-début III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne vers la g.

22. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 13235. - Zazoff, EtrSk 167 n° 737. - Style a globolo ancien: IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne.

23.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 72\* avec bibl.) Copenhague, Mus. Thorv. 73. - Style a globolo: IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne vers la g.

24.\* Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 165. - Zazoff, EtrSk 187 n° 738. - Style a globolo: IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Même thème.

25.\* Munich, Münzslg. 21.797. - Zazoff, EtrSk 187 n° 739; AGD I 2, n° 651 pl. 73. - Style a globolo: IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Même thème.

26. Anc. coll. von Heyl. - Furtwängler, AG pl. 61, 50; Zazoff, EtrSk 168 n° 741. - Style a globolo: IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup>

s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne avançant vers la dr.

27. Malibu, Paul Getty Mus. - Boardman, J., Intaglios and Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Eastern from a Private Coll. (1975) 106 n° 147. - Style a globolo: fin du IV<sup>e</sup>-début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu chevauchant un cygne avançant vers la dr.; les bras levés, il semble tenir un aiguillon.

28.\* Londres, BM 825. - Walters, BMGems 100 n° 825; Zazoff, EtrSk 168 n° 740. - Style a globolo: IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Homme nu barbu agenouillé sur un cygne(?), la tête penchée.

#### Terres cuites

29.\* Groupe plastique béotien. New York, MMA 07.286.24. - Pasquier 211 fig. 12 (en haut). - V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Ephèbe demi-nu assis vers la dr. sur un cygne aux ailes repliées.

30.\* Fr. de plaque tarentine. Naples, Mus. Naz. 140942. - Sichtermann 107 fig. 12. - Fin du V<sup>e</sup> ou IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme demi-nu assis sur un cygne, vers la dr.

#### Monnaies

31.\* (= Apollon 349 avec bibl.) EL statères, Cyzique (Mysie), vers 475-410 av. J.-C. - Babelon, Traité II 2, 1431 n° 2692 pl. 165, 16 («Apollon»); Caprino 870 («H.»?); Waggoner, N. M., Early Greek Coins from the Coll. of J. P. Rosen (1983) n° 506 pl. 19. - Av. Figure juvénile en himation, une couronne de laurier dans la main dr., qui chevauche un cygne volant à g.; au-dessous, un thon. Rv. Carré creux.

#### b) Hyakinthos sur deux cygnes

##### Terre cuite grecque

32.\* (= Aphrodite 790\* avec bibl.) Groupe plastique attique. Paris, Louvre MNB 545. - Mollard-Besques I 15 pl. 11, B 88; Pasquier 198 fig. 1. - Dernier quart du VI<sup>e</sup> ou I<sup>er</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme drapé, assis sur un siège sans dossier dont les montants latéraux sont en forme de protomés de cygne à long col.

##### Pierre gravée étrusque

33.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 73 avec bibl.) Scarabée cornaline. Zagreb, Mus. Arch. 208 (201). De Starigrad. - Style a globolo IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu chevauchant deux cygnes vers la dr.

#### c) Hyakinthos sur le char d'Apollon

##### Céramique attique (f. r.)

34. Coupe. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. inv. 3168. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 428, 13: Douris; Add<sup>2</sup> 236; AA 1891, 117-118; Hartwig pl. 27; AA 1979, 18-19. 21-23 fig. 1-4. 8. 10-11. - Vers 500-490 av. J.-C. - I: jeune homme nu, debout vers la dr., tenant les rênes d'un char ailé tiré par des animaux non figurés.

##### Céramique étrusque (f. r.)

35.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 74\* avec bibl.) Oenochoé. Vatican G 111 (anc. coll. Guglielmi). De Vulci. - I<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Se faisant face, bige monté

par Apollon qui tient un grand rameau de laurier et char tiré par deux cygnes, conduit par H. à demi nu.

#### Peinture de chevalet

36. Tableau perdu. Alexandrie, puis Rome, temple d'Auguste. Par l'Athénien Nicias. - Plin. nat. 35, 131; Paus. 3, 19, 4. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Hyakinthos adolescent, en tant qu'amant d'Apollon.

#### Scarabées étrusques, cornaline

37.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 76 avec bibl.) Copenhague, Mus. Thorv. 18. - Fossing, ThorvGems 40 pl. 2, 72. - Style a globolo ancien: IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu sur un char tiré par deux cygnes volant vers la g.

38.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 76) Anc. coll. Lord Southesk A 2. - Southesk, Cat. Ant. Gems (1908) pl. 1, 13; Zazoff, EtrSk 167 n° 736. - Style a globolo: IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Dans un char tiré vers la g. par deux cygnes, homme agenouillé tenant un aiguillon(?).

39.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 76\* avec bibl.) Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. FG 242. - Furtwängler, Beschreibung pl. 5, 242. - Style a globolo récent: III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu sur un char tiré par deux cygnes courant vers la dr.

40. Naples, Mus. Naz. 161593. De Cumes. - Panunzi, CatGlittNapoli I 89 n° 131. - Style a globolo: fin IV<sup>e</sup>-début III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Jeune homme nu sur un char tiré par deux cygnes en marche vers la dr., tenant les guides et brandissant l'aiguillon.

#### C. Hyakinthos aimé par Zéphyros

##### a) Hyakinthos sur le cygne d'Apollon poursuivi par Zéphyros

41.\* Skyphos att. f. r. Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 191. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 976, 2: P. de Zéphyre; Para 436; Hauser 209-211; Smith, H. R. W., Der Lewismaler (1939) 17 pl. 27-334; CVA 1, pl. 38, 1-3; Sichtermann 116 fig. 19-20; EAA VII 1253; Kaempf-Dimitriadou n° 49 pl. 6, 1-2. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - A: H., jeune adolescent nu, chevauche vers la dr. le cygne d'Apollon en train de s'envoler; du bras g. il encourage sa monture; la figure grimaçante, il tend de sa main dr. une *κυνοδέσμη* (CVA) ou un Yo-Yo (Kaempf) à (B) Zéphyros, ailé, qui tend le bras dr. vers lui; il porte une étoffe (le vêtement peut-être de H.) autour du bras g.

##### b) Hyakinthos poursuivi par Zéphyros

##### Céramique attique

42. Skyphos f. r. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 72. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 976, 1: P. de Zéphyre; CVA 3, pl. 19, 1; Sichtermann 118; Kaempf-Dimitriadou n° 50 pl. 6, 3-4. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - A: Zéphyros nu, ailé, vole en direction de (B) H., jeune adolescent nu, sauf un himation sur le bras g., qui s'enfuit vers la dr. en se retournant vers son poursuivant; un arbre situe la scène en plein air.

43. Cratère à colonnettes f. r. Ferrare, Mus. Naz. 2666. De Spina (T 539). - ARV<sup>2</sup> 228, 27: P. d'Eucharides; Add<sup>2</sup> 199; Sichtermann 116 fig. 21-22; Kaempf-Dimitriadou n° 48; Alfieri, Spina 7 fig. 21. -

Vers 470 av. J.-C. - A: Zéphyros nu, barbu, ailé, une draperie sur le bras g., poursuit vers la dr. (B) un jeune homme drapé, une canne à la main, qui s'enfuit en se retournant vers lui.

44.\* Disque double en terre cuite f. bl. polychrome. New York, MMA 28.167. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 890, 175; 1673: P. de Penthésilée; Add<sup>2</sup> 302; BullMMA 23, 303-305; Diepolder, H., Der Penthesilea-Maler (1936) 16 pl. 19, 2; Sichtermann 119; Caprino 870 fig. 1084; Mertens, J. R., Attic White-Ground (1977) 141, 2; Kaempf-Dimitriadou n° 53 pl. 7; Reinhardt, H., AntK 23, 1980, 44 (Zéphyros interprété comme Thanatos); Schefold, SB III 327 fig. 478; Wehgartner, I., Attisch weißgrundige Keramik (1983) 157-158 n° 6. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - A: Zéphyros nu, ailé, saisit par le bras H. adolescent, nu sauf un himation qui tombe de l'épaule g.; H. tient une lyre dans la main g. et se retourne vers Zéphyros. Tous deux sont diadémés; inscr. HO ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΕ. Autre scène de poursuite amoureuse - Eos et Képhalos(?) - en B.

#### c) Hyakinthos enlevé par Zéphyros

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

45.\* Coupe. Boston, MFA 95.31. De Tarquinia. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 443, 225: signée par Douris; Para 375; Add<sup>2</sup> 240; Caskey/Beazley III pl. 71, 127; Kaempf-Dimitriadou n° 55; Schefold, SB III 325 fig. 473. Pour Sichtermann 121; Greifenhagen, A., Griech. Erosen (1957) 79-80; Vermeule, E., AntK 12, 1969, 14; Shapiro, H. A., AJA 85, 1981, 142 n. 71 pl. 28, 13, la figure ailée ne serait pas Zéphyros, mais Eros. - Vers 490-480 av. J.-C. - I: Zéphyros nu et ailé et H. nu, étroitement enlacés, s'élèvent dans les airs; dans le champ, fleur, palmettes et rinceaux.

46. Fr. de coupe. Boston, MFA 13.94. De Caeré. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1570, 30: proche de Douris; Add<sup>2</sup> 389; Vermeule, E., AntK 12, 1969, 14 n° 20 pl. 12, 5; Kaempf-Dimitriadou n° 54; Shapiro, o. c. 45, 142 n. 71 pl. 28, 14 (même remarque que pour 45). - Vers 490-480 av. J.-C. - I: réplique de la précédente.

47.\* Coupe. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. F 2305. De Nola. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 450, 31: manière de Douris; Sichtermann 120 fig. 27; Kaempf-Dimitriadou n° 56 pl. 7, 2. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - I: Zéphyros nu et ailé, enlaçant étroitement H. qui tient une lyre de la main g., s'élève avec lui dans les airs; sous leurs jambes repliées, une fleur.

#### D. Hyakinthos au disque

48.\* Pierre gravée, cornaline. Londres, BM. - Smith, BMSculpture I 91 fig. 5; Furtwängler, AG pl. 44, 26; Walters, BMGems 198 n° 1865; Schröder, B., AA 1920, 62 fig. 2. - Ep. impériale romaine. - H. dans l'attitude du discobole de Myron; inscr. YAKINΘE.

#### E. Représentations incertaines

##### Vases peints

49.\* (= Hera 459\*, = Herakles 2861 avec bibl.) Coupe fr. laconienne f. n. New York, MMA 50.11.7



(anc. coll. Curtius). - P. des Boréades; Lane, A., *BSA* 34, 1933-34, 163-164; Pelagatti, P., *BCH* 82, 1958, 493; Scheffold, *SB* II 49 fig. 52. - Vers 570-560 av. J.-C. - I: partie inférieure d'un homme nu conduit par la main et présenté à Zeus et Héra assis, par une figure juvénile de plus grande taille, coiffée d'un polos. Au lieu d'Héraclès introduit dans l'Olympe par Athéna on a voulu parfois (Curtius, Scheffold) reconnaître ici l'apothéose de H. en compagnie de sa sœur Polyboia.

50. Hydrie attique f. r. Naples, Mus. Naz. SA 197. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 594, 57; P. d'Altamura; Sichtermann 110 fig. 15; Scheffold, *SB* II 327 fig. 480. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Bège monté par un jeune homme drapé qui tient les rênes avec, au premier plan, Apollon à la cithare et une déesse, à dr., qui semble les accueillir. Le cocher d'Apollon pourrait être Lycomédès, selon Beazley.

#### Monnaies

51. AR statères incus, Tarente, vers 510-500 av. J.-C. - *BM Guide*<sup>2</sup> 10 n° 2 pl. 6; Kraay/Hirmer, *GrCoins* 314 n° 295 pl. 102; Stazio, A., *AttiMGreca* 10, 1970 (1971) 152; Lacroix 23-35 pl. 1, 45-4; Kraay, *ArCoins* 175 n° 663 pl. 38. - Av. Jeune homme nu à g., un genou à terre, tenant une lyre de la main g. et une fleur de la dr. Rv. Même type en creux, inversé. Diverses interprétations: H. (Stazio, Kraay), Apollon Hyakinthios (*Guide*<sup>2</sup>, Kraay/Hirmer), → Taras (*BMC Italy* 165, 33), Eros aptère (Lacroix; *LIMC* III s. v. «Eros» p. 934).

#### Pierre gravée étrusque

52. Scarabée, cornaline. Londres, BM 676. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 20, 31; Walters, *BMGems* n° 676 pl. 12; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 84 n° 148 pl. 31; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 105; Cristofani, M./Martelli, M., et al., *L'oro degli Etruschi* (1983) 240 fig. 269; 316-317 n° 269. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Figure juvénile nue s'écroulant vers la dr.; une pluie de sang s'écoule de son crâne sur le disque tombé à terre; inscr. étrusque *Puce* (interprétée comme → Phokos par de Simone).

#### COMMENTAIRE

Pausanias (3, 19, 4) souligne le contraste qui existe entre la figure barbue du H. d'Amiclées (I) et l'aspect juvénile que lui a donné le peintre athénien Nicias, dans un tableau célèbre (36) de la 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. (cf. *Plin. nat.* 35, 131); car, souligne Pausanias, «si le peintre Nicias, fils de Nicomédès, lui a donné la délicatesse de l'adolescence, c'est qu'il a fait allusion à la légende concernant l'amour qu'Apollon avait pour lui». De fait, la figure du H. laconien d'Amiclées ou de Tarente, qui oscille entre l'héroïsation funéraire et l'assimilation à la divinité, semble bien différente de l'image poétique du jeune adolescent passionnément aimé, de «cet enfant, qui est le crime et la douleur de Phoebus» (Martialis 14, 173), celle qui a séduit les peintres de vases athéniens, sensiblement avant que l'Hélène d'Euripide n'évoque, à propos de fêtes spartiates, la mort accidentelle du bel éphèbe, premier essai de syncrétisme entre les deux images.

Quoi qu'il en soit, dans la céramique attique comme dans les documents un peu plus récents, surtout d'origine étrusque, qui reprennent la même tradition, l'amour d'Apollon pour le beau *pais* s'inscrit fort bien dans ce courant pédérastique qui alimente tout le «style sévère» jusque vers 480 (3-10. 17-19); il est peut-être symptomatique aussi que les trois documents qui illustrent pour la première fois l'intervention de Zéphyros et qui datent de la fin de cette période (par Douris et son atelier: 45-47) représentent un enlèvement très amoureux d'H., dont la tradition écrite ne conserve d'ailleurs aucune trace.

En revanche la poursuite amoureuse d'H. par Zéphyros (41-44) s'inscrit dans toute une série de quêtes du même genre, très populaires dans la céramique attique à f. r. du début de l'ép. classique (Eos et Céphale, Borée et Orithye, Poséidon et Amymone par exemple): ce qui rend parfois quelque peu incertaine l'identification de la scène. Il en est ainsi, croyons-nous, pour les deux skyphoi bien connus du peintre de Lewis (Naples 126057 et Schwerin 731 = *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 974, 23-24; Sichtermann fig. 23-26; Kaempf-Dimitriadou n° 51-52 pl. 6, 5-6) que nous avons exclus, car le prétendu H. est poursuivi par une figure ailée qui est de caractère incontestablement féminin (cf. *CVA* Schwerin I, pl. 32, 1-2; 34, 1-2).

Enfin, l'évocation du disque mortel, littérairement attestée à partir de la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. (chez Euripide) et qui prend par la suite un développement romanesque considérable, n'est guère présente dans l'iconographie, sauf si l'on suppose - ce qui n'a rien d'évident - que la peinture réelle de Nicias (36) comportait cet épisode, qui se trouve décrit dans les tableaux, sans doute imaginaires, évoqués par Martial et les deux Philostrate.

LAURENCE ET FRANÇOIS VILLARD

#### HYAS

(*Υας*, Hyas) Fils d'→ Atlas et de l'Océanide Aithra ou Pleioné, frère des → Hyades et des → Pleiades; il fut tué au cours d'une chasse en Libye. Il n'est mentionné qu'en rapport avec ses sœurs, les Hyades. A distinguer d'un héros béotien du même nom, éponyme d'Hyampolis.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: L'histoire d'H. est connue par des mythographes tardifs qui veulent expliquer le nom des Hyades et leur transformation en constellation (Eratosth. *kat.* 14; Mousaios, *Diels Vorsokr.* 5 2 B 18; Timaios, *FGH* 566 F 91; *Ov. fast.* 5, 170. 172. 181; *Hyg. fab.* 192. 248; *Hyg. astr.* 2, 21; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 744; *Eust.* 1155, 43-47 ad *Hom. Il.* 18, 486; *Stat. silv.* 1, 6, 21-22). Pendant une chasse en Libye (Timaios, *FGH* 566 F 91; *Eust. l. c.*), H. fut tué, soit par un serpent (Timaios *l. c.*; *Eust. l. c.*; *Schol. Arat.* 254 p. 73, 33), soit par un lion (*Hyg. astr.* 2, 21) ou par «un lion ou un sanglier» (*Hyg. fab.* 192. 248; *Schol.*

Germ. Caes. *BP* p. 75, 14). Plusieurs de ses sœurs (cinq ou sept selon les traditions) en moururent de chagrin. Zeus, pour les consoler, les transforma en étoiles et leur donna le nom d'H. d'après celui de leur frère bien-aimé.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Grimal, *Dictionnaire*<sup>3</sup> 215 s. v. «Hyas»; Gundel, W., *RE* VIII (1914) 24-25 s. v. «Hyas»; Robert, C., *Eratosthenis catasterismorum reliquiae* (1878) 12-14; Scichilone, G., *EAA* IV (1961) 58 s. v. «Hyades»; Weizsäcker, P., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2766-2767 s. v. «Hyas I».

I. (= Amymone 15, = Apollon 924, = Hérakles 2917\*, = Hyades 6 - avec bibl.) Cratère en calice att. f. r.; New York, MMA 52.11.18. - Vers 400-380 av. J.-C. - A: dans la scène de l'apothéose d'Héraclès, on a proposé de reconnaître H. dans deux personnages masculins: au registre inférieur, à g. d'Athéna et des Hyades qui versent de l'eau, un jeune homme vêtu d'une chlamyde, le pétase sur le dos, tenant de sa main dr. deux javelines, qui se précipite vers la g. en retournant la tête vers la scène de l'extinction du bûcher; ou au registre supérieur, derrière le char d'Héraclès et de Niké, au-dessus des Hyades qui versent de l'eau, un jeune homme vêtu comme le précédent, dans la même attitude, qui tient de sa main dr. la lance et se précipite vers la g. en regardant derrière lui.

La figure d'H. n'a pas jusqu'à présent été identifiée avec certitude sur les monuments antiques, et l'épisode de sa mort, connu par les sources littéraires, n'est pas iconographiquement attesté. Sur le cratère I, la présence auprès des Hyades d'un jeune homme vêtu en chasseur - qu'il s'agisse du premier ou du second - peut faire supposer qu'il s'agit de leur frère H., mais tant que l'identification n'est pas confirmée par une inscription ou tout au moins par une tradition littéraire, cette hypothèse nous semble arbitraire.

ELEUTHERIA SERBETI

#### HYBLAIA

(*Υβλαία θεός*, Venus Victrix Hyblensis ?) Déesse locale d'origine sicule d'une des trois cités d'Hybla en Sicile, celle qui était placée la plus au nord, assez près de Catane (Paus. 5, 23, 5), et que l'on situe en général sur l'emplacement de l'actuelle Paternò; une inscr. d'époque romaine trouvée à Paternò (*CIL* X 2, 7013) semble permettre d'identifier H. à Vénus Victrix Hyblensis (→ Venus).

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Pausanias (5, 23, 6), à propos d'une offrande des Hybléens à Olympie, rapporte qu'H., dans son sanctuaire, était vénérée par tous les Siciliens; il ajoute, d'après Philistos, que ces Hybléens étaient les plus pieux de tous les barbares de Sicile et qu'ils interprétaient les présages et les songes. C'étaient, semble-t-il, les *Galeotai* qui étaient doués de ce don de divination (cf. *Cic. div.* 1, 20, 39, à propos de la mère de Denys 1<sup>er</sup> de Syracuse et toujours d'après Philistos). Il est donc tentant d'identifier le siège du

culte d'H. avec l'Hybla Geléatis que Thucydide place dans cette région (Thuk. 6, 62, 5), d'autant plus qu'on la retrouve, semble-t-il, mentionnée aussi par Pausanias sous la forme d'Hybla Geréatis (Paus. 5, 23, 6).

Mais l'Hybla Mégala, dont les monnaies comportent le seul témoignage iconographique possible se référant à la déesse H., est nettement distinguée par le même Pausanias de son Hybla Geréatis et par Stéphane de Byzance (s. v. *Υβλαί*) de celle des Hybléens Galeotai, auxquelles il ajoute une troisième Hybla, l'Hybla Héraia.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Sur le culte d'H., cf. Ciaceri, E., *Culti e miti nella storia dell'antica Sicilia* (1911) 15-23; Hepding, H., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 29 s. v. «Hyblaia»; Dunbabin, T. J., *The Western Greeks* (1948) 130-132.

Sur les trois Hyblai, cf. Ciaceri, E., «Megara Iblea ed Ible Geréatis», *Studi Storici* 2, 1909, 163-183; Pareti, L., «I Galeotai, Megara Iblea ed Ible Galeatide», dans *Studi Siciliani ed Italiani* (1914) 101-112; Ziegler, K., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 26-28 s. v. «Hybla»; Dunbabin, o. c. 144-145.

Sur les monnaies d'Hybla Mégala, cf. Drexler, W., *ML* I (1890) 2767; Hill, G. F., *Coins of Ancient Sicily* (1903) 221; Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 147-148; Ziegler, o. c. 28; Hepding, o. c. 29; Dunbabin, o. c. 44 n. 5.

I\*. AE, Hybla Mégala fin III<sup>e</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (après 210). - Gábrici, *Bronzo* 141 pl. 7, 11; *SNG Copenhagen* I n° 325-328 pl. 7. - Av. Tête de femme voilée, vers la dr., portant un modius; derrière elle, abeille. - Rv. Dionysos tenant un canthare et un thyrsos, vers la g., avec une petite panthère; lég. *HYBAAΣ MEΓΑΛΑΣ*.

La présence d'une abeille derrière la tête supposée d'H. pourrait faire allusion à la renommée du miel de l'Hybla mégarienne (cf. Strabon, 6, 2, 2 p. 267; *Verg. ecl.* 1, 53-55; *Sil.* 14, 199-200); mais cette dernière, depuis longtemps, n'existait plus. La figure de Dionysos pourrait au contraire rappeler les vins célèbres de l'Etna, donc l'Hybla Geléatis. Mais rien en tout cas ne vient évoquer la troisième Hybla, celle du sud, habituellement identifiée à Hybla Héraia et placée près de l'actuelle Ragusa (contra Manganaro, G., *La Sicilia antica* II 2 [1980] 453).

FRANÇOIS VILLARD

#### HYBRIS I

(*ὕβρις*, *superbia*) Frevelhafte Überheblichkeit. Im Griechischen zentraler Begriff des Frevels, nach welchem sich der Mensch in seiner Selbstüberhebung in Wort und Tat anmaßt, sich durch eigene übergroße Kraft, Geschicklichkeit, Glück oder Reichtum den Göttern gleichzustellen oder gegen Götter und Menschen mit Gewalt oder Betrug besonders schwere Frevel zu begehen. Aus überheblichem Stolz oder aus Anmaßung überschreitet der Freveler aus Hybris (*ὕβρις*) die von den Göttern gesetzten Schranken und die Grenzen der Ordnung. Er fordert damit den Unwillen und die Empörung der Götter heraus und muß mit ihrer Rache und Vergeltung rechnen (→ Ne-

mesis). Daneben gibt es Hybris auch in «harmloser» Form, als Mutwilligkeit besonders von jungen Tieren und Menschen, die keine Götterstrafe nach sich zieht. So kann auch ein Satyr den Namen H. tragen (→ Hybris II).

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Hybris und die von diesem Begriff abgeleiteten Wörter kommen schon bei Homer vor, ihre Antithese ist → Eunomia. Aber weder Homer noch Hesiod personifizieren H., so viele andere Übel die Nacht Hes. *theog.* 211–232 auch hervorbringt (→ Apatē). Hes. *theog.* 307 und 514 heißen → Typhon und Menoitios *hybristai*. Im Zeitaltermythos wird der Untergang der Menschengeschlechter ihrer H. zugeschrieben (Hes. *erg.* 134–135. 145–146. 191–192; ferner 217–224. 238–239). Nach Solon, West *IEG II fig.* 6, 3–4 bringt Übersättigung (Koros) die H. hervor, in den Theognidea ist diese Aussage wiederholt (West *IEG I* 53–154). In der zitierten Edition druckt West diese Wörter klein, faßt sie also nicht als Personifikationen auf. Entsprechendes dürfte dann für das Orakel des Bakis Hdt. 8, 77 gelten, in dem umgekehrt Koros als «Sohn» der H. bezeichnet wird. Das ist absichtlich dunkle Orakelpoesie, nicht klare Genealogie wie bei Hesiod, obwohl G. Strasburger an dieser Stelle in der Nachfolge früherer Gelehrter Personifikationen sieht. Es scheint vielmehr für die griechische Literatur wie für die Bildkunst charakteristisch zu sein, daß H. gestaltlos blieb, oder besser, daß sie durch *hybristai* dargestellt wurde. Diese bevölkerten die tragische Bühne des 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. Die Themen von Schuld und Sühne waren wahrscheinlich in der Zeit Solons und der Peisistratiden in ihren kanonischen Fassungen geprägt worden. Sie dienten als mythische Exempla. Neben den frühen «Empörern» (→ Gigantes, → Typhon, Menoitios, → Prometheus, → Aloada) standen die vier bekannten Frevler → Ixion, → Sisyphos, → Tityos und → Tantalos. Genannt seien daneben → Aktaion, Pandareos, → Salmones, → Arachne, → Niobe, → Eriphyle und → Aigisthos. Die Zahl dieser mythischen *hybristai* war groß. Ihre Schuld bestand in Vergehen gegen Götter oder in Gottlosigkeit, in Mord, Prahlerei, Lügen, Raub, Vergewaltigung, Inzest usw. Die Strafen waren vielfältig: ewiges Leiden in der Unterwelt, gewaltsamer Tod, Wahnsinn, Erblindung, Tierverwandlung, Versteinerung. Die Götter treffen die Frevler mit ἀτη (Verblendung) und senden ihnen die strafende δίκη, die wie Nemesis im Gegensatz zu Hybris steht.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Bertram, G., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament VIII* (1969) 295–305 s. vv. ὕβρις, ὕβριζω, ἐνὺβριζω, ὕβριστος; Del Grande, C., *Hybris. Colpa e castigo nell'espressione poetica e letteraria degli scrittori della Grecia antica da Omero a Cleante* (1947); Dirat, M., *L'hybris dans la tragédie grecque* (1973); Dodds, E. R., *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951) 28–63; Fisher, N. R. E., *Hybris, A Study of the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece* (im Druck); Fraenkel, J. J., *Hybris* (1941); Genet, L., *Recherches sur la pensée juridique et morale en Grèce* (1917) 1–33; MacDowell, D. M., «Hybris in Athens», *Greece and Rome* 2, 23 (1976) 14–31; Nestle, W., «Legenden vom Tod der Gottesverächter», *ArRelW* 33, 1936, 246–269; Payne, R., *A Study of Pride* (1960) bes. 5–40; Rosenmeyer, Th. G., «Hubris and the Greeks», in *Hubris, Man and Education* (1959) 19–30; Saïd, S., *La faute tragique* (1978); Schefold, SB II 68–73. 272–273; Schefold, SB III 137–190. 331–333. 336; Simon, E., «Zur Bedeutung des

Greifen in der Kunst der Kaiserzeit», *Latomus* 21, 1962, 770–780; Stoianovici, L., «La notion de «Hybris» dans l'Iliade», *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 16, 1968, 81–88; Strasburger, G., *Lexikon zur frühgriech. Geschichte* (1984) 186.

## KATALOG

Wie bereits oben festgestellt wurde, ist es eine Besonderheit der griechischen Literatur und Bildkunst, H. nicht zu personifizieren, sondern sie szenisch darzustellen. Es ist hier nicht der Ort, die Untaten und Strafen der mythischen Frevler aufzuführen, da diese unter den jeweiligen Namen erscheinen; man vgl. auch zu → Dike oder → Nemesis. Die letztere wurde ohne Namensänderung in die römische Religion übernommen, während ihre Gegnerin lateinisch *superbia* hieß. «Nemesis, die gegen *superbia* Kult erhält» heißt es bei Macr. *Sat.* 1, 22, 1. Deren Bestrafung wird wiederum nicht durch Personifikationen, sondern in allegorischen Szenen geschildert: Greife, die Trabanten der Nemesis, fallen über *superbi* (d. h. *hybristai*) her (Simon 774–780). In einem Fall ist jedoch Hybris-Superbia tatsächlich gestalthaft dargestellt:

1. \* Marmorrelief. Brindisi, Mus. Prov. – Schweitzer, B., «Dea Nemesis Regina», *JdI* 46, 1931, 183–194 Taf. 3; idem, *Die spätantiken Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Kunst. Leipziger Universitätsreden* Heft 16, 1949 = Schweitzer, B., *Zur Kunst der Antike. Ausgewählte Schriften II* (1963) 295 Taf. 74; Will, E., *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain* (1955) 424–427 Abb. 73. – 1. Drittel 3. Jh. n. Chr. – «Nemesis, die Himmelskönigin, als die sie in Ägypten und Syrien verehrt wurde, erscheint siegreich auf der Hybris, dem personifizierten Bösen, stehend, umgeben von dem Kranz ihrer geflügelten himmlischen Heerscharen, während Siegesgöttinnen ihren Schleier tragen» (Schweitzer 295). H.-Superbia ist eine nackt am Boden liegende Frau, mit angezogenen Beinen und nach unten gewandtem Gesicht, über das beide Arme geführt sind. Nemesis setzt beide Füße auf den Rücken der Gegnerin in einer uralten Gebärde des Sieges, während H. verzweifelt ihr Haar rauf. Es handelt sich um ein Kultrelief, das in der späteren Antike in bestimmten Kulte, etwa in dem des → Mithras, das vollplastische Götterbild ablöst; vgl. auch Rapp, U., *Das Mysterienbild* (1952).

## KOMMENTAR

Zum Bildtypus der Nemesis, die den Fuß auf einen *hybristes* bzw. einen besiegten Feind setzt, → Nemesis; Schweitzer, a. O. I, 187. 210–212. 214–216; Schwartz, J., *Qasr-Qarun/Dionysias 1950, Fouilles Franco-Suisses, Rapports II* (1969) 64; Baratte, F., *RLouvre* 1981 (3), 171–178; Lichocka, B., *Klio* 71 (1989) 1, 115–116. Die Gebärde der triumphierenden Gestalt, die auf einen bezwungenen Gegner tritt, wurde vom Alten Orient und Ägypten übernommen (cf. Schweitzer a. O. 216–217) und auf dieses Motiv übertragen.

Obwohl H. in der Vorstellungswelt der Griechen eine zentrale Stelle einnimmt, fehlen bildliche Darstellungen von ihr bis hin zur Spätzeit. Das dürfte kein Zufall unserer Überlieferung sein, sondern ein grundsätzliches Merkmal. Es ist, als ob man es für Hybris gehalten habe, H. zu personifizieren. Dagegen tritt sie vielfältig in den Darstellungen mythischer *hybristai* zutage, besonders eindringlich etwa im Verhalten der Giganten am großen Fries von Pergamon (→ Gigantes 24). Die einzige personifizierte H.-Superbia gehört in Stil und Komposition, auch als Kultrelief, bereits in die Nähe der frühchristlichen Kunst (1). Nemesis, die Siegerin über H., steht auf ihr wie Maria auf der Schlange.

Es sei daran erinnert, daß im Altertum sonst nur im Alten Testament ein der *hybris/superbia* gleichwertiger Begriff öfters vorkommt. Die Sünde ist als Überheblichkeit (*gaon*, *evrah* = *hybris/superbia*), Überhöhung und Stolz (*gav'hut*, *rum*) und als Auflehnung gegen Gott verstanden und wird streng bestraft. S. Bertram 299–305. EHUD HERBERT LOEB

## HYBRIS II

(Υβρις) «Übermut», «Mutwilligkeit», Satyrname (→ Silenos, Silenoi) in einer Vaseninschrift. Gemeint ist hier H. in harmloser Form im Gegensatz zu H. als frevelhafte Überheblichkeit, vgl. → Hybris I.

1. (= Arethousa 4 mit Lit., = Herakles 2916\* mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Pelike, att. rf. München, Antikenslg. 2360. Aus Vulci. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1186, 30; 1685; Kadmosmaler; Add<sup>2</sup> 341; Fränkel, *Namen* 28. 68. 104 Nr. 7; v. Geisau, H., *RE Suppl.* IX (1962) 1898 s. v. «Hybris 4c». – 420/400 v. Chr. – Oben fährt Herakles mit Athena im Wagen gen Himmel. Unten Scheiterhaufen mit Waffen. Während r. die beiden Quellnympphen → Arethousa und → Premnusia das Feuer zu löschen versuchen, wollen l. die Satyrn → Skopas (I) und H. (ΥΒΡΙΣ) die Waffen stehlen. H. (betränkt) hat bereits die Lanze gepackt und eilt nach l. davon. ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

HYDRA → Herakles 1990–2092

## HYDRIS

(Υδρις) Satyrname (→ Silenos, Silenoi) in einer Vaseninschrift. Von ὕδωρ (Wasser) abgeleitet oder Verschreibung von → Hybris?

1. (= Babakchos 1\* mit Lit. und Beschreibung, = Hera 327 mit Lit., = Iris I III mit Querverweisen [B]) Schale, att. rf. London, BM E 65. Aus Capua. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 370, 13; Brygosmaler; Para 365; Add<sup>2</sup> 224; Fränkel, *Namen* 29. 90c; Simon, E., in *Das Satyrspiel (Wege der Forschung)* 1989) 367 Taf. 1. – 490 v. Chr. – A: Vier Satyrn wollen Hera angreifen, der zweite von r. (betränkt) ist H. (HYAPIE) benannt.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## HYELE

(Υέλη, Έλη, Έλέα, Velia) Ninfa dell'omonima città lucana nell'Italia meridionale.

FONTI LETTERARIE: Υέλη era la fonte vicina al sito scelto dai Focei per la fondazione di Velia (Strabon 6, I, 1 p. 252, *ivi* anche Έλη; cf. Hdt. I, 167). Il nome, mutato più tardi in Έλέα (Strabon I. c., Steph. Byz. s. v. Έλέα, Suda s. v. Έλέα), divenne in latino Velia (Plin. nat. 3, 71; Serv. Aen. 6, 359); l'incertezza nella grafia è giustificata con la preesistenza di un termine indigeno che i Greci avrebbero cercato di rendere nella loro lingua.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Ebner, P., «Della Persephone sullo statere velino e del suo incisore», *RINum* 51, 1949, 3–18; idem, «Le monete di Velia», *PP* 21, 1966, 346–349; Imhoof-Blumer, F., «Nymphen und Chariten», *JArchNum* 11, 1908, 18, 30–33 tav. 1, 30–33; Lacroix, L., «Fleuves et Nymphes éponymes sur les monnaies grecques», *RBNun* 99, 1953, 16; Mangieri, L., *Velia e la sua monetazione* (1986); Ronconi, L., «La ninfa Hyele», *Atti Acc. Patavina* 95, 1982/83, 65–72.

## CATALOGO

Monete di Velia

1. \* AR, didrammi, I 490/80–460 a. C., II 440–420 a. C. – SNG Copenhagen 1523–1528; SNG Oxford 1085–1093. 1095–1098; Mangieri tavv. 1–2. 4, 13–26. 54–55. – D.: Leone a d. R.: Testa di H. con capelli acconciati in *krobylos*, YEAH o YEHTON. Oppure D.: H. come sopra. R.: Leone a d., in alto civetta.

2. \* AR, dracme e frazioni, I 490/480–440 a. C., II 440–400 a. C. – SNG Copenhagen 1530–1534; SNG Oxford 1099–1107; Mangieri tavv. 2–3. 6, 30–50. 52–53. 83–97. – D.: Testa di H. a s. o a d. con i capelli acconciati variamente. R.: Civetta su ramo di ulivo, YEAH.

3. \* AR, didrammi, 415–410 a. C. – SNG Oxford 1094; Mangieri tav. 4, 56–57. – D.: Leone a d. R.: Testa di H. a d., dinanzi tralcio di vite con grappolo e pampino, Φ, YEAH.

4. \* AR, didrammi, 420–400 a. C. – Mangieri tav. 4, 58. – D.: Testa di H. coronata di canne a d., YEAHTH. R.: Leone a d. Etnico.



## COMMENTO

La ninfa H., priva sulla monetazione di alcun attributo personale, è costantemente abbinata ai tipi del leone e della civetta su ramo di ulivo, le stesse immagini che si accoppiano ad Atena quando, negli ultimi decenni del V sec. a. C., fa la sua comparsa sulle monete veline, coesistendo inizialmente con H. e poi sostituendosi del tutto. Poiché l'iconografia di Atena, in età arcaica ma anche con sopravvivenze successive, è priva dell'attributo delle armi e di altri simboli che la caratterizzeranno in seguito (→ Athena pp. 958-959), i Focci potrebbero aver assimilato la dea locale ad Atena. H. avrebbe avuto pertanto natura guerriera, sottolineata dal simbolo del leone, col ruolo di protettrice della città di cui è eponima. Il conio 4 con H. coronata di canne, in cui il nome *YEAHTH* è stato inteso come aggettivo di un sottinteso *ἡγήνη* (Strabon I. c.), ne evidenzerebbe il legame con le acque, l'aspetto ctonio, e il potere sulla fecondità e la fertilità della terra, esaltato dalla costante presenza sulle monete del simbolo dell'ulivo. Tale carattere di Grande Dea risulta anche dalla moneta 3 con H. accompagnata dal ramo di vite con grappolo, simbolo che dai paleo-orientali era consacrato alle Dee Madri, ed identificato con l'albero di vita.

MARIA CACCAMO CALTABIANO

## HYGIEIA

(*Ῥγία*, *Ῥγία*, *Ῥγία* sur I, ion. *Ῥγία*, hellénistique et tardif *Ῥγία*, *Ῥγία*; lat. Hygia; → Valetudo plutôt que → Salus, cf. Thraemer 2786) Déesse de la santé, généralement considérée comme l'une des filles d'→ Asklepios. Personnification d'un concept, H. est de toute façon une création relativement tardive de la religion grecque, et ne joue aucun rôle dans la mythologie. Le seul cadre où elle prenne une véritable existence est celui de la famille d'Asclépios: supplantant très vite non seulement → Epione, l'inconsistante épouse du dieu, mais même ses autres filles, les «guérisseuses» Iasô, Akésô et Panakeia, auxquelles s'adjoint parfois Aiglê (→ Asklepiadai, → Machaon), elle devient dès la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. sa compagne principale et paraît associée à son culte dans tous les sanctuaires connus. A la différence de ses «sœurs», simples allégories exprimant la fonction médicale d'Asclépios, H. incarne la Santé elle-même, c'est-à-dire l'équilibre physique et le bien qu'il procure, ce qui explique qu'elle soit apparue très tôt comme sa fille par excellence, voire comme son épouse (cf. Tambornino 95). Mais cette prééminence qui lui semble donnée a priori parmi les divinités féminines du groupe a conduit depuis longtemps à s'interroger sur ses origines, qui sont loin d'être claires. Car si H., à partir du IV<sup>e</sup> s., fait figure de parèdre sans véritable individualité, il est possible qu'elle ait été d'abord une divinité autonome

avant d'être annexée au culte d'Asclépios, lorsque celui-ci connut vers la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. un développement considérable.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES ET ÉPIGRAPHIQUES: H. n'ayant aucune existence mythologique, les textes qui la mentionnent intéressent essentiellement l'histoire religieuse et l'histoire de l'art, notamment de la sculpture.

Deux séries de documents permettent, sinon de résoudre, du moins de poser le problème de ses origines: l'une concerne sa présence dans les sanctuaires du Péloponnèse, l'autre l'existence en Attique d'un culte d'Athéna Hygieia.

Parmi les offrandes de Mikythos à Olympie se trouvait, à côté d'un Asclépios, la plus ancienne statue connue d'H., œuvre de Dionysios d'Argos (226), dont l'activité se situe dans le 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. Et à Titanè se dressait encore du temps de Pausanias, toujours à côté de celle d'Asclépios, une statue d'H. (227), sans doute acrolithe, à laquelle les femmes rendaient un culte d'allure très archaïque. On a voulu rapprocher ce fait de l'origine sicyonienne du poète Ariphron, auteur d'un hymne célèbre durant toute l'Antiquité (Thraemer 2777; Tambornino 94) où il appelle H. «la plus ancienne et la plus vénérable des déesses». Mais l'hymne d'Ariphron a été composé à Athènes, et n'est sans doute pas antérieur à la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. ou au début du IV<sup>e</sup> (Crusius, O., RE II 1, 846 s. v. «Ariphron»). Aussi le témoignage de Likymnos de Chios (Thraemer 2783; Hausmann 30), qui l'associe non pas à Asclépios, mais à Apollon, est-il en fin de compte plus décisif quant à l'autonomie originelle d'H.

En Attique la situation est à la fois plus nette et plus ambiguë. La consécration sur l'Acropole d'une statue en bronze d'Athéna Hygieia, œuvre de Pyrrhos, dont on a retrouvé la base inscrite (Overbeck, SQ n° 906), même si elle n'est pas due, comme le rapporte Plutarque (Per. 13), à Périclès lui-même, peut être datée du début de la Guerre du Péloponnèse (AM 16, 1891, 153-165). Elle doit être en tout cas antérieure à 420, date de l'introduction officielle du culte d'Asclépios à Athènes (cf. Holtzmann 864). Plutarque précise d'ailleurs que l'autel près duquel avait été dressée la statue était plus ancien que celle-ci, et deux dédicaces des potiers Euphronios (Jdl 2, 1887, 144) et Kallis (AM 16, 1891, 154) paraissent attester la présence d'une Athéna Hygieia sur l'Acropole dès la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. Il reste qu'il ne s'agit pas d'H., mais d'Athéna Hygieia, et qu'il est permis de n'y voir qu'une épiclese parmi d'autres (comme Athéna Niké p. ex.): le texte de Pausanias (1, 23, 4), qui prend soin de distinguer la statue d'H., «que l'on dit fille d'Asclépios» (228), de celle d'Athéna, «qui porte aussi le surnom d'Hygieia», reflète clairement l'embarras où se trouvaient déjà les Anciens devant la coexistence des deux divinités.

Il faut bien dire que cette perplexité est toujours la nôtre, car aucune des explications proposées jusqu'ici n'est pleinement satisfaisante. Si l'on veut, avec Thraemer 2777, situer dans le Péloponnèse l'origine d'H., on admet du même coup sa dépendance étroite par rapport à Asclépios, qu'elle accompagne tout naturellement lors de son installation à Athènes (Beschi,

L., ASAtene 45-46, 1967-68 [1969] 381-436). Mais il est difficile de comprendre comment cette divinité secondaire (notamment à Épidaure, où elle n'aura pas de temple avant l'époque impériale), parvient si rapidement à supplanter Athéna dans une fonction qui lui était depuis longtemps dévolue, au point qu'elle possédait à ce titre sur l'Acropole un sanctuaire spécial. On pourra donc être tenté par l'hypothèse, que retenait Tambornino 94, d'une origine attique: la déesse Hygie se serait alors progressivement dégagée de l'Athéna Hygieia primitive. Mais que faire dans ces conditions de l'H. de Titanè et de la statue de Dionysios d'Argos, certainement antérieure à 460? Le problème ne comporte pas actuellement de solution sûre. Mais l'idée de diviniser la Santé n'est pas si originale (la Salus des Romains existait bien avant d'être plus ou moins assimilée à H.) qu'il faille y voir nécessairement l'invention exclusive de telle ou telle région. Force est bien d'admettre de toute façon que la divinité dont les Athéniens, vers 430, commandèrent l'effigie à Pyrrhos, n'était pas celle qu'avait représentée à Olympie, quelque trente ans plus tôt, Dionysios d'Argos. En la matière seule la documentation iconographique pourrait nous aider, mais on verra qu'elle fait ici cruellement défaut.

Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est seulement à partir du dernier quart du V<sup>e</sup> s., après l'installation d'Asclépios à Athènes, que le culte d'H. connaît, en Attique et ailleurs, un véritable développement. Mais sauf exception - H. est p. ex. associée à Amphiaros dans son sanctuaire d'Oropos (Tambornino 96) et apparaît à Thespies (236) aux côtés de Dionysos et de Tychè - ce développement suit pour l'essentiel celui du culte d'Asclépios (cf. Holtzmann 864-865).

Outre les textes mentionnés plus haut, divers témoignages littéraires ou épigraphiques attestent la création de groupes statuaire réunissant Asclépios et H. En l'absence de description précise, le type ne saurait toutefois en être déterminé, dans les cas les plus favorables, que de manière hypothétique. Ils seront donc regroupés sous une rubrique spéciale en fin de catalogue (226-237). Aucune mention n'est faite, à propos de ces groupes statuaire, des autres Asclépiades (→ Machaon), et la peinture de Nikophanès de Sicyone (238) où, selon Pline, H. était associée aux trois «guérisseuses» Aiglê, Iasô et Panakeia, ferait figure d'exception si son témoignage n'était, comme on verra, recoupé par un certain nombre de reliefs.

CARACTÈRES GÉNÉRAUX DE L'ICONOGRAPHIE D'HYGIE: Sans qu'on puisse savoir exactement à partir de quelle date la «famille» s'est constituée en tant que telle (cf. Blinkenberg, Ch., AM 24, 1899, 294-309), il est clair qu'H. y occupe très vite une situation privilégiée: le relief de Télémachos (4), dès la fondation de l'Asclépieion d'Athènes, la représente seule aux côtés du dieu. Mais elle y est assise, comme sur trois vases, légèrement plus récents, du P. de Meidias (1-3), où elle est exceptionnellement accompagnée d'autres divinités. Qu'il y ait là ou non les traces d'une autonomie ancienne, celle-ci disparaît en tout cas complètement à partir du IV<sup>e</sup> s. H. ne semble pas

avoir jamais eu de temple lui appartenant en propre (contrairement à ce qui est indiqué EAA IV 97, pour Épidaure - cf. Paus. 2, 27, 6 - et Pergame), et l'on peut douter, même lorsqu'elles nous sont parvenues isolées, que les statues d'H. aient été conçues comme telles. Dès la 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. se constitue en effet l'image d'une divinité virginale, qui n'a d'autre fonction que d'assister son père avec un respect mêlé de familiarité: le plus souvent Asclépios est assis, H. se tenant debout à côté de lui, éventuellement accompagnée d'autres membres de la famille. Et même quand elle n'y est pas seule avec Asclépios, H. occupe dans ces groupes, beaucoup plus souvent que sa «mère» Épionè, la place d'honneur.

Malgré la diffusion de son culte dans la totalité du monde antique (Thraemer 2784-2787) et la multiplication de ses images, l'iconographie d'H., privée de tout support mythologique, reste très pauvre: le plus souvent debout, elle est généralement associée au serpent, à qui elle donne à boire dans une phiale, et les seules variations possibles concernent la position de ces attributs et la structure du drapé. Aussi, après avoir donné lieu à quelques créations majeures de la sculpture du Second Classicisme, dont la documentation existante ne permet que rarement de préciser les traits, l'image d'H. se fait-elle de plus en plus banale et impersonnelle. Et ce processus s'accroît à l'époque romaine, aggravé encore par l'assimilation quelque peu hésitante (cf. Thraemer 2786) avec Salus ou Valetudo, qui coexistent d'ailleurs avec une Hygia, au nom directement transcrit du grec. Mais cela n'empêche pas H. de rester jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité l'une des figures divines les plus représentées.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Arias, P. E., Skopas (1952) 122-125; Ashmole, B., BSR 10, 1927, 1-11 pl. 1-5: type Hope; Becatti, G., ArchCl 25-26, 1973-74, 26-42 pl. 12-13: types statuaire; Curtius, L., Jdl 19, 1904, 55-85: type Hope; Delivourias, A./Linfert, A., «La statue d'Hygie dans le temple d'Aléa à Tégée», BCH 107, 1983, 277-288: H. de Tégée; Hamdorf, Kultpersonifikationen 47-48, 105-107; Hausmann, U., Kunst und Heilum (1948) 28-34, 166-168, 175-178: reliefs (= Hausmann); idem, AM 69-70, 1954-55, 144-146, Beil. 50-53: types statuaire (= Hausmann 2); Heiderich, G., Asklepios (1966) 27-28, 58-62, 96-98: types statuaire; Holtzmann, B., LIMC II 1, 863-897 s. v. «Asklepios»; Kabus-Jahn, R., Studien zu Frauenfiguren des vierten Jh. v. Chr. (1963) 45-46, 85-87: types Broadlands et Hope; Koepp, F., AM 10, 1885, 256-266, pl. 8-9: H. attique; Körte, A., AM 18, 1893, 249-250: sanctuaire de l'Acropole; Marcadé, J., BCH 110, 1986, 323-324: H. de Tégée; Meyer, M., AM 102, 1987, 213-224: relief de Copenhague; Μητροπούλου, E., «Η τυπολογία της θεάς Ῥγίας με φίδι» (1984) (= Mitropoulou) (cf. Lambrinoudakis, V., Archaiognosia 4, 1985-86, 189-196); Paribeni, E., EAA IV (1961) 97-99 fig. 126-128 s. v. «Igea»; Stewart, A. F., Skopas of Paros (1977) 83-84: H. de Tégée; Tambornino, J., RE IX 1 (1914) 93-97 s. v. «Hygieia»; Thraemer, E., ML I 2 (1886-90) 2772-2792 s. v. «Hygieia»; Waywell, G. B., The Lever and Hope Sculptures (1986) 68-69.

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## CATALOGUE

Bien que l'iconographie d'H. soit évidemment liée dans son développement à celle d'Asclépios, et en dé-



pit des associations nombreuses offertes surtout par les reliefs, mais aussi par la ronde-bosse et les monnaies, on verra que la reconstitution des groupes originaux est le plus souvent problématique, et qu'il faut bien se résoudre à considérer isolément des images qui n'avaient pas été conçues pour cela. Privées de tout contexte mythologique, celles-ci ne présentent que des variations purement formelles: la posture – assise ou debout – de la déesse, la présence ou l'absence de son attribut principal – le serpent –, et dans le premier cas l'attitude de celui-ci, ainsi que la nature et la disposition du vêtement sont dès lors les seuls critères sur lesquels puisse se fonder un classement des représentations. La documentation consistant dans son immense majorité en copies ou en adaptations romaines de types créés pour l'essentiel aux IV<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., une présentation chronologique eût été à la fois incertaine et peu éclairante. Notre classement sera donc surtout fondé sur des critères formels, la situation historique des types ainsi définis et leurs liens éventuels avec tel ou tel type d'Asclépios devant être discutés dans le Commentaire. Étant donné la nette prédominance de la statuaire, les documents, pour chaque type, seront présentés dans l'ordre suivant: ronde-bosse, reliefs, lampes, monnaies, intailles, peintures.

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## A. Hygie assise

## 1. Avec diverses divinités

## Céramique attique à f.r.

1.\* (= Herakles 2717\* avec bibl. et renvois, = Hesperides 26) Hydrie. Londres, BM E 224. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1313, 5: P. de Meidias; Para 477; Add<sup>2</sup> 361; Burn, L., *The Meidias Painter* (1987) 36-37. 97, M 5 pl. 2b-3. – Vers 410 av. J.-C. – Au reg. inf., Héraclès au Jardin des Hespérides: à g., formant le pendant du héros, une femme assise sur un rocher, vêtue d'un fin chiton, portant couronne et sceptre dans la main g., détourne la tête pour regarder la scène. Au-dessus du personnage, inscr. peinte: YΓIEA (sic).

2.\* (= Adonis 10, = Aphrodite 1266, = Eudaimonia I – avec bibl.) Hydrie. Florence, Mus. Arch. 81948. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1312, 1: P. de Meidias; Para 477; Add<sup>2</sup> 361; CVA 2, pl. 63, 1; Arias/Hirmer pl. 217; Burn, o.c. 1, 97, M 1 pl. 23b. – Vers 410 av. J.-C. – Aphrodite et Adonis entourés d'autres divinités: en haut à dr. H. tenant sur ses genoux → Paidia (inscr.).

3. (= Chrysogeneia 1, = Eudaimonia I 2 – avec bibl.) Florence, Mus. Arch. 81947. ARV<sup>2</sup> 1312, 2: P. de Meidias; Para 477; Add<sup>2</sup> 361; CVA 2, pl. 65, 1; Burn, o.c. 1, 97 M 2 pl. 29b. – Vers 410 av. J.-C. – → Phaon et Démonassa entourés d'autres personnages: en haut à dr., assises dos à dos, H. et Eudaimonia (inscr.).

## 2. En compagnie d'Asclépios

## Reliefs

4. (= Asklepios 394\*) Stèle commémorative de Télémachos. Fr. dispersés. – Beschi, L., *ASAtene* 45-46, 1967-68 (1969) 381-436. – Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. est assise vers la g., mais tournée vers Asclépios, debout à dr., qui la regarde. Sous son siège, un chien couché. On ne distingue pas de serpent.

5. (= Asklepios 98\*) Relief complet. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 109. – Inédit. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?) – Asclépios et H. assis côte à côte, la tête inclinée, vus de trois quarts; H., au second plan, coiffée du cécryphale, tient des deux mains une phiale où vient boire le serpent enroulé autour d'une sorte de candélabre (?).

6. (= Asklepios 259, = Amphiaros 64\*, = Hestia 18 – avec bibl.) Fr. de relief votif. Oropos, Mus. De l'Amphiarion. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – A dr. H. (?) assise sur un rocher; devant elle, lui tournant le dos, Amphiaros-Asclépios debout.

## Céramique

7.\* (= Asklepios 41\* [B] avec bibl.) Cratère bœtien à f.r. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1393. – Lullies, R., *AM* 65, 1940, 21-22 pl. 26, 1-2. – Vers 400 av. J.-C. – A: H. assise à dr. Devant elle, une femme apportant des offrandes. B: Asclépios, couché sur un lit, donne à boire au serpent dans un canthare.

## 3. Seule avec le serpent

## Ronde-bosse

8.\* Statue fr. New York, MMA 03.12.11A (anc. coll. Giustiniani). – Richter, *MetMusSculpt* n° 202 pl. 143 c-d.; Mitropoulou n° 233. – Conservée du bassin à la plinthe; pieds brisés. – Copie romaine d'un original hellénistique. – H., assise sur un rocher, tient un énorme serpent sur ses genoux.

9.\* Statuette. Leningrad, Ermitage A 68. – Waldhauer, *Skulpt* III n° 275 pl. 29; Mitropoulou n° 225. – Fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C., d'après un original hellénistique. – H., assise sur un rocher, vêtue du chiton et de l'himation, tient de la main dr. le corps du serpent qui se love sur ses genoux, et lui donne à boire dans une phiale tenue de la main g.

10.\* Statuette. Venise, Mus. Arch. – Reinach, *RépStat* I 292 pl. 554 (1166); Waldhauer, *Skulpt* III 35 n. 2; Mitropoulou n° 234. – Ép. impériale. – H., assise sur un rocher, nourrit son serpent.

11. Statuette en br. Rome (?). – Thraemer 2791; Reinach, *RépStat* II 1 pl. 300, 8; Mitropoulou n° 227. – Ép. impériale (?). – H. couronnée, assise sur une sorte de tabouret, nourrit son serpent.

## Relief

12. Fr. de relief. Paris, Louvre. – Mitropoulou n° 236 pl. 33. – Fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. assise à g.; sur ses genoux s'enroule le serpent.

## Lampe

13. Londres, BM. Walters, *BMLamps* 1086. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – H. (?) assise à g., le visage tourné vers la dr., tient une phiale de la main g. Contre son épaule g. apparaît la queue du serpent.

## Monnaies

14. AR, Priansos (Crète), IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – BMC Crete 73 pl. 18, 6; Thraemer 2791; Mitropoulou n° 240. – Av. H. (?) trônant caresse le serpent de la main dr.; à sa g. un palmier. Rv. → Poseidon.

15. AE, Béroia (Macédoine), ém. pseudautonomes, III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Gaebler, *Makedonia* I 22. 189; 2, 47 pl. 11, 25. – Rv. H., assise sur un trône à dossier où elle s'appuie du bras g., tient de la main dr. une phiale qu'elle présente au serpent dressé devant elle. Av. Tête d'Alexandre.

16.\* AE, Hiérapolis (Phrygie), ém. pseudautonomes des II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – BMC Phrygia 236, 57 pl. 30, 6; SNG v. Aulock 3626. 3627-3629. – Rv. H. drapée, coiffée du calathos, assise sur un trône vers la g., tend une phiale de la main dr. au serpent qui est devant elle. Derrière elle → Télesphoros. Av. Tête d'→ Apollon Lairbenos.

17.\* AE, Hiérapolis (Phrygie), Otacilia (244-249). – BMC Phrygia 254, 153 pl. 32, 4; Mitropoulou n° 245 pl. 33. – Rv. H. trônant, assise vers la g., appuyée sur le coude g., nourrit le serpent de la main dr. Derrière elle Télesphoros.

18.\* AE, Pergame (Mysie), Élagabal (218-222). – BMC Mysia n° 331 pl. 32, 4. – Rv. H.-Tychè (couronne tourelée) trônant de profil à g., la main g. levée en arrière, tenant un sceptre, la dr. abaissée vers le serpent à qui elle tend la phiale.

19.\* AE, Corinthe, Plautilla (202-205). – Papatzis, *Paus. Korinthiaka* 72 fig. 4; Mitropoulou n° 239 pl. 33; cf. BMC Corinth 89, 674 pl. 22, 11. – Rv. H.-Tychè trônant de profil à g.; devant elle le serpent, dans son bras g. la corne d'abondance.

## B. Hygie inclinée

## Ronde-bosse

20.\* Petite statue fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 299. D'Épidaure. – Schlörb, B., *Timotheos* (1965) 37-39 fig. 37-40; Carouzu, S., *Mus. Arch. Nat. Collection des sculptures* (1968) 101 pl. 38; Mitropoulou n° 210. – Vers 370 av. J.-C. – Courbée en avant, les deux genoux fléchis, la déesse, vêtue d'un chiton transparent, qui laisse à découvert le sein et le flanc g., et d'un ample himation retombant sur la cuisse g., pose le pied g. sur un rocher, auprès duquel rampe le serpent. Manquant la tête et les deux bras.

## C. Hygie debout

## 1. En position d'appui

## a) Sur l'épaule d'Asclépios ou le dossier de son siège

## Ronde-bosse

21. (= Asklepios 38\*) Groupe de petit format. Copenhague, Glypt. 535. – Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsberg-Glypt* 88 n° 92 pl. 7; Arias 124 pl. 9 fig. 33; Mitropoulou n° 222. – Ép. impériale. – Asclépios juvénile, imberbe, est assis sur un rocher. A sa dr. H. debout, les jambes croisées, en position fortement hanchée, s'appuie contre son épaule. Le bras dr. manque.

22.\* (= Asklepios 39) Groupe de petit format. Vatican, Mus. 571. – Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II 602-605 n° 399 pl. 51; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 137; Mitropoulou n° 223. – Ép. impériale. – Même type que le précédent (la tête barbe d'Asclépios est un complément moderne).

## Reliefs

23. (= Asklepios 71\*) Relief entier. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1339. – Svoronos 258 pl. 38; Hausmann 177 n° 140. – Vers 350 av. J.-C. – Derrière Asclépios assis H., jambes croisées, se penche vers lui et s'appuie sur le dossier du siège, à proximité de son épaule dr.

24.\* (= Asklepios 69) Relief entier. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. SK 685. – Hausmann 177 n° 139 pl. 11; Blümel, *KlassSkulptBerlin* 84 n° 100 fig. 125. – Vers

325 av. J.-C. - Derrière Asclépios assis, appuyée au dossier, H., la jambe g. croisée devant la jambe dr. d'appui, main dr. sur la hanche, regarde le groupe d'adorants qui s'avance.

25. (= Asklepios 72\*) Relief fr. Vatican 739. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II 436 n° 260 pl. 53; Hausmann 177 n° 138. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Même type que le précédent, mais le mouvement d'H. est plus retenu.

26. Fr. de relief. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2437. De l'Acropole. - Svoronos 642 pl. 152. - IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., en péplos, s'appuie contre le dos d'Asclépios assis; le siège est une base quadrangulaire sur le côté de laquelle monte le serpent.

27. (= Asklepios 70\*) Relief fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1344. - Svoronos 263 pl. 39; Hausmann 177 n° 137. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Derrière Asclépios assis, vu de trois quarts, subsiste la moitié supérieure de la figure d'H., représentée de face, appuyée du coude g. sur le dossier.

### b) Contre une stèle, un pilier ou un arbre

#### Reliefs

28.\* Fr. de relief votif. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1383. - Svoronos pl. 38, 4; Hausmann n° 74. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. appuyée du bras g. au pilastre du naïskos croise les jambes et tourne la tête vers la partie g. du relief; au milieu, pilier porte-relief et autel. Au bord de la cassure, jambe de cheval.

29.\* (= Asklepios 76) Relief votif. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2557. - Svoronos pl. 172; Hausmann n° 143; Mitropoulou n° 213 pl. 29. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H., jambes croisées, appuyée contre un pilier porte-relief au pied duquel s'enroule le serpent, en présence d'Asclépios assis à g. (seuls subsistent les pieds).

30. Fr. de relief votif. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2508. - Svoronos pl. 154; Hausmann n° 75; Mitropoulou n° 214. - Fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Même type que le précédent: seules subsistent les jambes d'H., avec le bas du pilier et le serpent.

31. (= Asklepios 63\*) Partie g. d'un relief votif. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1330. - Svoronos 245 pl. 35; Hausmann 178 n° 144 fig. 9. - Vers 350 av. J.-C. - Au premier plan à g. Asclépios trônant, vu de profil; au second plan H. de face, dans une position très hanchée, s'appuie du bras dr. à une haute stèle couronnée d'un disque, la main g. sur la hanche.

32. (= Asklepios 64\*) Relief complet. Paris, Louvre MA 755. - Hausmann 178 n° 146. - Après 350 av. J.-C. - Même type que le précédent.

33. (= Asklepios 66\*) Relief fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1333. - Svoronos 252 pl. 36; Hausmann 177 fig. 6. - Après 350 av. J.-C. - Variante du type de 25 et 26: l'attitude d'H. est inversée, et le pilier remplacé par un tronc d'arbre.

34. (= Asklepios 96\*) Partie dr. d'un relief. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1335. - Svoronos 254-256 pl. 36; Hausmann 178 n° 145. - Après 350 av. J.-C. - Autre variante du même type: en arrière d'Asclépios assis au premier plan, H., le bras dr. tendu, s'appuie contre un arbre autour duquel s'enroule le serpent.

### c) Sur un support latéral

#### Reliefs

35. (= Asklepios 360\*) Fr. de relief votif. Vérone, Mus. Arch. Provient presque sûrement de l'Asclépieion d'Athènes. - Hausmann 191 n° 270. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Derrière Asclépios debout, H., vêtue du chiton ceinturé et de l'himation, hanchée vers la g., s'appuie du bras dr. tendu sur un pilier bas, tandis qu'elle porte la main g. à son épaule.

36. (= Asklepios 73\*) Relief entier. Rome, Mus. Cap. 617. - Stuart Jones, *SculptMusCap* 267 n° 113 pl. 63; Hausmann 177 n° 141; Helbig<sup>1</sup> II n° 1374. - Dernier quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A côté d'Asclépios assis à g. de trois quarts, H., vêtue du chiton et de l'himation, le coude dr. appuyé sur un pilier, jambes croisées (la g. d'appui), main g. sur la hanche.

37. Relief fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1365. De l'Asclépieion. - Svoronos 284-285 pl. 50; Hausmann 171 n° 73. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. (?) de profil, accoudée du bras g. à un pilier, fait face à trois dieux assis, dont les deux premiers seraient Poséidon et Asclépios.

38.\* Panneau d'ivoire, deuxième volet du «Diptyque Gaddi» (→ Asklepios 388\*). Liverpool, Merseyside County Mus. M 10.044. - Graeven, H., *RM* 28, 1913, 237-243, pl. 4; Becatti 18-42 pl. 12. - Vers 400 ap. J.-C. - H., en appui sur la jambe dr., s'accoude à g. au trépied delphique; le serpent monte le long du trépied, passe sur le bras g. et derrière les épaules, réapparaissant à dr. où la déesse de sa main levée lui présente un œuf (?).

#### Monnaie

39.\* AR deniers, Mn. Acilius, Rome, 49 av. J.-C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 442/1a pl. 52; cf. Mitropoulou n° 193 pl. 26. - Av. Tête de Salus couronnée de laurier; lég. *SALVS. RV.* H.-Valetudo, accoudée à un pilier, en position fortement hanchée, tient de la main dr. la tête du serpent qui est passé derrière son dos; lég. *VALETUDO.*

### 2. En position équilibrée

La grande majorité de la documentation est ici fournie par la ronde-bosse: en règle générale H. porte le serpent, à qui elle présente la phiale. Parmi les reliefs, c'est essentiellement sur les monnaies, les intailles et les lampes que l'on peut espérer trouver le relief approximatif de certaines créations de la statuaire.

#### a) Jambe gauche d'appui

REPRÉSENTATIONS ATYPIQUES: On classera d'abord sous cette rubrique les types de représentation qui ne sont en l'état actuel des choses attestés que par un seul document.

- certaines:

#### Ronde-bosse d'époque impériale

40.\* Statue. Kassel, Staatl. Kunstslg. D'Ostie. - BrBr 492; Bieber, *SkulptKassel* 29-31 n° 48 pl. 30;

Bieber, *Copies* 49 fig. 173-175; Mitropoulou n° 1 pl. 3. - H. est vêtue d'un chiton transparent et d'un himation qui enveloppe le dos à partir de l'épaule g., dégagée par le chiton, et forme sur le bas-ventre un rabat triangulaire dont le bourrelet supérieur est retenu par l'avant-bras g. tendu en avant. Autour de l'avant-bras dr. s'enroule le serpent, qui devait se diriger vers la phiale tenue dans la main g.

41. Statue acéphale. Tazoult, Mus. S.2. Du temple d'Esculape à Lambèse. - Cagnat, R., *Musée de Lambèse* (1895) 27. 43 pl. 2, 2; Reinach, *RépStat* II 1, 300, 3; Mitropoulou n° 2 pl. 3. - Pourrait être considérée comme une variante du type précédent mais l'attitude est plus hanchée, l'épaule g. complètement dénudée et le drapé beaucoup plus animé. Le chiton, plus épais, est ceinturé juste au-dessous des seins.

42.\* Petite statue. Londres, BM 1388. Du temple d'Apollon à Cyrène. - Huskinson, J., *Roman Sculpture from Cyrenaica in the British Museum* (1975) n° 44 pl. 19. - H. est vêtue du péplos et d'un himation qui forme bourrelet sur la poitrine, de l'épaule dr. au coude g. Les deux bras son fléchis, mains tendues en avant; le serpent s'enroule autour de l'avant-bras dr., la main g. brisée devait tenir la phiale. La tête, rapportée, paraît être d'origine; elle porte un haut diadème orné de rosettes.

43. Statue. Beyrouth, Mus. Nat. Du Nymphée de Byblos. - Lauffray, J., *BullMusBeyrouth* 4, 1940, 27 pl. 4; Kabus-Jahn 73 n. 61. - Ép. antonine. - Adaptation en H., par adjonction du serpent, qui entoure les épaules et descendait le long du bras dr., sans doute en direction de la phiale, d'un type célèbre où l'on a proposé de reconnaître la Sapphô de Silanion: cf. en dernier lieu Vierendeel-Schlörb, *KatSkulptMünchen* II 413-421.

44.\* Statuette entière. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 271. D'Épidaure. - *ArchEph* 1886, 249, pl. 11 à g.; Mitropoulou n° 181 pl. 24. - Sur la base, inscr. *TH YTEIA ΓΑΙΟΣ ΙΑΤΡΑ*. H., vêtue d'un ample chiton à apotygmata, lève les deux bras comme dans un mouvement de danse, tandis que le serpent s'enroule en spirale autour de son corps.

45.\* (= Asklepios 149) Groupe complet de petit format. Rome, Pal. Barberini. - Furtwängler, A., *Meisterwerke der griech. Plastik* (1893) 397 fig. 60; Amelung, W., *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz* (1897) 68-71 fig. 19; Mitropoulou n° 219 pl. 30. - Ép. antonine. - H., étroitement enveloppée dans l'himation, tient contre sa jambe g. un bâton autour duquel s'enroule son serpent; sans s'appuyer sur lui, elle pose familièrement la main dr. sur l'épaule g. d'Asclépios, debout à ses côtés.

46.\* Statue. Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* 775-777 n° 683 pl. 83; Helbig<sup>1</sup> I n° 333. - Ép. impériale, d'après un original du début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Figure féminine vêtue d'un péplos sans ceinture; sur son épaule dr. se pose la main d'un personnage, sans doute masculin, qui se tenait à sa g.; dans cette main, restes d'un serpent. Interprété depuis Amelung comme le reste d'un groupe d'Asclépios et d'H.

47. Statue fr. Héraklion, Mus. Arch. 313. De Lyt-

tos. - Mitropoulou n° 216 pl. 30. - Moitié inf. d'une figure féminine vêtue du chiton et de l'himation; contre la jambe dr. bâton ou tronc d'arbre autour duquel s'enroule un serpent.

#### Reliefs

48.\* Relief entier. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2926. - Svoronos 656 pl. 186; Hausmann 167 n° 8; Mitropoulou n° 176 pl. 23. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Ag., derrière Asclépios qui fait face à deux adorants, H. tient le serpent (?) de la main dr. et semble le guider vers sa main g. relevée.

49. (= Asklepios 100\*) Relief complet en basalte. Malibu, Getty Mus. 71.AA.319. Du Hauran (Syrie). - Downey, S. B., *GettyMusJ* 6-7, 1979, 111-119 fig. - Ép. impériale tardive. - H., debout à g., en chiton et himation, se penche pour nourrir le serpent qui s'enroule autour du bâton d'Asclépios, trônant à dr.

50. (= Asklepios 389\* avec bibl.) Couvercle d'une boîte en ivoire. Sion, Mus. cantonal de Valère. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H., à la g. d'Asclépios, tourne la tête vers lui; elle tient de la main dr. le corps du serpent dont la tête s'approche de la phiale tenue dans la main g.

#### Monnaie

51. (= Asklepios 43\*) AE médaillon, Antonin, après 145 ap. J.-C. - Gnecci, *Medaglioni* II 19 n° 86 pl. 52, 9. - H. à g., tournée vers Asclépios trônant à dr., verse un liquide dans une phiale qu'il lui tend.

#### Céramique

52. (= Eudaimonia 14 avec bibl.) Lécythe attique à f.r. Londres, BM E 698. De Ruvo. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1316: manière du P. de Meidias; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 362; *AM* 32, 1907, 118 fig. 8; Burn, *o. c.* I, 33. 101 (P1) pl. 20c. - Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Eudaimonia assise sur un rocher, entourée d'autres personnages parmi lesquels H. (inscr.) debout, à l'extrémité g. de la scène. La déesse est vue de trois quarts, la tête tournée vers la g. et inclinée, le bras g. relevant le pan de l'himation au niveau du visage, la dr. le retenant sur le ventre.

- incertaines:

#### Reliefs

53. (= Hades 32a avec bibl.) Relief votif. Copenhague, Glypt. 1430. - Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* n° 197; Meyer 212-224 (bibl.) pl. 15. - Vers 420-410 av. J.-C. - Encadrées par deux figures masculines, l'une à g. entièrement nue, l'autre drapée dans l'himation jusqu'à la taille, deux jeunes femmes en péplos, la tête voilée; celle de dr., sur qui se concentrent tous les regards, se présente de face (le visage est arraché) et fait de la main g. le geste du dévoilement, tandis que sa compagne, vue de profil, pose la main g. sur son épaule dr. En l'absence de tout attribut caractéristique comme de tout parallèle iconographique, l'identification récemment proposée des deux personnages de dr. avec H. et Asclépios demeure sujette à caution.



54. (= Asklepios 103\*) Relief entier. Corfou, Mus. - Hausmann 166 n° 4; Fuchs, W., *RM* 68, 1961, 171 pl. 76, 1. - Vers 410-400 av. J.-C. - Face à Asclépios qui lui tend une phiale, H. (?), en chiton et himation, y verse le contenu d'une petite cruche qu'elle tient de la main dr.

55. (= Asklepios 58) Relief fr. Bergama, Mus. De Pergame. - Fuchs, o. c. 54, 172 n. 25; 173-175 pl. 75. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - Derrière Asclépios (?) trônant, H. (?) péplore de face, puisant de la main dr. dans une amphore.

56. Fr. de relief. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1396. De l'Asclépieion. - Svoronos 276 pl. 50; Hausmann 171 n° 62. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. (?) de face, avec à sa g. quatre adorants; le chiton transparent découvre l'épaule g., le bras relevant l'himation à la hauteur du visage (perdu).

57. (= Asklepios 93) Relief fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2417. - Svoronos 641 pl. 150; Hausmann 176 n° 130. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Surface martelée: on distingue à dr. la silhouette d'H. (?), au second plan derrière Asclépios assis vers la g.

TYPE TÉGÉE: La rencontre sur le site d'un torse de grande statue et d'un relief reproduisant le même schéma permet de parler ici de type, tout problème d'attribution étant provisoirement laissé de côté (voir Commentaire).

#### Ronde-bosse

58. Fr. de statue. Tégée, Mus. - Delivorrias, A., *AAA* 1, 1968, 117 fig. 1; Delivorrias/Linfert 277-288 fig. 1-2; Marcadé 323-325. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

#### Reliefs

59.\* (= Asklepios 20\*) Relief fr. Tégée, Mus. 29. - Mendel, G., *BCH* 25, 1901, 264 n° 2 pl. 3 bas; Heiderich 68-70; Delivorrias/Linfert 283-285 fig. 6. - IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. de face, vêtue d'un chiton ceinturé sous les seins et d'un himation qui glisse sur la hanche dr. et forme sur les cuisses un rabat triangulaire, se tient à la g. d'Asclépios, le bras dr. tendu et abaissé touchant celui du dieu, le bras g. replié au niveau de la hanche. Les têtes sont martelées, mais il semble qu'Asclépios était ici imberbe.

60. (= Asklepios 308\*) Relief fr. Sparte, Mus. 580. - Hausmann, U., *Griechische Weihreliefs* (1960) 74-75 fig. 43. - III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Manquent la tête d'Asclépios et toute la moitié sup. du personnage d'H. Le drapé est plus élaboré, mais structure du vêtement et pondération sont à peu près les mêmes.

TYPE AEGION: Ce type bien caractérisé n'est pour le moment attesté que par le monnayage impérial d'Aegion.

#### Monnaies

61.\* AE, Aegion, Commode (180-192). - *NumCommPaus* 84 pl. R XI; Papachatzis, *Paus. Achaika Arkadika* 139 fig. 103, 2; Mitropoulou n° 212 pl. 28. -

Rv. Groupe complet d'Asclépios, assis à g., et d'H. debout à dr., tournée vers lui, vêtue du chiton et de l'himation, abaissant la main dr. vers un autel autour duquel s'enroule le serpent.

62. AE, Aegion, Septime Sévère (193-211). - *NumCommPaus* 84 pl. R X; Papachatzis, l. c. 139 fig. 103, 4; Mitropoulou n° 211 pl. 28. - Rv. H. seule, dans la même attitude que précédemment.

TYPE BROADLANDS: Attitude et pondération sont proches de la statue de Kassel (40), mais avec un vêtement différent: le chiton ceinturé monte jusqu'au cou, l'himation couvre les épaules, passe sous le bras dr. et forme bourrelet sur le ventre avant de retomber sur l'avant-bras g. La main dr. guide le serpent, qui s'enroule autour de l'avant-bras, vers la phiale tenue dans la main g. La tête était légèrement penchée vers la g.

#### Ronde-bosse d'époque impériale

63.\* Petite statue. Broadlands (Hampshire), coll. Palmerston. - Michaelis, *AncM* 221, n° 14; Reinach, *RépStat* I 294 (1181); *EA* 4856; Lippold, *GrPl* 265; Kabus-Jahn 45-46. - La tête est moderne.

64.\* Statuette. Malibu, Getty Mus. 71.AA.280. - Vermeule, C./Neuerburg, N., *Cat. of Anc. Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (1973) 23 n° 46, pl. - Les deux avant-bras sont brisés, mais une partie du serpent subsiste sur le bras dr.

65. Statue acéphale. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. Des thermes de Milet. - *Milet* I 9 (K. A. Neugebauer/Th. Wiegand) 98 n° 2 pl. 26.

66.\* Statue acéphale. Rome, Mus. Cap. 1845. - Mustilli 68-69 n° 10 pl. 43, 174; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1708; Mitropoulou n° 21 pl. 4.

67.\* Statue acéphale. Rouen, Mus. Dép., coll. Campana 25. - Reinach, *RépStat* III 91, 7; Espérandieu, *Recueil* IV 176 n° 3071.

68. Statue fr. Plovdiv, Mus. Arch. - Mitropoulou n° 22 pl. 5.

69.\* Petite statue. Ostie, Mus. 115. Des thermes. - *AA* 51, 1936, 466 fig. 13; De Chirico, R., «Una nuova Igea di Ostia», *BollArte* 30, 1936-37, 518-527 fig. 1-2, 4-5; Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV n° 3039; Mitropoulou n° 15 pl. 4. - Variante: le bourrelet de l'himation est serré juste au-dessous des seins.

70.\* Statue. Paris, Louvre MA 374. - Reinach, *RépStat* II 1, 300, 4. - Variante: le bourrelet de l'himation est remonté très haut et barre la poitrine au-dessus des seins. Tête et bras dr. (avec le serpent) modernes.

71. (= Hypnos/Somnus 147\* avec bibl.) Statue complète. Cos, Mus. Arch. - *BollArte* 35, 1950, 241 fig. 73; Kerényi, C., *Asklepios* (1950) fig. 33. - Variante: l'himation couvre le sein g.; la coiffure comporte un haut chignon bouclé.

72. Statue complète. Rhodes, Mus. Arch. - Konstantinopoulos, G., *Musées de Rhodes I: Mus. Arch.* (1977) fig. 170; Mitropoulou n° 70 pl. 8. - Variante: le bras dr. est nu, l'himation glissant au niveau de la hanche.

73. Statue. Castle Howard (Yorkshire), coll. Car-

lisle. - Michaelis, *AncM* 326 n° 5; Reinach, *RépStat* 290 (1172A); Mitropoulou n° 7 pl. 3. - Variante: chiton à manches, rabat triangulaire de l'himation sur le ventre. La tête n'appartient pas à la statue.

74. Statue entière. Timgad, Mus. Des thermes du sud. - Reinach, *RépStat* III 91 4; Ballu, A./Cagnat, R., *Musée de Timgad* (1902) 9 pl. 2, 5. - Vêtement comme sur 73.

75. Statue acéphale. Guelma, Mus. - Reinach, *RépStat* IV 177, 5; de Pachtère, F. G., *Musée de Guelma* (1909) 31 pl. 5, 5; Manderscheid, H., *Die Skulpturen-ausstattung der Kaiserzeit. Thermenanlagen* (1981) n° 447 pl. 46. - Même vêtement que les deux précédentes.

76.\* Petite statue fr. Vatican, Mus. - Lippold, *SkulptVatMus* III 2, 363 n° 106 pl. 156. - Les deux avant-bras sont perdus (avec les attributs), mais pondération et drapé sont très proches de 74; la tête (coiffure à bandeaux et stéphanè) est conservée.

77. Statue complète. Rome, Pal. Corsini. - Reinach, *RépStat* I 295 (1182A); De Luca, G., *I monumenti antichi del Pal. Corsini in Roma* (1976) pl. 23, 13; Mitropoulou n° 58 pl. 6. - Variante: l'himation passe sur l'épaule dr. et recouvre tout le torse de longs plis obliques qui enveloppent la cuisse g. jusqu'au genou et retombent partiellement sur l'avant-bras.

78.\* Statue. Copenhague, Glypt. 1615. De Minuturnes. - Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 381 n° 545; Kruse, H.-J., *Röm. weibliche Gewandstatuen des 2. Jh. n. Chr.* (1975) 172, 370-371 (D 80). - Même vêtement que 73. Portrait d'une dame romaine en H. Au lieu de la phiale, elle tient dans la main g. un œuf, qu'elle présente au serpent enroulé autour du bras dr.

79. Statuette acéphale en porphyre. Mediana, Mus. Du palais impérial. - Jovanovic, A., *Starinar* 24-25, 1973-74, 57-65 n° 2 pl. 3. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H., l'himation remonté jusqu'au cou, tient de la main dr. le serpent et une phiale dans la main g.

80. (= Asklepios 144, = Hypnos/Somnus 146\* avec bibl.) Petit groupe statuaire. Moscou, Mus. Pouchkine II/a 34. - Hausmann 2, 128 n° 5, Beil. 50, 1; Heiderich 58-63. - H. de face, entourée à sa g. d'Asclépios, qui posait sans doute la main sur son épaule, et de Télésphoros (?) accroupi contre sa jambe dr. Manquent la tête et les mains d'H. ainsi que la main dr. d'Asclépios.

81.\* (= Asklepios 306) Petit groupe statuaire. Anc. Munich, marché des ant. D'Adana (Cilicie). - *EA* 1050; Mitropoulou n° 14 pl. 4. - H. de face tient de la main dr. le serpent, à qui elle présente la phiale de la main g.; à sa g. Asclépios, appuyé sans doute du bras dr. (brisé au-dessus du coude) sur son bâton, autour duquel s'enroule un autre serpent, tient dans la main g. un rouleau.

82.\* Groupe fr. Vatican. - Reinach, *RépStat* II 229, 4; Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* I 106, 151. - H. de face, tête et avant-bras brisés; à sa g. restes de la jambe dr. d'Asclépios et de son bâton avec le serpent enroulé.

83.\* Groupe fr. Beaune, Mus. - Reinach, *RépStat* IV 177, 6. - H. seule conservée (sans la tête) avec la plinthe et les deux pieds d'Asclépios, devant lesquels subsiste la queue du serpent.

#### Reliefs

84. Naïskos à relief fr. Anc. Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts 4748 (disparu pendant la 2<sup>e</sup> guerre mondiale). De Fano. - Hekler, n° 43. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - H. de face, seule, le bourrelet de l'himation remonté sous les seins, nourrit son serpent; la tête porte une sorte de stéphanè.

85. (= Asklepios 134\*) Relief en calcaire. Le Caire, Mus. Égypt. - Hausmann, o. c. 60, 75 fig. 44. - Vers 100 av. J.-C. - Variante: l'himation recouvre la tête d'H. et dégage tout le buste jusqu'aux hanches.

86. Naïskos à relief. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. De Pautalia. - *IGBulg* IV n° 2059 pl. 62 (2060). - II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. à la dr. d'Asclépios; entre eux, Télésphoros.

87. (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 17\*) Relief votif. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. 3431. - *IGBulg* II n° 517. - II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H., à la dr. d'Asclépios, nourrissant son serpent.

88. (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 18\*, = Hégieia [in Thracia] 5) Relief votif. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. 3773. - *IGBulg* II n° 521. - Même type que le précédent.

89. (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 19\* avec bibl.) Relief votif. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. 3429. - Même type que les précédents.

90. Relief fr. De Panagurište, sanctuaire d'Héra. - Kazarow, G., *AA* 44, 1929, 315 fig. 22; Mitropoulou n° 195 pl. 26. - Variante: H., en péplos, lève le bras dr. pour tenir le serpent qui se dirige en ondulant vers sa main g. où se trouve la phiale.

91. Naïskos à relief. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 2491. - Mitropoulou n° 30 pl. 6. - H. avec Asclépios à sa g.

92. Relief d'un autel. Budapest, Mus. Nat. - Mitropoulou n° 29 pl. 15. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. de face, nourrissant son serpent; à sa g. Asclépios, appuyé sur son bâton, tient dans la main g. un rouleau (?).

93. (= Asklepios 121\*) Relief fr. Bucarest, Mus. Nat. d'Hist. L 726. - Bordenache, *ScultBucarest* I 18-19 n° 10 pl. 6. - Ép. impériale tardive. - H. avec Asclépios et Télésphoros.

94. Relief fr. Plovdiv, Mus. Arch. De l'Asclépieion de Batkun. - *IGBulg* III 1, n° 1154 pl. 98. - Même sujet que le précédent.

95. Relief complet. Golenica Bresnica (Bulgarie). - Hausmann, o. c. 60, 77 fig. 45. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (?) - H. à la dr. d'Asclépios; entre eux, au niveau de leurs têtes, Télésphoros.

#### Lampes

96. (= Asklepios 122\* avec bibl.) Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. R603. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. à la dr. d'Asclépios, légèrement tournée vers lui.

97. (= Asklepios 123) Londres, BM. - Walters, *BMLamps* 159 n° 1061. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Même type que la précédente.

#### Monnaies impériales

98.\* AE, Brouzos (Phrygie), Septime Sévère (193-211). - *BMC Phrygia* 111, 6 pl. 14, 3. - Rv. H. seule, en chiton et himation, de profil à dr., nourrit son serpent.

99. AE, Nikaia (Bithynie), Antonin (138-161). -



RecGen 410, 91 pl. 69, 1. – *Rv.* Même type, avec une variante dans le vêtement qui semble être un péplos.

100.\* AE, Corinthe, Lucius Vêrus (161-169). – BMC Corinth 80, 620 pl. 20, 20; NumCommPaus 25, pl. F 117. – *Rv.* Même type, avec Asclépios.

101.\* AE, Corinthe, Plautilla (202-205). – BMC Corinth 89, 671 pl. 22, 10. – *Rv.* Comme la précédente.

102.\* AE, Pergame (Mysie), Maximus César (235-238). – BMC Mysia n° 340 pl. 33, 1. – *Rv.* Comme les précédentes.

103.\* AE Akmoneia (Phrygie), Caracalla (198-217). – BMC Phrygia 13, 63 pl. 3, 9. – *Rv.* Même groupe que précédemment, mais avec des attitudes plus dramatiques.

104. (= Asklepios 309\*) AE médaillon, Lucius Vêrus (161-169). Paris, Cab. Méd. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 48, 31 pl. 75, 4. – Variante d'un style encore plus maniéré.

105.\* AE médaillon Bizya (Thrace), Philippe l'Arabe (244-249). – BMC Thrace 89, 8 (fig.); Jurukova, J., *Die Münzprägung von Bizye* (1981) 18, 71 n° 129 A pl. 20. – *Rv.* Les deux protagonistes du groupe habituel sont inversés pour s'intégrer à une composition complexe. Au centre Apollon flanqué de Téléphoros et de l'omphalos autour duquel s'enroule un serpent, à g. Asclépios, à dr. H., qui pour le regarder tournent la tête dans le sens opposé à celui du type initial; au-dessus d'eux, comme en arrière-plan, deux petites figures, apparemment Tychè et Zeus tonnant (?).

#### Gemmes d'époque impériale

106. (= Asklepios 125\*. Cf. etiam → Asklepios 126-127) Cornaline. New York, MMA 81.6.91. – Richter, *MetMusGems* 79 n° 341 pl. 45. – H. nourrit son serpent en se tournant vers Asclépios qui la regarde.

107.\* Sardonyx. Copenhague, Mus. Thorv. I 523. – Fossing, *ThorvGems* 111 n° 655 pl. 8. – H. seule, dans la même attitude que précédemment, mais vêtue du péplos.

108. (= Asklepios 135\*) Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 236. – Variante: H. ne porte pas de serpent, mais tend la phiale à celui qui s'enroule autour du bâton d'Asclépios.

TYPE TIMGAD: Très proche du précédent pour le vêtement et la pondération, mais le bras dr. se tend vers le bas et s'écarte du corps, obligeant le serpent à se diriger obliquement vers la phiale par de grandes ondulations ascendantes.

#### Ronde-bosse d'époque impériale

109.\* Petite statue acéphale. Timgad, Mus. (réserves). Des thermes du sud. – Ballu/Cagnat, *o. c.* 74, 9 pl. 2, 6; Manderscheid, *o. c.* 75, 122 n° 478 pl. 48. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.

110.\* Statue complète. Dresde, Staatl. Kunstslg. – Reinach, *RépStat* I 292 (1170 B). – Variante: chiton sans ceinture découvrant l'épaule g.

111.\* Statuette de bronze. Londres, BM. – Wal-

ters, *BMBronzes* 1431 pl. 27. – Même chiton que 110, mais les deux épaules sont couvertes.

TYPE TORLONIA: La pondération et le drapé évoquent la statue de Kassel (40), mais le bras dr. retombe le long du corps, tenant ainsi éloigné de la phiale le serpent qui s'enroule autour de lui.

#### Statues en marbre, d'époque impériale

112.\* Rome, Mus. Torlonia 268. – Reinach, *RépStat* I 293 (1175); Mitropoulou n° 114 pl. 13.

113.\* Anc. Munich, marché des ant. (1913). – EA 5025; Mitropoulou n° 115 pl. 13.

TYPE FLORENCE: H. vêtue du chiton et de l'himation en relève les plis de son avant-bras g., sur lequel elle porte aussi le serpent qui se dirige vers la phiale tenue dans la main g. Le bras dr. retombait le long du corps ou s'appuyait sur la hanche.

#### Statues d'époque impériale

114.\* Florence, Uff. 214. – EA 353; Reinach, *RépStat* II 1, 299, 1; Mansuelli, *ScultUff* I 45 n° 21 pl. 25; Mitropoulou n° 189 pl. 25. – Ép. impériale, d'après un modèle du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

115. Paris, Louvre MA 566. – Reinach, *RépStat* I 305 (1170); Mitropoulou n° 186 pl. 25. – Variante: main dr. posée sur la hanche, le serpent s'enroule autour du bras g.

TYPE HÉRAKLION: Pondération et vêtement sont proches du type Broadlands (avec l'himation remonté plus haut sur le buste) mais le serpent, parti du bras dr., passe derrière le cou et descend de l'épaule g. vers la phiale qui était sans doute tenue de la main g.

#### Ronde-bosse d'époque impériale

116. Statue acéphale. Héraklion, Mus. Arch. 312. De Lyttos. – Mitropoulou n° 163 pl. 21. – Manquent l'épaule et le bras dr. ainsi que l'avant-bras g. qui était rapporté.

117. Statue acéphale. Héraklion, Mus. Arch. 351. De Gortyne. – Perali, P., *ASAtene* 1, 1914, 158-159 fig. 8; Mitropoulou n° 164 pl. 21. – Manquent l'avant-bras dr. et la main g.

118. Statue acéphale. Leningrad, Ermitage A 854. – Waldhauer, *SkulptErm* III n° 272 pl. 27; Mitropoulou n° 172 pl. 22. – Manquent les deux avant-bras; le serpent n'est conservé que sur l'épaule dr.

119. Statuette fr. Marché des ant. en 1971 (anc. coll. Melchett). – Reinach, *RépStat* II 1, 801, 1; Curtius, L., *Jdl* 19, 1904, 76 fig. 11; Mitropoulou n° 175 pl. 23. – Variante: le bras g. est abaissé et le serpent devait descendre vers la phiale. Manquent la tête, le bas des jambes, le bras dr. et la main g.

120.\* Statuette. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 272. D'Épidaure. – *ArchEph* 1886, 249 pl. 11 à dr.; Mitropoulou n° 173 pl. 23. – Variante: l'himation glisse sur la hanche dr., découvrant le torse et formant sur les cuisses un rabat triangulaire. Manquent les deux avant-bras.

121. Statuette. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 273. D'Épidaure. – Inédite. – Même type que la précédente.

122. Statuette acéphale. Épidaure, Mus. – Reinach, *RépStat* II 1, 298, 7; Kabus-Jahn 109 n. 13; *Xapitavidosov*, A., *Ἐπίδαυρος* fig. 50. – Même drapé que 120. Les deux mains sont brisées, ainsi que le serpent à g.

123.\* Statuette fr. Athènes, Mus. Acropole 2319. – Ashmole 3; Mitropoulou n° 165 pl. 22. – Variante: le chiton découvre l'épaule dr.; le serpent monte le long du dos sur l'épaule g. et redescend vers l'avant-bras. Tête, bras et jambes sont brisés.

#### b) Jambe droite d'appui

##### REPRÉSENTATIONS ATYPIQUES

– certaines:

##### Ronde-bosse

124.\* Statue acéphale. Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 21687. – Horn, R., *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen in der hellenistischen Plastik* (1931) 85 pl. 30, 3; Mitropoulou n° 10 pl. 3. – II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – L'attitude est nonchalante avec un hanchement très prononcé. Chiton fin, ceinturé sous les seins et montant jusqu'au cou. L'himation recouvre l'épaule et le bras g., enveloppe le dos, la hanche et la jambe dr., retenu à g. par l'avant-bras tendu. Le serpent s'enroule autour du bras dr., mais la main abaissée ne semble pas le guider vers la phiale que tenait peut-être la main g. perdue.

125. Statue acéphale. Worcester Art Mus. 1936. 36. D'Antioche. – Stilwell, R., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* III 116-117 n° 241 pl. 1; Hausmann 2, 130, Beil. 52, 1; Mitropoulou n° 8 pl. 3. – II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Variante, avec une pondération inversée et un drapé plus mouvementé, du type de la statue de Lambèse (41).

126. Petite statue acéphale. Argos, Mus. Des thermes A. – Marcadé, J., *BCH* 81, 1957, 418-419 fig. 10; *idem*, dans *BCH* Suppl 6, 1980, 138-140 fig. 6. – Ép. impériale, d'après un modèle hellénistique. – Peut-être dérivé du type Héraklion, avec pondération et drapé inversés; le serpent monte le long du flanc g., mais n'est pas conservé au-dessus de l'épaule.

127.\* (= Hypnos/Somnus 149) Statue complète. Malibu, Getty Mus. 71.AA.338. – Vermeule/Neuburg, *o. c.* 64, 21 n° 42, fig. – Ép. impériale. – Chiton ceinturé haut, himation retombant sur l'épaule g. et retenu sur l'avant-bras dr. La main g. abaissée tient le serpent, la dr. est levée, tenant un œuf. Contre la jambe dr., enfant nu assis, endormi (Éros?). Coiffure à haut chignon bouclé.

128.\* (= Asklepios 119) Groupe colossal. Turin, Pal. Reale. – Bendinelli, G., *BollArte* 9, 1929, 481-499 pl. 1 et fig. – Ép. impériale. – H. à la dr. d'Asclépios debout: la déesse, vêtue d'un chiton transparent qui découvre l'épaule dr. et d'un himation qui glisse sur les hanches et que retient le genou g. légèrement soulevé, pose le coude g. sur l'épaule d'Asclépios, tandis que de la main dr. elle lui présente son serpent.

129. Fr. de statuette. Belgrade, Mus. Nat. 666. De Stobi. – Grbic, M., *Choix de plastiques gr. et rom. du Mus. Nat. de Belgrade* (1958) 31 n° 50 pl. 61. – Ép. impériale. – Moitié inf. du corps, vêtu du péplos; à dr. de la figure, tronc d'arbre autour duquel s'enroule un serpent. Schéma proche de 47, avec pondération inversée.

130.\* Statuette de bronze. Boston, MFA 1906. 2372. – Comstock/Vermeule, *BronzesBoston* n° 113. – Ép. impériale. – H., vêtue du chiton et étroitement drapée dans l'himation qu'elle retient du bras g., tient le serpent enroulé autour de son bras dr., et une phiale (?) dans la main g. La tête est coiffée d'une sorte de céryphale.

#### Reliefs

131. (= Amphiaros 65\*, = Asklepios 372) Relief complet. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1396. De l'Amphiarosion d'Oropos. – Svoronos pl. 50, 4; Hausmann 168 n° 20. – Vers 320 av. J.-C. – De g. à dr. Amphiaros-Asclépios, le dédicant derrière un autel, H. (inscr.). Celle-ci, vêtue d'un fin chiton et d'un himation qui enveloppe le bassin et les jambes, se présente de trois quarts; dans la main g. elle tient une petite cenochoé, et pose la main dr. sur la tête du dédicant.

132. Fr. de relief. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2421. De l'Acropole. – Svoronos 643 pl. 152; Hausmann 171 n° 66. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. derrière un autel contre lequel monte un serpent. Chiton ceinturé, himation. Le bras dr. est replié sur le ventre, le g. relevé comme pour le geste du dévoilement; mais la tête est brisée au ras du cou.

133. Relief de terre cuite. Sparte, Mus. 6228. D'Amyclées. – *JHS* 77, 1957, Suppl. 13 pl. 1c. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Devant Asclépios assis à g., H. en péplos, de trois quarts, lui présente la phiale autour de laquelle s'enroule le serpent.

134. (= Asklepios 252\* avec bibl.) Relief votif. Paris, Louvre MA 602. – 144 ap. J.-C. – Asclépios et H., côte à côte, nourrissant chacun un énorme serpent; le vêtement d'H. correspond à peu près au type Broadlands, mais la main dr. tient le bourrelet de l'himation tandis que la g. s'écarte pour présenter la phiale au serpent.

135. Relief votif en calcaire. Skopje, Lapidarium 118. – Josifovska, B., *Bodniciz lapidarium arheološki Muz. Skopje* (1961) 63 101, fig; Düll, S., *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens* (1977) 366-367 n° 186 fig. 51. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – H. de face, à la g. d'Asclépios, tient le serpent serré contre sa poitrine.

136.\* Relief votif fr. Skopje, Lapidarium 57. – Vulic, A., *Spomenik* 98, 1941-48, 315 n° 105; Düll, *o. c.* 135, 365 n° 184 fig. 7. – Ép. impériale. – H. de face, flanquée de deux énormes serpents (de celui de dr. seule subsiste la tête) qu'elle nourrit chacun d'une main.

– incertaines:

#### Reliefs attiques

137. (= Asklepios 102\* avec bibl.) Relief fr. Brocklesby Park (Lincolnshire) 10. – Hausmann 166 n° 3 pl. 13. – Vers 415 av. J.-C. – Derrière Asclépios

debout, tenant une phiale, H. (?) en péplos, une petite cruche dans la main dr.

**138.** (= Asklepios 105 avec bibl.) Relief entier. Le Pirée, Mus. Arch. 405. – Hausmann 166 n° 1 pl. 1. – Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Scène de guérison: à dr. du lit, derrière Asclépios, H. (?) en péplos, coiffée du cécryphale. On peut songer aussi à lasô ou Panakeia.

**139.** (= Asklepios 106\* avec bibl.) Relief fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2373. – Hausmann 166 n° 2. – Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?) – A dr., derrière Asclépios, jambes d'une pépiphore: même problème que pour le relief précédent.

**140.** (= Asklepios 60\* avec bibl., = Epione 13) Relief complet. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1388. De l'Asclépieion. – Hausmann 175 n° 121 pl. 16. – Vers 400 av. J.-C. – A dr. d'Asclépios assis sur un rocher, H. (?) pépiphore, de face, faisant de la main dr. le geste du dévoilement.

**141.** (= Asklepios 86\*) Relief complet. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1338. – Svoronos 257-258 pl. 38; Hausmann 176 n° 127. – Vers 400 av. J.-C. – Entre Asclépios assis à dr. et un autel, figure féminine de trois quarts, étendant la main dr. au-dessus de la tête d'un adorant situé de l'autre côté de l'autel: malgré l'absence d'inscription, l'analogie du schéma avec celui de 131 invite à y reconnaître H.

**142.** (= Asklepios 387) Fr. de relief. Athènes, Mus. Acropole 2997. – Walter, O., *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* (1923) 50-51 n° 83, fig. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – A dr. d'Asclépios (?) et devant lui, bassin et jambes d'H. (?) pépiphore.

**143.** (= Asklepios 90\*, = Hera 357 – avec bibl.) Relief architectural. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1425. D'Épidaure. – Hausmann 176 n° 129 pl. 18. – Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Devant Asclépios, assis à g., H. (?) de face, en chiton et himation recouvrant la tête (perdue), le bras dr. levé.

**TYPE MELCHETT:** Bien que la pondération du personnage d'Hygie elle-même y semble mal fixée, les coïncidences formelles qu'elle offre une série de reliefs votifs autorisent ici à parler de type, et à supposer l'influence de quelque groupe statuaire, même si la ronde-bosse n'en a fourni jusqu'à présent aucune reproduction.

#### Reliefs votifs

**144.\*** (= Asklepios 206) Relief complet. La Havane, coll. El Conde de Lagunillas (anc. coll. Melchett). – Hausmann 168 n° 26 pl. 19. – Fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. est à la g. d'Asclépios et se présente comme lui de trois quarts, légèrement tournée vers la dr., la jambe g. croisée devant la jambe dr. d'appui, la main dr. sur la hanche, le coude tendant l'himation qui passe sur le dessus de la tête, et que la main g. vient saisir selon le schéma dit du geste de dévoilement. L'himation enveloppe tout le bas du corps, formant sur le ventre un bourrelet qui laisse apparaître la ceinture du chiton.

**145.** (= Asklepios 250\*) Relief votif fr. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 1208. – Hausmann, o. c. 60, 72 fig. 41. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. à la g. d'Asclépios, tous deux

de face. Même drapé mais pondération inversée, de même que le geste de dévoilement confié à la main dr., avec le coude enveloppé dans l'himation comme sur 144. Le bras g. est perdu.

**146.** (= Asklepios 338\* avec bibl., = Epione 17) Relief mutilé. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1334. – Svoronos 254 pl. 38, 2; Hausmann 167 n° 17. – Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Ag. Asclépios et H. de face, à côté d'un autel dont s'approchent trois adorants, à dr. Même variante que 145; de la main g. H. présente une phiale.

**147.** (= Asklepios 344\*) Relief fr. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1345. – Svoronos 264 pl. 35; Hausmann 167 n° 15 pl. 12. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – A la g. d'Asclépios, moitié dr. du personnage d'H., dans un schéma de groupe très semblable à celui de 144.

**148.** (= Asklepios 205) Naïskos à relief. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2406. – Svoronos 640 pl. 148. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – A la g. d'Asclépios, H. de face, en appui sur la jambe dr., faisant de la main dr. le geste du dévoilement.

**149.** (= Asklepios 249) Relief votif complet. – Hausmann 168 n° 27a; Hausmann 2, 145 Beil. 53, 2. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. à la dr. d'Asclépios, dans la même attitude que sur 145.

**TYPE MÉGARE:** H., tournée vers la g., tient le serpent sur son bras g. et du bras dr. étendu le présente à Asclépios. Evidemment inspiré d'un groupe statuaire (→ 231), ce type n'est pourtant attesté jusqu'à présent que par les monnaies et les intailles.

#### Monnaies

**150.\*** AE Mégare, Septime Sévère (193-211). – *BMC Megaris* pl. 22, 4; *NumCommPaus* 5 pl. A VI; Papachatzis, *Paus. Attika* fig. 309. – *Rv.* H. avec Asclépios; la main dr. tient peut-être une phiale.

**151.\*** AE Prousius (Bithynie), Caracalla, (198-217). – *BMC Bithynia* 202, 5 pl. 36, 3; Mitropoulou n° 103 pl. 9. – *Rv.* H. seule; il n'y a pas de phiale et la déesse semble seulement tenir la tête du serpent. Elle semble vêtue du péplos.

**152.** AE Amastris (Paphlagonie), Marc Aurèle (161-180). – *BMC Paphlagonia* 87 pl. 20, 8. – *Rv.* H. seule; même type que sur la précédente.

#### Gemmes

**153.** (= Asklepios 128\*) Cornaline. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. IX B 1550. – *AGOE* I n° 205 pl. 35. – Vers 60-50 av. J.-C. – H. avec Asclépios. Même schéma que sur les monnaies, mais dans une version plus raffinée: H. tient dans sa main dr. levée une phiale où vient boire le serpent, dont elle tient la queue de la main g. et qui passe derrière son dos.

**154.\*** Agate. Copenhague, Mus. Thorv. I 1606. – Fossing, *ThorvGems* 43 n° 93 pl. 2. – 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. tient la phiale de la main dr.; le serpent ondule derrière sa silhouette.

**155.** Cornaline. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. 541. – Dimitrova-Milceva, A., *Antike Gemmen und Kameen aus dem arch. Nationalmuseum in Sofia* n° 110. – Ép. impériale. – H. pépiphore avec Asclépios; même schéma que sur 151.

**156.** Cornaline. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. 4406. – Dimitrova-Milceva, o. c. 155, n° 109. – H. avec Asclépios; elle porte le péplos et tient peut-être une phiale dans la main dr. Le serpent semble passer derrière son dos.

**157.** Cornaline fr. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. 7903. – Dimitrova-Milceva, o. c. 155, n° 107. – H. seule, en péplos, tient dans la main dr. la phiale où vient boire le serpent qui passe derrière son dos.

**158.** Cornaline. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. – Dimitrova-Milceva, o. c. 155, n° 108. – H. seule, dans la même attitude que sur la précédente, mais en chiton et himation.

#### Plaque de marbre gravée

**159.\*** Izmir, Basmahane 5131. – Ép. impériale tardive (?). – Représentation naïve où le schéma est cependant bien reconnaissable; H. tient le serpent horizontalement dans ses bras et le présente à Asclépios.

**TYPE HOPE:** H. est vêtue d'un chiton à manches courtes et d'un himation qui enserré étroitement le torse de l'épaule g. au genou dr., formant en haut un bourrelet qui dégage le sein dr. Le bras g. retombe le long du flanc, le dr. se tend légèrement vers l'avant pour présenter la phiale au serpent, qui descend obliquement de l'épaule g. en direction de la main dr. La tête est tournée vers la dr. et inclinée vers la phiale. Il s'agit cette fois d'un type très largement attesté; c'est aussi le seul dont nous possédions sûrement la tête.

#### Ronde-bosse d'époque impériale

**160.\*** Statue. Los Angeles County Mus. 50.33.23. Trouvée à Ostie en 1797; anc. coll. Hope. – Curtius 55-85 fig. 6; Ashmole 1-11; Kabus-Jahn 85-87 pl. 15; Waywell 68-99 pl. 47 et fig. 10. – Ép. antonine. – Manquent le nez, les deux avant-bras et la moitié antérieure du serpent.

**161.\*** Tête de statue. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 1085. – Curtius fig. 1-2 pl. 2; Ashmole fig. 11. 13. 15. 17. 19; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2258; *MusNazRom* I 1, 228 n° 143 (J. Papadopoulos). – Ép. julio-claudienne.

**162.** Tête de statue. Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. – Curtius 56 fig. 3-4; Ashmole fig. 20-22.

**163.\*** Tête fr. Athènes, Mus. Acropole. – Casson, S., *Cat. of the Acropolis Mus.* II (1921) 69 n° 1223; Ashmole 1-6 fig. 1-14; Kabus-Jahn 85-86.

**164.\*** Statue acéphale. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 701. Trouvée au Zappeion avec l'Asclépios inv. 702 (→ Asclépios 167). – *EA* 717; Curtius 71 fig. 8. – Ép. antonine.

**165.** Statue acéphale. Cyrène, Mus. 14.425. Trouvée au théâtre romain avec un Asclépios du type Gius-tini (→ Asclépios 162). – Paribeni, *ScultCirene* n° 225 pl. 118.

**166.** Torse de statue. Messine, Mus. Reg. – Reinach, *RépStat* V 128, 1; *MonAnt* 24, 1916, 207 fig. 52; Ashmole 3(g).

**167.** Torse de statue. Mégare, Mus. 78. – Inédit.

**168.** Petite statue. Cyrène, Mus. 14.172. De l'agora. – Paribeni, *ScultCirene* n° 226 pl. 118. – Les bras manquent et le visage est mutilé.

**169.** Petite statue acéphale. Leningrad, Ermitage A 886. – Waldhauer, *SkulptErm* II n° 274 pl. 28.

**170.** Petite statue fr. Héraklion, Mus. Arch. 350. De Gortyne. – Kabus-Jahn 109 n. 13; Mitropoulou n° 155 pl. 20. – Brisée au cou et au-dessous des genoux.

**171.\*** Statuette entière. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 1810. – D'Épidaure. – Lippold, *GrPl* 253; Carouzu, o. c. 20, 161-162; Kabus-Jahn 78-79; Mitropoulou n° 179 pl. 24. – Seule manque la main dr. avec la phiale.

**172.** Statuette. Marché des ant. en 1963 (anc. coll. Lansdowne). – Michaelis, *AncM* 439 n° 10; Ashmole 3(j) pl. 5 fig. 31; Mitropoulou n° 145 pl. 18.

**173.** Statuette acéphale. Sparte, Mus. 471. – Tod, M. N./Wace, A. J. B., *A Cat. of the Sparta Mus.* (1906) 182; Mitropoulou n° 151 pl. 19.

**174.** Statuette acéphale. Sparte, Mus. 806. – Tod/Wace, o. c. 173, 212; Mitropoulou n° 152 pl. 19.

**175.** Torse de statuette fr. Sparte, Mus. 289. – Tod/Wace, o. c. 173, 161; Mitropoulou n° 153 pl. 19. – Brisée au cou et aux genoux.

**176.** Statuette acéphale. La Canée (Chania), Mus. A 49. – Mitropoulou n° 150 pl. 19.

**177.\*** Statuette acéphale. Le Pirée, Mus. 244. – Ashmole 3(k); Mitropoulou n° 154 pl. 20.

**178.** Statuette entière. Brocklesby Park (Lincolnshire). – Smith, A. H., *Antiquities at Brocklesby Park* (1897) 23 n° 58; Mitropoulou n° 160 pl. 20. – Variante: combinaison du type Hope, pour la position du serpent, avec le type Munich pour le drapé.

**179.** Torse de statuette fr. Almyros, Mus. A 35. – De Larissa. – Mitropoulou n° 161 pl. 21. – Même type mixte que 178.

**180.** Petite statue acéphale. Cyrène, Mus. 14.171. – Paribeni, *ScultCirene* n° 227 pl. 118. – Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Autre variante de la contamination des types Hope et Munich: le bras dr. et le serpent sont conformes au premier, mais la retombée du lourd himation sur le bras g. rappelle le second.

**181.** Statuette complète. Rome, Marché des ant. (anc. Pal. Sciarra). – Curtius 71 fig. 9; Ashmole 3(n); Kabus-Jahn 109 n. 13; Mitropoulou n° 144 pl. 19. – Adaptation du type: la main dr. tient la tête du serpent, tandis que la g. pend le long du corps avec la phiale (?).

**182.** Statuette complète. Rome, Pal. Barberini. – Reinach, *RépStat* VI 72, 1; Ashmole 3(o); Mitropoulou n° 199 pl. 27. – Autre adaptation, mal comprise: H. tend la phiale de la main dr., mais le serpent est à ses pieds et elle tourne la tête vers la g.

**183.** Petite statue complète. Leningrad, Ermitage A 837. – Waldhauer, *SkulptErm* III n° 273 pl. 28. – Adaptation incohérente: le mouvement des bras est inversé et le serpent ne se dirige plus vers la phiale, présentée par la main g., mais vers une pyxide que tient la main dr.

#### Reliefs votifs

**184.** (= Asklepios 207\*) Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. M 14.1865. De l'Asclépieion d'Athènes. – Ashmole pl. 5 fig. 33; Hausmann 168 n° 28 pl. 20. – 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – H. avec Asclépios: n'était l'absence du serpent, la figure serait exactement conforme au type Hope.

**185.** Fr. de relief. Corinthe, Mus. S 2793. – Mitro-



poulou n° 158 pl. 20. — Ép. impériale. — Brisé de tous les côtés: on distingue une partie du torse d'H. avec le serpent, et à sa g. la tête de Télésphoros.

186. Véria, Mus. 250. — BCH 73, 1949, 531 fig. 15; Mitropoulou n° 159 pl. 20. — Ép. impériale. — H. à la dr. d'Asclépios imberbe.

187. Calcaire. Argos, Mus. Du sanctuaire d'Athéna Oxyderkès. — Vollgraff, W., *Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythéen à Argos* (1956) 59 fig. 48. — Ép. impériale. — De g. à dr. H., Télésphoros, Asclépios.

TYPE SPARTE: Très proche du précédent pour le drapé et l'attitude, mais le serpent descend de l'épaule dr.

#### Ronde-bosse d'époque impériale

188. Statuette. Sparte, Mus. 6697. — Mitropoulou n° 168 pl. 22.

189. Statuette acéphale. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. — Mendel, *Sculpt III* 10-11 n° 808; Reinach, *RépStat V* 128, 6.

190. Statuette acéphale. Épidaure, Mus. — Mitropoulou n° 168a pl. 22.

TYPE BELVÉDÈRE: H., vêtue d'un chiton ceinturé haut et d'un himation qui couvre presque toutes les jambes, formant sur le ventre un bourrelet en arc de cercle dont l'extrémité est coincée sous le coude g., tend les avant-bras pour rapprocher la tête du serpent de la phiale qu'elle lui présente de la main g.

#### Ronde-bosse d'époque impériale

191. Statuette. Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti 1246 (anc. Belvédère). — Amelung, *SkulptVatMus II* 227-232 n° 85 pl. 22; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 298; Mitropoulou n° 139 pl. 17. — I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — Les deux bras sont restaurés avec les attributs.

192. Statuette acéphale. Rome, Mus. Cap. — Mustilli 88-89 n° 10 pl. 52, 211; Kabus-Jahn 104 n. 106; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1724; Mitropoulou n° 141 pl. 18. — I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — Identique à la précédente, sans la restauration des avant-bras.

193. Statuette complète. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. SK 353 (R 38). De Frascati. — Kabus-Jahn 54-56 pl. 8; Mitropoulou n° 140 pl. 18. — II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — Variante: au lieu de nourrir le serpent, H. le serre contre elle en le tenant des deux mains, dont le geste constitue la seule différence avec les exemplaires précédents; la tête doit être un portrait.

#### Relief

194. Chapiteau de pilastre à relief. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 6690. — *ArchDelt* 20, 1965, Chron. 409 pl. 458; Mitropoulou n° 69 pl. 7. — Variante proche de la précédente: le bras dr., autour duquel s'enroule le serpent, est replié sur le ventre.

TYPE MUNICH: Vêtue du chiton ceinturé haut et d'un lourd himation, H. tient le serpent de la main dr. sans lui présenter de phiale. L'himation enveloppe en effet les épaules et les deux bras, ne laissant dépasser

que la main dr. et recouvrant obliquement le sein dr. et le ventre avant de retomber sur l'avant-bras g., qu'il dissimule complètement.

#### Ronde-bosse d'époque impériale

195. Statuette. Munich, Glypt. 310. De Rome. — Hausmann 2, 130, Beil. 52, 2. — La tête est moderne.

196. Statuette acéphale. Sparte, Mus. 293. — Hausmann 2, 130 n° 6, Beil. 52, 3; Mitropoulou n° 136 pl. 16.

197. Statue fr. Sparte, Mus. 321. — Hausmann 2, 130 n° 5; Mitropoulou n° 137 pl. 17.

198. Statue. Paris, Louvre MA 260. — Reinach, *RépStat II* 1, 298, 5; Charbonneaux, *SculptLouvre* 209, n° 260; Mitropoulou n° 129 pl. 15. — La tête n'est pas d'origine.

199. Statuette acéphale. Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. I 718. De Rome. — EA 5018; Bieber, *Copies* fig. 760.

200. Statuette acéphale. Léros, Mus. Arch. — Benson, J. L., *Ancient Leros* (1963) 14 pl. 13 a-b.

201. Statuette acéphale. Paphos, Mus. 546. De Nea Paphos. — Mitropoulou n° 133 pl. 15.

202. Statuette acéphale. Toulouse, Mus. Saint-Raymond. — Reinach, *RépStat I* 294 (1185); Espérandieu, *Recueil II* 52 n° 931, fig.

203. Torse de statuette. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Proviendrait d'Ephèse. — Hausmann 2, 130 n° 3; Mitropoulou n° 134 pl. 16.

204. Statuette acéphale. Plovdiv, Mus. Arch. — Mitropoulou n° 135 pl. 15. — Variante: le serpent s'avance horizontalement vers le bras g.

#### Relief

205. (= Asklepios 251) Fr. d'un relief votif. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. B 68. De Chios. — Hausmann 2, 131, Beil. 53, 1. — Fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — H. à la dr. d'Asclépios appuyé sur son bâton; attitude et drapé reproduisent fidèlement le type, mais on ne distingue pas le serpent.

#### Céramique à reliefs

206. (= Asklepios 253) Pélikè «oinophoros». Athènes, marché des ant. — Hausmann 2, 129-138, Beil. 43; Mitropoulou n° 111 pl. 12. Cf. *etiam*. → Asklepios 253\*. 255-256. — III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — Adaptation du type: il semble qu'H. tienne une phiale dans la main g.

TYPE PITTI: Semblable au type Timgad, avec une pondération inversée.

#### Ronde-bosse d'époque impériale

207. Statue complète. Florence, Pal. Pitti. — Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* (1875) 14-15 n° 30; Reinach, *RépStat I* 292 (1172); EA 227; Wrede, H., *Die Antikengärten der del Bufalo bei der Fontana Trevi* (1982) 7 et n. 57 pl. 7, 2.

208. Statue. Florence, coll. part. (?). — Mitropoulou n° 104 pl. 12. — Presque identique à la précédente, mais l'himation descend plus bas sur les jambes et le serpent est incomplet.

TYPE CHIARAMONTI: Vêtement, attitude et pondération proches du type précédent mais le bras dr. abaissé, autour duquel s'enroule le serpent, lui maintient la tête résolument éloignée de la phiale tenue dans la main g. L'himation, serré autour de la taille, forme un épais bourrelet.

#### Ronde-bosse d'époque impériale

209. Statuette complète. Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti. — EA 1175 A; Amelung, *SkulptVatMus I* 364 n° 83 pl. 38.

210. Petite statue entière. Rome, Mus. Torlonia 176. — Mitropoulou n° 118 pl. 13.

211. Statuette. Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti. — Amelung, *SkulptVatMus I* 366 n° 86 pl. 38; Mitropoulou n° 120 pl. 14. — Le type est altéré par la restauration des bras, qui a maladroitement inversé les attributs.

212. Statuette. Florence, Pal. Corsini lung'Arno 70. — Dütschke, *o. c.* 207, 117 n° 288; EA 4071.

TYPE NICOSIE: Variante du type Broadlands, avec pondération inversée.

#### Ronde-bosse d'époque impériale

213. Petite statue acéphale. Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. Sal.St. 17. Du gymnase de Salamine. — Karageorghis, V., *Sculptures from Salamis I* (1964) 16 n° 6 pl. 14. — I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — Le serpent qui s'enroule autour de l'avant-bras dr. est d'une grosseur inhabituelle.

214. Statuette acéphale. Vatican, Magazzini. — Kaschnitz, *SculptMusVat* n° 102 pl. 27. — Réplique très médiocre; bras dr. et main g. brisés.

#### Relief

215. Relief votif. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 1079. De Dion. — Mitropoulou n° 26 pl. 5. — Ép. impériale tardive (?). — A la g. d'Asclépios, H., dans une adaptation simplifiée du type.

#### D. Têtes isolées

Par commodité l'on a regroupé sous cette rubrique non seulement les représentations isolées de la tête d'H., mais les documents que les hasards de la conservation ont séparés de leur contexte et qui ne peuvent être rapportés à aucun des types répertoriés ci-dessus.

— Représentations certaines

#### Ronde-bosse

216. Tête colossale provenant d'une statue acrolithe. De l'Asclépieion de Phénéos. — Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., *ArchDelt* 17, 1961-62, Chron. 57-61 pl. 63. — II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?). — Faisait partie d'un groupe d'Asclépios assis (restes des deux pieds chaussés de sandales et fragments de doigts) et d'H. debout, dont seule la tête est conservée. Sur la base, sign. du sculpteur athénien Attalos fils de Lacharès. Type matronal, aux cheveux serrés dans une *tainia*, à l'expression sévère, qui conviendrait bien à une Héra.

#### Relief

217. Haut-relief en médaillon. Toulouse, Mus. Saint-Raymond. De Martres-Tolosanes. — Espérandieu, *Recueil II* 32 n° 892, 10. — II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — Buste d'H. de face, en chiton, avec le serpent passant derrière son cou. Coiffure à bandeaux ondulés et *tainia*; visage juvénile mais sévère, directement inspiré d'un type classique.

#### Lampe

218. Carthage, Mus. 08.30. — Deneauve, J., *Lampes de Carthage* (1969) n° 970. — II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — Tête d'H. de profil à g.; devant elle apparaît la tête du serpent. Type semblable à celui de 217.

#### Monnaies

219. AR statères, Métaponte, 400-350 av. J.-C. — Noe, S., *The Coinage of Metapontum* (rev. ed. 1984) n° 411 (cf. *etiam* n° 412-413) pl. 30-33. — Av. Tête fém. de profil à dr.; sur la «cassure» du cou, inscr. *HYGIEIA*. Chevelure maintenue par une *tainia* qui fait deux fois le tour du crâne, formant sur la nuque une sorte de corymbos. Beau visage pensif de la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., identique à celui des autres émissions contemporaines de Métaponte représentant Déméter. *Rv.* Épi de blé.

220. AE, Pergame (Mysie) II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — BMC Mysia 129, 163 pl. 27, 5; v. Fritze, H., *Die Münzen von Pergamon* (1910) pl. 23; Lacroix, L., *RBNM* 97, 1951, 9 pl. 1, 5. — Av. Tête d'H. de profil à dr.; devant, un serpent. *Rv.* Serpent enroulé autour de l'omphalos; inscr. *ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΥΓΙΕΙΑΣ*.

— Représentations incertaines

#### Ronde-bosse

221. Tête de statue. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 3602. De Tégée. — Dugas, Ch., *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au IV<sup>e</sup> s.* (1924) 117-124 n° 97 pl. 113-115; Stewart 83-84; Delivorrias/Linfert 286-288 fig. 7-9. — 3<sup>e</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — Visage ovale aux traits fins, un peu mous, à l'expression rêveuse; les cheveux tirés horizontalement sur les tempes forment un chignon plat derrière le crâne. La tête était fortement inclinée vers la dr. L'identification avec H. ne repose que sur l'attribution, traditionnelle mais dénuée de toute vraisemblance, à Scopas (voir Commentaire).

222. Tête de statue, brisée à la base du cou. Nicosie, Cyprus Mus. Du gymnase de Salamine. — Karageorghis, *o. c.* 213, 18-11 n° 2 pl. 8-9. — I<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — Visage ovale, très allongé, avec un menton assez lourd; les cheveux sont remontés sur le sommet du crâne et noués en un gros chignon rond. La tête était légèrement inclinée vers la g. L'identification, suggérée avec prudence par Karageorghis, reste une simple hypothèse.

223. Tête de statue, brisée à la base du cou. Lemnos, Mus. Du Cabirion. — Polacco, L., *ASAtene* 14-16, 1952-54, 471-475 fig. 1-2. — 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — Évidemment dérivée du même type que la précédente.

224. Tête de statue, brisée au ras du menton. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 190. De l'Asclépieion. — Koepp



265-266 pl. 8; Polacco, *o. c.* 223, 473-474 fig. 4-5. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?) - Le nez est arraché. Visage assez trapu, aux yeux profonds et écartés, à la bouche charnue et sinueuse, au menton volontaire; la chevelure, mal conservée, était coiffée selon le même schéma que sur le document suivant.

225. Tête entière avec le cou, travaillé pour être encastré dans la statue. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 191. - Koepf 266 pl. 9; Polacco, *o. c.* 223, 474 fig. 6. - Ép. hellénistique (?). - Bien conservée dans l'ensemble, malgré la cassure du nez, cette tête paraît offrir une version un peu affaiblie du type de la précédente; la chevelure, tirée sur le dessus du crâne, se rassemble en un large chignon plat.

### E. Représentations perdues, connues seulement par les textes

L'identification du type, quand elle n'est pas strictement impossible, demeurant en pareil cas toujours conjecturale, et cela quelle que soit la vraisemblance de certaines hypothèses (voir Commentaire), on a choisi de regrouper ci-après, systématiquement, toutes les représentations dont l'existence n'est attestée que par les sources écrites.

#### Ronde-bosse

226. Statue d'H., œuvre de Dionysios d'Argos. - Paus. 5, 26, 2-3. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Faisait partie, avec un Asclépios, de la série de statues, très probablement en bronze, dédiée par Mikythos à Olympie, le long du côté g. du temple de Zeus.

227. Statue de culte de l'Asclépieion de Titanè. - Paus. 2, 11, 6. - V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?) - A côté de celle d'Asclépios, dont selon Pausanias on ne pouvait déterminer la matière (bois ou métal?) parce que l'on n'en voyait que le visage, les mains et les pieds, tout le reste du corps étant recouvert d'un chiton de laine et d'un himation, se dressait la statue d'H. dont il dit seulement qu'elle était semblable, et également difficile à voir tant elle était recouverte par les boucles de cheveux que lui consacraient les femmes. On peut penser à des statues acrolithes, et il est vraisemblable pour des raisons pratiques (mais on ne peut exclure que les boucles de cheveux aient été accrochées au vêtement d'une statue debout) que celle d'H. au moins était assise.

228. Statue d'H. dédiée sur l'Acropole d'Athènes, près de la statue d'Athéna Hygieia, œuvre de Pyrrhos, dont la base inscrite a été retrouvée (Overbeck n° 906). - Paus. 1, 26, 4. - Date inconnue.

229. Statues d'Asclépios et d'H. en marbre pentélique, œuvres de Scopas, qui se dressaient dans le temple d'Aléa à Tégée, de part et d'autre de la statue d'Athéna. - Paus. 8, 47, 1. - 3<sup>e</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Sur l'appartenance possible du torse 58 à la statue d'H., voir Commentaire.

230. Statues d'Asclépios imberbe et d'H., œuvres de Scopas, dans le temple d'Asclépios à Gortys d'Arcadie. - Paus. 8, 28, 1. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Peut-être à rapprocher des groupes 21-22 (voir Commentaire).

231. Statues d'Asclépios et d'H., œuvres de Bryaxis, dans le temple de Zeus Kronios sur l'acropole de Mégare. - Paus. 1, 40, 6. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Le schéma général de ce groupe nous a peut-être été transmis par le monnayage impérial de Mégare: cf. 150.

232. Groupe d'Asclépios et d'H. dédié par Euthias dans l'Asclépieion de Cos, œuvre de Timarchos et de Céphiosdote le Jeune, fils de Praxitèle. - Hérodas (Herodas) 4, 1-23. - Fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Sans doute à rapprocher du groupe 80 et, en ce qui concerne H., de notre type *Broadlands* (voir Commentaire).

233. Groupe d'Asclépios et d'H., œuvre de Niké-ratos, qui se trouvait à l'ép. impériale dans le temple de la Concorde à Rome. - Plin. nat. 34, 80. - Le sculpteur est sans doute à identifier avec un artiste athénien dont l'activité est attestée à Pergame sous le règne d'Eumène II (Fränkel, M., *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, Pergamon VIII [1890] n° 132): 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

234. Groupe de l'Asclépieion d'Aegion, œuvre de Damophon de Messène. - Paus. 7, 23, 4. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - La structure générale du type nous est sans doute transmise par les monnaies locales (61-62): voir Commentaire.

235. Groupe d'Asclépios assis et d'H. debout, en marbre, sculpté par les Argiens Xénophilos et Straton pour le plus important des Asclépieia d'Argos. - Paus. 2, 23, 4. - Début du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.

236. Statue d'H. à Thespies. - Paus. 9, 26, 8. - Le nom du sculpteur comme la date sont inconnus.

237. Statues en marbre d'Asclépios et d'H. dans le temple d'Asclépios à Corinthe. - Paus. 2, 4, 5. - Date et auteur inconnus.

#### Peinture

238. Fresque ou tableau représentant Asclépios avec H., Aiglè, Panakeia, Iasô et «le paresseux» Oknos, œuvre de Nikophanès, élève de Pausias de Sicyone. - Plin. nat. 35, 137. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

### COMMENTAIRE

Au terme de cet inventaire, qui ne prétend naturellement pas être complet mais permet au moins de prendre une vue d'ensemble du problème, on serait tenté de dire que l'image d'H. à proprement parler n'existe pas. Ou plutôt qu'elle ne parvient jamais qu'à une existence relative, sans cesse menacée d'absorption dans la typologie banalisée des figures féminines drapées du Second Classicisme. La première cause de cette fragilité iconographique est évidemment le caractère non-mythologique du personnage. Pas plus que celles de la Paix et de la Richesse, la représentation de la Santé ne saurait déborder le domaine de l'allégorie volontariste, et la seule caractérisation anthropomorphe qui lui soit offerte procède encore de la simple logique, selon laquelle la fille préférée du dieu guérisseur ne peut être que la Santé elle-même. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas un hasard si la première - et peut-être la seule - tentative réussie pour donner un

contenu sensible à cette idée abstraite se situe dans la période qui aboutit aussi à l'étrange chef-d'œuvre de Céphiosdote: il y a entre l'Hygie Hope et le groupe d'Eirène et Ploutos non seulement des affinités formelles (Ashmole 11), mais une conception commune de l'allégorie, humanisée par son insertion dans un univers psychologique et affectif. On verra en tout cas que dès la génération suivante, et malgré l'intervention - dont la documentation existante ne permet guère au demeurant de mesurer l'importance - de maîtres comme Scopas et Bryaxis, la personnalité iconographique d'H. commence à s'estomper et à se fondre dans un répertoire formel largement polyvalent.

Ce ne sera d'ailleurs qu'une sorte de retour aux origines: si l'on ne tient pas compte des statues d'Olympie (226) et de Titanè (227), dont la première au moins était sûrement antérieure au milieu du V<sup>e</sup> s. mais que nous ne pouvons guère qu'imaginer, les premières représentations connues sont aussi peu caractérisées que possible. Mettons à part le cas des statères de Méta-ponte (219) où il s'agit sans doute en réalité d'une Déméter Hygieia. Il reste que sans les inscriptions qui la désignent sur les vases du P. de Meidias (1-3) ou de son entourage (52) on n'aurait aucune raison d'y reconnaître H., et que les reliefs de la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. (53-55. 137-141) demeurent le plus souvent énigmatiques, tant la référence obligée aux types parthéno-niens rend les figures féminines interchangeables. Le premier critère est évidemment la présence d'Asclépios (que l'on confondrait lui-même aisément, dans certains cas, avec quelque «héros attique» échappé de la frise est), mais la provenance (l'essentiel de la série vient de l'Asclépieion d'Athènes), et la situation relative des personnages peuvent être déterminants. Le principe, énoncé par Hausmann 33-34, selon lequel toute figure féminine représentée seule aux côtés d'Asclépios doit être reconnue pour H., n'est toutefois qu'une hypothèse, au demeurant très vraisemblable. On jugera en revanche bien systématique la distinction établie récemment par M. Meyer, 220, entre une Épionè toujours assise et une H. qui serait généralement debout: le fait est qu'un type d'H. assise est largement attesté par toutes sortes de documents (1-19). Divers recoupements donnent même à penser qu'il pourrait s'agir d'une représentation ancienne de la déesse. Pour de simples raisons pratiques on imaginera plutôt l'H. de Titanè (227), dont le corps disparaissait sous l'amoncèlement des boucles de cheveux que lui sacrifiaient les femmes, comme une statue assise; or un type monétaire assez largement répandu à l'époque impériale (14-19) nous transmet l'image d'une H. trônant, nourrissant son serpent de la main dr. tandis que du bras g. elle s'accoude au dossier, dans une posture proche du type célèbre de l'«Aphrodite-Olympias» avec lequel L. Beschi, *o. c.* 4, 432, a signalé que l'H. assise du relief de Télémachos, qui par hypothèse doit reproduire un schéma en vigueur à l'époque de la fondation du sanctuaire, n'était pas sans relation. On s'est interrogé (cf. Hausmann 29-32) sur l'origine de la déesse qui vint en 420 s'installer à Athènes avec Asclépios, mais ce fut généralement pour conclure en faveur d'Épidaure, où pourtant la présence d'H. reste in-

saissable avant le IV<sup>e</sup> s. Il faut bien dire que dans ces conditions la vieille théorie de Körte, qui suggérait Titanè (*o. c.* 249-250), garde toute sa valeur. D'autant que l'étonnante figure, majestueusement assise sur un rocher, portant couronne et sceptre, qui apparaît une fois, vers 410, sur l'hydrie de Londres (1), et que personne ne s'est trop soucié d'expliquer, pourrait y trouver un contexte vraisemblable.

Il est d'ailleurs sans doute significatif que de telles images disparaissent très rapidement pour faire place à un personnage nouveau qui est probablement une création attique, aussi bien du point de vue religieux que du point de vue iconographique: celui de la fille d'Asclépios, debout derrière le trône de son père dans une attitude à la fois déférente et familière (21-27) ou l'assistant lorsqu'il accueille debout un groupe d'adorants (35. 48. 137). Mais il est visible que cette image virginale met quelque temps à se constituer: faute de la pourvoir d'attributs spécifiques (l'absence totale du serpent, sauf peut-être sur 48, est remarquable dans la série de l'Asclépieion), ou d'un vêtement particulier, les sculpteurs de reliefs paraissent avoir choisi peu à peu la voie d'une caractérisation psychologique. Ce n'est pas en tout cas avant le milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. que le maintien modeste et réservé des premiers reliefs fait place à des postures nonchalantes (28-34. 57), voire désinvoltes (36), où semble s'exprimer l'assurance d'être la préférée du père de famille. Le rythme de ces figures, qui par certains aspects - le bras levé notamment, qui en garantit l'équilibre - ne peuvent guère passer pour les reproductions directes d'un type statuaire, évoque toutefois de manière si frappante le Pothos de Scopas que l'on ne peut s'empêcher de penser au groupe de Gortys d'Arcadie (230). A la différence des statues de Tégée (229) qui étaient placées de part et d'autre de l'effigie archaïque d'Athéna, celles de Gortys pouvaient constituer une composition unitaire dans laquelle H. debout s'appuyait contre l'épaule d'Asclépios assis, et dont les deux groupes de Copenhague et du Vatican (21-22) nous conservent peut-être, au moins pour l'essentiel, la structure. Le premier, que l'on s'accorde à considérer comme le plus fidèle à l'original (Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsberg Glypt 88*), présente un Asclépios imberbe, ce qui était précisément le cas de celui de Scopas. L'identification reste donc fort séduisante; et elle expliquerait la rapide diffusion, sous des formes plus ou moins adaptées, de ce type de figure aux jambes croisées, en appui latéral, dans l'iconographie d'H. vers le milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. Que le groupe entier n'ait pas été reproduit ne doit pas étonner: les sculpteurs de reliefs pratiquaient de toute façon un large éclectisme, et l'Asclépios trônant auquel ils associent régulièrement H. s'inspire directement de la statue chryséléphantine de Thrasymédès de Paros (Holtzmann 891) qui était seule dans le temple d'Épidaure (Paus. 2, 27, 2). Il est évident que ce type barbu et paternel convenait mieux que le type imberbe (à propos duquel on ne peut s'empêcher d'évoquer l'hypothèse jadis avancée par Körte 250 n. 3, d'une H. péloponnésienne épouse d'Asclépios) à l'image nouvelle qu'à Athènes on entendait donner de la relation entre les deux divinités. Au demeurant, même si cette série

de figures appuyées trouve bien son origine dans une création scopasique, il s'agit toujours d'adaptations libres où purent se combiner diverses influences. La plus éloignée du modèle, que présentent les reliefs 31 et 32, a d'ailleurs été justement rapprochée d'une tête de statue trouvée à l'Asclépieion d'Athènes (224), dont le style renverrait plutôt à Léocharès qu'à Scopas.

Cet effort constant pour créer une image d'H., qui marque en Attique toute la première moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s., a dû de toute façon susciter bien d'autres créations de la statuaire que celles dont les textes anciens nous ont conservé la trace. A part la petite statue d'Épidaure 20, certainement due à l'atelier de Timothéos, mais qui reste étrangement isolée, le type Hope (160-187) en est la preuve la plus éclatante: car il est à la fois le plus réussi, l'un des mieux diffusés et sans doute le plus difficile à attribuer à un maître, voire à un atelier connus. Étudié par Curtius, qui évoquait la statue de Scopas à Tégée, puis par Ashmole, qui croyait reconnaître l'original dans une tête fragmentaire de l'Acropole et le rapprochait de l'Eirène de Céphiosodote, le type a été plus souvent considéré comme une création péloponnésienne (cf. Kabus-Jahn 85-87), peut-être sortie du même atelier de bronziers – et vers la même époque, c'est-à-dire dans le premier quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. – que l'original de l'Asclépios Giustini (cf. Holtzmann 894). Si vraiment, comme le supposait K. A. Neugebauer (78. *BerlWPr* 1921), le type Giustini nous transmet l'image de la statue de culte de l'Asclépieion d'Athènes, il est tentant dans ces conditions de lui adjoindre l'«Hygie Hope», dont le type apparaît à ses côtés sur le relief de Cambridge 184, et dont deux répliques au moins (164-165) lui sont associées par leur lieu de trouvaille. C'était d'ailleurs la solution retenue par Neugebauer (*FuF* 10, 1934, 109), mais elle a généralement suscité plus que des réserves. Kabus-Jahn 86-87, tout en admettant le principe d'une origine commune, considèrerait le type Hope comme un peu plus récent et l'attribuait à un maître différent. Heiderich, 28, contestait le rapprochement et proposait de voir dans l'Asclépios Giustini la réplique d'une statue isolée, œuvre de Colotès, mentionnée par Strabon (8, 3, 4 p. 337) à Cylène d'Élide. H. von Steuben enfin (Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1774) soulignait la fragilité de la thèse péloponnésienne comme les incertitudes de la chronologie, et situait la création de l'Asclépios à Athènes vers 350. B. Vierendeel-Schlörb, qui a dernièrement repris toute la question (*KatSkulptMünchen* II 216-224), aboutit à l'hypothèse – vraiment bien subtile – d'un sculpteur venu du nord-est du Péloponnèse travailler à Athènes dans un atelier attique proche de Céphiosodote: encore qu'un peu inattendue, la comparaison qu'elle établit entre l'Asclépios Giustini et l'Eirène n'est pas du tout gratuite, et bien qu'elle écarte catégoriquement (o. c. 223 n. 20) l'H. Hope du dossier en l'attribuant à Naucydès, on ne pourra s'empêcher de constater que le rapprochement avec Céphiosodote nous ramène en fait, par un détour singulier, aux premières intuitions d'Ashmole concernant le style de celle-ci. L'hypothèse d'une double création attique, dans le style classicisant qui se développe vers 380-370 en réaction contre les excès du «style riche», et sans doute destinée

au nouvel Asclépieion, apparaît donc en fin de compte comme la plus simple et la plus plausible. Mais il va de soi que la question reste ouverte, et il est probable que, comme l'Asclépios qui lui était peut-être associé, cette figure gracieuse et sobre, qui est sans nul doute l'une des créations majeures de la première moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s., l'une des rares images d'H. en tout cas où le serpent, par son intégration à la fois rigoureuse et sensible à la composition, apparaisse vraiment comme un animal familier, non comme un attribut rapporté, n'a pas fini d'alimenter les controverses.

Il est d'autant plus décevant de devoir la laisser dans l'anonymat que dans les cas où la tradition littéraire nous a transmis des noms de sculpteurs, la documentation archéologique est au contraire pauvre ou incertaine. S'il paraît à peu près assuré que le groupe reproduit sur les monnaies de Mégare (150) nous renvoie en gros l'image des statues de Bryaxis (231), l'absence de répliques précises ne permet pas d'en dire beaucoup plus. Le seul document relativement ancien qui puisse se rapporter à ce groupe (153) est d'un style précieux qui trahit la réélaboration néo-classique, et il n'est pas exclu qu'il ait subi l'influence d'un autre groupe, celui dont le Diptyque Gaddi (38), à la fin de l'Antiquité, reproduit encore l'image avec une étonnante précision. Adjoignant à un Asclépios du type Pitti (Holtzmann 895) une H. accoudée dérivée du schéma de l'Aphrodite à la tortue, ce groupe a été identifié de manière convaincante par G. Heiderich, 96-98, avec l'œuvre de Nikératos (233), créée à Pergame dans la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., puis transportée à Rome où elle se trouvait au temps de Plinius dans le Temple de la Concorde: le fait qu'une H. accoudée semblable à l'H. Gaddi se retrouve sur des monnaies romaines de la fin de la République (39) ne peut évidemment que renforcer la vraisemblance de cette hypothèse. Mais il est permis de se demander si certains des traits caractéristiques du groupe de Nikératos – notamment la position des deux personnages, tournés l'un vers l'autre, et le motif du serpent passant derrière le dos d'H. et repris par la main dr. levée – n'étaient pas empruntés à l'œuvre de Bryaxis: une série de gemmes thraces (154-157), où H. n'est pas accoudée mais tient le serpent à peu près comme sur le Diptyque Gaddi, nous transmet peut-être plus directement qu'aucun autre document la structure du groupe de Mégare.

Il n'est pas certain qu'on puisse en dire autant du relief de Tégée (59) où Heiderich 68-69, puis Delivrias/Linfert 283-288, ont proposé de retrouver l'image des statues de Scopas (229). S'il faut y voir une reproduction fidèle, comme le pensent Delivrias et Linfert, puisque c'est sur son seul témoignage qu'ils fondent leur identification du torse 58 comme un fragment de l'original, le moins que l'on puisse dire est que le maître parien n'avait pas mis dans cette création beaucoup de son tumultueux génie. Et il est difficile de ne pas partager le scepticisme exprimé par Marcadé 323-324. Mais ce relief, même s'il est relativement ancien, est de facture très médiocre et ne nous renvoie sans doute que le reflet simplifié et banalisé de modèles dont un relief fragmentaire de Sparte, datable

du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (60), suggère qu'ils ont pu être sensiblement plus animés. Il resterait à savoir si l'Asclépios – du type Museo Nuovo, généralement tenu (cf. Holtzmann 896) pour une adaptation éclectique du début de l'époque hellénistique – qui y figure peut au moins dériver d'une création de Scopas: ce n'est pas évident. Et quant à la figure d'H., dont le buste est perdu, elle n'apporte rien de plus au dossier, dont la pièce maîtresse est en fin de compte le torse 58. Étant entendu que le relief 59 n'a d'autre valeur qu'iconographique, seule une confrontation stylistique de ce fragment avec les sculptures du temple paraît en effet pouvoir fonder son attribution à Scopas, qui demeure séduisante, mais malheureusement peu démontrable. Quant à la fameuse tête du Musée National (221), on nous permettra de ne la mentionner ici que pour mémoire: comme son identification avec l'H. de Scopas, dont Ch. Dugas d'emblée avait montré la gratuité, semble avoir la vie dure, il convient de redire ici nettement, après Stewart 83, que ce type d'Aphrodite praxitélisante n'a strictement rien à voir, ni à Tégée, ni ailleurs, avec ce que nous connaissons de l'œuvre du maître.

À côté de l'H. Hope, dont le type Sparte (188-190) paraît être une simple variante, il faut peut-être situer, parmi les créations anonymes de la première moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s., le type Florence (114-115), faiblement attesté mais dont G. Mansuelli, *ScultUffl* 45, soulignait la relation étroite avec l'Eirène de Céphiosodote. Quant aux statues isolées comme 40, qui reprend fidèlement le type de l'Héra Borghèse, ou 42, qui paraît reproduire un prototype des environs de 360 (cf. p. ex. Süsserott, H. K., *Griech. Plastik des 4. Jh. v. Chr.* [1938] pl. 4, 1), il est évidemment malaisé de dire s'il s'agit de tentatives anciennes, demeurées sans lendemain, ou d'adaptations ponctuelles dues aux ateliers de copistes romains. On penchera plutôt pour la seconde hypothèse, car l'H. de Byblos (43) nous donne un clair exemple de ces détournements de types. Le cas du type Torlonia (112-113) est moins simple: attitude et pondération évoquent là encore l'Héra Borghèse, mais avec un drapé qui ne trouverait guère de parallèles avant les environs de 330. Peut-être faut-il y voir la création d'un atelier conservateur de la seconde moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s.

C'est en tout cas dans le troisième quart du siècle que l'on placera l'apparition du type Melchett (144-149), dont il est difficile de savoir s'il est le reflet d'un groupe statuaire, dont l'Asclépios aurait été une réédition du type Giustini, ou s'il procède seulement de l'éclectisme des sculpteurs de reliefs. Le type Héraklion (116-123), dont les diverses variantes doivent s'échelonner durant la même période, doit dériver quant à lui d'un prototype qui s'efforçait de renouveler le motif du serpent tout en demeurant dans l'esprit du type Hope; mais la diversité de ses répliques montre suffisamment qu'il ne parvint pas à s'imposer, submergé sans doute, dès le début du dernier quart du siècle, par l'énorme succès du type Broadlands.

Largelement attesté par toutes les catégories de documents (63-108) et inlassablement reproduit jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité, celui-ci faisait évidemment partie d'un groupe, et il est d'ailleurs régulièrement associé à

un même type d'Asclépios dont le modèle est le type Éleusis (Holtzmann 894), bien daté par la dédicace d'Épicratès des environs de 320 et considéré comme une adaptation du type Giustini dans le style praxitélisant. La figure d'H., en dépit de son élégance (que seules quelques répliques laissent entrevoir), n'est elle-même qu'une variante d'un type connu par une statue de New York (Richter, *MetMusSculpt* n° 126 pl. 96), datable des environs de 330 (Kabus-Jahn 44), dont rien n'autorise à penser qu'il avait été conçu pour représenter H. L'intervention du sculpteur a donc surtout consisté à modifier légèrement le mouvement des bras pour ajouter le serpent. Il n'est pas sans intérêt de savoir que cet habile adaptateur était probablement, comme l'a établi Heiderich 58-63, l'un des fils de Praxitèle: l'analyse du groupe de Moscou (80) permet en effet d'y voir une reproduction fidèle du groupe sculpté par Timarchos et Céphiosodote le Jeune pour le sanctuaire de Cos (232). Le style des meilleures répliques comme la date qu'imposent aussi bien la dédicace d'Épicratès que la dépendance par rapport à la statue de New York – les environs de 320 – conviennent parfaitement, et cette identification, qui peut être tenue pour pratiquement acquise, permet de comprendre la popularité considérable et la vaste diffusion des deux types. Elle rend compte également du nombre particulièrement important des types d'H. qui ne s'expliquent guère que comme des adaptations plus ou moins réussies du type Broadlands, et dont la création peut n'être pas postérieure à la première moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s.: les types *Belvédère* (191-194), *Nicosie* (213-215), *Timgad* (109-111), *Pitti* (207-208) et *Chiaramonti* (209-212) ne sont en effet qu'autant de variations sur la pondération et sur la position du bras dr., et donc du serpent par rapport à la phiale, dans un cadre général qui reste celui du type Broadlands.

La fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. allait cependant connaître encore une création relativement originale, en tout cas indépendante de la série issue du groupe de Cos. Le type Munich (195-206), défini par Hausmann 2, 129-138, présente un drapé très particulier où l'himation recouvre complètement la main g. Ce motif, qui se retrouve sur la quasi-totalité des répliques, est certainement d'origine (la présence d'un trou de goujon sur l'un des exemplaires, 196, ne suffit pas à prouver, comme le voulait Hausmann, l'existence primitive d'une phiale) et constitue une variation importante par rapport au thème traditionnel d'H. nourricière. Mais le fait est en lui-même significatif d'une iconographie dépourvue de substance: le serpent ne joue plus ici que le rôle d'un attribut, d'un simple signe permettant de reconnaître H. au milieu d'une série de figures féminines drapées dont elle ne se distinguerait pas autrement. L'association de ce type avec un Asclépios sur un relief de Bonn (205), en un groupe d'ailleurs harmonieux, invitait *a priori* à chercher une identification possible. Mais l'Asclépios du relief paraît reproduire là encore le type Éleusis: il est donc probable qu'il s'agit seulement d'une composition éclectique et que l'on doit renoncer, comme le faisait sagement Hausmann, à mettre un nom de sculpteur derrière cette ultime création du IV<sup>e</sup> s.



Il faut attendre ensuite, semble-t-il, un bon siècle pour voir apparaître de véritables créations. Le type *Aegion* (61-62) reflète sans nul doute le groupe de Damophon de Messène (234), mais la documentation, étrangement limitée aux monnaies locales, ne nous en laisse apercevoir que la structure générale. Notons seulement qu'il revenait à un schéma courant sur les reliefs attiques de la première moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. : Asclépios trônant, H. debout devant un autel. C'était aussi le cas des statues de l'Asclépieion d'Argos, dues à Xénophilos et Straton (235), dont Pausanias donne une description assez précise, mais que l'on n'a pu jusqu'à présent mettre en relation avec aucun des documents livrés par la fouille : pas plus que l'Asclépios imberbe trouvé en 1972 (→ Asklepios 31\*), notre H. 126, qui semble être une sorte de variante du type Héraklion, ne peut en être rapprochée. En tout cas l'impressionnante trouvaille de Phénéos (216) est venue compléter cette série péloponnésienne : le groupe colossal d'Attalos comportait lui aussi un Asclépios assis et une H. debout, dont la tête est l'un des rares documents sûrs que nous possédions en la matière. On ne jugera pas indifférent qu'au II<sup>e</sup> s. encore cette H. arcadienne soit d'un type matronal affirmé, dont quelques documents isolés (217-218) paraissent d'ailleurs attester la longue fortune en Occident à l'époque impériale. L'inspiration des milieux pergaméniens semble avoir été tout autre : un type monétaire du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. montre une tête d'H. à l'expression juvénile et souriante (220), et on a vu que très probablement le Diptyque Gaddi nous renvoyait fidèlement l'image du groupe de Nikératos, où les références au Classicisme attique de la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s., notamment à l'iconographie d'Aphrodite, sont sensibles. En revanche le drapé tumultueux des deux statues isolées de Lambèse (41) et surtout d'Antioche (125) paraît refléter l'existence, dans la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s., de réinterprétations purement pergaméniennes des schémas légués par le IV<sup>e</sup> s. finissant. Elles forment un frappant contraste avec la curieuse statue de Syracuse (124), dont la pose alanguie et le drapé linéaire trahissent l'adaptation classicisante des mêmes schémas, en milieu attique vraisemblablement, et au moins cinquante ans plus tard. Il reste que ce ne sont pas ces variations hellénistiques qui assurent à l'inconsistant personnage d'H. sa surprenante longévité iconographique : les images du couple protecteur qui s'imposeront jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité à la conscience populaire, et dont témoignent de manière si frappante les reliefs et les gemmes thraces (88-95. 154-155) ainsi que l'extraordinaire stèle gravée d'Izmir (159), étaient déjà fixées avant la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

FRANCIS CROISSANT

## HYGIEIA (IN THRACIA)

Le culte d'H., toujours associée à Asclépios (→ Asklepios [in Thracia]) et parfois aussi à → Telesphoros, est bien attesté en Thrace à l'époque impériale, surtout

dans l'ouest du pays. Les effigies d'H. sur les monnaies frappées par les grandes villes des deux provinces de Thrace et de Mésie Inférieure suivent les types iconographiques gréco-romains (p. ex. à Bizya : → Hygieia 105), et c'est uniquement sur les reliefs votifs que l'on peut reconnaître des traits originaux, propres à la Thrace. Dans les inscriptions, qui proviennent des grands sanctuaires du pays tout entier, le nom des deux divinités est souvent suivi d'une épithète régionale ou locale : *Zusōrhnoi*, *Zumōrhnoi*, *Σαλδηνοί*.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE : Cončev (Tsončev), D., *Le sanctuaire thrace près de Batkun* (1941); Dobruski, V., *AIM* 1, 1907, 3-86; Düll, S., *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens* (1977) n° 182-200; Ljubenova, V., *Svetilišteto pri Pernik, Sanctuaria Thracorum, Monumenta Thraciae antiquae* II (1980) 15-84.

## CATALOGUE

### I. Iconographie d'inspiration gréco-romaine

#### A. Hygie seule

1. Statue en marbre. Pernik, Mus. Hist. 671. Du sanctuaire thrace près de Pernik. - Ljubenova 130-131 fig. 147-148. - II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. debout, la tête légèrement tournée à g., la jambe dr. en faible retrait et fléchie au genou (long chiton dénudant l'épaule dr., himation passant autour du corps et rejeté sur l'épaule et la main g.). Autour de l'avant-bras dr. s'enroule un serpent.

Cf. *etiam* des statues et statuettes : → Hygieia 68 (type Broadlands). 204; des gemmes avec H. seule : → Hygieia 157-158.

#### B. Hygie et Asclépios

2. (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 9 avec bibl.) Relief votif en marbre. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. 3434. Du sanctuaire thrace de Glava Panega. - II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. debout de face (long chiton ceinturé, himation enveloppant le bas du corps, passant dans le dos et revenant sur l'épaule et le bras g.), tenant de la main g. une phiale vers laquelle un serpent, enroulé autour de l'avant-bras dr., tend la tête. A dr. Asclépios debout. Inscr.

Cf. *etiam* des gemmes : → Hygieia 155-156.

#### C. Hygie, Asclépios et Télesphore

Reliefs votifs en marbre

3.\* (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 15 avec bibl.) Varna, Mus. Arch. II 1462. De Bjelopoljane (dép. Kărdžali). - II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. debout comme ci-dessus; à dr. Asclépios, au milieu Télesphore et, au-dessus de sa tête, un grand serpent enroulé. Dans les angles inf. deux petites figures masculines. Inscr. grecque.

4.\* (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 16 avec bibl.) Kjustendil, Mus. 13. De Kjustendil. - II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - H. debout comme ci-dessus; à dr. Asclépios, au milieu

Télesphore. Dédicace *KYPIOIS [ΑΣΚΛΗ]ΠΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΥΓΕΙΑ*.

Un grand nombre de reliefs provenant du sanctuaire de Glava Panega portent des représentations analogues (cf. Dobruski), qui sont très rares en revanche dans les sanctuaires de Batkun (cf. Cončev) et de Pernik (cf. Ljubenova).

5. (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 18\*, = Hygieia 88 - avec bibl.) Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. 3773. Du sanctuaire thrace de Glava Panega. - Ag. H. selon le schéma habituel, à dr. Asclépios; en haut, entre leurs têtes, le petit Télesphore. Dans l'angle inf. dr., une sphère. On retrouve le même schéma sur quelques reliefs provenant du sanctuaire de Batkun (cf. Cončev) : → Hygieia 94.

Cf. *etiam* des reliefs votifs : → Hygieia 86-87 (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 17\*). 89 (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 19\*). 90. 94-95; une monnaie de Bizya : → Hygieia 105.

### II. Iconographie thrace

#### A. Asclépios, Hygie et le Cavalier thrace (→ Heros equitans)

6. (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 23 avec bibl.) Relief votif en marbre. Plovdiv, Mus. Arch. D'Isvorovo (dép. Stara Zagora). - II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Dans la partie dr. du relief, Asclépios à dr. et H. à g., représentés de la manière habituelle. Dans la partie g. un Cavalier thrace s'avance vers la dr., tenant une patère dans la main dr. Au centre, entre H. et le Cavalier, un autel enflammé.

#### B. Cavalier thrace avec dédicace à Hygie et Asclépios

7. (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 28\* avec bibl.) Relief votif en marbre. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. 3425. Du sanctuaire thrace de Glava Panega. - II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Cavalier thrace allant vers la dr. Devant le cheval un autel, derrière lui un arbre autour duquel s'enroule un serpent; à dr. une femme debout de face, vêtue d'un chiton deux fois ceinturé. Dédicace *KYPIOI AΣKΛHΠIΩ KAI YΓEIA ΣOΛAΔHNOIS*...

8. (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 27 avec bibl.) Relief votif en marbre. Plovdiv, Mus. Arch. 2284. Du sanctuaire de Batkun. - II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Cavalier thrace s'avancant vers la dr. Devant le cheval une femme debout de face, vêtue d'un long chiton et d'un himation, la tête voilée. Dédicace *AΣKΛHΠIΩ ZYAMYZAPHNΩ*.

Représentation analogue sur un relief de Batkun : Cončev 45 n° 6 fig. 136.

## COMMENTAIRE

Les types iconographiques d'H. sont illustrés en Thrace par des reliefs votifs et très rarement par des statues de marbre. Ces dernières suivent les schémas grecs beaucoup plus fidèlement que les reliefs, qui

proviennent de sanctuaires thraces et présentent des traits originaux de l'iconographie locale d'H.

H. n'est figurée seule que dans la statuaire (1). Elle est le plus souvent représentée avec Asclépios, parfois aussi avec Télesphore (2-5).

Elle est conventionnellement vêtue d'un long chiton et d'un himation qui entoure son corps et revient sur l'épaule et le bras g. Sa main g. tient une phiale vers laquelle un serpent, enroulé autour de l'avant-bras dr., avance la tête.

Sur les documents d'inspiration plus proprement thrace, H. est représentée comme la Déesse Mère thrace, associée au Cavalier thrace syncrétisé avec Asclépios (6-8).

ZLATOZARA GOČEVA

## HYGIEIA/SALUS, VALETUDO

→ Hygieia, → Salus, → Valetudo

## HYLAIOS

(*Υλαίος* «Waldmann», von *ὕλη* «Wald», lat.: Hylaeus) Einer der → Kentauroi, der nach der ikonographischen Überlieferung an dem Kampf gegen → Kaineus wie auch gegen → Herakles auf dem Berg Pholoe teilnahm.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN : Obwohl H. schon im 6. Jh. v. Chr. bekannt war, wird er erst in hellenistischen und besonders römischen Quellen erwähnt und zwar im Zusammenhang mit den Sagen der → Atalante (Kall. h. 3, 221; Apollod. bibl. 3 [106] 9, 2; Prop. 1, 1, 13; Ov. ars 2, 191) und dem Kentaurenkampf, wobei er von → Herakles (Verg. georg. 2, 457; Hor. c. 2, 12, 5-6) oder von → Theseus (Serv. Aen. 8, 294) getötet wurde. Bei Verg. Aen. 8, 294, wird nicht erwähnt, in welchem Kampf Herakles den H. erlegte, da aber der Kentaure → Pholos ebenfalls genannt wird, ist zu schließen, daß der Kampf auf Pholoe gemeint ist. Bei Nonn. Dion. 17, 200-207 wird H. auf dem Indienzug des → Dionysos von Orontes getötet.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE : v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1265 s. v. «Hylaios»; Sittig, E., *RE* VIII 3 (1914) 109 s. v. «Hylaios I»; Stoll, H. W., *MLI* (1884-90) s. v. «Hylaios I».

Attisch schwarzfigurige Vasen

1. (= Hasbolos 1\* mit Lit.) Volutenkrater, sog. François-Vase. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 4209. - *ABV* 76, 1; 682; Kleitias; *Add* 21. - Um 570-560 v. Chr. - Hals, Seite B. 2. Zone: Kentaurenkampf. 3. Gruppe: H. (*HYAAIOΣ*) nach l., einen Ast haltend, und die Kentauren Akrios und → Hasbolos versuchen Kaineus in die Erde zu schlagen.

2. (= Achilleus 189 [Seite A], = Hasbolos 2\* [Seite B] mit Lit.) Kantharos. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 1737. - *Para* 72, 1: Soklesmaler; *Add* 49. -



Um 550 v. Chr. – Seite B: H. (ΥΑΛΙΟΣ) mit einem Ast und → Petros galoppieren nach r., um → Herakles zu erschlagen. In der Mitte Herakles nach r. gegen Hasbolos.

Die Identifikation des H. auf 1 und 2 wird nur durch die beigelegten Inschriften ermöglicht, da er von anderen Kentauren nicht zu unterscheiden ist.

STYLIANOS E. KATAKIS

## HYLAS

(Υλας; Hylas, Hyllas, Hyllos – alternate spellings due to conflation or confusion with → Hyllos I, son of Heracles). Son of Theiodamas (and the nymph Menodice, daughter of → Orion), Theiomenes, Keyx, or Heracles (the latter due also to confusion with Hyllos). → Heracles raised the boy from childhood and in many sources is not only his companion, but his lover. H. accompanied Heracles during his adventures with the → Argonautai. When the Argo had come ashore in the Propontis (Kios, Mysia) because Heracles had broken his oar, and the heroes made ready for a meal, H. went in search of water. Upon finding a spring (river or grotto), he was overcome and pulled into the water by a water-nymph (or nymphs who are sometimes associated with Artemis) as he went to draw water. His cry for help was heard by Heracles (and Polyphemus, son of Elatus) who searched for the youth, believing H. to have been overcome by robbers or wild beasts, but the search was unsuccessful. Heracles' distress caused him to prolong the search, and his grief and calls for H. became proverbial.

LITERARY SOURCES: Although the myth is known in literature as early as the 5th cent. B. C. (Hellen., *FGH* 4 F 131), it was most popular with Hellenistic and Roman writers. It may have been used earlier since *Schol.* Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1357 says the story was given by Kinaithon, the epic poet, in his *Herakleia* (Davies *EGFp.* 142; Bernabé *PEG* F 6), but the poet's name has sometimes been emended to read Konon, a late aetiological writer, because *Schol.* Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1165 (*FGH* 26 F 2) refers to Konon in his *Herakleia*. The earliest full accounts are given by Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1171–1357 and Theokr. 13. The former tells us that Heracles took the child from his father's (Theiodamas) house after Heracles had killed Theiodamas for refusing to give up the steer with which Theiodamas was ploughing. Both poets relate how the Argonautai departed and left the searching Heracles behind. Later writers give different variations. In Orph. *Arg.* 639–657 H. does not go for water, but rather is detained at a grotto by nymphs after he became lost in the forest while secretly following Heracles who was hunting, while in Val. Fl. 3, 481–740 H. accompanies Heracles while hunting, but pursues on his own a stag sent by Juno which leads him to the spring and the

nymphs. In the *Schol. Bernensia Verg. ecl.* 6, 43 H. accompanies Heracles in a search for wood to make a new oar. Nikandros (*frg.* 48 Schneider) says he was transformed into an echo, while Prop. 1, 20, 49–50 reports that Heracles' calls for Hylas are answered only by echoes (*cf. Schol. Aristoph. Plutus* 1127). In some sources the nymphs do not play a role at all, as H. is said either to have fallen off the ship and drowned (*Schol. Bernensia Verg. ecl.* 6, 43), or to have fallen into the pool of water and drowned (Onasos, *Amazonika, FGH* 41 F 1 and Serv. *Aen.* 1, 619).

Polyphemus, the son of Elatus, is an important figure in many accounts. He can be the lover of H. instead of Heracles (Euphorion *frg.* 76 Powell and Sostrates Argivus, *FGH* 310 F 15), or he is left behind to search for H. (Nikandros *frg.* 48 Schneider). He is sometimes credited with founding the city of Kios (Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1321–2; Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 9, 19).

Zetes and Calais, the → Boreadai, also occasionally play a part in the story. Prop. 1, 20, 25–31 lists them as the initial pursuers of Hylas who attempt to embrace him and steal kisses, and in Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1298–1309 they are the agents who persuade the Argonautai not to return to fetch Heracles.

In other sources H. is connected with local cult. Nikandros (*frg.* 48 Schneider) says that the people of the area still sacrifice to H. and the priest calls his name three times which is answered three times by an echo. Strabon 12, 4, 3 p. 564 reports that the locals hold a festival in which they process through the mountains calling for H.

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## CATALOGUE

### A. Hylas alone, going to draw water

#### ROMAN

1.\* Wall Painting. Stabiae, Villa Varano. – *RM* 84, 1977, 61 fig. 5 pl. 32, 2; Ling 781 fig. 2, 11 pl. 7. – About 55–79 A. D. – H. in three-quarter view goes l., a jug in his extended r. hand. The figure is now faded and nearly lost.

2.\* Mosaic. Tunis, Bardo A 293. From Henchir-Thina (Thaenae), public baths southwest of light-house. – Gauckler, P., in *Cat. Mus. Alaoui*, suppl. 1

(1910) pl. 18, 2; Yacoub, M., *Le Musée du Bardo* (1969) 122; Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 273. – Late 3rd cent. A. D. – H. (chlamys, spear in l. hand, jug in r.) stretches to the l. to draw water from a spring; his r. knee rests on the ground; the l. leg is extended backwards.

#### Coins of Kios (Bithynia)

AE. – Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 138–139 pl. 24r. – Rev.: H. (chlamys, jug in l. hand) goes r., l. leg bent at knee, r. arm extended back:

3. Severus Alexander (222–238 A. D.). – *RecGén* 325, 87.

4. Maximinus (235–238 A. D.). – *RecGén* 326, 97.

5.\* Tranquillina (241–244 A. D.). – *RecGén* 328, 110.

6. Volusianus (251–253 A. D.). – *RecGén* 330, 125; *SNG* v. Aulock 518.

### B. Hylas attacked by the nymphs

#### ROMAN

##### Wall Paintings

7.\* Pompeii IX 7, 16. – Schefold, *WP* 268; Schefold, *VergP* 88 pl. 11, 2; Herbig, R., *RM* 69, 1962, pl. 61, 2; Ling pl. 1; Schefold/Jung, *SBIV* 206 fig. 253. – About 15 B. C.–20 A. D. – H. (jug in r. hand) stands ankle deep in water surrounded by three nymphs. He attempts to go r., but they restrain him. The figures are small and set into a landscape. A reclining woman (nymph or → Echo?) on the r. behind and above them observes the action. H. and the nymphs are now lost from the painting.

8. Pompeii I 7, 19. – Maiuri, A. *Le pitture delle case di M. Fabius Amandio, del Sacerdos Amandus e di P. Cornelius Tege* (*MonPitt* III, Pompeii II) (1938) 30 fig. 23; Schefold, *WP* 36; Ling pl. 2. – About 40–50 A. D. – H. (jug in l. hand) attempts to move r. but is restrained by three nymphs who surround him. The head and shoulders of a male onlooker (Polyphemus? or more likely Heracles) appears on the upper l. above the wall of rock behind them.

9. Pompeii VI 13, 19 (House of Sextus Pompeius Axiochus). – Türk 2, pl. 4; Schefold, *WP* 131; Croisille pl. 68, 2; Ling 778 fig. 1. – About 40–50 A. D. – H. (chlamys, jug in l. hand) attempts to go r., but is restrained by three nymphs on the l. Two stand and grab his arms and shoulders, while the third, waist deep in the water, grabs his r. leg; the painting is now faded and known only from a drawing.

10.\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 8882. From Pompeii VII 4, 62 (Casa delle Forme di Creta). – Rizzo, *PER* pl. 129; Schefold, *WP* 189; Croisille pl. 67, 1; Ling pl. 3. – About 60–79 A. D. – H. (chlamys, sword in scabbard, baldric, bronze jug in l. hand) attempts to move r. while being restrained by three nymphs on the l. Two of them, one standing behind him and the other coming towards him, grab his r. arm; the third crouches between them and grabs his r. knee. Two youths (→ Boreadai?, or Polyphemus and Heracles?), the front one seated, the other standing holding a club, observe the action from the rocks above on the upper r.

11.\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 8864. From Herculaneum, the so-called Basilica. – HBr pl. 87 bottom, r.; Croisille pl. 67, 2; Ling pl. 4. – About 70–79 B. C. – H. (jug in r. hand) immersed up to his chest in water, attempts to move r. in a swimming motion with outstretched arms. He is surrounded by three nymphs who grab and try to restrain him. On the r. is Heracles with lionskin hat who faces l., looking on, his r. hand raised to his mouth in a gesture of concern. The surface of painting is now much deteriorated.

#### Mosaics (18: opus sectile)

12.\* Seville, Mus. Arch. From Itálica, Casa de Hylas. – Fernández-Chicarro, C./Gomez, F. F., *Cat. del Mus. Arq. de Sevilla* II (1980) 60 fig. 21; Blazquez 284 fig. 3. – Beginning of 3rd cent. A. D. – H. (chlamys, spear in l. hand, jug in r.) reaches towards the l. to draw water, his r. leg bent under. He looks back to the r. with a frightened glare towards Heracles who stands frontally, a club in his l. hand nestled against his shoulder, the r. raised up in response to the situation. Three reclining nymphs on the l. grab H.; the lower two hold his legs, the upper his r. arm and shoulder.

13. Grenoble, Mus. From St. Colombe (near Vienne, France). – Lancha 383 fig. 2. – About 175–200 A. D. – H. (chlamys, spear in l. hand, jug in r.) leans l., looking round; his r. leg is bent under, his l. extended back. A seated nymph to either side grabs his arm.

14. Léon, Mus. Arch. From Los Villares (near La Bañeza, Spain). – Blazquez 282–283 figs. 1–2; Lancha 384 fig. 3. – 2nd or 3rd cent. A. D. – H. (chlamys, spear in l. hand, jug in r.) is poised nearly frontally, his l. leg resting up on a rock and bent underneath, the r. extended down. He looks off slightly to the l. A seated nymph to either side grabs his r. arm with one hand, while the other arm is wrapped behind his shoulders.

15.\* Amphipolis (Greece). From a Roman villa. – Stikas, E. G., *Praktika* 1975, part 1, text plan E and pls. 75, b; 76, b; 77; *BCH* 100, 1976, 686 fig. 233. – 2nd or 3rd cent. A. D. – H. (inscription) is poised nearly frontally, the l. leg bent under and resting on a rock, the other extended down and out. He looks l., his r. arm raised up in the air. A seated nymph to either side grabs him, and a third stands behind him. The vase he once held lies on the ground on the bottom r. Pendant: → Amymone 29.

16.\* Constantine (Algeria), Mus. From site 10 km south of Constantine. – Ling pl. 9 (part); Lancha 388 fig. 6. – 2nd or 3rd cent. A. D. – H. (chlamys, sword in scabbard, baldric, jug in r. hand) moves l. bending toward the water. A nymph on the r. pursues and attempts to restrain him from behind by grabbing his l. arm, another on the l. reclines on the rocks, supporting her head with the l. hand.

17.\* (→ Eros/Amor, Cupido 66) Volubilis (Morocco), House of the Venus Mosaic. – Thouvenot pl. 18; Croisille pl. 69, 2; Lancha 385 fig. 4; 390 figs. 7–8; color pl. after 460. – 215–230 A. D. – H. (chlamys, his hydria spilled over in front of him) is poised nearly frontally, looking slightly to the l.; his l. leg is bent under and resting on a rock, the r. extended out.

His hands extend out in fright, the r. raised up high. A nymph from either side attacks him. The one on the r. holds up a jug in her r. hand as if she is about to hit him with it, the l. one grabs his raised r. hand. The latter may be wearing a quiver which suggests an association with Artemis, since H. comes upon the nymphs dancing in a celebration connected with Artemis in Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1223-1225.

18. Opus sectile. Rome, formerly Pal. del Drago, now Mus. Naz. Rom. From Rome, Basilica of Junius Bassus. - EAA IV color pl. opp. 104; Bianchi Bandinelli, *RFAA* 293 fig. 270 (color); Ling pl. 11. - 331 A.D. - H. (chlamys, sword in scabbard, headband, baldric, jug in r. hand) is poised nearly frontally, looking l.; his l. leg rests on a rock and is bent under, the r. is extended down. His r. hand is raised in fright. A nymph to either side grabs him. On the r. a third reclines and watches, while resting on a jug from which water pours.

19.\* Djemila (Cuicul, Algeria), Mus. From Djemila, House of Hylas. - Blanchard-Lemée, M., *Maisons à mosaïques du quartier central de Djemila (Cucul)* (1975) pl. 43; Ling pl. 13. - 4th or 5th cent. A.D. - H. (chlamys, jug in r. hand) attempts to go r. poised in nearly a frontal view, while looking l.; his r. leg is slightly bent. Three nymphs surround and attempt to restrain him. One to either side grab his arms, the third behind him wraps her arms around his waist.

20. Toledo (Spain), Mus. de Santa Cruz de Toledo. From Carranque. - Arce, J., *MM* 27, 1986, pl. 71, b. - Signed by Hirinius (for Herenius). - 350-450 A.D. - H. in nearly a profile view kneels to the r. towards a spring from which he tries to draw water with a vessel in his r. hand. Two nymphs seated around the spring on the r. grab him, a third seated on the l. observes the action.

#### Stone Reliefs

21.\* Marble puteal with reliefs. Lost but known from a plaster cast in Copenhagen, Thorv. Mus. L 298. From Ostia. - Rizzo, *PER* pl. 130 left; Manino, L., *Boll. Soc. Piemontese di Arch. e di Belle Arti* 6/7, 1952/53, 45 fig. 8; Croisille pl. 71, 2. - Middle of 2nd cent. A.D. - H. (chlamys, spear in l. hand, jug in r.) moves r. in nearly a frontal view, his r. leg bent. A nymph on either side attempts to restrain him, the l. one sits and grabs his r. arm, the r. one squats and holds his l. leg. Other seated nymphs frame the scene and serve as transitional elements to a scene of → Narkissos and Echo on the other side of the puteal.

22. (= Charites/Gratae 44 with bibl., = Fons 1\*, = Herakles 743 with bibl.) Marble relief. Rome, Mus. Cap. 504. From Rome, Via Appia, Villa Mattei. - Dedicated to Springs and Nymphs. - Stuart Jones, *SculptMusCap* pl. 53, 93; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II no. 1332. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. - H. (chlamys, vessel in r. hand) attempts to go r. in nearly a three-quarter view, his l. leg bent. A nymph standing to either side attempts to restrain him, the one on the l. grabs his r. arm, the one on the r. places her l. hand on his shoulders in order to prevent him from advancing. This scene occupies the r. third of the relief; on the l. are the three Graces and

in the center Hermes, Heracles, and a reclining river god.

23. Ash-chest with relief. Lost and known only from a drawing after a paper squeeze. From Constantine (Algeria). - Robert, C., *SarkRel* III 1 (1897) 164. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. or 3rd cent. A.D. - H. (chlamys, water vessel in l. hand) goes r. in nearly a frontal view, l. leg bent, r. hand raised in the air. A nymph on either side attempts to restrain him by grabbing his arms. On the l. behind a tree is Heracles (club in l. hand) who stands with knees slightly bent, gesturing with his r. hand, as he looks on helplessly.

24.\* Marble sarcophagus. Rome, Pal. Mattei. Much restored. - Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* pl. 169; Ling pl. 10. - Mid 3rd cent. A.D. - H. (chlamys, reeds or florals in l. hand, water vessel in r.) goes r. in nearly a three-quarter view with l. leg bent, while looking round. A nymph comes towards him from either side and attempts to restrain him. The head of a third standing behind him is visible in the background. To either side stands a man between Erotes. The l. one who holds a club (?) in his r. hand is probably Heracles, the r. man is most likely Polyphemus.

#### Stucco Reliefs

25. Baiae, so-called Baths of Venus. - Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* pl. 14, 2; Ling, R. J., *Archaeologia* 106, 1979, 46 fig. 7 pl. 18b; Ling 781 fig. 2, 6. - 25-75 A.D. - H. goes l. in nearly a three-quarter view, r. leg bent. A standing nymph to either side attempts to restrain him by grabbing him, the l. one as if pushing him back, the r. pulling him. A tree remains on the l., and a third nymph sits on the r. observing. Much damaged; the details are difficult to discern.

26. Pompeii VIII 2, 17-20 (Terme del Sarno). - Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 125 K 26; Ling 781 fig. 2, 7 pl. 5. - 62-79 A.D. - H. (chlamys and an object [jug?] in r. hand) goes l. in nearly a three-quarter view, r. l. bent. A squatting nymph on the l. attempts to draw him towards her, while a nymph looks on to either side, the l. one reclining, the r. sits clasping her l. knee. Stucco has fallen away and only the preliminary sketch remains.

27. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9596. From Pompeii VI 9, 2 (Casa di Meleagro). - Ling 781 fig. 2, 9. - 62-79 A.D. - H. (chlamys, two spears in l. hand, jug in r.) goes r. to draw water. A nymph sits on the r. atop a rock, her r. elbow resting on a vessel from which water pours; she holds out her garment with her l. hand. There is a gap on the l. side of the scene which probably was originally meant for a third figure never added. The stucco has fallen away leaving only the imprints of the figures.

28.\* Pompeii VII 1, 8 (Stabian Baths). - Schefold, *WP* 162; Ling 781 fig. 2, 8 pl. 6. - Shortly before 79 A.D. - H. (chlamys, two spears in l. hand, jug in r.) goes l. to draw water, r. leg bent. On the r. a crouching nymph with a vessel on her lap reaches out to grab H. On the l. are two nymphs. The one closest to H. stands in a three-quarter view to the l. resting her l. arm on a vessel atop a rock from which water pours. The second sits in a three-quarter view to the r. looking on. The

stucco has fallen away leaving only painted details and preliminary sketch.

#### Metal relief

29. Silver situla. Once Herculaneum, now lost, mentioned by Winckelmann but without details. - Winckelmann, J. J., *Sendschreiben von den herculanischen Entdeckungen* (1762) 55 (Sämtliche Werke, ed. C. L. Fernow [1808-25] II, 83; ed. J. Eiselein [1825-29] II, 181). - Before 79 A.D. - H. abducted by the nymphs.

#### GALLO-ROMAN

30.\* Sandstone relief. Trier, Rhein. Landesmus. From Igel, Monument of the Secundinii, south pediment. - Dragendorff, H./Krüger, E., *Das Grabmal von Igel* (1924) 84 fig. 58 pls. 14, 1; 20; Zahn, E., *Rheinische Kunststätten* 38, 1982, 12 figs. 10-11. - 1st third of 3rd cent. A.D. - H. (chlamys, spear in raised l. hand, water jug in r.) goes l. in nearly a frontal view. A nymph to either side attempts to restrain him by grabbing his arms; the l. one supports herself by kneeling on a rock.

#### C. Hylas among the nymphs

##### ROMAN

31.\* Wall Painting. Rome, Via Flaminia, Tomb of the Nasonii. Known from a drawing by P. S. Bartoli. - Andreae, B., *Studien zur römischen Grabkunst, RM Erg.-H.* 9 (1963) pl. 52; Ling pl. 14. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - H. (mantle) sits in a three-quarter view to the r. in the center holding a batch of reeds in his l. hand, while gesturing to a nymph on the r. with his r. She sits to the l., supporting a jug with her l. hand and gesturing to him with the r. Two other nymphs sit on the l. talking with each other.



Hylas 31

32. Mosaic. Leningrad, Ermitage E 1914. From Rome, Via Appia. Heavily restored? - *RM* 45, 1930, pl. 52; Ling pl. 12. - 2nd, 3rd or 4th cent. A.D. - H. (chlamys) sits in upper center among rocks, chest turned slightly r., head to l., r. leg bent under, l. hidden by rocks. At a slightly lower level to the l. and r. are seated nymphs who pour water from vases held aloft. The head of a third nymph is visible beneath H. to the r.

33.\* (= Daphne 40 with further refs., = Kastalia II 3) Silver situla with relief. Leningrad, Ermitage 2160/2. From Concesti (Romania). - Reinach, *ABC* pl. 39; Matzulewitsch, L., *Byzantinische Antike* (1929) 135 fig. 47 and pl. 45, 2; *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silbergefäße aus der Staatl. Ermitage Leningrad* (exp. Berlin 1978-79) 136. - Around 400 A.D. - H. stands frontally, head to l., l. leg crossed over r., l. arm resting on a large vase perched atop a rock, the r. hand raised. To the l. a seated nymph grabs his shoulder, while another further l. pours water from a vessel held aloft. To the r. a third nymph pours water from another vase into a vessel held by a fourth nymph who is seated on the far r. Filling out the rest of the frieze around the vase are scenes of → Leda and the swan, and → Apollon and → Daphne.

#### D. Hylas fending off a nymph

##### ROMAN

34. Marble funerary altar with reliefs. Turin, Mus. Arch. 535. From Acqui. - Manino, *o. c.* 21, 34 fig. 1. - 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D. - H. (chlamys, vase in r. hand) moves r., beating off an attacking nymph with Heracles' club which he holds above in his l. hand. The nymph stands on the l., recoiling slightly, her r. hand also grasping the jug. The figure uprooting a tree on another side of the altar may be Heracles obtaining the wood for a new oar.

#### E. Fragmentary, exact composition unknown

##### ROMAN

35. Mosaic, fr., Carthage, Mus. From Carthage, building immediately northwest of *cardo maximus*. - Salomonson, J. W., *La mosaïque aux chevaux de l'Antiquarium de Carthage, Archeologische Studien van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome I* (1965) 112 fig. 61 pl. 50, 2. - 3rd cent. A.D. - H. (chlamys, jug in r. hand) kneels l. to draw water. Traces of another figure (nymph?) to r., a horse below.

36.\* Silver situla with relief decoration, fr. Halle, Landesmus. für Vorgeschichte. From Groß Bodungen (Thuringia). - Grünhagen, pl. 4. - 4th cent. A.D. - On the l., part of head in profile to r., torso and extended l. hand of H.; on the r., the head, shoulders, arms and hands of a nymph who grabs H.'s extended l. arm with both hands.

#### F. Some uncertain or incorrect identifications of Hylas

##### GREEK

37. (= Hyllos I 3\* with bibl.) Stemless cup, Attic rf. Paestum, Mus. Naz. T. 641. From Paestum. - *Boll.-Arte* 54, 1980, 6, 3-6 figs. 4-10: Xenotimos P. - Ca. 420 B.C. - Youth labelled *ΥΑΟΣ* (stands frontally, looks l.), youth (standing r.), and Heracles (standing

frontally, looking l., holding an aryballos). First youth may be H., but more likely Hyllus.

38. (= Argonautai 32 with further refs., = Herakles 3520 with further refs.) Calyx-krater, Attic rf. Paris, Louvre G 341. From Orvieto. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 601, 22; 1661: Niobid P.; *Para* 395; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 266; Hemelrijk, J. M., in *AGRP* (Amsterdam) 190-192. - Hemelrijk interprets the scene on A as Heracles shown with Athena and the Argonautai while searching for the lost H. The exact identification of the scene is still uncertain.

39. Wall Painting, known from Petron. 83. It is either lost or a literary creation of the author. Apelles. - Late 4th or early 3rd cent. B.C. - H. resisting a nymph.

40. Carnelian gem. New York, MMA 1925.78.7. From Sparta. - Richter, *MetMusGems* 20 no. 74 pl. 13, 74; Boardman, *GGFR* pl. 551. - Late 5th cent. B.C. - A woman (nymph?) (sakkos) on the l. who kneels, facing r. Her r. arm is raised, while with the l. she grabs the cloak of the male figure (H.?) on the r. who moves towards her. In his raised r. hand he holds drapery (?). - Cf. Boardman, *GGFR* 205 fig. 208 for the same group on a sealing from Persepolis.

#### ROMAN

##### Wall Paintings

41. Napoli, Mus. Naz. 9663. From Stabiae, Villa Varano. - *RM* 84, 1977, pl. 40, 2. - Around 55-79 A.D. - Youth (H.?) stands holding a jug at his chest, head to l., body turned slightly to r. in three-quarter view. The figure may be not mythological.

42. Rome, Via Flaminia, tomb of the Nasonii. Known primarily from a drawing by P. S. Bartoli. - Michaelis, A., *Jdl* 25, 1910, Beil. 3, 7; Andreae, *o.c.* 31, pl. 49. - Mid 2nd cent. A.D. - Youth (H.?) (chlamys) moves l. A woman on the l. facing r. shakes his r. hand, her l. hand disappears behind his back. Behind him on the r. are two shorter women who stand to the l. holding between them a dish-like vessel in their hands. Andreae rejects the identification as H.

43. Fr. Salamis (Cyprus), gymnasium. - Kara-georghis, V., *RDAC* 1966 pl. 7, 2; *BCH* 91, 1967, 353 fig. 160; Balty 216-217 pl. 68, 3. - Early 4th cent. A.D., before earthquake of 342 A.D. - H. (?) (chitoniskos, chlamys, spear in l. hand) stands in nearly a three-quarter view on the l. He gestures with his raised r. hand to a nymph (?) on the r. Only her head, shoulders and r. arm remain. She extends towards H. (?) her r. hand from which water flows. Balty identifies the figures as Aktaion and Artemis.

##### Mosaics

44. Napoli, Mus. Naz. 9984. From Herculaneum? - Lancha 386 fig. 5. - Before 79 A.D.? - Youth (H.?) (chlamys, spear in l. hand, r. hand on jug turned over with water spilling out) sits in upper center in a rocky landscape, chest turned slightly to r., head to r. On the bottom r. stands a woman (nymph?) who rests against the rocks looking up towards him. In the lower left sits a youth (Polyphemos?) to the r. who also looks up towards him. Possibly a scene of H., but the identity of the figures is uncertain.

45. Fr. Salamis (Cyprus), gymnasium. - Kara-georghis, V., *Salamis in Cyprus* (1969) figs. 123-124; Lancha 383 fig. 1; Michaelides, D., *Cypriot Mosaics* (1987) pl. 13; *idem*, *RDAC* 1987, pl. 62, 1; Balty 210-213 pls. 64, 1; 65, 67, 2. - Before the end of the 3rd cent. A.D. - Lower half of Artemis (?) on l., lower half of figure (H.?) leaning to r. on l. knee, and shanks of a figure standing with crossed legs (nymph?). - The scene has been identified as H., as an Amazonomachy and as the slaughter of the → Niobidai. It is too fragmentary to be certain of the correct identification.

46. Antalya Mus. From Seleucia (Pamphylia), Agora. - Mellink, M. J., *AJA* 80, 1976, 273; Lancha 381. - The mosaic (Orpheus and the animals) has a depiction of Hyle (→ Nape), the personification of the forest and woodland, not of H.

For other dubious representations, see Ling 808.

#### COMMENTARY

There are several possible 5th- and 4th-cent. Greek representations of H., but none is certain. 37, a late 5th-cent., Attic red-figure, stemless cup has a figure labelled *ΥΑΟΣ* on the same side with Heracles. He may be either H. or Hyllus; the later is the more likely. A late 5th-cent. gem (40) with a squatting woman on the left who grabs the cloak of a male figure on the right may show the rape of H., but the scene could also be → Peleus and → Thetis, or some other mythological couple. A painting by Apelles (39) with H. being attacked by a nymph seen by Encolpius in a picture gallery is very possibly an invention of Petronius who was inspired by a Roman painting, not a Greek.

The earliest certain representation of H. is an early third style, Roman, wall painting from Pompeii (7). It, and a slightly later Pompeian painting (8), may be reflections of a lost Hellenistic wall painting which would indicate that the myth started to be depicted either around the same time it became popular in literature (Apoll. Rhod. and Theokr.), or shortly thereafter. All depictions of H. are connected with his rape by the nymphs. Most show the rape taking place either as H. goes to draw water, or shortly after.

Ling has isolated four, early Imperial, compositional types, some of which continue to be used in mid- and late-imperial iconography. The first and earliest, which is probably to be associated with the lost Hellenistic painting (7-8, 19), shows H. with water jug attempting to move right. A nymph on either side grabs him in an attempt to restrain him, while a third wraps her arms around his waist from behind.

The second type (9-10), which may be derived from the first, has H. with water jar also moving right. This time the three nymphs are all on the left; two stand and grab his arm and shoulder, while the third, either waist-deep in the water or crouching between the other two, grabs his leg.

Ling's third type is known from only one Pompeian painting (11). H. is shown chest-deep in the water with both arms extended out, the right holding a

jug. He attempts to go right, away from three nymphs who encircle and grab him; two are in the water with him, the third squats on the shore on the left.

Type four is first known to have been used on wall stuccos (25-28), although it may have developed from an earlier tradition in relief sculpture. H. with chlamys and water jug is shown in the center usually going left. Sometimes he holds spears (21, 27-28), or he has a sword in a scabbard at his side (16) which suggest that the nearly contemporary Roman versions of the myth (Val. Fl.) in which H. goes hunting may have influenced the depictions. On either side are nymph(s). Usually a crouching one attempts to detain him, as may another, while others merely recline or sit, observing the action. This type continues to be used frequently in mid-imperial iconography (16, 21-24).

The more standard pose for H. in mid- and late-imperial iconography has him stretched out with one knee resting on a rock or the ground; the lower part of the leg is bent under the thigh and often hidden; the other leg is extended out and back (12-15). Normally he has a chlamys and water vessel. Sometimes he has a spear in the other hand (12-14), sometimes one hand is raised in fright and surprise (15, 17-18), and twice (15, 17) he has dropped the jug in fright. Nymphs, standing, reclining, and kneeling grab him, and they are often joined by others who casually recline and observe the action. Occasionally the action becomes more violent (17), as the nymphs attack him rather than attempt to detain him. The pose for H. with leg bent under became so commonly associated with him that in one case (2) he is shown this way alone.

Three depictions do not show the rape, but rather H. living among the nymphs (31-33). The iconographical scheme is different in each case. On 32 H. retains the pose with leg bent under, although he is placed high among the rocks above the spring and nymphs. On 31 he sits among the nymphs, while on 33 he stands among them.

A so far unique depiction of H. beating off the attack of a nymph with Heracles' club is found on a funerary altar (34).

In addition to the nymphs who number from one to four and H., other figures occasionally are present, but always in a subsidiary, observatory role. Heracles appears four (11-12, 23, 24) and possibly six times (8, 10). In each certain case he stands to one side and gestures with obvious concern at H.'s situation. On 24 a second man is present on the opposite side from Heracles. He most likely is Polyphemos, who plays an important role in a number of the literary sources. The two youths who sit above observing on 10 are more difficult to identify. They may be the Boreadai who were the initial pursuers of H. in Prop.'s version of the rape, or they may be Heracles and Polyphemos, or simply two unidentifiable youths. The female figure on 7 may simply be a nymph, although there is a possibility that she may be Echo, since H. is turned into an echo in Nikandros' version of the story.

Depictions of H. were most popular at first in paintings and wall stuccos, but in later Roman times he is depicted most often on mosaics, although there are

some examples on various types of relief sculpture, coins, and silver vessels. His popularity on mosaics is most likely due to the fact that his story could easily be associated with other stories because of the elements of rape, love, and water. Other scenes with some of these elements found in association with H. include → Hyakinthos (1), → Poseidon and → Amymone (15), Erotes (17), → Narkissos (22), Apollon and → Daphne (33), and → Leda and the swan (33). In the later literary sources he is also often associated with other loves of gods (Clemens Alex. *protr.* 2, 33, 5 and [Clemens Romanus] *hom.* 5, 15). In other cases (11, 22, 34) different scenes of Heracles decorate the same monument as those with H. It is also worthy to note that H.'s rape was used to decorate a number of bathing establishments which underscores the connection of the story with water, as does the relief dedicated to the Springs and Nymphs (22).

JOHN H. OAKLEY

#### HYLATAS

(*Υλάτας*, le Sylvestre?) Géant (→ Gigantes).

Ce nom est une épiclèse d'Apollon dieu d'Hylé à Chypre: Lykophron 448; Dionysios, *Bassariques*, frg. 4 Livrea; Nonn. *Dion.* 13, 444. Il désigne peut-être un Géant sur:

I.\* (= Gigantes 4 avec bibl.) Frise d'un trésor anonyme à Delphes. Delphes, Mus. - Début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Hylatas (inscr. aujourd'hui illisible) est l'un des guerriers qui font face à un quadrigue, peut-être dans une Gigantomachie. Cf. Picard, *Ch./de La Coste-Meselière*, P., *FDelphes* IV 2, 178.

FRANCIS VIAN

#### HYLE → Nape

#### HYLLOS I

(*Υλλος*, Hyllus) Ältester Sohn des → Herakles und der Deianeira, nach dem Tod des Vaters verheiratet mit → Iole (l.) Anführer der → Herakleiden im Kampf gegen → Eurystheus und bei ihrer Rückführung in die Peloponnes. Vor Abschluß des Unternehmens fällt er am Isthmos im Zweikampf gegen den Tegeaten → Echemos. Eponym einer der drei dorischen Phylen, der Hylleer. Mit seinem Sohn Kleodaios figuriert H. in den Stammbäumen bedeutender Herrscherhäuser - im besonderen in Sparta und in Makedonien.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Hyllus als Sohn des Herakles und der Deianeira wird für uns erstmals in



Hes. *frg.* 25, 17–19 Merkelbach/West genannt. Die meisten ihn betreffenden Quellen beziehen sich einerseits auf den in der attischen Überlieferung breit ausgebauten Kampf gegen den Verfolger der Herakliden, Eurystheus, andererseits auf den Komplex der Sagen von der Rückführung der Heraklesnachkommen in die Peloponnes, der spätestens seit der früharchaischen Zeit eine vielfältige Aufgabe zur Begründung territorialer, ethnischer sowie sprachlicher Verhältnisse und überkommener Institutionen (dorische Phylonordnung) zu erfüllen hatte. Umstritten bleibt vor allem die Frage, wann und auf welche Weise die Verbindung des Heraklessohnes zum Eponymen der dorischen Hylleeer zustandekam: die vermutlich alte dorische Phylonordnung mag einen Eponymen besessen haben, der erst im Lauf der Zeit die konkretere Gestalt des Heraklessohnes annahm. Die von Ephoros, *FGH* 70 F 15 und Strabon 9, 4, 10 p. 427 überlieferte Adoption des H. durch den dorischen König Aigimios nach dem Tod des Herakles spiegelt eine künstliche Anbindung an anderweitig vorgegebene dorische Tradition. Die Nachricht, daß das dorische Heer des Hyllos und des Aigimios Aigina erobert habe in Pind. *I.* 9, 1–4 (zu Hyllos und Aigimios vgl. auch Pind. *P.* 1, 60–70 mit *Schol.* *P.* 1, 120–121), ist auch im Hinblick auf das «Bildprogramm» des Aphaieatempels von Aigina zu beachten: vgl. dazu unten 7.

Insgesamt ist H. durch einen ähnlichen Mangel an Selbsthaftigkeit gekennzeichnet wie sein Vater, da er ursprünglich mit keiner bestimmten Stadt verbunden werden kann. So sind seine häufigen Ortswechsel nicht nur durch die Komplikationen der Heraklidenrückführung begründet, sondern sie bestimmen schon seine Jugendgeschichte. Als kleines Kind muß er mit den Eltern Kalydon verlassen, um nach Trachis wegzuziehen (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [150] 7, 6; Diod. 4, 36). Nach den genannten Quellen ereignet sich die Nessos-Geschichte auf dem Weg nach Trachis (was die Anwesenheit des kleinen H. in pompejanischen Bildern dieser Sage rechtfertigt). Schwer mit der offiziellen Rolle als Anführer der Herakliden ist die «private» Biographie des erwachsenen H. zu verbinden, die ein längeres Familienleben in der Ehe mit Iole in Trachis bei Keyx einzuschließen scheint, wie Prinz 226 ff. aus Hes. *frg.* 251a und b Merkelbach/West folgern möchte. Fest steht, daß die Hyllos-Iole-Beziehung vorsophokleisch ist: Nach Pherekyd., *FGH* 3 F 82a soll Herakles Iole von Eurytos als Braut für den Sohn gefordert haben. In Soph. *Trach.* 1216–1250 wird sie H. vom sterbenden Herakles als Gemahlin angetragen, was er nur zögernd akzeptiert.

Bei den Ereignissen, die vor dem Kampf gegen Eurystheus liegen, spielt H. in den erhaltenen Quellen eine wenig markante Rolle. In Soph. *Trach.* (das folgende weitgehend bei Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [157–160], 7, 7 übernommen) ist H. hilfloser Zeuge beim Untergang seines Vaters, zunächst am Kap Kenaion, dann wieder in Trachis. Die Aufforderung des Sterbenden, für ihn den Scheiterhaufen anzuzünden, lehnt er ab. Die ausführlichsten Quellen zur Verfolgung der Herakliden durch Eurystheus sind neben der euripideischen Heraklidentragödie die parallelen Berichte bei Apollod.

*bibl.* 2 [167–168] 8, 1 und Diod. 4, 57. Bei Euripides tritt H. nicht selbst auf; erst 639–664 meldet sein Diener seine Ankunft und sein aktives Eingreifen. Im Botenbericht 799–816 erfährt man, daß H. den Eurystheus zum Zweikampf herausgefordert hatte, den dieser ablehnte. In der folgenden Schlacht nimmt nicht H., sondern Iolaos Eurystheus gefangen; 965–982 akzeptiert H., anders als die rachsüchtige Alkmene, gemäß den Grundsätzen der Athener die Schonung des gefangenen Gegners. Hingegen tötet H. selbst ihn bei Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (168) 8, 1 und Diod. 4, 57, 6. Die grausame Version, nach der H. ihm den Kopf abschnitt und der Alkmene übergab, die diesem die Augen austach, findet sich nur bei Apollod. a. O. (sicher abhängig davon Zenob. *cent.* 2, 61). – Zur mehrmaligen Verzögerung der Landnahme in der Peloponnes nach der Besiegung des Eurystheus vgl. → Herakleidae. H., der nach der Sagenchronologie Zeitgenosse des trojanischen Krieges sein mußte, wird in der Überlieferung wohl vor allem mit Rücksicht auf diese Gegebenheit daran gehindert, selbst auf der Peloponnes Fuß zu fassen, was seinen Nachkommen vorbehalten bleibt. Er fällt am Isthmos im Zweikampf mit dem Tegeaten Echemos: *Schol.* Pind. *O.* 10, 79b–80; Diod. 4, 58, 4; Paus. 8, 5, 1. Das Grab des H. wurde nach Paus. 1, 41, 2 in Megara gezeigt (zu berichten ist Eitrem in *RE* IX 1, 123 – und offenbar daraus exzerpiert *KIPauly* II 1267 – wo aus Paus. a. O. fälschlich ein Heroon des H. nördlich der Athener Akropolis herausgelesen wird).

Einzelne verstreute Nachrichten sind schwer in das Gesamtbild einzuordnen, so die Behauptung Hyg. *fab.* 244, H. habe seinen Onkel Sthenelos getötet. Zu vernachlässigen ist die seltsame Geschichte vom Zweikampf des H. mit Epopeus, der ihm ein an der Stirn gewachsenes Horn abgerissen habe, bei Ptol. *Chennos* 3, 1 p. 23 Chatzis. – Beachtenswert ist indessen eine Überlieferung vom zeitweiligen Aufenthalt des H. in Theben nach der Besiegung des Eurystheus bei Ant. *Lib.* 33 (= Pherekyd., *FGH* 3 F 84, s. Jacoby im Komm. dazu) – offenbar ein Versuch der Thebaner, Anschluß an die Heraklidentradition mit ihren peloponnesischen Konsequenzen zu finden.

Als Sohn des H. und vermutlich der Iole figuriert mehrmals Kleodaios als Glied der genealogischen Reihe, die letztlich auf Herakles zurückführt: z. B. Hdt. 6, 52; 7, 204 u. a. im Stammbaum der spartanischen Könige. Etwas markanter ist der Urenkel Temenos, der u. a. im Stammbaum des makedonischen Herrscherhauses (über Perdikkas) eine Rolle spielt, so im Prolog des euripideischen *Archealos* (Austin, *C. Nova Fragmenta Euripidea* [1968] p. 14), wo selbstverständlich auch H. aufgeführt ist. Zu den Töchtern Aristaichme und Euaichme vgl. oben zu Hes. *frg.* 251a. b Merkelbach/West.

Zur historischen Beurteilung der Sagenkonstrukte um H. als Anführer der Herakleidae bes. Lehmann sowie Prinz 206 ff.; zum Ethnikon der Hylleeer und zur Überlieferung bei Apoll. *Rhod.* 4, 522–551, nach der ein Hyllos als Eponym der illyrischen Hylleeer Sohn des Herakles und der Melite ist, sich also offenbar vom Eponymen der peloponnesisch-dorischen He-

raklesnachkommen unterscheidet, vgl. Lehmann 44–45 mit Anm. 89–90. Zu den Namen Hyllos und Hylleis Neumann, *G.*, *Glotta* 63, 1985, 4–6.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE** (vgl. auch die Lit. zu → Herakleidae): Brommer, *Herakles* II 133 Nr. 67 und *passim*; idem, *Vasenlisten* 83; Eitrem, *S.*, *RE* IX 1 (1914) 123–124 s. v. «Hyllos 3»; v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1266–1267 s. v. «Hyllos 1»; Lehmann, G. A., *Die mykenisch-frühgriechische Welt und der östliche Mittelmeerraum in der Zeit der «Seevölker»-Invasion um 1200 v. Chr.*, Rhein.-Westf. Ak. d. Wiss. *Vorträge* G 276 (1985); Prinz, F., *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie* (1979) 206 ff. und *passim*; Schmidt, M., «Herakliden», in *Gestalt und Geschichte, Festschr. K. Schefold, AntK* 4. Beih. (1967) 182–185; Weizsäcker, P., *ML* 12 (1886–90) 2798–2799 s. v. «Hyllos 2».

## KATALOG

Für die Darstellungen von H. als Kleinkind in Familienszenen → Herakles 1674–1679. – Das von der Statue im Vatikan, → Herakles 653, gehaltene Kind könnte H. sein, doch ist Telephos im Römischen weit wahrscheinlicher.

### a) Hyllos als Kleinkind beim Nessosabenteuer

1.\* Wandgemälde. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 111474. Aus Pompeji IX 5, 18, f (Casa di Iasone). – Schefold, *WP* 264; HBr Taf. 70. – 3. Stil, um 10 n. Chr. – Deianeira mit dem kleinen H. in den Armen steht im Wagen des Zweigespanns als Zeugin beim Kampf des Herakles mit Nessos.

2. Wandgemälde. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 9001. Aus Pompeji VI 9, 3–6 (Casa del Centauro). – Schefold, *WP* 115, 26; HBr Taf. 147, Farbtaf. 5. – Um 40/50 n. Chr. – Deianeira, ähnlich wie auf 1 zu Wagen, umfaßt den quer ins Bild gesetzten kleinen H., der über die Schulter des Vaters auf den schon gestürzten Nessos schaut. In der l. Hand hält H. eine weißgelbliche Frucht oder eine Rose(?).

### b) Hyllos als Knabe oder Jüngling mit Herakles

3.\* (= Hylas 37) Schalen-Skyphos, att. rf. Paestum, Mus. Naz. Aus Grab 641 einer der nördlichen Nekropolen. – Töpfersignatur des Xenotimos. Xenotimosmaler. – Um 430/20 v. Chr. – Greco Pontrandolfo, A., *BollArte* 65, 1980 Nr. 6, 1–6 Abb. 4–5. 8–10; Brommer, *Herakles* II 134, 7; Lezzi-Hafter, A., *Der Eretriamaler* (1988) 84, 82. – Auf der einen Außenseite r. der bärtige Herakles mit Namensbeischrift, mit vorgestreckten Händen zur Mitte gewandt. In der einen Hand anscheinend ein Objekt (eher Aryballos als Hesperidenapfel?). Von der r. Hand hängt eine Binde herab. Ihm gegenüber unbenannter nackter Jüngling mit vorgestreckter Rechten, in der er eine Tanie hält. L. ohne erkennbare Beziehung zur Heraklesgruppe ein nackter stehender Jüngling, der den Kopf nach r. von den anderen abwendet. R. von seinem Kopf weiß aufgemalte Beischrift *ΥΑΟΕ*. Die drei Krieger auf der anderen Außenseite scheinen trainierende bzw. sich vorbereitende Sportler – Waffenläufer – zu sein. Die Palästraatmosphäre gilt also für beide Vasenseiten.

## DEUTUNG MÖGLICH

4. (= Herakles 1559\* mit Lit.) Schalenfragmente, att. rf. New York MMA 12.231.2. Aus Cerveteri. – *ARV* 3 19, 6: Onesimos. Um 490 v. Chr. – I: In dem Jungen mit Petasos, Chlamys und Gepäck (Weinschlauch?), der Herakles folgt, ist vielleicht Hyllos zu erkennen: so versuchsweise Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 83, B 1; Williams, D., in *ICG* (Rouen) 139; Schefold, *SB* IV 220 zu Abb. 270 (Herakles und H. auf dem Wege von oder nach Oichalia?). Beazley, *ARV* a. O. dachte an Philoktet. (B = Herakles 2794.)

## DEUTUNG NICHT ZU SICHERN

5. Skyphos, att. sf. Paris, Louvre MNC 661; angeblich «trouvé dans la Locride». – Um 500 bzw. frühes 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Pottier, E., «Une aventure d'Hercole sur un vase peint du Louvre», *Monuments grecs publiés par l'association pour l'encouragement des études grecques* 21–22, 1893–94, 41–48 Taf. 14; Olmos, R., *MM* 18, 1977, 131, 10 Taf. 36 (ohne Deutungsversuch); erwähnt ferner bei Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 55 A 3; Fehr, B., *Orientalische und griechische Gelage* (1971) 88–89 Kat. Nr. 300, der Pottiers Interpretation als «ansprechend» beurteilt. – Auf beiden Seiten der Vase nähern sich je drei Männer, offenbar unter Schwierigkeiten und über unregelmäßiges (felsiges?) Gelände einem Gebäude, das auf der Seite B deutlicher architektonisch gestaltet ist. Auf A halten zwei der Eindringlinge(?) eine Keule, auf B, soweit zu erkennen, nur noch einer. Auf A befinden sich die Männer im Innenraum beim Gelage, auf B sitzen sie zwischen den Säulen des Gebäudes. Pottier wollte in den beiden Darstellungen die zwei Besuche des Herakles in Oichalia erkennen: auf A komme er mit Iolaos und Hyllos als friedlicher Symposiongast, auf B kehre er erbost mit seinen Gefährten zurück, um den Königspalast zu zerstören. – In dieser Interpretation scheint zu wenig berücksichtigt, daß die «Besucher» beide Male mit unwegsamem Gelände zu kämpfen haben; sie scheinen auf felsigem Terrain zu klettern. Ist vielleicht die listige Eroberung der Athener Akropolis durch Peisistratos mit Hilfe seiner Keulenträgergarde gemeint, wie sie Hdt. 1, 59, 1–6 überliefert? Die sitzenden Männer im Innenraum wären dann die überrumpelten Athener. Das nach-peisistratische Vasenbild wäre weniger als «historische» Darstellung, sondern eher schwankhaft zu verstehen. Vermutlich muß die Deutung aber offen bleiben.

### c) Hyllos beim Tod des Herakles?

6.\* Krater, fr., apul. rf. Basel, Slg. H. A. Cahn 299. – *RVAp* II 505, 90: Dareiosmaler; Schmidt 182–185 Taf. 59, 4 und Rekonstruktionsversuch 183 Abb. 1; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III. 2, 12; Sinn, U., *AM* 102, 1987, 155 Taf. 13. – Um 330 v. Chr. – Hyllos, noch sehr jugendlich und bekränzt, nackt bis auf schmale Chlamys über einem Arm, scheint ein Bukranion als Schleuderwaffe benutzen zu wollen (gegen ein nicht erhaltenes Ziel im l. Bildteil). Über seinem Kopf die Beischrift *ΥΑΟΕ*. Die Aktion des stark bewegten jungen Mannes (nur oberer Teil erhalten) ist vielleicht als Rettungsversuch für den (nicht erhalte-

nen) von der Wirkung des Nessosgewandes betroffenen Herakles zu verstehen; die Situation entspräche derjenigen in den *Trachinierinnen* des Sophokles.

#### d) Hyllos mit dem Heer des Aigimios in Aigina?

DEUTUNG NICHT ZU SICHERN

7. Ost-, eventuell Westgiebel des Aphaieotempels in Aigina. Giebelfiguren München, Glypt. – Um 500–485 v. Chr. – Sinn, U., «Aphaia und die Aegineten», *AM* 102, 1987, 131–167, bes. 150–158, vermutet in den Giebildarstellungen eine Anspielung auf die Hyllos-Aigimios-Tradition (dazu oben lit. Quellen), ohne sich auf die Benennung bestimmter Figuren festzulegen. Vielleicht sei bei dem Bogenschützen im Ostgiebel mit dem «Helm in Gestalt eines Löwenhauptes» Angleichung an Herakles und damit die Darstellung eines Herakliden, am ehesten Hyllos, beabsichtigt. Denkbar sei nach Sinn andererseits, daß «der Kampf im Westgiebel die genealogische und chronologische Fortführung des Herakleskampfes im Ostgiebel, d. h. den Eroberungsfeldzug des Hyllos» darstellen könne. Gemeint sei allgemein «der Einzug des Dorertums in Aigina... Ob dieser Kampf nun von Herakles oder Hyllos bestritten wird, ist – bezogen auf die Grundaussage – von sekundärer Bedeutung.»

#### e) Hyllos im Zweikampf mit Echemos

8. (= Echemos 2) Paus. 8, 53, 10 gibt an, in Tegea das Grabmal des Echemos und eine Stele mit Darstellung des Zweikampfes von Echemos gegen H. gesehen zu haben.

#### KOMMENTAR

Gemessen an der sagen- und stammesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Gestalt des H. wirken die wenigen erhaltenen Bildzeugnisse dürftig. Fast alle betonen seinen Status als Sohn des Herakles und charakterisieren ihn als noch unmündig bzw. jugendlich. Im Palästramilieu auf 3 mag die unbenannte jugendliche Mittelfigur zwischen Herakles und H. vielleicht auf den Besitzer dieser Vase (den Verstorbenen) zu beziehen sein, der durch die ziemlich unverbindlich wirkende Anwesenheit der beiden Heroen dennoch ausgezeichnet wird. – Daß H. in den (wenigen erhaltenen) Darstellungen der bedrohten Herakliden keine Rolle spielt, hängt mit der in diesen Bildern vergegenwärtigten Hiketidsituation zusammen, an der der im Kampf aktive H. keinen Anteil hat. Vermuten könnte man seine Anwesenheit allenfalls auf dem (nicht in den Katalog aufgenommenen) fragmentarischen apulischen Volutenkrater Bari 3648 (*RVAp* I 210, 144, → Makaria) im leider nicht erhaltenen Zentrum der Kampfdarstellung. – Die Grabstele 8, von der Pausanias berichtet, diene offensichtlich der Ehrung des Echemos und zeigte H. als Unterlegenen. Dieses Ehrenmal, das für Echemos ebenso wie für H. Historizität suggerierte, wird – schon im Hinblick auf das Darstellungsmotiv – kaum hochaltertümlich gewesen sein, es sei denn, tegeatische Lokaltradition habe an ein altes Denkmal am Ort angeknüpft. Eine

Anspielung auf H. als Exponenten des Dorertums könnte allein für 7 erwogen werden (U. Sinn), doch läßt sich die Vermutung auch in diesem Falle nicht erhärten. Für die nicht erhaltene, aus tegeatischer Sicht gestaltete Stele 8 bleibt ungewiß, ob antike Betrachter dieses Monuments sich die dorische Eponymenrolle des Echemosgegners bewußt machten.

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#### HYLLOS II

(Ἵλλος) Heute Demirci Çai, nördlicher Nebenfluß des Hermos. Die Mündung liegt bei der Stadt Saïtta in Lydien, auf deren Münzen der Flußgott dargestellt ist. Ob eine Verbindung zum Heraklessohn → Hyllos (I) besteht, bleibt unklar, die ätiologischen Mythen sind späten Datums. Obwohl der Fluß auf den kaiserzeitlichen Münzen stets Hyllos genannt wird, berichtet bereits Strabon, daß zu seiner Zeit (vvvī) der Fluß Phrygios hieß.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Hom. *Il.* 20, 392; Hdt. I, 80; Strabon 13, 4, 5 p. 626; Paus. I, 35, 7.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Büchner, L., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 122–123 s. v. «Hyllos 1–2»; v. Diest, W., *Petermanns Mitteilungen* Erg.-H. 94, 1889, 23; Herrmann, P., *DenkWien* 80, 1962, 12–17; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 298, 302; Robert, L., «Reliefs votifs et cultes d'Anatolie», *Anatolia* 3, 1958, 123.

#### KATALOG

##### a) Gelagerter Flußgott

1. \* AE, Saïtta (Lydien), Tranquillina (Gattin des Gordianus III., 238–244 n. Chr.). – Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 303, 322 Taf. 10, 22; SNG v. Aulock 3104; SNG Copenhagen Taf. 12, 412. – Rs.: Gelagerter H. mit Schilfrohr. Inschrift ΥΛΛΟΣ.

2. AE, Saïtta, um 250 n. Chr. – Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 302, 321. – Rs.: Gelagerter H. mit Füllhorn und Schilfrohr. Vs.: Büste des Mên Aziottenos.

3. \* AE, Gordos Julia (Lydien), Faustina iunior (Gattin des M. Aurelius, † 176 n. Chr.). – SNG Copenhagen Taf. 5, 159. – Gelagerter H. wie 2. Ebenso mit Romabüste auf Vs., um 170 n. Chr.: Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 298, 309 Taf. 10, 14; SNG v. Aulock 2979. – Die Benennung H. ergibt sich aus der Topographie von Gordos.

##### b) Die gelagerten Flußgötter Hyllos und Hermos

4. \* AE, Saïtta, Caracalla (198–217 n. Chr.). – *BMCLydia* 220, 46 Taf. 23, 9; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 303, 323 Taf. 10, 23; SNG v. Aulock 8249. – Die beiden Flußgötter lagern einander gegenüber, auf Quellurnen gestützt; beide halten Schilfrohre, der l. Flußgott hält Füllhorn. Zwischen ihnen Statue des Mên. Ebenso unter Gordianus III. (238–244 n. Chr.): *BMC Lydia* 223, 58 Taf. 23, 12.

5. AE, Saïtta, Philippus I. (244–249 n. Chr.). – Imhoof-Blumer, F., *Nymphen und Chariten* (1908) 167, 464; Kraft, K., *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien* (1972) Taf. 15, 49d. – Wie 4, doch zwischen den Flußgöttern Sitzbild einer ungenannten Nymphen.

#### KOMMENTAR

Das Bild des gelagerten Flußgottes H. folgt dem kaiserzeitlichen Schema (→ Fluvii). Bei den zwei Flußgöttern wird kein ikonographischer Unterschied zwischen dem Hauptfluß Hermos und dem Nebenfluß Hyllos gemacht.

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couronne (Ov. *her.* 6, 44) de marjolaine (Catullus 61, 6) ou de roses (Sen. *Medea* 70). Vêtu d'un voile couleur de flammes (Catullus 61, 8) ou safran (Ov. *met.* 10, 1) et chaussé de brodequins jaunes (Catullus 61, 10), il porte fréquemment une torche (Catullus 61, 14–15; Ov. *met.* 10, 6; Sen. *Medea* 111). Donné parfois comme le fils de Magnès, H. était lui-même un habile musicien (Cornelius Balbus l. c.) et un excellent chanteur (Catullus 61, 12–13). Selon une des versions de la légende, il serait d'ailleurs mort alors qu'il chantait aux nocces de Dionysos et d'Althée (Cornelius Balbus l. c.).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Sauer, B., *ML* I 2 (1886–90) 2800–2804 s. v. «Hymenaios»; Jolles, A., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 126–130 s. v. «Hymen, Hymenaios»; Hild, J.-A., *DA* 333–336 s. v. «Hymenaeus»; Guerrini, L., *EAA* IV (1961) 119 s. v. «Hymenaios».

#### CATALOGUE

Sauf sur 2, l'identification n'est que probable ou possible.

#### HYMENAIOS

(Ἵμην, Ὑμέναιος; Hymen, Hymenaeus) Dieu du mariage. Selon les sources, sa mère était l'une des Muses (→ Mousa, Mousai) ou → Aphrodite, son père → Apollon, → Dionysos ou le musicien Magnès.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: chez Homère (*Il.* 18, 493) et Hésiode (*sc.* 274) le nom commun ὕμναιος désigne le chant nuptial qui accompagne la jeune fille vers la demeure de son époux. Plus tard, tout en conservant son sens initial, le mot, souvent redoublé sous la forme d'une invocation (p. ex. Ὑμῆν, ὦ Ὑμέναι' ἀναξ), semble plutôt s'appliquer à une personification de ce chant nuptial (Pind. *frag.* 128c, 8–9 Snell/Maehler; Eur. *Tro.* 310, 314, 322, 331, 335) avant de désigner véritablement et sans équivoque possible le dieu qui préside au mariage accompli selon le rite (Catullus 61, 46–75; Sen. *Medea* 67).

Les sources divergent sur les origines d'H. Très souvent donné comme le fils d'une Muse – nommée Calliopé (Suda s. v. Ὑμηνίς), Clio (Apollod., *FGH* 244 F 146), ou Uranie (Catullus 61, 2; Nonn. *Dion.* 24, 88–89; 33, 67–68, 84) – et d'Apollon (Asklep. *Trag.*, *FGH* 12 F 6a) ou de Magnès (Ant. Lib. 23, 1–2; Cornelius Balbus, Funaioli, H., *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta* [1969] 541 *frag.* 2; Suda s. v. Ὑμηνίς), H. passe parfois pour le fils de Dionysos (Sen. *Medea* 110), ou de Dionysos et d'Aphrodite (Serv. *Aen.* 4, 127). Tout aussi variées sont les légendes forgées, sans doute tardivement, pour expliquer que son nom soit invoqué lors des cérémonies du mariage (Serv. *Aen.* 1, 651; 4, 99, 127; *eccl.* 8, 30; Proklos *chrestom.* 321 a 21; Eust. 1157, 21–24 *ad* Hom. *Il.* 18, 493; *Schol.* Hom. *Il.* 18, 493). Mais toutes s'accordent pour lui attribuer une mort précoce et pour le présenter comme un jeune homme d'une grande beauté (Ant. Lib. 23, 1–2; Nonn. *Dion.* 29, 18–21), si beau qu'on le prenait parfois pour une jeune fille (Serv. *Aen.* 4, 99; Cornelius Balbus l. c.). On souligne son abondante chevelure (Nonn. *Dion.* 29, 15; 33, 67, 81–82), qu'orne une

#### A. Hymenaios seul

1. Peinture murale. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9320. De Pompéi VI 9, 2 (Casa di Meleagro). – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 855; Reinach, *RépPeint* 68, 6; Schefold, *WP* 112 (16). – IV<sup>e</sup> style, vers 70 ap. J.-C. (Schefold). – Debout, les jambes croisées, accoudé du bras g. sur un autel, H. tient de la main g. une longue torche enflammée et de la dr. baissée une couronne de fleurs. Il est presque entièrement nu, seuls quelques plis de draperie, coulant de l'épaule g., retombent au creux des bras et sur la cuisse g. Ses longs cheveux, qui tombent en mèches bouclées sur les épaules, sont couronnés de fleurs.

#### B. Hymenaios dans les scènes de mariage

##### a) Nocces de Thétis et Pélée

Mosaïques

2. \* Soueida, Mus. inv. F. De Chahba (*Philippopolis*). – Dunand, M., cité dans *CRAI* 1925, 195–196; *idem*, cité dans *Syria* 6, 1925, 295–296; *idem*, *Syria* 7, 1926 pl. 57; Balty, J., dans *ANRW* II 12/2 (1981) 424–425. – Fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – L'état de la mosaïque s'étant considérablement dégradé depuis sa découverte, on se fonde, pour la description, sur la photographie publiée par Dunand. De g. à dr.: → Komos (inscr.), puis Nérée (→ Nereus) (inscr.), qui présente Thétis assise, la main dans celle de Pélée; au centre → Zeus (inscr.) et H. (inscr. YMENEOS) vers qui s'avancent, à dr., trois femmes tenant, la première, une corbeille, la seconde une amphore (inscr. Θ[Ε]Π[Ι]ΑΙΤΑΙΝΑΙ?). H., accoudé du bras g. sur une colonnette, l'autre bras levé au-dessus de la tête, est à demi nu; seules les jambes, croisées, et le bras g. sont enveloppés d'une draperie. De la main g. il tient une longue torche enflammée.



3. Béjaia, Mus. De Ziama-Mansouriah. – Ballu, A., *BullArchCTH* 1913, 346–348 pl. 31; Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 278 n° 1. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Ag., Thétis est assise sur un Triton portant une torche, sous un dais soutenu par une Néréide; un Centaure marin, qui tient une torche, et un Eros l'accompagnent, ainsi qu'une Néréide assise sur un monstre marin. A dr., au premier plan, s'avance Pélée, suivi par Chiron. A l'arrière-plan s'ouvre une porte en plein cintre que franchit H., vêtu d'une draperie qui lui tombe de l'épaule, une torche enflammée à la main g.

4. \* Cherchel, Mus. Arch. De Cherchel (*Caesarea*). – Lassus, J., *BAA* 1, 1962–65, 75–105 fig. 1. 10; Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 43. 255 n° 10; Parrish, D., *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (1984) n° 18 pl. 27. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Le tableau se compose de deux scènes opposées: d'un côté, la présentation de Thétis et Pélée en présence d'→Hermès et d'un cortège de Néréides accompagnées de Chiron; de l'autre côté, la cérémonie même du mariage, avec, à l'extrémité g., H. et trois femmes, au centre Thétis et Pélée (perdus), à dr. un vieillard (→Silenos?) et trois femmes (→Mainades?). Le torse nu, les jambes croisées enveloppées d'une draperie qui couvre aussi le bras g., H. s'appuie de la g. sur une très grosse torche, la main dr. posée sur la hanche. Le visage, encadré de longs cheveux bouclés qui tombent sur les épaules, est légèrement incliné.

#### Relief

5. \* (= Horai/Horae 6\* avec bibl. et renvoi) Sarcophage de marbre. Rome, Villa Albani 131. De Rome. – Robert, *SarkRel* II n° 1; Simon, E., *RM* 60/61, 1953/54, 211–223 pl. 88; Bendinelli, G., *RM* 64, 1957, 92–97 pl. 14; Andreae, B., dans Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV n° 3291; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 173 fig. 198; Schefold/Jung, *SBV* 101–102. – Époque d'Hadrien. – Thétis et Pélée, assis à dr., accueillent le cortège de divinités qui apportent leurs présents de mariage: de dr. à g., →Hephaistos, →Athena, les →Horai, puis un jeune garçon qui tient une torche renversée, suivi d'un adolescent chaudement vêtu (pantalon, tunique à manches longues, manteau, bottines) dont les cheveux longs sont ceints d'une couronne de fleurs; sur l'épaule g. il porte une torche et, de la main dr., tient une loutrophore. Cet adolescent est généralement interprété comme H., précédé de Vesper (→Stellae). A l'extrémité g. s'éloigne une femme, poussée par un Eros: Iuno Pronuba (Robert), Virginitas (Simon), Aphrodite (Bendinelli), Thétis (Schefold).

#### b) Noces d'Alexandre et de Roxane

6. (= Eros 641) Tableau perdu d'Aétion, connu par une description de Lucien (Lukianos, *Herodotus sive Aetion* 4–6). – Reinach, *ReclMilliet* n° 507. – 327–324 av. J.-C. – Roxane assise sur le lit nuptial, devant Alexandre debout qui lui présente une couronne. Alentour de nombreux Érotes et, près du couple, Héphéstion avec une torche, appuyé sur un adolescent dans la fleur de l'âge (*μειραλίον πάνυ ώπαλόν*) dont Lucien pense qu'il s'agit d'H.

#### c) Mariage humain

7. (= Homonoia/Concordia 77\* avec bibl.) Sarcophage de marbre. Leningrad, Ermitage A.433. De Monticelli. – Vers 180 ap. J.-C. – Au centre, le couple d'époux de part et d'autre d'un autel, Concordia à l'arrière-plan. A dr., une Victoire couronnant l'époux, puis des serviteurs avec le taureau du sacrifice. A g., du côté de l'épouse, Vénus et Eros, puis H. et trois femmes. Figuré sous les traits d'un jeune homme, H. est vêtu d'une tunique et tient des deux mains une grande torche enflammée.

#### C. Hyménaios comme symbole de l'union conjugale

8. (= Ares/Mars 357\* avec bibl.) Autel de marbre. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 324. D'Ostie. – Rendini, P., *MusNazRom* I 1 n° 180 fig. p. 291. – Peu av. 124 ap. J.-C. – Sur la face principale, Mars et Vénus de face, côte à côte; entre eux vole un Eros, qui étend les bras derrière leur tête. A dr., à côté de Vénus, un adolescent de face, nu, une draperie jetée sur l'épaule g., tient une torche de la main g.: H.?

#### COMMENTAIRE

Le seul document où H. soit attesté de façon absolue, est la mosaïque de Chahba 2 datée de l'époque de la Tétrarchie. L'attitude du personnage – un bras levé par-dessus la tête, l'autre appuyé sur une colonnette – et son allure presque féminine sont des traits empruntés à l'imagerie de Dionysos: ils reproduisent en effet un type iconographique du dieu extrêmement répandu en Orient, et plus particulièrement en Égypte, à partir de l'époque impériale (→Dionysos [in per. orientali] 24–26). N'étaient l'inscription et la torche tenue, comme le thyrsos, verticalement, le long de la colonnette, la confusion avec Dionysos serait permise. Il n'est pas impossible que cette ressemblance iconographique reflète le lien de parenté entre les deux divinités, attesté par certaines sources littéraires, surtout à époque tardive. Notons en outre que Dionysos a parfois reçu l'épithète de *ὁμεινῆιος* (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 524, 21). Très proche de l'image d'H. sur la mosaïque syrienne est la peinture de Pompéi 1, ce qui permet de confirmer l'interprétation avancée depuis longtemps pour cette dernière, mais que l'absence d'inscription et de parallèle iconographique rendait très incertaine. Cette identification se fondait exclusivement sur les attributs du personnage – torche, couronne dans les cheveux, couronne dans la main – et sans doute aussi sur son allure féminine – cheveux longs et bouclés, hanchement très prononcé – que soulignent abondamment aussi les sources littéraires. La similitude de sujet – les noces de Thétis et Pélée – entre la mosaïque de Chahba et les deux mosaïques d'Afrique du Nord à peu près contemporaines (3–4) nous autorise à reconnaître H., à l'extrémité g. sur la mosaïque de Cherchel, à dr., dans l'encadrement d'une porte, sur celle de Bé-

jaia (3) où il partage avec deux Tritons la fonction de porteur de torche. Comme à Chahba, il a dans les deux cas le buste nu et, sur 4, les cheveux tombent sur les épaules en longues mèches.

Plus hypothétique est l'interprétation du jeune homme portant une torche et une loutrophore sur le sarcophage de la Villa Albani (5), qui illustre également les noces de Thétis et Pélée. On y a généralement reconnu H., précédé par Vesper sous les traits d'un garçonnet: les deux noms sont en effet associés dans les épithalames, déjà chez Sappho (*fig.* 104a Voigt), plus tard chez Catulle. Mais l'H. du sarcophage a peu de points communs avec ceux des mosaïques: aucun trait féminin dans le personnage, sinon peut-être dans la chevelure; certes il est vêtu d'un manteau et chaussé de bottines, détails vestimentaires notés par Catulle, et il porte torche et couronne de fleurs, mais ce sont là – comme la loutrophore – les accessoires traditionnels de l'iconographie nuptiale, ce qui nous invite à n'avancer qu'avec prudence le nom d'H. lorsqu'un jeune homme couronné et porteur de torche participe à un cortège nuptial, même dans un contexte mythique. La même incertitude demeure donc pour l'interprétation du jeune homme à la torche sur le sarcophage de Leningrad 7. S'agissant cette fois d'un mariage humain, on serait enclin à interpréter le personnage comme un membre anonyme du cortège nuptial. Toutefois la présence de Concordia, d'Aphrodite et d'Eros dans la même représentation montre que sphère humaine et sphère divine s'y mêlent étroitement. Le jeune homme à la torche est placé du côté de l'épouse, derrière Aphrodite et Eros et devant trois femmes que l'on interprète soit comme les Grâces, soit, plus vraisemblablement, comme les Horai. S'il s'agissait d'un porteur de torche anonyme, ne l'eût-on pas plutôt placé du côté des humains, à dr. de l'époux? On notera à cet égard que dans les sources littéraires H. apparaît comme celui qui conduit la jeune fille vers la demeure de l'époux, rôle qui rappelle évidemment la signification première du mot *ὁμεινῆιος*, le chant joyeux qui accompagne la jeune fille vers sa nouvelle demeure.

Les représentations mentionnées jusqu'ici sont toutes datées de l'époque romaine. La seule image grecque du dieu serait celle mentionnée par Lucien dans sa description du tableau des Noces d'Alexandre et de Roxane par Aétion (1). Toutefois Lucien lui-même n'est pas sûr de son interprétation, qu'il semble fonder uniquement – en l'absence, précise-t-il, d'inscription – sur la beauté et la jeunesse du personnage représenté. C'est Héphéstion, en effet, et non pas H., qui, tenant une torche enflammée, remplit ici auprès des époux le rôle de *παροχος* et de *νυμφαγωγός*. L'iconographie du dieu H. ne semble donc pas encore fixée à cette époque et sans doute n'est-ce que sous l'influence de la poésie lyrique romaine que sera forgée l'image de l'adolescent efféminé, couronné de fleurs et porteur de torche. On retiendra des documents mentionnés qu'H. n'est en tous cas jamais ailé et qu'il est étroitement associé à la cérémonie du mariage lui-même. Pour cette raison, il me paraît exclu de le reconnaître dans l'Eros, ailé ou même aptère, qui accompagne, torche en main, les scènes de *dextrarum iunctio*

(→Eros/Amor, Cupido 58. 60; →Homonoia/Concordia 74), à plus forte raison dans les nombreuses illustrations romaines de la découverte d'Endymion par Séléné (→Endymion 71. 73. 77–78) où l'adolescent à la torche qui précède Séléné, souvent interprété comme H., est plus probablement Hespéros. Il n'est pas impossible, en revanche, de reconnaître H. dans l'adolescent à la torche qui accompagne Mars et Vénus sur l'autel d'Ostie (8): il est clairement distingué, par sa taille et par l'absence d'ailes, de l'Eros qui volette au-dessus du couple. La présence d'H. donnerait un sens nouveau à la représentation: plus qu'à une rencontre galante ou érotique entre les deux divinités, c'est à leur union conjugale, légitime qu'il est fait allusion, union légitime dont H. est en quelque sorte le garant.

PASCALE LINANT DE BELLEFONDS

#### HYPALPA → LIMC Suppl.

#### HYPELAIOS

(*Υπέλαιος*) Quelle, eher (nach Kreophylos) am Heiligen Hafen als (nach Strabon) bei dem (noch nicht aufgefundenen) Athenaheligtum von Ephesos. Sie spielt in der ephesischen Gründungssage eine Rolle. Die athenischen Kolonisten unter der Führung von →Androklos, Sohn des Königs Kodros, erhielten einen Orakelspruch, nach dem ein Fisch und ein Eber die Stelle der zu gründenden Stadt bezeichnen würden. Als Fischer bei der Quelle H. ihr Mahl einnahmen, sprang ein Fisch mit einem Stück Kohle in ein Gehölz, das Feuer fing und einen Eber in die Flucht trieb. Dieser wurde dort getötet, wo später der Athenatempel von Ephesos stand.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Kreophylos, *FGrH* 417 F 1; Strabon 14, I, 4 p. 634; 14, I, 21 p. 640.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Büchner, L., *REV* 2 (1905) 2785 ff. s. v. «Ephesos»; Benndorf, O., in *Ephesos* I (1906) 53–54; Radet, G., *Ephesiaca* (1922) 21 ff., bes. 27 Nr. 6.

1. \* (= Androklos 1\*) Figur 2 auf Block A des Marmorfrieses vom Hadrianstempel am Embolos («Kuretenstraße») in Ephesos. Selçuk, Mus. 713. Gefunden 1956. – Miltner, F., *OeJh* 44, 1959 Beibl. 269 ff. Abb. 133; Saporiti, N., in *Essays in Memory of C. Lehmann* (1964) 270–271 Abb. 2; Fleischer, R., in *Festschr. F. Eichler* (1967) 26 A 2 Abb. 14, S. 34 ff.; Brenk, B., *IstanbMitt* 18, 1968, 238 ff. Taf. 73, 1; Fleischer, R., in Bammer, A./Fleischer, R./Knibbe, D., *Führer durch das Archäologische Museum in Selçuk-Ephesos* (1974) 78 ff.; Foss, C., *Ephesos after Antiquity* (1979) 72. 74 Anm. 53; Stutzinger, D., *Die frühchristlichen Sarkophagreliefs aus Rom* (1982) 149 ff.; Koch, G., *Anz-*



Alt 41, 1988, 87. – Die Quellnymph (A 2) sitzt auf unregelmäßig gestaltetem Terrain, trägt einen Mantel um die Hüften, legt die r. Hand auf ihren Kopf und die l. auf einen zweihenkeligen Krug mit Mündung nach unten. L. von ihr steht wohl eine weitere Lokalpersonifikation (A 1), r. erscheint ein gerüsteter Krieger (A 3, Androklos?). In der r. anschließenden Szene jagt Androklos (A 4) zu Pferd den Eber. Ein gestürzter Krieger (A 5) r. unten wird sich auf die Kämpfe der Griechen gegen die einheimischen Karer und Leleger beziehen.

Unsere Personifikation, die dem üblichen Typus von Quellnymphen (→ Nymphai) folgt, ist lediglich aus dem Zusammenhang der dargestellten Handlung als H. zu benennen. In der ephesischen Münzprägung ist H. im Gegensatz zu anderen Landschaftspersonifikationen nicht dargestellt. Der aus vier Platten, die teilweise nachträglich verkürzt wurden, bestehende Fries des Hadrianstempels wurde von F. Miltner teilweise in die 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh. n. Chr. (Block A–C), teilweise in theodosianische Zeit (Block D) datiert. N. Saporiti wollte die Datierung von Block A–C auf 210–220 n. Chr. einengen. R. Fleischer sprach sich für gleichzeitige Entstehung aller vier Blöcke aus und datierte in das 3. Viertel des 4. Jh. n. Chr. B. Brenk hielt den Fries ebenfalls für gleichzeitig, aber bereits in tetrarchischer Zeit entstanden. Zuletzt vertrat D. Stutzinger eine Datierung in die Achtzigerjahre des 4. Jh., G. Koch stimmte ihr zu. ROBERT FLEISCHER

## HYPERBIOS

(Υπέρβιος, le Violent) Géant (→ Gigantes).

1. (= Gigantes 170 avec bibl., = Hera 377, = Hermes 826 [face B]) Amphore à col attique à f. n. Paris, Louvre E 732. – 560–550 av. J.-C. – A. H. (HYTHPBIOS [sic]) est l'un des trois Géants armés qui affrontent → Zeus. Sur le même vase, face B, l'adversaire d'Hermès se nomme ...βιος, à lire plutôt → Polybios. FRANCIS VIAN

## HYPERBOREIOI → LIMC Suppl.

## HYPEREIA

(Υπέρεια, Hyperia) Quellnymph in Pherai (Thessalien). Ursprünglich wohl genereller Name für hochgelegene Quellen, wird H. für die Quelle in Pherai erst in der Zeit des Sophokles belegbar. Im Zentrum von Pherai gelegen, wird auf den Münzen der Stadt die H. oft als wasserspeiender Löwenkopf verkörpert, aber auch vereinzelt als Nympe.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN bei Kirsten; wichtig vor allem Soph., *TrGF* IV F 911; Plin. *nat.* 4, 29; Strabon 9, 439. Kirsten erörtert die schwierige Quellenlage.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Imhoof-Blumer, F., *Nymphen und Chariten auf griechischen Münzen* (1908) 65, 75; Kirsten, E., *RE* Suppl. VII (1940) 994–996 s. v. «Pherai»; Moustaka, A., *Kulte und Mythen auf thessalischen Münzen* (1983) 32, 110; Philippson, P., *Thessalische Mythologie* (1944) 66, 71; Rogers, E., *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly* (1932) 161–168.

## KATALOG

### Münzen von Pherai

#### a) Stehende Hyperiea

1. \* AR Hemidrachmon, späteres 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Babelon, *Traité* II 4 Nr. 607 Taf. 294, 9; Imhoof-Blumer Taf. 5, 38; Moustaka 111, 72 Taf. 10. – Rs.: Stehende H. in Chiton und Himation nach l., die Rechte auf die Quelle legend, die aus einem Löwenkopf sprudelt. Davor ΑΞ/ΤΟ in Kranz. Vs.: Göttinnenkopf mit Myrtenkranz = Enodia?

#### b) Kopf der Hyperiea

2. \* AR Stater (äginäische Währung), um 350 v. Chr. – *MuM/Leu AG, Griech. Münzen aus der Slg. eines Kunstfreundes* (1974) 195; Moustaka 110, 67 Taf. 10. – Vs.: Kopf der H. fast von vorne mit Schilfkranz, zur Seite Fisch nach oben. Rs. (= Enodia 2\*): Reitende Enodia mit Fackel, oben Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier.

3. AR Hemidrachmen und AE, um 350 v. Chr. – Babelon, *Traité* II 4 Nr. 624, 625 (wo der Fisch fälschlich als Fackel bezeichnet ist), Taf. 295, 3, 4; Imhoof-Blumer Taf. 5, 10, 11; Rogers 168, 531–533. – Ähnliche Typen wie 2.

4. AR Stater (äginäische Währung), um 360 v. Chr. – Babelon, *Traité* II 4 Nr. 606 Taf. 294, 8; Moustaka 110, 68 Taf. 10. – Vs.: Kopf der H. mit Schilfkranz nach r., dahinter Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier. Rs. (= Artemis 888\*): Reitende Enodia mit zwei Fackeln, oben ΑΞ/ΟΜΕ/ΑΟΝ in Kranz.

## KOMMENTAR

Die Benennung der weiblichen Gottheiten auf den Münzen von Pherai ist nicht unproblematisch, wie die Deutungen von Kirsten, Philippson und Moustaka zeigen. Die zentrale Stellung des Kultes der H. in Pherai wird bezeugt durch das Vorkommen des wasserspendenden Löwenkopfes als Hauptbild auf den Münzen (z. B. Babelon, *Traité* II 4 Taf. 294, 10; Rogers 163, 511–514) oder als Beizeichen (1–4; Babelon, *Traité* II 4 Taf. 294, 1: 5. Jh. v. Chr.). Wir dürfen annehmen, daß H. überall dort dargestellt ist, wo ein Fisch oder ein Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier den weiblichen Kopf begleitet, und wo dieser Kopf mit Schilf bekränzt ist. Dies hat als erster Imhoof-Blumer (S. 65) richtig gesehen. Singulär ist schließlich die schlichte Gestalt der stehenden H. (1). Offen bleibt

die Deutung der Inschrift Ασορεύων, wohl kaum ein Beamtenname, wie angenommen wird (Moustaka S. 33), sondern eher die Epiklese der Gottheit: Für einen Beamtennamen wäre die Bekränzung und die Stelle auf dem Münzbild unerklärbar. HERBERT A. CAHN

## HYPERION

(Υπερίων, Hyperion, Uprum) Titan (→ Titanes), Vater des → Helios, teils auch Beiname des Helios selbst.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Homer überliefert H. als Beiwort, teils auch als selbständigen Namen des Sonnengottes Helios: *Il.* 8, 480; 19, 398; *Od.* 1, 8, 24; 12, 133, 263, 346, 374 (Υπεριονίδης nur *Od.* 12, 176). Auch spätere Quellen behalten für Helios und Sol teilweise die Bezeichnung H. bei (s. dazu Jessen 287). Anders dagegen verhält sich die Überlieferung bei Hesiod, der H. und Helios als Vater und Sohn trennt (*theog.* 134, 371–374). Danach gehört H. zur Generation der Titanen. Uranos und Gaia zeugten verschiedene Paare, darunter H. und Theia. Diese sind die Eltern der Gestirne Helios, → Selene (→ Astra, B) und → Eos. Auch dieses theogonische System wurde bei späteren Autoren wiederholt. Vermutlich gehörte es ursprünglich in eine Titanomachie, die in einem uns nicht erhaltenen Epos geschildert war. Doch ist die Teilnahme des H. am Kampf in den antiken Quellen unklar. Nach *Schol. Hom. Il.* 14, 274 Dindorf wird H. als Tartarosgefährte des Kronos bezeichnet und ist damit als Mitkämpfer bestraft, während nach Serv. *Aen.* 6, 580 und 4, 119 Sol (Helios; nach Wüst 1502 H.) sich vor dem Kampf von den Titanen trennt und nicht in den Tartaros gelangt. Wüst erklärt dies damit, daß nach antiker Vorstellung der Sonnengott nicht den Tartaros als Aufenthaltsort haben kann.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Jessen, O., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 287–288 s. v. «Hyperion 1–2»; Wüst, E., *RE* VI A 2 (1936) 1501–1507 s. v. «Titanes» (passim).

## KATALOG

Den schriftlichen Quellen zufolge wären Darstellungen des H. zu erwarten, die entweder – laut Homer – identisch mit denen des Helios sind (s. dazu → Helios) oder – nach der anderen Version von H. als Titan und Vater des Helios – Wiedergaben der Titanomachie, die aber bislang nicht gesichert sind, s. Hampe, *R., GGA* 215 Nr. 3/4, 1963, 125–152. Insofern werden hier aus diesen beiden Bereichen keine Darstellungen angeführt.

1. \* (= Gigantes 393) Volutenkrater, fr., apul. New York, MMA 1919.192.81, 6, 13, 15, 17. – *RVAp* I 402, 34: Maler der Dubliner Situlae, Taf. 141, 4 (dort nur Pentheussage abgebildet); Mayo, *Vases Magna-*

*Graecia* 110 Nr. 33 Abb. (Inv. 6). – Um 360 v. Chr. – Darstellung verschiedener Sagen. Nach Trendall gehören zu diesem Volutenkrater auch zwei Fragmente, die (Inv. 6) Pegasos, sowie Zeus und Nike auf einem Viergespann und (Inv. 13) Kopf und Hände eines Mannes mit Raubtierkappe auf dem Kopf, ein Pferdebein sowie Reste zweier weiterer Personen zeigen. Der Mann mit der Fellmütze hat beide Hände, die ebenfalls in das Fell gewickelt sind, abwehrend erhoben und scheint – nach seiner Haltung zu schließen – bereits besiegt zu Boden zu gehen. Das Pferdebein oberhalb gehört sicher zum Viergespann der Sieger in diesem Kampf. Da die Inschrift den Fellträger H. (ΥΠΕΡΙΩΝ) nennt, denkt Trendall an eine Darstellung der Titanomachie. Doch ist uns dieses Thema in der Bildkunst sonst nicht überliefert und H. als Vater des Helios und Titan wäre wohl nicht mit Tierfell bekleidet dargestellt worden. Vielmehr paßt dieses wie auch das Kampfschema eher zu einem Giganten, weshalb es sich sicher um eine Wiedergabe der Gigantomachie handelt. Daß der Vasenmaler hier einem Giganten einen Titanennamen beigegeben hat, beruht wohl auf einer Verwechslung dieser beiden großen Götterkämpfe, die in der Antike häufiger vorkam, vgl. dazu Wüst 1501–1503.

2. (= Helios/Usil 20\* mit Lit.) Bronzegriffspiegel, etruskisch. London, BM Br. 707. Aus Vulci. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV 1 Taf. 364; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 122. – Spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – R. von dem in Wagenlenkertracht dargestellten Usil steht Uprum (= Hyperion) in Vorderansicht, wendet aber seinen Kopf zu Usil. Er ist nackt bis auf einen Rückenmantel. In der gesenkten r. Hand hält er einen Zweig. Das athletische und jugendliche Aussehen des Uprum bereitete Schwierigkeiten, hier den Vater des Usil zu sehen und gab deshalb Anlaß zu anderen Deutungsvorschlägen, s. → Helios/Usil, Kommentar zu 20. Doch muß die Bartlosigkeit des Uprum ihn nicht unbedingt als jugendlich erweisen. Wie auch immer die Kenntnis der Etrusker von der Genealogie des Helios war, die Zusammenstellung beider Figuren hier deutet auf die Kenntnis einer Beziehung zwischen Helios und H., sei es als Vater und Sohn, sei es von H. als Beiname des Usil oder einer anderen Verbindung.

## UNSICHERE DARSTELLUNGEN

3. Wegen der erschlossenen Präsenz der Familie des H. in Gestalt von Theia, Helios, Eos, Selene innerhalb der Titanendarstellungen in der Gigantomachie am Südfries des Pergamonaltares wurde auch die Anwesenheit von H. selbst postuliert, dagegen Simon, *Pergamon* 35–37.

## KOMMENTAR

Der Titan H. ist uns aus griechischen Darstellungen nicht bekannt. Auf 1 ist lediglich einem Giganten der Name H. beigegeben. Nur auf dem etruskischen Spiegel 2 ist wohl der Vater des Helios gemeint. Allerdings hat er hier keine charakteristische Ikonographie, sondern hat eher die Gestalt eines Athleten.

Da es keine gesicherten Wiedergaben der Titanomachie gibt, müssen weitere, auf Deutungen beruhende Versuche, H. auf Denkmälern zu erkennen, hypothetisch bleiben. ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## HYPERMESTRA

Auch Hypermnestra (ὑπερμήστρα, ὑπερμήστρα). Danaide (→ Danaides), Tochter des → Danaos, Gemahlin des Aigyptiden Lynkeus, Mutter des Abas.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Zur Danaidsage → Danaos, → Danaides. – Einzige der 50 Danaiden, die ihren Gemahl Lynkeus (oder Lyrkeus) in der Hochzeitsnacht gegen den ausdrücklichen Tötungsbefehl ihres Vaters Danaos am Leben ließ (Schol. Eur. Hec. 886). Sie schonte ihn entweder, weil sie sich in ihn verliebt hatte (Aischyl. Prom. 865–868; vgl. Hor. c. 3, 11, 33–52; Schol. Pind. P. 9, 195b) oder, weil Lynkeus ihre Jungfräulichkeit gewahrt hatte (Apollod. bibl. 2 [21] 1, 5, 10) oder, nach röm. Version, aus pietas (Ov. her. 14, 64).

Im verlorenen 3. Stück der Danaidentrilogie des Aischylos wird H. wahrscheinlich gefangengenommen und von Danaos für ihren Ungehorsam vor ein Gericht gestellt; durch den Götterbeistand der Aphrodite aber freigesprochen (Aischyl. TrGF III F 44). Von einem Prozeß gegen H. weiß auch Paus. 2, 20, 7 zu berichten. Der Platz, auf dem die Volksversammlung über H. Gericht hielt, hieß noch zu Paus.' Zeit Kriterion. Dem Lynkeus hatte H. noch in der Hochzeitsnacht zur Flucht in das etwa sieben Meilen entfernte Lyrkeia (oder Lynkeia) verholfen. Da Lyrkeia so weit von Argos entfernt lag, mußte Lynkeus seine geglückte Flucht der H. durch Leuchtfener oder Fackelzeichen signalisieren. Nach Paus. 2, 25, 4–5 werden die jährlichen Fackelfeste in Lyrkeia und Argos zur Erinnerung an diese Nacht gefeiert. Nach dem Freispruch weihte H. eine Statue der Aphrodite Nikephoros (Paus. 2, 19, 6), aus Dankbarkeit für die Fürsprache der Göttin vor Gericht, und der Artemis-Peitho ein Heiligtum (Paus. 2, 21, 1), was wohl im Zusammenhang mit dem Bericht des Apollod. gesehen werden muß (s. oben). Über die Folgezeit der Bluthochzeit gehen die Berichte der Mythographen auseinander. Nach Paus. 2, 16, 2 hatten H. und Lynkeus einen Sohn Abas, der später König von Argos wurde. Nach Schol. Eur. Hec. 886 soll Lynkeus den Danaos und alle Danaiden getötet haben, um in Argos selbst zu regieren. Der bekanntesten Sagenversion zufolge starben alle Schwestern der H. unverheiratet und wurden von den Totenrichtern dazu verurteilt, Wasser in ein durchlöcheriges oder bodenloses Faß zu gießen, als Strafe für den Gattenmord (→ Danaides). Durch ihren Sohn Abas wurden H. und Lynkeus zu Stammeltern berühmter Heroen (→ Herakles, → Perseus). Von einem gemeinsamen Grab für H. und Lynkeus berichten: Paus. 2, 21, 2; Hyg. fab. 168. Außer H. hatte nur

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### A. Hypermnestra als Stammutter der Könige von Argos

1. Statuengruppe, Bronze. Delphi, nördlich der Heiligen Straße, gegenüber von den «Epigonen» aufgestellt. Nicht erhalten. – Paus. 10, 10, 5; Bourguet, E., FDelphes III 1 (1910–29) 41–73 Abb. 20–21 Taf. 3, 1–2; Pomtow, H., RE Suppl. IV (1924) 1230–1233; Pouilloux, J./Roux, G., Enigmes à Delphes (1936) 46–55, zu H. bes. 48–50 Abb. 14–15; Schanz, H. L., Greek Sculptural Groups, Archaic and Classical (1980) 57–60; Jacob-Felsch, M., Die Entwicklung griechischer Statuenbasen (1969) 66. 70 Anm. 205 Kat. II 101. – Von Paus. als Weihgeschenk der Argiver anlässlich der Befreiung Messeniens im Jahre 369 v. Chr. beschrieben. Der Künstlername Antiphane von Argos ist auf der wiedergefundenen Basis erhalten. Die Heroengruppe bestand aus 20 Bronzestatuen, deren halbkreisförmige Kalksteinbasis mit den Inschriften der Namen noch heute in situ erhalten ist. Die von Paus. genannten Könige von Argos standen in der westlichen Hälfte der halbrunden Basis. Sie waren in genealogischer Abfolge aufgereiht, angefangen von Danaos über Lynkeus bis zu Herakles und Perseus. Nach Paus. stand H., deren Basisblock nicht erhalten ist, zwischen Danaos und Lynkeus. Daß H. als Frau unter den Heroen und Königen von Argos dargestellt ist, hängt wohl mit ihrer Rolle als «Stammutter» in der argivischen Königsgeschichte zusammen.

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– Erhalten ist der obere Teil eines Gebäudes, dessen Ziegeldach von weißbemalten ionischen Säulen getragen wird. Im Vordergrund sind Reste zweier weiblicher Figuren mit den Namensbeischriften H. (ὑπερμήστρα) und Iphidame (Ἰφιδάμει, = Ἰφιδάμνη oder Ἰφιδάμεια?). Von H. sind Kopf und Schulterpartie, von Iphidame nur der Oberkopf erhalten. Beide Figuren begeben sich, ihre Köpfe ins Profil nach r. gewendet, in das Innere des Hauses. Im Katalog der Danaiden bei Apollod. bibl. 2 (16–20) 1, 5 ist Iphidame nicht aufgeführt, als einzigen verwandten Namen nennt er Iphimedousa. Auf der zweiten dazugehörigen Scherbe ist das l. Bein eines auf dem Bettrand sitzenden (?) oder sich erhebenden Mannes zu erkennen und der kleinere r. Fuß einer weglauenden Frau (?). Zum zweiten Fragment vgl. die Scherben mit demselben Thema → Danaides 5\*, die in der Komposition ähnlich scheinen. Während auf letzteren die Aigyptosöhne schon schlafend dargestellt sind, begeben sich die Hochzeitspaare auf den Scherben von Paestum wohl gerade zu Bett. Gemeinsam ist beiden Vasenbildern die Darstellung des Brautgemaches mit den weißbemalten Säulen, zwischen denen die Betten stehen.

6. \* \* Glasbecher, sog. «Lynkeusbecher», röm. Köln, Röm.-Germ. Mus. Glas 295. Aus Köln. – Aus'm Weerth, E., BonnJbb 74, 1882, 65–68 Taf. 6; Fremersdorf, F., Die Denkmäler des röm. Köln 8, 1967, 144–145 Taf. 181–184; Doppelfeld, O., Römisches und fränkisches Glas in Köln (1966) 65–66 Taf. 155; Kossatz, Dramen 49 Abb. 3; Kat. Glass of the Caesars (1987) 198–199 Nr. 108 Abb. 199. – Spätes 2. Jh. n. Chr. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. (Fremersdorf). – H. (ὑπερμήστρα) mit wehenden Gewändern und einem Dolch in der l. Hand verfolgt Lynkeus (Ἀλκίνοος), der nach r. laufend zu entfliehen versucht. Hinter H. ist das Schlafgemach durch einen Eingang mit Vorhang angedeutet, aus dem die Eilenden kommen. Lynkeus hat im Lauf den Kopf zurückgewendet, so daß er nicht sieht, daß → Pothos (Πόθος, das Liebesverlangen) ihm zu Hilfe kommt und H. anderen Sinnes werden läßt. Bei Ov. her. 14, 45–46 zückt H. dreimal den Dolch und bringt es dreimal nicht fertig, den Mordbefehl ihres Vaters auszuführen. Der von Aphrodite gesandte Pothos deutet den guten Ausgang der Szene an. Bei Aischyl. Prom. 865 bewirkt ἱμερος (→ Himeros, Himeroi) die Sinnesänderung bei H.

### D. Hypermnestra und Lynkeus auf einem Unterweltsbild

#### DEUTUNG MÖGLICH, ABER NICHT GESICHERT

7. (= Aphrodite 1529 [Seite B], = Erinys 11, = Danaides 8\*, = Hades 130, = Herakleida 11) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. B4. Aus Ruvo. – RVAp 143 I, 81 Taf. 160, 1: Umkreis des Lykurgosmalers; Trendall, RFSIS 81 Abb. 151; CVA 2 Taf. 61–63; Cämmerer, B., JbBadWürtt 12, 1975, 47–50. – Um 350/40 v. Chr. – Unterweltsbild mit Hades und Persephone im Palast. R. vom Palast steht ein junges Paar, in dem Cämmerer Lynkeus und H. er-



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### C. Hypermnestra und Lynkeus im Brautgemach

5. \* Halsamphora, fr., camp. rf. Paestum, Mus. Naz. (Magazin). 1976 in S. Venera bei Paestum gefunden, unpubliziert. – Caivanomaler. – Um 340 v. Chr.

– Erhalten ist der obere Teil eines Gebäudes, dessen Ziegeldach von weißbemalten ionischen Säulen getragen wird. Im Vordergrund sind Reste zweier weiblicher Figuren mit den Namensbeischriften H. (*ὑπερμήστρα*) und Iphidame (*Ἰφιδάμει*, = *Ἰφιδάμη* oder *Ἰφιδάμει(α)*). Von H. sind Kopf und Schulterpartie, von Iphidame nur der Oberkopf erhalten. Beide Figuren begeben sich, ihre Köpfe ins Profil nach r. gewendet, in das Innere des Hauses. Im Katalog der Danaiden bei Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (16–20) 1, 5 ist Iphidame nicht aufgeführt, als einzigen verwandten Namen nennt er Iphimedousa. Auf der zweiten dazugehörigen Scherbe ist das l. Bein eines auf dem Bettrand sitzenden (?) oder sich erhebenden Mannes zu erkennen und der kleinere r. Fuß einer weglauenden Frau (?). Zum zweiten Fragment vgl. die Scherben mit demselben Thema → Danaides 5\*, die in der Komposition ähnlich scheinen. Während auf letzteren die Aigyptosöhne schon schlafend dargestellt sind, begeben sich die Hochzeitspaare auf den Scherben von Paestum wohl gerade zu Bett. Gemeinsam ist beiden Vasenbildern die Darstellung des Brautgemaches mit den weißbemalten Säulen, zwischen denen die Betten stehen.

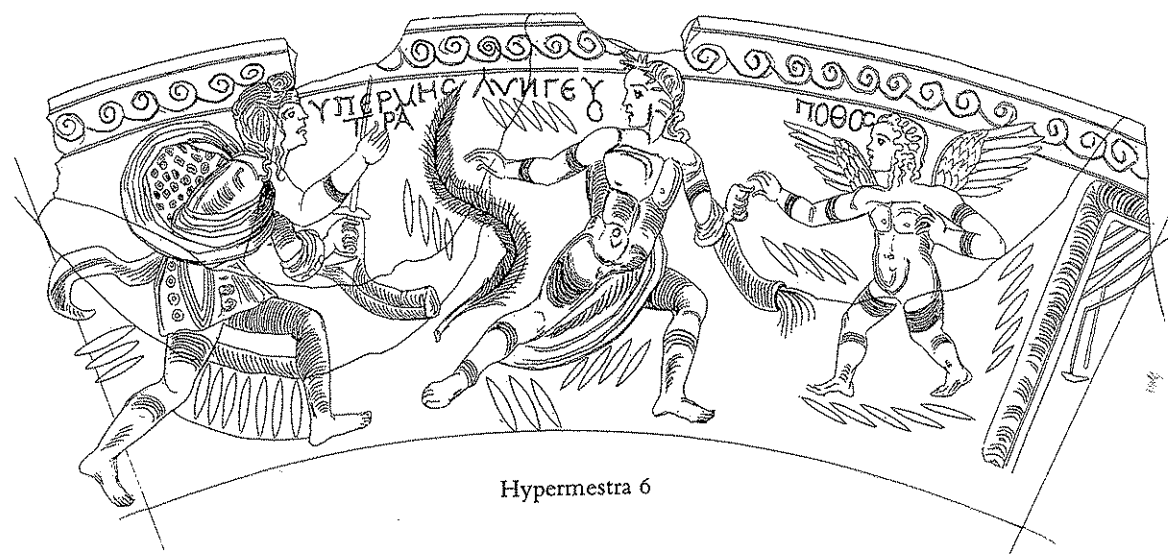
6. \* \* Glasbecher, sog. «Lynkeusbecher», röm. Köln, Röm.-Germ. Mus. Glas 295. Aus Köln. – Aus'm Weerth, E., *BonnJbb* 74, 1882, 65–68 Taf. 6; Fremersdorf, F., *Die Denkmäler des röm. Köln* 8, 1967, 144–145 Taf. 181–184; Doppelfeld, O., *Römisches und fränkisches Glas in Köln* (1966) 65–66 Taf. 155; Kossatz, *Dramen* 49 Abb. 3; Kat. *Glass of the Caesars* (1987) 198–199 Nr. 108 Abb. 199. – Spätes 2. Jh. n. Chr. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. (Fremersdorf). – H. (*ὑπερμήστρα*) mit wehenden Gewändern und einem Dolch in der l. Hand verfolgt Lynkeus (*ΛΥΝΚΕΥΣ*), der nach r. laufend zu entfliehen versucht. Hinter H. ist das Schlafgemach durch einen Eingang mit Vorhang angedeutet, aus dem die Eilenden kommen. Lynkeus hat im Laufen den Kopf zurückgewendet, so daß er nicht sieht, daß → Pothos (*ΠΟΘΟΣ*, das Liebesverlangen) ihm zu Hilfe kommt und H. anderen Sinnes werden läßt. Bei *Ov. her.* 14, 45–46 zückt H. dreimal den Dolch und bringt es dreimal nicht fertig, den Mordbefehl ihres Vaters auszuführen. Der von Aphrodite gesandte Pothos deutet den guten Ausgang der Szene an. Bei Aischyl. *Prom.* 865 bewirkt *ἡμερος* (→ Himeros, Himeroi) die Sinnesänderung bei H.

### D. Hypermnestra und Lynkeus auf einem Unterweltsbild

#### DEUTUNG MÖGLICH, ABER NICHT GESICHERT

7. (= Aphrodite 1529 [Seite B], = Erinys 11, = Danaides 8\*, = Hades 130, = Herakleida 11) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. B4. Aus Ruvo. – *RVAp* I 431, 81 Taf. 160, 1: Umkreis des Lykurgosmalers; Trendall, *RFSIS* 81 Abb. 151; *CV4* 2 Taf. 61–63; Cämmerer, B., *JbBadWürtt* 12, 1975, 47–50. – Um 350/40 v. Chr. – Unterweltsbild mit Hades und Persephone im Palast. R. vom Palast steht ein junges Paar, in dem Cämmerer Lynkeus und H. er-





Hypermestra 6

kennen will, weil die Frau in der l. Hand eine Hydria hält. Mit ihrer r. Hand vollführt H. einen Adorationsgestus. Der Jüngling vor H. hat einen großen Ährenkranz auf dem Kopf und scheint mit den Unterweltherrschern im Gespräch zu sein. Keuls (→ Danaides 8\*) schreibt Triptolemos mit Fragezeichen (so auch CVA 2, 30). Aber Triptolemos auf Unterweltbildern wird alt und bärtig dargestellt (→ Aiakos 1. 2. 3). Ist Lynkeus mit H. auf diesem Unterweltbild gemeint, wie Cämmerer postuliert, so erscheinen die Danaide H. und Lynkeus hier als Eingeweihte der Mysterien von Eleusis, die den Glanz der Göttin im Jenseits schauen dürfen. Eine Verbindung der Danaiden zur Mysterienlehre der Demeter ergibt die Notiz des Herodot, nach der die Danaiden die Weißen der Demeter von Ägypten nach Argos mitgebracht haben sollen (Hdt. 2, 171). Bei H. ist das Wassergefäß also nur ein attributives Erkennungszeichen. Sie muß weder wie ihre Schwestern, die Danaiden, das versäumte bräutliche Reinigungsbad nachholen, noch die ursprüngliche Strafe der Uneingeweihten – das Wasserschöpfen – im Jenseits vollziehen.

## KOMMENTAR

Die Beischriften auf den Scherben von Paestum (5) aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. und die eingeritzten Namen H. und Lynkeus auf dem röm. Glasbecher des 3. Jh. n. Chr. (6) zeigen, daß der Danaidenmythos bis in die Spätantike lebendig war und dargestellt wurde, wobei durch die Hinzufügung des Pothos das Pietasmotiv (Ovid) von dem Motiv der Liebe überlagert wurde.

Die einzige gesicherte Darstellung der H. in der griech. Plastik kennen wir nur aus der Beschreibung des Paus. (1), der aber keinen festen Darstellungstypus für H. überliefert. Die Bronzegruppe in Delphi 1 und die Danaidengalerie (s. 2) auf der Südseite des Palatin in Rom verdanken ihre Weihung oder Aufstellung einer ganz bestimmten historischen bzw. politischen Situation. Während 1 eine rein repräsentative Demon-

stration von Argos in Delphi war, bei der H. nur mitdargestellt wurde, weil die Argiver ihre Geschlechter auf H. und Lynkeus zurückgeführt haben, ist die Sitzstatue 2 (wenn sie wirklich zu dem vielfigurigen Danaidenmonument gehörte) eher als gleichnishafte politische Anspielung des augusteischen Schuld- und Sühnegedankens zu interpretieren.

Auf der frühesten griech. Vase 4 ist H. vielleicht aus dem Kontext und aufgrund ihrer Attribute zu erschließen.

Bei dem apul. Unterweltbild 7 muß man sich fragen, ob auf diesen Darstellungen (vgl. auch die Gruppe hinter Orpheus auf → Hades 132) überhaupt ein mythischer Kontext angestrebt worden ist, oder ob nicht eher eine philosophische Jenseitslehre illustriert werden sollte, mit der dem Verstorbenen, in dessen Grab diese Vasen standen, durch die dargestellten mythischen Exempla Trost gespendet wurde. Während die Schwestern der H., die Danaiden, als Büsserinnen die ursprüngliche Strafe der Uneingeweihten – das Wasserschöpfen – nachvollziehen mußten (→ Danaides 7. 11. 13. 15. 17. 19–22. 24–31), scheint H. als Beispiel für die Überwindung des Hades gegolten zu haben.

GRATIA BERGER-DOER

## HYPEROCHE → Hyperboreioi (LIMC Suppl.)

## HYPERPHAS

(Υπερφας, l'Arrogant). Géant (→ Gigantes).

1. (= Gigantes 2\*\* avec renvois et bibl.) Frise nord du Trésor des Siphniens de Delphes. Delphes, Mus. – Peu avant 525 av. J.-C. – Nom de l'un des trois

Géants, vêtus de la panoplie, qui affrontent les Létoides. L'inscription avait été lue autrefois Hypertas. Il existe un héros béotien homonyme. Cf. Brinkmann, V., BCH 109, 1985, 92.

FRANCIS VIAN

## SOMNUS

(Somnus, Sopor) Divinité et personnification du sommeil. Le terme le plus usité, Somnus, contient de plus une allusion au rêve.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Pour la généalogie de S., la littérature d'époque romaine suit la tradition grecque: il est fils de la Nuit (→ Nyx) – seul Sen. (Herc. f. 1068) lui donne Astrée pour mère – et de l'Érèbe; il est frère de la mort, → Thanatos (Sen. Herc. f. 1069; Verg. Aen. 6, 278). Il est aussi suivant la tradition homérique l'époux de → Pasithea (→ Charis/Charites): Catullus 63, 43; il est également père des Songes et notamment de Morphée (Ov. met. 11, 633–635. 646–648). Fronton (de Feriis Alsiansibus 3, 9) ne lui donne aucune généalogie; il en fait un dieu créé par Jupiter (→ Zeus-Iuppiter).

S. est décrit comme un dieu jeune (Stat. silv. 5, 4, 1), ailé (Catullus 63, 42; Tib. 2, 1, 89–90; Sil. 10, 344. 351; Sen. Herc. f. 1068; Fronto de Fer. Als. 3, 12); Stat. (Theb. 10, 137) précise que ses ailes sont placées sur les tempes. C'est par ses ailes qu'il dispense le sommeil (Prop. 1, 3, 45; Sil. 10, 344–345. 354–356; Stat. silv. 5, 4, 16–17; Theb. 10, 148–151; cf. Ov. met. 8, 823–824). Il utilise aussi sa baguette (Stat. silv. 5, 4, 18) trempée dans l'eau du Léthé, ou les gouttes qui s'en écoulent (Verg. Aen. 5, 854–856; Sil. 10, 351–356), ou sa corne remplie de sucs soporifiques (Sil. 10, 351–352; Stat. Theb. 2, 144–145; 5, 199; 6, 27; Serv. Aen. 1, 692; 6, 893; Fronto de Fer. Als. 3, 10–11). Il endort aussi en recouvrant d'un voile (Tib. 3, 4, 55) ou même par sa simple présence (Stat. silv. 5, 4, 19).

Suivant la tradition d'Hésiode qui situe son domaine dans les Enfers (theog. 758–761), Verg. (Aen. 6, 278) le décrit dans le palais de Dis et Lucien (Lukianos v. h. 2, 32) dans l'île des Songes. On lui attribue aussi un séjour terrestre: suivant la version homérique (Hom. Od. 15, 230–231), Nonnos (Dion. 31, 110–113) qui en fait un dieu errant, cite parmi divers lieux où il vit Lemnos; d'autres auteurs mentionnent des régions fabuleuses: à l'Occident chez les Éthiopiens (Stat. Theb. 10, 84–88) ou dans le pays des Cimmériens (Ov. met. 11, 592–593).

Dans une contrée plongée dans l'obscurité et silencieuse (Ov. met. 11, 595–602; Stat. Theb. 10, 85–86. 92–98), peuplée d'animaux noirs et de plantes flétries (Stat. Theb. 10, 97–99), il occupe une caverne (Ov. met. 11, 592–593; Stat. Theb. 10, 86–87) dans un décor sombre (Ov. met. 11, 610–611; Tib. 2, 1, 90). Il vit lui-même endormi (Ov. met. 11, 612. 618–619. 648–649; Stat. Theb. 10, 106–110), tenant sa corne (Stat. Theb. 10, 111), entouré de pavots et de plantes soporifiques (Ov. met. 11, 605–606; Lukianos v. h. 2, 33) qui garnissent sa couche (Stat. Theb. 10, 107–108).

S. est généralement mentionné comme une divinité bénéfique et bienveillante pour les mortels. Il est le plus souvent qualifié de doux (lenis ou placidus: Ov. fast. 4, 653; met. 11, 623; Sen. Herc. f. 1077; mollis: Sil. 10, 344; mitis: Stat. Theb. 10, 126) et paresseux (Tib. 3, 4, 81). Il est désigné comme le consolateur des âmes (Tib. 3, 4, 19; Ov. met. 11, 624; Sen. Herc. f. 1066).

## HYPIOS

(Υπιος) Fluß im östlichen Bithynien, heute Melen Çai. Auf den kaiserzeitlichen Münzen von Prusias, das am Oberlauf des H. liegt, ist der Flußgott dargestellt.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: bei Ruge.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: v. Diest, W., Petermanns Mitteilungen Erg.-H. 94, 1889, 88; Imhoof-Blumer, Flußg 267; Robert, L., A travers l'Asie mineure (1980), 11–128; Ruge, W., REIX 1 (1914) 322 s. v. «Hypios».

## KATALOG

Münzen von Prusias

## a) Gelagerter Flußgott

1.\* AE, Trajan (98–117 n. Chr.). – RecGén I 4, 604, 12 Taf. 104, 1. – Gelagerter H. mit Zweig vor einem Baum.

2. AE, M. Aurelius Caesar (139–161 n. Chr.). – RecGén I 4, 606, 25 Taf. 104, 10. – Gelagerter H. mit Blütenzweig und Füllhorn.

3.\* AE, M. Aurelius Augustus (161–180 n. Chr.). – RecGén I 4, 607, 30 Taf. 104, 15. – Wie 2, Inschrift ΥΠΙΟΣ. – Gleicher Typus: L. Verus (161–169), RecGén I 4, 609, 44.

4.\* AE, M. Aurelius Augustus (161–180 n. Chr.). – Imhoof-Blumer, Flußg 267, 234 (irrtümlich M. Aurelius Caesar) Taf. 8, 9; RecGén I 4, 607, 31 Taf. 104, 16; Robert 86 Abb. 6. – Gelagerter H. mit Blütenzweig und Schilfrohr. Inschrift ΥΠΙΟΣ.

## b) Tyche und gelagerter Flußgott

5.\* AE, Antoninus Pius (138–161 n. Chr.). – Imhoof-Blumer, Flußg 267, 232 Taf. 8, 7; RecGén I 4, 605, 17 Taf. 104, 3; SNG v. Aulock 889. – Sitzende Tyche, zu ihren Füßen gelagerter H.

## KOMMENTAR

Dies sind Varianten des in der Kaiserzeit üblichen Schemas des gelagerten Flußgottes (→ Fluvii). Robert 104 weist ausführlich darauf hin, daß solche Varianten spezifische Eigenschaften des Ortes andeuten, in diesem Falle Holzverschiffung und reiche Bewaldung.

HERBERT A. CAHN

## HYPNOS → LIMC Suppl.

avec un pouvoir de guérison sur les maux de l'esprit (Sen. *Herc. f.* 1080-1081. 1092-1094); il est dispensateur de la paix (Sen. *Herc. f.* 1072-1073) par l'oubli qu'il accorde (Nonn. *Dion.* 7, 141): cf. l'eau du Léthé qui imprègne sa baguette. Il amène le repos du corps (Ov. *met.* 11, 624-625; Sen. *Herc. f.* 1077; Fronto de *Fer. Als.* 3, 11). Il est tout-puissant sur les dieux et sur les hommes (Val. Fl. 4, 16) et invincible (Nonn. *Dion.* 31, 143. 158).

Mais, dieu multiforme, il peut en quelques occasions être décrit dans un contexte négatif. Ainsi pour Verg. *Aen.* 6, 273-281, il vit dans le palais de Dis entouré d'allégories néfastes. Dans quelques épisodes il participe à la perte de personnages condamnés par les dieux: ainsi Palinure (→ Palinouros) qu'il trompe en prenant un aspect familial (Verg. *Aen.* 5, 838-861), utilisant comme dieu des rêves (→ Oneiros) les capacités de métamorphose traditionnellement attribuées aux Songes (Ov. *met.* 11, 626. 633-643); et comme dieu du sommeil il endort les hommes de Lemnos (Stat. *Theb.* 5, 195-200), utilisant non plus ses attributs traditionnels mais les brumes de la mort et l'eau du → Styx, et sa corne qualifiée d'implacable.

**Somnus et les rêves.** S. est en étroite relation avec les rêves comme l'expriment son nom et leurs liens de parenté. Ils sont, dans toutes les descriptions de son domaine, réunis près de lui (Verg. *Aen.* 6, 238; Ov. *met.* 11, 614-615; Lukianos *v. h.* 2, 32); ils lui sont aussi subordonnés, c'est lui qui choisit le plus apte à transmettre ce qu'un autre dieu veut faire connaître à un mortel (Ov. *met.* 11, 587-588; 626-628. 647-648); pour Verg. (*Aen.* 6, 893-896) c'est par les portes du Sommeil que sont envoyés visions et songes. Il est aussi parfois désigné lui-même comme la divinité du rêve (Sen. *Herc. f.* 1070-1071; Nonn. *Dion.* 47, 345-346; Fronto de *Fer. Als.* 3, 13) qu'il suscite par le contact de son aile (Nonn. *Dion.* 5, 535; 7, 141); il peut ainsi transmettre des oracles (Sen. *Herc. f.* 1070-1071; Lukianos, *Bis Acc.* 1). Mais il est aussi dans ce rôle un dieu trompeur (Sen. *Herc. f.* 1070-1071; Tib. 3, 4, 56).

**Somnus et les autres divinités.** S., s'il n'a pas de mythe en propre, agit cependant dans plusieurs légendes à la demande d'un dieu. Sur l'ordre de Junon (→ Iuno) il endort Jupiter dans un épisode calqué sur Hom. (*Il.* 14, 231-353), pour favoriser les Indiens dans leur combat contre Bacchus (→ Dionysos/Bachhus) (Nonn. *Dion.* 31, 110-32, 101), - ainsi que les Thébains pour favoriser les Épigones (Stat. *Theb.* 10, 126-131) et, pour causer leur perte, les hommes de Lemnos (Stat. *Theb.* 5, 195-200); à la demande de Neptune (→ Poseidon/Neptunus) il plonge dans le sommeil Palinure (Verg. *Aen.* 5, 838-861).

Il aide les dieux dans leurs amours; il prolonge le sommeil des hommes pour Jupiter et Alcmène (→ Alkmene) (Lukianos *d. deor.* 14), maintient → Endymion endormi pour Séléné (→ Selene/Luna) (Nonn. *Dion.* 48, 637-638) et endort les Nymphes (→ Nymphae), Nikaia (Nonn. *Dion.* 16, 282-286) et Aura (Nonn. *Dion.* 48, 621-759). Ces épisodes lui valent d'être désigné comme le serviteur ou le compagnon d'Amour (→ Eros/Amor, Cupido) (Nonn. *Dion.*

32, 97; 48, 637-638); il est aussi celui qui prépare les mariages (Nonn. *Dion.* 48, 636). Ses relations avec Amor sont aussi soulignées par la présence d'un groupe statuaire réunissant les deux divinités, dans son domaine (Stat. *Theb.* 10, 103) où il est aussi figuré en compagnie de Voluptas (Stat. *Theb.* 10, 101).

Dans d'autres contextes, S. apparaît encore en compagnie de Bacchus: il fuit devant le dieu quand celui-ci découvre Ariane (→ Ariadne) (Nonn. *Dion.* 47, 296-336), mais dans d'autres circonstances S. accompagne le dieu (Sil. 7, 205; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 102). S. est aussi en étroite relation avec d'autres divinités; → Quies (Stat. *silv.* 1, 6, 91; *Theb.* 10, 89) et la Nuit: il conduit son char (Stat. *Theb.* 2, 59) et se retire à l'aube avec elle, sa corne vidée (Stat. *Theb.* 6, 27); c'est elle par contre qui fabrique le suc pour endormir le monde (Ov. *met.* 11, 605-608): couronnée de pavots, elle peut amener les songes (Ov. *fast.* 4, 661-662) - tout comme, occasionnellement, Labor (Stat. *Theb.* 10, 102).

**Le culte.** Pour Apulée (*Socr.* 16, 155) S. n'est pas un dieu mais un démon supérieur et, malgré l'existence de dédicaces à S. (cf. *infra*, S. dans un contexte funéraire), on ne lui connaît pas de culte à Rome; le sacrifice que lui offre Numa (Ov. *fast.* 4, 653) semble bien être une création littéraire. De fait il n'est pas mentionné dans les *indigitamenta* où une autre divinité, Quies, recouvre quelques aspects de sa personnalité. Mais les cultes rendus en Grèce à Hypnos se perpétuent à l'époque romaine, à Sparte avec → Thanatos (Paus. 3, 18, 1), à Sicyone où il est en relation avec → Asklepios (Paus. 2, 10, 2) et à Trézène avec les Muses (→ Mousa, Mousai) (Paus. 2, 31, 3).

En dehors des mythes, S. intervient dans plusieurs domaines de l'activité humaine.

**Somnus dans le domaine funéraire.** L'idée du sommeil est fréquemment associée à la mort, et ce lien est souligné par la parenté qui unit les deux divinités dès les généalogies les plus anciennes. Cette association est très fréquemment exprimée dans la littérature sous forme de métaphore (Catullus 5, 5-6; Hor. *c.* 1, 24, 5-6; 3, 11, 38-39; Verg. *Aen.* 6, 522; 10, 745; 12, 309-310): la mort est représentée par le sommeil et, au contraire, Apul. (*met.* 6, 21) compare le sommeil de → Psyche à la mort.

La même thématique est exploitée dans le domaine philosophique, que ce soit par Lucr. (3, 909-921), par Cic. (*Tusc.* 1, 91-92) ou par Sen. (*Herc. f.* 1075-1076) pour qui le sommeil est un entraînement nécessaire à la mort. A partir de l'époque d'Auguste cette image littéraire apparaît dans les inscriptions funéraires (*CEpigr.* 1811). D'autres inscriptions comportent une dédicace à la divinité S. comme gardien du tombeau ou comme psychopompe: il porte les épithètes d'*Aeternus* (CIL VI 10468. 19966. 10848. 15983), *Aeternalis* (CIL VI 10707a. 12123. 13241. 10693. 18850. 28875), *Perpetuali* (sic: CIL VI 19966), *S. sepulchro aeternali* (CIL VI 17430). Cette comparaison, déjà utilisée à l'époque grecque et qui se développe à l'époque romaine jusqu'à devenir un lieu commun, se perpétuera à l'époque chrétienne.

**Somnus dans le domaine médical.** Le lien entre S. et

Esculape, attesté dans les croyances grecques, en particulier par le biais des sanctuaires à incubation, est aussi connu dans le monde romain bien que les témoignages soient assez rares et uniquement épigraphiques. S. est nommé parmi les divinités de la santé aux côtés d'Hygie (→ Hygieia) et de → Salus dans les temples d'Esculape (Orelli 1572 sq.; Henzen 5736-5738, 46. 65) à Rome, en Gaule et en Espagne (CIL II 2407), et à Éphèse à l'époque néronienne (Egger, R., *Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift* 19, 1932, 320; Ephesos IV n° 23).

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#### CATALOGUE

##### I. Somnus seul

###### A. Somnus enfant

###### 1. Somnus sous la forme d'un Amour

###### Reliefs

I. • Autel funéraire de Q. Caecilius Ferox, en marbre. Rome, Villa Albani 47. De Rome. - Cumont, *Symb.* 411-412 fig. 83; Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV n° 3322 (Kolbe, H. G.); Hartmann, J. B., *Röm. Jb. für Kunstgeschichte* 12, 1969, 11-12. 19 fig. 2. - Fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur la



Hypnos/Somnus I

face latérale g. S., sous la forme d'un Amour nu, debout de face (ailes déployées, draperie sur le bras g.), les mains croisées sur l'épaule g., s'appuie sur une torche enflammée renversée (inscr. *SOMNO . ORES-TILLA . FILII[A]*). Sur la face opposée, Fatum (→ Fata, Fatum) sous la forme de → Nemesis.

2. \* Sarcophage de marbre. Izmir, Mus. Arch. 20. D'Hypaipa (près d'Ödemiz). – Asgari, N., *AA* 1977, 341. 368 Izmir E fig. 23; Schauenburg, K., dans *Eikones, AntK* 12. Beih. (1980) 158–159 pl. 54, 2; Wrede, *Consecratio* 128 pl. 4, 1; Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 521 fig. 512; Söldner 339–340. 748 n° 332. – Début du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – S. (ailes dans le dos) dort sur des rochers, les pieds croisés, la main dr. sur l'épaule g., le bras g. le long du corps, tenant des têtes de pavots (inscr. *ΥΠΝΟΣ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΣ*).

#### Ronde-bosse

3. Statuette de marbre. Florence, Uff. 169. – Clarac IV pl. 761 n° 1869; Mansuelli, *ScultUff* 139–140 n° 106 fig. 107; Stuveras, R., *Le putto dans l'art romain* (1969) 35 n. 1. 2; Wrede, *Consecratio* 128 n. 33; Söldner 96–97. 630 n° 61 fig. 65–67. – 2<sup>e</sup> quart du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – S. (ailes dans le dos et ailettes aux tempes), couché du côté g. sur une peau de lion, dort tenant dans la main g. des têtes de pavots. Sur le socle un lézard.

4. Statuette de marbre. Vatican (Magazzini) 10389. – Söldner 96–98. 102. 634 n° 70 fig. 68. – Ép. antonine. – S. (ailettes sur la tête et ailes dans le dos) dort la tête appuyée sur un petit lion endormi (?), dans la main g. il tient des têtes de pavots.

5. \* Statuette de marbre. Volubilis, Mus. Vol. 11199. – Thouvenot, R., *PSAM* 3, 1937, 47–49 fig. 1; Söldner 96–98. 637 n° 76 fig. 69. – Ép. des Sévères. – Analogue à 4.

6. Couvercle de sarcophage de marbre. Aquilée, Mus. Naz. 447. D'Aquilée. – Scrinari, V. S. M., *Cat. delle sculture romane, Aquileia* (1972) 175 n° 549; Wrede, *Consecratio* 303–304 n° 287; Söldner 259. 330–331. 680 n° 152. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ou III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Sur un rocher recouvert d'une peau de lion, S. enfant (ailettes sur la tête) dort la main g. sous la tête; le bras dr. le long du corps, il tient des têtes de pavots.

7. \* Statuette de marbre. Madrid, Mus. Arch. 1775. D'Elche. – García y Bellido, A., *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (1949) 113–114 n° 113 pl. 88. – I<sup>er</sup>–II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – S. (ailettes sur le sommet de la tête), debout en appui sur la jambe dr., endormi, pose la tête sur ses mains levées à hauteur des épaules.

8. \* Ex-voto de marbre. Argos, Mus. E 24. D'Argos, à l'est du théâtre. – Roux, G., *BCH* 78, 1954, 167 fig. 17; Marcadé, J./Raftopoulou, E., *BCH* 87, 1963, 85–88 n° 76 fig. 38; Söldner 270–271. 689 n° 168. – S. (ailes dans le dos) nu, le torse relevé, en appui sur le bras g., la main dr. sur l'épaule g., est allongé sur des rochers. Dédicace à Asklépios.

9. \* Statuette de bronze. Loc. inc. De Grand (Vosges). – Reinach, S., *Antiquités nationales. Descr. raisonnée du Mus. de St Germain-en-Laye. Bronzes de la Gaule romaine* (1894) 106; Reinach, *RépStat* II, 489, 4; Boucher, *Recherches* 155. – I<sup>er</sup>–II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – S. aux formes enfantines, nu (ailettes aux tempes, chignon



Hypnos/Somnus 9

sur le haut du crâne), en marche; le bras dr. levé, il tient dans la main une corne qu'il renverse.

10. Statuette de bronze. Mandeure (Doubs), coll. part. De Mandeure. – Lerat, L., *Gallia* 20, 1962, 523 fig. 12; Jeannin, Y., *REA* 14, 1963, 118–121 fig. 25; Boucher, *Recherches* 155. – I<sup>er</sup>–II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Proche de 9, mais de fabrication très fruste. Jeannin signale une autre statuette de S. disparue, trouvée au XVIII<sup>e</sup> s. au même endroit.

Pour d'autres images de S. sous cet aspect: 146–150. 152

#### 2. Amour avec les attributs de Somnus

D'autres images illustrent le sommeil; le personnage est alors un Amour assimilé à Somnus par la présence de certains attributs, têtes de pavots ou corne (souvent associés à d'autres éléments qui en précisent la signification), et non plus par des ailes caractéristiques ou des inscriptions; elles reprennent divers types statuaires utilisés par ailleurs; pour la classification de ces types, principalement dans la ronde bosse, et leur origine hellénistique, cf. Söldner, *passim*, dont la typologie est reprise ici.

#### AMOUR TENANT LES PAVOTS

##### Reliefs

11. Autel ossuaire de P. Postumus Hilarius. Aquilée, Mus. Naz. 935. D'Aquilée, nécropole de l'est. – Brusin, G., *Gli scavi di Aquileia* (1934) 199 fig. 117; Scrinari, o. c. 6, 130 n° 372, ill. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Sur la face g. un Amour nu, debout, les ailes déployées, s'appuie sur un pilastre; les bras baissés, il tient une grosse tête de pavot dans la main dr. et une couronne dans la g. Sur l'autre face, Amour tenant une couronne et une torche baissée.

12. \* Sarcophage de marbre. Vatican, Cortile della Pigna. – Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* 1863 n° 159 pl. 107; Hartmann, o. c. 1, 17 fig. 16. – Milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Au centre le portrait du défunt dans une coquille portée par deux Amours; de chaque côté un Amour debout dort tenant des têtes de pavots dans une main. Cf. *etiam* → Eros 978.

13. (= Eros 982\*) Autel funéraire de marbre. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. R 1. De Thessalonique. – Schauenburg, o. c. 2, 158 pl. 52, 3; Wrede, *Consecratio* 129. 202 n° 21 pl. 4, 4; Söldner 648 n° 95. – II<sup>e</sup>–III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Au registre sup. un Amour debout; au registre inf. un Amour couché sur le côté g., les pieds croi-

sés, le buste relevé et appuyé sur le bras g., le bras dr. devant la poitrine, tenant des têtes de pavots.

14. (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 114) Sarcophage de marbre. Rome, Pal. Primoli. – Schauenburg, o. c. 2, 157 pl. 53, 4. – Début du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Aux angles du sarcophage, deux Amours dorment assis; celui de dr. tient des têtes de pavots dans sa main dr. baissée; au centre deux autres volent portant l'*imago clipeata* du défunt.

#### Ronde bosse

TYPE DE L'EROS DE NEW YORK (→ Eros 780)

15. \* Statuette de marbre. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. SK 143. De Rome (?). – Conze, A., *Beschreibung der ant. Skulpturen, Berlin* (1891) 64 n° 143; Wrede, *Consecratio* 128 n. 33; Söldner 598 n° 5 fig. 33. – Période antonine. – Sur une peau de lion, un Amour (baudrier, arc) dort couché sur le côté g., le bras g. sous la tête, les jambes fléchies, la dr. relevée; le bras dr. sur la poitrine, il tient une tête de pavot. (inscr. funéraire sur la cuisse g.).

16. Statuette de marbre. Florence, Uff. 392. – Mansuelli, *ScultUff* 140 n° 108 pl. 110; Wrede, *Consecratio* 128 n. 33; Söldner 598–599 n° 6 fig. 25. – Ép. antonine. – Un Amour dort sur un rocher couvert d'une draperie, les jambes étendues et écartées, la tête sur le bras g., le bras dr. baissé, tenant des têtes de pavots; près de lui un papillon.

17. \* Statuette de marbre. Vatican 10401. – Wrede, *Consecratio* 128 n° 128 n. 33; Söldner 612 n° 30 fig. 34. – Proche du précédent, mais avec un oiseau près de lui, et à sa tête apparaît l'embouchure d'une amphore pour l'écoulement de l'eau.

18. a) Couvercle d'une urne de marbre. Sassari, Mus. Naz. G. A. Sanna 7873. De Porto Torres. – Equini Schneider, E., *Cat. delle sculture romane del Mus. Naz. G. A. Sanna di Sassari e del Comune di Porto Torres* (1979) 24–25 n° 9 pl. 10; Söldner 613–614 n° 32 fig. 23. – Fin de l'ép. d'Hadrien. – Couché sur une draperie, un Amour (baudrier) dort, légèrement tourné sur le côté g., les jambes étendues et écartées, la tête sur le bras g., tenant des têtes de pavots. – b) Anc. coll. Somzée. – Furtwängler, A., *Sammlung Somzée. Antike Kunstdenkmäler* (1897) 39 n° 52, fig.; Söldner 614 n° 33 fig. 22. – Ép. flavienne. – Comme a), mais les pavots sont seulement posés sur la retombée de la draperie avec un lézard. Autres exemplaires se rattachant au même type: Söldner 596–617 n° 19. 21. 24. 37.

#### TYPE DE L'EROS DE MALIBU

19. Statuette de marbre. Florence, Uff. 626. – Mansuelli, *ScultUff* 140–141 n° 109 fig. 108; Söldner 623–624 n° 50 fig. 63–64. – Ép. antonine. – Amour (baudrier) dormant sur le dos, couché sur une peau de lion, la jambe g. pliée sous la dr. étendue, la main dr. derrière la tête; le bras g. le long du corps, il tient des têtes de pavots. Autres exemplaires: Söldner 623–627 n° 49. 53.

#### TYPE D'HYPNOS

20. \* Statuette de marbre. Dresde, Staatl. Kunstslg. 245. – Clarac IV n° 1865; Söldner 628–629 n° 59 fig.

70. – 1<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Un Amour légèrement tourné sur le côté g., la tête inclinée sur l'épaule, dort sur une draperie, la jambe dr. étendue sur la g. fléchie. La main dr. est placée sur le haut du bras g. qui repose plié sur le sol, tenant des têtes de pavots. Sous le buste, une peau de lion dont la tête et les pattes antérieures sont figurées.

21. Statuette de marbre. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. 2282. De Kymé. – Mendel, *Sculpt* II 107 n° 367; Reinach, *RépStat* V 186, 4; Söldner 613 n° 63. – Semblable à 20.

22. \* Statuette de marbre. Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti 1721. – Amelung, *SkulptVat* I 365 n° 85 pl. 38; Wrede, *Consecratio* 128 n. 33; Söldner 633–634 n° 69 fig. 76. – Ép. antonine. – Amour couché, un petit lion sous la nuque.

23. \* Statuette de marbre. Trèves, Rhein. Landesmus. 09,793. De Trèves, thermes de Barbara. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* VI n° 5071; Manderscheid, H., *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitl. Thermenanlagen* (1981) 68 Kat 5 pl. 13; Söldner 636–637 n° 74. – Ép. d'Hadrien. – Proche de 20.

24. Statuette de terre cuite. Tunis, Bardo I 5. D'Hadrumetum (Sousse). – Du Coudray la Blanchère, R./Gauckler, P., *Cat. du Mus. Alaoui* (1897) 132 n° 5 pl. 29; Söldner 637 n° 75. – Analogue à 22.

Autres objets de ce type: Söldner 627–638 n° 56–58, 62–63. 67–68. 71.

#### TYPE DE NEWBY HALL

25. \* Statuette de marbre. Newby Hall, Ripon, North Yorkshire. De Rome? – Clarac IV n° 1861 E; Söldner 645–646 n° 90 fig. 86–87. – Ép. flavienne. – Un Amour (chlamyde agrafée sur l'épaule dr., baudrier) dort couché sur son vêtement, le torse reposant sur son aile g., l'aile dr. légèrement surélevée; la tête soulevée par la main g., le bras dr. sur la poitrine, il tient des têtes de pavots; sur le sol, son arc et un lézard.

26. \* Statuette de marbre. Londres, BM 1861.11–27.74. De Cyrène, temple d'Aphrodite. – Smith, *BMSculpture* III 239 n° 1426; Huskinson, J., *CSIR Great Britain II* 1 (1975) 52 n° 93 pl. 37; Wrede, *Consecratio* 128 n. 33; Söldner 645 fig. 92. – Ép. antonine. – Analogue à 25.

27. a) Statuette de marbre. Agios Nikolaos (Crète), Mus. 6857. De Hiérapytna (Hiérapetra). – Davaras, C., *ArchDelt* 31, 1976, Chron. II 2, 379 pl. 300 b; Söldner 642 n° 84 fig. 90–91. – Fin de l'ép. antonine – début des Sévères. – Analogue à 25. – b) Statuette disparue. Anc. Lowther Castle. – Michaelis, *AncM* 498 n° 66; Carinci, F., dans Guerrini, L., *Pal. Mattei di Giove. Le antichità* (1982) 133; Söldner 700–701 n° 199. – Selon Michaelis, le personnage portait des têtes de pavots et une chlamyde, ce qui permet de le rapprocher de ce type; près de lui se trouvait un lézard; la statuette était dédiée à Hercule (inscr. *HERCVLI SANCTO/ EVTHYCHLANVS*).

Autres documents de même type, Söldner 642–649 n° 86–87. 91. 93–94.

#### TYPE DU GROUPE I

28. Statuette fr. de marbre. Alexandrie, Mus.



Gréco-Rom. 3895. D'Égypte. - Breccia, E., *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*<sup>2</sup> (1922) 220 n° 62; Adriani, Rep. A II (1961) 34 n° 130 pl. 69, 222; Riad, H./Shehata, Y. H./El Gheriani, Y., *Alexandria* (s.d.) 178 n° 3895; Söldner 659 n° 114. - Fin de l'ép. d'Hadrien - début de la période antonine. - Amour endormi sur le côté g., la tête reposant sur la main g.; le bras dr. devant la poitrine, il tient des têtes de pavots.

Autres exemplaires: Söldner 659-672 n° 119-122.

#### TYPE DU GROUPE II

29. a) \* Statuette de marbre. Elvas, Mus. D'Elvas, tombe dans l'église S. João de Deus. - De Lacerda, A., *Historia da arte em Portugal* I (1942) 98 fig. 92; García y Bellido, o. c. 7, 115 n. 1; Söldner 673 n° 139 fig. 139. - Ép. antonine. - Amour endormi sur le dos, couché sur une peau de lion, les jambes étendues, la g. pliée sous la dr., la main g. près de la tête; le bras dr. plié sur la poitrine, il tient des têtes de pavots. Sur le sol, devant lui une torche, derrière sa tête un carquois. - b) Statuette de marbre. Rome, Pal. Mattei. - Carinci, o. c. 27 b, 125-127 n° 10 pl. 37; Söldner 678 n° 149. - Ép. des Sévères. - Comme a, mais sans le carquois et avec un lézard.

#### TYPE DU GROUPE III

30. \* Statuette de marbre. Trèves, Rhein. Landesmus. 22.123. De Trèves, Pal. Kesselstatt. - Espérandieu, *Recueil X* n° 7601; Schindler, R., *Führer durch das Landesmuseum Trier* (1977) 57; Söldner 648 n° 160. - Ép. antonine. - Amour couché sur des rochers couverts d'une peau de lion; il dort légèrement tourné sur le côté g., les jambes écartées, le bras g. plié, la tête reposant sur la main; le bras dr. baissé sur la poitrine, il tient des têtes de pavots; près de lui une massue et un arc.

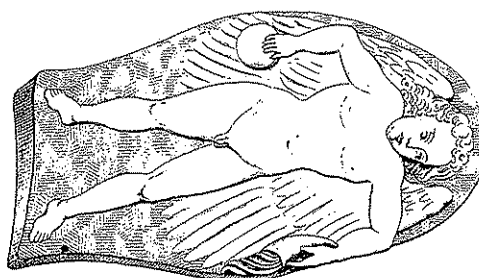
#### TYPE DU GROUPE IV

31. a) \* Statuette de marbre. Sidé, Mus. 462. De Sidé. - Inan, J., *Roman Sculpture in Side* (1975) 162 n° 87 pl. 75, 2. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Amour couché sur une peau de lion posée sur des rochers, dormant sur le dos, brisé aux jambes le bras g. le long du corps; le bras dr. est plié et la main posée sur l'épaule g. tient des têtes de pavots. - b) Statuette de marbre. Tarragone, Mus. Arq. Prov. 414. - Reinach, *RépStat V* 186, 3; García y Bellido, o. c. 7, 115 n. 2; Söldner 688 n° 167. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Semblable à a.

#### AMOUR TENANT LA CORNE

32. \* Statuette fr. de marbre. Autun, Mus. Rolin M L 242. - Autun - Augustodunum, capitale des Éduens, cat. exp. Autun, Mus. Rolin (1985) 330-331 n° 657; Söldner 689-690 n° 169 fig. 154-155. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Amour couché sur le dos, les jambes étendues, le bras g. plié, la main près de la tête, le bras dr. sur le corps: la main dr., à hauteur de la hanche, tient une corne qui laisse échapper son contenu.

33. \* Couvercle de sarcophage de pierre grise. Perdu. De Saventhem (environs de Bruxelles). - Conze, A., *BonnJbb* 52, 1872, 100-101 n. 1 pl. 8, 4; Schauenburg, o. c. 2, 158 n. 80; Wrede, *Consecratio* 205 n° 34; Söldner 693-694 n° 176. - Milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Amour couché sur le dos, les ailes déployées, les bras écartés du corps, tenant dans la main g. une corne d'où s'écoule le suc et dans la dr. un objet rond (couronne ou pain: Söldner).



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34. Statuette de marbre. Florence, Uff. 279. - Clarac IV n° 1870; Söldner 705-706 n° 229 fig. 163. - Copie d'une œuvre antique. - Amour endormi sur une peau de lion, le bras dr. derrière la tête, tenant dans la main dr. des pavots, la main g. posée sur une corne. Autre copie de la même œuvre: statuette anc. à Prague (Söldner 707 n° 231).

#### B. Somnus jeune

##### Peintures murales

35. \* Ostie, Mus. 196. D'Ostie, tombe de la via Laurentina. - De Chirico, R., *AA* 1937, 380-381 fig. 10; Calza, *NotSc* 14, 1938, 51; Cumont, *Symb* 410-411 fig. 82; Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV n° 3185. - Vers 160-170 ap. J.-C. - S. debout, tourné vers la dr. (tunique ceinturée, ailes dans le dos), tient dans la main dr. une torche renversée sur laquelle il s'appuie; il soutient son menton de la main g. et ferme les yeux.

36. Rome, Grottarossa, via Flaminia, tombe de Fadilla. - Bendinelli, G., *NotSc* 5, 1927, 304-305 fig. 6; Levi, *Antioch* 208. 229. - Fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Au centre de la voûte S. nu, debout de face, les ailes éployées, une draperie sur les épaules, le bras dr. levé et le g. baissé.

37. \* (= 151) Peinture perdue. D'une tombe de Rome. - Bellori, G. P./Bartoli, P. S., *Le pitture antiche delle grotte di Roma e del Sepolcro dei Nasoni* (1706) App. 50-52 pl. 3; Eisler, M., *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteringedanken in der christl. Antike* (1925) 177-178 fig. 82; Boyancé 102-104; Bastet, F. L., *BullAntBesch* 45, 1970, 156-157 fig. 15. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Au centre de la voûte, S. debout de face (ailes déployées, manteau sur l'épaule et le bras dr.), les bras baissés, tient des têtes de pavots dans la main dr. et une torche renversée dans la g.



Hypnos/Somnus 37

37 bis. Mosaïque de sol. Risan (Yougoslavie, golfe de Kotor). D'une villa, *in situ*. - Vouksan, D., «Les mosaïques romaines de Risan», *Albania* 4, 1932, 85-86 fig. 7-9; Mano-Zissi, D., dans *La mosaïque gréco-romaine I* (1965) 290 fig. 9; Mijovic, P., «Mosaïques paléochrétiennes», *Materijali* 18, 1980, 89-108 fig. 3. - Fin du II<sup>e</sup>-début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Dans un médaillon circulaire, S. (ailes dans le dos), les jambes drapées, est étendu sur un lit, le corps de face, en appui sur le coude dr., la main g. sur l'épaule dr.

#### Reliefs

38. Relief votif de marbre. Aquilée, Mus. Naz. D'Aquilée. - Scrinari, o. c. 6, 189 n° 583. - Milieu du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Buste masculin de profil à dr. (cheveux courts, ailes au-dessus des oreilles).

39. Relief de marbre fr. Paris, Louvre. - Sauer 2850, fig.; Boyancé 101; Picard, *Manuel III* 771 n. 1. - Tête d'homme de profil à g. (cheveux courts, ailes sur le haut de la tête).

39 bis. Autel de calcaire. Saint Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. 1225. De Paris, Pont au Change. - Espérandieu, *Recueil IV* n° 3143; Hatt, J. J., *Mythes et dieux de la Gaule I* (1989) 264 fig. 235. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. (ailes dans le dos et sur la tête), nu sauf un manteau agrafé sur l'épaule dr., qui couvre le corps et le bras g., debout de profil à g., le pied posé sur un autel; son coude dr. plié repose dans la main g. appuyée sur la cuisse dr.; il tient une pomme (Hatt) dans la main dr. Sur les autres faces, Apollon, Mercure, → Rosmerta.

#### Ronde-bosse

40. a) Statue de marbre fr. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 124680. De Tivoli, Villa Hadriana. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2274; Zanker, P., *Klassizistische Statuen* (1974) 115-116 n° 18 pl. 85, 1-4; Papadopoulos, J., dans *MusNazRom I*, 201-202 n° 125. - Ép. d'Hadrien. - Tête de S. aux cheveux courts tenus par un bandeau, ailes au front. - b) Rome, coll. priv. - Proche du précédent mais les ailes sont plus grandes et plus ouvertes.

41. \* Statue de marbre. Madrid, Prado 84 E. Prov. inconnue. - Blanco, A., *Museo del Prado, catálogo de la escultura* (1957) n° 84 E pl. 38; Zanker, o. c. 40 a, 116 n.

70; Berger, E., *AntK* 21, 1978, 61 fig. 6. Ép. d'Hadrien. - S. adolescent est endormi debout, appuyé sur un support placé sous l'aisselle dr.; le bras g. baissé, il tient des têtes de pavots (modernes). Très restauré.

42. \* Statue de marbre. Madrid, Prado 89 E. Prov. inconnue. - Blanco, o. c. 41, n° 89 E pl. 43-45. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. juvénile (ailes au front), nu, marche, le torse et l'épaule dr. en avant.

43. \* Statue de bronze, fr. Londres, BM 267. De Civitella d'Arno. - Walters, *BMBronzes* n° 267; Picard, *Manuel III* 768 n. 1; 772-773 fig. 348; Hamdorf, *Kultpersonifikationen* 43 n. 243; Boucher 13. - Ép. romaine, peut-être étrusque (Boucher). - Tête masculine juvénile, ailes aux tempes.

#### Statuettes de bronze

44. a) Besançon, Mus. Beaux-Arts 849.1.2. De Besançon. - Lerat, L., *Gallia* 8, 1950, 101-103 fig. 4; Lebel, P., *Cat. des coll. arch. de Besançon. Les bronzes figurés* (1961) 28 n° 44 pl. 26, 2; *Bronzes antiques découverts à Besançon, collections du Musée I* (1981) n° 38, ill.; Kaufmann-Heinimann, A., «Die Bronzestatuetten aus Kaiseraugst-Schmidmatt», *Jahresberichte aus Augst und Kaiseraugst* 7, 1987, 308 fig. 11. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. adolescent (ailettes au front) marche la jambe g. en avant; le bras dr. levé, il tient trois têtes de pavots. La statuette porte un torque d'argent. - b) Fr. Besançon, Mus. D 863.4.30. De Chaudanne (Doubs). - Lebel, o. c., 45 n° 120 pl. 51, 4. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Probablement fr. d'une statuette de S. proche de a: avant-bras dr. tenant l'extrémité d'une corne.

45. Base de statue. Aix-en-Provence, Mus. De Riez (Basses Alpes). - *CIL XII* 354; Boucher, *Recherches* 155; Hatt, o. c. 39 bis, 273. - Dédicace à Esculape d'une statue de S. avec un torque d'or.

46. Lyon, Mus. Beaux-Arts A 1945. Des env. de Lyon. - Boucher 7-14; Boucher, S., *Lyon. Bronzes romains figurés* (1973) 107-108 n° 171. - I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. adolescent (ailettes aux tempes) marche, la jambe g. en avant et le buste fortement penché; les bras manquent.

47. \* Lyon, Mus. Gallo-rom. Br. 57. De Neuveville-sur-Ain. - Bazin, H., *GazArch* 1888, 28 pl. 6, 3; Boucher 9 fig. 2; Boucher, *Recherches* 155; Boucher, S./Tassinari, S., *Mus. de la Civ. Gallo-Romaine à Lyon* (1976) 67 n° 57. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Semblable à 46.

48. Anc. Vienne (Isère), Mus. De Vieuv (Ossy-en-Valromey, Passin, Ain). - Bazin, o. c. 47, 25-27 pl. 6, 2; Boucher, S., *Vienne. Bronzes antiques* (1971) 15-16 n° 5; Boucher, *Recherches* 155. - Semblable à 46.

49. \* Augst, Mus. 84.26900. De Kaiseraugst. - Kaufmann-Heinimann, o. c. 44, 303.308 fig. 10. - I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. en marche (chignon, ailes aux tempes), la tête inclinée; le bras g. plié, il tient dans la main g. des têtes de pavot, et de la main dr. tendue porte une corne renversée.

50. Lausanne, Mus. cantonal d'Art et d'Histoire C. T. 887. D'Yverdon. - Leibundgut, A., *Die römischen Bronzen der Schweiz 3: Westschweiz und Wallis* (1980) n° 26 pl. 32; Kaufmann-Heinimann, o. c. 44, 317 n. 48. - I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Proche de 49 mais la jambe dr. est très en arrière; il manque les deux mains.

51.\* Nancy, Mus. hist. lorrain. De Laneuveville (Meurthe-et-Moselle). – Reinach, *RépStat* V 230, 6; France-Lanord, A./Georges, *Le Musée historique lorrain* (1948) pl. 2; Boucher, *Recherches* 155. – S. en marche; le bras dr. levé, il renverse sa corne tenue à l'horizontale; le bras g. baissé tenait probablement une branche de pavot.

52. Péronne, Mus. Danicourt. D'Étaples (Pas-de-Calais). – Danicourt, M., *RA* 1882, 7 pl. 2; Reinach, *RépStat* II 488, 5; Boucher, *Recherches* 155. – Semblable à 51.

53. USA, coll. priv. De France? – *Small Sculptures in Bronze from the Classical World*. Cat. exp. Chapel Hill (1976) n° 34. – Semblable à 51. Peut-être le même objet que la statuette mentionnée par Reinach, *RépStat* VI 105 n° 1.

54. Turin, Mus. Ant. D'Industria. – Bassi, D., *Att-SocTorino* 3, 1881, 57. 59 pl. 14; Reinach, *RépStat* II 489, 2; Boucher, *Recherches* 155. – Semblable à 51.

55. Florence, Uff. – Gerhard, E., *AZ* 1862, 221 pl. 158, 1; Reinach, *RépStat* II 488, 4; Boucher, *Recherches* 155. – S. en marche (ailes doubles au front, mèches en anglaises dans le cou, chignon); du bras dr. levé il renverse sa corne; le bras g. baissé, il tient une tige de pavot (brisée).

56. Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. VI 129. Prov. inconnue. – Gerhard, o. c. 55, pl. 158, 2; v. Sacken, E. F., *Die antiken Bronzen des K.-K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinet in Wien* (1871) 80-81 pl. 34; Reinach, *RépStat* II 489, 1; Guß + Form. *Bronzen aus der Antikenslg.* (1986) 113 n° 157 fig. 222. – S. adolescent (ailes aux tempes, cheveux retenus par un bandeau), en marche; du bras dr. levé il renverse sa corne tenue à l'horizontale; sur le bras g. baissé s'appuyait probablement une branche de pavot.

57. Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. VI 371. Prov. inconnue. – v. Sacken, o. c. 56, 80 pl. 33, 13; Reinach, *RépStat* II 488, 2. – Semblable à 56.

#### Intailles

58. Sardoine. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 6751. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* n° 6751 pl. 48; Furtwängler, *AG* 210 n° 64 pl. 43. – S. nu (ailes aux tempes) se dirige vers la g.; du bras dr. levé il tient une corne renversée et dans la main g. des tiges de pavot. Autre exemplaire semblable: Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* 248 n° 6752 pl. 48.

59.\* Cornaline. Munich, Münzslg. – *AGDI* 3, n° 2209 pl. 192. – 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Masque de S. de profil à g. (mèches de cheveux en anglaises, ailes de papillon).

60.\* Pâte de verre brun rouge. Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. XI B 396. – *AGOe* II n° 616 pl. 9. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Tête juvénile de S. de profil à g. (natte sur le front, mèches le long des joues et boucles de cheveux dans le cou, ailes aux tempes).

#### C. Somnus âgé

61. a) Relief de marbre. Rome, Villa Albani. – Helbig<sup>3</sup> II 1903 n° 1903; Cumont, *Symb* 410-411 n. 5. – S. barbu (tunique longue ceinturée), debout de

face, les pieds croisés, les ailes déployées dans le dos et sur la tête, dort la tête inclinée, les deux mains appuyées sur un bâton. On peut rapprocher de ce type rare un autre document: b) Fr. d'urne en marbre. Rome, Antiquario comunale, Pal. Caffarelli 6210. De Rome. – Sinn, F., *Stadtrömische Marmorurnen* (1987) 55-56. 91 n° 3 pl. a-b. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Génie (S.?) (tunique longue ceinturée, ailes dans le dos) coiffé d'un bonnet phrygien, dormant appuyé sur une torche renversée; à g. l'inscription funéraire et → Charon (I) dans sa barque, sur l'autre côté une des → Danaïdes.

62. (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 681) Relief de stuc. Vatican, niche de la tombe H de la nécropole sous Saint Pierre. – Guarducci, M., *Cristo e S. Pietro in un documento precostantiniano* (1954) pl. 7b; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 175 K 123, 10. – Vers 170 ap. J.-C. – S. (ailes de chauve-souris) debout de face, les ailes déployées, tient une torche et un rhyton. Sur la voûte deux Amours aux ailes de chauve-souris, un masculin et un féminin, portent une cornucopia; au-dessous, une branche garnie de têtes de pavots.

#### Intailles

63. a) Pâte de verre. New York, MMA 17.194.35. – Richter *MetMusGems* 87-88 n° 836 pl. 48. – 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Buste hermaïque de S. de profil à dr., barbu, portant une couronne de laurier dont les rubans tombent dans le cou, avec des ailes de papillon aux tempes. Il existe un grand nombre d'exemplaires analogues d'ép. impériale: Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 4741-4744 (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* n° 4741-4744 pl. 34); Copenhagen, Mus. Thorv. (Fossing, *ThorvGems* 86 n° 453 pl. 6); cornaline: Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 6528 (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* n° 6528 pl. 46; Furtwängler, *AG* 49 pl. 30, 25); 7744 (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* n° 7744). – b) Calcédoine. Leningrad, Ermitage AA 4.24. – Furtwängler, *AG* 131 pl. 26, 41. – S. porte un diadème. Même motif sur une sardoine à Londres, BM (Walter, *BMGems* n° 1955); une topaze, coll. Ionides. (Boardman, J., *Engraved Gems. The Ionides Coll.* (1968) n° 87; *AGDMunich* 12, 65 sub n° 936; de fabrication moderne pour Boardman).

64. a)\* Cornaline. Munich, Münzslg. A 1742. – *AGDI* 2, n° 936 pl. 107. – 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Buste hermaïque de S. barbu, de profil à g. (ailes de papillon, mèches de cheveux et rubans du diadème le long du cou). Autre exemplaire très proche, pâte de verre: Munich, Münzslg. A 1070. – *AGDI* 2, n° 1058 pl. 118. – b) Jaspe rouge. Genève, Mus. MF 2877. – Vers 60-40 av. J.-C. – Comme a, mais le diadème est remplacé par une couronne de laurier.

#### D. Image de type indéterminé

65. Document disparu. De Nîmes. – *CIL* XII 3058; Otto 1154-1155. – Dédicace d'une image de S. ou d'un objet à S. dans un sanctuaire d'Isis parmi d'autres divinités: → Sarapis I, Vesta (→ Hestia/Vesta) et Diane (→ Artemis/Diana).

## II. Somnus dans des épisodes mythiques

### A. Somnus et Endymion à l'arrivée de Séléné

#### 1. Somnus jeune

##### a) Somnus derrière Endymion

##### Sarcophages

66.\* (= Endymion 65) Munich, Glypt. GL 328. – Ohly, D., *Glyptothek München. Griechische und Römische Skulpturen* (1977) 103. 105 n° 8. – 170-180 ap. J.-C. – Derrière des rochers, S. en buste (tunique, ailes de papillon dans le dos, ailettes au front) renverse de la main dr. sa corne au-dessus d'Endymion et tient une branche dans la g. Un Amour découvre Endymion.

67.\* Sarcophage fr. Paris, Louvre MA 607. De Rome (?). – *SarkRel* III 1, 82-83 n° 66 pl. 17; Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* 70 n° 24. – Fin du II<sup>e</sup>-début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Au second plan, S. debout (tunique, manteau, ailes de papillon), penché vers Endymion, le bras g. baissé.

68.\* (= Endymion 66, = Eros/Amor-Cupido 22) Paris, Louvre MA 362. – Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* 67-69 n° 23. – Vers 210 ap. J.-C. – Derrière Endymion endormi, S. (tunique serrée à la taille, ailes de papillon, ailettes dans les cheveux) apparaît à mi-corps; dans la main g. il tient une branche de pavot, de la dr. il renverse sa corne.

69. (= Endymion 58\*) Cimitile, Basilica S. Felice. – Sichtermann, H., *Späte Endymion-Sarkophage* (1966) 94 fig. 52. – Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Derrière Endymion s'avance S. (tunique longue ceinturée, manteau, ailettes au front).

70.\* (= Endymion 75) Rome, Pal. Giustiniani. – *SarkRel* III 1, 94-96 n° 78 pl. 21. – Milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – S. (ailes de papillon, tunique longue à manches) se tient derrière Endymion sur lequel il renverse le contenu de sa corne.

##### b) Somnus marche vers Endymion

##### Sarcophages

71.\* (= Endymion 56) Pise, Camposanto. – Arias, P. E. et al., *Camposanto Monumentale di Pisa, Le antichità* I (1977) 57-58 A 7 est pl. 6, 10. – Vers 190 ap. J.-C. – Derrière Endymion endormi, S. (ailettes aux tempes

et aux chevilles) nu, debout, le bras dr. tendu, le bras g. baissé, renverse sa corne au-dessus de lui.

72.\* (= Endymion 80, = Helios/Sol 165) Rome, St Paul hors-les-Murs. – *SarkRel* III 1, 101-103 n° 81 pl. 23. – 230-240 ap. J.-C. – S. (ailes de papillon aux tempes, manteau gonflé en arc derrière sa tête) s'avance vers la g., derrière Endymion sur lequel il renverse sa corne; dans sa main g. il tient une branche de pavot.

73.\* (= Endymion 70\*, = Helios/Sol 348) Paris, Louvre MA 1335. De St Médard d'Eyrans. – Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* 71-75 n° 25. – Vers 235 ap. J.-C. – S. (manteau agrafé autour des épaules, ailettes au front, mèches de cheveux en anglaises) se dirige vers la dr. face à Endymion endormi; il renverse sa corne sur ce dernier et tient dans la main g. des tiges de pavot.

74. Sarcophage fr. de marbre. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 113059. De Rome. – Annibaldi, G., *NotSc* 1934, 212 fig. 6; *MusNazRom* I 8, 381-392 VIII 16. – 220-240 ap. J.-C. – S. nu, la chlamyde rejetée dans le dos, une branche de pavot sur le bras g., se penche vers Endymion endormi.

75.\* (= Endymion 71) Perdu. – *SarkRel* III 1, 89-90 n° 73 pl. 18. – 1<sup>er</sup> tiers du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – S. (tunique longue, coiffure en anglaises) marche de profil à dr. derrière Endymion.

76.\* (= Endymion 72 avec bibl.) Rome, Pal. Farnese. – Turcan, R., *RA* 1962/1, 209 fig. 7. – 200-240 ap. J.-C. – S. nu (manteau et branche sur l'épaule g.) marche de profil à dr. vers Endymion endormi.

77. (= Endymion 73\*, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 19, = Helios/Sol 344 – avec bibl.) Rome, Pal. Doria Pamphilj. De Rome, mausolée d'Auguste. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 154 fig. 161. – 230-240 ap. J.-C. – S. (ailes dans le dos, coiffure en anglaises) nu, le bras dr. tendu vers Endymion endormi.

78. (= Endymion 77, = Helios/Sol 345) Woburn Abbey. – Matz, F., *Ein römisches Meisterwerk* (1958) 164 n. 60 pl. 35b. – 230-240 ap. J.-C. – S. (ailes dans le dos, manteau sur l'épaule) tient une branche dans la main dr. et renverse la corne au-dessus d'Endymion endormi.

79. (= Endymion 78\* avec bibl.) Cliveden. – *SarkRel* III 1, 98-100 n° 80 pl. 23; Öhler, H., *Foto + Skulptur, Röm. Antiken in engl. Privatbes.* (1980) 62-63



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n° 41. - 240 ap. J.-C. - S. nu (chlamyde), de profil à dr., se penche vers Endymion, le bras dr. tendu au-dessus de sa tête; il tient dans la main g. une branche de pavot.

80.\* (= Endymion 79) Assise, sacristie de S. Rufino. - *SarkRel* III 1, 101-103 n° 80, fig. - Vers 240 ap. J.-C. - S. (ailes dans le dos) nu, de profil à dr. face à Endymion.

81. Rome, Pal. Corsetti. - Matz/Duhn II 193 n° 2721; *SarkRel* III 1, 110 n° 90 pl. 25. - 230-240 ap. J.-C. - S. (ailes de papillon, tunique à manches), de profil à dr., renverse sa corne sur la tête d'Endymion endormi.

82. (= Endymion 67\*) Vatican. - *SarkRel* III 1, 84-85 n° 71 pl. 17A - 2° tiers du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. (manteau), de profil à dr., marche rapidement vers Endymion endormi, tenant une branche dans la main g.

83.\* Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 2001492. De Cesano di Roma (S. Andrea). - Vighi, R., *NotSc* 1935, 245-246 pl. 12; Koch, G., *GettyMusJ* 8, 1980, 132; *MusNazRom* I 8, 558-562 MP, 1. - Milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. (chiton à double ceinture, chlamyde, ailes de papillon dans le dos et ailettes sur la tête), précédant Séléné, s'avance vers Endymion; il tenait dans la main g. une branche de pavot.

## 2. Somnus âgé

### a) Somnus assis soutient Endymion

#### Sarcophages

84. (= Endymion 46\*, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 14/368 - avec bibl.) Sarcophage de Gérontia. Rome, Mus. Cap. 325. - Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 27 n° 16 pl. 35, 1; 36. 37. - Vers 130 ap. J.-C. - S. barbu, les jambes drapées dans un manteau, est assis sur des rochers, le corps en arrière, en appui sur le bras dr.; du bras g. il soulève le manteau qui recouvre Endymion endormi sur ses genoux.

85. (= Endymion 47 avec bibl.) Rome, Pal. Ro-spigliosi. - *SarkRel* III 1, 59-61 n° 39 pl. 12. - 150-170 ap. J.-C. - S. (tunique, longues ailes dans le dos) soutient Endymion endormi sur ses genoux.

86.\* Ostie, Mus. D'Ostie, atelier de sculpteur. - Calza, R./Nash, E., *Ostia* (1959) 77 fig. 109; Turcan, R., *ANRW* II 16/2, 1707 pl. 2, 3; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 85 fig. 70. - 150-170 ap. J.-C. - S. assis (ailes dans le dos), les jambes drapées dans un manteau, soulève le voile qui couvre Endymion.

87.\* (= Endymion 48 avec bibl.) Sarcophage fr. Rome, S. Cosimato (Trastevere). - *SarkRel* III 1, 63-64 n° 41 pl. 12. - 150-170 ap. J.-C. - Semblable à 86 mais le voile est soulevé aussi par un Amour.

88. Sarcophage fr. perdu. Anc. Rome. - *SarkRel* III 1, 65 n° 43 pl. 12. - Semblable à 87.

89. (= Endymion 50\* avec bibl.) Rome, Pal. Ro-spigliosi. - Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 28 n° 17 pl. 33. 34. - 150-170 ap. J.-C. - S. barbu, nu (ailes), les jambes drapées dans un manteau, à demi allongé, soulève la draperie d'Endymion.

90. Sarcophage fr. Naples, Mus. Naz. - *SarkRel* III 1, 65-66 n° 46 pl. 12. - 150-170 ap. J.-C. -

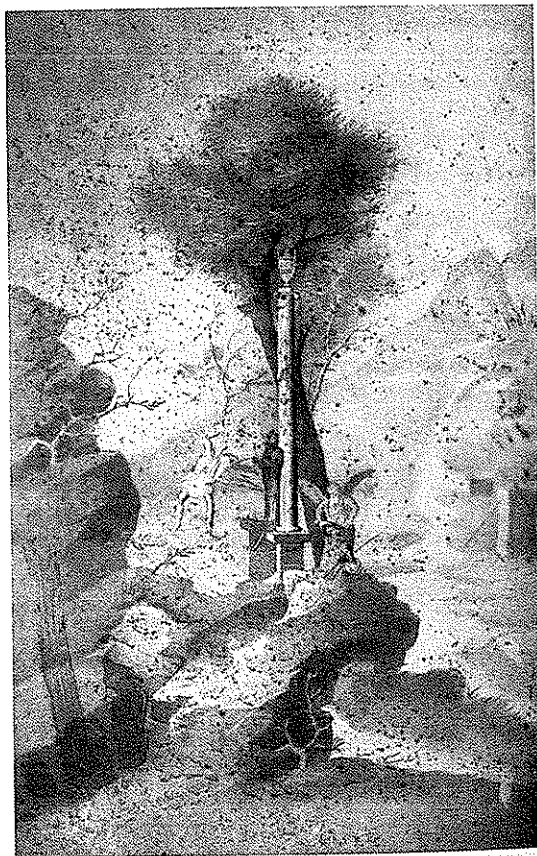
Comme 89, mais un Amour aide S. à découvrir Endymion.

91.\* (= Endymion 51 avec bibl.) Vatican, Gall. Candelabri 2829. - McCann, A. M., *Roman Sarcophagi in the Metr. Mus. of Art* (1978) 37 pl. 32. 33. - Comme 89, mais S. est dépourvu d'ailes.

### b) Somnus debout derrière Endymion

#### Peintures disparues

92.\* (= Endymion 42 avec bibl.) De Pompéi I 2, 17e. - Schefold, K., *AM* 71, 1956, 215-216 pl. 120; Peters, W. J. T., *Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting* (1963) 86-87 pl. 20, 72. - 3<sup>e</sup> style. - Au centre d'un paysage sacro-idyllique, Endymion est endormi, étendu sur les genoux de S. (barbu, ailes dans le dos, tunique longue), qui, assis sur des rochers, regarde l'arrivée de Séléné.

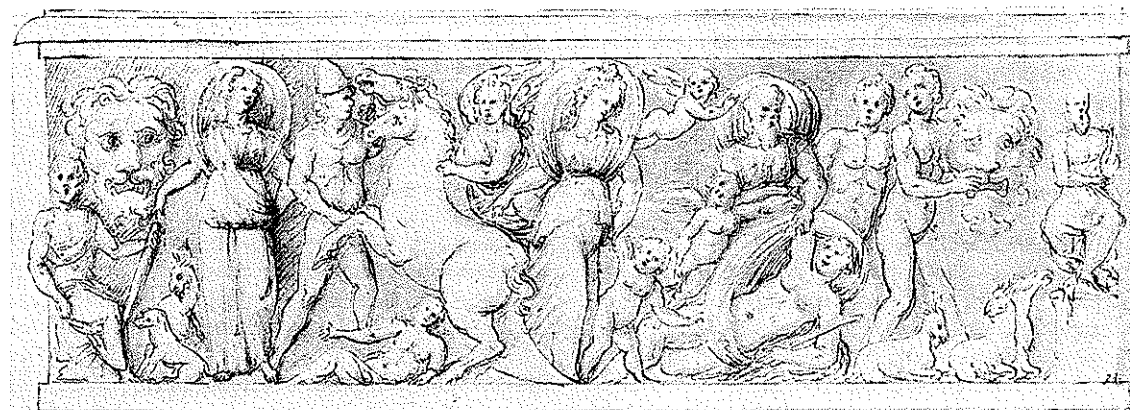


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93. (= Endymion 26 avec bibl.) De Pompéi VIII 4, 34, 5. - 3<sup>e</sup> style. - Endymion endormi; derrière lui S. (ailé) tient une coupe dans la main dr. et une branche dans la g. et regarde Séléné qui arrive.

#### Reliefs

94. (= Endymion 52\* avec bibl.) Sarcophage d'Aurelius Lucanus. Copenhague, Glypt. D'Ostie. - Koch, o. c. 83, 132. 137 fig. 8. - 150-170 ap. J.-C. - Au second plan, S. barbu (tunique, chignon, ailes de papillon), figuré à mi-corps, tenant de la main g. une



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branche de pavot, renverse de la dr. sa corne sur Endymion, qui lève la tête vers lui.

95. (= Endymion 54\* avec bibl.) Sarcophage. Rome, Villa Doria Pamphilj. - Calza, R., et al., *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphilj* (1977) n° 179 pl. 112. - Semblable à 94, mais inversé: S. tient la corne dans la main dr., la branche dans la g. et le visage d'Endymion est de face.

96. (= Endymion 55, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 159\* avec bibl.) Sarcophage. New York, MMA 24.97.13. De Rome, Via Ardeatina. - Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 117 n. 3; 145. 261 fig. 156. - 150-170 ap. J.-C. - Proche de 95, mais Endymion regarde vers S., comme sur 94.

97.\* Urne circulaire de marbre fr. Ostie, Mus. 1499. D'Ostie. - Sinn, o. c. 61b, 259 n° 692. - Vers 180 ap. J.-C. - Buste de S., une branche dans la main g., au-dessus d'Endymion endormi.

98.\* (= Endymion 60 avec bibl.) Sarcophage. Rome, Villa Doria Pamphilj. - Calza, o. c. 95, n° 180 pl. 112. - Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. barbu (longue tunique de théâtre, ailes), debout, les bras baissés, soulève le manteau d'Endymion.

99. (= Endymion 61\*) Sarcophage. Malibu, Getty Mus. 76.AA.8. - Koch, o. c. 83, 129-139 fig. 1-7. 11; Koch, G./Wight, K., J. P. *Getty Mus. Roman Funerary Sculpture. Cat. of the Coll.* (1988) 32-35 n° 12. - 1<sup>er</sup> tiers du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. debout (tunique longue, ailes sur la tête, ailes de papillon dans le dos), les yeux fermés, le bras g. baissé, tient une branche de pavot; du bras dr. baissé il renverse sa corne sur Endymion dévoilé par un Amour.

100.\* Urne de marbre. Ostie, Mus. 11. - Sinn, o. c. 61b, 264 n° 707. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Derrière Endymion endormi, S. avec un rameau dans la main g.

101.\* Sarcophage perdu. De Rome, tombe d'Eurysacès. - *SarkRel* III 1, 74-76 n° 59 pl. 15. - Il ne



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reste que le buste barbu de S. (tunique, ailes de papillon dans le dos) qui soulève le manteau d'Endymion, et le dos de Séléné.

102.\* Sarcophage perdu. De Rome. - *SarkRel* III 1, 106 n° 84 pl. 24. - S. barbu (tunique longue, sans ailes), debout derrière Endymion dont il soulève le manteau.

### c) Somnus en buste

#### Sarcophages

103. (= Endymion 63\*, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 28 avec bibl.) Rome, Mus. Cap. 723. - Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 84 n. 3; 145. 261 fig. 157. - 150-170 ap. J.-C. - Buste barbu de S. (tunique, ailes de papillon dans le dos, ailettes sur la tête), le bras dr. appuyé sur les rochers qui masquent le bas du corps, le bras g. plié, la tête posée sur la main. Un Amour découvre Endymion.

104. (= Endymion 64\* avec bibl.) Mantoue, Pal. Ducale. - Schefold, K., *Die Bedeutung der griech. Kunst für das Verständnis des Evangeliums* (1983) 34-35 fig. 10. - 150-170 ap. J.-C. - Le buste barbu de S. (tunique, ailes de papillon) apparaît derrière des rochers; légèrement penché en avant, il verse le suc de sa corne sur Endymion dévoilé par un Amour.

105. (= Endymion 57 avec bibl.) Tarquinia, Pal. Bruschi. - Koch, o. c. 83, 135. 137 fig. 13. - 200-230 ap. J.-C. - Au second plan, derrière Endymion endormi, S. barbu (tunique, ailes), figuré en buste.

106. (= 130, = Ares/Mars 400, = Endymion 83\* - avec bibl.) Vatican, Mus. Greg. Prof. 9558. - Wrede, *Consecratio* 272 n° 202 pl. 27, 3; 28, 3-4. - 210-250 ap. J.-C. - Au second plan, le buste barbu de S. (tunique, ailes de papillon) apparaît derrière des rochers; le bras g. levé, il pose le menton dans la main.

### d) Somnus au réveil d'Endymion

107.\* (= Endymion 82) Sarcophage romain ou attique fr. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. SK 846. - Simon, E., *AA* 1982, 579-580 fig. 5. - 210-220 ap. J.-C. - Au second plan S. barbu en buste (tunique, ailes au front) tient une corne contre lui de la main g. Au premier plan Endymion, assis sur le sol, se réveille et tend le bras vers Séléné.



## B. Somnus, Bacchus et Ariane

## 1. L'arrivée de Bacchus et du thiasé

## a) Somnus jeune

## Peintures murales

**108.** (= Ariadne **124**, = Dionysos/Bacchus **180**\* avec bibl.) Naples, Mus. Naz. 9286. De Pompéi I 4, 5, Casa del Citarrista. – Pochmarski, E., *AM* 90, 1975, 156 fig. 58. – Vers 15 ap. J.-C. – S. assis sur le sol (ailes déployées, tunique, cheveux courts tenus par un bandeau) tient une coupe dans la main g.; il tourne la tête à g. vers Bacchus suivi du thiasé. Ariane endormie, vue de dos, le buste sur les genoux de S., est dévoilée par un Amour.

**109.** (= Ariadne **97**\*, = Ares/Mars **sub 389**) Pompéi VI 15, 1, Case dei Vettii. – Richardson, E., «The Story of Ariadne in Italy», dans *Studies... P. H. von Blanckenhagen* (1980) 193 pl. 53, 1. – Vers 75 ap. J.-C. – Derrière Ariane couchée de dos, le buste soutenu par des coussins, et dévoilée par → Pan, S. debout (ailes, tunique) tient dans la main g. une coupe et tend le bras dr. vers Bacchus accompagné du thiasé; à l'arrière-plan le bateau de Thésée (→ Theseus).

**110.** (= Ariadne **126**\* avec bibl.) Pompéi VI 16, 15, Casa dell'Ara Massima. – Schefold, *WP* 158. – 4<sup>e</sup> style. – Derrière Ariane étendue sur le sol, vue de face, S. (ailes déployées, couronne de feuillage) tient dans la main dr. un rameau et dans la g. une coupe; il tourne la tête à g. vers Bacchus.

**111.** (= Ariadne **129**\*) Pompéi IX 7, 20, Casa della Fortuna. – Schefold, *VergP* pl. 178, 2. – 4<sup>e</sup> style. – Presque semblable à **110**, mais S. est debout et le thiasé est plus important.

**112.**\* (= Ariadne **127**, = Dionysos/Bacchus **182** avec bibl.) Naples, Mus. Naz. 9278. De Pompéi VII 4, 31, Casa dei capitelli colorati. – Simon, E., *Jdl* 76, 1961, 142 fig. 24. – Vers 70 ap. J.-C. – Ariane est endormie, le buste reposant sur les genoux de S. (tunique, ailes). Tenant une coupe dans la main g., il penche la tête vers elle; à l'approche de Bacchus, un Amour soulève le manteau d'Ariane.

**113.**\* Pompéi VIII 4, 4, Casa di Holconius Rufus. – *Pittura e pavimenti di Pompei* III (1986) 341 n° 8. – 4<sup>e</sup> style. – Ariane dort allongée de dos sur des rochers; un Satyre (→ Silenos, Silenoi) la dévoile. Au second plan, S. debout (longue tunique à rabat, ailes déployées), un

long bâton sur l'épaule g., tournant la tête vers Bacchus; à l'arrière-plan, le thiasé.

**114.**\* (= Ariadne **130**) Naples, Mus. Naz. 9271. D'Herculanum. – Reinach, *RépPeint* 113, 2. – Ép. de Vespasien. – S. (ailes, tunique – parfois aussi considéré comme un Amour) guide Bacchus suivi du thiasé vers Ariane à dr., endormie, que dévoile Pan.

## Relief

**115.** (= Ariadne **136**, = Dionysos/Bacchus **186**\* avec bibl.) Sarcophage de marbre. Leningrad, Ermitage A 182. – Saverkina, I. I., *Römische Sarkophage in der Ermitage* (1979) 44 n° 17 pl. 43, 1. – Début de l'ép. des Sévères. – Derrière Ariane se tient S. nu, drapé dans un manteau, le bras dr. levé, la main sur le front; du bras g. baissé il tient une longue corne appuyée sur l'épaule.

## b) Somnus âgé

## Sarcophages à reliefs

## SOMNUS DEBOUT

**116.**\* Perdu, anc. Rome, Pal. Mattei. – *SarkRel* IV 2, 392–393 n° 220 pl. 235; Matz, F., *AA* 1958, 137 n° 6 fig. 6; Turcan 2, 515. – 160–185 ap. J.-C. – Derrière Ariane qui s'éveille à l'arrivée de Bacchus, S. (barbu, ailes) soulève le manteau qui la recouvre; il est en partie masqué par une autre figure.

**117.** (= Ariadne **135**\*, = Dionysos/Bacchus **185** avec bibl.) Vatican, Belvedere 951. – *SarkRel* IV 3, 380 Beil. 93, 1–3 pl. 122, 1. – Vers 170 ap. J.-C. – S. barbu (tunique, ailes), debout derrière Ariane endormie; les bras baissés, il tient une branche de pavot dans la main g. et une corne dans la dr. A g. arrivée de Bacchus et du thiasé.

**118.**\* (= Ariadne **98**, = Herakles **3277** – avec bibl.) Sarcophage alexandrin. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 17927. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 269. 577–578 fig. 596. – 160–190 ap. J.-C. – S. barbu (ailes, tunique longue à rabat, manteau), debout de face, se penche à g. vers Ariane endormie; les bras baissés, il tient un rameau dans la main g. La scène est encadrée par l'arrivée de Bacchus à g. et le bateau de Thésée à dr.

**119.** (= Dionysos/Bacchus [in per. occ.] **125**) Cadenet (Vaucluse), église. – *SarkRel* IV 1, 169 n° 60 pl. 74, 1–2; 75, 1; Turcan, R., *RA* 1961/1, 159–163; Turcan 2, 515 pl. 42a–c. – Début de l'ép. sévérienne. – S. de face (tunique longue ceinturée, manteau, ailes au



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front) se penche à g. vers Ariane endormie. Un Amour dort entre Ariane et S.

**120.** Fr. de sarcophage. Vatican, Magazzini (anc. Cortile della Pigna) 18919. – Helbig<sup>3</sup> 180 n° 140; *SarkRel* IV 1, 142–145 n° 41 pl. 40–42; Turcan, R., *Latomus* 24, 1965, 115–116 pl. 18, 3–4; Turcan 2, 257–258. 515 n. 10; 519–521 pl. 39. – 230–240 ap. J.-C. – S. (tunique longue, manteau), debout de face, le pied dr. posé sur un rocher, se penche vers la g.; dans la main g. il tient une branche de pavot qui reposait sur son épaule; à ses pieds un monstre marin.

## SOMNUS ASSIS

**121.** (= Ariadne **141**, = Dionysos/Bacchus **187**, = Eros/Amor, Cupido **18**\* – avec bibl.) Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 23.37. De Rome, Via Salaria, Hypogée des Calpurnii. – *SarkRel* IV 3, 386 n° 216 pl. 255, 1; Turcan 2, 514; Turcan, R., *Religion romaine* I (1989) 39 n° 95 pl. 35. – 200–210 ap. J.-C. – S. (barbu, cheveux dans le cou, nu, les jambes drapées dans un manteau) porte sur la poitrine des dentelures semblables à celles des divinités marines. Avec Pan, il écarte le voile d'Ariane qui dort, le buste sur ses genoux.

**122.** Perdu, anc. Rome. – *SarkRel* IV 3, 376 n° 208 pl. 225, 2. – Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – S. drapé dans un manteau, le buste nu, se penche à g. vers Ariane endormie qui repose sur ses genoux, en soulevant le manteau qui la couvre.

**123.** (= Ariadne **132**\*) Blenheim Palace (Oxfordshire), parc. – *SarkRel* IV 1, 149 n° 45 Beil. 18, 1–3; 19, 1–3 pl. 46, 1; 47, 1–2. – 1<sup>er</sup> quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – S. assis, drapé dans un manteau, tient une branche du bras g. baissé et, aidé de Pan, soulève de la main dr. le manteau d'Ariane dont le buste repose sur ses genoux.

**124.**\* Rome, Casino Rospigliosi. – Matz/Duhn n° 2258; *SarkRel* IV 1, 167 n° 59 pl. 69–70; Turcan 2, 514–517 pl. 40b. – 200–210 ap. J.-C. – S. barbu (tunique longue, manteau) assis vers la dr., la tête tournée vers le cortège de Bacchus. Derrière Ariane, un Amour endormi.

**125.** (= Ariadne **142** avec bibl.) Rome, Pal. Borghese. Des environs de Torrenova, via Labicana. – Turcan 1, 290 pl. 1. – Vers 240 ap. J.-C. – S. assis, barbu, en tunique longue, une branche dans la main g. De la main dr. il soulève le manteau d'Ariane dont le buste est appuyé sur sa jambe. Un Amour est endormi contre Ariane.

## 2. Autres scènes

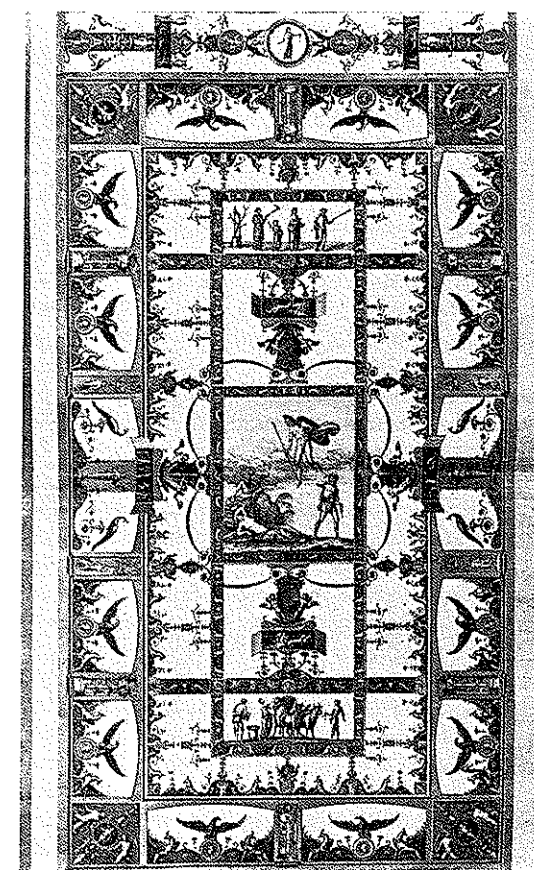
**126.** (= Dionysos/Bacchus **183**) Peinture murale. Stabies, Villa di Arianna (Fondo Martino). – Elia, O., *BollArte* 36, 1951, 40–44 fig. 1; Miniero Forte, P., *Stabiae, pitture e stucchi delle ville romane* (1989) 28–31 fig. 12. – Ép. de Vespasien. – Ariane endormie, le buste sur les genoux de S. (ailes, tunique) qui, la tête levée, regarde Bacchus assis vers la dr. sur un rocher.

**127.**\* (= Dionysos/Bacchus **193** avec bibl.) Autel funéraire de Tiberius Claudius Philetus, relief de mar-

bre. Vatican, Sala delle Muse 515a (inv. 313). – Cu-mont, *Symb* 412–413 fig. 84; Helbig<sup>4</sup> 163–64 n° 81. – 65–68 ap. J.-C. – Face principale: mariage de Bacchus et d'Ariane. Côtés: S. nu (ailes au front) marche vers le centre, tenant du bras dr. levé sa corne renversée, et contre son bras g. baissé une branche de pavot.

## C. Somnus, Mars et Rhéa Silvia

**128.**\* (= Ares/Mars **392**) Peinture murale perdue. De Rome, Domus Aurea, voûte du corridor 19. – Dacos, N., *DdA* 2, 1968, 220–221 fig. 12. – 64–68 ap. J.-C., Fabullus et son atelier. – Derrière → Rhéa Silvia endormie, S. assis (ailes sur la tête), les bras baissés, une branche dans la main g., soulève le manteau de la jeune femme. A dr. Mars arrive tandis qu'un berger s'éloigne.



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## Reliefs: sarcophages

**129.**\* (= Ares/Mars **401a**) Rome, Pal. Mattei. – Wrede, *Consecratio* 271 n° 201; Guerrini, L., *Palazzo Mattei di Giove. Le Antichità* (1982) 212–213 n° 60 pl. 63. – 210–220 ap. J.-C. – Mars se dirige à dr. vers Rhéa Silvia endormie; au second plan entre eux, derrière un parapet, S. âgé, barbu (tunique à manches longues, ailes de papillon, ailettes sur le front) se penche

pour verser le contenu de sa corne sur Rhéa Silvia; il tient une longue branche dans la main g.

**130.** (= **106**, = Endymion **83\***) Vatican, Mus. Greg. Prof. 9558. - 210-250 ap. J.-C. - Dans la partie g. Mars, de profil à dr., se dirige vers Rhéa Silvia; au second plan S. (barbu, tunique et manteau), le bras dr. baissé, renverse sur elle sa corne, tendant le bras g. vers l'autre scène. Un Amour dort appuyé contre la jeune femme.

**131.\*** (= Ares/Mars **401**, = Helios/Sol **163**) Rome, Pal. Mattei. - Wrede, *Consecratio* 272 n° 202 pl. 27, 3; 28, 3-4; Guerrini, o. c. **129**, 214-215 n° 61 pl. 63; Wrede, H./Harprath, R., *Der Codex Coburgensis* (1986) 67-68 n° 69 (CC 9) fig. 37. - Vers 250 ap. J.-C. - S. barbu (tunique, manteau) marche vers la dr.; le bras dr. baissé, il tient sa corne renversée vers la poitrine de Rhéa Silvia endormie, et tourne la tête vers Mars. Un Amour dort appuyé sur le genou de la jeune femme.

**132.** Sarcophage fr. Rome, Pal. Corsetti. - *SarkRel* III 2, 233 n° 189. - Semblable à **131** mais seuls sont en partie conservés S. et Mars.

**133.\*** Sarcophage fr. Rome, catacombe de Prêtextat. - Wrede, *Consecratio* 272 n° 203. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. se retourne vers Mars.

#### D. Somnus, Mars et Vénus

##### Peintures murales

**134.\*** (= Ares/Mars **378a**) Naples, Mus. Naz. I 12282. De Pompéi I 4, 5, Casa del Citarista. - Scheffold, *SB* III 278 fig. 394. - 10-15 ap. J.-C. - Au pied du lit où sont assis Mars et Vénus, S. figuré comme un jeune homme (tunique, manteau, pèta) est assis sur le sol, endormi, la tête appuyée sur sa main g.; de la dr. posée sur ses genoux, il tient une fine tige.

**135.** (= Ares/Mars **389\***) Pompéi I 7, 9, Casa di Teges. - Maiuri, A., *MonPitt* III, *Pompei* II (1938) 29-30 fig. 22. - Vers 40 ap. J.-C. - Au premier plan Mars debout derrière Vénus assise; près d'elle un Amour. A l'arrière-plan, derrière une tenture, S. juvénile (tunique, ailes au front), debout près de deux femmes.

**136.** (= Ares/Mars **389a\***) Pompéi V 4, 11, Casa di Lucretius Fronto. - v. Blanckenhagen, P. H./Green, B., *RM* 82, 1975, 87 pl. 2. - Vers 50 ap. J.-C. - Le premier plan est semblable à celui de **135**, mais S. (tunique, ailes au front), entre deux femmes, pènetre dans la pièce; il incline la tête à g. vers le couple et, l'air pensif, porte à sa bouche l'index de la main dr.

##### Relief

**137.** (= Apollon/Apollo **428\***, = Ares/Mars **386\***, = Helios/Sol **186**, = Homonoia/Concordia **87** - avec bibl.) Sarcophage. Grottaferrata, Abbazia. - Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 142 fig. 150. - Vers 160 ap. J.-C. - En présence de plusieurs divinités, Mars et Vénus assis sur un lit; S. adolescent, nu (chignon, manteau sur l'épaule g., ailes de chauve-souris dans le dos), de profil à dr., tient de la main g. une tige de pavot et se dirige vers Mercure (→ Hermes/Mercurius).

#### E. Somnus aux noces de Jason et de Créüse (→ Kreousa II)

##### Sarcophages à reliefs

**138.\*** Paris, Louvre MA 238. De Rome. - *SarkRel* II 1, 208-210 n° 195 pl. 62. Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 159-161; Croisille, J. M., *Poésie et art figuré de Néron aux Flaviens* (1982) 53-54 pl. 19, 1; Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* 92-94 n° 34. - 130-150 ap. J.-C. - Créüse, assise de profil à g., reçoit les cadeaux empoisonnés des enfants de Médée (→ Medeia) en présence de la nourrice et de Jason (→ Iason); entre eux S., jeune homme nu, couronné, les jambes drapées dans un manteau qui lui couvre le bras g.; la tête tournée vers Créüse, les bras baissés et les mains croisées, il tient dans la g. deux têtes de pavots. Comme sur tous les documents de cette série, les autres scènes figurées illustrent la suite de cet épisode: mort de Créüse et fuite de Médée.

**139.\*** (= Iason **19**) Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. SK 843 b. De Rome, via Tiburtina. - *SarkRel* II 1, 213-214 n° 200 pl. 64; III 3, 562; Schmidt, M., *Der Basler Medeasarkophag* (1968) 20-21 pl. 27, 1; Croisille, o. c. **138**, 53-54 pl. 21, 2. - 130-150 ap. J.-C. - S. nu, drapé dans un manteau et couronné, des têtes de pavots dans la main g., la tête inclinée de profil à dr., devant Créüse assise; à g. Jason; entre eux la nourrice, derrière les enfants de Médée.

**140.** Fr. de sarcophage. Suisse, marché des ant. - Schmidt, o. c. **139**, 25-26 pl. 12. - Vers 160 ap. J.-C. - S. nu, drapé dans un manteau, tourné vers la dr.; les bras baissés, le g. plié à la hauteur de la hanche, il tient une branche de pavot. Les enfants de Médée le précèdent; derrière lui, une femme.

**141.** Fr. de sarcophage. Vatican, Scala a croce greca. - *SarkRel* II 1, 211-212 n° 197 pl. 162; Croisille, o. c. **138**, 53-54 pl. 22. - Vers 160 ap. J.-C. - Derrière les enfants de Médée, S. jeune (nu, drapé dans un manteau, couronné), la tête inclinée à dr., les bras baissés et les poignets croisés, porte des pavots et une torche renversée; il se tient en face de Créüse; derrière elle une jeune femme penchée vers les enfants et la nourrice. Derrière S. un hermès masculin, barbu.

**142. a)** (= Iason **66\*** avec bibl.) Mantoue, Pal. Ducale. - *SarkRel* II 1, 210-211 n° 196 pl. 62; Schmidt, o. c. **139**, 47 n. 33 pl. 32, 3; Künzl, E., *BonnJbb* 69, 1969, 381 fig. 34; Croisille, o. c. **138**, pl. 20, 3. - 130-150 ap. J.-C. - Créüse, assise de profil à dr., reçoit les cadeaux des enfants de Médée en présence de sa nourrice et de Jason. Entre eux S. nu, drapé dans un manteau (couronne), la tête tournée vers Créüse; les bras baissés, les mains croisées, il tient dans la g. deux têtes de pavots et dans la dr. une torche enflammée renversée. Le même schéma est repris sur plusieurs autres sarcophages: **b)** (= Iason **67**) Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 75248. De Rome, Via di Porta Maggiore. - *SarkRel* II 1, 212-213 n° 199 pl. 63; III 3, 561-562; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III 45-46 n° 2145a; Schmidt, o. c. **139**, pl. 32, 2; Künzl, o. c. 383 fig. 35; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 42 n° 38 pl. 91, 1; 93. 94, 2; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 159-160 fig. 180; *MusNazRom* I 8, 279, VI 8. - Vers 150-160 ap. J.-C. - c) Cou-

vercle de sarcophage. Vatican, Casino di Pio IV. - *SarkRel* II 1, 206-208 n° 194 pl. 62; Kaschnitz, *SculptMusVat* n° 437 pl. 81; Croisille, o. c. **138**, 53-54 pl. 21, 1. - Milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur ce document, les épisodes traditionnels sont précédés du mariage de Médée et de Jason en Colchide. - **d)** Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 222. De Rome, cryptoportique du Palatin. - *SarkRel* II 1, 215-216 n° 201 pl. 65; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III, 45-46 n° 2145b; *MusNazRom* I 2, 139-141 n° 38. - 170/180-200 ap. J.-C. - **e)** Rome, coll. priv. De Esquilin. - Ghislanzoni, E., *NotSc* 8, 1911, 395-396 fig. 1; *SarkRel* III 3, 561 n° 199<sup>1</sup>; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 159 n. 1. - **f)** Perdu, anc. Rome, Vigna Casali. - *SarkRel* II 1, 216 n° 202.

**143.** Naples, Mus. Naz. 3256. - Schmidt, o. c. **139**, 45 n. 4; Künzl, o. c. **142a**, 308 fig. 36. - Debout de profil à dr. devant Créüse assise, S. nu, drapé dans un manteau, tient des pavots dans la main dr.; devant lui les enfants de Médée, derrière lui Jason.

#### F. Somnus et Hercule

**144.** Peinture imaginaire. - Philostr. *im.* 2, 22. - S. maintient Hercule endormi pendant que les Pygmées l'attaquent.

#### G. Somnus et Thésée

**145.** (= Hippolytos I **75** avec bibl.) Peinture perdue ou imaginaire. De Gaza, bains (?). - Prok. *ecphr.* 11-12; Levi, *Antioch* 51 n. 4; Turcan, 298 (attribue le texte à Choricus de Gaza). - Manganaro, G., *EAA* VI (1965) 482-483 s. v. «Procopio di Gaza». - Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - En présence de Phèdre (→ Phaidra) et de ses suivantes, Thésée dort; à la tête du lit, S. adolescent (nu, les ailes déployées, un bandeau blanc autour du front), les coudes appuyés sur le lit, soutient sa tête dans ses mains; près de Thésée, des serveurs endormis. Le décor architectural porte diverses scènes de la vie de Thésée et d'Hippolyte.

#### III. Somnus en compagnie d'autres dieux

**145bis.** Œuvres imaginaires. Groupes statuaire. - Stat. *Theb.* 10, 101-103. - Dans le palais de S., statues de S. en compagnie d'Amor et de Voluptas.

#### IV. Somnus dans un contexte médical

Pour des représentations de S. isolé dans ce contexte, voir 8-9 (?). **39bis.** 46. 65.

#### SOMNUS SOUS LA FORME D'UN AMOUR

##### Groupes statuaire

**146.\*** (= Asklepios **144**, = Hygieia **80** - avec bibl.) Moscou, Mus. Pouchkine II/a 34. - Bol, P. C., «Hypnos», *AntW* 11, 1980/2, 60-61, ill. - Ép. romaine. - Assis sur un rocher, le pied g. posé sur une

pierre plus haute, les mains et la tête appuyées sur le genou, S. (ailes dans le dos) dort aux pieds d'Hygie (serpent sur le bras dr.) et d'Asklépios.

**147.\*** (= Hygieia **71** avec bibl.) Cos. Mus. De Cos, Maison de la mosaïque d'Europe. - Morricone, L., *BollArte* 1950, 237 fig. 73; Bol, o. c. **146**, 60 n. 5. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A dr. d'Hygie S. (ailes dans le dos) assis sur un rocher, le pied g. surélevé, les mains posées sur le genou.

**148.** Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. Du sud de l'Asie Mineure. - Vermeule, C., *BurlMag* 1974, 406-407 fig. 64; Bol, o. c. **146**, 60, fig. - Vers 200 ap. J.-C. - S. (ailes dans le dos) dort assis sur un rocher, la jambe g. très relevée, la tête et les mains sur le genou, à dr. d'Hygie.

**149.** (= Hygieia **127\*** avec bibl.) Malibu, Getty Mus. 71.AA.338. - Vermeule, o. c. **148**, 407 fig. 67. - Vers 200 ap. J.-C. - A g. d'Hygie, S. dort assis sur un rocher, le pied g. surélevé, les mains sur le genou et la tête inclinée.

**150.** Konya, Mus. Arch. - Bol, o. c. **146**, 60. - Très proche de **149** mais S. est à dr. d'Hygie.

**150bis.** Antalya, Mus. Arch. 7.29.81. Des thermes de Pergé. - Özgür, M. E., *Skulpturen des Museums von Antalya* I n° 22; *Antalya Museum* (1988) 203 n° 92. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. nu, les ailes déployées, les pieds croisés, est assis sur un rocher qui porte la dédicace (le haut du corps est brisé); il s'appuie contre la jambe g. d'Hygie.

#### V. Somnus et les mortels

**151.** (= **37\***) Peinture murale perdue. D'une tombe de Rome. - S. sous l'apparence d'un jeune homme nu, debout, tient des pavots et une torche levée. Devant la porte d'un tombeau, il réveille le mort héroïsé accueilli par un héros casqué et armé d'un bâton de commandement, pour l'introduire dans le βίος ἀνδρείος des Bienheureux (Boyancé).

##### Reliefs

**152.\*** Couverture de sarcophage de marbre. Paris. Louvre MA 302. - Charbonneaux, *SculptiLouvre* n° 302; Turcan, 2, 89-90; Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* 229-230 n° 140. - 240-260 ap. J.-C. - S., sous la forme d'un Amour nu, vole vers la dr. Il tient dans la main g. une branche de pavot ou de pin (Baratte) et, le bras dr. baissé, il renverse sa corne sur une femme endormie.

**153.\*** Relief funéraire, tombeau de Claudia Fabulla. Paris, Louvre MA 182. - Altmann, W., *Die röm. Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (1905) 115 n° 110 fig. 92; Cumont, *Symb* 397 n. 2; Turcan, 2, 370; Bober, Ph. P., *JWarbInst* 40, 1970, 233 pl. 10a; Wrede, *Consecratio* 122-123 pl. 25, 3. - Fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - S. adolescent, nu, vu de face, se dirige vers la g.; le bras g. baissé, il tient une branche de pavot, et tend le bras dr. au-dessus d'une femme allongée; au second plan un enfant et un Amour; un homme affligé est assis en face de la femme. De part et d'autre de la scène, une torche.

**154.** Relief funéraire disparu. De Rome, Porta



Pancrazia. – CIL VI 16490; Cumont, *Symb* 407. – S., «génie ailé tendant la coupe de l'oubli à un jeune homme couché et dormant» (Fabretti, A.).

155. Pâte de verre brune. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 6219. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* 227 n° 6219 pl. 42. – Ép. augustéenne. – S. âgé, barbu (tunique longue, ailes déployées dans le dos), debout derrière une femme endormie.

## VI. Images d'interprétation incertaine ou erronée

156. (= Eros/Amor-Cupido 26\* avec bibl.) Peinture murale. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9202. De Pompéi VI 10, 11, Casa del Naviglio. – Cook, *Zeus* I 41 n. 40; Simon, *o. c.* 112, 142–143 fig. 25. – 4<sup>e</sup> style. – S. (?) adolescent, nu (couronne et nimbe bleu, ailes), une branche dans la main g.; soutenu par deux Amours, il s'avance en volant vers Pasithéa endormie sur le sol, appuyée sur les genoux d'un personnage féminin ailé tenant une phiale; son manteau est soulevé par un Amour. Dans l'angle sup. g., Héra (?) assiste à la scène. (Autre interprétation: → Zephyros et Chloris).

157. (= Hera 210\*, = Iris I 75\*, = Iuno 286) Peinture murale. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9559. De Pompéi VI 8, 3 (3), Casa del Poeta Tragico. – Spinazzola, *Pompei* 631 n. 199; Schefold, *SB* III 221. 223 fig. 307. – Vers 75 ap. J.-C. – Héra debout (tunique longue, voile, diadème), tenant un tissu devant elle; près d'elle Zeus assis. Derrière la déesse, une figure ailée: S. (Spinazzola) ou Iris (Schefold: avec Zeus et Héra sur l'Ida). Pour d'autres interprétations cf. Simon, *o. c.* 112, 146 fig. 21 (→ Kronos et → Rhea) et Schmidt, *o. c.* 139, 40 (retour de l'Âge d'or).

158. Lampe de terre cuite. Augst, Römermus. 65.444. D'Augst. – Curtis, *L. Mdl* 5, 1951, 12–17 pl. 5; Schefold, *SB* III 200 fig. 273. – Vers 60 ap. J.-C. – S. ou Hyménée (→ Hymenaios) sous les traits d'un jeune homme nu (bottes, ailes), assis sur un lit; sur ses genoux une ceinture, derrière lui une femme assise. K. Schefold: Eros et Psyché.

159. (= Aion 5, = Chronos 4, = Danaïdes 26 – avec bibl.) Sarcophage de marbre. Rome, Villa Giulia. De Rome, basilique du Vatican. – Gasparri, C., *Rend. Linc* 27, 1972, 104 pl. 1. 3–4. – Probablement 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – S. (?) âgé (barbu, tunique longue, ailes dans le dos), debout de face, tient une balance dans la main g. et dans la dr. un objet indistinct, qui paraît être des têtes de pavots d'après des dessins anciens. Le personnage a aussi été identifié à Aion, Thanatos et Chronos.

160. (= Helios/Sol 169\*) Relief sur un panneau de diptyque en ivoire. Londres, BM 57.10–13.1. De Rome (?). – Hinks, R., *Myths and Allegory in Ancient Art* (1939) 90–91 pl. 21; Cumont, *Symb* 176 n. 4 (bibl.); Weitzmann, *Spirituality* 70–71 n° 60; *Spätantike und Frühes Christentum*. Cat. exp. Francfort (1983) 671–673 n° 248. – 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Sur trois registres, *consecratio* d'un empereur (Antonin, Constance Chlore ou Julien): procession de l'*imago*, ascension de son esprit sous la forme du dieu-soleil et réception par les dieux de l'empereur porté par deux

Génies nus, ailés (S. et Thanatos, le plus souvent interprétés comme des Vents: → Venti).

161. (= Dioskouroi/Castores 26 avec bibl.) Groupe statuaire de marbre dit «Groupe de San Ildefonso». Madrid, Prado. – Kraus, *PKG* 245 n° 259 (Sichtermann, H.); Zanker, *o. c.* 40a, 28–30 n° 26 pl. 30. 31, 1–3; Berger, *o. c.* 41, 61 fig. 4; Simon, E., *Augustus* (1986) 110–112 fig. 145–146. – I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – S. (?) nu, couronné de laurier; debout de face, la tête inclinée; le bras dr. baissé, il tient une patère, le bras g. posé sur les épaules de Thanatos qui tient une torche abaissée sur un autel et une autre sur l'épaule. Plusieurs autres interprétations: Castor et Pollux, → Orestes et → Pylades.

162. Statuette de bronze. De Timna (Arabie), peut-être de fabrication égyptienne. – Segall, B., *AJA* 59, 1955, 212–214 pl. 58; Coarelli, F., *EAA* VI (1965) 1014 fig. 1117 s. v. «Romana, arte». – Ép. hellénistique ou I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – S. (?) sous la forme d'un homme âgé, barbu, debout, vêtu d'une tunique longue et portant de grandes ailes. Pour Segall, il pourrait s'agir de → Men/ → Sabazios.

163. Statuette de bronze. Straubing, Mus. De Straubing. – Keim, J./Klumbach, H., *Der Römische Schatzfund von Straubing* (1951) 32–33 n° 24 pl. 38. 40, 2–3; Galliazzo, V., *Bronzi romani del Mus. civ. di Treviso* (1979) 175. – Milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Enfant (cuirasse, cnémides, casque) debout sur le pied dr., la jambe g. en arrière, le bras dr. plié écarté du corps; le bras g. levé brandit une branche de pavot avec une seule capsule. Identifié comme Mars enfant, Amour armé, Eros-Arès-Hypnos (Galliazzo).

## COMMENTAIRE

Une des principales caractéristiques de S. est la diversité des formes qu'il peut emprunter dans les mythes, ou de ses fonctions qui changent selon les différentes divinités dont l'artiste souhaite le rapprocher pour mettre en lumière tel ou tel aspect de sa personnalité.

## I. Iconographie

### A. Attributs, accessoires et attitudes

S. possède en propre la corne qui contient les sucs soporifiques ou les rêves (9–10. 32–34. 44–58. 66–83. 127. 129–132. 152) ainsi que les têtes de pavot en graines dont la présence suffit à faire interpréter comme S. des figures éloignées des types courants (11–34. 138–143. 163); mais en raison du symbolisme particulièrement riche de cette plante, il la partage avec plusieurs divinités et particulièrement la Nuit, qui est parfois figurée à la place de S. sur quelques représentations du mythe d'Endymion (Endymion 69. 81; Eros/Amor, Cupido 34). Il tient aussi une coupe, accessoire lié à l'eau du Léthé et à l'oubli qu'elle procure, qui apparaît sur certaines images du sommeil d'Ariane (108–112) et sur une stèle (154). Le torque porté par quelques statuettes gallo-ro-

maines de S. (44–46) exprime son identité avec une divinité locale, comme pour d'autres dieux romains, p. ex. Mercure (statuette de bronze: Londres, BM 825. – Walters *BM Bronzes* n° 825).

Divinité ailée, S. porte plusieurs types d'ailes, parfois même simultanément; certaines le rapprochent d'autres divinités et précisent ses fonctions, notamment dans le domaine funéraire. Il peut avoir des ailes aux tempes comme Mercure (3–7. 38–58) et parfois des ailettes aux talons (71) ou des ailes de papillon, soit dans le dos, soit aux tempes comme Psyché; et sur quelques images, des ailes de chauve-souris (62. 137), animal lié au monde des morts mais aussi au rêve et au sommeil (Plin. *nat.* 30, 140. 144; Wellmann, M., *RE* IV (1909) 2740–2742 s. v. «Fledermaus»).

S. dispense le sommeil grâce à ses attributs ou à ses ailes (cf. Sources littéraires), mais il peut aussi agir par sa simple présence, marquant son action par son attitude (l'index porté à la bouche, qui invite au silence: 135–136; pour ce geste, cf. un Amour près d'une morte sur un couvercle de sarcophage: Wrede, H., *AA* 1977, 412 fig. 94) ou par son propre endormissement (11–34. 61. 99. 134).

### B. Les types physiques

1. *Somnus enfant*. Il convient de distinguer les images de S. sous la forme d'un Amour, avec ou sans attribut mais désigné par une inscription (1–2) ou muni d'ailes temporales (3–5. 7), des Amours endormis pourvus de ses attributs (pavots, 11–31; corne, 32–34), ce qui autorise à voir en eux une personnification du Sommeil.

Il faut évoquer les innombrables «Amours» endormis parfois identifiés à S. (Furtwängler, A., *Bdl* 1877, 121–128; Carinci, *o. c.* 27b) mais qui ne tiennent aucun attribut. Il n'est pas possible de les identifier à S. bien qu'ils représentent le résultat de son action: ainsi un ex-voto dédié à Asklépios (8) illustre davantage le moyen de communication du dieu que S. lui-même. Dans un contexte funéraire ils représentent le sommeil du mort, qu'ils soient seuls ou en sa compagnie. Ils sont comparables à ceux qui se trouvent près d'un personnage endormi dans une scène mythique (73. 79. 124–125. 129. 133), renforçant la présence de S. ou soulignant l'action en son absence (p. ex. → Endymion 98; → Ariadne 130). Mis à part ceux qui ne portent aucun des attributs d'Amour et dorment sur un lion (20–24) – dérivant peut-être de la statue du Sommeil à Épidaure qui endormait un lion, Paus. 2, 10, 2) – les figures qui gardent les attributs de l'Amour (arc, 12. 15. 25. 27b. 30; baudrier, 15. 18–19. 25; et carquois, 12. 29; et parfois une torche, 11. 29a–b), mais qui ont en main les pavots ou la corne (32–34) et dont la signification funéraire est soulignée par un papillon (16), un lézard (18b. 20. 25. 27b. 29b) ou une couronne (11. 33), sont plus proches d'une personnification du sommeil que de l'image du dieu. Un Amour portant des pavots et une massue (30) fait le lien avec la série des Amours endormis munis des armes d'Hercule, liés aux pouvoirs de ce héros dans le monde funéraire; il est à rapprocher d'une autre statuette (27b) portant une dédicace à Hercule.

2. *Somnus jeune*. L'image grecque d'Hypnos adolescent, en marche, suivant un original de Scopas, a inspiré un grand nombre d'images de S. dans la statuaire de marbre (42) ou de bronze (44–57) – qui proviennent surtout de l'est et du nord de la Gaule – ainsi qu'une gemme (58). Un certain nombre de ces statuettes de fabrication gallo-romaine se confondent avec l'image de S. enfant, mais elles conservent l'attitude et les attributs du modèle et portent la coiffure des Amours (9–10); la même image se retrouve sur un couvercle de sarcophage (152). Ce type apparaît aussi dans les scènes du mythe (66–83. 108–115) et sur quelques intailles (37–38), sous la forme d'un hermès, et seules les ailes de papillon permettent de différencier S. de Mercure. Quelques peintures (36–37. 151) le montrent sous un aspect et dans une attitude qui le rapprochent encore plus de Mercure: on le reconnaît seulement à ses pavots.

Dans la peinture du début de l'époque romaine, S. est figuré sous l'aspect d'un très jeune homme ailé tenant une coupe et une baguette (108–112). Ce type apparaît dans des images issues d'un original hellénistique; c'est plus généralement celui de divinités secondaires à l'identification incertaine (157).

3. *Somnus âgé*. S., contrairement aux indications des textes, est aussi figuré comme un homme d'âge mûr sur quelques gemmes du I<sup>er</sup> s. portant des hermès (41–43); puis il devient un vieillard. Ce type est une contamination due à l'image de Thanatos et à l'interprétation symbolique de la mort comme un sommeil (Turcan, R., *MEFRA* 71, 1956, 292). Ceci expliquerait que ce type soit presque exclusivement réservé à des documents relevant du domaine funéraire, à l'exception d'une peinture (92). S. porte soit simplement un manteau, soit une tunique, soit un chiton ceinturé inspiré d'un costume de théâtre qui rappelle les images anciennes de Dionysos chthonien; on le trouve dans les scènes avec Ariane (119–120. 124) et parfois avec Endymion (98).

En général l'aspect de S. est assez éloigné de ce que nous transmettent les textes, soit par la vivacité de son mouvement, soit par son âge; parmi les images qui s'en rapprochent, montrant le dieu endormi agissant par sa simple présence, seules les plus anciennes montrent le dieu jeune (35. 134); sur les autres documents il est âgé (61a–b. 96).

4. *Somnus rapproché d'autres divinités*. L'action de S. dans différents domaines où il interfère avec d'autres divinités a amené la modification de son aspect. Sur des sarcophages illustrant la légende de Médée (138–143) il est figuré sous l'aspect d'un jeune homme couronné, proche des Vertus assistant aux mariages; il pourrait même être identifié à Hyménée avec sa couronne, mais la torche qu'il porte parfois est inclinée et, la tête baissée avec tristesse, il tient des pavots. La même ambiguïté entre les deux personnages se retrouve aussi sur une lampe (158, cf. aussi l'image du Komos: Philostr. *im.* 1, 2). La même imprécision existe aussi pour les personnifications du Rêve chez Philostrate (*im.* 1, 27: un personnage décrit sous le nom d'Oneiros est semblable à S.) et chez Procope (une figure nommée Hypnos envoie les rêves, 145).



S. est aussi parfois proche de Mercure; dans ce cas cette équivalence traduite par la proximité de leurs attributions (cf. III B) amène des similitudes iconographiques: S. peut apparaître comme une divinité secondaire qui lui est subordonnée (137). De même il peut modifier l'aspect d'une divinité: ainsi la Nuit porte ses attributs et le remplace auprès de Séléné (I A).

### C. Somnus dans les scènes du mythe

L'introduction de S. dans certaines scènes du mythe et leur interprétation ont influé sur l'apparence du dieu.

1. *Endymion*. Les images de S. près d'Endymion à l'arrivée de Séléné se répartissent en deux groupes principaux. Le plus ancien est particulièrement homogène: S. âgé, portant de grandes ailes, sans attribut, nu, les jambes drapées dans un manteau (84. 86-91) ou bien vêtu (85), écarte le manteau d'Endymion qui repose sur ses genoux. Un deuxième groupe montre S. derrière Endymion, en buste et jeune (66), ou âgé, en buste (103-106) ou en pied (95-102). Enfin, figuré jeune, il peut accompagner la déesse, soit qu'il la guide (73-83), soit qu'il l'ait déjà précédée (67-72); son apparence se rapproche des types statuariers dont elle reproduit jusqu'à la coiffure (73. 75, cf. 42. 55).

2. *Ariane*. Les images les plus anciennes de la découverte d'Ariane par Bacchus se trouvent sur des peintures pompéiennes du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (108-114) où la figure androgyne de S. donne l'oubli à Ariane jusqu'à l'arrivée du dieu, favorisant leur union encore plus clairement illustrée sur deux autres documents (126-127). Quand le thème réapparaît un siècle plus tard sur les sarcophages, une seule image montre encore S. jeune (115); ailleurs il est âgé, sans attribut, et remet Ariane à Bacchus, ou s'éloigne. Il revêt différents aspects, portant soit de longues ailes et un chiton à manches longues (116-117. 123), soit un manteau (avec un aspect proche de celui de Pluton, 121), soit un chiton de type féminin à ceinture triangulaire et un péplos (119-120. 124).

3. *L'imagerie romaine* fait aussi intervenir S. dans des épisodes où son rôle n'est pas mentionné par ailleurs; de même Philostrate, dans une brève description de la capture d'Hercule par les Pygmées (144), prête à S. un rôle actif.

Pour illustrer la rencontre de Mars et de Rhéa Silvia, les artistes ont eu recours aux schémas déjà employés pour Endymion, que ce soit sur des sarcophages (129-133) où il répand le contenu de sa corne, ou dans la peinture (128) où S. soutient la jeune femme sur ses genoux. La présence de S. permet d'attribuer à cette scène la même symbolique qu'aux précédentes, ce qui est particulièrement mis en lumière sur un sarcophage (130 = 106) qui figure aussi le mythe d'Endymion.

Dans d'autres épisodes, le schéma et l'aspect de S. sont plus divers. S. se substitue au filet de la tradition homérique pour permettre aux dieux de surprendre Mars et Vénus. Ce est traduit sur le document le plus ancien par la simple présence du dieu endormi aux pieds des amants (134), et sur d'autres peintures par son invitation au silence (135-136); sur un sarcophage

(137) il s'éloigne et se dirige vers Mercure isolé des autres dieux par la scène centrale.

Sur les sarcophages illustrant la remise des cadeaux de Médée à Créüse (138-143), les sculpteurs ont joué sur l'ambiguïté de la torche utilisée dans le domaine matrimonial et funéraire, tout comme dans la description du Komos où Philostrate (*im.* 1, 2) fait allusion à la fois au sommeil de l'ivresse et à celui de la nuit de noces, donnant à son personnage les attributs de plusieurs divinités.

Exprimées dans la littérature et dans le nom même du dieu, les relations ou même l'ambivalence de S. et du Rêve se retrouvent dans la peinture décrite par Procope (145): il nomme le Sommeil, mais l'action décrite est le rêve de Thésée. On peut en complément évoquer l'œuvre décrite par Philostrate (*im.* 1, 27) où Oneiros porte les attributs de S. (pour un autre aspect de S. dans ce domaine, cf. IV).

### D. Somnus et les mortels

Les images de Somnus en compagnie des mortels ne forment pas un ensemble cohérent; l'on peut aisément associer à chacune le schéma d'un épisode mythique. Le dieu intervient directement dans le monde des mortels pour assurer son passage ou son devenir dans l'au-delà; ces images sont à rapprocher des sarcophages où le héros est figuré sous les traits du défunt (→ Endymion 67. 83. 138). La peinture d'une tombe (151) reprend le schéma de la délivrance d'Alceste par Hercule, et le tombeau de Claudia Fabulla (153) celui de l'arrivée de S. derrière Endymion (71-83); mais, sur un plan formel, le contenu consolateur du mythe est en partie détruit par l'attitude affligée de l'homme qui se rapproche de celle des participants aux scènes de déploration. Une stèle (154) où S., probablement adolescent, tenait une coupe pourrait être rapprochée de certaines images du sommeil d'Endymion, mais la coupe apparaît sur les peintures consacrées à Ariane (108-114). Hors du domaine funéraire, une lampe (158) illustre peut-être à nouveau les liens de S. avec d'autres divinités et principalement Hyménée; elle est pratiquement le seul document dans cette catégorie, mis à part un autre objet d'interprétation incertaine (155).

## II. Somnus dans le domaine funéraire

Dans l'iconographie comme dans la littérature et dans de nombreuses inscriptions, le sommeil représente fréquemment la mort, et les images de S. dans un contexte funéraire peuvent illustrer simplement la vision consolatrice du sommeil du mort ou, par l'interprétation allégorique de divers mythes où un personnage est endormi, exprimer la croyance en une vie dans l'au-delà.

### A. Interprétations des mythes

L'image d'Endymion est utilisée dans un contexte funéraire pour la première fois à Rome. La présence de S. près du berger ne fait pas référence à l'amour qu'il lui portait mais l'existence de ce thème a pu aider à

l'introduction de S. dans cette série d'images. Une des principales interprétations est le sommeil paisible après la mort, comme récompense; le choix de ce mythe s'explique aussi dans un contexte stoïcien par l'attrait de la lune sur les âmes, seul le passage par le sommeil de la mort rendant leur union possible.

La présence de S. au moment de la découverte d'Ariane par Bacchus n'est pas une innovation de l'art funéraire romain (cf. 108-114. 126), mais la modification de l'aspect de S. traduit celle de la signification. Sur ces sarcophages, à l'exception d'un exemplaire (118) où la présence du bateau de Thésée réintroduit un élément narratif, S. n'est plus le dieu qui permet par son action à Ariane d'attendre Bacchus, mais au contraire une force ancienne qui s'efface devant le nouveau dieu incarnant la renaissance du mort par son union avec la divinité soulignée par l'attribution à Ariane des traits de la défunte (p.ex. 117) et clairement exprimée sur un autel (127); cette interprétation explique, suivant R. Turcan, la ressemblance entre Dionysos l'ancien et S. (119-120. 124). Un document (107) fait le lien entre la signification des deux mythes: au réveil d'Endymion, S. s'éloigne à l'arrivée de Séléné. La modification du schéma rend sensible celle de la signification: Endymion devient l'équivalent d'Ariane.

Dans ces mythes, S. incarne différents aspects de la mort: passage nécessaire pour accéder au monde divin ou sommeil infernal mis en fuite par le dieu «rédempteur». Les autres mythes qui font intervenir S. rentrent dans ces catégories. Un de ces documents porte à la fois l'image d'Endymion et celle de Rhéa Silvia (130) avec la même valeur symbolique: seul le sommeil ou la mort permet aux mortels de connaître le monde divin en libérant l'âme. Rhéa Silvia accède au monde divin par son union avec le dieu pendant son sommeil: cet épisode inconnu des textes est une innovation de l'imagerie funéraire.

La représentation de Mars et de Vénus (137) devient le symbole de l'âme qui s'éveille à la véritable vie au moment où le couple est libéré de ses chaînes ou de son sommeil, c'est-à-dire de la vie terrestre. De même S., absent des représentations de la remise des cadeaux de Médée à Créüse lorsque l'aspect narratif est privilégié (notamment un calathos d'argent d'ép. augustéenne: Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. 58.4. - Künzl. o.c. 142a, 342-346 fig. 2. 6. 12-18), apparaît sur les sarcophages.

### B. Somnus psychopompe

Les liens de S. avec l'au-delà sont parfois encore plus clairement évoqués. Il fait office de psychopompe (*TrGF II adesp.* F 405), rôle qui lui est déjà attribué dans les *Hymnes Orphiques* (Orph. h. 85, 7-8; Boyancé 100); il emprunte cette fonction à Mercure, tout comme celui-ci exerce son pouvoir sur le sommeil (Hom. *Od.* 7, 137-138; Athen. 1, 16b). Ces attributions, clairement exprimées dans les inscriptions (Cumont, *Symb* 369 n. 2), apparaissent aussi sur quelques documents figurés (151. 153. 160?). Son rôle est parfois illustré par le mort lui-même dormant sur son tombeau et qui, outre des objets liés à ses croyances,

peut tenir des têtes de pavot tout comme le protecteur de son repos (Cumont, *Symb* 397-400 pl. 41, 1 fig. 79).

## III. Somnus dans le domaine médical

S., comme divinité du sommeil et du rêve subordonnée aux dieux guérisseurs, et comme illustration de leurs moyens d'action, est aussi figuré (8. 39bis. 146-150bis) ou mentionné dans des dédicaces liées ou non à une image (46. 65; *CIL XII* 3058), suivant une tradition déjà connue en Grèce (Paus. 2, 10, 2).

Dans les régions occidentales de l'Empire, S. est le plus souvent un dieu jeune en marche, dérivé du modèle de Scopas. Il est probable que la statue de Riez (46) reproduisait ce même type. La statuette de Grand (9) doit probablement être mise en relation avec une inscription de même provenance qui fait allusion au sommeil ordonné par Apollon Grannus (Wuilleumier, P., *Inscr. latines des Trois Gaules*, Gallia Suppl. 17 [1963] 169 n° 416). En Gaule, un seul document (39bis) s'en éloigne; S. est comme dans la série précédente adolescent, mais il est en revanche statique; son rôle est précisé par la présence d'Apollon, dieu guérisseur, et par son attitude qui le relie à un sanctuaire.

Dans d'autres régions, S. peut aussi être figuré sous la forme d'un Amour endormi couché sur un ex-voto provenant de Grèce (8) ou, dans des groupes statuariers, assis près d'Esculape et d'Hygie (146), mais le plus souvent avec Hygie seule (147-150bis) avec un schéma proche de celui du groupe d'Aphrodite-Tyché avec Amour (Vermeule, o.c. 148).

Dans ce contexte, les attributions de S. recoupent celles de Télésphore (→ Telesphoros): bien que proches, ils ne sont pas totalement assimilables l'un à l'autre et subsistent simultanément, comme le montre la statue d'Asclépios avec Télésphore trouvée près de celle d'Hygie avec S. (147). CATHERINE LOCHIN

## HYPOLEPSIS

(ὑπόληψις) Personnification de la suspicion, du soupçon.

I. (= Agnoia 3, = Aletheia 1, = Diabole 1, = Epiboule 1) Peinture d'Apelle. Perdue. - Lukianos *cal.* 5; Brunn, H., *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* II (1889) 140. - Vers 300 av. J.-C. - Lucien ne décrit pas H. Il indique simplement qu'elle se trouvait debout, en compagnie d'Agnoia, non loin d'un homme aux grandes oreilles, assis. Les deux femmes ne semblent pas avoir été désignées par des inscriptions, Lucien ajoutant avec précaution un *δοκεῖ μοι* à son identification. JEAN-ROBERT GISLER

## HYPSAS

(Ἵψας, *Hypsa*) Divinità del fiume omonimo nella Sicilia occidentale, corrispondente all'odierno Belice. Il suo culto è attestato nel V sec. a. C. a Selinunte, e molto probabilmente anche ad Entella, sita più a monte sul Belice sinistro.

**FONTI LETTERARIE:** Non esistono testimonianze specifiche sulla divinità, ma solo sul fiume: Pol. 9, 27, 5; Plin. nat. 3, 90.

**BIBLIOGRAFIA:** Cavallaro, G., «Entella elimica e le sue monete», *AnnIstLNum* 3, 1956, 39-42; Cahn, H. A., «A litra of Entella», *NC* 1937, 107-111; Lloyd, A. H., «The coin types of Selinus and the legend of Empedocles», *NC* 1935, 73-93; Lacroix, L., *Monnaies et colonisation* (1965) 118-122; Rizzo, G. E., *Intermezzo* (1939) 49-71.

Sulla topografia: Manni, E., *Geografia fisica e politica della Sicilia antica* (1981) 111-112.

## CATALOGO

## Monete di Selinunte

1.\* (= Herakles 2316 [D.]) AR, didrammi, 450-415 a. C. - Rizzo, *MGS* 167, 15-17 tav. 31, 15-17; Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze* 2 tav. 67, 187; *SNG München* 889-893; *SNG ANS* 702-710. - D.: Eracle in lotta col toro. Etnico. R.: H. nudo, con nella d. una patera e nella s. un ramo di alloro, che sacrifica su un altare a s., intorno cui è avvolto un serpente. A d. foglia di *selinon* e airona, *HYΨΑΣ*.

## Monete di Entella

2. (= Entella 2 [D.]) AR, litre, 460-450 a. C. - Cahn 107-111. - D.: Testa femminile diadematata (ninfa → Entella?). R.: Toro androprosopo a d. (dio fluviale H.). Etnico.

3. (= Entella 1 [D.]) AR, litre, 450 a. C. c. - Imhoof-Blumer, F., «Nymphen und Chariten», *JlArchNum* 11, 1908, 27, 63-64 tav. 2, 22; Cat. coll. R. Jameson (1913) 560-561; Cavallaro 40-41 tav. 1, 4-8. - D.: Figura femminile sacrificante su un altare (ninfa Entella?). R.: Come 2, in esergo pesce. Etnico.

## COMMENTO

Sulla base di Diog. Laert. 8, 70 la rappresentazione dell'H., e quella analoga del → Selinous sulle monete di Selinunte, erano state messe in relazione con la bonifica delle paludi selinuntine. Lloyd, Rizzo, e, più tardi, Lacroix hanno dimostrato l'erroneità di tale esgesi, riconoscendo nel tipo monetale 1 il dio fluviale H. rappresentato all'interno del suo *temenos*, nell'atto di sacrificare presso il proprio altare. Il suo gesto ha valore rituale ed esemplare, in evidente analogia con il sacrificio che, sulle monete di Himera, ha per protagonista la ninfa eponima della città (→ Himera). Il gesto è destinato a promuovere la fertilità e la fecondità del terreno, valori espressi emblematicamente dal serpente avvolto intorno all'altare.

Alcuni attributi dell'H. come il ramo di alloro, l'airone e la foglia, sono utilizzati anche per il dio fluviale

→ Gelas, rappresentato quale toro androprosopo (Jenkins, K., *The Coinage of Gela* [1970] tavv. 22-24, 385-389, 395-400). La coesistenza delle due iconografie del toro a volto umano e del dio giovinetto, la cui antica ferinità sopravvive nell'attributo delle corna, a Gela per il Gelas e a Catana per l'→ Amenanos, rende ragione di come l'H. sia stato rappresentato ad Entella sotto forma di toro androprosopo, in unione, sull'altra faccia della moneta, con la divinità femminile in cui si manifestava la sua virtù generante.

MARIA CACCAMO CALTABIANO

HYPSIPYLE I → LIMC Suppl.

HYPSIPYLE II → Amazonas 64

HYPSOPYLE → Amazonas 740

## HYRKANIS

(Ἵρκανίς) Personificazione dell'omonima città liddia nella valle dell'Hermos, il cui sito è stato identificato con Papasli, odierna Halitpaşaköi (Foucart, Schuchhardt, Büchner, Robert). Fondata dai Persiani, che vi trasferirono dei coloni dalla regione dell'Hyrkania a sud del Mar Caspio (Strabon 13, 4, 13 p. 629), la città dovette accogliere sotto i Seleucidi una guarnigione macedone, e si definisce in varie iscrizioni come ἡ Μακεδόνων Ἵρκανῶν πόλις.

**FONTI LETTERARIE:** assenti.

**BIBLIOGRAFIA:** Büchner, L., *REIX* 1 (1914) 526-527 s. v. «Hyrkanis»; Drexler, W., *ML* 1 2 (1886-90) 2860 s. v. «Hyrkanis»; Foucart, P., *BCH* 11, 1887, 91-92; Head, *HN* 652; Robert, J. e L., *Hellenica* VI, *Inscriptions grecques de Lydie* (1948) 16-26; Schuchhardt, C., *AM* 13, 1888, 4-6.

## CATALOGO

## a) Teste e busti

## Monete di Hyrkanis

1. AE, età imperiale. - *BMC Lydia* 122, 2. - D.: busto a d. con corona turrita, leg. *YPKANQN*. R.: → Tyche stante, leg. *MAKEAON*.

2.\* AE, età imperiale. - *BMC Lydia* 123, 11-13; Grose, *McClean* III 216, 8670 tav. 303, 12; *SNG Copenhagen* 208; Kraft, K., *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägungen in Kleinasien* (1972) 118, 61 tav. 9. - D.: busto a d. con corona turrita, leg. *YPKANIS*. R.: Tyche stante, leg. *YPKANQN*.

## b) Figure intere

## Rilievo in pietra

3.\* (= Amazonas 798 con bibl., = Hierokaisareia 1 con bibl. e rinvi) Base di marmo. Napoli, Mus.

Naz. 6780. Da Pozzuoli. - Bulifon, A., *Ragionamento intorno d'un antico marmo scoperto nella città di Pozzuoli* (1694); Jahn, O., *SbLeipzig* 1851, 148 tav. 3, 11; Toynbee, J. M. C., *The Hadrianic School* (1934) 122-123 tav. 28, 1; Robert 20; De Franciscis, A., *Il Mus. Naz. di Napoli* (1963) fig. 84; *idem*, in *I Campi Flegrei nell'archeologia e nella storia*, Roma, 4-7 maggio 1976, *Atti Conv. Lincei* 33 (1977) 344; Mingazzini, P., *RM* 83, 1976, 425-429 tav. 148, 2; Hanfmann, G. M. A., in Hanfmann, G. M. A. e Ramage, N. H., *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975* (1978) 180-181. - 30 d. C. secondo l'iscrizione; Mingazzini propende invece per un restauro integrale del monumento dopo il terremoto del 69 d. C. e data la base in età domiziana. - La base, e la statua che su di essa poggiava, furono dedicate a Tiberio dagli Augustali e ricordano la sua opera in favore delle città dell'Asia Minore devastate da terremoti nel 17 e nel 23 d. C. (*Tac. ann.* 2, 47; 4, 13; Plin. nat. 2, 200; fonti raccolte in Magie, D., *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* II [1950] 1358-1359 n. 23). Sul lato posteriore, vicino al bordo destro, H. è rappresentata come una figura femminile di tipo amazzonio, stante, frontale, vestita alla macedone con chitonisco, clamide e causia. Ai suoi piedi Bulifon poteva ancora leggere l'iscrizione *HYRCA*, oggi completamente scomparsa.

## Scultura a tutto tondo

4. Statua nel Foro di Cesare, davanti al tempio di Venus Genetrix, non conservata. - 28 d. C. - Secondo Phlegon *miracula*, *FGrH* 257 F 36 (XIII), le città d'Asia Minore dedicarono a Tiberio una statua nel Foro di Cesare, circondata dalle personificazioni - evidente-

mente a tutto tondo (ἀνδριάντας) - delle città beneficate, in segno di gratitudine per le provvidenze nei loro riguardi in seguito ai terremoti. - La statua di Tiberio appare su monete della zecca di Roma: AE, sesterzio. - *BMC Emp* I CXXXIV. 129, 70-73 tav. 23, 16; Trillmich, W., *Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius* (1978) 91 n. 278 tav. 12, 6. - D.: leg. SC. R.: Tiberio seduto a s. Cf. Platner/Ashby 227 s. v. «Forum Iulium».

## COMMENTO

Sulle monete 1-2 H. presenta il consueto aspetto delle personificazioni di città (→ Tyche), senza una propria individualità che attinga a precedenti mitologici. Sulla base di Pozzuoli (3), che probabilmente riprende la figura del monumento ufficiale nel Foro di Cesare (4), H. appare invece con elementi caratteristici del costume macedonico, che mettono in risalto la sua seconda fondazione ad opera di soldati macedoni, messa orgogliosamente in rilievo dalla sua definizione di ἡ Μακεδόνων Ἵρκανῶν πόλις.

(Ricerca condotta con contributo del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Roma)

FULVIO CANCELIANI

HYSMENA → Ismene 13

IACOR → Hebe I/Iuventus I

## IAKCHOS

(*Ἰακχος*) Attisch-eleusinischer, dem → Dionysos ähnlicher Gott oder Dämon, Personifikation des Prozessionsgesanges der Mysten auf dem Weg von Athen nach Eleusis am 19. Boedromion.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Neben Hdt. 8, 65 ist am wichtigsten die Parodos der 405 v. Chr. aufgeführten *Frösche*: Aristoph. *Ranae* 316–459 mit *Schol.* Durch die Interpretation von Graf (40–50) ist die Verbindung mit den eleusinischen Mysterien klarer geworden. I. wird in der Parodos als Fackelschwinger (340. 351), Erfinder des Festliedes (399–400), als Liebhaber des Tanzes und Geleiter der Prozession (410. 416) angerufen. Der aristophanische Witz liegt darin, daß die Mysten vor dem als Herakles verkleideten Gott Dionysos singen, der ohnehin mit I. gleichgesetzt zu werden pflegte (s. unten). Er reagiert entsprechend: «Ich folge immer gern der Prozession» (417–418). – Gleichsetzung I. und Dionysos: Soph. *Ant.* 1146–1152 und *TiGFIV* F 959; Eur. *Bacchae* 725–726 und *Ion* 1074–1077 sowie öfter in der griechischen und römischen Literatur; vgl. dazu Graf 51–58. – Wichtig ist, daß die Gleichsetzung nicht nur in der Dichtung, sondern auch im eleusinischen Kult begegnet: *Schol.* Aristoph. *Ranae* 479 (der eleusinische Daduchos nennt I. Semelesohn, das ist kein anderer als Dionysos). – Strabon 10, 3, 10 p. 468 unterscheidet in der Weise zwischen I. und Dionysos, daß er von zwei Iakchoi spricht, einer werde mit Dionysos identifiziert, der andere sei der Archeget der Mysterien, ein zu Demeter gehörender Dämon.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Deubner, L., *Attische Feste* (1932) 73–74. 125–126. 134; Fauth, W., *KlPauly* II (1967) 1301–1302 s. v. «Iakchos»; Geominy, W., «Eleusinische Priester», in *BonnJbb* Beih. 47, *Festschr. N. Himmelmann* (1989) 253–264; Graf, F., *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit*, *RGV* 33 (1974) 40–66; Höfer, O., *ML* II 1 (1890–94) 1–11 s. v. «Iakchos» (veraltet, besonders in bezug auf angebliche I.-Kulte außerhalb von Attika; vgl. dagegen Kern); Kern, O., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 613–622 s. v. «Iakchos»; Maaß, M., *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen* (1972) 119 (zum Priester Iakchagogos); Metzger, *Recherches* 52 Anm. 4; Mylonas, G. E., *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1961) 252–258; Nilsson, *GrRel* 1 318. 599; Pringsheim, H. G., *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kultes* (1905); Simon, E., «Neue Deutung zweier eleusinischer Denkmäler des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.», *AntK* 9, 1966, 79–80. 89–90.

## KATALOG

## A. Iakchos in der Plastik

1. In der Prozession nach Eleusis mitgeführtes Idol. Im «sogenannten Iakcheion» (Plut. *Aristides* 27, 4; vgl. Alkiphron 3, 23, 1), das man in der Nähe von Dipylon und Pompeion annimmt (Lit. bei Graf 49 Anm. 43) stand wahrscheinlich ein Idol des I., das an der Spitze der Mystenprozession nach Eleusis getra-

gen wurde (Mylonas 253–254; Maaß 119). Es könnte aus Holz gewesen sein und war aus chronologischen und praktischen Gründen sicher nicht identisch mit 2. Geominy 256 und *passim* nimmt in der Nachfolge von E. Gerhard (*AbhBerlin* 1863, 540) an, I. sei von dem eleusinischen Daduchos verkörpert worden, der dieses Amt nur in seiner Jugend ausgeübt habe. Für diese Hypothese fehlt eine Stütze in der antiken Tradition. Andererseits entspricht das Tragen von Statuen in Prozessionen einem weit verbreiteten antiken Brauch, so daß man besser an dem I.-Idol festhält. Da I. in der älteren eleusinischen Tradition nicht begegnet, hat man ihn für eine relativ junge Gestalt gehalten (Deubner 126). Er dürfte mit der Organisation der athenischen Prozession nach Eleusis in späarchaischer Zeit zusammenhängen (vgl. zu 7).

2. (= Dionysos 532 mit Lit.) Statue des Praxiteles. «In der Nähe des Pompeion» erwähnt Paus. 1, 2, 4 einen Tempel der Demeter, der vielleicht mit dem Iakcheion (1) identisch war. In ihm standen Statuen der Demeter (→ Demeter 415 mit Lit.), der Kore und des I., der eine Fackel hielt. An der Wand war mit attischen Buchstaben geschrieben, es handle sich um Werke des Praxiteles. Jener I. war nach Cic. *Verr.* 4, 60 aus Marmor und gehörte zu den wichtigsten Kunstwerken Athens; vgl. Clem. Alex. *protr.* 62; Lippold, G., *RE* XXII 2 (1954) 1789–90 s. v. «Praxiteles 5». – Zur Bestimmung des Typus ist die Fackel wichtig, die in der Hand des Dionysos, dem I. nach den Schriftquellen gegliedert haben dürfte, selten auftritt. Sie ist aber bei dem folgenden «Dionysos» vorhanden:

a)\* (= Eubouleus 11 mit Lit., = Demeter/Ceres 146\* mit Lit.) Marmorsarkophag. Rom, Pal. Borghese. Aus Torrenova. – Die ganz r. stehende jugendliche Gestalt mit kurzem Gewand und hohen Stiefeln schultert eine Fackel und hat ein Tierfell umgürtet. Bei diesem Jüngling und nicht bei dem im l. Teil stehenden Fackelträger dürfte es sich um I. handeln, denn nur er, nicht jener, ist dem Dionysos ähnlich. Von diesem kaiserzeitlichen Denkmal läßt sich zurückschließen auf ein spätklassisches Weihrelief:

b) (= Eubouleus 4 mit Lit., = Demeter 412\* mit Lit.) Neapel, Mus. Naz. Aus Mondragone. – Der r. stehende «Dionysos» gleicht im Typus der Gestalt auf a; die Fackel, die er l. schulterte, ist in Spuren erhalten. Graf 60–61 kommt auf anderem Wege zu demselben Schluß, daß es sich hier um I. handelt. Er fügt an (60 Anm. 8. 9):

3. (= Hades 45 mit Lit.) Weihrelief «für die beiden Göttinnen». Chalkis, Mus. – Mylonas, G. E., *ArchEph* 1965, 1–6 Abb. 1. – Spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Dionysos-I. im Typus Hope (→ Dionysos 128), mit Thyrsos und Kantharos. Der gleiche Typus erscheint auf:

4.\* Weihrelief, Marmor, fr. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H 4020. Aus Megara. – Unpubliziert. – Spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Dionysos vom Typus Hope (→ Dionysos 128\*) nimmt die r. Seite ein (lange Locken, Band im Haar, Nebris, kurzes Gewand, Stiefel; um die Schultern schmaler Mantel). Der «Stab», auf den er sich mit der hochgreifenden Linken stützt, ist nicht sicher der Thyrsos. Es könnte sich auch um eine große Fackel

handeln. Das Attribut in der vorgestreckten Rechten, wohl ein Kantharos, ist nicht erhalten. Obwohl weitere Gottheiten nicht (mehr?) vorhanden sind, ist die Deutung auf Dionysos-I. wegen 3 zu erwägen.

5. Weihung des Arztes Mnesitheos. Pausanias sah am Heiligen Weg zwischen Athen und Eleusis sein Grab (1, 37, 4) und erwähnt Weihestatuen (*ἀγάλματα*), darunter eine des I., die dieser gestiftet habe. Wo sie genau standen, sagt er nicht. Da er nur I. hervorhebt, scheint dieser besonders bekannt gewesen zu sein. Zweifellos bildeten die Statuen einen eleusinischen Zusammenhang. Ein Künstler ist nicht bei Paus. erwähnt. Mnesitheos lebte um die Mitte des 4. Jh. v. Chr.: *RE* XV 2 (1932) s. v. «Mnesitheos 3» (K. Deichgräber).

## B. Iakchos in der Münzprägung

6.\* AE, Adramytion (Mysien), späthadrianisch. – Blum, G., «Numismatique d'Antinoos», *JlArchNum* 16, 1914, 47 Taf. 3, 10; v. Fritze, H., *Die antiken Münzen Mysiens* (1913) 35–36 Nr. 105 Taf. 2, 21; Kraus, Th., *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 1959, 53 Abb. 3. – Vs.: Kopf mit Porträtzügen des Antinoos nach r., mit halb-länglichem lockigem Haar, das in der Art des 4. Jh. v. Chr. stilisiert ist, ohne Kranz. Beischrift ANTI-NOOΞ/IAKXOΞ. Rs.: Demeter Eleusinia nach l. sitzend. Inschrift außer der Bezeichnung der Stadt: ΓΕ-ΣΙΩΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ (sic).

## C. Iakchos in der Vasenmalerei

I. ist auf Vasen nicht inschriftlich gesichert. Infolgedessen ist man sich in der Forschung nicht einig. Der Benutzer von *LIMC* findet unter → Demeter, → Dionysos, → Eubouleus und → Eumolpos immer wieder Hinweise auf ungeklärte Figuren des eleusinischen Kreises. Die Verwirrung in bezug auf I. ist besonders groß. Für die unten zusammengestellten Bilder gelten die folgenden Prämissen:

a) I. und Dionysos waren bereits im mittleren 5. Jh. v. Chr. und wohl schon früher gleichgesetzt (Graf 51–53), wenn I. auch getrennt Kult empfing (Graf 53–54).

b) Wegen dieser Gleichsetzung dürften I. und Dionysos ikonographisch nicht sehr verschieden sein. Es ist deshalb fraglich, ob sie im selben Bildzusammenhang auftreten können (vgl. Simon, E., *Gnomon* 42, 1970, 707).

c) I. war nicht, wie etwa Eumolpos, eleusinischer König. Das ist besonders wichtig, weil zwischen Eumolpos und I. die Namen hin- und hergeschoben zu werden pflegen. So wird von Pringsheim über Nilsson bis Geominy ein junger Mann in Thrakerstiefeln, mit Ependytes, häufig mit langen Locken und mit zwei Fackeln, I. genannt, z. B. → Demeter 392\*. 398\*. 404. 405\*. Diese eleusinische Gestalt kann aber auch mit dem Zepter erscheinen: → Demeter 396\*, was zu Eumolpos und nicht zu I. paßt.

d) Die unter c beschriebene Gestalt kann in eleusinischen Bildern verdoppelt auftreten, z. B. → Eumolpos 31 (= Dioskouroi 169\*); → Demeter 399. 405\* (Reliefhydria in Leningrad). Das läßt an die beiden eleusinischen Priestergeschlechter denken, denen die Einweihungen anvertraut waren. Doppelte Priesterschaften stehen in großen griechischen Heiligtümern in guter Tradition (→ Iamos). Eumolpos und Keryx waren die Ahnen der beiden eleusinischen Priestergeschlechter, bei denen I. keinen Platz hat. Er ist Gott oder Dämon, nicht Heros.

Die früheste Darstellung des I. ist wahrscheinlich: 7. (= Demeter 387 mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Hades 43 mit Lit.) Amphora, fr., att. sf. Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz. 4001. Aus Lokroi. – *ABV* 147, 6: Nähe Exekias; *Para* 61; *Add* 41. Beste Aufnahme: Metzger, *Recherches* 8 Nr. 2 Taf. 1. 2. – 540/30 v. Chr. – Der Ausfahrt der Demeter mit einem Viergespann (dabei Triptolemos, Athena, Herakles und Hermes) wendet sich von r. → Ploutodotas (Beischrift) zu. Das war der Beiname des «Semelesohnes Iakchos» (*Schol.* Arist. *Ranae* 479), wie er von Eleusis aus propagiert wurde. Er ist bärtig und mit Chiton und Mantel bekleidet, ähnlich wie Dionysos in der Kunst jener Zeit. Eine purpurne Doppelbinde liegt im langen Haar. Der Stab mit der merkwürdigen Spitze in seiner Rechten ist unerklärt. Wegen der Längsrille könnte eine Fackel gemeint sein, die noch nicht angezündet ist und deren «Kopf» man sähe. Als Prozessionsgott paßt I. zusammen mit Hermes zur Ausfahrt der Demeter.

8. (= Ares 91, = Demeter 389\* mit Lit., = Dionysos 531, = Eumolpos 21) Glockenkrater, fr., att. rf. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1956.355. Aus Al Mina. – Um 380 v. Chr. – Erhalten ist das Zentrum der Komposition. Auf dem Schoß der Demeter (Demeter-Kybele?) sitzt ein mit weißer Haut gemalter Knabe, den sie mit der Rechten umfaßt. Er griff wohl mit seiner Linken um ihren Hals. Über dem kurzen, verzierten Chiton trägt er ein geflecktes Tierfell und an den Füßen Thrakerstiefel. Die Tracht gleicht der auf 2–4 I. genannten Gestalt. Die Darstellung erinnert an ein Marmorrelief mit → Kybele als Kourotophos von der Athener Agora: Hadzisteliou Price, Th., *Kourotophos* (1978) 64–65 Abb. 50. Schon vor dessen Publikation hatte ich vorgeschlagen, hier eine Gleichsetzung der Demeter mit der Göttermutter zu sehen, bei der das Dionysoskind aufwuchs (*Gnomon* 42, 1970, 710). Der Krieger I. ist dann weder Ares noch Eumolpos, sondern ein Korybant.

9. In zahlreichen Vasenbildern mit eleusinischen Themen tritt Dionysos mit dem Thyrsos auf, z. B. → Dionysos 526\*–530\*; → Demeter 390\*. 396\*. 400\*. 405\*. 408\*. Er dürfte für die antiken Betrachter in gleicher Weise I. und Dionysos gewesen sein.

## KOMMENTAR

Von dem in der Prozession nach Eleusis getragenen I.-Idol (1) gibt uns vielleicht das im nächsten Umkreis des Exekias gemalte Vasenbild eine Vorstellung (7). Jener Prozession, deren Gesänge «der mystische



Iakchos (Hdt. 8, 65) verkörperte, muß «eine enthusiastische, den Dionysosfeiern ähnliche Stimmung» (Graf 58) innegewohnt haben. So erklärt sich die vom 5. Jh. v. Chr. an belegte Gleichsetzung des I. mit Dionysos, die «damit auf einer rituellen Grundlage ruht» (Graf ebendort). So verständlich das ist, so schwer fällt es der ikonographischen Forschung, I. nachzuweisen. Dabei werden die oben zu C gegebenen Prämissen häufig nicht oder nur zum Teil beachtet. Die eleusinische Gestalt mit zwei Fackeln, im Ependytes und mit Thrakerstiefeln wurde von Simon (89-90) → Eumolpos genannt, in der Nachfolge von A. Furtwängler. Da Weidauer (→ Eumolpos 22-31) diese Deutung als unsicher bezeichnet, schließt nun Geominy 253, daß sie «endgültig aufgegeben werden kann». Dagegen hatte Graf 59-66, was Weidauer und Geominy zu wenig beachten, die Argumente für Eumolpos sogar noch verstärkt. Die Prämissen C a-d schließen die Deutung der Gestalt als I. aus. Es muß bei den Stammvätern der beiden eleusinischen Priesterschaften bleiben, die Eumolpos und Keryx hießen.

Die Gleichsetzung des I. mit Dionysos gehört in den literarisch-mythologischen Bereich, während sie im Kult getrennt waren (Graf 53-54). Dem entspricht, daß I. in der Votivplastik nachgewiesen werden kann (2b. 3). Er ist kurz gewandert und trägt eine Nebris. Mit der Linken schultert er eine Fackel (2. 2b) oder er trägt den Thyrsos (3), auf den er sich ähnlich stützt wie der Dionysos Hope, dessen Gewandung ebenfalls nahe vergleichbar ist (→ Dionysos 128\*). Das Würzburger Relieffragment (4) zeigt I.-Dionysos oder Dionysos. Diese Darstellungen wurzeln in der Kunst des 4. Jh. v. Chr., für die uns literarisch zwei I.-Statuen überliefert sind: das Kultbild des Praxiteles (2) und das Votiv-Agalma des Arztes Mnesitheos (5). Über deren Aussehen wissen wir nichts, doch dürfte die Münze von Adramytion, auf der Antinoos mit I. inschriftlich gleichgesetzt ist (6), etwas von der Haargestaltung der beiden spätklassischen I.-Bilder bewahren. Jene Epoche war eine Blütezeit der eleusinischen Religion, so daß es nicht zu verwundern braucht, daß die meisten Vasenbilder, auf denen I. auftritt, dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. angehören (8. 9). Auf dem singulären Fragment aus Al Mina (8) ist Demeter als Kourotrophos des I. wohl mit Meter-Kybele gleichgesetzt.

ERIKA SIMON

IALMENOS → Astyoche

## IALYSOS

(*Ίάλυσος*, *Ίαλυσός*; ion. *Ίήλυσος*, *Ίηλυσός*; Ialysus) Héros éponyme de la ville d'Ialysos à Rhodes, fils de Kerkaphos et de → Kydippe, descendant d'→ Helios et de la Nympe → Rhodes et frère aîné de Kamirios et de Lindos, éponymes de deux autres villes rhodiennes. Il

épousa Dotis qui lui donna une fille, Symé, éponyme de l'île située entre Rhodes et Cnide. Selon une légende rhodienne, il mourut déchiré par son chien enragé.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Pind. O. 7, 74 et Schol.; Zénon de Rhodes, *FGrH* 523 F 1, 57, 8; Cic. nat. 3, 54; Tzet. Lykophron 923.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 68 s. v. «Ialiso»; Hiller v. Gaertringen, F., *RE* Suppl. 4 (1924) 783 s. v. «Ialysos I»; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 12 s. v. «Ialysos»; Weicker, G., *RE* IX (1916) 628-629 s. v. «Ialysos I».

I. Tableau, disparu, peint par Protogène de Caunos. Exposé à Rhodes (Dionysion?), puis à Rome (temple de la Paix). — Plin. nat. 35, 102-105; Strabon 14, 2, 5 p. 652; Suda, s. v. *Πρωτογένης*; Overbeck, *SC* n° 1907. 1915. 1918-1923; Reinach, *RecMilliet* 364-373; Pfuhl, *MuZ* 738. 767-768; Rumpf, A., *RE* XXIII 1 (1957) 981-983 s. v. «Protogenes 9». — 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. — I., accompagné de son chien, était probablement représenté en héros chasseur. Mais on ne sait si ce tableau célèbre, auquel le peintre aurait travaillé pendant sept ans, représentait un moment de sa vie quotidienne, ou bien sa mort tragique, scène qui aurait pu s'inspirer de l'iconographie d'Actéon (→ Aktaion). VASSILIKI MACHAIRA

IAMBE → Baubo

## IAMOS

(*Ίαμος*) Stammvater des olympischen Sehergeschlechts der Iamiden, die neben den Klytiaden, deren Stamm bis auf → Amythaon zurückreichte, an der Spitze des Zeuskultes in Olympia standen. I. war Enkel des → Poseidon und Sohn der Euadne von → Apollon. Euadne gebar ihn heimlich beim Wasserholen und setzte ihn zwischen Veilchen aus; daher die antike Etymologie seines Namens. Zwei Schlangen ernährten ihn dort mit Honig. Als er erwachsen war, stieg er in den Fluß → Alpheios und flehte Poseidon und Apollon an, ihm ein Amt zu verschaffen. Apollon setzte I. als Seher in Olympia ein. Über ein Jahrtausend verwalteten die Iamiden mit den Klytiaden dort in historischer Zeit das Seheramt; Zweige ihres Geschlechtes lebten in Messenien, Sparta, Arkadien und Sizilien.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Das oben Berichtete ist kein aus verschiedenen Quellen zusammengesetzter Mythos, sondern steht im Zusammenhang bei Pind. O. 6, 28-73. Die Ode stammt aus dem Jahr 468 v. Chr. und gilt einem sizilischen Angehörigen der Iamiden, der mit dem Maultiergespann in Olympia siegte und den Sieg bei einem Verwandten in Arkadien feierte. Näheres dazu in den Scholien zu dieser Ode, Drachmann I S. 161-181. — Messenische Iamiden: Paus. 4, 16, 1. — Iamiden in Sparta, im 5. Jh.

v. Chr.: Hdt. 9, 33-36; vgl. Strasburger, G., *Lexikon zur frühgriech. Geschichte* (1984) 437 s. v. «Teisamenos 2».

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: v. Geisau, H., *KlPäuly* II (1967) 1309 s. v. «Iamos»; Hepding, H., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 685-689 s. v. «Iamos I» (ausführliche Behandlung neben Parke); Parke, H. W., *The Oracles of Zeus* (1967) 174-178 und *passim*; Simon, E., «Zu den Giebeln des Zeustempels in Olympia», *AM* 83, 1968, 157-162, wieder abgedruckt in: Herrmann, H.-V. (Hrsg.), *Die Olympia-Skulpturen* (1987) 112-118; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 13-14 s. v. «Iamos».

## KATALOG

I. entsprang der Liebe des Apollon zu Euadne, der Tochter des Poseidon. Auf att. rf. Vasen, die mit Pind. O. 6 (s. oben) gleichzeitig sind, verfolgt Apollon wie andere Götter Geliebte: → Apollon 1085-1094. Unter den vorgeschlagenen Namen finden sich → Daphne, → Kreousa (I), → Marpessa, doch sollte man auch an Euadne denken.

Bereits unter → Amythaon wurde die Präsenz des olympischen Sehergeschlechts der Klytiaden in der rechten Hälfte des Ostgiebels des Zeustempels von Olympia besprochen. Daraus ergibt sich für das zweite Geschlecht die linke Hälfte:

I.\* Figur L im Ostgiebel des Zeustempels von Olympia, «linker Seher». Nach G. Treu im Olympia-Werk hat sich vor allem H. Bulle mit der Rekonstruktion dieses fragmentiert erhaltenen Mannes befaßt: *Jdl* 54, 1939, 173-183 Abb. 27-37. Neue Vorschläge: Simon (in Herrmann) 113 Taf. 31. Der Kopf ist gegenüber der Rekonstruktion von Bulle etwas stärker anzuheben. Der «Himmelblick» ist für Priester und Seher charakteristisch. Trotz der Zerstörung läßt sich ahnen, daß die mit einem Himation bekleidete Figur L, die am Boden kauerte und sich mit der Linken auf einen Stab stützte, einen reifen Mann von besonderer Schönheit wiedergab. Man beachte die Haartracht. Das reiche Haar mit den Wellen, den seitlichen Rollen und dem Knoten, der in der Stirnmitte beabsichtigt war, weist auf die Vaterschaft des für sein schönes Haar berühmten Apollon hin. Vergleichen läßt sich die Haartracht des «Münchener Homer»: Richter, G. M. A., *The Portraits of the Greeks* (1984<sup>2</sup>) 142-143 Abb. 103.

## KOMMENTAR

Die beiden Sehergeschlechter des Zeusorakels von Olympia sind im Ostgiebel in ihrer eigentlichen Funktion dargestellt: Sie sitzen rings um Zeus auf dem Boden, wie es in der *Ilias* für die Seher von Dodona beschrieben ist (Hom. II. 16, 233-235) und blicken in die Zukunft. Der Seher in der rechten Giebelhälfte sieht Unheil voraus, I. dagegen, auf der Seite des Pelops, sieht das Künftige ruhig und würdig kommen. Er ist jünger als der Greis auf der Seite des Oinomaos und durch reichen und schönen Haarwuchs ausgezeichnet, als Sohn des Apollon.

ERIKA SIMON

## IANISKOS

(*Ίανίσκος*) Figlio di → Asklepios, ricordato solo in una fonte antica (Schol. Aristoph. *Plutus* 701). Un omonimo di origine attica successe ad Adrastus come re di Sikyon (Paus. 2, 6, 6), ma non sembra che possa trattarsi dell'Asclepiade (cf. però Edelstein, E. J./Edelstein, L., *Asclepius* II [1945] 87 n. 44).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Panofka, Th., *AbhBerlin* 1845, 348-349; Svoronos 298-314; Holländer, H., *Plastik und Medizin* (1912) 150-155.

## Raffigurazione dubbia

I. (= Alkon 2\*) Rilievo votivo in marmo. Atene, Mus. Naz. 1387. Da Kythnos. — Ziehen, J., *AM* 17, 1892, 246-249 tav. 11; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 14 s. v. «Iankos»; Svoronos 331-333 n° 84 tav. 39; Hausmann, U., *Kunst und Heilum* (1948) 172-173 n° 86; Meier, M., *AM* 102, 1987, 218 n. 29. — Asklepios, accompagnato da un eroe locale, compare assieme a quattro giovani (i figli?). Uno di essi potrebbe essere Iankos.

## COMMENTO

Nessuna immagine può essere riferita con certezza a I. Nulla autorizza a pensare che egli fosse raffigurato con l'aspetto di un bambino, magari con un volatile in mano (Svoronos 303-305; Holländer), come è stato sostenuto per il fanciullo che accompagna Asklepios in una statua del Foro Romano (Heiderich, G., *Asklepios* [1966] 89; → Asklepios 384) e per una statuette di Gonnoi (Arvantinou-Metallinou, G., *AAA* 15, 1982, 246-247 fig. 2).

VINCENZO SALADINO

## IANITOR ORCI

Compare solo in età romana nelle raffigurazioni dell'→ Orcus in stretto rapporto con → Kerberos. L'idea di un portinaio anche nell'al di là può essere riferita al compito dello schiavo che custodiva l'ingresso della casa. Lo Ianitor, che presso i Romani non ha un nome proprio, presso i Greci è indicato talvolta come → Aiakos, che, pur essendo uno dei giudici infernali, è dette *πυλωρός* (Smyrne: Walters, H. B., *AM* 23, 1898, 268), mai più esattamente *θυρωρός*, dal momento che l'ufficio sacerdotale di un *κλειδοῦχος* *Ἄιδου* (Roma: *EpGr* 646, 4) è diverso da quello inferiore di un semplice portinaio. Infatti, al contrario della funzione servile del custode di casa, è più antica e più importante in Grecia quella del guardiano delle porte della città, un personaggio a cui occorreva, diversamente, assegnare responsabilità e rango. Così con le stesse mansioni troviamo pure Briareos. Dunque in Roma questa figura appare sempre distinta da qualsiasi divinità, anche da → Hermes, «accompagnatore dei morti». La individuazione iconografica è possibile solo in alcuni sarco-

fagi romani ed in due pitture tombali, di cui una da Ostia, in quanto ne riporta l'iscrizione, costituisce il documento più importante, mentre l'altra da Roma rappresenta una variante dello stesso tipo di giovinetto seduto su roccia.

**FONTI LETTERARIE:** il nome di *ianitor*, in relazione con Orcus, è anche un frequente epiteto del cane degli Inferi (Verg. *Aen.* 8, 296; Hor. *c.* 3, 11, 16; Sil. 2, 552; Stat. *Theb.* 2, 53-54; 6, 476-477) e perciò, a livello letterario, spesso lo si è ritenuto uguale a quello, ma in Lucanus 6, 702-703 lo *Ianitor sedis laxae* è definito *qui viscera saevo spargis nostra cani*, dimostrando che è impossibile una confusione con Cerbero, «divoratore della carne dei morti».

La stessa tematica si ritrova in Grecia, infatti in Aristoph. *Ranae* 194 la porta infernale è aperta da un portinaio, dai modi estremamente rozzi, di nome Aiakos, come pure in Lukianos *d. mort.* 6, 1 essa viene sorvegliata dallo stesso, probabilmente perché, in chiave parodistica, si intende sminuirne la funzione di giudice. Tuttavia presso i Greci questo compito non è mai affidato ad un personaggio anonimo e così può accadere che lo svolga persino Briareos (Hes. *theog.* 734; Sil. 13, 587-588).

**BIBLIOGRAFIA:** Kroll, J., *Gott und Hölle* (1932, 1962) 372-375 e indice p. 554 s.v. «Torwächter der Unterwelt»; Höfer, O., *ML* III 2 (1902-09) 3330-3331 s.v. «Pyloros»; Marconi, P., *La pittura dei Romani* (1929) fig. 136; Nogara, B., *Le Nozze Aldobrandine* (1907) 68 tav. 43; Radermacher, L., «Der Pförtner der Unterwelt», *Beitr. z. Volkskunde* 1918, 73-77; Robert, C., «Eine alte Zeichnung des Aachener Persephone-Sarkophags», *Westdeutsche Zeitschr.* 4, 1885, 281 tav. 14; idem, *AZ* 43, 1885, 74; Rossbach, O., «Dämonen der Unterwelt», *RhM* 1893, 592-601; Rumpf, *Muz* 192 n° 6; Swindler, M. H., *Ancient Painting* (1929) fig. 587.

## CATALOGO

Essendo il tipo iconograficamente poco attestato, si è cercata la maggiore completezza possibile, includendo le tipologie basilari con le rispettive varianti ed eliminando le testimonianze incerte. Si è preferita una distinzione per miti oltre che per schemi figurativi.

### A. Ianitor con Orfeo ed Euridice

#### Giovane vestito e seduto su roccia

**1.\*** (= Eurydike I 2\* con bibl., = Hades/Pluto 72) Pittura tombale. Vaticano, già Laterano 10789. Da Ostia. - Andreae, B., in *Helbig* 1 n° 1156. - 250 d. C. c. - L'iscrizione *IANITOR* qualifica un giovane seduto su di una pietra e, come uno schiavo portinaio, vestito di un chitone manicato e con nella d. un bastone ricurvo. Di fronte ha Cerbero e la porta infernale con tre gradini.

### B. Ianitor con Eracle e Cerbero

#### Giovane ignudo e seduto su roccia

**2.** (= Herakles 2643\* con bibl., = Alkestis 25) Pittura tombale. Roma, Tomba dei Nasonii sulla via

Flaminia. - Andreae, B., *Studien zur röm. Grabkunst* (RM Erg.-H. 9, 1963) 102. 124 pl. 57. - 150/175 d. C. - Nonostante le cattive condizioni (più preciso è un disegno di P. S. Bartoli del XVII° sec.) vi si riconoscono Eracle, Cerbero, fuori della grotta, su di un ripiano roccioso e a s. una figura ignuda e seduta su roccia, identificata da Andreae come *ianitor orci*, mentre a d. Ermete retrospiciente.

#### Giovane ignudo e sopra grotta

**3.** (= Herakles 1752\*/2650 con bibl.) Sarcofago romano. Londra, BM 2300. Da Roma, Via Appia. - Robert, C., *SarkRel* III 141 n° 120; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 261. - 150 d. C. c. - Si può riconoscere lo *Ianitor* nella piccola figura giovanile ignuda che si nasconde impaurita sopra la grotta infernale, mentre Eracle rapisce Cerbero.

### C. Ianitor con Eracle ed Alcesti

#### Giovane stante sulla porta in atteggiamento di saluto

**4.\*** (= Alkestis 21\* con bibl.) Sarcofago romano. Velletri, Mus. Civ. - Bartoccini, R., *RivIstArch* 7, 1958, 160; Bianchi Bandinelli, R., *RFAA* 46 fig. 41. - 150 d. C. c. - Lo *Ianitor* è stante, sembra avere un'età più avanzata rispetto ai tipi precedenti e solleva la mano d. in segno di approvazione, mentre nell'altra impugna un bastone. La veste è un chitone manicato a cui si aggiunge una clamide che scende sulla spalla s.

### D. Ianitor con Plutone che rapisce Proserpina

#### Vecchio a mezzo busto con le braccia alzate

**5.\*** (= Demeter/Ceres 133\* con bibl., = Hades/Pluto 16 con bibl.) Sarcofago romano. Aquisgrana, Duomo G 3. - Robert, C., *SarkRel* III 3, 467 n° 378. - 250 d. C. c. - Trattasi di vecchio con barba, in basso a d., che si eleva a mezzo busto dalla terra (tipo della → Tellus a lato) avvolto da serpi, che ne qualificano la funzione infernale, mentre apre le braccia in segno di accoglienza. Segue nell'angolo Cerbero.

**6.** Sarcofago romano. Roma, Villa Medici. - Robert, C., *SarkRel* III 3, 473 n° 383; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 178 n° 56. - 200 d. C. c. - La figurazione è analoga, anche se invertita come sequenza di rappresentazione, ma manca Cerbero.

**7.\*** (= Demeter/Ceres 131 con bibl., = Hades/Pluto 18\* con bibl.) Sarcofago romano. Vienna, Kunsth. Mus. I 1126. Da Roma. - Robert, C., *SarkRel* III 3, 473 n° 384. - La figurazione è analoga, ma alla successione *Tellus, Ianitor, Cerbero* si sostituisce quella *Cerbero, Ianitor, Tellus*.

**8.** (= Hades/Pluto 19\* con bibl., = Artemis/Diana 318, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 23\* con bibl., = Demeter/Ceres 134 con bibl.) Sarcofago romano. Roma, Mus. Cap. 249 K. - Sichtermann/Koch, *Myth-Sark* 57-58 n° 61 tav. 148, 1. - 230/40 d. C. - Sempre sotto il carro della coppia infernale sono rappresentati a s. Oceano (→ Okeanos) e a d. lo *Ianitor orci*.

**9.** (= Hades/Pluto 21) Sarcofago romano. Barcellona, Mus. Arch. - García y Bellido, A., *Esculturas Romanas de España y Portugal* (1949) n° 250 tav. 176-180. - 220/30 d. C. - Simile al tipo precedente sostituisce alla figura di Oceano quella di Amore, mentre rimane lo *Ianitor orci*.

## COMMENTO

Dunque nella tradizione iconografica romana lo *Ianitor Orci* risulta essere una figura ben distinta da ogni altra divinità o mostro degli Inferi, che invece in età greca sembrano assumere, con maggiore autorevolezza, la stessa funzione. Grazie a questa osservazione preliminare risultano facilmente comprensibili l'anonimato del personaggio, e quindi la rarità di rappresentazione oltre che la conseguente difficoltà di individuazione, le sue umili vesti e soprattutto il suo aspetto ora di giovane ignudo o vestito servilmente, ora di vecchio con barba, come normalmente poteva accadere nell'ambito della servitù della *domus*. Perciò vi è stata da parte di Roma la trasposizione nella vita ultraterrena di una funzione principalmente domestica. A ribadire questo aspetto servile, ad Ostia (1; cf. anche 4) vediamo lo *Ianitor* impugnare un bastone ricurvo: è il *lagobolon* (ML III 1, 1175), portato generalmente non solo dai Satiri ma anche dai pastori; accanto gli è, quasi sempre, Cerbero (1-3, 5, 7); ed è un giovane, ora tranquillamente seduto su di un *Abáivov λίθος* (Aristoph. *Ranae* 194) (1, 2), ora spaventato sopra l'antro (3), ora stante ed in atteggiamento di saluto (4), oppure è un vecchio barbuto emergente tra serpi da terra (5-9), mentre accoglie a braccia aperte il suo signore infernale. Non escluderei l'ipotesi che questa ultima tipologia, di gran lunga la più attestata, possa permettere un raffronto iconografico, considerando però la differenza di mansioni, con → Charon (I), e concettuale con il Pietro della tradizione cristiana, che rielaborò la più nobile funzione sacerdotale, come visto spiccatamente greca, di un *κλειδοῦχος* *Ἰδου*, cioè «custode delle chiavi», rispetto a quella servile, romana, di uno *ianitor-θυρωρός*, cioè «portinaio». RAFFAELE MAMBELLA

## IANTHE

(*Ἰάνθη*) «Veilchenblüte», Mänadennome (→ Mänades) in einer Vasenschrift.

**1.\*** (= Achilleus 39 mit Lit. [A]) Schale, fr., att. rf. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 4220. - *ARV* 2 61, 76; 1700: Olton; *Add* 165; Fränkel, *Namen* 45. 86 Nr. R; Eitrem, S., *REIX* (1916) 695 s. v. «Ianthé 2»; Bruhn, A., *Oltos* (1943) 41-42 Nr. 31 Abb. 25; *CVA* 2 Taf. 52, 2. - Um 520 v. Chr. - Seite B zeigt drei Personen. In der Mitte die Mänade I. (*IANΘE*) in Seitenansicht (Kopf

und l. Hand nicht erhalten). Sie hält Krotala und bewegt sich nach l. Gerahmt wird sie von zwei Satyrn, die nach außen tanzen, sich aber zu I. umblicken. Der rechte ist → Sik[inno]s benannt.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## IANUARIA

(Ianuaria) Déesse gallo-romaine probablement vénérée dans le temple de Beire-le-Châtel (Côte-d'Or).

**SOURCE ÉPIGRAPHIQUE:** *CIL* XIII 5619: *Deae Ianuariae sacrouir u(otum) s(oluit) l(l)ibens m(erito)*. C'est la seule inscription attestant qu'un culte était rendu à la déesse. La dédicace est gravée sur un socle de statue trouvé dans le sanctuaire de Beire-le-Châtel (4): elle représentait, d'après la reconstitution de Deyts, S., *Mém. de la Comm. des Ant. de la Côte-d'Or* 16, 1963-69, 31, et o. c. I (1976) n° 9 fig. 9, un enfant tenant une syrinx. Espérandieu, *Recueil* IV n° 3620. 3631, avait publié les deux fragments séparément.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Haug, F., *RE IX* 1 (1914) 696 s. v. «Ianuaria 1».

## CATALOGUE

**1.\*** Tête de statue en calcaire oolithique fin. Dijon, Mus. Arch., anc. coll. Morillot. De Beire-le-Châtel. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IV n° 3626; Hatt, J.-J., *REA* 59, 1957, 81; Deyts, S., *RAE* 22, 1971, 385 pl. 18; *eadem*, *Dijon, Mus. Arch., Sculptures gallo-romaines mythologiques et religieuses. Inv. des coll. publiques françaises* 20 (1976) n° 18 fig. 18. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Tête féminine avec chevelure en lourdes mèches rayonnantes, réunies en rouleau à l'arrière; sur le sommet de la tête, une touffe aplatie.

**2.\*** Tête de statue en calcaire oolithique fin. Dijon, Mus. Arch., anc. coll. Morillot. De Beire-le-Châtel. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IV n° 3627; Deyts, o. c. I (1971) 385 pl. 18; *eadem*, o. c. I (1976) n° 19 fig. 19. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Tête féminine; les cheveux, séparés par une raie médiane, forment deux mèches ondulées et aplaties avant de retomber sur le côté dr. en trois grosses coques assez lourdes; le sommet de la tête porte un diadème.

**3.\*** Tête de statue en calcaire oolithique fin. Dijon, Mus. Arch., anc. coll. Morillot. De Beire-le-Châtel. - Deyts, o. c. I (1971) 385 pl. 18; *eadem*, o. c. I (1976) n° 20 fig. 20. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Tête proche de 2.

**4.** Base de statue en calcaire oolithique fin. Dijon, Mus. Arch., anc. coll. Morillot. De Beire-le-Châtel. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IV n° 3634; Deyts, o. c. I (1976) n° 10 fig. 10. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur le socle, deux pieds avec amorces des jambes et restes d'un vêtement féminin.



## COMMENTAIRE

Comme Espérandieu l'avait indiqué, les quatre statues féminines fragmentaires (1-4) découvertes dans le sanctuaire probablement dédié à Ianuaria peuvent être considérées comme représentant la déesse. Cependant, il n'est pas interdit de reconnaître dans ces figures d'autres divinités ou même de simples mortels.

RAINER VOLKKOMMER

## IANUARIUS → Menses

## IANUS

Altrömischer Gott mit zwei Gesichtern, Numen der verschließbaren Tür und des Anfangs einer Zeitperiode, sei es eines Monats oder eines Jahres; also Gott des räumlichen wie auch des zeitlichen Durchgangs. Sein Name hängt mit *ianua* (Tür) zusammen sowie mit dem Hügel *Ianiculum* jenseits des Tiber, der die langgestreckte Form eines Riegels hat. Der früheste kultisch verehrte I. in Rom, mit dem Beinamen *Curvatus*, war ein Türriegel aus Holz. Nach der Erfindung des Türschlosses aus Metall war I. auch darin wirksam. Das Heiligtum des I. Geminus auf dem Forum Romanum bestand aus Bronze, und das doppelgesichtige bronzene Kultbild trug einen Bronzeschlüssel, der auch Attribut des mit I. in der Funktion zum Teil verwandten → *Portunus* war. Für die beiden nach entgegengesetzten Richtungen blickenden Gesichter bestand nicht etwa der Gegensatz Gut und Böse. Eine neuzeitliche Vorstellung ist auch der I. kopf als Symbol der Zweideutigkeit. Der altrömische I. hat seine zwei Gesichter vielmehr als Wächtergott, der auch sieht, was hinter seinem Rücken vorgeht. Dämonische Türwächter im Alten Orient und in Ägypten können ebenfalls zweigesichtig sein; sie haben wohl zusammen mit der Konstruktion der Türschlösser auf den italisch-römischen I. eingewirkt. Zwei Köpfe kann auch der griechische Wächterdämon Argos (→ *Io*) in Literatur und Bildkunst haben. In der modernen Forschung wird die wichtige Rolle des Wächters in archaischen Religionen häufig übersehen, was bei I. zu intellektuellen Deutungen führte. Sie beruhen teils auf der augusteischen Interpretation des I., teils auf spätantiken Spekulationen. Deren Aussage gilt aber nur für die jeweilige Zeit, nicht für den frühen I. Die Tatsache etwa, daß *Macrobius* I. mit dem Sonnengott gleichsetzt, entspricht spätantiken Denken und sollte nicht dazu führen, I. als ursprünglichen Lichtgott zu erklären. In der Friedenspropaganda des Augustus wurde I. zum «Anzeiger für Frieden und Krieg». Wenn die beiden Tore des I. Geminus auf dem Forum geschlossen waren, herrschte Friede, waren sie geöffnet, so war Krieg. Augustus schloß den I. während seiner Regierung dreimal. Er hat diesen «Ritus» wahr-

scheinlich erfunden, obwohl er ihn dem Numa zuschreiben ließ. Die beiden Türen der Ara Pacis Augustae hängen mit der Architektur des I. Geminus zusammen. I. und → *Pax* konnten deshalb in Verbindung treten, weil beide an der zyklischen Zeitbewegung teilhatten, I. als Gott des Zeitbeginns, Pax als Phänomen des Zeitablaufs (Simon 2). Diese augusteische Konstruktion blieb während der ganzen Antike lebendig, während I. im königszeitlichen und republikanischen Rom mit einer anderen Göttin, → *Iuno*, verbunden war. Ein Beiname des I. war *Iunonius*; auch der erwähnte I. *Curvatus* hatte gemeinsam mit *Iuno* Kult. Die beiden waren freilich kein «Ehepaar», da die altrömische Religion keine Götterehen kannte, sondern eine numinose mannweibliche Zweiheit. Entsprechendes gilt für I. und *Vesta* (→ *Hestia/Vesta*), die am Ende, wie I. am Anfang von Opferhandlungen und Gebeten angerufen wurde, und zwar nicht nur bei staatlichen Zeremonien, sondern auch im Bauernhaus.

Die Etrusker hatten einen dem I. entsprechenden zweiköpfigen Gott, → *Culsans*, dessen Name mit der etruskischen Bezeichnung für Tür zusammenhängt. Darstellungen von ihm sind aus dem 3. und 2. Jh. v. Chr. nachgewiesen (→ *Culsans* 1-5). Er hatte in → *Culcu* ein weibliches Gegenstück wie *Ianus* in *Iana* und *Carna*. Etruskischem Empfinden entsprechend war er nicht bärtig, sondern jugendlich.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Die Tatsache, daß I. bereits im archaischen Salierlied angerufen wurde (Macr. Sat. I, 9, 14), spricht für das hohe Alter seines Kultes in Rom. Ein Altar des I. soll auf dem *Ianiculum* gelegen haben; Quellen dazu bei Roscher 22-25. Er soll dort als König geherrscht und *Saturnus* (→ *Kronos/Saturnus*) gastlich empfangen haben. Quellen zum Kult des I. Geminus auf dem Forum Romanum: Roscher 15-20; vgl. unten 2 und 7. Er wurde dem Numa zugeschrieben: Liv. I, 19, 2. In der frühesten uns erhaltenen Erwähnung, beim Annalisten L. Calpurnius Piso (Konsul 133 v. Chr.), den Varro l. I, 5, 165 zitiert, heißt der Bau *porta Ianualis*. Der allgemeine Name war I. Geminus, während Augustus in seinen *res gestae* (13) I. *Quirinus* schreibt. - Varro hatte sich in seinen *antiquitates rerum divinarum* (vgl. Cardauns II 251 s. v. «*Ianus*») ausführlich mit I. befaßt. Die meisten Zitate daraus stammen aus der Spätantike (vgl. vor allem Macr. Sat. I, 9 und Aug. civ.). Wichtige Aufschlüsse über Gestalt und Kult des I. finden sich bei Ov. fasti I, 89-288. In dem Dialog von 100 Distichen kommen nicht nur die Beinamen des I. zu Wort (dazu Capdeville), sondern auch seine verschiedenen Funktionen in bezug auf die Türen wie auf die Zeitrechnung. I. selbst erklärt die Doppelung seines Antlitzes aus seiner Wächterfunktion (135-144). Die moderne Ansicht, eine solche Funktion entspreche nicht einem großen Gott (Giumlia 24-25 mit der Berufung auf Frazer), läßt sich widerlegen. Selbst Iuppiter hatte den Beinamen *Custos*, und Hor. c. 4, 5, 2 nennt auch den Augustus so. - Quellen zum «Ritus» des Öffnens und Schließens des I. Geminus: Simon I, 257-258; ebendort 262-263 eine neue Deutung. Es dürfte sich ursprünglich nicht um ein Öffnen gehan-

delt haben, sondern um ein Berühren der Türflügel mit der Bitte um Schutz, ähnlich wie man bei Kriegsausbruch die Marslanze in der Regia bewegte (→ *Ares/Mars* 13). - *Ianus* und *Pax*: Simon 2, 72-76. - Quellen zu *Ianus* und *Iuno* und deren Interpretation: Dury-Moyaers/Renard 182-188. - Verehrung des I. zusammen mit *Iuno* und *Iuppiter* im Bauernhaus: Cato agr. 134. I. wird dort *Iane pater* angerufen (vgl. 20).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Bauer, H., «Kaiserfora und Ianustempel», RM 84, 1977, 301-329; Capdeville, G., «Les épithètes cultuelles de *Ianus*», MEFRA 85, 1973, 395-436; Cardauns, B., M. Terentius Varro, *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum* I und II (1976); Castagnoli, F., EAA III (1960) 872 s. v. «*Giano*»; Dury-Moyaers, G./Renard, M., «Aperçu critique de travaux relatifs au culte de *Iunon* XII: *Iunon* et *Ianus*», in ANRW II 17, 1 (1981) 182-188; Eisenhut, W., KlPauly II (1967) 1311-1314 s. v. «*Ianus*»; Giumlia, A., Die neuattischen Doppelhermen (Diss. Wien 1983) 24-32; Fauth, W., «Römische Religion im Spiegel der *Fasti* des Ovid», in: ANRW II 16, 1 (1978) 122-132; Holland, L. A., *Ianus and the Bridge* (1961); Latte, RR 132-136; Martin, H. G., Römische Tempelkultbilder (1987) 37-45; Otto, W. F., RE Suppl. III (1918) 1175-1191 s. v. «*Ianus*»; Pettazzoni, R., «Per l'iconografia di *Giano*», StEtr 24, 1955/56, 79-90; Radke, G., Die Götter Italiens (1979) 147-149; Richard, J.-C., «Ion-Janus ou de l'anonymat», in *Hommages à H. Le Bonniec*, Coll. Latomus 201 (1988) 387-394; Roscher, W. H., ML II 1 (1890/94) 15-55 s. v. «*Ianus*»; Simon, E., «*Ianus* *Curvatus* und *Ianus* *Geminus* im frühen Rom», in Beitr. zur altitalischen Geistesgeschichte, Festschr. G. Radke (1986) 257-268 (= Simon 1); eadem, *Eivene und Pax, Friedensgöttinnen in der Antike* (1988) (= Simon 2); eadem, a. O. 3; Staccioli, R. A., «Il «scello» di *Giano* riprodotto in un'urna cineraria chiusina», in *Colloqui del Sodalizio*, ser. II 7-8 (1980-84), 91-97; Turcan, R., «*Ianus* à l'époque impériale», in ANRW II 17, 1 (1981) 374-402; Waszink, J. H., *Gnomon* 37, 1965, 177-188 (Rez. von Holland, in der er darlegt, daß die Beziehung des I. zum Wasser und zu Brücken nicht in der Weise nachgewiesen werden kann, wie die Autorin glaubt. Ihr Buch muß heute als überholt gelten, wenn auch E. Gjerstad in seinem grundlegenden Werk «*Early Rome*» ihre Hypothese angenommen hatte); Wissowa, Religion<sup>2</sup> 103-113.

## KATALOG

A. *Ianus* als Riegel und Torbau

1. I. *Curvatus* am Oppius. Es handelte sich um einen Holzbalken, der in gegenüberliegende Hauswände eingelassen war; Quellen: Otto 1178-1179. Er war bereits in augusteischer Zeit (vgl. Liv. I, 26, 13) uralt. Die Arvalbrüder opferten dort am 1. Oktober. Deutung als Türriegel: Simon I, 264-265. Etymologie: Radke 101-102 (I. als Wächter). Zu den dort ausgeführten Riten: Dury-Moyaers/Renard 185-188. Ein anderer Name für den Kultort war *Tigillum Sororium*, nach dem Altar der *Iuno Sororia*, die zusammen mit I. *Curvatus* Kult empfing. Es handelt sich um den frühesten I. in Rom. Er wurde anikonisch verehrt; der Riegel galt als *pars pro toto* für die Tür.

2. I. Geminus am Forum Romanum. Quellen: Platner/Ashby 278-280; obwohl sein Standort nicht sicher bestimmt ist, wurde der Bau bei Nash, TopRom I 502-503 aufgenommen. Er bestand nach der Beschreibung von Prok. bell. Goth. 5 (1) 25, 20-21 ganz aus Bronze und hatte zwei Türen, eine im Osten und eine im Westen (vgl. Staccioli). Es handelte sich um einen Torbau, der ursprünglich wohl aus Holz mit

Bronzebeschlägen bestanden hatte, ähnlich wie die *porta Rauduscula* (Varro, l. I, 5, 163). Nach neuen Forschungen (Bauer) scheint er in augusteischer Zeit erneuert worden zu sein, wobei er ganz aus Bronze errichtet wurde. Wie *Vesta*heiligtum, Kurie und andere Bauten am Forum hatte er im frühen Rom zu den Gemeinschaft stiftenden Kultgegenständen gehört. Augustus stattete ihn mit der Friedenssymbolik aus, von der oben die Rede war. Er ließ zudem die Ara Pacis nach dem gleichen zweitorigen Grundriß errichten: Torelli, M., *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (1982) 31-35. Beide Bauten waren reich mit Ranken verziert. Am I. Geminus sind sie auf den Sesterzen, Dupondien und Assen sichtbar (a), die Nero mit diesem Thema schlagen ließ: MacDowall, D. W., *The Western Coinages of Nero* (1979) 77-78, 129, 213. Die Legenden lauten: *PACE PR TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANUM CLUSIT*, oder *PACE PR UBIQ PARTA IANUM CLUSIT*. Nero ahmte also die Schließung des I. Geminus als Zeichen des Friedens nach. Von den beiden Toren ist, wie man richtig sah, bald das östliche und bald das westliche dargestellt; vgl. G. Fuchs, *Architekturdarstellungen auf Münzen der Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit* (1969) Taf. 11 Nr. 127, 128; Turcan 381-384 Taf. 1, 1-4. Gute Interpretation der Architektur auch bei Bauer 314-315. Die Flügeltüren mit halbrundem oberem Abschluß sind im Westen und Osten von Säulen flankiert. Die augusteische Erneuerung glich weniger einem Bau als einem kostbaren Schrein für das 2,20 m hohe Kultbild (7). Sicher gab es in Rom noch viele *iani*, doch keinen anderen mit einer solchen Statue (Ov. fast. I, 257-258). Aber nicht sie allein, sondern der Torbau selbst war der Gott I. Ovid schwankt zwischen Bau und Statue hin und her, spricht beide als *Ianus* an (vgl. fast. I, 277).

B. Östliche «Vorläufer» für die Ikonographie des *Ianus bifrons*

3. Akkadisches Rollsiegel. London, BM 89115. - Frankfurt, H., *Cylinder Seals* (1939) Taf. 19a; Barnett, R. D./Wiseman, D. J., *Fifty Masterpieces of Ancient Near Eastern Art in the Dept. of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the BM* (1969) Nr. 40. - 2300 v. Chr. - Der dargestellte Mythos auf diesem Siegel des Schreibers Adda ist umstritten, doch lassen sich die Gottheiten benennen. Dem Gott Ea, der Wasserströme vergießt, ist ein doppelköpfiger, langbärtiger Gott, *Usmu*, beigegeben. - Zu orientalischem Einfluß auf die Gestalt des I. vgl. auch Kinal, F., «Der Ursprung des doppelgesichtigen I.», *Orientalia* 21, 1952, 99; idem, in *Proceedings 22. Congress of Orientalists, Istanbul 1951* (1957) 7-9; Simon, E., «*Culcu*, *Culsans* e *Ianus*», in *Atti II Congr. Int. etrusco* III (Rom 1989) 1277 Taf. 3a.

4. Illustrationen zur 11. Stunde des Amduat in verschiedenen ägyptischen Grabgemälden der 18.-20. Dynastie (Kings Valley Nr. 9, 14, 34). - Hornung, E., *Das Amduat, Ägyptol. Abh.* 7 (1963) II 177 Nr. 759. Der Zweiköpfige heißt *tpwj* = Doppelkopf.

5. Bärtiger Doppelkopf als Ringhenkel-Attasche



an einem orientalischen Bronzekessel aus Vetulonia. – Herrmann, H.-V., *OlForsch* VI (1966) 48 Taf. 5, 4–5. – Frühes 7. Jh. v. Chr. – Importstücke wie dieses dürften die Phantasie der Etrusker angeregt haben, wenn sich auch → Culsans nicht früher als im 3. Jh. v. Chr. nachweisen läßt.

6. (= Hera 485\* mit Lit., = Io I I mit Lit.) Amphora, attisch sf. London, BM 1848.6–19.4 (B 164). Aus Bomarzo. – *ABV* 148, 2: Umkreis des Exekias; *Add.* 41; Schauenburg, K., *AuA* 10, 1961 Taf. 15, 30; Simon, E., *AA* 1985, 272 Anm. 250. – Ebendort Anm. 249 ein weiteres schwarzfiguriges Beispiel sowie Hinweis auf Hes. *frg.* 294 Merkelbach/West: doppelköpfiger Argos (→ Io I).

### C. Literarisch bezeugte Statuen des Ianus in Rom

7. I. Geminus (Quirinus) auf dem Forum Romanum, in der Nähe der Kurie. Dieser I. *bifrons* stand in dem unter 2 besprochenen Bronzeschrein, einer augusteischen Erneuerung. Die Bronzestatue selbst war archaisch. Plin. *nat.* 34, 33 zählt sie neben dem Hercules auf dem Forum Boarium zu den ältesten Bronzestatuen Roms. Ihre Höhe gibt Prok. *bell. Goth.* 5 (1) 25, 20 mit fünf Ellen (= 2, 20 m) an. Sie war zur Zeit des Prokop, da Plinius sie für archaisch hält, schon rund ein Jahrtausend alt. Das eine Gesicht schaute nach Osten, das andere nach Westen. Dem Ovid erscheint dieser I., wodurch wir die Attribute Stab und Schlüssel und die Bärtigkeit erfahren (*fast.* 1, 99. 259). Daß ihr Material Ton gewesen sei, wie Martin 37–38 und 44–45 annimmt, geht weder aus Plin. *nat.* 34, 33–34 noch aus anderen Quellen hervor. – Plinius ist unser erster Zeuge dafür, daß die Statue mit ihren Fingern die Zahl 365 darstellte. Dieses Märchen kann nicht früher als in der Zeit der caesarischen Kalenderreform aufgekommen sein, während die Statue selbst schon im 2. Jh. v. Chr. bezeugt ist (Pliso bei Varro, *l.l.* 5, 165). In der Spätantike erhebt Macr. *Sat.* 1, 9, 10 das Märchen zur Regel. Statuen des I. seien allgemein so dargestellt, daß die Rechte die Zahl 300, die Linke die Zahl 65 symbolisiere. Zu dieser Überlieferung: Simon 1, 260.

8. Vergoldete Marmorstatue (Herme?) eines doppelköpfigen «Ianus», bei dem man nicht wußte, ob Praxiteles oder Skopas der Meister war: Plin. *nat.* 36, 28. Es handelte sich also ursprünglich sicher nicht um den römischen Gott, sondern um ein Werk des frühen Hellenismus aus Alexandria, da es sich in der ägyptischen Beute des Oktavian befand. Er weihte es nach derselben Pliniusstelle *in suo templo*. Da es in Rom zur Zeit des Plinius außer dem Torbau 2 nur einen einzigen Tempel des I. gab, den 260 v. Chr. von C. Duilius errichteten (Platner/Ashby 277–278), dürfte das Beutestück dort am Forum Holitorium geweiht worden sein. Das ist auch die Auffassung von Pape, M., *Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom* (1975) 25. 169. Die abweichende Argumentation von Martin 45 mit Anm. 234 beruht auf einer mißverständlichen Ovidstelle (*fast.* 1, 257–258); vgl. zu 2 (Ende).

9. Statue des I. *quadrifrons* aus dem 241 v. Chr. eroberten Falerii, später auf dem *Forum transitorium* des Domitian (Platner/Ashby 280; Turcan 385–387). Wo sie von der mittleren Republik bis auf Domitian aufgestellt war, ist unbekannt. Die Hypothese von Martin 44, sie sei im I. Geminus (2) auf dem Forum gestanden, ist zurückzuweisen; dort stand zu allen Zeiten ein doppelköpfiges I.bild. Auch die Materialangabe bei Martin, Terrakotta, ist ungesichert; da es sich um Kriegsbeute handelte, ist Bronze vorzuziehen. Die Aufstellung war bis auf Domitian nicht spektakulär, wie aus Martialis 10, 28 hervorgeht. Auch das spricht gegen eine Aufstellung im I. Geminus. Eine «domitianische Erfindung» (Radke 148) war die Statue sicher nicht; das widerspräche der eindeutigen Quellenlage. Dazu kommt, daß eine etruskische Gemme aus der Zeit der Eroberung von Falerii einen dreiköpfigen Gott zeigt, dessen viertes Gesicht auf der Rückseite hinzugedacht werden kann (→ Culsans 5). Auch die einzige erhaltene Darstellung eines I. *quadrifrons* in der römischen Kunst, auf einem As des Hadrian (21), zeigt die Anordnung der Gesichter wie auf dieser Gemme. – Leider sind die Quellen außer Martialis alle spätantik, doch Bauer, *passim* mißtraut ihnen zu sehr. Wenn jener I. vier Gesichter hatte, so waren an seinem Heiligtum vier Türen angebracht, analog zu dem doppelköpfigen I. Geminus mit den beiden Gesichtern auf dem Forum Romanum (7). In der Spätantike interessierte man sich für einen I., der in alle vier Himmelsrichtungen blickt, als Universalgott. Turcan 385–387 zeigt, daß Domitian in dieser Hinsicht bereits auf dem Weg zur Spätantike war.

### D. Köpfe des Ianus bifrons auf Münzen und Medaillons

In der mittleren wie der späteren Republik war der I. *bifrons* der Standardtypus auf der Vorderseite des As, während die Rückseite die Prora eines Kriegsschiffes trägt. Der mythologische Deutungsversuch Ov. *fast.* 1, 229–254 ist natürlich der Phantasie des Dichters entsprungen: Das Schiff sei das des Saturn, mit dem dieser am *laniculum*, der Burg des I., gelandet war. Die Vorstellung von I. und Saturn als Königen Latiums im Goldenen Zeitalter war zur Zeit des Ovid populär. Holland versuchte, mit Hilfe des Schiffes ihre Theorie von I. als Gott der Flußübergänge zu untermauern; dagegen Crawford, *RRC* II 718 Anm. 7. – Nach Wisowa, *Religion* 105 wurde «der Doppelkopf als Bild des I. überhaupt zuerst für die Münzen geschaffen». Obwohl die heraldische Form zweier janusförmig verbundener Profile in der griechischen Münzprägung in die archaische Zeit zurückgeht (vgl. Simon, E., *RSNum* 49, 1970, 5–19), und obwohl die republikanische Münzprägung das Phänomen auch außerhalb der I.bilder kennt (vgl. Crawford, *RRC* II 862 s.v. «Dioscuri, Janiform head»), stellt der I. *bifrons* der Münzen etwas grundsätzlich anderes dar: Nicht zwei eng zusammengehörende Partner(innen) wie auf allen anderen Münzen, sondern einen einzigen Gott mit zwei Gesichtern.

10.\* AE (*Aes grave*), Rom, 225/217 v. Chr. – Crawford, *RRC* II 759 Nr. 35/1 Taf. G. – Vs.: Bärtiger Doppelkopf; Rs.: Prora. Obwohl keine Inschrift den Kopf benennt, ist er sicher I. zu deuten, wie er noch in der Zeit des Ovid (*fast.* 1, 229–230) heißt. Vielleicht hängt die Darstellung mit der Beziehung des I. zur Zahl zwölf zusammen – ihm waren nach Varro zwölf Altäre, für jeden Monat des Jahres einer, geweiht (*frg.* 67 Cardauns). Der römische As bestand nämlich aus zwölf *unciae* (vgl. Giumlia 29). Das standardisierte Auftreten auf den republikanischen Assen spricht für die Popularität des I. im republikanischen Rom. Weitere Beispiele bei Crawford, *RRC* II 760 Nr. 36/1. 38/1. 41/5a. 43/1 Taf. H und I.

11.\* AE As, Rom, 209/08 v. Chr. – Crawford, *RRC* II 761 Nr. 50/3 Taf. 10. – Vs.: Bärtiger, bekränzter I. *bifrons*, mit *apex* zwischen den beiden Köpfen; Rs.: Prora. Bekrönung und *apex* sind gegenüber dem Typus 10 neu. Sie werden von verschiedenen Stempelschneidern bis in die spätere Republik beibehalten. Beispiele aus dem 1. Jh. v. Chr.: Crawford, *RRC* II 777 Nr. 368/1 Taf. 47 (Partei des Sulla) und II 781 Nr. 471/1 Taf. 55 (Partei des Pompeius).

12. AE As, Spanien, 45/44 v. Chr. (Partei des Pompeius). – Crawford, *RRC* II 781 Nr. 478/1a Taf. 56. – Vs.: Bärtiger I. *bifrons* über Altar; Rs.: Prora. Das Auftauchen des Altares ist nicht geklärt. Es soll wohl I. nicht einfach als Münzmarke, sondern als Kultgott kennzeichnen. Wie eine Krone trägt er die Inschrift *MAGNUS*.

13.\* AE As, Spanien, 45 v. Chr. und später. – Crawford, *RRC* II 781 Nr. 479/1 Taf. 56. – Vs.: Unbärtiger Doppelkopf, auf beiden Seiten mit Porträtszügen des Pompeius Magnus. Rs.: Prora. Mit Hilfe von 12 sicher als I. zu deuten, mit dem der verstorbene Pompeius gleichgesetzt wird (vgl. 15).

14.\* AE Medaillon, Rom, Commodus, 187 n. Chr. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 62, 92–93 Taf. 84, 4; Turcan 391 Taf. 3, 10. – Rs.: Bärtige Doppelbüste des I. mit Mantelstück.

15.\* AE Medaillon, Rom, Commodus, 187 n. Chr. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 66, 131 Taf. 87, 1; Turcan 391 Taf. 3, 11. – Vs.: Bärtige Doppelbüste des I. in Feldherrntracht mit Porträtszügen des Commodus (vgl. 13).

### E. Ianus bifrons in ganzer Gestalt auf Münzen und Medaillons

Da in der Kaiserzeit der Kopf des Kaisers die Vs. der Münzen einnahm, verschwand der beliebte I. *bifrons* von den Assen. Aus julisch-claudischer Zeit sind keine figürlichen Darstellungen des I. auf Münzen bekannt, Nero bildete nur den Kultbau auf dem Forum ab (2a). Hadrian dagegen begann mit Prägungen des stehenden I. *bifrons*, die sich bis Gallienus fortsetzten.

16.\* AU Aureus, Rom, Hadrian, 119/122 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp III 254, 100 Taf. 49, 2; Turcan 388 Taf. 1, 5 (mit Lit.). – Rs.: Stehender I. *bifrons* im Hüftmanteltypus, in der Rechten ein langes Zepter haltend; die Linke ist eingestützt. Das Zepter weist I. als Urkönig

von Latium aus; es ist nicht das *baculum*, auf das sich I. bei Ovid (*fast.* 1, 177) stützt. Dieses Stützen ist bereits Interpretation des Dichters, um das ehrwürdige Alter des Gottes hervorzuheben. Ursprünglich muß der Stab als «Waffe» des Torwächters aufgefaßt gewesen sein.

17.\* AE Sesterz, Rom, Antoninus Pius, 140/44 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp IV 210, 1317 Taf. 31, 5 (auch Asse mit diesem Motiv, 220, 1369); Turcan 389 Taf. 2, 7. – Rs.: Stehender I. wie auf 16, doch sind an seinen Beinen deutlich die Ränder der Stiefel zu sehen. Antoninus Pius hat auf seinen Münzen die treuesten Wiedergaben von Kultbildern, die wir aus der römischen Numismatik kennen (vgl. → Ares/Mars 233). In Frage kommt hier nicht der I. Geminus vom Forum Romanum, der eine archaische Statue war, sondern der I. im Tempel des C. Duilius am Forum Holitorium, der zur Zeit dieser Münze sein 400jähriges Jubiläum feierte. Darauf macht Turcan 390 zu Recht aufmerksam. Die Stiefel scheinen mir typisch etruskische Requisiten zu sein (vgl. → Culsans 1). Der Einfluß etruskischer Kunst auf das mittelrepublikanische Rom ist bekannt.

18. AE, verschiedene Sesterze des Commodus, dazu ein Aureus und ein Medaillon, Rom, 185/87 n. Chr. – Turcan 390–395 Taf. 2, 8 (Sesterz); 3, 9 (Aureus); 3, 12 (Sesterz); 3, 13 (Medaillon). Die Rs. dieser Prägungen zeigen I. in ähnlicher statuarischer Haltung wie auf 16 und 17, aber unter einem Baldachin. Er ist viersäulig zu denken, wie das Medaillon verrät. Die statuenhafte Wirkung wird ferner durch eine Basis verstärkt. Baldachine werden in antoninischer Zeit für Kultbilder Mode; die Architektur braucht also nicht auf I. als Türgott zu verweisen, zumal keine verschließbare Tür vorhanden ist.

19. AR Denar, Rom, Pertinax, 193 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp V 1, 2 Taf. 1, 2; Turcan 394–395 Taf. 4, 14. – Rs.: I. im gleichen Typus wie 16 und 17; dazu Legende *IANO CONSERVAT(ori)*. Die Münze war noch von Commodus, einem besonderen Verehrer des I. (vgl. 18) für den 1. Januar 193 geplant worden, doch er wurde am 31. 12. 192 ermordet.

20. AU Aureus, Rom, Gallienus, Ende 260 n. Chr. – *RICV* 1, 134, 45; Turcan 397–398 Taf. 4, 17. – Rs.: I. mit Hüftmantel, das Zepter jedoch in der l. Armbeuge. Mit der Rechten gießt er eine Patera aus. Legende: *IANO PATRI*. Das Beiwort *pater*, das I. bereits in seiner ersten Erwähnung in der lateinischen Literatur (Cato *agr.* 134) besitzt, erscheint hier auf der letzten ihn zeigenden Münze. Es kennzeichnet ihn nicht als Stammvater, wie Giumlia (29) schreibt, sondern es ist, um mit Serv. *Aen.* 3, 89 zu sprechen, *religionis nomen*. Selbst das Dionysoskind konnte als *Liber pater* bezeichnet werden (→ Dionysos/Bacchus 171).

### F. Ianus quadrifrons auf Münze

21.\* AE As, Rom, Hadrian, 125/28 n. Chr. – *BMC* Emp III 437, 1335 Taf. 82, 10; Turcan 387–388 Taf. 1, 6. – Rs.: I. mit drei sichtbaren Gesichtern, eines frontal, zwei im Profil, alle bärtig; das vierte ist im

Rücken zu denken. Er ist im Hüftmanteltypus wie 16 und 17 gezeigt, mit einem langen Zepter in der Rechten. Es ist nicht als Stock des Torhüters gedacht, sondern als Zepter des Königs von Latium im Goldenen Zeitalter (vgl. 16). Dazu passen die vier Köpfe als Zeichen seiner Universalität. Die Münze ist das einzige Zeugnis für einen I. Typus, dem Domitian auf seinem Forum einen Tempel erbaut hatte (9).

### G. Numen mixtum Ianus-Sol-Apollo (?)

22. AR Denar, Rom, Geta, 211 n. Chr. – BMC Emp V 422, 12 Taf. 65, 8; Turcan 395–396 Taf. 4, 15. 16. – Rs.: Janusköpfiger Gott im Hüftmantel, mit Zepter und Blitz. Dieser und die Unbärtigkeit des einen (?) Kopfes weichen von der Ikonographie des I. ab. Apollo konnte mit Blitz dargestellt werden; vgl. Crawford, RRC Nr. 298/1 Taf. 40. In einem *numen mixtum* potenzieren sich die Kräfte zweier Numina.

### H. Auszuscheiden (?)

23. AE Medaillon, Rom, Commodus, 185 n. Chr. – Roscher 51 (Zeichnung); Turcan 391–392. – Die Darstellung gleicht dem Medaillon → Aion 24\*, Aion aber hat in der Zeichnung bei Roscher zwei Köpfe, einen bärtigen und einen unbärtigen. Ein *numen mixtum* wie 22? Turcan schreibt zu Recht, daß dieses im 19. Jh. viel diskutierte Stück einer Untersuchung auf seine Echtheit bedarf. I. hat zwar wesensmäßig mit der Zeit zu tun, aber aus einem falschen (oder verfälschten?) Medaillon können keine Schlüsse gezogen werden.

### KOMMENTAR

Die ikonographische Ausbeute für I. erweist sich, von den Münzen (10–22) abgesehen, als ausgesprochen mager. Das braucht nicht zu erstaunen, denn I. gehört zu den altrömischen Göttern, die sich als Numina offenbaren, als gestaltlose Wesen mit Wille und Macht. I. wird wirksam in dem Schutz, den die Tür spendet. Da diese nur, wenn sie verschließbar ist, Schutz gewährt, sind dem I. die Vorrichtungen für den Verschluss – Holzriegel (1) und Metallschlösser – heilig. Zwar konnte der ganze Torbau I. heißen und sein (2), die Statue im Innern aber hielt als wichtigstes Attribut den Schlüssel (7). Dieser erscheint allerdings nicht als Attribut des I. in den ganzfigurigen Darstellungen der Münzen (16–20), die Linke des I. ist vielmehr eingestülzt – ein antiker Schlüssel mußte zu sehen sein. Da die I. figur auf diesen Münzen dem gleichen Schema folgt und da sich 17 als Statue im Tempel des Duilius am Forum Holitorium herausgestellt hat, ist die archaische Bronzestatue im I. Geminus (7) leider auf keiner Münze nachgebildet. Vielleicht aber geben uns die frühesten *aes grave*-Serien (10) in ihrer altertümlichen Schwerfälligkeit eine Vorstellung von dem bärtigen Doppelkopf des Kultbildes im I. Geminus. Es hielt in der Rechten einen Stock, das Attribut

des Wächters, während der I. vom Forum Holitorium ein langes Königszepter trägt (16–20). Das erinnert an den Mythos von seinem Urkönigtum über Latium, vom *Ianiculum* aus. Dieser Hügel lag im frühen Rom auf der etruskischen Seite des Tiber. Der I. Geminus (7) war nach Plinius ein etruskisches Bronzewerk. Auch der I. vom Forum Holitorium war wohl von einem etruskischen Künstler geschaffen, wie besonders an seinen Schuhen zu sehen ist (17). Dennoch war I. kein etruskischer Gott – die Lesung *Ani* auf der Bronzeleber von Piacenza hat sich als irrtümlich herausgestellt: Maggiani, A., *StEtr* 49, 1981, 263. Der dem urrömischen I. entsprechende etruskische Gott hieß → Culsans. Er wurde jung, I. dagegen immer bärtig abgebildet. Die hellenistischen Terrakottabüsten aus Vulci in Ianusform (→ Culsans 8) stellen wegen ihrer Bärte daher wohl I. dar. Sie gelten mit Recht als Zeugnisse für die Romanisierung. Vgl. Carandini, A., *La romanizzazione dell'Etruria: il territorio di Vulci* (Ausstellungskat. Orbetello 1985) 39 Abb. 17.

Der I. *quadrifrons* aus Falerii (9) war freilich bärtig, wenn der hadrianische As (21) ihn darstellt. Doch waren die Falisker keine Etrusker, sie standen sprachlich und religiös den Latinern nahe, wenn sie auch von etruskischer Kultur überlagert waren. An diesem faliskischen Werk muß vieles offen bleiben. Es scheint sich, bis auf den viergesichtigen Kopf, nicht allzusehr von dem I. auf dem Forum Holitorium unterscheiden zu haben. Wo es bis zur Verwendung durch Domitian stand, nachdem es 241 v. Chr. nach Rom gekommen war, läßt sich nicht sagen. Auch das Material, wohl Bronze, ist nicht überliefert. Wahrscheinlich war es schon in Falerii ein I. gewesen, was sich von dem I. «des Skopas oder Praxiteles» aus Ägypten (8) nicht sagen läßt. Diese vergoldete Marmorstatue darf keinesfalls als Kultbild im I. Geminus angenommen werden, wie Martin vorschlägt. Alte Kultbilder pflegten in Neubauten von Heiligtümern wiederverwendet zu werden. Prokop sah noch im Jahre 536/37 n. Chr. die alte, von Piso und Plinius erwähnte Statue in dem Bronzeschrein (2. 7), der bald darauf Metalldieben zum Opfer gefallen sein dürfte.

Die Auffassung von Wissowa, der Doppelkopf des I. sei durch das Münzbild des *aes grave* bedingt, wurde schon in der Einleitung zu 10 widerlegt. I. ist doppelköpfig, weil er als Türgott die Funktion eines Wächters hat. Um diese These zu untermauern, wurden einige Wächtergottheiten und -dämonen des Alten Orients, Ägyptens und Griechenlands zusammengestellt (3–6). Man könnte auch an den zwei- oder dreiköpfigen → Kerberos (→ Herakles 2553–2675) und an den zweiköpfigen Wachhund Orthros der Herde des → Geryoneus (→ Herakles 2464–2532) erinnern. I. dagegen ist ein Wächter von großer Vornehmheit, ein Schutzgott wie Iuppiter Custos. Zugleich erhält er durch seine Beziehung zur Zeit, zum Goldenen Zeitalter und zum Frieden eine besondere Würde. Sie wurde durch Augustus neu definiert, in dessen Zeit nicht nur der Schrein auf dem Forum Romanum, sondern auch der Tempel am Forum Holitorium erneuert wurde. Tiberius weihte ihn 17 n. Chr. wieder ein (Platner/Ashby 277).

Zwei in ihren Sitten und Unsitten vergleichbare Kaiser, Nero und Commodus, fühlten sich von I. besonders angesprochen. Nero feierte die Schließung des I. Geminus auf Münzen (2), Commodus ließ Medaillons prägen, auf denen die Büste des I. seine Züge trägt (15), worin er in I.-Pompeius einen Vorläufer hatte (13). Die meisten Münzen mit I. in ganzer Gestalt wurden unter Commodus geprägt (18). Der Baldachin auf ihnen kennzeichnet die I. statue als Kultbild. Entsprechendes drückt Gallienus mit der Patera in der Rechten des I. aus (20), einem sonst für I. nicht üblichen Attribut, um dessentwillen er das Zepter in die Linke nehmen muß. Es handelt sich hier wohl nur um einen Münztypus, nicht um eine wirklich existierende Statue. Die Patera, ein Symbol der *pax deorum* (Simon 2, 70), gehört zu dem eng mit der Friedensgöttin verbundenen I. Die Anrede *pater*, die man an ihn bei der Weinspende aus der Patera richtete, paßt als Umschrift zu diesem I. besonders gut. Schon der alte Cato instruierte seine Leser, daß man bei der Weinspende I. als *pater* anrufen solle (*agr.* 134).

ERIKA SIMON

### IAPETOS

(*Ἰαπετός*) Gott aus der Generation der Titanen, der Kinder von → Ouranos und → Ge, unter denen er eine bedeutungsvolle Zweierheit mit seinem Bruder → Kronos bildet. Ist dieser als Vater des «Kroniden» → Zeus Stammvater der olympischen Götter, so ist I. als Vater des «Iapetiden» → Prometheus Stammvater der hellenischen Heroengeschlechter: → Deukalion (I), der Sohn des Prometheus, überlebte die Sintflut und war Vater des Hellen. Brüder des Prometheus sind → Atlas, Menoitios und Epimetheus, von denen der letzte → Pandora zur Frau nahm, die Pyrrha, die Gemahlin des Deukalion, gebar. Als Gott einer der Olympiervorausliegenden Generation hatte I. nur sporadisch Kult.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Für obigen Stammbaum gibt es zwei Hauptversionen, die des Epos (a) und die des attischen Kultes (b). Sie sind in der modernen Forschung oft nicht genügend geschieden.

a) Hom. *Il.* 8, 479 nennt unter den Titanen im Tartaros nur I. und Kronos namentlich, also die beiden Stammväter von Olympiern und Menschen. Ebenso sind sie im Prooemium Hes. *theog.* 19 zusammen genannt. Dieses Epos ist die Hauptquelle für Version a. Eltern und Geschwister des I.: Hes. *theog.* 133–138; Gemahlin und Söhne: Hes. *theog.* 507–511. Der Name der Gemahlin ist dort → Klymene (II), während Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 8 → Asia (I) nennt. Beide sind Okeaniden und Titanentöchter (weshalb die Okeaniden in Aischyl. *Prom.* den Chor bilden). Hdt. 4, 45 bezeichnet dagegen Asia als Gemahlin des Prometheus, was zu Version b paßt.

b) Aischyl. *Prom.* 209–210 und öfter hat die mit → Themis gleichgesetzte Ge als Mutter des Prometheus. Das ist die Version des attischen Kultes, in dem Prometheus den Beinamen Titan hatte (vgl. Soph. *Oid. K.* 55–56 mit *Schol.*). In dieser Version ist I. ausgeschaltet; der kultisch verehrte Titan ist nicht Enkel, sondern Sohn der Ge. So kommen Klymene oder Asia als Mütter nicht mehr in Frage; die letztere ist vielmehr die Gemahlin des Prometheus, der nicht wie bei Hes. *theog.* 528, 543, 559, 565 und *erg.* 54 «Sohn des I.» heißt.

Die wichtigere Version war sicher die epische (a), der z. B. Pind. *O.* 9, 54–56 folgt. Aber die starke Wirkung des aischyleischen Prometheus, in der I. keine Rolle spielt, ist nicht abzustreiten.

Neben diesen beiden Hauptversionen bestehen andere. So wurden dem I. weitere Kinder zugeschrieben, etwa Buphagos (Paus. 8, 27, 17), ein Frevler wie Atlas und Menoitios. Dagegen ist der kalydonische Jäger Dryas (Hyg. *fab.* 173) wohl nur durch eine Textkorruption (vgl. Rose zur Stelle) Sohn des I. geworden. – Anchiale, nach der eine Stadt bei Tarsos in Kilikien genannt war, galt nach der einheimischen Tradition als Tochter des I. (Steph. Byz. *s. v.*). – Kult des I. auf Imbros: IG XII 8, 74.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Gundel, W., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 721–724 *s. v.* «Iapetos»; Reinhardt, K., *Tradition und Geist* (1960) 204–211 und *passim* (Prometheus als Titan); Weizsäcker, P., *ML* II 1 (1890–94) 55–58 *s. v.* «Iapetos» (sehr veraltet); West, M. L., *Hesiod Theogony, ed. with Prolegomena and Commentary* (1966) 157–158, 305–308 und *passim*, mit Lit.

### KATALOG

Der Stammbaum, in den I. als Vater des Prometheus gehört, ist übersichtlich in *ML* I 1 (1884–86) in der Klapptafel neben 992 (*s. v.* Deukalion) gezeigt. Viele der dort genannten Gestalten führen nur bei Hesiod und in antiken genealogischen Abhandlungen ihr Leben und sind selten in die Bildkunst aufgenommen. Auch I. gehört dazu. Er ist bisher nicht sicher nachgewiesen, es gibt nur die folgende Hypothese:

I.\* (= Gigantes 24\* mit Lit.) Südfries des Altares von Pergamon, links. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. – 1. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Der nackte Kämpfer auf Seiten der Götter, der mit beiden erhobenen Händen eine Axt schwingt, wurde von Simon, *Pergamon* 33–34 Taf. 26 als I. gedeutet, die Göttin an seiner Seite als seine Gemahlin Klymene. Pollitt, J. J., *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (1986) 96 hat diese Hypothese in die Benennungen aufgenommen; Vian, F., → Gigantes S. 202 neigt mehr der Deutung auf Adrasteia und Kabiro zu. Sie ist jedoch durch viele andere beliebige Götterpaare zu ersetzen, wenn man nicht die hesiodeische Theogonie als Grundlage für die Auswahl der Gottheiten annimmt. Diese scheint mir, in Verbindung mit der stoischen Kosmologie (ebendort 56–59), nach wie vor die beste Basis der Interpretation zu sein. Für die stoische Philosophie bestand kein Gegensatz mehr zwischen Olympiern und Titanen (vgl. auch Pollitt 107), wodurch die Mitwirkung so vieler titanischer Gottheiten, besonders im Südfries, erklärbar wird.



## KOMMENTAR

Die Giganten konnten ohne menschliche Mitwirkung bekanntlich nicht besiegt werden, weshalb Herakles ein wichtiger Teilnehmer an der Gigantomachie war. I., der Stammvater des Menschengeschlechtes, wäre es auch. Am Südfries ist nach allgemeiner Auffassung ein Teil der Titanensippe (Rhea, Theia und ihre Kinder, Themis, Phoibe) und wohl deren Vater → Ouranos dargestellt. Dazu paßt der Titan I. Zur Deutung auf Kabiros ließe sich anfügen, daß I. auf Imbros tatsächlich als Kabire verehrt worden ist (s. o. Quellen). Sein nackter, muskulöser Körper und die Doppelaxt weisen ihn als Gestalt der Frühzeit aus.

ERIKA SIMON

## IAPYX → Aineias 174\*

## IARHIBOL

(*Iarhibôl*, transcription du nom palmyrénien; *Ἰαρίβωλος*) Dieu solaire – malgré l'étymologie apparente du nom, qui signifierait «la lune de Bôl» ou «le maître des mois» – appartenant au vieux fonds culturel palmyrénien. Avec → Aglibol, il faisait partie de la triade de → Bel, dans laquelle il représentait le Soleil. On lui rendait un culte à la source Efqa – où il était, semble-t-il, figuré par un bétyle – ainsi qu'à la source d'Erek, entre Palmyre et l'Euphrate (une autre exégèse rattache d'ailleurs le nom, non plus à la racine sémitique *yrlh*, «lune» ou «mois», mais à l'accadien *iarhu*, «citerne», «étang»). Dieu oraculaire, I. avait à Palmyre un rôle civique éminent. Son culte est attesté très tôt à Doura-Europos où, en 33 av. J.-C., un temple lui fut consacré en même temps qu'à Bel.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drijvers, H. J. W., *The Religion of Palmyra* (1976) 9-13; Gawlikowski, M., *Palmyre VI* (1973) 112-120; Lukasiak, E., «Ikonoğrafia Yarıhibôla», *Studia Palmyrenskie V* (1974) 7-44; Milik, J. T., *Dédicaces faites par des dieux* (1972) 42-46; Seyrig, *AntSyr I* 27-32; VI 31-33, 72-79; Seyrig, H., *Syria* 48, 1971, 89-94; Starcky, J./Gawlikowski, M., *Palmyre* (1985) 93-95; Teixidor, J., *The Pagan God* (1977) 110-113; idem, *The Pantheon of Palmyra* (1979) 29-34.

## CATALOGUE

Faute d'indication sûre relative à leur nom, le catalogue exclut un certain nombre d'images de dieux radiés, ou radiés et cuirassés; cf. *etiam* → Helios [in periphéria or.].

## A. Iarhibôl seul ou avec un dédicant

## Reliefs (pierre)

1.\* Relief de gypse. New Haven, Yale Univ. De Doura-Europos, temple des Gaddé. – Rostovtzeff, M.

1., *Dura, Prel. Reports VII-VIII* (1939) 264-265 pl. 35, 2; Perkins, A., *The Art of Dura-Europos* (1973) 101-102 pl. 42; Lukasiak 29-30 fig. 19; Drijvers 13, 26 pl. 21; Teixidor (1977) 110 et n. 25; idem (1979) 33, 131 pl. 10. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – I., de face, s'appuie du bras dr. levé sur une lance, la main g. refermée sur la poignée d'un glaive suspendu à son côté. Il est vêtu, par-dessus une tunique courte, d'une cuirasse et d'un manteau agrafé sur l'épaule, et chaussé de hautes bottes. La tête est radiée, les cheveux ceints d'un diadème, et les pointes d'un croissant sont visibles derrière les épaules. Sur la plinthe, dédicace en palmyrénien à I., «le dieu bon, Idole de la Source».

2. Relief de calcaire fr. Autrefois Alep, coll. G. Poche. – Ronzevalle, S./Mouterde, R., *Al Machriq* 21, 1923, 39 pl. 2, 5; Cumont, F., *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1926) 104-105 fig. 21; Milik 42; Drijvers 13, 26 pl. 22, 1. – I. (nommé en grec sur la plinthe), vêtu d'une cuirasse et d'un manteau, la tête entourée d'un nimbe radié, s'appuie de la main dr. sur une lance. A sa g., le dédicant fait une offrande sur un autel au pied duquel est couché un taureau.

## Tessère (terre cuite, de Palmyre)

3.\* RTP n° 247 pl. 14. – Buste de I. cuirassé; nom inscrit en palmyrénien.

## B. Iarhibôl et Aglibôl seuls

## Tessères (terre cuite, de Palmyre)

4. (= Aglibol 25\* avec bibl., = Bel 12b [face A]) RTP n° 119 pl. 7; Lukasiak 17 fig. 8. – B: à g. I. radié (cuirasse, manteau) s'appuie de la main dr. sur un sceptre, la main g. posée sur la poignée d'un glaive suspendu à son côté. A dr. Aglibôl. Noms inscrits.

5.\* RTP n° 245 pl. 14. – A g. buste d'Aglibôl; à dr. buste de I. radié. Les mêmes divinités apparaissent peut-être sur la tessère RTP n° 246 où l'on voit deux bustes, celui de dr. probablement radié.

## C. Iarhibôl dans la triade de Bel

## Tessères (terre cuite, de Palmyre)

6. (= Aglibol 24\* avec bibl., = Bel 12a) RTP n° 118 pl. 7; Starcky/Gawlikowski frontispice. – Edicule abritant la triade de Bel: de g. à dr. I. radié (cuirasse, manteau), tenant de la main dr. un sceptre surmonté d'une boule et posant la main g. sur la poignée d'un glaive, Bel et Aglibôl.

7.\* RTP n° 28 pl. 2. – Bel au centre, entre I. radié, à sa dr., et Aglibôl à sa g., tous trois vêtus d'une cuirasse et d'un manteau et s'appuyant sur un sceptre.

8. (= Bel 12c\*) RTP n° 120 pl. 7. – Bustes de la triade de Bel: à g. I. (nimbe radié), au centre Bel, à dr. Aglibôl.

9. (= Bel 12d\*, = Astarte 25 [face B]) RTP n° 121 pl. 7; Seyrig, *AntSyr VI* 76. – A: base ou autel supportant les bustes de la triade de Bel: à g. I. (nimbe radié), au centre Bel, à dr. Aglibôl.

## Monnaies

10. (= Aglibol 29 avec bibl., = Bel 14\*) AE, Palmyre, ép. impériale. – Lukasiak 24 fig. 12; Krzyżanowska, A., dans *Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> Congrès int. de num.* I (1982) 445-457 pl. 57. – Av.: bustes de la triade; au centre Bel de face, à g. I. radié de profil vers la dr., à dr. Aglibôl de profil vers la g.

## D. Iarhibôl dans la triade de Bel, avec d'autres divinités

## Peinture murale

11. (= Aglibol 1, = Allath 11, = Arsu 13, = Bel 1\* – avec bibl.) Peinture détruite. De Doura-Europos, temple de Bel. – Perkins, *o. c.* I, 37, 45-47 fig. 13; Lukasiak 12-14 fig. 4. – II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Sacrifice offert par deux personnages et leurs acolytes à cinq divinités: de g. à dr. Allath(?), puis I., Bel, Aglibôl et Arsû, figurés chacun debout sur une sphère. Lorsque la peinture fut photographiée, il ne subsistait déjà plus de I. que le bas du manteau et les bottes; il était sans doute vêtu comme Aglibôl (→ Aglibol 1).

## Reliefs (pierre)

12. (= Aglibol 7\*, = Arsu 15, = Bel 3 – avec bibl.) Relief de calcaire. Palmyre, Mus. 1221. De Palmyre, près du temple de Bel. – Lukasiak 11-12 fig. 3; Drijvers 11, 24 pl. 7; Teixidor (1979) 128-129 pl. 3, 2. – I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Quatre divinités alignées: de g. à dr. I. (nimbe radié, cuirasse, manteau, chaussures montantes) appuyé de la main dr. sur un sceptre surmonté d'une boule, la main g. sur le glaive, Bel, Aglibôl et Arsû.

13. (= Aglibol 11, = Arsu 14, = Bel 4\* – avec bibl.) Relief de calcaire. Palmyre, Mus. 1233 A. Du Djebel al-Merah (Palmyrène). – Drijvers 24 pl. 9, 1; Teixidor (1979) 134 pl. 21, 2. – Fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – A g. un dédicant offre un sacrifice à quatre dieux alignés, désignés par une inscr. en palmyrénien: de g. à dr. Arsû, I. (nimbe radié, anneaux aux oreilles et collier, tunique à manches longues, cuirasse, manteau) s'appuyant de la main dr. sur une lance, Bel et Aglibôl.

14. (= Aglibol 19, = Bel 2\*, = Beltis 3 – avec bibl.) Relief de calcaire incomplet à dr. Damas, Mus. Nat. De Palmyrène. – Lukasiak 11-12 fig. 3; Drijvers 11, 24 pl. 8, 2. – Début du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – A g. Beltis, puis la triade de Bel: I. (nimbe radié, tunique à manches longues, cuirasse, manteau, chaussures montantes), la main dr. appuyée sur un sceptre, la g. tenant un glaive, Bel et Aglibôl. Une inscr., en grande partie détruite, nommait les divinités.

15.\* (= Aglibol 14\*, = Astarte 23, = Baalshamin 23, = Bel 5 – avec bibl.) Relief de calcaire. Palmyre, Mus. B 2195. D'Al-Maqaté (Palmyrène). – Drijvers 10-11, 24 pl. 10, 1; Teixidor (1979) 9, 58, 130 pl. 7, 2. – Milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Cinq divinités alignées, désignées par leurs noms inscrits en palmyrénien sur la plinthe: de g. à dr. I. (nimbe radié, cuirasse, manteau) appuyé de la main dr. sur une lance, Baalshamin, Bel, Aglibôl et Astarté.

16.\* (= Aglibol 16, = Astarte 24, = Bel 8, = Beltis 4 – avec bibl.) Relief de calcaire, incomplet à dr. Damas, Mus. Nat. 2118 (4480). D'Oum es-Salabikh (entre Palmyre et Hît). – Abdul-Hak, S. et A., *Cat. illustré du Dép. des Ant. gréco-rom. au Mus. de Damas* (1951) 37-38 n° 24 pl. 16, 1; Lukasiak 16-17 fig. 7; Drijvers 11, 24 pl. 9, 2. – Dédicace de 225 ap. J.-C. – De la triade de Bel ne subsiste plus, à l'extrémité dr., que I. (nimbe radié, tunique à manches longues, cuirasse, manteau, chaussures montantes, glaive au côté g.), appuyé de la main dr. sur une lance. A sa dr. une déesse (Beltis?), puis un dieu cuirassé (Arsû?) et deux dieux en costume palmyrénien (Ashar et Ashlam); à l'extrémité g., le dédicant.

Les reliefs suivants représentaient sûrement la triade, mais elle a disparu:

17. (= Aglibol 22, = Bel 7 – avec bibl.) Relief fr. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. Acheté à Homs. – Milik 43-44; Lukasiak 14-15 fig. 5; Drijvers 12, 25 pl. 11; Teixidor (1979) 11. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – La triade, dont ne subsiste qu'Aglibol, à g., accompagné de Némésis au centre (→ Nemesis [in per. or.]) et de → Keraunos à dr., devait figurer sur ce relief ainsi que l'atteste la dédicace à Bel, Aglibôl et I. gravée en grec sur la plinthe.

18. (= Bel 9 avec bibl.) Deux fr. d'un cippe très mutilé. Rome, Mus. Cap. De Rome. – Seyrig, *AntSyr VI* 75-76 et n. 2. – Sur la plinthe, une dédicace fr. en grec s'adresse «aux dieux ancestraux Bel, I.»; il ne subsiste du relief que la partie inf. du corps de deux dieux vêtus de pantalons, et la tête d'une déesse, nommée Astarté. D'après Seyrig le relief aurait représenté, de g. à dr., I., Bel, Aglibôl et Astarté.

## E. Iarhibôl avec d'autres divinités

## Peinture murale

19.\* (= Aglibol 2, = Arsu 12\*, = Doura 1, = Euphrates 1 – avec bibl.) New Haven, Yale Univ. 1931.386. De Doura-Europos, temple de Bel. – Perkins, *o. c.* I, 42-45 fig. 12; Lukasiak 22-23 fig. 11; Drijvers 26 pl. 19; Teixidor (1979) 93-94, 136 pl. 30. – 239 ap. J.-C. – Sacrifice offert par le tribun Iulius Terentius et sa cohorte aux Fortunes (→ Tyche) de Palmyre et de Doura, et à trois dieux en costume militaire dressés chacun sur une base. Celui du centre (nimbe, cuirasse, manteau), appuyé à dr. sur une lance, un globe dans la main g., pourrait être I., entouré d'Aglibôl à g. et d'Arsû à dr., à moins qu'il ne s'agisse de → Malakbel (Starcky/Gawlikowski 142 n. 13).

## Reliefs (calcaire)

20.\* Damas, Mus. Nat. 1764 (1050). De Palmyre, fondations du temple de Bel. – Abdul-Hak, *o. c.* I, 34 n° 15; Seyrig, *AntSyr IV* 1-2 pl. 1; Downey, S. B., *The Heracles Sculpture. Dura, Final Reports III I* 1 (1969) 77-78 pl. 3, 3; Seyrig, H., *Syria* 47, 1970, 107-108 fig. 28; Lukasiak 18-19 fig. 9; Drijvers 12, 25 pl. 14; Teixidor (1979) 113, 136 pl. 31, 2; *Land des Baal*, cat. exp. (1982) 190 n° 171. – I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Quatre divinités alignées: à g. Héraklès et une déesse radiée, à dr. Aglibôl radié avec le croissant au front et un dieu radié



qui est sans doute I.; tous deux sont vêtus à la grecque, d'une tunique et d'un manteau, et tiennent une petite palme de la main dr.

21. (= Aglibol 3, = Beltis 2\* - avec bibl.) De Palmyre, plafond de la travée du portail du temple de Bel. Dans le sanctuaire. - Lukasiak 20-22 fig. 10; Seyrig, H./Amy, R./Will, E., *Le temple de Bel à Palmyre* (1975) 85. 239 pl. 39; *Album* pl. 100; Drijvers 10. 21 pl. 3, 1. - Vers 32 ap. J.-C. - Trois divinités alignées: sans doute Aglibôl à g., Beltis à dr., et au centre I. (tête radiée, cuirasse, manteau, chaussures montantes), appuyé de la main dr. sur un sceptre, tenant un glaive de la g.

22. Relief fr. Palmyre, Mus. B 2304. De Palmyre, temple d'Allath. - Drijvers, H. J. W., *AntW* 7, 1976, 35-36 fig. 9; *Palmyra. Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der syrischen Oasenstadt*, cat. exp. (1987) n° 32. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Deux dieux cuirassés, celui de g. casqué et vêtu d'une tunique à manches longues et d'un pantalon parthe, un carquois dans le dos, celui de dr. (tête disparue) chaussé de bottes et appuyé sur une lance, sont debout à côté d'un dromadaire. L'un d'eux, d'après l'inscr., serait I.

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A l'exception de la tessère 3 où cependant le dieu est formellement identifié par une inscription, la totalité des documents montre le visage de I. auréolé de rayons qui le caractérisent comme l'une des grandes divinités solaires de Palmyre. Sur le relief de Doura I. porte non seulement le nimbe radié mais le croissant de lune aux épaules, ce qui l'a fait parfois confondre - malgré l'inscription qui le nomme expressément - avec le dieu lunaire Aglibôl; peut-être ne faut-il voir dans ce croissant qu'un «vague symbole céleste» (du Mesnil du Buisson, R., *Tessères et monnaies de Palmyre* [1962] 212), à moins qu'il ne soit la «trace d'une ancienne nature lunaire» (Seyrig, H., *Syria* 48, 1971, 92 n. 3) que reflèterait aussi le nom même du dieu.

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Ce type du dieu armé et radié, loin de caractériser exclusivement l'iconographie de I., est utilisé indifféremment pour les trois divinités du Soleil adorées

à Palmyre: Shamash (→ Helios [in periphéria or.]), → Malakbel et I. Aussi, sur les images anépigraphes, I. n'est-il identifiable que grâce à son association à d'autres divinités et, en tout premier lieu, grâce à son appartenance à la triade de Bel. Cette triade apparaît pour la première fois en 32 ap. J.-C., dans l'inscription commémorative de la dédicace du temple de Bel; ses images, toutes plus récentes, s'échelonnent du I<sup>er</sup> s. (12) au III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (16). Parfois figurée seule (6-10), la triade est le plus souvent accompagnée d'autres divinités (11-18) et, dans un cas (15), Bel et → Baalshamin, chef de l'autre grande triade palmyrénienne, apparaissent conjointement, flanqués de I. et d'Aglibôl. Que la triade de Bel apparaisse seule ou accompagnée d'autres divinités, I. occupe invariablement la place d'honneur, à la dr. de Bel, et cette hiérarchie est respectée aussi bien dans l'iconographie que dans l'épigraphie.

Quelques images, peinture (19) ou reliefs (20-22), associent à I. un certain nombre de divinités autres que ses compagnons habituels - encore qu'Aglibôl au moins soit présent sur 19 et 21 - sans que rien permette vraiment d'expliquer les circonstances de ces rencontres. L'association de I. et du chameau sur 22, unique à ce jour, montre en tout cas clairement que I., comme tant d'autres divinités palmyrénienes, avait aussi pour fonction de protéger les caravanes.

PASCALE LINANT DE BELLEFONDS

## IASEUS

(*Iaseús*) Phocidien, ami de → Phokos fils d'Éaque (→ Aïakos) avec lequel il s'allia lors de la conquête de la Phocide (Paus. 10, 30, 4).

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La scène I, qui se trouvait au centre de la *Nekyia*, est la seule représentation connue d'I. Elle pose quelques problèmes d'interprétation. En effet l'identité d'I. n'est pas claire, Pausanias étant la seule source littéraire à le mentionner. On a tenté de l'identifier à Iasos, fils de → Triopas le fondateur de Cnide: Polygnote aurait alors voulu illustrer l'amitié qui liait Phocidiens et Cnidiens et dont la Lesché était le témoignage (Robert 82; Papachatzis 410 n. 2). En revanche, peu d'arguments militent en faveur de l'identification avec Deioneus (ou Deion), qui donne sa fille en mariage à Phokos (Weniger, L., *ML* III 2 [1902-09] 2415 s. v. «Phokos»).

Quant à l'aspect physique et à l'attitude d'I. sur la peinture de Polygnote, tous deux dépendent de la lecture du passage où Pausanias le décrit. Pour la plupart des philologues, I. est bien barbu: *Iaseús γεγεῖων* (ἐς εὐγεῖων codd.) ὁδὲ (ou μὲν, ou δὲ) εὐ ἔχει (Schubart/Walz, Hitzig/Blümner, Spiro, Jones, Rocha-Pereira et d'autres), alors que pour C. Robert il tient une branche d'olivier: *Iaseús ἑλάταν μὲν ἀνέχων*. Les traductions se fondent sur la lecture usuelle (Frazer, Jones, Meyer, Papachatzis).

JEAN-ROBERT GISLER

## IASILE → Echelos

## IASION

(*Iasiôn*, *Iásiος*, *Iasos*, Iasion, Iasius) Heros der Urzeit nach der Deukalionischen Flut, Geliebter der → Demeter, Vater des → Ploutos, von → Zeus mit dem Blitz getötet.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN (Auswahl): Das Schicksal des I. ist bereits Hom. *Od.* 5, 125-128 bekannt. Er stirbt den Blitztod, da die Liebe einer Göttin zu einem Sterblichen gegen die Regeln des homerischen Olymp ist. Bei Hes. *theog.* 969-971 spielt die Liebe des Paares und die Geburt des Ploutos auf Kreta, der Tod des I. wird nicht erwähnt. Jene Geburt war eines der Geheimnisse der Eleusinischen Mysterien. - I. war auch mit einem anderen Mysterienkult, dem von Samothrake, verbunden, wo er als Bruder des → Dardanos mit Eetion (→ Aetion) identifiziert war: Quellen s. → Aetion. Da er sich in dieser Version gegen Demeter verging, soll ihn Zeus mit dem Blitz getötet haben: Apollod. *bibl.* 3, 138; Strabon 7 *frg.* 50 Jones. Die gelegentliche Gleichsetzung der Demeter mit → Kybele brachte I. ferner mit jener kleinasiatischen Göttin in Verbindung. Sie gebär ihm den Korybas; mit diesem und Dardanos zog sie nach Phrygien, während I. in dieser dritten Version unter die Götter versetzt wurde: Diod. 5, 49. - I. galt in Samothrake als Sohn des Zeus, während Homer und Hesiod keine Genealogie des I. bringen. Seine Mutter war dort die

Atlastochter → Elektra (III). - Nach der vergilischen Version stammten die Brüder Dardanus und Iasius ursprünglich aus Italien (*Aen.* 3, 166-171 mit Serv. z. Stelle), weshalb Aeneas dorthin zurückkehren sollte. - I., mit dem sich Demeter auf dem dreimal gepflügten Feld (Homer, Hesiod) vereinte, wird in der Forschung richtig als mit dem Ackerbau nah verbunden angesehen. Er allein soll nach der Deukalionischen Flut Getreide zur Aussaat besessen haben: Hellan., *FGH* 4 F 135. Da der Ackerbau weit über die Bronzezeit ins Neolithikum zurückreicht, dürfte I. weniger minoisch-mykenisch als pelagisch oder karisch sein. Mit Pelasgern und Karern bezeichneten die Griechen die Vorbevölkerung ihres Landes. Der Name Iasos begegnet sowohl in der «pelagischen» Argolis (*RE* IX 1, 784 s. v. «Iasos») als auch an der karischen Küste Kleinasiens, dort als Ortsname (→ Iasos). - Der Ritus der «Heiligen Hochzeit», um die Fruchtbarkeit zu fördern, der sich im Demeter-I.-Mythos spiegelt, dürfte zu den ältesten Riten der Ägäis gehören. Die Vorbevölkerung konnte ihr uraltes Glaubensgut in den Mysterien von Eleusis und Samothrake «retten», in denen es bis in die Spätantike tradiert wurde. An beiden Orten war I. zugegen. So ist es wohl kein Zufall, daß eines der geheimnisvollsten Gemälde der Renaissance, Giorgiones *Tempesta*, nach einer ansprechenden neuen Deutung den Mythos von Demeter und Iasion zum Inhalt hat.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Büttner, F., «Die Geburt des Reichums und der Neid der Götter. Neue Überlegungen zu Giorgiones *Tempesta*», *MJBK* 3. Folge 37, 1986, 113-130; Burkert, *GrRel* 177; v. Geisau, H., *KlPauly* II (1975) 1321-1322 s. v. «Iasion»; Gundel, W., *RE* IX 1 (1901) 752-758 s. v. «Iasion»; Nilsson, *GrRel* 1 121. 299. 318; Rocca, R., *EncVirg* II (1985) 886 s. v. «Iasio»; Seeliger, K., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 59-63 s. v. «Iasion».

## KATALOG

I.\* Kelchkrater, fr., att. rf. Leningrad, Ermitage 1889.1. - Metzger, *Recherches* 7-8 Nr. 1 Taf. 1, 1; Schefold, *SB* III 64-65 Abb. 79. - Um 390 v. Chr. - Die Figuren waren locker über freies Gelände verteilt, in dem Lorbeerbäumen wuchsen. In der Mitte ist ein junger Mann in Barbarentracht bis zur Hüfte erhalten. Er streckt entsetzt beide Arme empor und blickt nach I. oben. Über seinem mit einer «Phrygermütze» bedeckten Kopf steht die Inschrift *ΙΑΣΣΟΣ*, die überzeugend als I. erklärt wurde. Eine kleiner gemalte geflügelte Göttin taucht dahinter mit einem Gespann auf - ein Pferdehals ist sichtbar. Sie hält mit beiden Händen die Zügel, r. auch das Kentron. I. wird aus der Höhe, wohin er blickt, bedroht. Zeus, der mit dem Blitz auf I. zielt, ist dort zu ergänzen. Die nach I. gewandte Flügelfrau ist wohl dessen Wagenlenkerin → Nike. R. sitzt ein bärtiger Gott mit haariger Brust, an dessen I. Schulter sich jemand lehnte (Ellbogen erhalten). Überzeugend wurden Poseidon und Amphitrite vorgeschlagen. Als Schauplatz kommen die Inseln Kreta oder Samothrake in Frage; in beiden Fällen ist der Meeresgott sinnvoll. In der Entstehungszeit des Kraters ist Samothrake vorzuziehen, da der Export

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BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 68 s. v. «Iaseus»; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 59 s. v. «Iaseus».

1. Peinture murale (disparue) représentant la Nekyia, œuvre de Polygnote de Thasos. Delphes, Lesché des Cnidiens. - Robert, C., *Die Nekyia des Polygnot*, 16. *HallWPr* (1892) 14. 66. 82; Weizsäcker, P., *Polygnots Gemälde in der Lesche der Knidier in Delphi* (1895) 56; Felten, W., *Attische Unterweltdarstellungen des 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (1975) 76; Papachatzis, Paus. *Boiotika, Phokika* (1981) 409-410 n. 2; Kebric, R. B., *The Paintings in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi and their Historical Context* (1983) 29. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Non loin d'Achille et de Patrocle étaient figurés Phokos en jeune homme et I., sans doute barbu. Ce dernier était en train de retirer de la main g. de Phokos une bague. Pausanias voit dans ce geste l'illustration de la forte amitié qui lia le héros éponyme de la Phocide, venu d'Égine, à I., le Phocidien indigène. I. aurait en effet donné à son ami plusieurs cadeaux, en particulier une bague en or munie d'un sceau. De retour dans son Égine natale, Phokos mourra sous les coups de Pélée (→ Peleus) peut-être avec l'aide de → Telamon.

La scène 1, qui se trouvait au centre de la Nekyia, est la seule représentation connue d'I. Elle pose quelques problèmes d'interprétation. En effet l'identité d'I. n'est pas claire, Pausanias étant la seule source littéraire à le mentionner. On a tenté de l'identifier à Iasos, fils de → Triopas le fondateur de Cnide: Polygnote aurait alors voulu illustrer l'amitié qui liait Phocidiens et Cnidiens et dont la Lesché était le témoignage (Robert 82; Papachatzis 410 n. 2). En revanche, peu d'arguments militent en faveur de l'identification avec Deioneus (ou Deion), qui donne sa fille en mariage à Phokos (Weniger, L., *ML* III 2 [1902-09] 2415 s. v. «Phokos»).

Quant à l'aspect physique et à l'attitude d'I. sur la peinture de Polygnote, tous deux dépendent de la lecture du passage où Pausanias le décrit. Pour la plupart des philologues, I. est bien barbu: *Iaseús γενηίων* (*ēs edgeneiān* codd.) *ōde* (ou *mēn*, ou *dē*) *ēd ēxei* (Schubart/Walz, Hitzig/Blümner, Spiro, Jones, Rocha-Pereira et d'autres), alors que pour C. Robert il tient une branche d'olivier: *Iaseús éλαταν μὲν ἀνέχων*. Les traductions se fondent sur la lecture usuelle (Frazer, Jones, Meyer, Papachatzis).

JEAN-ROBERT GISLER

## IASILE → Echelos

## IASION

(*Iάσιων*, *Iάσιος*, *Iάσιος*, Iasion, Iasius) Heros der Urzeit nach der Deukalionischen Flut, Geliebter der → Demeter, Vater des → Ploutos, von → Zeus mit dem Blitz getötet.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN (Auswahl): Das Schicksal des I. ist bereits Hom. *Od.* 5, 125-128 bekannt. Er stirbt den Blitztod, da die Liebe einer Göttin zu einem Sterblichen gegen die Regeln des homerischen Olymp ist. Bei Hes. *theog.* 969-971 spielt die Liebe des Paares und die Geburt des Ploutos auf Kreta, der Tod des I. wird nicht erwähnt. Jene Geburt war eines der Geheimnisse der Eleusinischen Mysterien. - I. war auch mit einem anderen Mysterienkult, dem von Samothrake, verbunden, wo er als Bruder des → Dardanos mit Eetion (→ Aetion) identifiziert war: Quellen s. → Aetion. Da er sich in dieser Version gegen Demeter verging, soll ihn Zeus mit dem Blitz getötet haben: Apollod. *bibl.* 3, 138; Strabon 7 *frg.* 50 Jones. Die gelegentliche Gleichsetzung der Demeter mit → Kybele brachte I. ferner mit jener kleinasiatischen Göttin in Verbindung. Sie gebar ihm den Korybas; mit diesem und Dardanos zog sie nach Phrygien, während I. in dieser dritten Version unter die Götter versetzt wurde: Diod. 5, 49. - I. galt in Samothrake als Sohn des Zeus, während Homer und Hesiod keine Genealogie des I. bringen. Seine Mutter war dort die

Atlastochter → Elektra (III). - Nach der vergilischen Version stammten die Brüder Dardanos und Iasius ursprünglich aus Italien (*Aen.* 3, 166-171 mit Serv. z. Stelle), weshalb Aeneas dorthin zurückkehren sollte. - I., mit dem sich Demeter auf dem dreimal gepflügten Feld (Homer, Hesiod) vereinte, wird in der Forschung richtig als mit dem Ackerbau nah verbunden angesehen. Er allein soll nach der Deukalionischen Flut Getreide zur Aussaat besessen haben: Hellan., *FGH* 4 F 135. Da der Ackerbau weit über die Bronzezeit ins Neolithikum zurückreicht, dürfte I. weniger minoisch-mykenisch als pelagisch oder karisch sein. Mit Pelasgern und Karern bezeichneten die Griechen die Vorbevölkerung ihres Landes. Der Name Iasos begegnet sowohl in der «pelagischen» Argolis (*REIX* 1, 784 s. v. «Iasos») als auch an der karischen Küste Kleinasiens, dort als Ortsname (→ Iasos). - Der Ritus der «Heiligen Hochzeit», um die Fruchtbarkeit zu fördern, der sich im Demeter-I.-Mythos spiegelt, dürfte zu den ältesten Riten der Ägäis gehören. Die Vorbevölkerung konnte ihr uraltes Glaubensgut in den Mysterien von Eleusis und Samothrake «retten», in denen es bis in die Spätantike tradiert wurde. An beiden Orten war I. zugegen. So ist es wohl kein Zufall, daß eines der geheimnisvollsten Gemälde der Renaissance, Giorgiones Tempesta, nach einer ansprechenden neuen Deutung den Mythos von Demeter und Iasion zum Inhalt hat.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Büttner, F., «Die Geburt des Reichtums und der Neid der Götter. Neue Überlegungen zu Giorgiones Tempesta», *MJBK* 3, Folge 37, 1986, 113-130; Burkert, *GrRel* 177; v. Geisau, H., *KlPauly* II (1975) 1321-1322 s. v. «Iasion»; Gundel, W., *REIX* 1 (1901) 752-758 s. v. «Iasion»; Nilsson, *GrRel* 1 121. 299. 318; Rocca, R., *EncVirg* II (1985) 886 s. v. «Iasio»; Seeliger, K., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 59-63 s. v. «Iasion».

## KATALOG

1. \* Kelchkrater, fr., att. rf. Leningrad, Ermitage 1889.1. - Metzger, *Recherches* 7-8 Nr. 1 Taf. 1, 1; Schefold, *SB* III 64-65 Abb. 79. - Um 390 v. Chr. - Die Figuren waren locker über freies Gelände verteilt, in dem Lorbeerbäumchen wachsen. In der Mitte ist ein junger Mann in Barbarentracht bis zur Hüfte erhalten. Er streckt entsetzt beide Arme empor und blickt nach l. oben. Über seinem mit einer «Phrygermütze» bedeckten Kopf steht die Inschrift *ΙΑΣΣΟΣ*, die überzeugend als I. erklärt wurde. Eine kleiner gemalte geflügelte Göttin taucht dahinter mit einem Gespann auf - ein Pferdehals ist sichtbar. Sie hält mit beiden Händen die Zügel, r. auch das Kentron. I. wird aus der Höhe, wohin er blickt, bedroht. Zeus, der mit dem Blitz auf l. zielt, ist dort zu ergänzen. Die nach l. gewandte Flügelfrau ist wohl dessen Wagenlenkerin → Nike. R. sitzt ein bärtiger Gott mit haariger Brust, an dessen l. Schulter sich jemand lehnte (Ellbogen erhalten). Überzeugend wurden Poseidon und Amphitrite vorgeschlagen. Als Schauplatz kommen die Inseln Kreta oder Samothrake in Frage; in beiden Fällen ist der Meeresgott sinnvoll. In der Entstehungszeit des Kraters ist Samothrake vorzuziehen, da der Export

Athens damals begann, sich zum Schwarzen Meer hin zu orientieren. – Außerdem paßt die Tracht des I. besser zum Bruder des «Troers» Dardanos als zu einem Kreter. Ferner weist das Bildschema der Bestrafung eher nach Samothrake als nach Kreta: Während nämlich die Schönheit des kretischen I. die Liebe der Demeter hervorrief, begehrte der samothrakische I. die Göttin von sich aus und wurde deshalb von Zeus getötet. Seine Barbarentracht weist auf die frühen Siedler auf der Insel hin, die nach der Überlieferung Karer waren. Sie führt also weniger in örtliche als in zeitliche Ferne.

#### DEUTUNG AUF IASION HYPOTHETISCH

2. (= Aphrodite 1367\*, = Demeter 390\* mit Lit., = Herakles 1406 mit Lit.) Bauchamphora Typus B, att. rf. Kos, Mus. – Schwarz, G., *Triptolemos* (1987) 52 V 125; 145–146 Taf. 16, 28. – Um 390 v. Chr. – Die Form dieser Amphora wurde damals schon fast ein Jahrhundert lang nur noch vereinzelt hergestellt. Sie muß extrem altertümlich gewirkt haben. Vielleicht wurde sie auf Bestellung gearbeitet. Das mag auch für das Bildthema gelten, das sehr umstritten ist. Bisher liegen keine Aufnahmen der übrigen Seiten vor und keine Beschreibungen, so daß sich die Darstellung nicht vollständig erfassen läßt. Sicherheit besteht in der Deutung des Triptolemos auf dem Schlangenzug mit geflügelten Rädern. Ihm sind die beiden Eleusinierinnen zugewandt, unten Kore mit zwei Fackeln, darüber Demeter mit dem Zepter (nicht, wie → Aphrodite 1367, die Liebesgöttin). Demeter blickt auf einen Jüngling mit Keule, zwischen beiden schwebt Eros. Er drückt eine Liebesbeziehung zwischen dem Paar aus. Da diese weder zwischen Herakles (→ Herakles 1406) und Demeter noch zwischen Aphrodite und Herakles bestand, möchte ich meine frühere Deutung auf Iasion aufrecht erhalten. Die Keule kann Attribut eines Jägers sein, nicht nur des Herakles, und der Kreter I. ist auch als Jäger überliefert (Ov. *am.* 3, 25–26).

#### KOMMENTAR

Die beiden nahezu gleichzeitigen Vasenbilder 1 und 2 sind die bisher einzigen Bildzeugnisse für I., wobei 2 nicht einmal sicher ist. So beliebt der Knabe Ploutos in der eleusinischen Kunst auch war (→ Eirene), sein Vater tritt äußerst selten auf. Wenn die Deutung von 2 stimmt, so hätten wir I. in der attischen Malerei des frühen 4. Jh. in zwei verschiedenen Gestalten: in Barbarentracht, wobei nur eine aus der «Phrygermütze» hervorschauende Lockensträhne die Schönheit des jungen Mannes andeutet, und in «idealer» Nacktheit. Während die gesicherte Darstellung 1 nach dem oben Ausgeführten nach Samothrake weist, gehört die Bauchamphora 2 zum Kreis von Eleusis. Sie zeigt den kretischen I. als griechischen Heros, während der samothrakische I. in «karischem» Gewand auftritt.

ERIKA SIMON

#### IASIOS

(*Ἰάσιος*) Arkader, wohl aus Tegea, mythischer Olympionike zur Zeit des Herakles.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Paus. 5, 8, 4; 8, 48, 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Stoll, H. W., *ML II* 1 (1890–94) s. v. «Iasos, auch Iasios, 3»; Weicker, G., *RE IX* 1 (1914) 783 s. v. «Iasos 2».

1. Reliefstele (wohl aus Stein) auf der Agora von Tegea, nicht erhalten. – Paus. 8, 48, 1. – Nicht datiert. – Dargestellt war nach Paus. I., «der ein Pferd hält und in der r. Hand einen Palmzweig trägt; I. soll mit dem Pferd in Olympia gesiegt haben, als der Thebaner Herakles die Olympien veranstaltete» (Übers. E. Meyer). I. ist mit dem von Paus. 5, 8, 4 genannten Arkader I. identisch, wo die von Herakles veranstalteten olympischen Spiele referiert werden.

Der Name kommt in der Mythologie der Peloponnes mehrfach vor, so auch in Arkadien (Iasos oder Iasios, Enkel des → Aleos und Vater der → Atalante). Paus. fand aber offenbar keine Angaben vor, die ihm erlaubt hätten, den I. der Stele näher zu bestimmen. (Durch die Präzisierung, daß mit Herakles der Thebaner gemeint sei, hat jedoch Paus. I. von dem idäischen Daktylen Iasios/Iasos, Bruder des idäischen Herakles und Teilnehmer noch früherer Spiele [Paus. 5, 7, 6; 5, 14, 7], geschieden.) Nach Papachatzis, *Paus. Achaika, Arkadika* 395 Anm. 4 hätten «die Tegeaten in vorge-rückter historischer Zeit einen alten Olympioniken geehrt und seinen Sieg vordatiert, um den Ruhm ihrer Stadt bis in mythische Zeiten auszudehnen».

Das Relief muß zur Gattung der Heroenreliefs mit Heros und Pferd gehört haben (Langenfaß-Vuduroglu, F., *Mensch und Pferd auf griech. Grab- und Votivstelen* [1973] 67–101). Zur Ehrung lebender (oder verstorbener) Olympioniken in ihrer Heimatpolis sind hingegen nur Statuen (seltener bloße Inschriften, Gemälde oder sogar ein Heiligtum), nicht aber Reliefs bezeugt (Hyde, W. H., *Olympic Victor Monuments* [1921] 361–374; Moretti, L., *Olympionikai, MemLinc* 8, 8, 2 [1957] und *Klio* 52, 1970, 295–303). Beispiele für den anzunehmenden Bildtypus s. Langenfaß a. O. *passim*; Moore, M., *GettyMusJ* 2, 1975, 37–50; Parthenon-Westfries. Für den Palmzweig als Siegespreis sind vorkaiserzeitliche Zeugnisse spärlich: Panathenäische Amphoren des 4. Jh. v. Chr.; Gemälde des Eupompos, 4. Jh. v. Chr., Plin. *nat.* 35, 75; sie verbieten aber die Annahme (*RE XX* 1, 401–402 s. v. «Phoinix 1»), daß er in Griechenland überhaupt erst kaiserzeitlich sei.

PIERRE MÜLLER

IASO I → Asklepios 59. 87. 204. 248. 294? p. 892, → Asklepios (in Thracia) 22, → Epione I. 2. 5? 7. 10, → Hygieia 138? 238.

IASO II → Hippodameia I 1

#### IASION

(*Ἰάσων, Ἰήσων, Ἰάσων* [7. 39]; Easun, Eiasun, Heasun, Heiasun, Hiasunu; Iason) Leader of the Argonauts (→ Argonautai). Son of Aison, deposed king of Iolkos. Ordered by → Pelias to obtain the golden fleece from → Aietes, king of Kolchis. Aided by and subsequently married to Aietes' daughter → Medea. Later wed to the daughter of king → Kreon (II) of Corinth, → Kreusa (II), who is killed by Medea's treachery. I. is also a participant in the Calydonian boar hunt (→ Meleagros) and the funeral games for Pelias (→ Pelion athla).

LITERARY SOURCES: Homer mentions in the *Il.* I. and → Hypsipyle's (I) son → Euneos of Lemnos (see below), and in *Od.* 12, 70, he calls the ship Argo «well known to all» but has little to say regarding its leader I., other than the fact that he enjoys Hera's protection (*Od.* 12, 72). Hesiod (*ehoiai frg.* 40 [cf. 38–39] Merkelbach/West) states that I. is the son of Aison (a descendant of Aiolos), but was raised by the centaur → Cheiron on Mt. Pelion. The centaur is said to have been the first to name the boy I. (Pind. *P.* 4, 119). The name of I.'s mother varies: Alkimede, daughter of Phylakos and Klymene, one of Minyas' daughters (Apoll. Rhod. 1, 233); Polymede, the daughter of Autolykos (Schol. Hom. *Od.* 12, 69; Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 9, 16); Amphinome (Diod. 4, 50, 2). Of the childhood of I., which was spent with Chiron and his female relatives, nothing is known. Accounts of his arrival in Iolkos at the age of twenty to claim the kingship for his deposed father and his subsequent expedition to obtain the golden fleece are recorded by Pindar in his 4th Pythian ode (462 B. C.), Apoll. Rhod. in his epic *Argonautika* (3rd cent. B. C.), Diod. (4, 40–55) and Apollod. (*bibl.* 1, 9, 16–28) as well as in an early lost epic, *Naupactia* (Davies *EGF* pp. 145 ff.; Bernabé *PEG* pp. 123 ff.). Note also Eumelos' *Corinthiaca* (Davies *EGF* pp. 96 ff.). Pind. (*P.* 4, 78 ff.) describes I. as having long hair, carrying two spears, and wearing a Magnesian tunic, panther skin and a sandal on his right foot only (*μονοκρήπις* 4, 75). According to Apoll. Rhod. (1, 9–11 and 3, 66–73) I. lost his other sandal while carrying an old woman, Hera in disguise, across the swollen river Anauros. Pelias, who had usurped the throne of Iolkos from I.'s father, recognizes in this the fulfillment of an oracle that a single-sandaled man will be his undoing. Therefore, he orders I. to bring back the fleece of the ram that had carried Phrixos to Kolchis on the eastern shore of the Black Sea and which now hangs in a grove of Ares, guarded by a serpent. In order to carry out this charge, I. commissions → Argos (III) to build a ship, to which Athena attaches a timber from the speaking oak of Dodona, and assembles a crew of Greek heroes (→ Argonautai). During the voyage I. and his companions have various encounters: with women on the island of Lemnos, then ruled by the queen → Hypsipyle (I), who bears I. two sons (Euneos, mentioned already by Hom. *Il.* 7, 468–471; 21, 41; 23, 747, and Nebrophonos or Thoas [→ Euneos et Thoas]); with the Doliones whom they mistakenly fight at night; at Mysia where Her-

akles' lover → Hylas is seized by nymphs causing Herakles to be left behind; at the land of the Bebrykes where Polydeukes (→ Dioskouroi) boxes with king → Amykos; with the blind seer → Phineus from whose Bithynian home the Boreads (→ Boreadae) chase the Harpies; with the *Symplegades* or «Crashing Rocks» first mentioned (as *Planktai*, «Wandering Rocks») by Hom. *Od.* 12, 61–72. Upon arrival in Kolchis, king → Aietes promises I. the fleece if he can yoke two brazen-footed fire-breathing bulls, plow a furrow, and reap the harvest from the sown dragon's teeth. With the aid of magic ointment provided by the king's daughter Medea, whom Aphrodite has caused to fall passionately in love with the hero, I. succeeds in these tasks, but is nonetheless thwarted by the king from obtaining his prize. So, under cover of night, I. and Medea go stealthily to the sacred grove, and after Medea drugs the snake, I. seizes the fleece. They flee Kolchis in the Argo, pursued by Aietes. In order to delay her father, Medea murders her brother → Apsyrtos and drops pieces of his body in the sea, which Aietes stops to collect (recounted in Soph.' lost play *Colchian Women*, *TvGFIV F* 343). Zeus, in the form of the talking timber, decrees that they must travel to Ausonia to be purified of the murder by → Kirke, Medea's aunt. From there they have various adventures similar to those recounted in the *Odyssey* (Sirens, Charybdis and Skylla, cattle of Helios). On the island of the Phaiacians, the marriage of I. and Medea is consummated. In Africa, they are forced to carry the ship across the Libyan desert, and on Crete, they encounter the bronze giant → Talos (I), whom Medea kills with her magic. After the Argo's return to Iolkos, I. participates in the Calydonian boar hunt (Ov. *met.* 8, 302; Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 8, 2) (→ Meleagros).

Various accounts are given of how Medea practised her arts of rejuvenation in Iolkos. According to Simonides (Page *PMG frg.* 548) I. was «made young» by his wife through boiling. She rejuvenates Aison at the request of I. in the cyclic epic *Nostoi* (Davies *EGF frg.* 6) and in Ov. *met.* 7, 164–293. Many sources describe her transformation of a ram into a lamb in order to dupe the daughters of Pelias (→ Peliades) into murdering their father. As a result of this episode I. and Medea leave Thessaly and settle in Corinth.

After ten years of married life in Corinth, I. grows weary of Medea and transfers his affections to Kreusa (or Glauke), daughter of King Kreon. In Eur. *Medea*, I. claims he is marrying Kreusa in order to improve his economic position. The tragedy relates how Medea, in her jealous rage, destroys both Kreusa and her father by means of a poisoned robe. Medea then kills her and I.'s two sons, Mermeros and Pheres (Paus. 2, 3, 6; Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 9, 28), and flees to Athens in a snake-drawn chariot.

I.'s end is described in two ways. In the *Medea* of Euripides (1386) Medea foretells that a plank of wood from the rotting Argo will fall and kill him. Diod. 4, 55, 1 states that in despair over the deaths of his new bride and sons, I. commits suicide.

In the literary sources the image of I. undergoes a transformation. Homer and Hesiod apply the com-



mon epithet «shepherd of the people» to him, but are otherwise not descriptive. Pindar's I. is a hero of strength and valor, whose physical appearance is compared to that of Apollo and Ares. In Euripides' *Medea* I. is portrayed as an impious oath-breaker and a self-promoting hustler (cf. Burnett, A., *Classical Philology* 68, 1973, 1-24). Apoll. Rhod. presents I. as an anti-hero, one who is frequently described as «amechanos» or helpless. The key ingredients to his success are charm, the power of love, intelligence and treachery (see Lawall, G., «Apollonius' *Argonautica*: Jason as Anti-Hero», *YaleClSt* 19, 1966, 121-169; and Beye, C. R., «Jason as Love-hero in Apollonios' *Argonautika*», *GRBS* 10, 1969, 31-55).

The Roman writers such as Ovid (*met.* 7, 1-403), Seneca (*Medea*), Hyginus (*fab.* 12-24), and Valerius Flaccus (*Argonautica*), draw on earlier Greek sources.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Braswell, B. K., *A Comm. on the 4th Pythian Ode of Pindar* (1988) 6-23; Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* 168-171; *idem*, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 490-495; Croisille, J. M., *Poésie et art figuré de Néron aux Flaviens* (1982) 28-77 pls. 1-23; v. Freytag gen. Löringhoff, B./de Simone, C., «*Argonautika*», in *Praestant Interna, Festschr. U. Hausmann* (1982) 271-279; Heydemann, H., *Jason in Kolchis*, 11. *HallWPr* (1886); Jessen, O., *RE IX* 1 (1914) 759-771 s. v. «Jason»; King, C., «Who is that Cloaked Man? Observations on Early Fifth Cent. B. C. Pictures of the Golden Fleece», *AJA* 87, 1983, 385-387; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 153-154; Künzl, E., *BonnJbb* 169, 1969, 321-392; Meuli, K., *Odyssee und Argonautika* (1921) (= *Gesammelte Schr.* II [1975] 593 ff.); Meyer, H., *Medeia und die Peliaden* (1980); Moustaka, A., *Kulte und Mythen auf Thessalischen Münzen* (1983) 69-70, 74-76; Page, D. L., ed., *Euripides Medea* (1938) lvii-lxv; Radermacher, L., *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen*<sup>2</sup> (1938) 157-237; Richter, G. M. A., *BullMMA* 30, 1935, 86-88; Richter, G. M. A., *AJA* 39, 1935, 182-184; Robert, C., *SarkRel* II; Schmidt, M., *Der Basler Medeasarkophag* (1968); Seeliger, K., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 63-88 s. v. «Jason»; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 36-37; Simon, E., «Die Typen der Medeadarstellung in der antiken Kunst», *Gymnasium* 61, 1954, 203-227; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 52-53; Vojatzi, M., *Frühe Argonautenbilder* (1982).

## CATALOGUE

### A. Head of Jason/sandal of Jason

#### Thessalian coins

1.\* AR triobol, Larissa, around 470 B. C. - Moustaka no. 172 pl. 4; Kraay, *ArCI* Coins no. 374; Hermann, F., *ZfN* 35, 1925, pl. I 6; Babelon, *Traité* no. 643 pl. 296, 1. - Obv.: head of Jason, unbearded, wearing petasos. Rev.: sandal of Jason.

### B. Jason's arrival in Iolkos

#### GREEK

2.\* Calyx-krater fr., Apul. rf. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Mus. H 4696 + 4701. From Taranto. - Bulle, H., *Eine Skenographie*, 94. *BerlWPr* (1934) 11 ff. fig. 1 pl. 1f; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III 3, 43; Simon, E./Otto, B., *AA* 1973, 121-131; Simon, *FührerWürzb* 226-227 pl. 50; Konnakis Group [Trendall]; Meyer 129 pl. 28, 1. - About 360-50 B. C. - A half-draped youth wearing a pilos leans on a staff before an old man who is in the act of pouring from a

phiale; at l. a woman peers from an open doorway. The Ionic building in the background indicates a stage setting, and certainly another woman in a similar doorway at the far r. for purposes of symmetry. Webster followed by Meyer (129) relates this sherd to Euripides' *Stheneboia*, but Bulle and Simon have demonstrated that it should be seen as a representation of I.'s arrival in Iolkos while king Pelias is sacrificing to Poseidon.

#### ROMAN

##### Wall-painting

3.\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 111436. From Pompeii IX 5, 18 (Casa di Giasone [d]). - *HBr* pl. 75; Scheffold, K., *Pompejanische Malerei* (1952) pl. 15; Scheffold, *WP* 263; Ragghianti, L., *Pittori di Pompeii* (1963) 71-72; Maestro Chiaro. - About A. D. 10. - I. at lower r., wearing a sandal on the r. foot only and a chlamys, stands before an offering table; above at center is Pelias flanked by his two daughters; at lower l. a bull is being led in to sacrifice.

4.\* Pompeii VI 16, 7 (Casa degli Amorini Dorati [G]). - *HBr* pl. 76; Scheffold, *WP* 154; Curtius, L., *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* (1929) fig. 141. - Early 3rd style (Scheffold). - Replica of 3 above; upper portion missing.

### C. Jason and the Argo

#### ETRUSCAN

##### Gems

5. (= Argonautai 3\* with bibl.) Carnelian scarab. London, BM 669 (ex Castellani). - Zazoff, *EtrSK* 77 no. 120 pl. 26; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 52 (1). - Mid 6th cent. B. C. (Zazoff). - I. (*Easun*), with chlamys draped over l. arm and petasos over back, standing before stern of the Argo.

6. (= Argonautai 4\* with bibl.) Carnelian scarab. Männedorf (Switzerland), Bollmann Coll. (ex Tyszkiewicz; ex Lord Southesk A 11; ex Harari). - Mid 4th cent. B. C. - I., with chlamys over l. arm and holding a spear, before the stern of the Argo.

### D. Jason and the Argonauts

#### a) Healing of Phineus

##### GREEK

7.\* Column-krater fr., Corinthian. Thessaloniki, priv. coll. From Sane, Chalkidike. - Vojatzi 71-87 B 39 pls. 6-10: Near the Cavalcade P. - About 575 B. C. - *HIAEON*, nude and bearded with a sword hanging at his l. side, holds his hands before the eyes of an enthroned Phineus who greets Castor and Polydeukes. According to Vojatzi, I. is healing Phineus' blindness, an episode not recorded in the extant literature (cf. Apoll. Rhod. 2, 441-2).

#### b) Punishment of Amykos

##### GREEK

8. (= Amykos 11 with bibl., = Argonautai 9, = Boreadai 19\* with bibl.) Hydria, early Luc. rf. Paris,

Cab. Méd. 442. - Trendall, *LCS* 36, 136 pl. 12, 1-2: Amykos P.; Trendall, *FiV* pl. 5; *BollArte* 43, 1958, 196 fig. 4. - Around 420/400 B. C. - I. is identified as the bearded, nude male with two spears standing before the stern of the Argo. Cf. Howe, T. P., «Sophocles, Mikon and the Argonauts», *AJA* 61, 1957, 342.

#### PRAENESTINE

9. (= Amykos 5 with bibl., = Athena/Menerva 179\*, = Argonautai 10, = Boreadai 43 with further refs.) Bronze cista (Cista Ficoroni). Rome, Villa Giulia 24787. From Palestrina. - Dohrn, T., *Die Ficoronische Ciste in der Villa Giulia* (1972) *passim*. - Around 330 B. C. - According to Simon (*Gymnasium* 80, 1973, 404-411), I. can be identified as the bearded man with spear seen from the back who is standing to l. of the Argo.

### E. Jason and Medea

#### GREEK

10. (= Aphrodite 1409) Chest of Kypselos, Corinthian votive offering at Olympia. - Paus. 5, 18, 3; v. Massow, W., *AM* 41, 1916, 65-66; Simon, E., *EAAIV* (1961) 431 s. v. «Kypselos, arca di»; Scheffold, *Sagenbilder* 68 fig. 26. - 1st half of 6th cent. B. C. - Medea enthroned between I. and Aphrodite. The inscription reads, «Aphrodite commands: Jason marries Medea.»

11. Bell-krater, fr., Attic rf. Gela, Arch. Mus. From Gela. - *RVAp* I 37: later work of the Dinos P.; King 386 n. 17. - About 420-410 B. C. - Stern of Argo at l. with three Argonauts, beardless and wearing garlands; Athena in center; Aietes, white-haired and bearded, enthroned at r. with Medea standing behind. I. is probably the youth near the ship's ladder who carries two spears and is wearing a petasos, chlamys and sword.

12. (= Boreadai 24 with bibl.) Volute-krater, Apul. rf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 3258. From Ceglie. - *RVAp* II 533: near the Underworld P.; Gerhard, *ApVb* pls. 8-10. - About 360 B. C. - Side B, neck: I., with chlamys, sword and spear, standing before a seated Medea, flanked by the Boreads and another Argonaut.

13. Hydria, rf. Once Naples, art market. - Heydemann fig. 2; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 492, D 3. - 4th cent. B. C. - I. wearing a chlamys and petasos and holding a spear (with a shield resting on the ground behind), facing a seated Medea who opens a large box; another Argonaut is to the r.

### F. Jason and Dionysos

#### ETRUSCAN

14. (= Aminth 1\* with bibl., = Ariadne/Ariatha [LIMCIII] 37, = Dionysos/Fufluns 84, = Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 91, = Eros [in Etruria] 1) Bronze hand-mirror. Florence, Mus. Arch. 615. From Bolsena. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 110-111 pl. 88, 2; de Si-

mone, *Entlehnungen* I 53 (4). - 2nd cent. B. C. - I. (*Eiasun*), seated on the ground and wearing a chlamys, embraces the l. knee of *Fufluns* in the presence of *Castur* and *Ariadne* (*Aratha*). Behind I. is a statue of *Eros* (*Aminth*) holding a phiale and oinochoe. A unique representation of a legend recorded in *Dracontius* (10, 180-339) in which I. prays to Amor to cause Medea to fall in love with him, after which *Dionysos* persuades Aietes to unite the lovers.

### G. Jason and the bulls

#### GREEK

15. Coins. AR drachma, Larissa (Thessaly). - Moustaka no. 190 pl. 4; *MuM* List 164 Jan. 1957 no. 11; Babelon, *Traité* no. 659 pl. 296, 16. - About 440 B. C. - Obv. Youth wearing petasos and mantle grappling a bull by the horns. The bull-wrestler on Thessalian coins is usually taken to be Thessalos, the eponymous ancestor of Thessaly, but Moustaka (74-76) argues in favor of I.

16. Bell-krater, Apul. rf. Naples, Nat. Mus. 81415 (H 2413). - *RVAp* I 101, 262: Context of the Eumenides Group; Heydemann pl. no. 1; Cambitoglou/Trendall, *APS* 23 pl. 6 figs. 25-26. - About 370 B. C. - I., kneeling at lower l. with chlamys fluttering behind, grapples the horns of a bull in the presence of Medea and Nike, both of whom hold magic herbs.

17.\* (= Eros 909a) Volute-krater, Apul. rf. Naples, Nat. Mus. 82261 (H 3252). From Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 977, 200 pl. 382, 5-6: connected with the White Saccos Group; *AZ* 1883, pl. 11; Séchan, *Etudes* 146-147 fig. 46; Radermacher 204 fig. 11; Borda fig. 37. - About 330-320 B. C. - Lower register: I., nude and kneeling with club in r. hand, grasps bull in presence of Medea and Eros who appear above behind balcony; tree with snake (but no fleece) at r.

#### ROMAN

18.\* Marble cinerary urn fr., Roman. Brunswick, Bowdoin College 1927.20. - *AJA* 64, 1960, 76-78 pls. 17-18; Herbert, K., *Ancient Art in Bowdoin College* (1964) 41 no. 99; Sinn, F., *Stadtröm. Marmorurnen* (1987) no. 556 pl. 84a-b. - 2nd cent. A. D. - R. side: Frontal, nude I. grasping two bulls by the horns; lowered head of bull to l. is held by his r. hand; other bull is rearing to r. but is restrained by I.'s l. hand on its r. horn. Medea in her snake-drawn chariot is on the other side of the urn.

19. (= Hypnos/Somnus 139 with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. SK 843b. From Rome. - *SarkRel* II pl. 64, 200, and III 3 p. 562; Schmidt *passim* pls. 26-28. - 2nd cent. A. D. - Medea sarcophagus with Jason and the bulls on l. end.

20. Marble sarcophagus fr. Once Rome. - *SarkRel* II 203 no. 191 (modern if identical with ill. 191). - 2nd cent. A. D. - I. grasping two bulls by the horns. Probably part of a series of episodes; cf. below 49-52.

21.\* (= Aietes 3) Fr. Once Turin. From Rome. - *SarkRel* II 201-203 no. 190 pl. 61. - 2nd cent. A. D. -

Extant fragment shows I. holding two bulls by the horns. Coburgensis drawing shows fleece and wedding episodes.

## H. Jason and the Dragon

### ETRUSCAN

22. Carnelian scarab. Paris, Cab. Méd. 268 (ex Duc de Luynes). - Richter, *EngrGemsGE* no. 847; Zazoff, *EtrSk* no. 761. - 4th cent. B.C. - A nude I. (?) is shown before a coiled, segmented serpent, which he grasps with one hand, and with the other is plunging a sword into its neck.

23. Bronze hand-mirror. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Sutri (?). - Colonna, G., *StEtr* 36, 1968, 253-254 pl. 66a; de Simone, *Entlehnungen I* 52 (1a); v. Freytag 274 pl. 60, 1. - 2nd half of 4th cent. B.C. - I. (*Hiasunu*), at l. in short belted chiton and chlamys, plunges a short sword into the mouth of a snake coiled at the r.; with his l. hand he grabs the fleece which is just below the snake.

24. Green glass ringstone. Paris, Cab. Méd. de Luynes 183. - Babelon, E., *Cabinet des antiques* (1888) pl. 48, no. 12; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* no. 848. - Late Etruscan. - Helmeted I. (?) with chlamys, shield and spear, stands in front of a tree holding the fleece, around which a serpent is coiled; at foot of tree is an altar with a ram's head.

### ROMAN

#### Gems

25. Carnelian intaglio. Braunschweig, Mus. - AGD III 17 no. 24 pl. 4, cf. 12 no. 8 pl. 2; Zazoff, *AG* 294 n. 162 pl. 84, 9. - Republican. - Man with chlamys and spear reaches towards a ram's fleece hanging in a tree.

26. Glass paste. Munich, Münzslg. 1404 (A 482). - AGDI 2 no. 1404 pl. 139. - Republican. - I. wearing helmet at tree with fleece.

27. Glass paste. Rome, Villa Giulia. - Zazoff, *AG* 264 n. 21 pl. 69, 3. - Republican. - I. next to tree with fleece; ram's head on altar below.

28.\* Carnelian intaglio. Paris, Cab. Méd. - Babelon, E., *Cat. de la Coll. Pauvert de la Chapelle* (1899) no. 97; Richter, *EngrGemsRom* no. 318. - Roman Imperial. - I. with helmet, chlamys, shield and spear, stands before a tree bearing a fleece; below an altar with a ram's head.

#### Glass

29. (= Argonautai 14\*) Relief flask, Sidonian. Houston, Mus. of Fine Arts 70.80. - 1st to 2nd cent. A.D. - A, I. leans over to r. to grasp the fleece; leafy branch above, uneven ground below. B, Argo.

## I. Jason disgorged by the Dragon

### GREEK

#### Vases

30.\* Alabastron, Corinthian. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. 860. - Greifenhagen, A., *AA* 1936, 349-352 no.

6 figs. 6-7; Jacobsthal, P., *Early Celtic Art* (1944) I 33 no. 5; II pl. 224a; Vojatzi 89. 118 no. 59 pl. 11, 1. - Last quarter of the 7th cent. B.C. - Upper body of a long-haired bearded man emerging from the mouth of a long, coiled, upright serpent.

31. Aryballos, fr. Corinthian. Samos, Mus. K 3431, 3490 +. From Heraion, Samos. - Kopcke, G., *AM* 83, 1968, 282 no. 93 fig. 31 pl. 111, 2; Vojatzi, 89, 118 no. 60. - Late 7th cent. B.C. - Man emerging from the mouth of a serpent.

32.\* (= Athena 202/549 with bibl.) Kylix, Attic rf. Vatican, Mus. Greg. 16545. From Cerveteri. - *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 437, 116; Douris; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 239; Radermacher 204 fig. 10; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pl. 163; Meyer 81 no. III Va 1 pl. 18, 1; Boardman, *ARFV* fig. 288; v. Freytag 274 pl. 60, 4. - About 480-470 B.C. - I. (*IASON*), long-haired and bearded disgorged by a large serpent in the presence of Athena; behind in an apple tree hangs the ram's fleece. Simon (119) believes that I., inspired by Athena, has cut off the dragon's tongue so that he cannot be swallowed by it. Meyer (81) suggests that I. was actually killed by the dragon, and later conjured out of its mouth by Athena.

### ETRUSCAN

33.\* Sardonyx scarab. Boston, MFA 21.1203 (ex Lewes House 46). - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 61, 24; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* no. 846; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 169 no. 760; Vojatzi 8. 7. 118 no. 62. - Severe style, about 470-450 B.C. - Helmeted I., with sword in raised r. hand, shield over l. arm, is shown from the abdomen up emerging from the mouth of a coiled serpent.

34.\* Bronze simpulum handle. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 190. From Bologna. - Ducati, P., *RendPontAcc* 29, 1920, 57 ff. fig. 3; Meyer 83 III R 3; 89 pl. 19, 1; v. Freytag 276-277 pl. 60, 2. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - Nude I. holding fleece with l. leg in mouth of snake.

35.\* Bronze hand-mirror. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 2728 (Fr. 148). - Gerhard, *EtrSp* III pl. 238; Mansuelli, G., *StEtr* 19, 1946/47, 19. 51. 101; Maestros di Achille e Pentesilea; de Simone, *Entlehnungen I* 53 (2); Pfister-Roesgen, G., *Die etruskischen Spiegel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* (1975) 50-51. 140-141 no. S 30 pl. 33; Meyer 83 III 54; 88 pl. 19, 2; Vojatzi 87. 118 no. 63; v. Freytag 276-277 pl. 60, 3. - Early 4th cent. B.C. (Mansuelli); mid-5th cent. B.C. (Meyer). Exergue: I. (*Hiasun*) holding fleece in l. hand and sword in r. turns back to face the snake who holds I.'s l. leg in its mouth.

## J. Jason seizing the fleece with Athena

### GREEK

36.\* (= Argonautai 12, = Athena 550) Column-krater, Attic rf. New York, MMA 1934.11.7. Said to be from Gela. - *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 524, 28; Orchard P.; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 254; Richter 1; Richter 2, figs. 1-2; Dugas, C., *REG* 49, 1936, 225 pl. 3, 2; Radermacher 169 fig. 9; Richter/Hall 118-119 no. 88 pl. 90. pl. 170; Hammond, N. G. L./Moon, W. G., *AJA* 82, 1978, 377-378 fig. 7; Al-

lertown Art Museum, *Aspects of Ancient Greece* (1979) 88-89 no. 41; Meyer 82 no. III Va 2 pl. 18, 2; King pl. 55, 1; v. Freytag 274 pl. 60, 5. - About 470-460 B.C. - On A, I., nude and bearded, reaches up to l. to pull fleece from a rock around which a snake is entwined; Athena, with aegis, helmet and spear, stands at center, looking and gesturing to l.; draped man stands a r. near stern of ship which is carved in the shape of a female head. The man has been variously identified as an Argonaut (Richter), Aietes, or Zeus (King). An apparent parody of this vase is the Attic rf. column-krater in Bologna (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 524, 27; Orchard P.) where a satyr grabs the fleece in the presence of Dionysos. Richter (1. 2) believes that the scenes on these vases were inspired by dramas of Aeschylus - «the New York vase by one on Jason at Colchis, the Bologna one by a satyric «take-off». Hammond/Moon see the rock on these two vase-paintings as «the rock on the east side of the orchestra (on the spectator's left)». Radermacher, followed by Meyer, believes that the New York vase is also a parody.

## K. Jason attacking the Dragon/seizing the fleece with Medea

### GREEK

#### South Italian vases

37.\* (= Argonautai 20 with bibl., = Boreadai 20 with further refs.) Volute-krater, Apul. rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 3268. From Ruvo. - *RVAp* I 16, 51: name-vase of the Sisyphos P.; Radermacher 224 fig. 13; Arias/Shefton/Hirmer pls. 236-237; Trendall, *FIV* 48 no. 47 pl. 19. - About 415 B.C. - A, below: I. wearing chlamys, petasos and boots, attacks with a drawn sword a snake coiled above the fleece on top of a rock (?); Medea behind him with box in raised l. hand. At the far l. another Argonaut and two Boreads.

38.\* Bell-krater, Apul. rf. Turin, priv. coll. - *RVAp* I 133, 294 pl. 43, 3: name-vase of the Jason P. - About 360 B.C. - I. at l. with chlamys and boots, attacks serpent with sword raised in his r. hand while with his l. hand he grabs the fleece hanging in a tree in center; Medea at r. holds box in her l. hand and extends her r. toward the snake. Behind her on the ground is a large basket.

39. (= Argonautai 21\* with bibl., = Boreadai 23 with further refs., = Herakles 2796) Volute-krater, Apul. rf. Leningrad, Hermitage 1718 (St. 422) from Ruvo. - *RVAp* I 424, 55: close associate of the Lycurgus P.; *MonInst* V pl. 12. - About 350 B.C. - B, center is dominated by a tall tree holding the fleece and a snake. I. (*HIAΣON*) wearing a chlamys, attacks it from the l. with two spears. Herakles at the r. wields a club. Other Argonauts around and Medea at upper r. with a chest and magic herbs in her r. hand.

40. (= Boreadai 21 with bibl.) Hydria fr., Luc. rf. Paris, Louvre S 4042. - *LCS* 112, 579; Brooklyn-Budapest P.; Bell, M., *Gesta* 18, 1979, 48 fig. 7. - About 380-360 B.C. - Snake-entwined tree in center (no fleece); I. approaches from r. with drawn sword, cloak draped around raised l. arm, pilos on head; Me-

dea sits on rock at l. holding a phiale, with a Boread behind.

41.\* (= Boreadai 22) Squat lekythos. Paestan rf. Bochum, Univ. S 1080. - *RVP* 109, 143; 110-111 pl. 62b; Asteas; Schauenburg, K., *AA* 1981, 487 n. 118. - 4th cent. B.C. - Snake-entwined tree in center with fleece at top; I. (*IASON*) at r. dressed in chiton, chlamys, sandals and pilos, holding spear in r. hand, looks passively on while Medea at l. holds r. hand out to mouth of snake.

42.\* Volute krater, Paestan rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 82126 (H 3248). From Paestum. - *RVP* 344-345, 630 pl. 224c: early Apulianizing. - About 320-310 B.C. - A, snake-entwined tree in center with fleece hanging from a branch. Bearded I. at r., in tunic, chlamys and boots, jabs at the snake with a short sword; Medea at l. holds phiale to serpent's mouth. The beard is unusual in this episode, and may have been influenced by Apulian depictions of the apotheosis of Medea in which I. is usually bearded (cf. 70-74).

### ROMAN

43.\* Wall-painting. Trier. - v. Massow, W., *FuF* 20, 1944, 147 fig. 3; Schindler, R., *Führer Trier* (1980) 76-77 figs. 231-232. - About A.D. 100 (v. Massow). - Snake-entwined tree in center; I., with chlamys over l. arm and sword in l. hand, grasps fleece from tree; Medea seated at l. holds a golden cup to the mouth of the snake.

44. Marble sarcophagus fr. Rome, Mus. Naz. 8647 (coll. Ludovisi). - *SarkRel* II no. 192 pl. 61; *MusNaz-Rom* I 5 no. 80. - A.D. 130-160. - Helmeted, nude I., seen in back view, with shield over l. arms, grasps fleece with r. hand while Medea at r. feeds an apple to the snake.

45. (= Argonautai 13\*) Limestone relief, Syrian or Egyptian (Coptic). Kansas City, Nelson Gall. 41.36. - Weitzmann, *Spirituality* no. 214; Bell, o.c. 40, 45-52 figs. 1-2. - 4th to 5th cent. A.D. - I. with chlamys and scabbard in back view reaches toward the fleece set atop an oak tree in the center; Medea enthroned at l. holds a branch of juniper and a conical cup to mouth of serpent; Argo at upper r.

46. Stucco wall relief. Rome, Basilica sotterranea di Porta Maggiore. - Strong, E./Jolliffe, N., *JHS* 44, 1924, 77-78 fig. 5; Bendinelli, G., *MonAnt* 31, 1927, 733 fig. 23; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 118 K 16; Aurigemma, S., *La basilica sotterranea neopitagorica di Porta Maggiore in Roma* (1961) figs. 16. 36. - 1st cent. A.D. - Tree with fleece and snake in center; diminutive I. kneeling on table at r. holds scabbard in l. hand, sword in r., chlamys draped over shoulder; Medea standing at l. feeds snake from a phiale.

47.\* Campana reliefs. a) London, BM D 604; b)\* Paris, Louvre 4193. - v. Rohden/Winnefeld, 115-116 figs. 217. 220; Bell, o.c. 40, fig. 5. - 1st cent. A.D. - I. with chlamys over l. arm approaches tree from r. and grasps fleece; Medea seated on stool at l. feeds snake.

48.\* Terracotta appliques. Gallo-roman. a)\* Lyon, Mus. Arch.; b) Vienne, coll. Bizot. From Ste. Colombe, and Vienne. - Déchelette, J., *Les vases céra-*



miques de la Gaule romaine (1904) 281-282 nos. 81-82; Wuilleumier/Audin, *Médaillons* no. 28 pl. III; Bémont, C., in *MythGrRPér* fig. 1, 4. - Mid 1st cent. A.D. - Snake-entwined tree in center; I. (IASON) with chlamys and spear at r., seated Medea feeding snake at l.

#### L. Jason at Kolchis: multiple episodes

##### ROMAN

###### Sarcophagi

49.\* (= Aietes 4\*, = Homonoia/Concordia 88 with bibl.) Rome, Mus. of the Praetextatus Catacomb. From Rome, Praetextatus Catacomb. - Gütschow, M., *MemPontAcc* 3. Ser. 4, 2, 1938, 16-28 pls. 1-3; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 36-37 no. 31 pls. 70, 71, 74, 2; Schmidt 12 ff. 16 pl. 29; Bell, *o.c.* 40, 48 fig. 6. - About A.D. 150. - I. grappling bull before Aietes; I. capturing the golden fleece with Medea; wedding of I. and Medea.

50. (= Aietes 5) Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. I 172. From Naples. - *SarkRel* II 199 no. 188 pl. 61. - 2nd half of 2nd cent. A.D. - I. taming two bulls in the presence of an enthroned Medea.

51. (= Aietes 2\*) Paris, Louvre MA 410. From Rome. - *SarkRel* II 200-201 no. 189 pl. 61. - Antonine. - I. taming the bulls before Aietes seated on a rock; wedding of I. and Medea.

52.\* (= 68 [box], = Aietes 6\*) Basel, Antikenmus. BS 203. - Schmidt 7-15 pls. 2-9; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 159 fig. 181; Froning, H., *JdI* 95, 1980, 330-331. - Late 2nd cent. A.D. - Lid: I. taming the bulls before Aietes, and I. capturing the fleece before Medea.

53. Fr. Rome, Palatine. - *SarkRel* II no. 187 pl. 61. - 2nd cent. A.D. - At far r. I. in back view capturing fleece. At l. Phrixos riding the ram.

54.\* Sarcophagus lid. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 113195. From Marino. - Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 137; Blome, P., *RM* 90, 1983, 201-209 pls. 73-76; *MusNazRom* I 8, 2 (1985) 346-349 no. VII, 11. - Around A.D. 180/170. - From l. to r.: Meeting of I. and Medea; I. and Medea in palace at Kolchis; dismemberment of Apsyrtos by Medea; flight of Medea and I. toward the Argo; marriage of I. and Medea. Blome interprets this relief as a representation of Medea's murder of her brother in the royal palace at Kolchis.

#### M. Jason on Crete/death of Talos

##### GREEK

55. (= Dioskouroi 221 with bibl.) Column-kra-ter, Attic rf. Benevento, Mus. del Sannio (?). From Salerno. - 440-430 B.C. - A young man (I.?) crouches to pull the plug from the foot of the giant Talos.

56.\* (= Argonautai 15 with bibl., = Boreadai 25, = Dioskouroi 220 with bibl., = Europe I 220, = Hera 452) Volute-kra-ter, Attic rf. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1501. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1338, 1: Talos P.; *Para* 481; *Add*<sup>2</sup>

366-367; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* no. 14 fig. 1 pls. 31, 33. - About 400 B.C. - Side B, I. wearing embroidered chiton, chlamys and petasos over back, with two spears in r. hand, faces Hera (?).

#### N. Jason with fleece before Pelias

57. (= Aietes 13\* with bibl., = Hermes 898\* with bibl.) Calyx-kra-ter, Apul. rf. Paris, Louvre K 127. - *RVAp* II 539, 332 pl. 203, 3: Near the Underworld P. Meyer pl. 27 fig. 15. - About 350-340 B.C. - I. with chlamys, petasos and two spears, and being crowned by Nike stands before an enthroned king (Pelias or Aietes), holding the golden fleece in his l. hand, a spear in his r.; Medea stands behind to l.

#### O. Jason rejuvenated by Medea

##### GREEK

###### Attic Vases

58. Lekythos, wg. bf. Syracuse, Mus. Naz. 20936. From Gela. - Haspels, *ABL* 227, 38; Sappho P.; Orsi, P., *MonAnt* 17, 1906, 120 ff. fig. 88; Renard, M., *Latomus* 13, 1954, 385-386 pl. 1; Meyer 66 no. II Va 1 pl. 1. - Around 500 B.C. - The upper body of a youth in a cauldron above a fire, flanked by two draped women.

59.\* Lekythos, wg. bf. Leiden, Rijksmus. PC 32 (ex Canino 1345). From Vulci. - Haspels, *ABL* 241, 5; Haimon P.; *CVA* 2 pl. 105 (199); Gerhard, *AVI* 196 pl. 69/70, 5-6; Renard, *o.c.* 58, pl. 2, 2; Meyer 66-67 no. II Va 2 pl. 16, 2. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - Youth in cauldron above fire, flanked by two draped women seated on diphroi. At each far side a bearded man.

60. Lekythos, wg. bf. Chiusi, Bonci Casuccini Coll. From Chiusi. - Haspels, *ABL* 241, 6; Haimon P.; Renard, *o.c.* 58, pl. 2, 3; Meyer 67 no. II Va 3 pl. 17, 1. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - Same as above.

61. Lekythos, wg. bf. Ostwestfalen, D. J. Coll. - Stähler, K., *Eine Sammlung griechischer Vasen* (1983) 40-42 no. 22 pl. 29b, 31a-c: Class of Athena 581; Stähler, K., *Griechische Vasen aus Westfälischen Sammlungen* (1984) 195-198 no. 76. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - The head of a youth emerges from the cauldron over a fire flanked by two draped women seated on diphroi.

62.\* Hydria, Attic rf. London, BM E 163. From Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 258, 26; Copenhagen P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 204; *CVA* 2 pl. 70 (320), 4; Smith, *BMVases* III 148-149 B 163; Cook, *Zeus* II pl. 14; Boardman, *ARFVI* fig. 200; no. 53. - Around 470 B.C. - I. (IASON), a white-haired older man, wearing a chiton and mantle and leaning on a staff, at r. gestures towards a cauldron over a fire in the center. A ram, emerging from the vessel, looks at Medea standing at the l. She holds a skyphos in her l. hand, and gestures toward the ram with her r. Smith (149) states 'this scene would naturally be taken as the renewal of Aeson were it not for the inscriptions.'

##### ETRUSCAN

###### Mirrors

63.\* London, BM. From Talamone. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 116-120 pl. 93; Beazley, J. D., *JHS* 69, 1949, 8-9 pl. 8a; Dohrn, T., *RM* 73/74, 1966/67, 21 fig. 1; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 53 (3); Meyer 106 pl. 16, 1. - About 370-360 B.C. - I. (Heasun) is a half-draped figure slumped on a stool at l., behind whom Medea (Metvia) stands holding a phiale to his lips. Athena (Menrva) standing in the center holds I.'s head with her r. hand, and oinochoe in her l. At the far r., a young girl (Rescial) plays with a bird. Medea appears to be giving a sick (or old?) I. a magic potion, possibly to make him young again.

64.\* Paris, Cab. Méd. 1329. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV 101 pl. 352, 1; Cook, *Zeus* II 1, 210-211 fig. 149; Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* 53 ff. no. 1329; Rebuffat-Emmanuel, D., *Le miroir étrusque d'après la coll. du Cab. des Médailles* (1973) 238-242 no. 1329; 553-554 pl. 47 (→ Tantalos and resurrection of → Pelops); Meyer 67-68 pl. 17, 2. - Later 4th cent. B.C. - At r. a nude young man rises from a tripod-cauldron; at l. a bearded man with a staff sits on a klismos facing r; behind are a half-draped youth and two draped women. Meyer (69) identifies the old man as Pelias with his son Akastos.

#### P. Funeral games for Pelias

65. Chest of Kypselos (*cf.* 10). - Paus. 5, 17, 9-11; v. Massow, *o.c.* 10, 33-44. - Paus. states that the wrestling match between I. and Peleus is an even one.

#### Q. Jason in Corinth

##### ROMAN

###### Sarcophagi

66.\* (= Hypnos/Somnus 142a with bibl.) Marble sarcophagus, Roman. Mantua, Pal. Ducale. - Levi, A., *Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova* (1931) 90-91 pls. 102, 1; 103; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 41 no. 37 pls. 90, 91, 94, 1; Schmidt no. 33 pl. 32, 3; Künzl 381 fig. 34. - About A.D. 150. - I., half-draped and leaning on a pillar, watches his sons present gifts to Kreusa; I., in chlamys, watches the death of Kreusa at r.

67. (= Hypnos/Somnus 142b with bibl.) Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 75248. From Rome. - *SarkRel* III 3, 561 fig. 199; Schmidt 21, 45 n. 4 pl. 32, 2; Künzl 383 fig. 35; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* no. 38 pls. 92-93, 94.2; *MusNazRom* I 8, 1 (1985) 279-283 no. VI, 8. - A.D. 150-160. - Similar to 66, although in second scene, I. stands in profile.

68. (= 52 [lid]) Basel, Antikenmus. BS 203. - Künzl 385 fig. 36. - Left front: I., wearing mantle over l. shoulder, watches his sons present gifts to Kreusa. This relief is unusual in not depicting I. in the next scene, the death of Kreusa.

##### Metal Vase

69. Silver kalathos. Bonn, Rhein. Mus. From Xanten. - Künzl figs. 1-6, 12-18; Froning, H., *JdI* 95, 1980, 330-331 fig. 6. - Augustan. - I. half-draped and leaning on a pillar, watches as his two young sons bring gifts to seated Kreusa.

#### R. Jason at the apotheosis of Medea

##### GREEK

###### South Italian vases

70.\* (= Aphrodite 1412\* with bibl.) Hydria, early Luc. rf. Policoro, Mus. Naz. 35296. From Policoro (1963 tomb). - *LCS* 58, 286 pls. 26, 3; 27, 3; Policoro P.; *LCS Suppl.* 3, 19; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III, 3, 34. - About 400 B.C. - I. striding forward at lower r. with short sword in r. upraised hand threatening Medea (inscr.) above in her snake-drawn chariot. According to Webster, this vase 'gives the earliest representation of the conclusion of the play (Medea), and, since Medea is wearing stage costume, there can be little doubt of direct dramatic influence.'

71. Calyx-kra-ter, Luc. rf. Once Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Mus., Hunt coll. - v. Bothmer, D., in *Wealth of the Ancient World* (1983) 76-79 no. 14 ill.: near the Policoro P. - About 400 B.C. - I., half-draped, standing at lower l. and looking up at Medea in her snake-drawn chariot.

72.\* Vase fr., Apul. rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 30916. - *RVAp* I 419, 28 pl. 152, 5: related to the Lycurgus P.; Page lxiv-lxv. - 2nd quarter of 4th cent. B.C. - Fr. preserves the curly-haired, bearded head of I. with his sword raised Harmodios-fashion as he attacks a snake of Medea's chariot.

73.\* Amphora, Apul. rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81954 (H 3221). From Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 497, 43 pl. 178, 1: Darius P.; Page lxiii-lxiv; Schmidt, M., *Der Dareiosmaler und sein Umkreis* (1960) 20-21 pls. 16-17. - About 340 B.C. - Medea in center aboard chariot under attack by beardless man (I.?) at l. on horseback.

74. (= Aietes 1 with bibl., = Hippotes 1 with bibl.) Volute-Kra-ter, Apul. rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 3296 (J.810). From Canosa. - *RVAp* II 533, 283 pl. 195, 1: Underworld P.; *FR* II 161-166 pl. 90; Page lx-lxiii; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III 5, 4. - About 330-320 B.C. - A, body: above, death of Kreusa; below in center, snake-drawn chariot driven by → Oistros; Medea killing a son at l.; I. (IASON) rushes in from r. holding a spear in his r. hand, a scabbard in his l.; chlamys draped over l. arm. Depiction also includes Athena, Herakles, the Dioskuri and the ghost of Aietes.

#### S. Calydonian boar hunt

##### Attic Vases

75. (= Atalante 5 [another fr.]) Dinos fr., bf. Bolligen (Switzerland), Blatter coll. - *Para* 42: Tyrrhenian Group, Kyllenios P.; Blatter, R., *AntK* 5, 1962, 45-47 pl. 16, 1; Schefold, *Sagenbilder* pl. 61b. - About 570 B.C. - I. (?) with one sandal attacking boar from l.



76. Kylix, bf., signed by Archikles and Glaukytes. Munich, Antikenslg. 2243. From Vulci. - *ABV* 163, 2; FR pl. 153, 1; Arias/Hirmer pl. 50; Boardman, *ARFV* fig. 116, 1. - About 550 B.C. - I. (*IAEON*), nude and bearded, is second from the far l., attacking the boar with two spears in the company of eight other hunters and six dogs.

### T. Uncertain representations of Jason

#### GREEK

77. Deianeira lekythos, Attic bf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. 3764. - *ABV* 11, 19; Manner of the Gorgon P.; *Add* 3; Marinatos, S., *ArchDelt* 10, 1926, 59; Payne, *NC* 191, no. 2 pl. 53, 7; Jacobsthal, *o.c.* 30, 133 no. 6; II pl. 224b. - Around 600 B.C. - Shoulder, large serpent with a man's head in its jaws. Vojatzki (89) and others do not believe this vase depicts I. because of the thick neck of the beast.

78. Limestone metopes. Paestum, Mus. Naz. From Foce del Sele. - Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele* II 289-300 no. 26; 350-354 no. 32; Meyer 53-65 pls. 21-22. - About 550 B.C. - Because sources (Strabon 6, 6, 1 p. 252; Plin. *nat.* 3, 70) are unanimous in attributing the foundation of the Heraion to I., Meyer (*passim*) argues that two of the metopes deal with the hero. Metope 32, which shows a person in a cauldron (usually interpreted as the death of Pelias at the hands of his daughters), according to Meyer, represents the rejuvenation of I. by Medea by analogy with the bf. lekythoi (58-61). Meyer interprets metope 26 as I. fighting the dragon.

79. (= Aphrodite 1410\*) Terracotta relief, Magna-Graecian. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 318. - Schmidt, M., in *Festschr. F. Brommer* (1977) 271 pl. 72; Meyer 64-65. - Mid 5th cent. B.C. - A pair flanked by two women. According to Schmidt, the pair are I. and Medea. Against: Meyer 85 n. 192.

80. Terracotta vase with molded reliefs. Brussels, Mus. Roy. A 2200. - *CVA* 3 pl. 2 (140), 71c; Züchner, W., *Jdl* 65/66, 1950/51, 191. n. 3. - Hellenistic. - Nude male with sword in his r. hand seizes a serpent with his l.

81. Coin, AR stater, Abdera (Thrace), 411/10-386/85 B.C. - May, J. M. F., *The Coinage of Abdera* (1966) 192, 273. - Male head wearing petasos, usually identified as Hermes. Identified as I. on the testimony of Strabon (11, 14, 12 p. 531) who attests to a cult of I. at Abdera: Robinson, *NC* 1934, 247 ff.

#### ROMAN

82. Relief, limestone. Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. III 1062. From Margarethen am Moos. Provincial Roman. - Krüger, M. L., *CSIR Austria* I 3 (Carnuntum) 58 no. 332 pl. 68. - 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. - Thought to represent I. with the plow.

### U. Incorrect inscription?

83. (= Athena/Menerva 181\* with bibl., = Kadmos I 60a with bibl.) Bronze mirror, Praenestine.

Rome, Villa Giulia 15697. - Matthies, G., *Die praenestischen Spiegel* (1912) 67-68 fig. 8; 98-100; Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 64, 1957, 212-213 no. 8; Adam, R., *Recherches sur les miroirs prénestins* (1980) 74; Wachter, R., *Altlateinische Inschriften* (1987) 118. - End 4th/beginning 3rd cent. B.C. - *Hiaco* in a chariot drawn by a panther, a stag, a griffin and a lynx, crowned by *Victoria*; *Fortuna* and *Menerva* beside it. Below, a naked man throwing a stone at a snake. The inscription may be mis-spelled for \**Hiaso* and is generally interpreted as I. The subject shown, not known for him, may have been transferred from → Admetos (I) or → Kadmos (I), by analogy with I.'s yoking brazen-footed and fire-breathing bulls (Matthies); or the name simply is erroneously inscribed. Cf. also Schauenburg.

### V. Incorrect identification of Jason

84. «Sandalbinder», Greek sculpture. Roman copies in Copenhagen (Glypt. 2798), Paris (Louvre), Munich (Glypt. Gl 287). - Johnson, F., *Lysippos* (1927) 170-177; Bieber, *SculptHell* 34; Ridgway, B. S., «The Date of the So-Called Lysippean Jason», *AJA* 68, 1964, 113-128 pls. 37-38; Vierendeel-Schlörb, *KatSkulptMünchen* II 457-472 no. 42. - Hellenistic. - Since the Munich copy shows a second sandal on the ground, it is highly unlikely that the statue is I.

### COMMENTARY

I. has no distinctive attributes in classical art. He is usually depicted either simply nude, or as a traveler with a cloak and hat. Rarely is he represented *monosandalos* (μονοσάλλος; Pind. *P.* 4, 75), that is with a sandal on his r. foot only (3. 4. 75), although the sandal on Thessalian coinage (1) is certainly a reference to the local hero. The single sandal is perhaps characteristic of an adolescent during initiation; cf. Brelich, A., «Les monosandales», *NClío* 7-9, 1955-57, 469-484. (For other monosandaloi see also Robertson, M., «Monocrepsis», *GRBS* 13, 1972, 39-48.) I. is bearded in earlier Greek art, but by the mid-fifth cent. B.C. is generally beardless, except at the apotheosis of Medea on South Italian vases.

#### Iason in Greek art

The earliest representations of I., which appear on late seventh cent. B.C. Corinthian vases (30. 31) show a bearded man being disgorged, head and arms first, by a large snake. On the evidence of the inscribed objects, the kylix by Douris (32) and an Etruscan bronze mirror (35), these are taken to be I., although no literary evidence exists for such an adventure. According to Simon (*Vasen* 119) I. has descended to cut off the snake's tongue. Another early representation from Corinth, also unknown in the extant literature, shows I. presumably healing the blind king Phineus (7). A latter but no longer extant Corinthian monument, the Kypselos chest, depicted I. twice: wrestling Peleus at

the funeral games for Pelias (65), and marrying Medea at the behest of Aphrodite (10). Despite their critical role in the literary saga, Aphrodite (70) and Hera (56) take second place to Athena in the extant artistic tradition (→ Aphrodite 1409-1417; → Athena 549-550). It is naturally Attic artists who emphasize her role as patron goddess of heroes (11. 32. 36).

In Attic art I.'s earliest appearance is in the company of the heroes fighting the Calydonian boar (→ Meleagros). If he is represented on the Tyrrhenian dinos (75), as Blatter and Schefold contend, then the single sandal is a recognized attribute in the early sixth cent. B.C. On a later Attic bf. cup (76) he is simply one of nine bearded hunters. In later bf., I.'s rejuvenation by Medea is popular on wg. lekythoi, where he is shown as a young man emerging from a cauldron (58-61). A variant of this scene occurs on an inscribed rf. hydria (62): here the white-haired I. watches Medea boiling a ram. These representations coincide in date (500-470 B.C.) with the *floruit* of Simonides who is the only source to claim that I. was made young by boiling. As funerary vases, the wg. lekythoi perhaps carry connotations of rebirth.

In Attic rf., depictions of I. are extremely rare. Besides the Douris cup (32) and London hydria (62) already mentioned, I. is shown in the Kolchian adventure only three other times and in all Athena and the Argo are present. In the only extant image of the seizing of the fleece (36) in Attic art, I. is perhaps deliberately puny, and the ram's pelt hangs on a rock rather than the canonical tree. These features as well as the parody by the same artist suggest that a lost play may have inspired the representation (cf. Hammond/Moon, *o.c.* 36, 377-378). On later fifth cent. B.C. vases in which I. is depicted as a youth, he is shown in the presence of Medea: arriving in Kolchis (11) and witnessing the death of Talos (56).

In South Italian vase-painting I. is much more prevalent. His popularity is no doubt due to interest in Medea who appears in all but one of these representations. One of the most common scenes is the winning of the fleece (37-42) in which Medea plays an active role holding her box of *pharmaka*, phiale or magic herbs. The snake-entwined tree holding the fleece generally dominates the center of the composition, flanked by the two main protagonists: I. attacking, Medea abetting. I. is usually youthful (42 is an exception) and wearing traveling attire. In the other popular episode, the apotheosis of Medea (70-74), I. is bearded and is shown threatening Medea's snake-drawn chariot. The one exception (73) shows I. beardless and on horseback. These scenes which first appear at the end of the fifth cent. B.C. were certainly inspired by Euripides' *Medea* of 431 B.C. Medea is also present at the taming of the fire-breathing bull (16. 17), which like the possible representations on Thessalian coins (15) shows the hero grappling a single animal. Twice I. may be represented before king Pelias on Apulian vases. His first arrival in Iolkos while the king is sacrificing is known for certain only from Roman wall-paintings (3. 4), but the fragments in Würzburg (2) may represent an earlier version of the scene. A

unique event, the presentation of the fleece to Pelias, is probably shown on a calyx-krater in Paris (57). Finally, I. is occasionally depicted standing before a seated Medea who displays her basket of magic (12. 13).

#### Iason in Etruscan Art

The change in the imagery of I. and the golden fleece in Etruscan art parallels that demonstrated in Greek art. In the fifth cent. B.C., he is shown being disgorged by the serpent, although the Etruscan version with one foot in the monster's mouth and one hand already grasping the fleece (33-35) is distinctive. By the fourth cent. B.C., I. is shown attacking the snake with a sword (22. 23), as on South Italian vases, although Medea and the tree are not present. In other fourth cent. B.C. depictions the hero is more passive, either standing before the Argo (5. 6), or before the tree which holds the fleece guarded by a serpent, with an altar below (24), the latter scene also found in Roman glyptic art (25-28). I. is usually depicted as a nude youth, but is occasionally given military attire (24. 33), as also later in Roman art (26-28). However, on the Ficoroni cista (9), if I. is to be identified as the Argonaut near the stern of the Argo, he is bearded. Since this composition was probably derived from a lost monumental painting, its imagery was no doubt originally Greek.

Three inscribed mirrors present thus far unique episodes in the story of I. On a recently published mid-fourth cent. B.C. mirror in Tübingen (81.175, see v. Freytag/de Simone, *passim*), Athena stands before a large serpent that is coiled over a ram's fleece. Behind sits the goddess Artemis, but oddly the main protagonist is missing. The obvious explanation is that this mirror represents the moment after I. has been swallowed by the snake but before he is resurrected by Athena. A mirror in London (63) has been interpreted as Medea rejuvenating I., not by boiling as in the Greek literary and artistic tradition (as well as on another Etruscan mirror in Paris, 64), but by offering him a drink from a phiale. Since I. looks sickly but not old, and Athena is present, perhaps he is being prepared for his encounter with the bulls by use of a magic potion rather than an ointment, or is being healed by Medea after a battle (cf. Diod. 4, 48, 5). A third mirror (14) may represent another alternate legend whereby the god Dionysos is instrumental in bringing about the marriage of Medea and I. Thus, the earlier Etruscan representations of I. are related to Greek imagery, while the later ones are either new and presage Roman depictions of the hero, or are anomalous, illustrating alternative and more obscure versions of his myth.

#### Iason in Roman Art

Although I. appears on Republican gems standing passively before the fleece-bearing tree (25-27), in Roman imperial art the most common images of him are those that lend themselves to cyclic narration: the adventures in Kolchis (i.e. taming the bulls before king Aietes, winning the fleece, and marrying Medea,

49-52), and the Corinthian saga (presentation of gifts to Kreusa, death of Kreusa, Medea's murder of her and I.'s sons, and her apotheosis in a snake-drawn chariot, 66-68). These cycles appear on Roman sarcophagi from the Hadrianic to Antonine periods, and one example (52/68) combines both series, the Kolchian on the lid, the Corinthian on the box. Excerpts from these cycles appear on a cinerary urn (18) as well as on the short ends of other sarcophagi (19). A silver beaker of Augustan date (69) is a prototype for the first episode at Corinth, the presentation of the gifts to Kreusa. (Künzl, *passim*, has suggested that this depiction of a second wedding refers to the third marriage of Augustus' daughter Julia. Against: Froning, *o.c.* 69). The winning of the fleece is also depicted in early imperial decorative arts - on Campana reliefs, terracotta appliques and in stucco (46-48). The Roman composition follows that developed in South Italian vase-painting with the tree in the center and Medea at the left drugging the snake. This essentially three-figure scene is certainly the most long-lived in classical art; it appears in later wall-painting (43) as well as in a Coptic relief of the fourth cent. A.D. (45).

Another scene that may derive from earlier Greek painting is the arrival of I. in Iolkos as king Pelias, flanked by his daughters, is about to sacrifice a bull. In these depictions, as in one of the earliest of I. (75), he is *monosandalos*, a fact that suggests that this trait was one of his most enduring attributes, but one which the artistic tradition generally chose to ignore.

JENIFER NEILS

## IASOS

(*Ἰάσος*) Heros Eponymos und mythischer Gründer der gleichnamigen Stadt in Karien. Möglicherweise identisch mit dem Sohn des Argos und der Ismene, der Tochter des Asopos, dem Vater der → Io (I).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Bürchner, L., *RE IX 1* (1914) 785-790 s.v. «Iasos 15»; Conticello, B., *EAA IV* (1961) 70 s.v. «Iasos»; Drexler, W., *ML II 1* (1890-94) 88-89 s.v. «Iasos 1b»; Laumonier, A., *Les cultes indigènes en Carie* (1958) 13. 444-599; Mansel, A. M., *KIPauly II* (1967) 1325-1326 s.v. «Iasos 5»; Roscher, W. H., *ML II 1* (1890-94) 89 s.v. «Iasos 14»; Schauenburg, K., *LAW 1359* s.v. «Iasos 1»; Weicker, G., *RE IX 1* (1914) 784 s.v. «Iasos 5».

I.\* (= Hermias 2) AE, Iasos, kaiserzeitlich. - Kenner, F., *Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian in Ober-Österreich* (1871) 136-138 Taf. 4, 16; *BMC Caria* 126, 15 Taf. 21, 7; Leschhorn, W., «Gründer der Stadt» (1984) 376 Nr. 119. - Vs.: Bärtiger Kopf mit Diadem nach r., dahinter Szepter. *ΙΑΣΟΣ ΚΤΙΕΤΗΣ* oder *ΙΑΣΟΣ*. Rs.: → Hermias mit Delphin oder stehende Isis mit Sistrum.

Es ist dies die einzige bekannte Darstellung des I., der als mythischer Stadtgründer von Iasos galt und als

solcher auch bisweilen in der Münzlegende *ΚΤΙΕΤΗΣ* bezeichnet wird, ein Begriff, der in hellenistischer Zeit «Oikistes» ablöst (s. dazu insbesondere Leschhorn a.O. 333-336). Er ist dabei wie viele andere Gründergestalten als reifer Mann mit Diadem und Szepter charakterisiert. RAINER VOLLKOMMER

## ICAUNA

(Icauna, Igauna, Igona, Egona, Ioina, flumen Ycaunense) Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses, der heutigen Yonne, eines Nebenflusses der Seine.

LITERARISCHE UND EPIGRAPHISCHE QUELLEN: Eine Weihinschrift eines Altares von Autessiodurum, dem heutigen Auxerre, bezeugt die Verehrung der I. als weiblicher Gottheit (*CIL XIII* 2921). Auch wird in der *Constantii vita S. Germani Autissiod.* 1, 2, 12 *Acta Sanctorum* 31. iul. VII p. 215 F (Ende 5. Jh.) erwähnt, daß der Fluß Icauna an Auxerre vorbeifließt. Eine Anzahl weiterer Quellen nennen diesen Fluß (*Stephani Africani vita S. Amatoris* 3, 18 *Acta Sanctorum* 1. mai. I p. 57 C; *MGH Diplomatum imperii* I [1872] 36 p. 154, 27; *Testamentum Vigili* c. a. 670, Pardessus, J. M., *Diplomata ... II* [1849] p. 152; *Ravennas* 4, 26 p. 62, 28-30 Schnetz).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Holder II (1904) 16-17 s.v. «Icauna»; Keune, J. B., *RE IX 1* (1914) 819 s.v. «Icauna»; *idem*, *RE Suppl. III* (1918) 1194-1195 s.v. «Icauna»; Leglay, M., *KIPauly II* (1967) 1331 s.v. «Icauna»; Peter, R., *ML II 1* (1890-94) 91 s.v. «Icaunis dea».

## DEUTUNG WAHRSCHEINLICH

I.\* (→ Apollon/Apollo, nach 577) Figuralkapitell aus lokalem Kalkstein. Auxerre, Mus. Arch. LVI. Aus Auxerre, beim Fluß an der Schleuse Bâtardeau. - Quantin, M./Ricque, S., *Cat. raisonné du Musée d'Auxerre. I<sup>e</sup> division: Monuments lapidaires* (1884) 24 Nr. 56 Abb.; Espérandieu, *Recueil IV* Nr. 2905; v. Mercklin, E., *Antike Figuralkapitelle* (1962) 179-180 Nr. 433 Abb. 841-843. - Eine Seite zeigt die Büste der bekleideten Göttin I. in Frontalansicht. In ihren Händen hält sie Pflanzen der Gattung des Aronstabes (Hegi, G., *Illustrierte Flora von Mittel-Europa II* [1957] 131-136 Abb. 257-258). Es handelt sich nicht um die Darstellung von Blitzbündeln, wie Espérandieu und Mercklin zu sehen glaubten, vielmehr hat der Bildhauer die für dieses Gewächs, welches insbesondere an Flußufern vorkommt, typische sympodiale Verzweigung der langen, gebogenen, dem Körper der Göttin angeschmiegt Stiele und die pfeilförmigen Blätter mit kräftiger Spreite sehr naturgetreu modelliert. Der Aronstab ist in dieser Charakterisierung in der nachantiken Kunst weitverbreitet und tritt dort zur Andeutung eines feucht-nassen Gefildes auf. Auf den verbleibenden drei Seiten des Kapitells erscheinen jeweils Büsten von Mercur, Apollo und Mars.

## KOMMENTAR

Der Fundort des Kapitells an der Yonne bei Auxerre und die Weiblichkeit der dargestellten Person sowie die beiden von ihr gehaltenen, besonders an Flußufern vorkommenden Aronstabgewächse, verbunden mit der Weihinschrift eines Altares, welche die Verehrung dieser Flußgöttin in Auxerre bezeugen, sprechen dafür, daß es sich bei dieser Gestalt um I. handelt. Als solche wird sie auch in der Beschriftung des Kapitells im Museum bezeichnet.

DORIS VOLLKOMMER

## ICHSIUN → Ixion 17

## ICHTHYOKENTAUROI → Tritones (LIMC Suppl.)

## IDAIA → Phineus

## IDAIOS

(*Ἰδαῖος*, Idaeus) Herold der Troer, Wagenlenker des Priamos. Name weiterer Trojaner.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: I. tritt verschiedentlich in der *Ilias* als Abgesandter der Trojaner auf. *Hom. Il.* 3, 248-259 fordert I. Priamos auf, in die Ebene zu den Griechen zu gehen und einem Eidopfer beizuwohnen. *Il.* 7, 274-285 trennen die beiden Herolde Talhybios (Bote der Griechen) und I. den Zweikampf Aias-Hektor. I. spricht selbst die Aufforderung zur Beendigung an die Kämpfer. *Il.* 7, 372-417 schickt Priamos I. zu Agamemnon, damit er um Einstellung der Kämpfe bitte, da die Trojaner in Ruhe ihre Toten begraben wollten.

Als Wagenlenker fungiert I. *Il.* 24, 324-325: Priamos will Hektors Leiche bei Achilleus auslösen. Er läßt zwei Wagen anspannen, ein Pferdegespann, das er selbst lenkt, und für I. einen vierrädrigen Maultierkarren mit Lösegewerken, auf dem später Hektors Leichnam zurücktransportiert werden soll. Bei der Ankunft im Griechenlager begibt sich Priamos zunächst allein ins Zelt des Achilleus und läßt I. draußen bei den Tieren warten. *Il.* 24, 576-579 gehen die Achilleusgefährten → Alkimos und → Automedon hinaus, führen den Herold ins Zelt und lassen ihn dort Platz nehmen. Sie lösen die Maultiere und Pferde von den Wagen und laden die Lösegewerke ab. *Il.* 24, 689-691: Priamos weckt in der Nacht I. auf, um heimlich nach Troja zurückzukehren. Hermes spannt die Tiere ein und geleitet Priamos und I. aus dem Lager. *Il.* 24, 699-701 sieht Kassandra die Ankunft der beiden in Troja.

→ Aineias erblickt bei seinem Besuch in der Unterwelt auch I., der noch als Schatten einen Wagen lenkt (*Verg. Aen.* 6, 485). Zu I. s. auch Hesych. und *Etym. m.* s.v. *Ἰδαῖος*.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Aurigemma, S., in: Spinazzola, *Pompeii II* 893; Basista, W., *Boreas* 2, 1979, 5-36, bes. 12. 33; Danaligole, Ai., *Τὰ λύτρα τοῦ Ἑκτορος εἰς τὴν τέχνην τοῦ ἔκτου καὶ πέμπτου αἰῶνος π. Χ.* (1981) 67; Gabelmann, H., *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen* (1984) 142-147 (zur Proskynese des Priamos bei Hektors Lösung); Hartmann, J. B., *RendPontAct* 53/54, 1980/82, 297-312 (zu Priamos und Achill); Jessen, O., *RE IX 1* (1914) 1192 s.v. «Idaios 3»; Knigge, U., *AM* 85, 1970, 10; Stoll, H. W., *ML II 1* (1890-94) 95 s.v. «Idaios 4».

## KATALOG

Es gibt nur wenige gesicherte Wiedergaben des I. in der Bildkunst. Der Auftrag des I., zusammen mit Talhybios die beiden kämpfenden Kontrahenten Aias und Hektor zu trennen, wurde nicht dargestellt. Zwar zeigt eine att. rf. Amphora des Kleophradesmalers in Würzburg (*CVA* 2 Taf. 12-13 mit Lit.; → Aias I 43\*) diesen berühmten Zweikampf, doch handelt es sich bei den Schlichtern hier nicht um I. und Talhybios, sondern Aias wird von Phoinix (Beischrift) weggeführt und Hektor von einem Mann, dessen Beischrift nicht erhalten ist. Da dieser aber weißhaarig ist und einen Stock trägt, kann er nicht I. sein. Vermutlich handelt es sich um Priamos (s. weiter die Lit. bei Hölscher, *CVA* a. O.), wie er auch in einer Darstellung des gleichen (?) Sagenstoffes auf einem att. rf. Starnos des Triptolemosmalers (Basel, Antikenmus. BS 477) inschriftlich benannt ist (Schmidt, M., in: *Opus Nobile, Festschr. U. Jantzen* [1969] 141-152 Taf. 25-26; → Aias I 50; Berger, E., *AntK* 25, 1982, 165). Auch in anderen Darstellungen dieses Themas (→ Aias I 43-50) scheint I. nicht vorzukommen. Bei der entsprechenden Szene auf den *Tabulae Iliacae* ist er ebenfalls nicht genannt.

Es kommen so für I. nur die Wiedergaben von Hektors Lösung in Betracht, da I. nach Homer Priamos auf seinem Weg ins Griechenlager begleitete. Aber trotz zahlreicher Darstellungen dieses Themas ist I. nicht immer leicht zu verifizieren, weil die Bilder von der homerischen Schilderung abweichen. Denn die Denkmäler zeigen entweder Priamos allein oder begleitet von mehreren Trojanern zu Fuß mit Lösegewerken (vgl. etwa → Achilleus 656\*, 659\*, 661\*). Es ist nicht möglich, unter diesen I. zu erkennen.

Ein Hinweis auf I. könnte dann gegeben sein, wenn der Wagen des Priamos dargestellt ist oder sich ein Begleiter mit dessen Zugtieren beschäftigt. In der griechischen Kunst wurde jedoch der Wagen selten wiedergegeben, sondern erst auf römischen Monumenten. Eine weitere Schwierigkeit besteht darin, daß auf griechischen Denkmälern sowohl die Lösegeldträger wie auch etwa der Pferdeführer auf → Achilleus 652 nicht als Trojaner gekennzeichnet, sondern wie Griechen dargestellt sind. Da aber laut Homer die Lösegewerke von den Gefährten des Achilleus vom Wagen abgeladen wurden und diese auch die Tiere ausspannten, muß auch immer noch die Möglichkeit berücksichtigt werden, daß die Vasenmaler mit den Geschenkträgern und Tierführern nicht immer das Gefolge des Priamos meinten, sondern teils vielleicht auch Griechen. Zwar ist einer der Pferdeführer auf der



Münchner Oltoschale (→ Achilleus 656; Basista 20 Nr. V 7 Abb.) durch seine Kleidung als Trojaner ausgewiesen, könnte also I. sein, doch hat ihm Oltos einen griechischen Namen beigegeben. Wegen dieser Schwierigkeit der Benennung werden die griechischen Vasenbilder mit Hektors Lösung hier im Katalog nicht aufgeführt. Danali-Giole 67 merkte an, daß I. auf keinem griechischen Vasenbild der Lytra dargestellt sei. Sie wendet sich damit gegen Knigge 10, die nicht überzeugend I. auf → Achilleus 654 erkennen möchte.

Der nachfolgende Katalog beschränkt sich demnach auf die römischen Darstellungen der Lösung, auf denen der Wagen gezeigt wird. Zwar begegnet der Maultierkarren des Priamos auf der att. rf. fr. Vase in Wien (→ Achilleus 660), doch ist dort kein Wagenlenker erhalten. Allerdings wird auch unter den römischen Lytra-Wiedergaben mit Wagen und Trojanern noch eine Auswahl getroffen. So werden nur die Darstellungen mit Wagenlenker bzw. mit nur einem Trojaner genannt. Wenn kein Lenker dargestellt ist, sondern nur eine Gruppe Trojaner, welche die Lösegewenke abläßt, so ist es, wie bei den griechischen Darstellungen, unmöglich, I. zu benennen. Aurigemma 893 interpretiert die Darstellungen sogar dahingehend, daß das Abladen Aufgabe trojanischer Sklaven sei und einem verdienten Herold wie I. nicht zukomme, er also keinesfalls unter den Trägern zu erkennen sei. Vielleicht bilden dabei die Bilder eine Ausnahme, auf denen nur ein Trojaner, wenn auch als Gefäßträger, zugegen ist.

#### RÖMISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

##### a) Idaios und Priamos vor dem Aufbruch von Troja

1. (= Achilleus 678 mit Lit., = Hekabe 30 mit Lit.) Buchmalerei, sog. Ilias Ambrosiana. Mailand, Bibl. Ambrosiana Cod. 205 inf. – 5. Jh. n. Chr. – Die Miniatur 57 zeigt Priamos, dem Hekabe eine Abschiedsspende darbringt. Hinter Priamos stehen zahlreiche Trojaner, darunter auch ein kleiner Diener, der das Maultiergespann mit dem Geschenkwagen am Zügel festhält. R. sieht man ein Pferdegespann in Vorderansicht, auf dem ein Wagenlenker in trojanischer Tracht steht, welcher die Zügel hält. Es könnte I. sein, der das Gespann für Priamos bereithält.

##### b) Idaios und Priamos auf der Fahrt ins Griechenlager

2. Buchmalerei, sog. Ilias Ambrosiana, Fortsetzung von 1. – Auf Miniatur 58 spielt das Geschehen bereits außerhalb der Stadt (im Hintergrund die Stadtmauern von Troja). Priamos und I. (Lenker des Geschenkwagens r.; in orientalischer Kleidung) halten in der Ebene ihre Gespanne an, um die Tiere an einem Fluß zu tränken.

##### c) Idaios hantiert am Wagen, während Priamos bei Achilleus um die Freigabe Hektors bittet

3. (= Achilleus 679 mit Lit.) Fr. New York, MMA 24.97.11. – Frühe Kaiserzeit. – Achilleus nicht erhal-

ten. R. von dem knienden Priamos Maultiergespann, hinter dem ein Mann steht, I.? Auf der Tafel → Achilleus 679a ist ein Trojaner dargestellt, welcher Geschenke abläßt, auf 679b und c sind jeweils zwei Trojaner damit beschäftigt. I. läßt sich auf diesen Tafeln nicht sicher erkennen.

#### Campanareliefs

4.\* (= Achilleus 715 mit Lit.) Terrakottaplatte, fr. London, BM D 608. – Im Hintergrund eine Mauer, davor Reste eines Maultiergespannes nach I. Vom Wagenlenker ist ein Teil des Oberkörpers (auf dem Kopf phrygische Mütze) erhalten. Vorn ein Trojaner mit einem Gefäß auf der Schulter. Es dürfte sich um den Maultierkarren des Priamos handeln, der von I. gelenkt wird. Die Fortsetzung der Lösungsszene war vermutlich auf anderen Platten dargestellt.

#### Wandmalerei

5.\* (= Achilleus 671 mit Lit., = Hektor 102) Pompeji II 2, 2–5 (sog. Domus Lorei Tiburtini; die Zuweisung an diesen Besitzer scheint nicht haltbar, vgl. Castrén, P., *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*² [1983] 184 Nr. 223). – Vespasianisch. – Iliaszyklus, vgl. auch 10. R. von der Proskynese des Priamos der Maultierkarren in Rückansicht. Davor ein Trojaner in orientalischer Tracht, mit einem Gefäß auf der Schulter, der auf die Achill-Priamos-Gruppe zugeht. Da sonst keine Trojaner dargestellt sind, könnte man hier I. erwägen.

#### Stuckreliefs

6. (= Achilleus 675\* mit Lit., = Hektor 101 mit Lit.) Fries. Pompeji I 6, 2–4 (Casa del Criptoportico, Sacello Iliaco). – Zeit des frühen 4. Stils (zur Datierung s. Strocka, V. M., *RM* 91, 1984, 125–140). – Iliaszyklus, vgl. auch 11. In der Lytra-Szene Priamos, Achilleus, Hermes, Maultierkarren, auf dem ein Trojaner steht und ein Gefäß herunterholt (I.). L. Stadttor mit einem weiteren gefäßtragenden Trojaner.

7.\* (= Achilleus 676\* mit Lit.) Relief. Rom, Via Latina, Pancratiengrab. – Gabelmann 144 Taf. 15, 1. – 160/70 n. Chr. – L. von Priamos der Maultierkarren mit den Lösegewenken. Ein Trojaner beginnt mit dem Abladen der Gegenstände, ein anderer, wohl I., steht mit der Peitsche in der erhobenen Rechten vor den Tieren.

#### Sarkophage

Unter den Sarkophagreliefs mit Hektors Lösung ist I. vielleicht auf den attischen Sarkophagen vom Typus Adana dargestellt; zu diesen jetzt noch Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 388–389; Linant de Bellefonds, P., *AntK* 25, 1982, 124–136 (= Linant, *AntK*); eadem, *Sarcophages attiques de la nécropole de Tyr* (1985) (= Linant, *Tyr*); Gabelmann 146–147.

8. a) (= Achilleus 618\*/690 mit Lit., = Automedon 37, = Briseis 38, = Hektor 114) Adana, Mus. 3843. Aus Tarsus. Vorderseite. – Canciani, F., *Xenia* 2, 1981, 68. 70 Abb. 7; Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 2 Taf. 23, 2; Linant, *Tyr* 37 Nr. 1 Taf. 4, 3; 5, 2. – 2. Viertel 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Drei Szenen: r. kniet Priamos bittflehend vor

Achill, in der Mitte die Beendigung der Schleifung Hektors mit dem Streitwagen des Achilleus, l. der Maultierkarren des Priamos, von dem Trojaner Gegenstände abladen, die l. ein Grieche begutachtet. L. vom trojanischen Panzerträger in Rückenansicht sieht man über dem Wagen den Oberkörper eines bärtigen Trojaners im Profil nach r., dessen Position nicht ganz klar ist. Er könnte im Wagen sitzen oder knien. Auch die Geste seiner vorgestreckten r. Hand ist nicht eindeutig zu erklären. Linant, *Tyr* 42 nimmt an, daß er dem Panzerträger beim Abladen behilflich ist. Doch scheint dies wenig überzeugend, da er sich in einer viel tieferen Reliefebene befindet, denn zwischen den beiden Personen steht noch das Maultier. Budde, L., in *Festschr. E. v. Mercklin* (1964) 13 und Koch (Sichter mann/Koch, *MythSark* 18) vermuten, daß es sich vielleicht um den Wagenlenker handelt. Dann könnte man an I. denken. Bezüglich der Geste vermutet Budde, daß er in der erhobenen Hand vielleicht die Zügel hielt oder daß es sich um einen Rede- oder Klagegestus handelt. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre vielleicht, den anderen Trojaner, von dem r. von dem Panzerträger jeweils nur das Gesicht zu sehen ist, als den neben dem Maultier stehenden I. zu deuten. Auf folgenden Sarkophagreliefs begegnet die Lytra nach diesem Typus Adana:

b) (= Achilleus 692 mit Lit.) Fr. Athen, Nat. Mus. 2414. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 6; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 4.

c) (= Achilleus 620\*/694 mit Lit., = Automedon 40, = Briseis 41, = Hektor 115) Beirut, Mus. Nat. 954. Aus Tyros. Vorderseite. – Koch, G., *MarbWPr* 1984, 36. 38 Abb. 13; Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 1 Taf. 23, 1; Linant, *Tyr* 18 Nr. 2; 37 Nr. 2; 39–44 Taf. 1, 2; 4, 1; 5, 1.

d) (= Achilleus 621/696 mit Lit., = Automedon 41\*) Fr. Bursa. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 4; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 5.

e) (= Automedon 38, = Briseis 42, = Hektor 116\*) Ioannina, Mus. 6176. Aus Ladochori bei Igoumenitsa. Vorderseite. *ArchDelt* 30, 1975 Chron. 2, Taf. 119; Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 388 Anm. 69; Koch, a. O. 8c, 42; Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 3; Linant, *Tyr* 37 Nr. 3. – Um 200 n. Chr.

f) (= Achilleus 98/625/700 mit Lit., = Automedon 42\*, = Briseis 43, = Hektor 117) Paris, Louvre MA 2120. Aus Rom. Rückseite. Stark überarbeitet. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 11; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 8. – Wegen der starken Überarbeitung ist hier kein Trojaner mehr zu erkennen.

g) (= Achilleus 701 mit Lit., = Automedon 43) Rom, Kapitolin. Mus. 218. Aus Monte del Grano. Rückseite. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 9; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 9.

h) (= Achilleus 703 mit Lit., = Automedon 45) Fr. Sparta, Mus. 322. 323. Rückseite. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 12; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 13.

i) (= Achilleus 704 mit Lit.) Fr. Sparta, Mus. 402. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 5; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 6.

j) (= Achilleus 695, = Hektor 118\*) Tyros 3951. Aus Tyros. Rückseite. Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 378. 388–389. 405–407. 410; Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 8; Linant, *Tyr* 26 Nr. 7; 38 Nr. 11; 39–44 Taf. 4, 2.

##### d) Idaios verbringt die Nacht im Lager der Griechen

9.\* (= Achilleus 687 mit Lit., = Automedon 29, = Briseis 36). Silberbecher. Kopenhagen, Nat. Mus. Aus Hoby. Von Cheirisophos signiert. – Beste Detailabb. des I. bei Poulsen, V., *APL* 8 (1968) Taf. 45 a–b; 48. – Auf der Vorderseite Priamos bittflehend vor Achilleus. Die Gegenseite zeigt eine Szene vor dem Zelt. Neben drei eingeschlafenen Griechen sitzt der sinnende I. auf einem Block. Der bärtige Trojaner (orientalische Kleidung, aber barhäuptig ohne die übliche phrygische Mütze) sitzt im Profil nach l., so daß Priamos auf der Vorderseite und I. auf der Rückseite einander den Rücken zukehren. Mit der Rechten stützt I. seinen Kopf auf, in der Linken hält er die Peitsche. Sein Haar ist länger als das der Griechen. Vor ihm befindet sich der Wagen, von dem nur der hintere Teil dargestellt ist. Das Vorderteil mit den Tieren ist durch eine Mauer verdeckt. Es handelt sich um die eindrucksvollste Darstellung des I.

10. Wandgemälde. Pompeji II 2, 2–5 (sog. Domus Lorei Tiburtini, s. 5\*). – Schefold, *WP* 52; Aurigemma, S., in: Spinazzola, *Pompeii* II 1005–1007 Abb. 1049–1051; Schefold, K., *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 5, 1954 (= *Festschr. A. W. Byvanck*) 217. – Vespasianisch. – Iliaszyklus, vgl. 5. I. und Priamos sitzen im Freien vor einem steilen Felsen und halten Nachtwache. L. sitzt der bärtige I. in orientalischer Tracht mit Ärmelgewand und Kopfbedeckung. Er umfaßt mit beiden Händen sein r. angezogenes Knie, so daß seine Haltung ähnlich sinnend wirkt wie auf 9. R. der wachende Priamos in Rückenansicht. Der Wagen und Hektors Leiche sind nicht dargestellt.

##### e) Idaios und Priamos verlassen das Lager und kehren nach Troja zurück

11. Stuckfries. Pompeji I 6, 2–4 (Casa del Criptoportico, Sacello Iliaco). – Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 156 K 75; Aurigemma, a. O. 10, 897–901 Abb. 897–900. – Zur Datierung s. 6. – Innerhalb des Iliaszyklus, zu dem auch 6 gehört, begegnet eine Szene, die früher als Auszug des Priamos aus Troja gedeutet wurde (Lit. bei Aurigemma), von Aurigemma aber überzeugend als Aufbruch aus dem Griechenlager erklärt wird, da sich die Szene so besser deuten läßt und zudem der Zyklus geschlossen wird. Denn die Bewegungsrichtung des Zuges geht von l. nach r. Der l. Ausgangspunkt ist eine Art Baldachin, unter dem Gefäße stehen, wahrscheinlich das Zelt des Achilleus mit den Lösegewenken. Von hier brach wohl die Gruppe auf. Das Ziel r. ist zugleich der Beginn des Zyklus, nämlich die Mauern von Troja. Dargestellt ist das skäische Tor mit der Teichoskopie, aus welchem Hektor zum Kampf gegen Achill eilt (→ Hektor 101). Die Gruppe selbst besteht aus Hermes als Anführer und Geleiter, ihm folgen zu Fuß Priamos, dann eine Person (Aurigemma: Sklave), welche die Maultiere am Zügel führt (die Zügel waren ursprünglich gemalt). Doch könnte es sich hier auch um I. handeln. Die Tiere ziehen einen reichverzierten Kastenwagen, auf dem Hektors Leiche zu denken ist. Dahinter ein Trojaner zu Fuß.



Münchner Oltosschale (→ Achilleus 656; Basista 20 Nr. V 7 Abb.) durch seine Kleidung als Trojaner ausgewiesen, könnte also I. sein, doch hat ihm Oltos einen griechischen Namen beigegeben. Wegen dieser Schwierigkeit der Benennung werden die griechischen Vasenbilder mit Hektors Lösung hier im Katalog nicht aufgeführt. Danali-Giole 67 merkte an, daß I. auf keinem griechischen Vasenbild der Lytra dargestellt sei. Sie wendet sich damit gegen Knigge 10, die nicht überzeugend I. auf → Achilleus 654 erkennen möchte.

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Unter den Sarkophagreliefs mit Hektors Lösung ist I. vielleicht auf den attischen Sarkophagen vom Typus Adana dargestellt; zu diesen jetzt noch Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 388–389; Linant de Bellefonds, P., *AntK* 25, 1982, 124–136 (= Linant, *AntK*); eadem, *Sarcophages attiques de la nécropole de Tyr* (1985) (= Linant, *Tyr*); Gabelmann 146–147.

8. a) (= Achilleus 618\*/690 mit Lit., = Automedon 37, = Briseis 38, = Hektor 114) Adana, Mus. 3843. Aus Tarsus. Vorderseite. – Canciani, F., *Xenia* 2, 1981, 68. 70 Abb. 7; Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 2 Taf. 23, 2; Linant, *Tyr* 37 Nr. 1 Taf. 4, 3; 5, 2. – 2. Viertel 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Drei Szenen: r. kniet Priamos bittflehend vor

Achill, in der Mitte die Beendigung der Schleifung Hektors mit dem Streitwagen des Achilleus, l. der Maultierkarren des Priamos, von dem Trojaner Gegenstände abladen, die l. ein Griechē begutachtet. L. vom trojanischen Panzerträger in Rückenansicht sieht man über dem Wagen den Oberkörper eines bärtigen Trojaners im Profil nach r., dessen Position nicht ganz klar ist. Er könnte im Wagen sitzen oder knien. Auch die Geste seiner vorgestreckten r. Hand ist nicht eindeutig zu erklären. Linant, *Tyr* 42 nimmt an, daß er dem Panzerträger beim Abladen behilflich ist. Doch scheint dies wenig überzeugend, da er sich in einer viel tieferen Reliefebene befindet, denn zwischen den beiden Personen steht noch das Maultier. Budde, L., in *Festschr. E. v. Mercklin* (1964) 13 und Koch (Sichter mann/Koch, *MythSark* 18) vermuten, daß es sich vielleicht um den Wagenlenker handelt. Dann könnte man an I. denken. Bezüglich der Geste vermutet Budde, daß er in der erhobenen Hand vielleicht die Zügel hielt oder daß es sich um einen Rede- oder Klagegestus handelt. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre vielleicht, den anderen Trojaner, von dem r. von dem Panzerträger jeweils nur das Gesicht zu sehen ist, als den neben dem Maultier stehenden I. zu deuten. Auf folgenden Sarkophagreliefs begegnet die Lytra nach diesem Typus Adana:

b) (= Achilleus 692 mit Lit.) Fr. Athen, Nat. Mus. 2414. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 6; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 4.

c) (= Achilleus 620\*/694 mit Lit., = Automedon 40, = Briseis 41, = Hektor 115) Beirut, Mus. Nat. 954. Aus Tyros. Vorderseite. – Koch, G., *MarbWPr* 1984, 36. 38 Abb. 13; Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 1 Taf. 23, 1; Linant, *Tyr* 18 Nr. 2; 37 Nr. 2; 39–44 Taf. 1, 2; 4, 1; 5, 1.

d) (= Achilleus 621/696 mit Lit., = Automedon 41\*) Fr. Bursa. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 4; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 5.

e) (= Automedon 38, = Briseis 42, = Hektor 116\*) Ioannina, Mus. 6176. Aus Ladochori bei Igoumenitsa. Vorderseite. *ArchDelt* 30, 1975 Chron. 2, Taf. 119; Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 388 Anm. 69; Koch, a. O. 8c, 42; Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 3; Linant, *Tyr* 37 Nr. 3. – Um 200 n. Chr.

f) (= Achilleus 98/625/700 mit Lit., = Automedon 42\*, = Briseis 43, = Hektor 117) Paris, Louvre MA 2120. Aus Rom. Rückseite. Stark überarbeitet. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 11; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 8. – Wegen der starken Überarbeitung ist hier kein Trojaner mehr zu erkennen.

g) (= Achilleus 701 mit Lit., = Automedon 43) Rom, Kapitolin. Mus. 218. Aus Monte del Grano. Rückseite. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 9; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 9.

h) (= Achilleus 703 mit Lit., = Automedon 45) Fr. Sparta, Mus. 322. 323. Rückseite. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 12; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 13.

i) (= Achilleus 704 mit Lit.) Fr. Sparta, Mus. 402. – Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 5; Linant, *Tyr* 38 Nr. 6.

j) (= Achilleus 695, = Hektor 118\*) Tyros 3951. Aus Tyros. Rückseite. Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 378. 388–389. 405–407. 410; Linant, *AntK* 124 Nr. 8; Linant, *Tyr* 26 Nr. 7; 38 Nr. 11; 39–44 Taf. 4, 2.

##### d) Idaios verbringt die Nacht im Lager der Griechen

9.\* (= Achilleus 687 mit Lit., = Automedon 29, = Briseis 36). Silberbecher. Kopenhagen, Nat. Mus. Aus Hoby. Von Cheirisophos signiert. – Beste Detailabb. des I. bei Poulsen, V., *APL* 8 (1968) Taf. 45 a–b; 48. – Auf der Vorderseite Priamos bittflehend vor Achilleus. Die Gegenseite zeigt eine Szene vor dem Zelt. Neben drei eingeschlafenen Griechen sitzt der sinnende I. auf einem Block. Der bärtige Trojaner (orientalische Kleidung, aber barhäuptig ohne die übliche phrygische Mütze) sitzt im Profil nach l., so daß Priamos auf der Vorderseite und I. auf der Rückseite einander den Rücken zukehren. Mit der Rechten stützt I. seinen Kopf auf, in der Linken hält er die Peitsche. Sein Haar ist länger als das der Griechen. Vor ihm befindet sich der Wagen, von dem nur der hintere Teil dargestellt ist. Das Vorderteil mit den Tieren ist durch eine Mauer verdeckt. Es handelt sich um die eindrucksvollste Darstellung des I.

10. Wandgemälde. Pompeji II 2, 2–5 (sog. Domus Lorei Tiburtini, s. 5\*). – Scheffold, *WP* 52; Aurigemma, S., in: Spinazzola, *Pompeii* 1005–1007 Abb. 1049–1051; Scheffold, K., *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 5, 1954 (= *Festschr. A. W. Byvanck*) 217. – Vespasianisch. – Iliaszyklus, vgl. 5. I. und Priamos sitzen im Freien vor einem steilen Felsen und halten Nachtwache. L. sitzt der bärtige I. in orientalischer Tracht mit Ärmelgewand und Kopfbedeckung. Er umfaßt mit beiden Händen sein r. angezogenes Knie, so daß seine Haltung ähnlich sinnend wirkt wie auf 9. R. der wachende Priamos in Rückenansicht. Der Wagen und Hektors Leiche sind nicht dargestellt.

##### e) Idaios und Priamos verlassen das Lager und kehren nach Troja zurück

11. Stuckfries. Pompeji I 6, 2–4 (Casa del Criptoportico, Sacello Iliaco). – Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 156 K 75; Aurigemma, a. O. 10, 897–901 Abb. 897–900. – Zur Datierung s. 6. – Innerhalb des Iliaszyklus, zu dem auch 6 gehört, begegnet eine Szene, die früher als Auszug des Priamos aus Troja gedeutet wurde (Lit. bei Aurigemma), von Aurigemma aber überzeugend als Aufbruch aus dem Griechenlager erklärt wird, da sich die Szene so besser deuten läßt und zudem der Zyklus geschlossen wird. Denn die Bewegungsrichtung des Zuges geht von l. nach r. Der l. Ausgangspunkt ist eine Art Baldachin, unter dem Gefäße stehen, wahrscheinlich das Zelt des Achilleus mit den Lösegewenken. Von hier brach wohl die Gruppe auf. Das Ziel r. ist zugleich der Beginn des Zyklus, nämlich die Mauern von Troja. Dargestellt ist das skäische Tor mit der Teichoskopie, aus welchem Hektor zum Kampf gegen Achill eilt (→ Hektor 101). Die Gruppe selbst besteht aus Hermes als Anführer und Geleiter, ihm folgen zu Fuß Priamos, dann eine Person (Aurigemma: Sklave), welche die Maultiere am Zügel führt (die Zügel waren ursprünglich gemalt). Doch könnte es sich hier auch um I. handeln. Die Tiere ziehen einen reichverzierten Kastenwagen, auf dem Hektors Leiche zu denken ist. Dahinter ein Trojaner zu Fuß.

## f) Auszuscheiden

## GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNG

12. Amphora, att. sf. Boston, MFA 1979.618. - Brownley, A. B., *RA* 1989, 3-21 Abb. 1-5 (Maler von München 1379). - Um 540 v. Chr. - Die Deutung der beiden Seiten durch Brownley als Priamos bittflehend vor Achill bzw. I. mit dem Lösegeschenkwagen überzeugt nicht. Zum einen läßt das Größenverhältnis der Hauptpersonen eine solche Benennung nicht zu, zum anderen ist die Präsenz des Geschenkewagens bei den griechischen Lösungs-Darstellungen nicht bezeugt. Wegen dieser Diskrepanzen zu den sonstigen Lytra-Bildern versuchte Brownley - nicht überzeugend - hier eine Parodie von Hektors Lösung zu sehen. Es dürfte sich eher um einen Bauernwagen mit Weinamphoren und damit um eine nicht-mythische Szene handeln.

## KOMMENTAR

I. ist auf keiner Darstellung durch Namensbeischrift gesichert. Der Herold und Wagenlenker der Troer, der in der *Ilias* genannt wird, ist nicht oft dargestellt worden. Zwar übt er eine wichtige Funktion bei der Schlichtung des Zweikampfes zwischen Hektor und Aias aus, doch ist er bei der Wiedergabe dieser Episode in der Bildkunst niemals anwesend.

Ein weiterer Auftrag für I. war die Begleitung des Priamos ins Griechenlager zur Auslösung Hektors. Homer beschreibt, daß I. den Maultierkarren mit den Lösegeschenken lenkte. Hektors Lösung war ein beliebtes Thema der antiken Bildkunst. Jedoch ist ein trojanischer Wagenlenker nicht oft auf den Darstellungen zugegen. Auf keinem griechischen Vasenbild mit diesem Thema kann I. mit Sicherheit erkannt werden, da der Wagen des Priamos nicht dargestellt wurde und teils mehrere Troer zu Fuß die Begleitung des Priamos bilden (s. dazu hier die Einleitung zum Katalog). Der Maultierkarren des Priamos begegnet erst auf römischen Monumenten. Die Darstellungen in der spätantiken Buchmalerei 1 und 2 zeigen den Aufbruch aus Troja und eine Rast auf dem Weg ins Griechenlager, beides Szenen aus der Episode der Lytra, welche hier erstmals in der Bildkunst begegnen, aber vielleicht auf frühere, uns nicht erhaltene Vorbilder zurückgehen.

Am häufigsten wählten die bildenden Künstler aus dem Mythos die Szene aus, wie Priamos vor Achilleus bittflehend kniet, während Griechen und Trojaner mit dem Abladen der Geschenke und Ausspannen der Tiere beschäftigt sind (3-8j). Allerdings sind dort oft mehrere Trojaner anwesend. Dabei läßt sich I. nur dann benennen, wenn einer der Trojaner als Wagenlenker dargestellt ist oder wenn überhaupt nur ein Trojaner allein anwesend ist. Hier wäre zu überlegen, ob es sich auch dann um I. handelt, wenn er als Gefäßträger gezeigt wird (3. 5. 6). Gesichert ist I. als Wagenlenker auf 4. 7 und wohl auch auf 8a-j. Es ist anzunehmen, daß auf den attischen Sarkophagen vom Typus Adana (8a-j) der Wagenlenker zugegen ist, wenn auch seine genaue Position unklar ist.

Zwei Bilder (9. 10) zeigen, wie I. anschließend die Nacht im Griechenlager verbringt, eine selten dargestellte Szene wie auch 1 und 2. Besonders qualitativ ist dabei seine Wiedergabe auf dem Hobybecher 9. Die Rückkehr nach Troja ist wohl auf 11 dargestellt.

Die seltenen Darstellungen des I. zeigen ihn bärtig und meist in orientalischer Tracht mit phrygischer Mütze (barhäuptig auf 9). Meist ist er mit dem Wagen beschäftigt. Auf 1. 2. 4. 8a-j (?) hält er die Zügel, auf 7 und 9 eine Peitsche in der Hand.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

IDAS → Apharetidai, → Lynkeus, → Marpessa

IDASOS → Meleagros

## IDE I

(*Ἰδῆ*, *Ἰδᾶ*, Ida) Nymphe éponyme du mont Idé dans l'île de Crète. I. est considérée comme la fille du roi Mélissée (Melisseus) ou Mélissos, ou bien de Korybas, la mère de → Minos (I), Rhadamanthe (→ Rhadamanthys) et → Sarpedon, et comme la femme de Lykastos, ou bien de Daktylos dont elle aurait eu (à moins que ce ne fût de → Zeus) les Dactyles de l'Ida (Idaioi Daktyloi, → Kouretes). D'après les auteurs anciens (dont Plut. *quaest. conv.* 657 e), → Rhea aurait confié le petit Zeus aux soins d'I. et de sa sœur →Adrasteia (II). Les poètes (Hyg. *fab.* 182) mentionnent aussi une I. (ou Idothea) comme fille d'→Okeanos.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Apollod. *bibl.* I (5), I, 6-7; Stesimbrotos, *FGH* 107 F 12; Socrate d'Argos, *FGH* 310 F 1 (Schol. Eur. [?] *Rhesus* 29); Diod. 4, 60, 3; Plut. *quaest. conv.* 657e; Kern *Orph. F. fig.* 105; Hyg. *fab.* 182.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 85-86 s. v. «Ida (o Ide)»; Neustadt, E., *RE* IX 1 (1916) 880 s. v. «Ide 2»; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 104 s. v. «Ide 1».

## CATALOGUE

1. Relief(?) disparu, de l'autel d'Athéna Aléa à Tégée. - Paus. 8, 47, 3. - Le décor représentait Rhéa et le petit Zeus; I. était figurée d'un côté de l'autel avec d'autres Nymphes (Alkinoé, Hagno, Phrixa) et les Muses (→ Mousa, Mousai).

2. (= Argonautai 15, = Boreadai 25, = Dioskouroi 220\*, = Europe 220\* - avec bibl.) Cratère à volutes attique f. r. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1501. - *ARV* 1338, 1: p. de Talos; *Para* 481; *Add* 366; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* n° 14 pl. 1; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pl. 231. - Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A: dans la scène de la mort de → Talos, la femme qui s'enfuit en bas vers la

dr., identifiée d'ordinaire comme Europe ou → Krete, pourrait être I.

## COMMENTAIRE

La seule représentation assurée d'I. est celle que mentionne Pausanias (1). Faute de traits spécifiques, on ne peut reconnaître cette Nymphe avec certitude, et l'identification proposée pour le vase 2 est tout à fait hypothétique. CHARIKLEIA PAPAGEORGIADOU

## IDE II

(*Ἰδῆ*, *Ἰδᾶ*, Ida) Nymphe du mont Idé en Troade, mère de Nisus (Verg. *Aen.* 9, 176-178). Cf. aussi Plut. *fluv.* 13, 3.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Imhoof-Blumer, F., *ZfN* 1, 1874, 139-142; *idem*, *KIM* I 42-43; *idem*, «Nymphes und Chariten auf gr. Münzen», *JArchNum* 1908, 110. 172; Neustadt, E., *RE* IX 1 (1916) 880 s. v. «Ide 1»; v. Sallet, A., «Das Parisurtheil auf Münzen von Scepsis», *ZfN* 10, 1883, 155-156; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 104 s. v. «Ide 2».

## CATALOGUE

Monnaies (identification sûre)

L'identification d'I. sur des monnaies de Troade est assurée grâce à l'inscr. *IAH*.

1.\* AE, Skamandria, IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - *BMCTroas* 79, 4-5; Imhoof-Blumer (1874) 139 n° 1 pl. 4, 15; *KIM* 42-43 n°s 2-3 pl. 2; *idem* (1908) 110 n°s 316-317 pl. 7, 26-27; *SNG* v. Aulock 7640-7641. - Av. Tête de Nymphe à dr. Lég. *IAH* sur quelques exemplaires. Rv. Pin ou pomme de pin.

2.\* AE, Skamandria, IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - *BMCTroas* 79, 1-3 pl. 14, 12-13; Imhoof-Blumer (1908) 110 n° 318 pl. 7, 28; *SNG* Copenhagen 464-465; *SNG* v. Aulock 1573. - Av. Tête de Nymphe couronnée à dr. Lég. *IAH*. Rv. Pin. Sur quelques exemplaires tête de sanglier. Lég. *ΣΚΑ*.

3.\* AE, Skepsis, Caracalla (198-217). - v. Sallet 155; Imhoof-Blumer (1908) 172 n° 473 pl. 11, 6; Voegtli, *Heldenepen* 112 pl. 22h. - Rv. Jugement de Pâris (→ Paridis iudicium): → Eros donnant une pomme à → Aphrodite, → Hera et → Athena. I. (*IAH*) assise sur une branche à dr. Exergue: *ΕΚΗΨΙΩΝ ΔΑ/ΠΑΑ*.

Reliefs romains (identification hypothétique)

4. (= Athena/Minerva 429\* avec bibl.) Face antérieure de sarcophage en marbre. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 8563, anc. coll. Ludovisi. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2336 (Andreae, B.); Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* n° 56 pl. 141. 143a. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. pourrait être la jeune femme qui assiste au Jugement de Pâris.

5. Sarcophage. Vatican, Belvédère. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II 277-279 n° 97a. - Femme assise près d'un pilastre sur lequel s'appuie → Ganymedes.

## COMMENTAIRE

C'est au IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. qu'I., identifiée par une inscription, commence à être représentée sur les monnaies de Skamandria. Plus tard et pendant la période romaine, elle est encore figurée sur des monnaies anatoliennes - et peut-être sur d'autres documents - comme personnification du mont de Troade. Rien dans son aspect ne la distingue des autres Nymphes.

CHARIKLEIA PAPAGEORGIADOU

IDMON → Mopsos II

## IDOMENEUS

(*Ἰδομενεύς*) Roi de Crète, petit-fils de → Minos (I) et fils de Deucalion. Il participe à la guerre de Troie. Son retour passe pour avoir été heureux; les traditions touchant à la fin de sa vie sont contradictoires: selon les uns, il est chassé de son trône par son peuple pour faire cesser une épidémie provoquée par un vœu sacrilège, selon les autres, par Leukos à qui il avait confié son royaume.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: I. est le fils de Deucalion (Hom. *Il.* 12, 117 et *passim*; Apollod. *bibl.* 3 [17] 3, 1; *epitome* 3, 13) et le petit-fils de Minos (Hom. *Il.* 13, 450-453); cf. Hes. *fig.* 204, 56-57 Merkelbach/West. Il est originaire de Lyktos (Hom. *Il.* 17, 611; Verg. *Aen.* 3, 401) ou de Cnossos (Diod. 5, 79, 4). Ancien prétendant d'→ Helene (Hes. *fig.* 204, 56-64; Hyg. *fab.* 81), il participe à la guerre de Troie. En compagnie de Mérion (→ Meriones, Hom. *Il.* 2, 651), il dirige l'importante flotte crétoise (Hom. *Il.* 2, 645-652; Apollod. *epitome* 3, 13; Philostr. *her.* 30 Lannoy) et est même l'un des principaux chefs des Grecs (Lukianos *d. mort.* 6, 1). C'est alors un homme déjà âgé (Hom. *Il.* 13, 361-362; Q. Smyrn. 4, 286-287, 294-296; Triph. 168). Sa bravoure le rend digne de recevoir les armes d'Achille (→ Achilleus; Ov. *met.* 13, 358-360). Ses exploits sont énumérés dans l'*Iliade*: il tue Phaistos (5, 43-47), fait partie des neuf chefs qui relèvent le défi d'→ Hektor (7, 165) et charge → Nestor de ramener → Machaon blessé (11, 510-515). Le combat où il joue le rôle le plus important est la défense des vaisseaux (13, 210-517); exhorté au combat par → Poseidon (215-238), il est opposé à plusieurs guerriers, principalement Déiphobe (→ Deiphobos) - qui le provoque en raison d'une ancienne rivalité à propos d'Hélène, déjà évoquée par Ibycus (Page *PMG fig.* 297) et Simonidès (Page *PMG fig.* 561) - et Enée (→ Aineias); il tue Othryonée (363-384), → Asios (384-391), Al-



cathoos (427-444) et Oinomaos (506-508). Plus tard, il tue Érymas (16, 345-350), participe au combat pour le corps de Patrocle (→ Patroklos) où il combat Hector qui le met en fuite (17, 605-625) et à l'ambassade auprès d'Achille (19, 311). Aux jeux funèbres en l'honneur de Patrocle, il se querelle avec Ajax (→ Aias II) (23, 450-498). Quintus de Smyrne ajoute encore quelques épisodes: il tue l'Amazone Brémousa (1, 247-248; → Amazones). Pendant les jeux funèbres en l'honneur d'Achille il reçoit de → Thetis le char du héros sans avoir à concourir en raison de son âge et de sa bravoure (4, 284-296); Ajax (→ Aias I) le choisit en compagnie d'→ Agamemnon et de Nestor pour attribuer les armes d'Achille (5, 133-135). Il vient au secours des Atrides encerclés (6, 538-540) et désarme Eurypyle (→ Eurypylos I; 6, 590-593); il pleure la mort d'Hyllos (10, 80-83). Il fait partie de ceux qui s'enterment dans le cheval (12, 320; Triph. 168; → Equus Troianus) et, pendant le sac de la ville, tue Mimas (13, 212).

Son retour en Crète est, selon Homère (*Od.* 3, 191-192), l'un des plus heureux. Les Crétois demandaient leur aide à I. et à Mérion lorsque l'île était en danger, et rendaient les honneurs héroïques à leurs tombes voisines (Diod. 5, 79, 4). La popularité d'I. est mise en lumière par une inscription de Makritikhos (Guarducci *IC* I ch. VIII n° 33) où l'on souhaite au défunt un sort aussi favorable que le sien dans les Enfers. Selon une autre version, I. a été chassé de Crète (Verg. *Aen.* 3, 121-122) en raison des crimes commis devant Troie (Verg. *Aen.* 11, 264-265). Selon Serv. *Aen.* 3, 121 (Myth. Vat. II 210), I. aurait, pour obtenir son salut pendant une tempête, voué à Poséidon le premier être humain qu'il rencontrerait à son arrivée: il sacrifie ainsi au dieu son fils (ou sa fille: Myth. Vat. I 195); cet acte ayant amené la peste, le peuple chasse I. pour la faire cesser.

Suivant une autre tradition, I. ayant confié son royaume à Leukos (Lykophron 1218-1219), Nauplios, pour venger la mort de son fils Palamède (→ Palamedes), incite la femme d'I., Média, à le tromper avec Leukos; ce dernier, ayant pris le pouvoir, la tue ainsi que sa fille (Apollod. *epitome* 6, 10) et aussi ses fils (Lykophron 1216-1225; Tzetz. Lykophr. 1218), puis chasse I.; ou bien I., de retour, aveugle Leukos et reconquiert son royaume (Schol. Lykophr. 1218).

I. est aussi mentionné dans l'*Odyssée*: Ulysse (→ Odysseus) le fait intervenir dans les récits où il se dit crétois (13, 259-261; 14, 233-238, 382-383; 19, 181-202).

On attribue aux Crétois venus sous la direction d'I. (Varron *ap. Prob. Verg. ecl.* 6, 31, p. 336-337 Hagen, *Appendix Serviana*) la fondation de Salente en Calabre (Verg. *Aen.* 3, 400-401; Strabon, 6, 3, 5 p. 281) et d'un temple à Minerve (Serv. *Aen.* 3, 531); puis I. s'installe à Colophon (Schol. Hom. *Od.* 13, 259; Lykophron 424-425, 431-432; Serv. *Aen.* 3, 401).

I. est aussi à l'origine de la réputation de menteurs des Crétois. Lors d'un concours de beauté entre Médée (→ Medeia) et Thétis à qui il accorde la victoire, Médée condamne la race d'I. à mentir (Athénodore d'Erétrie, *FHG* IV p. 345); Ajax fait allusion à cette ré-

putation en mettant en doute la puissance du contingent crétois (Philostr. *her.* 30 Lannoy).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 89-90 s.v. «Idomeneo»; Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 106-108 s.v. «Idomeneus»; v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1340-1341 s.v. «Idomeneus I»; Jacoby, F., *RE* IX (1916) 906-909 s.v. «Idomeneus».

## CATALOGUE

### DOCUMENTS GRECS

1. \* Stamnos attique à f.r. Marché des ant. - Isler-Kerényi, C./Causey-Frel, F., *Stamnoi, An Exhibition at the Paul Getty Museum* (1980) n° 15; v. Bothmer, D., *AntK* 24, 1981, 66-67 pl. 10, 3; Greifenhagen, A., «Odysseus in Malibu», *Pantheon* 40, 1982, 211-217 fig. 3; Cody, M., dans *Wealth of the Ancient World* (1983) 72-73 n° 12. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Au premier plan le Cyclope (inscr. *KYKΛΟΠΣ*, → Kyklops, Kyklopes), de profil à g., pousse la pierre qui fermait la caverne; au second plan I. (inscr. *ΙΔΑΜΕΝΕΥΣ*), en chiton court, couché sous un bélier de profil à dr. brandit une épée du bras dr.; derrière lui Ulysse (inscr. *ΟΔΥΣΕΥΣ*) sous un autre bélier.

2. \* Fr. de bol «homérique» en terre cuite à reliefs. Thèbes, Mus. De Thèbes, Cabirion. - Sinn, *Becher* 52-53. 82 MB 13 pl. 6, 1-2. - Ép. hellénistique. - I. (inscr. *ΕΙΔΟΜ[ΕΝΕΥΣ]*), debout de profil à g. devant un autre personnage placé au-dessous de lui (inscr. *[ΑΓΑΜ]ΕΜΝΩΝ, ΑΙΑΣ, [ΜΩ]?*). Cette scène illustre l'arrivée de la course de chars pendant les jeux funèbres en l'honneur de Patrocle.

3. (= Agamemnon 3, = Aias I 21, → Diomedes I chap. V N, iii) Groupe statuaire de bronze, offrande des Achéens, perdu. Olympie. - Paus. 5, 25, 9-10; Dörig, J., *Onatas of Aegina* (1977) 20-21. - Œuvre d'Onatas, 470-460 av. J.-C. - Groupe composé des statues des neuf héros qui avaient relevé le défi d'Hector: I., comme les autres guerriers, portait la lance et le bouclier; le sien était orné d'un coq, allusion à son ancêtre le soleil, et portait la signature du sculpteur.

### DOCUMENTS ROMAINS

#### Peintures de manuscrit

4. \* Miniature 13 de l'*Ilias Ambrosiana*. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Cod. 1019 (F205). - Bianchi Bandinelli, R., *Hellenistic Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad (Ilias Ambrosiana)* (1955) 59 fig. 49 pl. 17-19. - Fin du V<sup>e</sup>-début du VI<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. barbu, debout de face (courte tunique blanche, manteau rouge), assiste au sacrifice d'un bœuf par Agamemnon (Hom. *Il.* 2, 405).

5. \* Miniature 33 de l'*Ilias Ambrosiana*. Milan, *ibid.* - Bianchi Bandinelli, *o.c.* 4, 70-71 fig. 69 pl. 20. - I. assis (tunique, manteau drapé), tenant un sceptre dans la main g., parmi les chefs grecs réunis pour désigner Ulysse et Diomède comme espions chez les Troyens.

6. \* Miniature 42 de l'*Ilias Ambrosiana*. Milan, *ibid.* - Bianchi Bandinelli, *o.c.* 4, 75 fig. 78 pl. 31-32. - I. barbu, vêtu en légionnaire (tunique courte, cuirasse, casque), tire du bras dr. le cadavre d'Othryonée par le

pied g. et tient dans la main g. le bouclier où est inscrit son nom.

### Relief

7. Table iliaque. Rome, Mus. Cap., Sala delle Colombe 83. - Bianchi Bandinelli, *o.c.* 4, 112 fig. 29; Sadowska, *Tables* 26 pl. 1. - Dernier quart du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - I. (tunique courte, cuirasse manteau, casque), un bouclier dans la main g. et l'épée dans la dr., se dirige vers Othryonée à terre (derrière lui Asios mourant: dessin douteux, qui ne semble pas conforme à la description donnée dans le texte, Hom. *Il.* 13, 370-391).

## COMMENTAIRE

L'iconographie d'I. comme celle de la plupart des héros principalement connus par leurs exploits pendant la guerre de Troie est très restreinte, mais à la différence de la majorité de ces personnages mentionnés épisodiquement I. jouit dans les textes d'une grande popularité. Les images sont en relation directe avec les textes (2-3), et le plus souvent I. n'apparaît que dans l'illustration précise du texte ou dans des situations qui en dérivent directement, par exemple pour une scène de conseil (5) où I. est figuré alors qu'il est seulement nommé auparavant parmi ceux qui seront appelés à cette réunion (Hom. *Il.* 10, 112). Le manque de caractéristique d'I. ne permet pas, en l'absence d'inscription, de l'identifier dans un certain nombre de scènes où la tradition littéraire lui fait jouer un rôle; jeux funèbres de Patrocle (→ Achilleus 491-494a), combat près des vaisseaux, duel avec Énée, Cheval de Troie.

Un des principaux traits d'I. est son âge, qui lui vaut d'être nommé à plusieurs reprises avec les sages Nestor et Phoenix (Hom. *Il.* 2, 405; 19, 311; Q. Smyrn. 5, 134-135).

La plus ancienne représentation d'I. est totalement en dehors de ce contexte: elle fait de lui un compagnon d'Ulysse (1). I. est évoqué à plusieurs reprises par Ulysse, mais uniquement dans le récit de sa vie fictive en Crète et en aucun cas dans ses aventures réelles. La présence d'I. dans la grotte du Cyclope est donc une contamination due à ce texte où les deux personnages sont, à plusieurs reprises, mis en relation. Malgré l'insolite de cette situation, il s'agit donc du même personnage.

CATHERINE LOCHIN

## IKARIOS I

(*Ἰκάριος*, *Ἰκαρος*, *Ἰκαρίων*, Icarus, Icarus) Héros du dème attique d'Ikaria, il accorda l'hospitalité à → Dionysos venu apporter aux hommes la vigne et le vin. Le dieu lui fit présent d'une outre de vin, et I. la partagea avec des bergers qui s'enivrèrent. Croyant qu'il les avait empoisonnés, ils le tuèrent à coups de bâton et abandonnèrent son cadavre. Les hurlements de son chien Maira révélèrent à sa fille → Erigone (I) l'emplacement de son corps.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Hyg. *astr.* 2, 4; *fab.* 130; Eratosth. *Erigone*, *frg.* 22-27 Powell; Apollod. *bibl.* 3 (191-192), 14, 7; Aristot. *frg.* 515 Rose; Ail. *nat.* 7, 28.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 80-81 fig. 103 s.v. «Ikario I»; v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1358 s.v. «Ikarios I»; Heeg, J., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 973-975 s.v. «Ikarios I»; Schultz, A., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 111-112 s.v. «Ikarios I».

## CATALOGUE

### A. Dionysos offre le vin à Icaros

#### Relief attique d'époque impériale

1. (= Dionysos/Bacchus 254, = Erigone I 1\* - avec bibl.) Plaque de marbre. Athènes, théâtre de Dionysos, réutilisée dans le *béma* de Phaidros, *in situ.* - Ép. d'Hadrien. - De part et d'autre d'un autel décoré d'une rosette, à dr. Dionysos avec un pied de vigne, à g. I. (tunique courte, chlamyde, sandales), une grappe de raisin dans la main g.; de la dr. il tenait attaché un bouc ou une chèvre qui se dresse à son côté; au second plan, derrière ses jambes, son chien Maira. Derrière lui, à l'extrémité g. de la scène, Érigoné; à dr., derrière Dionysos, un jeune homme (un Satyre?).

#### Mosaïques d'époque impériale tardive

2. \* (= Dionysos/Bacchus [in per. occ.] 176, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 502 - avec bibl.) Pavement polychrome. Tunis, Bardo A 103. D'Oudna-Uthina (Tunisie), maison des *Laberii*. - Dunabin, *Mosaics* 182-183. 266; Blanchard, M., *AntAfr* 15, 1980, 169-181 fig. 4. - III<sup>e</sup> s. (Picard), fin III<sup>e</sup>-début IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Dunabin). - *Emblema* central: au milieu Dionysos debout, à dr. I. assis sur un trône (himation ceinturé, chlamyde), avec une barbe touffue et une chevelure abondante et bouclée, entourée d'un diadème. Il tient un sceptre de la main g. et tend la dr. pour recevoir une grappe de raisin offerte par un esclave, à g. Aux pieds de ce dernier, une chèvre ou un bouc. (Pour M. Blanchard, I. est le personnage de g. et celui de dr. un roi sur son trône).

3. \* Pavement polychrome. Manosque (Alpes-de-Haute-Provence), propriété de la Mairie. Découvert en 1918 à Vinon (Var), dans le *tridinium* d'une villa romaine. - Chaillan, Abbé, *BullArchCTH* 1919, 259-265, 3 fig.; Lavagne, H., «Les mosaïques de Vinon», dans *Actes du Coll. int. de l'AIEMA*, Bath 1987, s.p.; Lancha, J., *Mosaïque et culture dans l'Occident ro-*

## IGRAS

(*IGRAC* [sic!]) Nom d'un Géant (→ Gigantes 91) inscrit sur une gemme d'origine italique (fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.); signification inconnue. FRANCIS VIAN





Ikaros I 3

main (s. p.) n° 53. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Lancha). - Au-dessus d'une inscr. en vers (Martialis I, 40) trois panneaux: au centre les trois Grâces (→ Charis, Charites/Gratiae) et de part et d'autre l'histoire d'I. Sur le panneau de g., Dionysos/Bacchus debout (nu, chlamyde), tenant thyrses et canthare; vers lui se penche I. (endormagé; tunique courte et himation, bottes), un genou fléchi; sur le panneau de dr., deux jeunes gens debout de face (tunique courte, bottes): celui de g., qui porte aussi un pétase et un court manteau, pourrait être I., et celui de dr. un serviteur. A dr. un bouc se dresse sur un rocher pour brouter: les deux hommes s'apprentent à le sacrifier.

4. (= Akme I\*, = Dionysos [in per. or.] 103, = Dionysos/Bacchus 257\* - avec bibl.) Pavement polychrome, tesselles de pâte de verre. Nea Paphos, Maison de Dionysos, *in situ*. - Fin III<sup>e</sup>-début IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Au milieu du panneau, I. (inscr. *IKAPIOS*) chauve et barbu, le torse nu, drapé dans son himation; de la main g. il mène un attelage de bœufs chargé d'outres de vin; il tourne la tête et tend la main dr. vers Dionysos et Akmé, assis à g. (noms inscrits). Tout à fait à dr. de la scène, deux bergers ivres; au-dessus, l'inscr. explicative *OI ΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΟΙΝΟΝ ΠΙΟΝΤΕΣ*, «ceux qui les premiers ont bu du vin».

#### B. Identification incertaine: rencontre de Dionysos et d'Ikaros?

Céramique attique à figures noires

5.\* (= Dionysos 803 avec bibl.) Coupe. Paris, Louvre CA 576. De Béotie. - *ABV* 63, 3: P. de Heidelberg; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 17. - 560-550 av. J.-C. - Dionysos et I. (?) debout face à face, barbus, couronnés, tenant chacun un rhyton.

6.\* (= Dionysos 804\* avec bibl.) Amphore. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. F 1690. D'Étrurie. - *ABV* 151, 11: P. d'Amasis; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 42. - 550-540 av. J.-C. - A: à côté de Dionysos, qui tient un rhyton, un personnage couronné: I.? Danseurs barbus et joueur d'aulos. B: cortège.

7. (= Dionysos 805\* avec bibl.) Amphore. Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 4399. - *Para* 111, 68 bis: P. Affecté; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 63. - 540-530 av. J.-C. - A: devant

Dionysos debout (canthare), I.? (bâton, canthare); un Silène, un homme nu. B: Dionysos et deux hommes.

8.\* Amphore. Londres, BM 1836.2-24.46 (B 153). De Vulci. - *ABV* 243, 45: P. Affecté; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 62; *CVA* 3 pl. 25. - 540-530 av. J.-C. - I. (?) debout tend les deux mains pour accueillir Dionysos qui s'approche, tenant un canthare.

9. Amphore. Londres BM 1837.6-9.99 (B 149), anc. coll. Canino. - *ABV* 245, 60: P. Affecté; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 63. - 540-530 av. J.-C. - I. (?) accueille Dionysos qui tient un pied de vigne et un canthare. Derrière eux, un homme s'éloigne; à g. un Satyre dansant.

Céramique attique à figures rouges

10.\* Péliké fr. Malibu, Getty Mus. 81.AE.62. - Robertson, M., dans *Getty Vases* 3 (1986) 71-90 (en part. 83) fig. 1a: P. de Pan plutôt que Myson (J. Frel). - Vers 480-470 av. J.-C. - A: Dionysos debout à dr., barbu, couronné, portant un vêtement richement brodé, les bras tendus et abaissés devant lui; à g. restes d'une Ménade, les bras levés vers une grosse grappe, et d'un Satyre; à dr. main dr. d'un personnage (I.?) qui levait le bras en tenant un rameau de vigne, et extrémité d'un sceptre ornée d'un fleuron. B: départ de → Triptolemos sur son char ailé.

11.\* Hydrie. Londres, BM E 166. De Capoue. - *CVA* 6, pl. 84. - 450-440 av. J.-C. - Trois figures étendues sur une *kliné*: à dr. Dionysos, qui pose la main sur le dos de son voisin, I.?; une femme tenant un canthare semble s'adresser au Silène que l'on voit par derrière.

#### C. Identifications erronées d'Ikaros: la «visite de Dionysos chez Ikaros»

12. (= Dionysos 855\* avec bibl.) Relief votif, de marbre. Paris, Louvre MA 741. Du Pirée. - Fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A dr. un personnage couché sur une *kliné* (le défunt héroïsé et non I.), près d'une jeune femme, accueille Dionysos juvénile, ivre et soutenu par un petit Satyre.

13. (= Dionysos 856\* avec bibl.) Base en relief, en marbre. Vatican, Sala busti 783. De Rome, villa Negroni Massimi. - 3<sup>e</sup> quart du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Dio-

nysos ivre, soutenu et escorté par le thiasse (Satyres, Silène, une Ménade), est accueilli par un homme (poète plutôt qu'I.) étendu sur une *kliné* aux côtés d'une jeune femme.

14. (= Dionysos 858\* avec bibl.) Relief de marbre. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6713. - Début du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur fond de décor architectural, Dionysos barbu, ivre, soutenu par de petits Satyres et suivi du thiasse, s'approche d'un lit où sont étendus un homme qui l'accueille et une jeune femme.

15. (= Dionysos 857 avec bibl.) Relief de terre cuite, plaque «Campana». Londres BM D 531. - Ép. augustéenne. - Scène analogue: Dionysos et son cortège accueillis par un homme étendu sur une *kliné* aux côtés d'une jeune femme.

#### COMMENTAIRE

Le mythe du héros attique I. semble avoir été plus populaire dans la périphérie du monde grec qu'à Athènes même, et d'autre part mieux attesté à l'époque romaine qu'aux époques antérieures. Un seul des quatre documents qui représentent avec certitude ce mythe provient d'Athènes, le relief 1; il en va de même pour la série de vases B, d'identification douteuse, qui proviennent pour la plupart d'Italie (6. 8-9[?]. 11).

Cette série de vases donnerait comme date d'apparition du mythe dans l'iconographie le milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. Cependant les documents 1-4, qui ne posent aucun problème d'identification, montrent que la légende rencontre plus de succès à l'époque romaine. On peut constater que ces quelques représentations sont très soignées, et enrichies de références précises au mythe: chien, fille, Satyre, pied ou rameau de vigne, inscriptions.

Enfin, l'identification de la scène dite «visite de Dionysos chez I.», illustrée sur la série de reliefs C, est très contestée (cf. Picard, Ch., *AJA* 38, 1934, 137-152). De fait, d'importantes différences séparent nos premiers documents (1-4) et cette série de reliefs (12-15). Ces derniers ne peuvent figurer la rencontre du dieu avec I., qui aurait eu lieu en plein air, car ils présentent un décor urbain: on y voit des rideaux, des masques de théâtre, des édifices au second ou à l'arrière-plan, éléments qui interdisent de reconnaître dans le sujet de ces reliefs le mythe d'I.

DAPHNÉ GONDICAS

filles, → Penelope, et deux fils, Alyzée (Alyzaïos) et Leukadios. Selon une autre version I., qui était revenu à Lacédémone, épousa la Naïade Périboia dont il eut une fille, Pénélope, et cinq fils, Thoas, Damasippos, Imeusinos, Alétès et Périléos.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Apollod. *bibl.* I (87), 9, 5; Tzetz. *Lykophron* 511; *Schol.* Eur. Or. 457; Paus. 3, 1, 4; 12, 1; 20, 10; 8, 34, 4; Strabon, 10, 2, 9 p. 452; 24 p. 461; Hom. *Od.* 2, 52-53; 15, 14-17; *Hermesianax* fig. 7, 27-34 Powell.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 82 s. v. «Ikaros 2»; v. Geisau, H., *KlPauIy* II (1967) 1358 s. v. «Ikaros 2»; Heeg, J., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 975-976 s. v. «Ikaros 2»; Schultz, A., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 112-114 s. v. «Ikaros 2».

I.\* (= Aineias 12, = Alexandros 63\*, = Athena 408, = Aphrodite 1426 [autre face], = Euopis 1, = Helene 167 - avec bibl.) Coupe att. f. r. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2291. De Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 459, 4: Makron (sign.), potier Hiéron; *Para* 377; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 244. - 490-480 av. J.-C. - Noms inscrits. Pâris-Alexandros s'avance vers la g., se retournant vers Hélène qu'il tient par le poignet. Puis vient un personnage barbu, probablement Enée, avec → Timandra. Suit un groupe de trois figures: Euopis se tourne vers deux vieillards barbus, en longue tunique et himation, peut-être pour leur annoncer la nouvelle de l'enlèvement d'Hélène. Le premier vieillard, I. (*IKAPIOS*), couronné d'olivier et appuyé sur un bâton noueux, lève la main dr. pour exprimer son indignation. L'autre, son frère Tyndare, qui tient de la main g. une longue canne, fait le même geste.

Comme tous les personnages de cette scène sont couronnés, on a supposé que c'est à l'issue d'un festin qu'intervient l'enlèvement d'Hélène. En effet, d'après les *Chants Cypriens* (Proklos, Davies *EGF* p. 31), Pâris fut successivement l'hôte des Tyndarides puis de Ménélas (→ Menelaos). Cependant la scène ne doit pas nécessairement être localisée à Amyclées: la présence de Tyndare et d'I. à la cour de Ménélas n'a rien d'étonnant (Kahil, *Hélène* 29), et c'est de Lacédémone, d'après la tradition la mieux établie, que Pâris emmène l'épouse infidèle. Il est d'ailleurs peu vraisemblable que l'artiste se soit préoccupé de la localisation exacte de l'épisode.

DAPHNÉ GONDICAS

IKAROS → Daidalos et Ikaros

ILIA → Rhea Silvia

#### ILIAS

#### IKARIOS II

(*Ἰκάριος*, Ikarus) Héros lacédémonien, fils de Périérés (ou d'Oibalos) et de Gorgophoné, frère de Tyndare (→ Tyndareos) et d'Hippokoon. Ce dernier chassa ses deux frères de Lacédémone. Réfugié en Acarnanie, I. épousa Polykasté, fille de Lygaios, qui lui donna une

(*Ἰλιάς*) The personification of Homer's poem. The I., a female figure, is represented in allegorical scenes which have been related to the cult of Homer. In these scenes the central figure is Homer attended by his two poems, the I. and the → *Odysssea*.



Ikarios I 3

main (s.p.) n° 53. – IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Lancha). – Au-dessus d'une inscr. en vers (Martialis I, 40) trois panneaux: au centre les trois Grâces (→ Charis, Charites/Gratiae) et de part et d'autre l'histoire d'I. Sur le panneau de g., Dionysos/Bacchus debout (nu, chlamyde), tenant thyrses et canthare; vers lui se penche I. (endormagé; tunique courte et himation, bottes), un genou fléchi; sur le panneau de dr., deux jeunes gens debout de face (tunique courte, bottes): celui de g., qui porte aussi un pétase et un court manteau, pourrait être I., et celui de dr. un serviteur. A dr. un bouc se dresse sur un rocher pour brouter: les deux hommes s'apprêtent à le sacrifier.

4. (= Akme I\*, = Dionysos [in per. or.] I03, = Dionysos/Bacchus 257\* – avec bibl.) Pavement polychrome, tesselles de pâte de verre. Nea Paphos, Maison de Dionysos, *in situ*. – Fin III<sup>e</sup>–début IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Au milieu du panneau, I. (inscr. *IKAPIOS*) chauve et barbu, le torse nu, drapé dans son himation; de la main g. il mène un attelage de bœufs chargé d'outres de vin; il tourne la tête et tend la main dr. vers Dionysos et Akmé, assis à g. (noms inscrits). Tout à fait à dr. de la scène, deux bergers ivres; au-dessus, l'inscr. explicative *OI ΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΟΙΝΟΝ ΠΙΟΝΤΕΣ*, «ceux qui les premiers ont bu du vin».

#### B. Identification incertaine: rencontre de Dionysos et d'Ikaros?

*Céramique attique à figures noires*

5.\* (= Dionysos 803 avec bibl.) Coupe. Paris, Louvre CA 576. De Béotie. – *ABV* 63, 3: P. de Heidelberg; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 17. – 560–550 av. J.-C. – Dionysos et I.(?) debout face à face, barbus, couronnés, tenant chacun un rhyton.

6.\* (= Dionysos 804\* avec bibl.) Amphore. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. F 1690. D'Étrurie. – *ABV* 151, 11: P. d'Amasis; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 42. – 550–540 av. J.-C. – A: à côté de Dionysos, qui tient un rhyton, un personnage couronné: I.? Danseurs barbus et joueur d'aulos. B: cortège.

7. (= Dionysos 805\* avec bibl.) Amphore. Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 4399. – *Para* 111, 68 bis: P. Affecté; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 63. – 540–530 av. J.-C. – A: devant

Dionysos debout (canthare), I.(? (bâton, canthare); un Silène, un homme nu. B: Dionysos et deux hommes.

8.\* Amphore. Londres, BM 1836.2–24.46 (B 153). De Vulci. – *ABV* 243, 45: P. Affecté; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 62; *CVA* 3 pl. 25. – 540–530 av. J.-C. – I.(?) debout tend les deux mains pour accueillir Dionysos qui s'approche, tenant un canthare.

9. Amphore. Londres BM 1837.6–9.99 (B 149), anc. coll. Canino. – *ABV* 245, 60: P. Affecté; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 63. – 540–530 av. J.-C. – I.(?) accueille Dionysos qui tient un pied de vigne et un canthare. Derrière eux, un homme s'éloigne; à g. un Satyre dansant.

*Céramique attique à figures rouges*

10.\* Péliké fr. Malibu, Getty Mus. 81.AE.62. – Robertson, M., dans *Getty Vases* 3 (1986) 71–90 (en part. 83) fig. 1a: P. de Pan plutôt que Myson (J. Frel). – Vers 480–470 av. J.-C. – A: Dionysos debout à dr., barbu, couronné, portant un vêtement richement brodé, les bras tendus et abaissés devant lui; à g. restes d'une Ménade, les bras levés vers une grosse grappe, et d'un Satyre; à dr. main dr. d'un personnage (I.?) qui levait le bras en tenant un rameau de vigne, et extrémité d'un sceptre ornée d'un fleuron. B: départ de → Triptolemos sur son char ailé.

11.\* Hydrie. Londres, BM E 166. De Capoue. – *CVA* 6, pl. 84. – 450–440 av. J.-C. – Trois figures étendues sur une *kliné*: à dr. Dionysos, qui pose la main sur le dos de son voisin, I.?; une femme tenant un canthare semble s'adresser au Silène que l'on voit par-dessus.

#### C. Identifications erronées d'Ikaros: la «visite de Dionysos chez Ikaros»

12. (= Dionysos 855\* avec bibl.) Relief votif, de marbre. Paris, Louvre MA 741. Du Pirée. – Fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – A dr. un personnage couché sur une *kliné* (le défunt héroïsé et non I.), près d'une jeune femme, accueille Dionysos juvénile, ivre et soutenu par un petit Satyre.

13. (= Dionysos 856\* avec bibl.) Base en relief, en marbre. Vatican, Sala busti 783. De Rome, villa Negroni Massimi. – 3<sup>e</sup> quart du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Dio-

nysos ivre, soutenu et escorté par le thiasse (Satyres, Silène, une Ménade), est accueilli par un homme (poète plutôt qu'I.) étendu sur une *kliné* aux côtés d'une jeune femme.

14. (= Dionysos 858\* avec bibl.) Relief de marbre. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6713. – Début du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Sur fond de décor architectural, Dionysos barbu, ivre, soutenu par de petits Satyres et suivi du thiasse, s'approche d'un lit où sont étendus un homme qui l'accueille et une jeune femme.

15. (= Dionysos 857 avec bibl.) Relief de terre cuite, plaque «Campana». Londres BM D 531. – Ép. augustéenne. – Scène analogue: Dionysos et son cortège accueillis par un homme étendu sur une *kliné* aux côtés d'une jeune femme.

#### COMMENTAIRE

Le mythe du héros attique I. semble avoir été plus populaire dans la périphérie du monde grec qu'à Athènes même, et d'autre part mieux attesté à l'époque romaine qu'aux époques antérieures. Un seul des quatre documents qui représentent avec certitude ce mythe provient d'Athènes, le relief 1; il en va de même pour la série de vases B, d'identification douteuse, qui proviennent pour la plupart d'Italie (6. 8–9[?]. 11).

Cette série de vases donnerait comme date d'apparition du mythe dans l'iconographie le milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. Cependant les documents 1–4, qui ne posent aucun problème d'identification, montrent que la légende rencontre plus de succès à l'époque romaine. On peut constater que ces quelques représentations sont très soignées, et enrichies de références précises au mythe: chien, fille, Satyre, pied ou rameau de vigne, inscriptions.

Enfin, l'identification de la scène dite «visite de Dionysos chez I.», illustrée sur la série de reliefs C, est très contestée (cf. Picard, Ch., *AJA* 38, 1934, 137–152). De fait, d'importantes différences séparent nos premiers documents (1–4) et cette série de reliefs (12–15). Ces derniers ne peuvent figurer la rencontre du dieu avec I., qui aurait eu lieu en plein air, car ils présentent un décor urbain: on y voit des rideaux, des masques de théâtre, des édifices au second ou à l'arrière-plan, éléments qui interdisent de reconnaître dans le sujet de ces reliefs le mythe d'I.

DAPHNÉ GONDICAS

filles, → Penelope, et deux fils, Alyzée (Alyzaïos) et Leukadios. Selon une autre version I., qui était revenu à Lacédémone, épousa la Naïade Périboia dont il eut une fille, Pénélope, et cinq fils, Thoas, Damasippos, Imeusinos, Alétés et Périléos.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Apollod. *bibl.* I (87), 9, 5; Tzetz. *Lykophron* 511; *Schol. Eur. Or.* 457; Paus. 3, 1, 4; 12, 1; 20, 10; 8, 34, 4; Strabon, 10, 2, 9 p. 452; 24 p. 461; Hom. *Od.* 2, 52–53; 15, 14–17; *Hermesianax frg.* 7, 27–34 Powell.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 82 s. v. «Ikaros 2»; v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1358 s. v. «Ikaros 2»; Heeg, J., *REIX* I (1914) 975–976 s. v. «Ikaros 2»; Schultz, A., *MLII* I (1890–94) 112–114 s. v. «Ikaros 2».

1.\* (= Aineias 12, = Alexandros 63\*, = Athena 408, = Aphrodite 1426 [autre face], = Euopis 1, = Helene 167 – avec bibl.) Coupe att. f. r. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. F 2291. De Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 459, 4: Makron (sign.), potier Hiéron; *Para* 377; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 244. – 490–480 av. J.-C. – Noms inscrits. Pâris-Alexandros s'avance vers la g., se retournant vers Hélène qu'il tient par le poignet. Puis vient un personnage barbu, probablement Enée, avec → Timandra. Suit un groupe de trois figures: Euopis se tourne vers deux vieillards barbus, en longue tunique et himation, peut-être pour leur annoncer la nouvelle de l'enlèvement d'Hélène. Le premier vieillard, I. (*IKAPIOS*), couronné d'olivier et appuyé sur un bâton noueux, lève la main dr. pour exprimer son indignation. L'autre, son frère Tyndare, qui tient de la main g. une longue canne, fait le même geste.

Comme tous les personnages de cette scène sont couronnés, on a supposé que c'est à l'issue d'un festin qu'intervient l'enlèvement d'Hélène. En effet, d'après les *Chants Cypriens* (Proklos, Davies *EGF* p. 31), Pâris fut successivement l'hôte des Tyndarides puis de Ménélas (→ Menelaos). Cependant la scène ne doit pas nécessairement être localisée à Amyclées: la présence de Tyndare et d'I. à la cour de Ménélas n'a rien d'étonnant (Kahil, *Hélène* 29), et c'est de Lacédémone, d'après la tradition la mieux établie, que Pâris emmène l'épouse infidèle. Il est d'ailleurs peu vraisemblable que l'artiste se soit préoccupé de la localisation exacte de l'épisode.

DAPHNÉ GONDICAS

IKAROS → Daidalos et Ikaros

ILIA → Rhea Silvia

#### ILIAS

#### IKARIOS II

(*Ἰκάριος*, Icarus) Héros lacédémonien, fils de Périérès (ou d'Oïbalos) et de Gorgophoné, frère de Tyndare (→ Tyndareos) et d'Hippokoon. Ce dernier chassa ses deux frères de Lacédémone. Réfugié en Acarnanie, I. épousa Polykasté, fille de Lygaïos, qui lui donna une

(*Ἰλιάς*) The personification of Homer's poem. The I., a female figure, is represented in allegorical scenes which have been related to the cult of Homer. In these scenes the central figure is Homer attended by his two poems, the I. and the → Odysséia.

LITERARY SOURCES: An epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 16, 292; Ps.-Plut. v. *Hom.* 1, 4 p. 243 Allen) seems to give evidence that there was a monument representing Homer with the I. and Odysseus as his daughters, but the monument may be fictive. It has also been thought that the epigram originally accompanied a book illumination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Adriani, A., *Divagazioni intorno ad una coppa paesistica del Mus. di Alessandria* (1959) 32-33; Bieber, *SculptHell* 127-128; Guerrini, L., *EAA* IV (1961) 107 s. v. «Iliade»; Havelock, C. M., *Hellenistic Art* (1971) 200-201; Hinks, R., *Myth and Allegory in Ancient Art* (1939) 99-101; Pinkwart, D., *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die «Musen des Philiskos»* (1965) 28; eadem, *APL* IV (1965) 55-65; Spinazzola, *Arti* 231; Thompson, H. A., *Hesperia* 23, 1954, 62-65; Treu, G., «Standbilder der Ilias und Odyssee zu Athen», *AM* 14, 1889, 160-169.

## CATALOGUE

### Reliefs

1. (= Apollon 972, = Arete I 1 with bibl., = Chronos 1\* with bibl., = Historia 1\*) Marble relief of the «Apotheosis of Homer» by Archelaos of Priene. London, BM 2191. From Bovillae near Rome. - 130-120 B. C. - For a description see → Apollon 972. In the lowest tier Homer as a god is crowned by → Chronos and → Oikoumene; the personifications of the I. and Odysseus are kneeling at his feet.

2. (Uncertain) Marble sarcophagus, Asiatic. Paris, Louvre Ma 1500. Once Borghese coll. - Morey, Ch. R., *Sardis* V 1 (1924) 38 fig. 58; Sharpley, J., *ArtBull* 5, 1922, 66-67 pl. 28; Hinks 101; Baratte/Metzger, *SarcLouvre* no. 186. - A. D. 220-225. - Right lateral face: In the centre Homer standing with the I. and Odysseus at either side, each with a foot raised on the prow of a ship.

3. Silver goblet. Naples, Mus. Naz. 25301. From Herculaneum. - Guida Ruesch 411 pl. 93; Adriani 33 fig. 12 pl. 48, 139. - 2nd half of 1st cent. B. C. - Homer with the personifications of the I. and Odysseus.

### Statue

4.\* Marble statue and part of its inscribed base. Athens, Agora S. 2038, I. 6628. From the Agora, southwest corner of the Stoa of Attalos. - Treu 160-169; Thompson 62-65; Travlos, *TopAth* figs. 308-310; *Agora* XIV 115; Raubitschek, A. E., *Hesperia* 23, 1954, 317-319. - Early 2nd cent. A. D. - Torso of a female figure in armour. On its r. side traces of a sword. The inscribed base refers to the I.: «ΙΛΙΑΣ Η ΜΕΘ ΟΜΗΡΟΝ ΕΓΩ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ/ΠΑΡΣΤΑΤΙΣ ΙΔΡΥΜΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΜΕ ΤΕΚΟΝΤΙ ΝΕΩ[Ι]».

## COMMENTARY

The first representation of the I. on 1 dates from Hellenistic times when mythical or early poets are given mythological attendants, and when the cult of Homer produced a great number of such allegorical compositions. On 1, in the main scene, where Homer

is crowned by Chronos and Oikoumene represented as Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III respectively, the personifications of the I. and Odysseus are kneeling on either side of the poet's throne. On Homer's right the I. crouches carrying a sword and at his other side the Odysseus holds up an «aphlaston» from a ship's stern. The I. represented with the Odysseus as female figures in armour also hold swords on 3 and 4. It has been noticed that the I. has the place of honour on the poet's right; she is slightly larger in scale than the Odysseus, especially on 1. This iconographical emphasis on the I. has been interpreted in the light of a passage of Longinus, that she was the child of the poet's youth whereas the Odysseus was a work of his old age. On 2, a Roman work, the personifications of the two poems are Muse-like figures with no attributes to distinguish between them. Hinks noticed that the Archelaos relief (1) is of a dramatic and allegorical type, whereas 2 and 3 show a formal symmetrical composition. The statue 4, the inscribed base of which gives the clue to its association with the I., and a similar one of the Odysseus, were parts of a monumental Hadrianic group, where Homer with sceptre and scroll in his hands, as on 1, was the central figure. This group, according to Thompson, was the principal ornament of the library of Pantainos in the Athenian Agora. The epigram *Anth. Pal.* 16, 292 (see lit. sources) offers the possibility of the existence of a similar group (Thompson 65).

EFFIE LYGOURI-TOLIA

## ILION

(Ἰλιον, Ilium) Personifikation der gleichnamigen Stadt.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Siehe Brückner, A., in Dörpfeld, W., *Troja und Ilion* (1902) 572-593.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Büchner, L., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 1065 s. v. «Ilion 5»; Drexler W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 118 s. v. «Ilion»; v. Fritze, H., in Dörpfeld, W., *Troja und Ilion* II (1902) 495: 527-528; Meyer, E., *RE* Suppl. XIV (1974) 809-817 s. v. «Troia 1»; Vlad Borelli, L., *EAA* VII (1966) 999-1007 s. v. «Troia».

1.\* (= Athena 58e, Variante) AE Ilion, Crispina († 183 n. Chr.), Elagabalus (218-222 n. Chr.) - BMC Troas, etc. 67, 70 Taf. 13, 1 (das Palladion wird irrtümlich als Spindel und die bewaffnete Göttin als Commodus bezeichnet); v. Fritze 495 Nr. 86 Beil. 64, 86; 527-528; SNG Copenhagen 416; Lacroix, *Reproductions* 110; Bellinger, A. R., *Troy. The Coins, Suppl. Monograph* 2 (1961) 60-61 Nr. T 200 Taf. 9. - Rs.: Nach r. stehende I. mit Mauerkrone, auf der Linken das Palladion haltend, die Rechte der nach l. stehenden, mit einem Speer bewaffneten Athena oder → Roma reichend. Zwischen beiden Schild.

## KOMMENTAR

Die eine Mauerkrone tragende Tyche auf Münzen Ilions (1) wird als Personifikation dieser Stadt durch

das Halten der bekannten Kultstatue des Ortes, des Palladions, gekennzeichnet. I. überreicht diese Statue einer bewaffneten weiblichen Person, die entweder Roma oder Athena sein dürfte, deren genaue Identifikation aber wohl offen bleiben muß, da sowohl Roma als auch Athena auf Münzen der Stadt vorkommen und beide inhaltlich und politisch auf diesen Prägungen bedeutsam waren. RAINER VOLLKOMMER

## ILIONEUS → Niobidai

## ILIOUPERSIS → LIMC Suppl.

## ILISOS

(Ἰλισός, Ἰλισσός [Liddell/Scott: *falsa lectio* in Handschriften] Ἰλισός, Ἐλισσός, Ilisos, Elisos) Personifikation des attischen Flusses, an welchem die *Μοῦσαι Ἰλισιάδες* oder *Ἰλισίδες* verehrt wurden (→ Mousa, Mousai). Dem Plinius (*nat.* 4, 24) ist ein Ort in Attika mit dem Namen Ilisos bekannt, und in der Suda s. v. Ἰλισσός wird Ilisos als Ort und Fluß erwähnt.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Plat. *Ax.* 364a; *Kritias* I 12a; Strabon 9, 1, 24 p. 400; Sen. *Phaedra* 13-16; Paus. 1, 19, 5; *Ptol. geog.* 3, 15, 7; Pollux 8, 122; *Avienus orb. terr.* 582-585. 1217-219; Themistios *or.* 2, 34c; Nonn. *Dion.* 41, 223; 47, 13. 82. 265; Phot. s. v. Ἰλισσός; Tzetz. *Lykophron* 1424. 1432. Ältere Autoren leiten den Namen des I. etymologisch vom Verb «ἐλίσσω» ab und erklären ihn als «Krummbach»; vgl. Nonn. *Dion.* 47, 13 (Wachsmuth, C., *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum* I [1874] 116 Anm. 1; Grasberger, L., *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen* [1969] 295. 299). P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (1896) 405, behauptet, daß der Name des Flusses ein kleinasiatischer Ortsname sei, der auf griechischem Boden begegnet. In den älteren Quellen ist I. als der attische Fluß bekannt, an dessen Ufer, nach einer Version des Mythos, → Oreithyia (I) von → Bo-reas geraubt worden ist (Hdt. 7, 189; Plat. *Phaidros* 229b; Apoll. *Rhod.* 1, 215; Apollod. *bibl.* 3, 15, 2; *Stat. Theb.* 12, 630-633; Paus. 1, 19, 5; Maximus von Ephesos *peri katarchon* 417-419, *Poetae Bucolici et Didactici* [1862] 111; *Avienus orb. terr.* 585; Orph. *Arg.* 219-220; Nonn. *Dion.* 39, 190). Die Verehrung der Musen bei Paus. 1, 19, 5 (*Μοῦσαι Ἰλισιάδες*), Herodianos *prosodia katholike* I p. 213, 6 Lentz (*M. Ἰλισίδες*) und Steph. *Byz.* s. v. Ἰλισσός (*M. Ἰλισίδες*). Der I. stand in geographischer Beziehung mit der Quelle → Kallirrhoe (II) und der Krene Enneakrunos (Thuk. 2, 15, 3-5; Plat. *Ax.* 364a; Himerios *frg.* 1, 7; *Etym. m.* s. v. *Ἐννεάκρουνος*), von der das Wasser für das Brautbad geholt wurde (Tölle-Kastenbein, R., *JdI* 101, 1986, 55-73). Von Nonnos (*Dion.* 39, 190) wird I. als «γα-

μοστόλος» (derjenige, der die Hochzeit vorbereitet) bezeichnet. An den «mystischen Ufern» des Flusses fanden die Reinigungsriten während der Kleinen Mysterien (oder Mysterien in Agrai) statt (*Stat. Theb.* 8, 762-766; Polyainos 5, 17, 1; Clem. *Al. Strom.* 5, 70, 7; Himerios *or.* 10, 114; 47, 28-29). Von den Athenern wurde I. als Gott verehrt (Maximos von Tyros 2, 1; Nonn. *Dion.* 39, 190). Daß I. Kult genoß, beweisen auch zwei Inschriften der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jh. v. Chr., welche sich auf das heilige Geld und die Schatzmeisterurkunden der Götter (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 369. 383) beziehen.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Becatti, G., *EAA* IV (1961) 107 s. v. «Ilisos»; Hamdorf, *Kultpersonifikationen* 14. 79 (75). 81 (103); Kolbe, W., *RE* IX 1 (1914) 1067-1068 s. v. «Ilisos»; Matz, F., *Die Naturpersonifikationen in der griechischen Kunst* (1913) 117; Meyer, E., *KlPauly* II (1967) 1365 s. v. «Ilisos»; Steuding, H., *ML* II 1 (1890-97) 119 s. v. «Ilissos»; Waser, O., *RE* VI 2 (1909) 2784. 2785. 2800-2801 s. v. «Flußgötter»; Weiß, *Flußg.* 102. 148. 159-162. 168.

## KATALOG

### DEUTUNG UNSICHER

1.\* Statue V aus dem Westgiebel des Parthenon in Athen, Marmor. Athen, Akr. Mus. 887. - Matz 117; Brommer, F., *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel* (1963) 55. 169-170 Taf. 127-128 (mit älterer Lit.); Brouskari, *CatAcr* 142-143 Abb. 256; Brommer, F., *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* (1979) 52 Taf. 129. - 438/432 v. Chr. - Ein nackter Jüngling (I. ?) frontal auf seinem r. gebeugten Bein sitzend und leicht nach vorne und l. geneigt (wo eine weibliche Figur [Kallirrhoe?] gelagert ist). Sein Himation ist im Rücken zu erkennen. Auch als → Kephisos gedeutet (vgl. Zusammenstellung der verschiedenen Deutungen bei Brommer a. O. [1963] 169-170 mit Faltaf.).

2. (= Acheloos 197\* mit Lit., = Apollon 968 mit Lit., = Artemis 1182 mit Lit., = Eileithyia 88 mit Lit., = Fluvii 36, = Kallirrhoe II 2) Weihrelief der Xenokrateia, Marmor. Athen, Nat. Mus. 2756. Aus Neu-Phaleron. - Weiß, *Flußg.* 102. 159-162. 168 F4 Taf. 15, 2; Edwards, C. M., *Greek Votive Reliefs to Pan and the Nymphs* (1985) 310-338 Nr. 3 Taf. 2 (mit Lit.). - 405/390 v. Chr. - In der Mitte, frontal stehend, ein junger, bartloser, ungehörnter, barfüßiger Mann (I. ?). Er faßt mit seiner l. Hand die Falten seines Himations, das seine r. Schulter freiläßt. L. Apollon, Artemis, Leto (oder Hermes), Xenokrateia und Xeniadēs, Kephisos. R. zwei Paare von Nymphen, Kallirrhoe und Acheloos. Zur mit dem Relief gefundenen Inschrift → Artemis 1182.

3. (= Acheloos 210\* mit Lit., = Artemis 1028\* mit Lit., = Echelos 1 mit Lit., = Fluvii 22) Weihrelief (sog. Echelos-Relief), Marmor. Athen, Nat. Mus. 1783. Aus Neu-Phaleron. - Weiß, *Flußg.* 159. 160-162. 168 F 5 Taf. 15, 1; Edwards, a. O. 2, 339-369 Nr. 4 Taf. 3 (mit Lit.). - 400/390 v. Chr. - Doppelrelief. Auf der Rückseite des Reliefs l. Artemis, neben ihr Kephisos (?), in der Mitte, frontal stehend, ein bärtiger, gehörnter Mann, den Unterleib ins Himation gehüllt (I. ?), r. drei Nymphen.



## KOMMENTAR

Es wäre möglich, daß in den Ecken des Parthenon-Westgiebels, der den Streit zwischen Athena und Poseidon um das attische Land darstellt, sich zwei der bedeutendsten Flüsse Attikas befinden, d. h. Kephisos und I. (1), besonders I., nahe bei der Quelle Kallirrhoe, mit der er nicht nur geographisch, sondern auch kultisch in Verbindung stand. Für die mögliche Benennung der zentralen, frontal stehenden Figur des Xenokrateia-Reliefs (2) als I. vgl. die gut fundierte Meinung von Weiß, *Flußg.*, die auf dem ähnlichen Aussehen dieser Figur und der links von ihr stehenden basiert, welche auch eine Flußgottheit (Kephisos?) sein kann. Weiter aber kann sich diese Vermutung auch auf das Dasein, die örtliche Nähe und die völlige Übereinstimmung zweier Flußgottheiten auf dem Echelos-Relief (3) stützen, die auch als Kephisos und I. angesprochen werden können, was eine Erklärung in der Mündung des Ilisos in den Kephisos bei Athen finden kann (s. Travlos, *TopAth* 164 Abb. 213). Auf dem Relief schlingt I. seinen rechten Arm um die Hüfte des links von ihm stehenden Mannes (Kephisos?). Hier wendet sich wohl I. zu seinen Nymphen im Gespräch (Plat. *Phaidros* 230b; Themistios *or.* 13, 166a). Die Ilisowiedergabe auf 3 kann noch durch die auf der Vorderseite des Reliefs dargestellte Entführung der Basile (oder Iasile) durch Echelos begründet werden. Diese Basile wurde im Ilisogebiet kultisch verehrt. Aus literarischen Quellen sind uns Raubszene im Ilisogebiet bekannt, z. B. der Raub der attischen Mädchen durch die Pelasger (Hdt. 6, 137; s. Schefold, K., *AntK* 23, 1980, 104) und Oreithyias durch Boreas. Die kleinen Mysterien standen mit Demeter und ihrer von Hades entführten Kore in Verbindung. Außerdem kann die Eigenschaft des Flusses als *γαμοστόλος* die obengenannte Vermutung stützen.

ROSA PROSKYNITOPOULOU

## ILOS

(*Ἴλος, Ἐλός*) Heros Eponymos und Gründer von Ilion, Sohn des Tros und der Kallirrhoe, Gemahl der Eurydike, Vater des → Laomedon.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Schon Hom. *Il.* 20, 230–232 teilt uns seine Genealogie mit. An weiteren Stellen (10, 415; 11, 166. 371–372; 24, 349) wird vor allem sein Grab genannt. Apollod. *bibl.* 3 (142–143) 12, 3 berichtet, daß er auf Grund eines Orakelspruches aufbricht, um eine neue Stadt zu gründen. Eine schekige Kuh soll ihn geleiten und soll ihm bei ihrem Halt die geeignete Stelle zeigen. Als sie sich niederläßt, baut er dort Ilion auf (vgl. Diod. 4, 75). Apollod. erklärt weiter, das Ilos Zeus jedoch um ein weiteres Zeichen bittet, um zu wissen, ob dies wirklich der vorgesehene Platz sei. Daraufhin findet er am nächsten Tag vor seinem Zelt das Palladion. Nach Apollod. *bibl.* 3 (145) 12, 3, 7, errichtete er einen Tempel für das Palladion.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1370 s. v. «Ilos 1»; Kroll, W., *REIX* I (1914) 1089 s. v. «Ilos 1»; Sichtermann, H., *LAW* 1375 s. v. «Ilos»; Weizsäcker, P., *ML* 11 I (1890–94) 119–121 s. v. «Ilos 2».

## KATALOG

DEUTUNG AUF ILOS DURCH INSCHRIFT GESICHERT

1. \* (= Athena 58f, Var.) AE, Ilion, Julia Domna († 217 n. Chr.) und Caracalla, 198–211 n. Chr. – *BMC* Troas, etc. 69, 87; v. Fritze, H., *Die Münzen von Ilion*, in Dörpfeld, W., *Troja und Ilion* II (1902) 496 Nr. 91 Beil. 64; Lacroix, *Reproductions* 110 Taf. 7, 12; Bellinger, A. R., *Troy. The Coins* (1961) 64 Nr. T 220 Taf. 10; 68 Nr. T 241. – Rs.: I. in Ärmelchiton und Mantel nach I. vor dem Palladion auf Säule stehend und über brennenden Altar mit einer Schale in der Rechten offernd. *ΙΛΙΩΝ ΕΙΛΟΣ* oder *ΙΛΙΩΝ ΙΑΟΣ*.

DEUTUNG AUF ILOS AUSZUSCHIEDEN

2. AE, Faustina II. († 176 n. Chr.), Commodus, 180–192 n. Chr., Crispina († 187 n. Chr.); Julia Domna († 217 n. Chr.). – *BMC* Troas, etc. 64, 53 Taf. 12, 10; 66–68, 60. 67–68, 76; v. Fritze, a. O. I, 491 Nr. 68–69 Beil. 63; 494–495 Nr. 85 Beil. 64; SNG Copenhagen 397. 413; Bellinger, a. O. I, 54 Nr. T 166 Taf. 8; 59 Nr. T 189 Taf. 9; 60 Nr. T 198 Taf. 9; 65 Nr. T 221 Taf. 10. – Rs.: R. ein Mann in Exomis, eine mit dem Kopf nach oben an einem Baum aufgehängte Kuh mit einem Messer offernd; davor Palladion auf Säule.

## KOMMENTAR

Obwohl Ilos in der antiken Literatur als mythischer namensgebender Gründer von Ilion behandelt worden ist, kennen wir bisher nur eine Münzserie von Caracalla und Julia Domna, die Ilos wiedergibt (1). Er wird hierbei immer im gleichen Schema dargestellt, vor dem Palladion offernd. Dies weist auf jenen Teil der Gründungslegende, nach welchem er als weiteren Beweis, daß er wirklich an der richtigen Stelle die Stadt gründe, das Palladion erhielt. Hiermit konnte neben der Gründung Ilions auch als wichtiges Element auf das Palladion hingewiesen werden, ein Relikt, das für die Römer und die Stadt Rom sehr viel bedeutete und symbolkräftig wirkte und so auf die enge Beziehung beider Städte hinweisen konnte. Die von Wroth vorgeschlagene Deutung einer von Ilos vollzogenen Opferung vor dem Palladion auf einigen Münzen (2) kann durch das Fehlen einer bezeichnenden Inschrift nicht nachgewiesen werden und sollte zurückgestellt werden, weil sicherlich nicht unser Held gemeint sein kann: Dieser wäre nicht wie hier mit der für den Diener typischen Exomis, sondern mit einem feierlichen Gewand wie auf 1 bekleidet und hätte zudem ein derartiges blutiges Opfer, wie es bei dieser Szene zu vermuten ist, wohl kaum selbst vollzogen.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

## IMBRASOS

(*Ἰμβρασιός*) Auch Parthenios (*Παρθένιος*) genannter Bach und entsprechender Flußgott auf Samos, an dessen Mündung ins Meer an der Südküste der Insel das Heraion von Samos liegt. Der Lauf des in der Regenzeit stark anschwellenden Fließchens hat sich schon in der Antike mehrfach verändert, teils durch natürliche Einwirkungen, teils durch menschliche Maßnahmen im Verlauf der Baugeschichte des Heraion. Mit → Hera stand der I. in mythologischer und kultischer Verbindung: an seinen Ufern wächst die Lygos, eine botanisch *agnus castus* und deutsch Keuschlamm genannte Weidenart (neugriechisch *lygariá*), unter der die Göttin nach samischer Tradition geboren sein soll. Im Kult der Hera diente I.-Wasser zur Füllung der diversen Reinigungsbecken im Heiligtum. Die Frage, ob auch das Kultbild im I. gebadet wurde, wird heute von einigen Autoren negativ beantwortet. Die von Buschor aufgestellte und seither vielfach wiederholte These (so z. B. von Ginouvès, R., *Balanoutikè* (1962) 289 Anm. 6; Muthmann 171–172; v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1373–1374 s. v. «Imbrasos»), das Kultbild der Hera sei jährlich an den Tonaia im I. gebadet worden, läßt sich weder durch den archäologischen Befund im Heraion beweisen, noch durch die literarische Überlieferung stützen (ausführlich gegen Buschor Kipp 159–160 Anm. 6a; Furtwängler, A. E., *AM* 95, 1980, 150. 157–158 mit Anm. 20; 197 Anm. 247). Trotzdem sollte man die Möglichkeit eines Bades des Kultbildes im I. nicht so kategorisch ausschließen wie Kipp und Furtwängler; vgl. Pötscher 128 und hier unten, lit. Quellen.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Als mythische Persönlichkeit ist die Figur des I. kaum ausgestaltet worden. Eine Erzählung des Apoll. Rhod. (in der *Gründung von Naukratis*, *frg.* 7 Powell) nennt als Tochter des I. und der Chesias die Nymphe Okyrrhoe, eine der unglücklichen Geliebten des Apollon. Auch von der Beziehung des Flusses zur samischen Hera haben sich nur geringe Spuren in der literarischen Überlieferung niedergeschlagen. Paus. 7, 4, 4 erwähnt die Lygos an den Ufern des I., unter der die Göttin gemäß einer lokalen Tradition geboren sein soll. Als freie Interpretation erweist Kipp 174 Anm. 50 die an diese Stelle anknüpfende und von anderen oft wiederholte Behauptung Buschors, Hera habe hier auch «die Jahre ihrer Kindheit und Jungfräulichkeit verbracht». Ebenso wenig beweisen läßt sich auch Buschors Annahme, das Kultbild der Hera sei am Tonaia-Fest im I. gebadet worden, um die Göttin wieder jungfräulich werden zu lassen bis zum Tage ihres Hieros Gamos mit Zeus (Buschor 1, 2; dagegen ausführlich Kipp 159. 160–172 bzw. Ende Anm. 50). Aus dem Bericht des Menodotos (*FGH* 541 F 1 [12], dazu Kipp 158–160; Pötscher 125–134) geht hervor, daß das Kultbild an den Tonaia zum Ufer (*εἰς τὴν ἰόναν*) gebracht wurde, um dort gereinigt zu werden. Die Beschreibung des Festritus ist in das Aition für diesen samischen Kultbrauch verwoben, und da das Kultbild in dem aitiologischen Mythos (vgl. Pötscher 126–127) zum Meer gebracht wird, setzen Kipp und in seiner Folge Furtwängler

a. O. 197 Anm. 247 voraus, daß das rituelle Bad einzig im Meer erfolgt sein könnte. Ob im Meer oder in dem dort mündenden I.-Arm ist, wie Pötscher 128 aber richtig feststellt, nicht zu entscheiden. Es sei angemerkt, daß mit *ἰόναν* sowohl das Meeres- wie auch das Flußufer gemeint sein konnte (Belege bei Liddell/Scott 767 s. v. *ἰόναν*).

Der I. als lokaler Gott der Insel Samos, an dem die Göttin geboren wurde, wäre jedoch der geeignete Spender des wesensmäßig zu Hera gehörenden Brautbades, das immer fließendes Süßwasser, kein Meerwasser war: Nilsson, *GrRel* I<sup>2</sup> 103. Es sei auch daran erinnert, daß Flußwasser nicht nur beim Brautbad, sondern auch bei der Geburt eine wichtige Rolle spielte: vgl. Bad des neugeborenen Zeuskindes in der Neda Kall. *h.* 1, 15–41; Nilsson, *GrRel* I<sup>2</sup> 95. Die enge Beziehung zwischen Hera, Samos und dem I. bezeugt ein Epigramm der *Anth. Pal.* 6, 243 (vgl. Simon, *Götter* 44). In diesem Sinn würde auch verständlich, warum einerseits Hera die «imbrasische» oder auch Parthenie (zur Liste ihrer Epitheta s. Eitrem, S., *RE* VIII 1 [1912] 382–383) genannt wurde, und andererseits, warum der I. mit zweitem Namen Parthenios hieß: Strabon 10, 2, 17 p. 457; Apoll. Rhod. 1, 187–188 und 2, 866–867 mit *Schol.* zu 2, 865–872a; Eust. *ad* Dion. Per. 533 (*GGM* II 322); Kall. *frg.* 599 Pf.; vgl. zur Etymologie auch Tischler 114. Epigraphische Quelle: Buschor 2, 2–4: Abschlußstein einer Brückenwand mit Inschrift (spätes 2. Jh. v. Chr.), die in drei Heiligpreisungen den Flußgott I., die Parthenie (also entweder die so genannte Insel Samos oder Hera selbst) und den Parthenios nennt. Im Hinblick auf die Gleichsetzung von I. und Parthenios besteht kein Zwang, wie Buschor 2, 10 zwei getrennte Flußgötter anzunehmen.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Barron, J. P., *The Silver Coins of Samos* (1966) I. 3–5.90 und *passim*; Büchner, L., *Eitrem*, S., *REIX* I (1914) 1104–1105 s. v. «Imbrasos I. 2»; Buschor, E., *AM* 55, 1930, 1. 7–32 (= Buschor 1); *idem*, «Imbrasos», *AM* 68, 1953, 1–10 (= Buschor 2); Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 119 s. v. «Imbrasos»; Gardner, P., «Samos and Samian Coins», *NC* 1882, 201–290, bes. 216. 283; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 288, 283–284; Kipp, G., «Zum Herakult auf Samos», *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* 18 (1974) 157–209; Muthmann, F., *Mutter und Quelle* (1975) 171–172; Pötscher, W., *Hera. Eine Strukturanalyse im Vergleich mit Athena* (1987) 128–129; Robert, L., *A travers l'Asie Mineure* (1980) 87; Tischler, J., *Kleinasiatische Hydronomie* (1977) 114 s. v. «Parthenios»; v. Vacano, O., *Typenkatalog der antiken Münzen Kleinasiens* (Hrsg. Kienast, D.) (1986) 238 s. v. «Imbrasos».

## KATALOG

Alle Darstellungen des personifizierten I. finden sich auf kaiserzeitlichen Bronzeprägungen aus Samos. Der bärtige Flußgott lagert nach I., trägt um den Unterkörper ein Himation und ist mit verschiedenen Attributen ausgestattet.

## A. Durch Inschrift oder Attribut gesicherte Darstellungen

1. \* AE, Trajan (98–117 n. Chr.). – Gardner 283, 23; – Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg.* 288, 283 Taf. 9, 22. –

Rs.: I. mit Schilfrohr in der Rechten, die auf dem erhobenen Knie ruht, und Füllhorn in dem auf ein ausfließendes Quellgefäß gestützten l. Arm. *IMBPAΣEOΣ* (retr.): *ΣΑΜΙΩΝ* im Abschnitt.

2.\* AE, Traianus Decius (248–251 n. Chr.). – BMC Ionia 390, 353 Taf. 37, 15; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 288, 284 Taf. 9, 23. – Rs.: I. wie auf 1, nur statt Schilfrohr einen Pfau, heiliges Tier der samischen Hera, im Arm haltend. *ΣΑΜΙΩΝ*. Zum Pfau beim Kultbild vgl. → Hera 156; unter 160. 161; vgl. auch 163; unter 170; 181.

### B. Darstellungen ohne Namensbeischrift, jedoch vom Typus her gesichert

Typus wie auf 1 und 2 mit allgemeinen Attributen: Schilf, Füllhorn, Quellgefäß (die beiden letzteren nicht obligatorisch) und *ΣΑΜΙΩΝ*.

3.\* AE, Hadrian (117–138 n. Chr.): BMC Ionia 373, 238; SNG v. Aulock 2306. – Commodus (180–192 n. Chr.): BMC Ionia 375, 252–253. – Geta Caesar (198–209 n. Chr.): SNG Copenhagen 1744. – Elagabal (218–222 n. Chr.): SNG Copenhagen 1746. – Severus Alexander (222–235 n. Chr.): Gardner 283, 22 Taf. 6, 13; BMC Ionia 380, 281–282; SNG Copenhagen 1749. – Gordian III. (238–244 n. Chr.): BMC Ionia 383, 307–308; SNG Copenhagen 1763. – Tranquillina (242–244 n. Chr.): BMC Ionia 384, 316. – Philippus II. (244–249 n. Chr.): BMC Ionia 387, 334; SNG Copenhagen Nr. 1777. – Traianus Decius (248–251 n. Chr.): BMC Ionia 390, 352; SNG Copenhagen 1784–1785. – Gallienus (253–268 n. Chr.): BMC Ionia 395, 385–386; SNG Copenhagen 1811. – SNG v. Aulock 2333; SNG v. Aulock 8032. – Valerian II. (?) (256–258 n. Chr.): SNG Copenhagen 1819.

### C. Ungesicherte Darstellungen

Stierprotomen auf samischen Silbermünzen

4. AR, Samos, mit geringen Variationen des Bildtypus auf verschiedenen Nominalen von 522 bis ca. 185 v. Chr. (Barron 154: Ende der AR-Prägungen). – Barron 174–226 *passim* und Taf. 5–6. 8–14. 17–30 *passim*. – Vs. und Rs.: Grundtypus, a) frontal gezeigter Kopf eines Löwenfells; b) Stierprotome, zumeist nach r., selten nach l. Auf den frühen Serien immer im quadratum incusum, auf späteren Serien mit wechselnden Beizeichen, Beamtennamen bzw. mit dem abgekürzten oder ausgeschriebenen Ethnikon (*ΣΑ*, *ΣΑΜΙΩΝ*).

### KOMMENTAR

Obwohl der I. schon in griechischer Zeit von nicht geringer Bedeutung für das Heraion von Samos war, stammen die erhaltenen Bildzeugnisse, die den personifizierten I. zeigen (1. 2. 3), sämtlich aus römischer Zeit. Die Bildform, der gelagerte Flußgott mit den diversen, seine Wassernatur kennzeichnenden Attributen,

folgt der allgemeinen Typologie römischer Flußgottbilder (→ Fluvii 44–46). Offenbar beginnt die Serie der samischen Flußgottprägungen unter Hadrian (1). Da man es auf der hadrianischen Prägung für nötig befand, den Namen I. beizuschreiben, was bei allen späteren Emissionen nicht mehr der Fall ist (2–3), kann man überlegen, ob das Einsetzen der I.-Darstellungen unter Hadrian vielleicht auf ein zu dieser Zeit aufgestelltes Bildwerk des Flußgottes im Heraion zurückgeht.

Daß der I. vor seiner Personifikation in der römischen Kunst nicht bildlich wiedergegeben worden wäre, ist unwahrscheinlich. Ob man allerdings auf einem Tonrelief aus dem Heraion von Samos (→ Hera 201) wirklich eine frühe Darstellungsform des Flußlaufes erkennen darf, bleibt höchst fraglich. Das Relief zeigt Hera mit Zeus zwischen der Lygos und einer eingetauchten Zickzacklinie, die als der Fluß I. gedeutet wird. Zwar gehören Bandform und Zickzack in den Typenschatz früher Darstellungen von Wasser (dazu Weiß, *Flußg* 18–19; vgl. auch Attribut der Mittelfigur des «Dreileibigen» von der Athener Akropolis, das als Wasser gedeutet wird, so z. B. Boardman, *GSAP* zu Abb. 193), doch scheint das Muster hier eher im Hinblick auf das samische Holzrelief (→ Hera 202\*) als zurückgeschlagener Saum an Heras Gewand zu deuten zu sein (Kipp 180 Anm. 51).

Für die Zeit der autonomen Münzprägung auf Samos wäre zu überlegen, ob mit der häufig als Rs.-Typus der AR-Münzen erscheinenden Rinderprotome (4) (Barron 1. 3–5. 90) nur Gegebenheiten des samischen Herakultes zum Ausdruck gebracht werden sollten (a. O. 4. 90; Weiß, *Flußg* 198 Anm. 431), oder ob nicht der Bedeutungsgehalt «Flußgott» ebenfalls in den Münzbildern mitschwingt. Eine solche Deutung wagte bereits Gardner 216, jedoch wurde er wegen des typologisch unkorrekten Vergleichs mit der Mannstierprotome des → Gelas von Barron a. O. 4 Anm. 26 widerlegt. Die Assoziation Stier/Flußgott wird heute verständlicher, wenn man bedenkt, daß einerseits die Flußgötter unter der Bildform eines rein theriomorph wiedergegebenen Stieres dargestellt werden konnten (→ Fluvii 1–3) und andererseits die Belege für die allgemein enge Beziehung der Hera zu den Rinderherden und damit zum süßen Wasser wie auch zum Meerwasser (Seefahrt) zahlreich sind. Quellen und Bildzeugnisse z. B. Simon, *Götter* 44–46; Muthmann 171–175 (jedoch mit Irrtümern!); Kyrieleis, H., *AM* 95, 1980, 92–94; → Hera 114. Trifft die angesprochene Hypothese zu, böten Tetrobole aus Samos, die als Beizeichen zur Rinderprotome den Pfau tragen (Barron 5 Anm. 36; 223 Taf. 28, 9–11), eine interessante Parallele zu 3 mit Pfau. CARINA WEISS

### IMMARADOS

(Ismaros, Ἰμμαράδος, Ἰσμάρος) Sohn des → Eumolpos, der im «Eleusinischen Krieg» ein thrakisches

Heer gegen die Athener führte, allein oder zusammen mit seinem Vater, der auch als alleiniger Heerführer überliefert ist. Ihr Gegner ist → Erechtheus.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Die Nachrichten in bezug auf die Anführung des thrakischen Heeres durch Eumolpos sind LIMC IV 56 gesammelt. Davon weicht Paus. 1, 5, 2 (ebenso 1, 27, 4 und 1, 38, 3) ab, der sich auf altattische Überlieferung beruft und Immarados als Gegner des Erechtheus bezeichnet, der ihn getötet habe. Toepffer 43 glaubt, daß wir «in dieser Version noch die mißverständlichen Spuren alter, unverfälschter Sagenüberlieferung erhalten haben». Bei Apollod. bibl. 3, 202 stirbt Ismaros, der mit einer Tochter des Thrakerkönigs Tegyrios verheiratet ist, schon vor dem «Eleusinischen Krieg». Er ist bei ihm ebenfalls Sohn des Eumolpos, denn Ismaros ist nur eine Variante zu I. In der Sagenforschung wird er mit Ismaros, dem Heros der gleichnamigen Stadt in Thrakien (vgl. Hom. *Od.* 9, 198), gleichgesetzt, dessen Eltern nach *Etym. m.* 477, 1 Ares und Thrassa sind.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Zum «Eleusinischen Krieg» → Erechtheus, LIMC IV 927–928. Speziell zu I.: Eitrem, S., *RE IX* 1 (1914) 1107 s. v. «Immarados»; Stoll, H. W., *ML II* 1 (1890–94) 124 s. v. «Immarados» und 550 s. v. «Ismaros»; Toepffer, I., *Attische Genealogie* (1889) 43–44.

### KATALOG

1. (= Eumolpos 15, = Erechtheus 69) Bronze-Gruppe auf der Athener Akropolis (Paus. 1, 27, 4). Die beiden zum Kampf gegeneinander antretenden Krieger galten allgemein als Erechtheus und Eumolpos, während Paus. den letzteren durch I. ersetzt, wobei wohl genealogische Erwägungen eine Rolle spielten; cf. Musti, D./Beschi, L., *Pausania Guida della Grecia, Libro I, L'Attica* (1982) 411. Paus. erwähnt den Künstler der uns verlorenen Gruppe nicht, während er 9, 30, 1 von einem Erechtheus des Myron in Athen spricht, der das sehenswerteste Werk des Meisters sei. Es ist nicht ganz gesichert, ob damit der Erechtheus aus dieser Gruppe gemeint ist, aber doch wahrscheinlich (vgl. Kron zu → Erechtheus 69). Bewegte Figuren waren für Myron charakteristisch, und der andere Erechtheus in Athen, den Beschi als Alternative nennt (a. O. 364 zu Paus. 1, 5, 2), war innerhalb der Eponymengruppe (vgl. → Erechtheus 79) sicher ruhig stehend gebildet. Nachwirkungen der Gruppe auf der Akropolis sind bisher nicht überzeugend nachgewiesen (vgl. Kron zu → Erechtheus 69).

### HYPOTHETISCH

2. Giebel von der Darstellung eines ionischen Tempels aus dem Komplex der «Ara Pietatis» des Claudius (Einweihung 43 n. Chr.). Rom, Pal. Cons. 1386. – Hommel, P., *Studien zu den röm. Figurengiebeln der Kaiserzeit* (1954) 34–41 (Ilupersis); Simon, E., in *Helbig II* Nr. 1751 (Deutung offen gelassen); Torelli, M., *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (1982) 80 (Keltomachie, mit Hinweis auf weitere Vorschläge in Anm. 87); Simon, E., *Augustus* (1986) 19. 234–235 zu Abb. 7 («Eleusinischer Krieg?»). Der Giebel wurde von G.-Ch. Picard (Nachweis bei Si-

mon) überzeugend dem *sacrarium* des Augustus, das seine Witwe Livia auf dem Palatin errichtete, zugewiesen. Baustil und Proportionen sind von der Nordhalle des Erechteion auf der Akropolis übernommen. Der Hypothese von Simon zufolge stammt auch die Giebelkomposition von dort. Der Unterliegende in der zentralen Kampfgruppe, in Barbarentracht, könnte dann Eumolpos oder I. sein, der siegende Heros in der Mitte Erechtheus, dessen Darstellung am Erechteion sinnvoll wäre.

### DEUTUNG ABZULEHNEN

3. (= Erechtheus 71 mit Lit.). Ostfries des Hephaisteion. – Bester Vorschlag zur Datierung wohl 435/30 v. Chr.; vgl. Kron zu → Erechtheus 71. – Der Vorschlag zur Deutung auf den «Eleusinischen Krieg» ist zu finden bei Dörig, J., *La frise Est de l'Héphaisteion* (1985) 67–73; überzeugende Widerlegung bei Kron a. O., zu der hinzugefügt sei, daß die typischen Trachmerkmale der Thraker (Fellmützen, Stiefel) von keiner Figur getragen werden.

### KOMMENTAR

Eumolpos oder I. war in einer Bronze-Gruppe auf der Akropolis dargestellt (1), wahrscheinlich von der Hand des Myron, also aus dem mittleren 5. Jh. v. Chr. Es handelte sich um zwei Krieger in Ausfallstellung, also um den noch unentschiedenen Kampf zwischen dem Athener Erechtheus und dem Thraker Eumolpos oder I., dessen thrakische Tracht sicher angegeben war. Falls die zu 2 zitierte Hypothese stimmt, zeigte der Giebel der Nordhalle des Erechteion, der am *sacrarium Divi Augusti* wiederholt sein könnte, den Sieg des Erechtheus über I. oder Eumolpos. Dagegen ist die Deutung des Ostfrieses des Hephaisteion auf den «Eleusinischen Krieg» abzulehnen. Der seltsame Kampf, bei dem Steinmassen bewegt werden, während sechs olympische Gottheiten zusehen, ist noch nicht überzeugend gedeutet. Um thrakische Eindringlinge in Attika handelt es sich schon aus Trachtgründen nicht. ERIKA SIMON

### INACHOS

(Ἰναχος, Wort ungeklärter Etymologie, wahrscheinlich vorgriechisch; Inachos) Hauptfluß von Argos und der Argolis. Sohn des → Okeanos und der → Tethys, Vater der → Io (I); erster König von Argos und Stammvater der argivischen Könige und Helden.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Die mit I. verbundenen Mythen sind besonders durch die Tragiker bekannt geworden. Sophokles benannte ein Satyrspiel nach I. (*TrGFIV F* 269a–295a). Seinen Vater Okeanos erwähnt Aischyl. *Prom.* 636 zuerst (auch Dion. Hal. *rhet.* 1, 25 nach dem sophokleischen *Inachos* [*TrGFIV*

Rs.: I. mit Schilfrohr in der Rechten, die auf dem erhobenen Knie ruht, und Füllhorn in dem auf ein ausfließendes Quellgefäß gestützten l. Arm. *IMBPASOΞ* (retr.): *ΣΑΜΙΩΝ* im Abschnitt.

2.\* AE, Traianus Decius (248–251 n. Chr.): *BMC Ionia* 390, 353 Taf. 37, 15; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 288, 284 Taf. 9, 23. – Rs.: I. wie auf 1, nur statt Schilfrohr einen Pfau, heiliges Tier der samischen Hera, im Arm haltend. *ΣΑΜΙΩΝ*. Zum Pfau beim Kultbild vgl. → Hera 156; unter 160. 161; vgl. auch 163; unter 170; 181.

### B. Darstellungen ohne Namensbeischrift, jedoch vom Typus her gesichert

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### C. Ungesicherte Darstellungen

Stierprotomen auf samischen Silbermünzen

4. AR, Samos, mit geringen Variationen des Bildtypus auf verschiedenen Nominalen von 522 bis ca. 185 v. Chr. (Barron 154: Ende der AR-Prägungen). – Barron 174–226 *passim* und Taf. 5–6. 8–14. 17–30 *passim*. – Vs. und Rs.: Grundtypus, a) frontal gezeigter Kopf eines Löwenfells; b) Stierprotome, zumeist nach r., selten nach l. Auf den frühen Serien immer im quadratum incusum, auf späteren Serien mit wechselnden Beizeichen, Beamtennamen bzw. mit dem abgekürzten oder ausgeschriebenen Ethnikon (*ΣΑ*, *ΣΑΜΙΩΝ*).

### KOMMENTAR

Obwohl der I. schon in griechischer Zeit von nicht geringer Bedeutung für das Heraion von Samos war, stammen die erhaltenen Bildzeugnisse, die den personifizierten I. zeigen (1. 2. 3), sämtlich aus römischer Zeit. Die Bildform, der gelagerte Flußgott mit den diversen, seine Wassernatur kennzeichnenden Attributen,

folgt der allgemeinen Typologie römischer Flußgottbilder (→ Fluvii 44–46). Offenbar beginnt die Serie der samischen Flußgottprägungen unter Hadrian (1). Da man es auf der hadrianischen Prägung für nötig befand, den Namen I. beizuschreiben, was bei allen späteren Emissionen nicht mehr der Fall ist (2–3), kann man überlegen, ob das Einsetzen der I.-Darstellungen unter Hadrian vielleicht auf ein zu dieser Zeit aufgestelltes Bildwerk des Flußgottes im Heraion zurückgeht.

Daß der I. vor seiner Personifikation in der römischen Kunst nicht bildlich wiedergegeben worden wäre, ist unwahrscheinlich. Ob man allerdings auf einem Tonrelief aus dem Heraion von Samos (→ Hera 201) wirklich eine frühe Darstellungsform des Flußlaufes erkennen darf, bleibt höchst fraglich. Das Relief zeigt Hera mit Zeus zwischen der Lygos und einer eingetauchten Zickzacklinie, die als der Fluß I. gedeutet wird. Zwar gehören Bandform und Zickzack in den Typenschatz früher Darstellungen von Wasser (dazu Weiß, *Flußg* 18–19; vgl. auch Attribut der Mittelfigur des «Dreileibigen» von der Athener Akropolis, das als Wasser gedeutet wird, so z. B. Boardman, *GSAP* zu Abb. 193), doch scheint das Muster hier eher im Hinblick auf das samische Holzrelief (→ Hera 202\*) als zurückgeschlagener Saum an Heras Gewand zu deuten zu sein (Kipp 180 Anm. 51).

Für die Zeit der autonomen Münzprägung auf Samos wäre zu überlegen, ob mit der häufig als Rs.-Typus der AR-Münzen erscheinenden Rinderprotome (4) (Barron 1. 3–5. 90) nur Gegebenheiten des samischen Herakultes zum Ausdruck gebracht werden sollten (a. O. 4. 90; Weiß, *Flußg* 198 Anm. 431), oder ob nicht der Bedeutungsgehalt «Flußgott» ebenfalls in den Münzbildern mitschwingt. Eine solche Deutung wagte bereits Gardner 216, jedoch wurde er wegen des typologisch unkorrekten Vergleichs mit der Mannstierprotome des → Gelas von Barron a. O. 4 Anm. 26 widerlegt. Die Assoziation Stier/Flußgott wird heute verständlicher, wenn man bedenkt, daß einerseits die Flußgötter unter der Bildform eines rein theriomorph wiedergegebenen Stieres dargestellt werden konnten (→ Fluvii 1–3) und andererseits die Belege für die allgemein enge Beziehung der Hera zu den Rinderherden und damit zum süßen Wasser wie auch zum Meerwasser (Seefahrt) zahlreich sind. Quellen und Bildzeugnisse z. B. Simon, *Götter* 44–46; Muthmann 171–175 (jedoch mit Irrtümern!); Kyrieleis, H., *AM* 95, 1980, 92–94; → Hera 114. Trifft die angesprochene Hypothese zu, böten Tetrobole aus Samos, die als Beizeichen zur Rinderprotome den Pfau tragen (Barron 5 Anm. 36; 223 Taf. 28, 9–11), eine interessante Parallele zu 3 mit Pfau. CARINA WEISS

### IMMARADOS

(Ismaros, Ἰμμάραδος, Ἰσμάραος) Sohn des → Eumolpos, der im «Eleusinischen Krieg» ein thrakisches

Heer gegen die Athener führte, allein oder zusammen mit seinem Vater, der auch als alleiniger Heerführer überliefert ist. Ihr Gegner ist → Erechtheus.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Die Nachrichten in bezug auf die Anführung des thrakischen Heeres durch Eumolpos sind LIMC IV 56 gesammelt. Davon weicht Paus. 1, 5, 2 (ebenso 1, 27, 4 und 1, 38, 3) ab, der sich auf altattische Überlieferung beruft und Immarados als Gegner des Erechtheus bezeichnet, der ihn getötet habe. Toepffer 43 glaubt, daß wir «in dieser Version noch die mißverständlichen Spuren alter, unverfälschter Sagenüberlieferung erhalten haben». Bei Apollod. bibl. 3, 202 stirbt Ismaros, der mit einer Tochter des Thrakerkönigs Tegyrios verheiratet ist, schon vor dem «Eleusinischen Krieg». Er ist bei ihm ebenfalls Sohn des Eumolpos, denn Ismaros ist nur eine Variante zu I. In der Sagenforschung wird er mit Ismaros, dem Heros der gleichnamigen Stadt in Thrakien (vgl. Hom. Od. 9, 198), gleichgesetzt, dessen Eltern nach Etym. m. 477, 1 Ares und Thrassa sind.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Zum «Eleusinischen Krieg» → Erechtheus, LIMC IV 927–928. Speziell zu I.: Eitrem, S., RE IX 1 (1914) 1107 s. v. «Immarados»; Stoll, H. W., ML II 1 (1890–94) 124 s. v. «Immarados» und 550 s. v. «Ismaros»; Toepffer, I., Attische Genealogie (1889) 43–44.

### KATALOG

1. (= Eumolpos 15, = Erechtheus 69) Bronze-Gruppe auf der Athener Akropolis (Paus. 1, 27, 4). Die beiden zum Kampf gegeneinander antretenden Krieger galten allgemein als Erechtheus und Eumolpos, während Paus. den letzteren durch I. ersetzt, wobei wohl genealogische Erwägungen eine Rolle spielten; cf. Musti, D./Beschi, L., *Pausania Guida della Grecia, Libro I, L'Attica* (1982) 411. Paus. erwähnt den Künstler der uns verlorenen Gruppe nicht, während er 9, 30, 1 von einem Erechtheus des Myron in Athen spricht, der das sehenswerteste Werk des Meisters sei. Es ist nicht ganz gesichert, ob damit der Erechtheus aus dieser Gruppe gemeint ist, aber doch wahrscheinlich (vgl. Kron zu → Erechtheus 69). Bewegte Figuren waren für Myron charakteristisch, und der andere Erechtheus in Athen, den Beschi als Alternative nennt (a. O. 364 zu Paus. 1, 5, 2), war innerhalb der Eponymengruppe (vgl. → Erechtheus 79) sicher ruhig stehend gebildet. Nachwirkungen der Gruppe auf der Akropolis sind bisher nicht überzeugend nachgewiesen (vgl. Kron zu → Erechtheus 69).

### HYPOTHETISCH

2. Giebel von der Darstellung eines ionischen Tempels aus dem Komplex der «Ara Pietatis» des Claudius (Einweihung 43 n. Chr.). Rom, Pal. Cons. 1386. – Hommel, P., *Studien zu den röm. Figurengiebeln der Kaiserzeit* (1954) 34–41 (Iliupersis); Simon, E., in Helbig II\* Nr. 1751 (Deutung offen gelassen); Torelli, M., *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (1982) 80 (Keltomachie, mit Hinweis auf weitere Vorschläge in Anm. 87); Simon, E., *Augustus* (1986) 19. 234–235 zu Abb. 7 («Eleusinischer Krieg?»). Der Giebel wurde von G.-Ch. Picard (Nachweis bei Si-

mon) überzeugend dem *sacrarium* des Augustus, das seine Witwe Livia auf dem Palatin errichtete, zugewiesen. Baustil und Proportionen sind von der Nordhalle des Erechteion auf der Akropolis übernommen. Der Hypothese von Simon zufolge stammt auch die Giebelkomposition von dort. Der Unterliegende in der zentralen Kampfgruppe, in Barbarentracht, könnte dann Eumolpos oder I. sein, der siegende Heros in der Mitte Erechtheus, dessen Darstellung am Erechteion sinnvoll wäre.

### DEUTUNG ABZULEHNEN

3. (= Erechtheus 71 mit Lit.). Ostfries des Hephaisteion. – Bester Vorschlag zur Datierung wohl 435/30 v. Chr.; vgl. Kron zu → Erechtheus 71. – Der Vorschlag zur Deutung auf den «Eleusinischen Krieg» ist zu finden bei Dörig, J., *La frise Est de l'Héphaisteion* (1985) 67–73; überzeugende Widerlegung bei Kron a. O., zu der hinzugefügt sei, daß die typischen Trachmerkmale der Thraker (Fellmützen, Stiefel) von keiner Figur getragen werden.

### KOMMENTAR

Eumolpos oder I. war in einer Bronze-Gruppe auf der Akropolis dargestellt (1), wahrscheinlich von der Hand des Myron, also aus dem mittleren 5. Jh. v. Chr. Es handelte sich um zwei Krieger in Ausfallstellung, also um den noch unentschiedenen Kampf zwischen dem Athener Erechtheus und dem Thraker Eumolpos oder I., dessen thrakische Tracht sicher angegeben war. Falls die zu 2 zitierte Hypothese stimmt, zeigte der Giebel der Nordhalle des Erechteion, der am *sacrarium Divi Augusti* wiederholt sein könnte, den Sieg des Erechtheus über I. oder Eumolpos. Dagegen ist die Deutung des Ostfrieses des Hephaisteion auf den «Eleusinischen Krieg» abzulehnen. Der seltsame Kampf, bei dem Steinmassen bewegt werden, während sechs olympische Gottheiten zusehen, ist noch nicht überzeugend gedeutet. Um thrakische Eindringlinge in Attika handelt es sich schon aus Trachtgründen nicht. ERIKA SIMON

### INACHOS

(Ἰναχος, Wort ungeklärter Etymologie, wahrscheinlich vorgriechisch; Inachos) Hauptfluß von Argos und der Argolis. Sohn des → Okeanos und der → Tethys, Vater der → Io (I); erster König von Argos und Stammvater der argivischen Könige und Helden.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Die mit I. verbundenen Mythen sind besonders durch die Tragiker bekannt geworden. Sophokles benannte ein Satyrspiel nach I. (TrGFIV F 269a–295a). Seinen Vater Okeanos erwähnt Aischyl. *Prom.* 636 zuerst (auch Dion. Hal. *rhet.* 1, 25 nach dem sophokleischen *Inachos* [TrGFIV



F 270], danach besonders Hyg. *fab.* 143 [dagegen Hyg. *fab.* 145]). Tethys war seine Mutter (Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 1, 1). In späteren Quellen wird auch seine Frau genannt. Diese war die Okeanide → Melia (Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 1, 1) oder ihre Schwester Argia (Hyg. *fab.* 143, 145). Die Kinder des I. waren Phoroneus und Aigialeus (Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 1, 1), → Pelasgos (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 580), Argos (Asklep. Trag., *FGRH* 12 F 16), Phegeus (Schol. Eur. Or. 932), Mykene (Paus. 2, 16, 3 nach den *Megalai ehoiai*), Nymphen (Aischyl., *TrGF* III F 168, 17) und vor allem → Io (I), besonders bei den Tragikern (Aischyl. *Prom.* 590. 663. 705; Soph. *Inachos*, *TrGF* IV F 270; Hdt. 1, 1; Kall. *h.* 3, 254; Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 1, 3, der noch andere Überlieferungen über den Vater Ios erwähnt: Iasos oder Peiren [nach Hes. und Akus.]).

I. war der Stammvater der argivischen Helden, der «Inachidai» (Eur. *Iph. A.* 1088). Als erster König von Argos (Akus., *FGRH* 2 F 23c) begründete er die Kultur des Landes (Schol. Eur. Or. 932). Im Streit zwischen Hera und Poseidon um Argos entschied I. für die Göttin und führte ihren Kult ein (Paus. 2, 15, 4-5); dafür trocknete Poseidon sein Flußbett aus (Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 1, 4; Kall. *h.* 4, 74; Lukianos *cont.* 23; Paus. 2, 15, 5).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1384-1385 s.v. «Inachos I und 2»; Kakridis, I. Th., *Ελληνική μυθολογία* 3 (1986) 164-165 s.v. «Ιναχος»; Kroll, W., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 1218-1219 s.v. «Inachos I»; Peter, R., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 125-127 s.v. «Inachos».

## KATALOG

### BILDHAFT VORSTELLUNG IN DER RÖMISCHEN DICHTUNG

I. (= Io I 16) Episema des Schildes des Turnus. – Verg. *Aen.* 7, 792; Fordyce, C. J., *Aeneidos Libri VII-VIII, Commentary* (1977) 200. – Io als Kuh mit ihrem Wächter Argos im Beisein von I. Er hält eine Urne, aus der Wasser fließt.

### UNSICHERE DARSTELLUNG

2.\* (= Hera 486\* mit Lit., = Io I 8 mit Lit., = Hermes 838) Hydria, att. rf. Boston, MFA o8.417. aus Capua. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 579, 84; Agrigent-Maler: *Add*<sup>2</sup> 262; Caskey/Beazley III 49-51 Nr. 150 Taf. 86, 1 und Suppl. Taf. 21, 1; Engelmann, R., *JdI* 18, 1903, 42-45 Abb. 2; Hoppin, J. C., *HSCP* 12, 1901, 335-342 Abb.; Mantis, A., *Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιε-περών* (1983) 35-37 Taf. 6a; Moret, *Iliopersis* 137-138, 168-169 Taf. 78; Schefold, *SB* II 135 Abb. 175; Simon, E., *AA* 100, 1985, 273 Anm. 251; Weiß, *Flußg* 109; Yalouris, N., in *Iconogr* Cl 6-7 Nr. 6. – Um 460 v. Chr. – Im Zentrum fliehen die Kuh Io und Argos nach I., während Hermes von r. naht. L. Frau in Chiton und Himation, einen Schlüssel und Zepter haltend. Dahinter bärtiger Mann nach r., wohl I., in Himation, mit einem Band im Haar, einen Knotenstock unter die l. Achsel geschoben und die l. Hand vor Erstaunen erhoben. R. Frau in Chiton, Himation und Kopfhäube mit erhobenen Händen, wohl die Mutter Ios.

## KOMMENTAR

Obwohl eine große Zahl von Mythen mit I. verbunden ist, spielt seine Darstellung nur in der Ikonographie der Iosage eine kleine Rolle. Eindeutig gesicherte Darstellungen des I. sind allerdings nicht erhalten. I. ist als bildhafte Vorstellung anzusehen, wobei I. mit einer Urne, wie üblich bei den hellenistisch-römischen Flußgottbildern, erscheint (→ Fluvii p. 147-148).

Problematisch bleibt die Interpretation der Figuren auf 2: nur Io, Argos und Hermes sind identifizierbar. Die Handlung findet wohl im argivischen Heraion statt. Die Frau mit dem Zepter und dem Tempelschlüssel könnte eine Priesterin, wahrscheinlich die Nachfolgerin Ios in diesem Amt (Caskey/Beazley, Schefold, Simon), oder Hera selbst sein (Mantis, mit guten Argumenten; Kossatz-Deißmann, A., → Hera 486). Die beiden rahmenden Figuren deutete man früher als Zeus und Hera (Engelmann, Hoppin). Beazley hat die Identifikation mit den Eltern der Io vorgeschlagen, die heute allgemein akzeptiert wird. Die Frau r. zeigt kein ausgesprochen auf Hera weisendes Attribut. (Aus inhaltlichen Gründen lehnt Moret die Anwesenheit von Hera in dieser Szene ab.) Obwohl die Deutung als die Mutter und entsprechend als der Vater Ios die wahrscheinlichste ist, wäre anzumerken, daß den bärtigen Mann I. eine enge ikonographische Beziehung zu einigen Zeusdarstellungen auch im gleichen Mythos kennzeichnet: vgl. → Io I 22, wo Zeus in Himation und mit Knotenstock erscheint (zu Zeusdarstellungen mit Knotenstock [Hirtenstab]: Yalouris, N., «Ein bislang unbeachtetes Attribut des Zeus», in *Kanon, Festschr. E. Berger, AntK Beih.* 15 [1988] 351-354 Taf. 97-98).

STYLIANOS E. KATAKIS

## INCUBUS → LIMC Suppl.

## INDIA

(*Ἰνδία*) Personifikation de l'Inde.

1.\* Plat d'argent niellé. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. De Lampsaque. – Sorlin-Dorigny, A., «Patère d'argent émaillée trouvée à Lampsaque», *GazArch* 3, 1877, 119-122 pl. 19; Graeven, H., «Die Darstellungen der Inder in antiken Kunstwerken», *JdI* 15, 1900, 202-205 fig. 6; Talbot Rice, D., *The Art of Byzantium* (1959) 279 (bibl.) pl. 43; Brandenburg, H., *Studien zur Mitra* (1966) 115-119; Delvoye, Ch., *L'art byzantin* (1967) 139 fig. 68; cf. Balty, J. Ch., *BullMusArtH* 48, 1976, 15 fig. 10. – Début du VI<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Talbot Rice 279). – Figure féminine, de face, assise sur un trône dont les pieds sont constitués de défenses d'éléphants, un arc dans la main g., la dr. levée, paume ouverte vers l'avant; sur la chevelure calamistrée, un

turban torsadé surmonté de deux aigrettes (?); le sein dr. dénudé, le vêtement richement brodé, elle porte au cou un collier et des bracelets aux bras et aux poignets. Dans le champ, tout autour, un perroquet, une pintade et deux singes.

La couleur sombre de la nielle pour les chairs, le turban à aigrettes et différents «attributs» comme les défenses d'éléphants ou les animaux qui l'accompagnent suffisent à fonder l'iconographie du personnage; l'image n'en demeure pas moins un *unicum* à ce jour.

JEAN CH. BALT

## INDOS

(*Ἰνδός*) Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses in Lykien nahe der karischen Grenze, identisch mit dem heutigen Kirenis Çay.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Nach Ps.-Plut. *fluv.* 25 wurde der Fluß Mausolos in Indos unbenannt, nachdem ein indischer Jüngling Damasalkida, die Tochter des Königs Oxyalkes, vergewaltigt hatte und aus Angst vor Strafe in diesen Fluß gesprungen war.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Höfer, O., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 233 s.v. «Indos 3»; Ruge, W., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 1373 s.v. «Indos 2»; Treidler, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1402 s.v. «Indos 2».

### Münzen von Kibyra

1.\* AE, Elagabal (218-222 n. Chr.). – *BMC Phrygia* 142, 63 Taf. 18, 1; *InvWadd* 5838; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 323 Nr. 373 Taf. 12, 11; SNG Copenhagen 294. – Rs.: Nach I. gelagerter, nur bis zu den Hüften mit einem Himation bekleideter bärtiger I., ein Schilfrohr mit der Rechten schulternd und die Linke auf ein umgestürztes Quellgefäß stützend, aus welchem Wasser fließt, in dem zwei Fische schwimmen. Im Feld l. oben ein Korb.

Diese einzige bisher bekannte Darstellung des I. entspricht dem geläufigsten Typus der Flußgottikonographie der römischen Kaiserzeit (→ Fluvii). Die zwei Fische sollen besonders auf den Fischreichtum dieses Flusses hinweisen.

RAINER VOLKKOMMER

## INDULGENTIA

(Indulgentia; n'a pas d'équivalent exact en grec: rendu notamment par *φιλανθρωπία*) Notion morale à l'origine, I. devient à partir du règne d'Hadrien une figure allégorique étroitement liée à la personne de l'empereur. Des Flaviens aux Sévères, elle est la vertu la plus appropriée pour présider à l'octroi de grâces et de bienfaits. Mais elle va tendre à s'identifier à la faveur elle-même, au point de voir son sens s'affadir: dans la langue du IV<sup>e</sup> et du V<sup>e</sup> s. les «indulgences» ne sont plus que des décisions généreuses de l'empereur,

dans les domaines pénal et fiscal notamment. L'évolution constatée ne se limite pas à ce passage de l'abstrait au concret – la vertu et le bienfait. Le vocabulaire a été assez souple pour développer parallèlement des usages plus complémentaires que contradictoires qui jouent sur l'ambiguïté du terme *indulgentia*. Celui-ci désignera aussi bien la faveur accordée (*indulgentia concessa*) que l'Indulgence du prince qui en est l'origine (*Indulgentia nostra*). Le premier usage qui s'accroît dès l'époque sévérienne du passage au pluriel, l'a emporté.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES ET ÉPIGRAPHIQUES: En dehors des quatre inscriptions identiques de Cirta qui font connaître une statue de bronze d'I. (Pflaum, H. G., *Inscr. lat. de l'Algérie* II 1 [1957] 675-678), elles ne concernent pas l'iconographie, mais la notion. Voir à titre d'exemples: pour le sens abstrait (la vertu), *AEpigr* 1962, 288 (*ego malui cum indulgentia mea quam cum temeritati uestra loqui*); Plin. *epist.* 10, 8, 6 (*debebo ... indulgentiae tuae ... pietatis meae celeritatem*); Iuv. 7, 21 (*materiamque sibi ducis indulgentia quaerit*); Iulienus, *Dig.* 1, 4, 3 (*beneficium Imperatoris quod a diuina scilicet eius indulgentia proficitur*); pour le sens concret (remise ou amnistie, pénale ou fiscale), *AEpigr* 1937, 232 (*ad beneficium eiusdem indulgentiae nostrae*) et *Cod. Theod.* 9, 38 (*de indulgentiis criminum*) et 11, 28 (*de indulgentiis debitorum*). Pour le jeu sur l'ambiguïté du terme, cf. l'inscr. constantinienne d'Orcistus *MAMA* VII 305. Le titre d'*indulgentissimus* est attesté par des inscriptions pour les empereurs depuis le règne de Domitien (pour Auguste) jusqu'à celui de Valens.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Charlesworth, M. P., «The Virtues of a Roman Emperor and the Creation of Belief», *ProcBritAcad* 23, 1937, 105-133; Corbier, M., «Le discours du Prince d'après une inscription de Banasa», *Ktèma* 2, 1977, 211-232; *eadem*, *Indulgentia Principis*, *Coll. Latomus* (sous presse); Cotton, H., «The Concept of Indulgentia under Trajan», *Chiron* 14, 1984, 245-266; Cuq, E., *DA* III (1900) 481-483 s.v. «Indulgentia»; Fears, J. Rufus, «The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology», dans *ANRW* II 17/2, 1981, 827-948; Gaudemet, J., *Indulgentia Principis*, *Univ. di Trieste, Conferenze romanistiche* 6 (1962) 3-37; Kleinfeller, G., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 1378-1380 s.v. «Indulgentia»; Köhler, W., *EAA* IV (1961) 162 s.v. «Indulgentia»; Levy, B. E., «INDVLGENTIA AVGVSTI MONETA IN-PETRATA: a Flavian Episode», dans *Mélanges Pierre Bastien* (1987) 39-49 pl. 5; Lichocka, B., *Justitia sur les monnaies impériales romaines* (1974) 38 n. 49; Ruggiero *Diz. epigr.* IV 1 (1924) 50-51 s.v. «Indulgentia»; Steuding, H., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 233-234 s.v. «Indulgentia»; *ThLL* VII 1 (1964) 1246-1250 s.v. «Indulgentia»; Veyne, P., «La Table des Ligures Baebiani et l'institution alimentaire de Trajan», *MEFRA* 1958, 223-228; Waldstein, W., *Untersuchungen zum römischen Begnadigungsrecht. Abolito, indulgentia, venia. Commentationes Aenipontanae* 18 (1964) en part. 78-108; Wallace-Hadrill, A., «The Emperor and his Virtues», *Historia* 30, 1981, 298-323.

## CATALOGUE

### a) Indulgentia en buste

*Monnaies coloniales de Patras*

1. AE sesterces, époque de Domitien, 85/6 ap. J.-C. (et non de Tibère ou Caligula). – Eckhel, J., *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* I 2 (1794) 257-258: I.; Grant, M., *NC* 1948, 119: Moneta; *idem*, *Aspects of the Princi-*

pate of Tiberius (1950) 136; Livie; Levy 40 pl. 5, 1-3: I. - Av. Buste féminin à dr., drapé, voilé, portant une stéphané. Lég. *INDVLGENTIAE AVG MONETA INPETRATA*. Rv. Quadriga triomphale. La figure féminine est la copie du type de → Pietas, créé sous Tibère et «restauré» sous Titus.

### b) Indulgentia assise

Monnaies de l'atelier de Rome (sauf exceptions signalées) J'ai écarté les monnaies «hybrides» ou fausses d'Hadrien pour Sabine, d'Antonin pour Faustine la Jeune, de Lucius Vérus, de Septime Sévère pour Julia Domna, de Sévère Alexandre Auguste, de Gallien pour Salonine.

2a)\* AR deniers, Hadrien, 128-134; puis Maximin I, 235-236; AE sesterces, *dupondii* ou *asses*, Hadrien, Antonin, 152-156, puis Maximin I. - BMC Emp III, Hadrien n° 518-521 pl. 57, 5; 548-551 pl. 58, 4-5; 1418-1420. 1464 A p. 462; IV, Antonin n° 1920-1924 pl. 46, 18; 1926-1929 pl. 47, 11; 1939-1942 pl. 47, 6; p. 325; 1998 (sans lég.); VI, Maximin I n° 31-33 pl. 34. - Rv. I. coiffée en bandeaux avec un chignon, en robe talaire, le manteau sur les jambes, assise à g. sur un trône ou un siège sans dossier, tenant un long sceptre de son bras g., tend la main dr. ouverte. Lég. *INDVLGENTIA AVG*. I. ressemble à → Patientia, figurée sur des monnaies d'Hadrien à la même époque.

2b)\* AR deniers, Septime Sévère, 196/7; Caracalla, 213-217; et AR *antoniniani*, Macrien, Quietus (260/1, at. oriental). - BMC Emp V, Septime Sévère n° 163-165 pl. 9, 13; Caracalla n° 68-69 pl. 69, 9; RIC V 2, Macrien n° 8; Quietus n° 5. - Rv. I. analogue, mais la main dr. tend une patère (ce qui la rapproche de → Iustitia). Lég. *INDVLGENT AVG*, *INDVLGENTIA AVG* et *INDVLGENTIAE AVG*.

2c)\* (= 8) AR deniers, Caracalla, 211/12. - BMC Emp V n° 73-75 pl. 55, 3. - Rv. I. semblable à 2a, mais assise sur une chaise curule et coiffée du polos. Lég. *INDVLG(ENTIAE) FECVND(AE)*. Le type représente-t-il Julia Domna en I.? Des monnaies frappées par Caracalla pour sa mère portent la lég. *FECVNDITAS*.

2d) AU quinaires, AR quinaires et *antoniniani*, AE *asses*, Gallien, 263-265. - RIC V 1, Gallien n° 106. 205. 368. 418-419. 546-547. - Rv. I. semblable à 2a, la main dr. inclinée, vide ou tenant un objet indistinct (rameau?, épis?, patère?). Lég. *INDVLGENT AVG* et *INDVLGENTIA AVG*.

### c) Indulgentia debout (contamination avec d'autres entités)

Monnaies de l'atelier de Rome (sauf exceptions signalées)

3. AR *antoniniani*, Gallien. - RIC V 1 n° 206. - Rv. I. debout, jambes croisées, appuyée sur une colonne, tenant sceptre court et corne d'abondance; à ses pieds, une roue. Lég. *INDVLGENTIA AVG*. Contamination avec Fortuna (→ Tyche/Fortuna), → Securitas et → Providentia.

4.\* AR deniers, AE *asses*, Elagabal pour Sévère Alexandre César, 221/2; puis AU *aurei*, AR *antoni-*

*niani*, Gallien (Milan); puis (Ticinum) Florian, 276; Probus, 276. - RIC V 1, Gallien n° 46. 204. 485 (Milan); Florian n° 65-67; V 2, Probus n° 314; BMC Emp V, Elagabal pour Sévère Alexandre César n° 264-265 pl. 90, 17; p. 614. - Rv. → Spes drapée, marchant à g., tenant une fleur dans la main dr. et rassemblant les plis de sa robe de la main g.; ou Spes debout à g. (Florien). Lég. *INDVLG AVG*, *INDVLGENT AVG* et *INDVLGENTIA AVG*.

5. AU *aurei*, Carus (at. incertain), 282/3. - RIC V 2, 151 n° 130. - Rv. Victoire (→ Victoria) marchant à g., tenant une couronne et une palme. Lég. *INDVLGENTIA AVG*.

En revanche l'assimilation à I., suggérée par RIC IV 1, 355, de la figure féminine debout à dr., tenant un sceptre, avec deux petits enfants à ses pieds, sans lég., sur des *aurei* et des *asses* ou *dupondii* de Géta en 209/10 (RIC IV 1, 322 n° 60 pl. 14, 8; 323 n° 71; 336 n° 150 pl. 16, 8) ne paraît pas justifiée.

### d) Personnages divers accompagnés de la légende Indulgentia

6. AU *aurei*, AR deniers (= Iuno 170\*), AE sesterces, *dupondii* et *asses*, Septime Sévère, 203-204; Caracalla, 203-204. - BMC Emp V, Septime Sévère n° 333-338 pl. 35, 11-14; p. 248; n° 830 pl. 50, 1; n° 844 pl. 51, 1; Caracalla n° 279-282 pl. 34, 2-3; p. 332; p. 334; n° 831-832 pl. 50, 2-3; p. 343. - Rv. Caelestis assise sur un lion galopant à dr.; en dessous, source jaillissant du rocher. Lég. *INDVLGENTIA AVGG(VSTORVM) IN CARTH(AGINEM)*.

7. (= Italia 20) AR deniers, Septime Sévère, ?; Caracalla, ? - BMC Emp V, Septime Sévère n° 339 pl. 35, 15; Caracalla p. 209. - Rv. Italia couronnée assise à g. sur le globe, tenant le sceptre et la corne d'abondance. Lég. *INDVLGENTIA AVGG(VSTORVM) IN ITALIAM*.

8. (= 2c\*) Julia Domna? Lég. *INDVLG(ENTIAE) FECVND(AE)*.

9. AE *asses*, Elagabal pour Sévère Alexandre César, 221/2. - RIC IV 2, 101 n° 381; BMC Emp V p. 614. - Rv. Sévère Alexandre en habit militaire tenant un bâton et un sceptre. Derrière lui, deux enseignes. Lég. *INDVLGENTIA AVG*.

10.\* AU *aurei*, Postume, Cologne, 263/4; AU *aurei*, AR deniers et *antoniniani*, Victorin, at. gaulois, 269/70. - Schulte, B., *Die Goldprägung der gallischen Kaiser von Postumus bis Tetricus* (1983) Postume 97-98 n° 91-96 pl. 7-8; Victorin 134 n° 18 pl. 18; *The Normanby Hoard* (1988) n° 1423; RIC V 2, 359 n° 276-277; 388 n° 8. - Rv. Postume assis sur une chaise curule, la main tendue vers un suppliant agenouillé; lég. *INDVLG(ENTIAE) POSTVMI AVG*; puis Victorin debout relève une femme agenouillée qui porte une corne d'abondance; lég. *INDVLGENTIA AVG*.

### e) Représentation disparue

11. Statue de bronze d'*Indulgentia domini nostri* abritée dans une *aedicula tetrastyla*, érigée à Cirta (Numidie), probablement en 210 pour Septime Sévère et ses deux fils, par le notable M(arcus) Caecilius Natalis (Pflaum, o. c. II 1, 562) qui avait offert aussi, aupara-

vant, une statue de bronze de → *Securitas saeculi* et qui devait dédier par la suite un arc avec la statue de → *Vir-tus domini n(ostri) Antonini Aug(usti)* (Caracalla): Pflaum, o. c. II 1, 675-678.

### COMMENTAIRE

Le type 1, colonial, assimile I. à Pietas. Le type 2 apparu sous Hadrien est plus net: le sceptre et la position assise suggèrent l'exercice de la souveraineté; la main ouverte tendue (2a) est le geste traditionnel de la clémence de l'empereur ou du général vainqueur; mais le type monétaire de → Clementia tient d'ordinaire dans sa main tendue une patère, comme parfois I. (2b) et généralement Iustitia. I. reste donc une figure assez mal caractérisée qui se prête au III<sup>e</sup> s. à d'autres «contaminations»: avec Fortuna (mais aussi Securitas et Providentia), Spes et Victoria. L'évolution iconographique est parallèle à celle de la notion. D'abord, par l'identité de la légende et de la figure, c'est la vertu princière d'Indulgence qui est évoquée. Par la suite, lorsqu'elle est associée à d'autres figures, la légende *Indulgentia* sert de slogan, et suggère l'octroi de faveurs: avec tantôt la représentation des bénéficiaires (Carthage, l'Italie, Sévère Alexandre César), tantôt celle du prince dispensateur de bienfaits (Julia Domna peut-être, Postume, Victorin). Par la fréquence de la légende monétaire, les occurrences multiples chez les juristes, la variété des emplois épigraphiques, I. fait figure de manifeste sous les règnes de Septime Sévère et de Caracalla. La légende et le type monétaire tombent en désuétude avant la fin du III<sup>e</sup> s.

MIREILLE CORBIER

### INGENIUM

Personnification du Génie, du Talent naturel.

1.\* Trèves, Rhein. Landesmus. 10.703-10.724. Mosaïque dite de Monnus. De Trèves. - Parlasca, K., *Die röm. Mosaiken in Deutschland* (1959) 41-42 (bibl.) pl. 47, 1; Goethert, K. P./Goethert-Polaschek, K., «Das Gebäude mit dem Monnus-Mosaik», dans *Festschr. 100 Jahre Rhein. Landesmus. Trier* (1979) fig. 5; *Trier. Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz*<sup>2</sup>, cat. exp. (1984) 284-285 n° 149, fig. - Fin III<sup>e</sup> - début IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Goethert 96). - Debout à la dr. d'Homère, un manteau bleu sur les épaules, un filet bleu dans les cheveux, I. (inscr. *INGENIVM*), sous les traits d'un jeune homme dont la silhouette n'est conservée que de façon très fragmentaire, est associé à Calliope (→ Mousa, Mousai).

C'est le génie du poète, doublant l'image plus traditionnelle de la Muse de l'épopée, qui est évoqué ici, l'accent étant mis plus particulièrement sur ses dons naturels, de la même manière en quelque sorte que

→ Heuresis et → Epinoia désignent, dans le Dioscoride de Vienne, la découverte et les qualités d'observation scientifique du savant.

JEAN CH. BALTY

### INO

(*Ἰνώ*, Ino; *Λευκοθέα*, *Λευκοθέη*, Leucothea) Fille de → Kadmos (I), roi de Thèbes, et sœur de → Semele. Elle épouse → Athamas, roi d'Orchomène en Béotie ou de Halos en Thessalie, dont elle est la seconde femme: elle en aura deux enfants, Léarchos et → Melikertes.

Jalouse de → Phrixos et Hellé, enfants du premier lit, elle médite de les perdre. A cette fin, elle fait griller le grain des semences, qui ne germe pas et provoque la disette. Athamas envoie un messager consulter l'oracle de Delphes. A son retour I. le persuade d'annoncer que les dieux exigent le sacrifice de Phrixos. Les enfants s'enfuient cependant sur un bélier à toison d'or offert à leur mère → Nephelè par → Hermes (→ Argonaute, → Iason, → Medeia).

Après la mort de Sémélé, Hermès confie à Athamas et I. l'enfant → Dionysos, fruit des amours illégitimes de Zeus et Sémélé. Mais → Hera les poursuit de sa haine, frappant Athamas de folie: au cours d'une chasse, il tue Léarchos et se lance à la poursuite d'I. qui se jette dans la mer avec Mélécerte pour lui échapper. Recueillis par les → Nereides, ils deviennent les divinités Leucothée et Palaimon. Déesse marine, I. sera d'un grand secours à Ulysse (→ Odysseus) en lui donnant son voile pour le protéger pendant sa traversée entre l'île de → Kalypso et le pays des Phéaciens (→ Nausikaa, → Alkinoos I).

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Les grands traits de l'histoire d'I. devaient déjà être connus d'Homère (*Od.* 5, 333-336) qui la présente comme une fille de Cadmos devenue déesse marine bienfaisante, secourable à Ulysse (*Od.* 5, 336-353). Ovide (*Pont.* 3, 6, 20) y fera allusion. Pindare s'adresse à I.-Leucothée comme à une déesse marine (*P.* 11, 2). Apollodore fait référence à la légende d'I. à deux reprises; *bibl.* 1 (80-84) 9, 1-2, elle est envisagée du point de vue de la lignée d'Athamas et pas un mot n'est dit sur les liens qui existent entre I. et Dionysos. On ne sait rien non plus des raisons de la colère d'Héra. Sa seconde mention (*bibl.* 3 [26-29] 4, 2-3) revient sur les origines de la légende: les amours clandestins de Sémélé, Dionysos confié à I. et Athamas, la folie qu'Héra leur inflige, poussant Athamas à tuer Léarchos et I. à précipiter Mélécerte dans un chaudron bouillant avant de se jeter dans la mer avec le cadavre de l'enfant. L'épisode du chaudron offre des parallèles avec la légende de Dionysos → Zagreus. Eur. *Medea* 1982-1989 rapproche I. de Médée, la mettant au rang des infanticides.

Les liens de la légende avec Dionysos amènent naturellement le thème au théâtre. Eschyle est l'auteur

d'un *Athamas* (TrGF III F 1-4a); Sophocle a donné deux *Athamas* (TrGF IV F 1-10) et un *Phrixos* (TrGF IV F 721-723a), et Euripide une *Inô* (TGF<sup>2</sup> fig. 398-423) où se joue le drame des enfants de Thémistô (Hyg. fab. 1) et deux *Phrixos* (TGF<sup>2</sup> fig. 819-838; POxy 2455, Austin, C., *Nova Fragmenta Euripidea* [1968] 101-103). Pour le contenu de ces drames cf. → *Athamas*. Le récit le plus détaillé est donné par Nonn. *Dion.* 9 et 10, 1-125: I. se voit confier son neveu Dionysos (9, 53-70) et reçoit la promesse d'une apothéose marine (cf. Hyg. fab. 224, 5). Provoquée par les paroles moqueuses de Sémélé, la colère d'Héra s'abat sur I., dont la raison s'égare et qui va rôder sur le Parnasse jusqu'à sa guérison par Apollon (9, 243-286) cependant qu'Athamas, l'ayant vainement cherchée, épouse Thémistô. Celle-ci, pleine de jalousie rétrospective, tue ses propres enfants, croyant tuer ceux d'I. (9, 319-321). I. rentre après trois ans d'absence pour trouver Athamas furieux, tuant leur fils Léarchos au cours d'une partie de chasse parce qu'il le prend pour un cerf et jetant le plus jeune enfant dans un chaudron (10, 67-72); elle l'en retire à demi brûlé et, poursuivie par le dément, se jette avec l'enfant dans les flots après avoir reconnu ses crimes de marâtre et sa responsabilité dans la stérilité du sol (10, 73-125).

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Aelion, R., *Euripide héritier d'Eschyle I* (1983) 277-281; Cook, Zeus III 73 ss.; Eitrem, S., *RE* XII 2 (1925) 2294-2306 s.v. «Leukothea»; Escher, J., *RE* II 2 (1896) 1929-1933 s.v. «Athamas»; Imhoof-Blumer/Gardner, *NumCommPaus* 60-61 pl. B (= *NumCommPaus*); Lesky, A., *RE* XV 1 (1931) 515-520 s.v. «Melikertes»; Paribeni, E., *EAA* IV (1961) 608-609 s.v. «Leukothea»; Oakley, J. H., *AntK* 25, 1982, 44-47; Schauenburg, K., «Phrixos», *RhM* 101, 1958, 41-50; Schirmer, *ML* II 2 (1894-97) 2011-2017 s.v. «Leukothea»; Seeliger, K., *ML* I 1 (1884-86) 670-675 s.v. «Athamas»; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 2 (1894-97) 2632-2636 s.v. «Melikertes»; Turcan, R., *Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques* (1966) 431-435.

Concernant l'identification de Leucothée avec Uni à Pyrgi (→ Uni, → Eileithya) cf. *Akten des Kolloquiums zum Thema «Die Göttin von Pyrgi», Archäologische, linguistische und religionsgeschichtliche Aspekte, Tübingen 1979* (1981), en particulier Colonna, G., 29-34; Bloch, R., 123-129; au sujet de Leucothée, déesse de la mer: Krauskopf, I., 137-148.

## CATALOGUE

### A. Inô, simple déesse

1. Stèle votive en marbre. Volos, Mus. E 543. 404. De Larissa. - Arvanitopoulos, A. S., *ArchEph* 1910, 379. - Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - I. assise sur un rocher vers la dr. (chiton, himation). Devant elle la dédicante, qui se nomme Danaé, tend les mains vers la déesse en geste de supplication. Entre les deux personnages un bâtiment rond.

### B. Inô nourrice de Dionysos

2. Peinture. Rome. Mus. Naz. Rom. 1118 B 4. De la Farnésine, *cubiculum* B. - Bianchi-Bandinelli, *RCP*

fig. 123; Bragantini, I./de Vos, M., *MusNazRom* II 1 (1982) 136 pl. 68 (bibl.); Helbig<sup>3</sup> III 444. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I., son thyrsos appuyé près d'elle, assise de trois quarts vers la dr., tient l'enfant Dionysos sur les genoux et s'apprête à lui donner le sein. La scène a lieu dans un jardin limité par un porche. Au second plan deux femmes, dont une porteuse de thyrsos. Près d'elles une statue de Dionysos archaïsant sur un piédestal. Au sommet d'une arcature un Satyre allongé lève son canthare (→ Silenos, Silenoi).

3.\* (= Agnoia 5, = Dionysos/Bacchus 136\*. 174 avec bibl., = Dionysos/Bacchus [in peripheria occ.] 8\*) Mosaïque. Djemila, Mus. - Leschi, L., *Mon-Piot* 35, 1935-36. 139-146 pl. 8. - Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. assise vers la dr. allaite Bacchus. Près d'elle une femme accoudée à un pilastre. A dr. un Satyre.

4. (= Dionysos/Bacchus 138\*) Sarcophage. Hever Castle (Kent). Acquis à Rome. - Matz, F., *SarkRel* IV 3, 411-413 n° 230 pl. 254, 1. - Vers le milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Au centre I., couchée sur le flanc g., allaite Bacchus; près d'elle un arbre sur lequel s'enroule un serpent. A g. deux femmes dansent (?) autour de l'arbre. A dr. un homme drapé dans un himation semble retenir un autre personnage qui s'approche à grands pas du centre.

5. (= Dionysos/Bacchus 137 avec bibl.) Relief de pierre. Rome, Pal. Cardelli. - Turcan 431-432 pl. 22a. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Au centre I., couchée sur le flanc, allaite Bacchus. Derrière elle une Ménade (?) et une Nymphé des sources encadrent un dieu, → Sabazios (?) qui tient un serpent. A dr. → Pan.

6. (= Aktaion 79\* avec bibl., = Dionysos/Bacchus 139 avec bibl.) Sarcophage. Pise, Camposanto 14. - Turcan 432-433 pl. 22b. - Epoque antonine. - A g. I., mi-allongée sur le flanc g. au pied d'un rocher, allaite Bacchus. Derrière elle se tient la Nymphé de la source dont la cruche renversée sur le rocher laisse couler l'eau. Derrière I. un dieu d'allure dionysienne: Sabazios. A dr. Actéon attaqué par son chien.

### IDENTIFICATION INCERTAINE

7. Statue en marbre de Paros. Versailles, Château. - Montebault, M./Schloder, J., *L'Album Canini du Louvre et la Collection d'Antiques de Richelieu* (1988) 170-171 n° 7 fig. 53 a (bibl.). - Date incertaine. - I. (?) matronale, vêtue d'un péplos à colpos et rabat, un manteau sur les épaules, tient un nourrisson dans les bras: I. et Mélécerte? → Eirene et → Ploutos? ou Faustine avec un de ses enfants.

8. (= Dionysos 678) Cratère en calice. Moscou, Mus. Pouchkine II 1 732. De Nola. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 618, 4: P. de la Villa Giulia; Sidorova, N./Tugaceva, O./Zabelina, V., *Antique Painted Pottery in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts* (1985) n° 45. - 460-450 av. J.-C. - A: Hermès, assis vers la dr. sur un rocher, tient l'enfant Dionysos sur les genoux. Celui-ci tend les bras vers une femme debout à dr. qui serait I. A g. une autre femme. B: au centre un roi chenu tenant un sceptre. De part et d'autre, une femme s'éloigne de lui en ouvrant les bras. Il s'agirait de Cadmos et de ses filles.

### C. Inô, Dionysos, Sémélé

9. Relief du trône d'Amyclée. Perdu. - Paus. 3, 19, 3. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - I. se tient près de Sémélé debout à côté de Dionysos.

### D. Inô et Athamas reçoivent la garde de l'enfant Dionysos

10.\* (= Athamas 1) Hydrie à f. r. Athènes, coll. A. Kyrou. D'Atalanti (Locride). - Oakley pl. 8: Hermónax. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Athamas assis dans son palais devant une table chargée de deux canthares et de gâteaux. Il tient une phiale à la main. I., debout près de lui, esquisse un geste d'accueil ou de surprise. Face au couple royal s'avance Hermès vers la g., portant l'enfant Dionysos dans ses bras.

11. (= Athamas 2\*) Bol à relief, fr. Ex-coll. Curtius. - Oakley 45. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Représentait la même scène. Il est donc raisonnable de supposer qu'I. était présente. Voir également Athamas 4\*.

12. (= Athamas 3\*, = Dionysos/Fufluns 9, = Hermes 371b) Stamnos étrusque. Rome, Villa Giulia 2350. De Faléries. - *EVP* 102. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - A dr. Hermès, portant l'enfant Dionysos, s'approche d'Athamas (himation brodé, sceptre) assis sur un rocher (?); à sa dr. est assise I. (diadème, vêtements brodés), un sceptre à la main dr., la tête tournée vers les nouveaux arrivants. Ils sont entourés de Bacchantes.

### E. Inô marâtre

13.\* Amphore de Nola. Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg 270. De Capoue. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1161, 1: P. de Munich 2335. - 3<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - I., une double hache à la main dr. (chiton, cécyphale), poursuit Phrixos qu'emporte vers la dr. le bélier à toison d'or.

### F. Inô fuyant Athamas et le saut dans la mer

14. Peinture à l'encaustique. Perdue. - Kallistratos *stat.* 14. - Date inconnue. - Œuvre peinte à l'occasion d'un concours et non destinée à l'exposition permanente. Callistrate dépeint Athamas l'air égaré et baigné de sueur, se ruant vers I. pour la tuer. Elle se précipite vers le promontoire de Skeiron, tenant Mélécerte pressé sur son sein. Les vagues s'apprêtent à la recueillir, et → Amphitrite, les Néréides et → Okeanos avec leur cortège de dauphins viennent à leur rencontre.

15. Cratère en cloche apulien à f. r. fr. Genève, coll. part. - *RVAp* II 504, 85; Aellen, C./Cambitoglou, A./Chamay, J., *Le peintre de Darius et son milieu*, Cat. exp. Genève (1986) 168-170, figs. - Vers 330. - Dans le registre supérieur, entre Amphitrite et → Poseidon, une Néréide assise sur un → Ketos. I.? Registre inférieur: folie d'Athamas. Seule la tête demeure; le visage exprime l'égarement. La présence des divinités marines rend très plausible la présence d'I. avec Mélécerte dans les bras. Le document est cependant trop fragmentaire...

16.\* AE, Corinthe, Antonin (138-161). - *NumCommPaus* 12-13 n° 2 pl. B XXIV. - Rv.: I. vers la g. sur un rocher, tenant Mélécerte dans ses bras, s'apprête à sauter dans les vagues. Un Triton lui tend les bras.

17. (= Isthmos 6a\*) AE, Corinthe, Domitien (81-96). - *NumCommPaus* 12 n° 2 pl. B XXI; Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 160; Stoll, *ML* II 2, 2634, fig. - Rv. I. de dos vers la g. s'apprête à se jeter dans la mer avec l'enfant; Isthmos assis sur un rocher lui fait face. Au pied du rocher, un dauphin. (Même type inversé: Septime Sévère, *NumCommPaus* 12 n° 2 pl. B XXII = Isthmos 6b).

18.\* AE, Corinthe, Domitien. - *NumCommPaus* 12 n° 2 pl. B XX. - Rv. I., son enfant dans les bras, court vers la g. où se profile un rocher.

19. AE, Corinthe, Septime Sévère, Caracalla. - Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 160. - Rv. I. sur un rocher, de trois quarts dos, s'apprête à sauter dans la mer avec l'enfant. Un grand dauphin vient à sa rencontre.

### G. Inô, divinité marine

20.\* AE, Corinthe, Antonin. - Imhoof-Blumer, F., *Choix de monnaies grecques de la coll. Imhoof-Blumer* (1883) pl. 2, 50; *NumCommPaus* 12 n° 2 pl. B XVIII. - Rv. I. fuit vers la dr., jambe g. avancée et fléchie, tête retournée (vêtement dévoilant le sein dr.), tenant son voile gonflé en dais au-dessus de sa tête. Près d'elle à dr. un Hippocampe (même type: Lucius Vérus [161-169] *NumCommPaus*, mention p. 61 §).

21. AE, Corinthe, Marc Aurèle (161-180). - *NumCommPaus* 12 n° 2 pl. B XIX. - Rv. I., debout de face, regarde Mélécerte qu'elle tient sur son bras g. De la main dr. elle esquisse le geste de soulever son voile.

Cf. aussi → Hermos 16.

22. (= Borios 1, = Doto 2, = Glaukos I 1\* avec bibl.) Mosaïque. Toulouse, Mus. Saint Raymond Cat. 20. De Saint-Rustice (Haute-Garonne), thermes. - Pelekanides, o. c. 24, 47-48; Comotti, A., *EAA* III 952 fig. 1190. - V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Glaukos, torse de face, tient le petit Mélécerte à deux mains et le tend à I. assise à la cavalière sur son dos pisciforme. Une draperie couvre ses jambes et une autre dessine un dais au-dessus d'elle. A ses pieds, un Kétos. Noms inscrits en grec.

23. (= Agrios II 1 avec bibl., = Aigialos 1 avec bibl., = Glaukos I 2) Mosaïque. Garni (Arménie). - Fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Frise de Néréides assises sur le dos de Tritons. Celle que porte Glaukos est entièrement perdue; seule demeure la dernière lettre de son nom, Ω; il pourrait s'agir d'I.

24.\* (= Glaukos I 3 avec bibl.) Plat d'argent repoussé. Athènes, Mus. Bénaki 11.446. Acquis en Egypte. - Pelekanides, S., *ArchEph* 1942-44, 47-48. - Médaille: I. assise vers la g. sur le dos d'un Triton qui se tourne vers elle, une rame à la main g. I. allaite Mélécerte; elle porte un chiton qui dévoile sa jambe g. Ses cheveux sont noués sur la nuque. Dans le champ s'ébattent des poissons.

25. Intaille. Localisation inconnue. D'Ehl (Bas-Rhin) - Guiraud, H., *Intailles et camées de l'époque ro-*



maine en Gaule, *Gallia* suppl. 48 (1988) n° 27. – I. *velificans* assise sur un dauphin tient par la main un petit personnage à côté d'elle.

26. Intaille en cornaline. Colchester and Essex Mus. 291. De Colchester. – Henig, *Corpus* n° 288. – 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – I. (?) *velificans* assise sur un dauphin. Dans le champ, un enfant aptère tend les bras vers elle. Les personnages sont interprétés comme → Aphrodite et Amor (→ Eros/Amor, Cupido).

## H. Documents incertains

27. Plat d'argent, repoussé. Turin, Gall. Sabauda. Acquis au Caire. – Monneret de Villard, U., *La scultura ad Ahnâs* (1923) 38 pl. 25; Rosenberg, M., *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen IV* (1928) 740; Cruikshank Dodd, E., *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (1961) n° 93. – Porte une estampille datée de 541 ap. J.-C. – I. assise vers la g. sur le dos d'un lion marin. De la main dr. elle tient une phiale qu'elle tend à l'animal et une fleur (?) de la main g. Derrière elle, au second plan, une silhouette enfantine aptère bande son arc (cf. *etiam* → Eros/Amor). Autour du médaillon inscr. chrétienne.

28. Mosaïque monochrome. Corinthie, thermes de l'Isthme. – Packard, P. M., «A monochrome mosaic at Isthmia», *Hesperia* 49, 1980, 327-436 pl. 97-101. – Milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – En deux registres superposés, un Triton portant une Néréide sur le dos. Le Triton du registre inférieur tient un bouclier ou un tambourin. La Néréide (I.?), *velificans* et les jambes drapées, pose la main g. sur l'épaule du Triton. Le couple est accompagné d'un Amour debout sur un dauphin, tenant d'une main les rênes et de l'autre brandissant une badine en guise d'aiguillon.

29. Intaille en cornaline, signée Hyllos. Boston, MFA. – Furtwängler, AG pl. 65, 27; Richter, *Engel-GemsRom* 152 fig. 713; Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* 69 pl. 77, 1-2; Zazoff, AG 318 pl. 92, 9. – Epo- que julio-claudienne. – Un jeune Triton porte sur le dos une Néréide (I.?), qui lui enserre le cou de son bras dr. Devant le couple, un Amour ailé souffle dans une conque.

## I. Statues et groupes mentionnés par Pausanias

30. Corinthie, entre la source Pirène et le sanctuaire de Léchaion. – Paus. 2, 3, 4. – «... après Hermès (et le bélier) viennent Poséidon, Leucothée et Palaïmon sur un dauphin.»

31. Corinthie, dans le sanctuaire de Poséidon. – Paus. 2, 1, 8-9. – Autour du groupe statuaire de Poséidon, Amphitrite et Palaïmon, effigies de Thalassa, Aphrodite, les Néréides, les Dioscures (→ Dioskouroi), → Galène (I), un cheval marin, I., Bellérophon et Pégase (→ Pegasos).

32. Corinthie. Dans le même ensemble que 31, un naos consacré à Palaïmon. Paus. 2, 2, 1. – Effigies de Leucothée, Palaïmon et Poseidon.

33. Leuctra (Laconie). – Paus. 3, 36, 4. – Statue de marbre. – Cf. aussi Paus. 3, 26, 1, sanctuaire (avec sta-

tue d'I. (?) en bronze) et oracle d'I. sur le chemin d'Oitylos à Thalamai (Laconie).

## COMMENTAIRE

Seul le relief de Volos I illustre le rayonnement de la déesse que fut I. en Thessalie. La part des épisodes thessaliens est relativement modeste dans l'iconographie de l'héroïne, et se limite à la sphère grecque et à ses prolongements d'Italie méridionale et étrusque.

Le thème entre dans le répertoire tragique avec les autres légendes thessaliennes et thraces (→ Orpheus, → Thamyris, → Medeia), lorsque Athènes se tourne vers la région du Strymon à la recherche de blé.

Deux documents qui illustrent la remise de l'enfant au couple royal, si proches de structure, font penser à un original commun (10-11). L'imagerie attique, sous l'influence de la tragédie, nous donne la seule image d'I., âpre belle-mère cherchant à tuer Phrixos (13). L'arme utilisée, la hache, la rapproche d'autres personnages tragiques: Clytemnestre (→ Klytaimestra, → Aigisthos), les femmes thraces (→ Orpheus), Lycurgue (→ Lykourgos I). Pour A. Prag, *The Oresteia* (1985) 90, elle est l'outil domestique par excellence, donc la première arme de fortune empoignée par des personnages furieux, et non une arme féminine.

La peinture vue ou imaginée par Callistrate 14 étant perdue, la folie d'Athamas nous est parvenue sous forme fragmentaire sur le cratère de Genève 15 (où les auteurs pensent qu'I. est peut-être également figurée en déesse marine).

La Corinthie, de par sa vocation maritime, accorde quelque importance à I., déesse marine. Seules les monnaies corinthiennes rendent témoignage du saut dans la mer: elles sont probablement le reflet d'un des groupes statuaires de l'Isthme mentionnés par Pausanias. Iconographiquement, le saut d'I. s'apparente au suicide de Sappho (voir la mosaïque aux chevaux de Carthage: Salomonson, J. W., *La mosaïque aux chevaux de l'Antiquarium de Carthage* [1965] 110 fig. 31 pl. 52, 2; ou le décor en stuc de la basilique souterraine de la Porte Majeure: voir p. ex. Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 118 K 16 av. bibl.). Les documents romains (2-7) exaltent I. dans son rôle de nourrice de l'enfant Bacchus, mais il est malaisé de la distinguer toujours des Nymphes du mont Nysa, l'atmosphère bachique prévalant sur les éléments narratifs. Le monde romain s'est également attaché à la déesse marine. L'avatar marin d'I. apparaît déjà dans Homère. À époque tardive, son association avec un Triton l'assimile iconographiquement aux Néréides. Son rapprochement avec Glaukos (22-23) fait songer à l'existence d'une sorte de triade familiale. Le motif de la *velificans* devrait prendre tout son sens avec I. dans la mesure où son voile est l'instrument légendaire de sa puissance (cf. Hom. *Od.* 5, 346-350, où I. le confie à Ulysse qui le rendra aux flots à l'issue de la traversée); or seule la monnaie 20 lui accorde quelque importance. Cependant le succès de ce motif contribue à confondre davantage I. dans la cohorte des Néréides, dont seule la présence de Mélécerte la distingue. La personnalité iconographique de ce dernier

souffre également de l'engouement pour le thème de la naissance de Vénus (→ Aphrodite) et autres triomphes marins qui voient la multiplication des *Amorini*. Palaïmon, aurige des dauphins (*Apul. met.* 4, 31) entre dans la joyeuse bande des Amours ailés ou aptères, et rares sont les cas où on peut le reconnaître avec certitude: le plat de Turin où l'enfant aptère tient un arc 27, ou l'intaille de Boston 29 sont des identifications incertaines. Ces contaminations rendent tentante l'identification de certaines Néréides accompagnées d'Amor comme des I. Il en est ainsi pour la mosaïque de l'Isthme 28 où l'identification est rendue plus probable encore par le culte régional rendu à Palaïmon.

ANNE NERCESSIAN

## INOPOS

(*Ἰνωπός*, Inopus). Torrent de Délos.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: L'I. est cité comme le cours d'eau de Délos: Hom. *h. Ap.* 18; Kall. *h.* 3, 171; 4, 206, 263; etc. et à Délos même la dédicace IG XI 4, 1289: *Ἰνωπὸς καλλιρόου*. Sans référence délienne explicite: Val. Fl. 5, 104.

L'I. passait pour être une dérivation du Nil: Kall. *h.* 4, 206-208, etc. (textes réunis et transcrits par Bruneau, *Cultes* 17 n. 1). Dans les comptes de gestion du sanctuaire de Délos, «I.» désigne tantôt le torrent, tantôt un bâtiment homonyme (liste des textes: Bruneau, *Cultes* 218 n. 1).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Dans les encyclopédies, aucun article sur I. (*ML*, *EAA*) ou très bref (*RE*). Rassemblement des informations disponibles par Bruneau, Ph., *BCH* 114, 1990, 554-559.

## CATALOGUE

1.\* Relief d'un autel monumental de Cnide. – Love, I. C., *AJA* 77, 1973, 422 pl. 76 fig. 28; pl. 77 fig. 33. – Hellénistique. – Personnage masculin assis aux pieds d'une femme, elle-même assise sur un rocher devant un arbre. Sur la plinthe, sous le personnage masculin, l'inscr. *ΙΝΩΠΙΟΣ* (lecture de I. C. Love).

## IDENTIFICATION ABANDONNÉE

2. Torse de marbre. Paris, Louvre MR 79 (cat. MA 855). – De Délos. – Visconti, *Description des antiques du Musée royal* (1817) n° 78; Michon, E., *BCH* 35, 1911, 288-301; Charbonneaux, J., *Revue des arts* 1, 1951, 9-16; Marcadé, *MusDélôs* 265-266. – L'identification comme I. remonte à Visconti; elle s'explique par l'origine délienne du marbre et l'illusion que le fragment provenait d'une statue à demi couchée dans une posture pouvant convenir à un dieu fleuve. On a pensé à un portrait d'Alexandre (F. Ravaisson: cf. *RA* 1876, 328), puis de Mithridate Eupatôr (Charbonneaux, Marcadé).

## COMMENTAIRE

Dans les textes littéraires, le nom d'I. désigne le cours d'eau lui-même et non pas sa personnification; toutefois le bâtiment nommé «I.» dans les documents administratifs de Délos peut être un sanctuaire d'I., car les rédacteurs de ces actes disent couramment «l'Archégète» pour «l'Archégésion», le «Poulydamas» pour «le sanctuaire de Poulydamas» (Bruneau, Ph., *BCH* Suppl. I 120); c'est le seul indice de l'existence d'un I. personnifié, donc figurable sous forme humaine.

En regard de cette tradition littéraire où l'I. est toujours le torrent de Délos, le seul monument figuré où soit incrit le nom d'I. est l'autel 1: iconographiquement la figure masculine à demi couchée peut convenir à un dieu-fleuve, mais elle se trouve sur un autel de Cnide et dans un ensemble imagier que rien ne caractérise comme délien (les autres blocs représentent trois femmes; Hermès et un bige avec l'inscription *ΝΥΜΦΑΙ*; trois femmes dansant; des femmes et une divinité trônant). Rien, à vrai dire, n'oblige absolument à croire que l'I. de l'autel de Cnide soit le fleuve délien. En effet, bien que l'étymologie du nom d'I. nous échappe (la ressemblance du début du mot avec le nom d'→ Ino peut être fortuite et n'autorise aucune hypothèse), la présence y est frappante du suffixe -opos qu'on retrouve dans d'autres toponymes comme Oropos ou Asopos, spécialement intéressant car c'est aussi un nom de rivière. Or, en grec, les mêmes toponymes reparaissent souvent dans des lieux éloignés, et en particulier le cas ne serait pas unique d'un même nom de fleuve désignant des cours d'eau différents: Achéloos, Achéron, Asopos, Érasinos, Éridanos, Inachos, Képhissos, Mélas, Pénéios... Il se peut donc qu'il y ait eu dans le monde grec plus d'un Inopos et que le relief cnidien représente un cours d'eau local et non celui de Délos.

PHILIPPE BRUNEAU

## INTARABUS → Ares/Mars 503-504

## IO I

(*Ἰώ*, *Elw*, Io) Figure de la mythologie argienne: prêtresse d'→ Hera, elle est aimée de → Zeus qui la transforme en génisse; la déesse, jalouse, la fait surveiller par Argos, dont → Hermes la délivre; harcelée par un taon, Io parcourt la Grèce et la Méditerranée: s'arrêtant en Égypte, elle retrouve sa forme humaine et donne naissance à Épaphos, fils de Zeus.

Son nom, qui désigne aussi la lune à Argos (Herodianos I 347, 30 Lentz; Suda s. v. *Ἰώ*; Eust. *ad* Dion. Per. 92), a été rapproché de l'interjection *ἰώ*, cri de douleur, et de son dérivé *ἰωή*, «gémissement», de *ἰήτος*, épithète d'Apollon, ainsi que de *ἰών*, «violette» et toute sorte de fleurs (Westermann, A., *Mythographi Graeci*

[1843] p. 373 [appendix narrat. 33]). Cf. Liddell/Scott et Chantraine s. v. *lō* et *lō*, Frisk s. v. *lō* et *lō*, ainsi que Eitrem 1739-1740; Engelmann 269, 36-66; Höfer 280-281; Athanassakis, A., «The Word *lō* in Homer and Hesiod», *AJA* 89, 1968, 72-82.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES (pour d'autres détails, cf. Eitrem 1732-1738; Engelmann 263-270): Io est liée aux légendes argiennes. Pour la plupart des auteurs son père est → Inachos, dieu-fleuve et roi d'Argos (→ Fluvii): Aischyl. *Prom.* 589-590; Bakchyl. 19, 18; Soph. *El.* 5; Hdt. 1, 3; Kastor, *FGrH* 250 F8. D'après Hes. *frg.* 124 Merkelbach/West, c'est Peirèn – ou Peiras ou Peirasos –, roi de Tirynthe où il avait consacré la statue de culte d'Héra, qui fut emportée par la suite à Argos (Plut. *de Daedalis Plataeensis* *frg.* 158 Sandbach; Paus. 2, 17, 5); on cite encore Iasos (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [5] 1, 3; Paus. 2, 16, 1), → Kadmos (I) (*Etym. m.* 205, 35 s. v. *Βόσπορος*), → Promethus (Antikleides, *FGrH* 140 F 13; Istros, *FGrH* 334 F 43), Arestor (Charax de Pergame, *FGrH* 103 F 13). La mère d'Io est → Melia (Johannes Antioch. [Malalas]  *FHG* IV 544 *frg.* 14) ou Argia (Hyg. *fab.* 145).

Prêtresse d'Héra à Argos (Aischyl. *Suppl.* 291-292; Hes. *frg.* 124-125 Merkelbach/West; Charax, *FGrH* 103 F 13), Io suscite par sa beauté l'amour de Zeus qui la séduit (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [5] 1, 3). Pour certains, cet amour fut provoqué par lynx, fille d'→ Echo ou de → Peitho, qu'Héra pour se venger transforma en oiseau (Schol. Pind. *N.* 4, 56 a; Schol. Theokr. 2, 17; cf. le nom d'Io [?] inscrit au-dessus d'un oiseau anthropomorphe sur un aryballe corinthien de Breslau, aujourd'hui perdu [→ Herakles 1991 \*], qui d'après Brown, E., *AJA* 79, 1975, 137-139, représenterait lynx = *lō* (→ *δρνις*)).

C'est pendant leur union que Zeus prend l'aspect d'un taureau et change Io en génisse (Aischyl. *Suppl.* 299; Martialis 14, 180); mais selon Hes. *frg.* 124 Merkelbach/West, le dieu la transforme après s'être uni à elle, en la touchant. Cette rencontre se passe dans les pâturages d'Inachos à Lerne (Aischyl. *Prom.* 640; Ov. *met.* 1, 588-600); la naissance de leur fils Épaphos n'aura lieu qu'après les errances d'Io, sur les bords du Nil (références: cf. *infra*). Sous son aspect zoomorphe, Io est décrite comme une génisse d'une beauté exceptionnelle, avec la peau blanche (Hes. *frg.* 124 Merkelbach/West; Ov. *met.* 1, 610-612. 652. 743; Val. Fl. 4, 380).

Cette liaison n'échappe pas à la vigilance d'Héra. Pour apaiser les soupçons de son épouse, Zeus lui jure qu'il ne s'est jamais uni à Io (de là vient que l'*ἀφοδιστος ὄρκος*, bien qu'il s'agisse d'un faux serment, ne provoquerait pas la colère des dieux: Hes. *frg.* 124 Merkelbach/West). Il accepte de lui faire présent de la belle génisse (Aischyl. *Prom.* 589-592; Ov. *met.* 1, 612-621; Val. Fl. 4, 360-367). Héra l'enferme dans son bois sacré, situé entre Argos et Mycènes (Soph. *El.* 4-5 et *TrGF* IV F 270; Plin. *nat.* 16, 239; *Etym. m.* 176, 32 s. v. *Ἀφείσιος Ζεύς*), la confiant à la garde du Géant Argos qui l'attache à un olivier (Akus., *FGrH* 2 F 26-27; Plin. *nat.* 16, 239).

Argos est le fils d'Arestor et de Mykéné (Pherekyd., *FGrH* 3 F 66-67) ou d'Agénor (Apollod. *bibl.* 2

[4] 1, 2), ou de Niobé, la fille de Phoroneus (Akus., *FGrH* 2 F 25 a; Hyg. *fab.* 155). Pour qu'il reste vigilant, Héra le dote d'un troisième œil ouvert sur sa nuque et le dispense de l'envie de dormir (Pherekyd., *FGrH* 3 F 66); ou bien, d'après le poème *Aigimios*, attribué tantôt à Hésiode, tantôt à Cercops de Milet, il possède deux paires d'yeux (Hes. *frg.* 294 Merkelbach/West); d'autres sources rapportent que son corps tout entier est parsemé d'yeux innombrables (Aischyl. *Prom.* 569: *μυριαπός*; 678-679: *πυκνοὶς ὄσσοις δεδορκός*; *Suppl.* 304: *πανόπτης*; cf. *etiam* Eur. *Phoen.* 1115; Pherekyd., *FGrH* 3 F 66; Bakchyl. 19, 19-20). Ses seules distractions, pendant qu'il garde Io, sont le chant et la flûte, dont il continuera à jouer même après sa mort (Aischyl. *Prom.* 574-575; Soph. *Inachos*, *TrGF* IV F 281-281a).

Chargé par Zeus de délivrer Io, Hermès procède, selon certains auteurs, par la ruse: il endort Argos au son du pipeau (Val. Fl. 4, 381-390), ou bien en lui jouant un air de syrinx et en le touchant de sa baguette (Ov. *met.* 1, 669-687. 713-721), puis lui tranche la tête avec sa harpe. Selon la version la plus répandue, celle des catalogues hésiodiques, Hermès, ne pouvant tromper le Géant, emploie la violence et l'attaque en lui jetant une pierre (Bakchyl. 19, 25-33; Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2, 103 Dindorf; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [7] 1, 3; *Etym. m.* s. v. *Ἀργειφόντης*). D'autres sources ne donnent pas de précisions (Aischyl. *Suppl.* 305: *κατέκτανεν*; *Prom.* 681: *τοῦ ζῆν ἀπεστέρησεν*; Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1116: *κτείνε*), mais les termes employés suggèrent l'utilisation d'une arme, sans doute une épée. Le meurtre a lieu, soit à Lerne (Aischyl. *Prom.* 652-653. 676-677), soit à Argoura d'Eubée (Steph. Byz. s. v. *Ἀργούρα*).

Après la mort d'Argos, Héra le transforme en paon, oiseau dont la queue est parsemée d'yeux sans nombre (Schol. Aristoph. *Aves* 102; Ov. *met.* 1, 722-723; Moschos 2, 56-59).

Toujours irritée contre Io, Héra lui envoie un taon qui la harcèle et l'oblige à parcourir le monde sans jamais s'arrêter. Ce taon ne serait autre que le fantôme d'Argos (Aischyl. *Prom.* 567-573. 674-682) ou l'Erinye (→ Erinys) qui persécute Io (Ov. *met.* 1, 725-727; Licentius, *carmen ad Augustinum*, *FFR*; Val. Fl. 4, 391-395. 407-413; Hyg. *fab.* 145). La génisse traverse la Grèce du nord, la mer Ionienne (à laquelle elle laisse son nom: Aischyl. *Prom.* 839-841), l'Illyrie, la région d'Aimos et la Thrace jusqu'au Bosphore, ainsi nommé à cause de son passage: *βοὸς πόρος* (Aischyl. *Prom.* 733; *Etym. m.* 205, 35 s. v. *Βόσπορος*). Pour d'autres interprétations du nom, cf. Steph. Byz. 178; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2, 168). Elle parcourt ensuite la Scythie, l'Asie, et parvient enfin en Egypte (Aischyl. *Suppl.* 540-573; *Prom.* 589. 681-682. 707-735. 790-815. 829-847; Kléarchos *frg.* 32 Wehrli; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [7-8] 1, 3; Athen. 14, 619. Pour d'autres noms de lieux en rapport avec Io, cf. Eitrem 1737).

Au bord du Nil, Io reprend son aspect humain et met au monde son fils, nommé Épaphos parce qu'elle a été tendrement «touchée», «effleurée» par la main de Zeus (Aischyl. *Suppl.* 313-315; *Prom.* 848-851; Bakchyl. 19, 39-43; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [8] 1, 3; Moschos 2, 50-52; Ov. *met.* 1, 728. 746; cf. *etiam* *Etym. m.* 206, 25

s. v. *Βούβασις*). Par la suite, Épaphos fondera beaucoup de villes, dont Memphis. Il sera le père de Libye (→ Libye, Libye), la mère d'→ Agenor (I) et de Belos, qui règneront l'un sur la Phénicie, l'autre sur l'Égypte. Bélus aura deux fils, Aigypptos et → Danaos: ce dernier retournera finalement à Argos, patrie de son aïeule Io, et en deviendra le roi.

L'union d'Io avec Zeus serait donc à l'origine des → Danaïdes comme des Égyptiens, des Libyens et des autres peuples de la côte africaine et du Proche-Orient. Tous ces récits, ainsi que celui d'un mariage ultérieur d'Io avec → Telegonos, roi d'Égypte (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [9] 1, 3), montrent que s'était répandue la conscience d'une parenté culturelle entre le monde grec et l'Orient, comme le confirment d'autres mythes relatifs à Io: l'histoire de son passage en Syrie où ses frères érigent en son honneur un sanctuaire sur le mont Silpion et nomment le site Iopolis (Suda s. v. *lō*), et le fait que Gaza, selon certaines sources, ait été aussi appelée *lōvη*, *ἀπὸ lō*... (Steph. Byz. 194, 1; 333, 11 s. v. *lōvion πέλαιος*); cf. *etiam* les récits de Diod. 5, 60, 4 sur un frère d'Io, Kyrnos, et de Parthénios (Parth. 1) sur un autre frère d'Io, → Lyrkos.

Cette parenté, évoquée dans plusieurs poèmes du Cyrénéen Callimaque (Kall. *epigr.* 57 Pf.; et *lō* *ἀφίς*, cf. Suda s. v. *Καλλιμαχος*, cf. *frg.* 472 Pf.), était un thème répandu en Grèce dès la haute époque archaïque. Le destin d'Io était déjà traité dans des poèmes épiques du VII<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., *Aigimios* (Hes. *frg.* 294. 296 Merkelbach/West, la *Danaïde* (Davies EGF p. 141) et surtout *Phoronis* (Davies EGF p. 153-155): cette œuvre racontait l'histoire de la famille d'Inachos, de son fils Phoroneus et de sa fille Io. Un trait résume l'importance de cette dynastie pour les Grecs: Phoroneus était considéré comme *πρωτος συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς κοινόν* (Paus. 2, 15, 5, cf. Acousilaos, *FGrH* 2 F 23) et c'est lui, et non Prométhée, qui aurait inventé le feu (Paus. 2, 19, 5). Il semble que Wilamowitz (Kyrene [1928] 12) ait eu raison de supposer l'existence d'une épopée, vraisemblablement composée à Cyrène au cours du VI<sup>e</sup> s., qui présentait les diverses nations comme unies par une ascendance commune. Seule l'épopée ionienne (l'*Iliade* et l'*Odyssée*) ne parle pas d'Io: si elle mentionne déjà Hermès *Ἀργειφόντης*, c'est qu'à l'origine il était vraisemblablement sans rapport avec Io (Carpenter, R., *AJA* 54, 1950, 180; Heubeck, A., *Kleine Schr.* 247 ss.); ils furent probablement associés au cours du VII<sup>e</sup> s., quand l'épos de la Grèce propre fut fixé par Hésiode et les autres poètes épiques de son temps.

Les œuvres de ces derniers ont inspiré leurs grands successeurs de l'époque classique: des historiens, l'argien Acousilaos (*FGrH* 2 F 26-27), Phérécyde (*FGrH* 3 F 67), Asclépiade de Tragilos (*FGrH* 12 F 16), Hérodote (1, 1; 2, 41; 3, 27), Hellanicos (*FGrH* 4 F 1-4); des poètes lyriques comme Pindare (Pind. *N.* 4, 35), et surtout des auteurs de théâtre: Phrynichos, avec les tragédies *Aigyptioi* et *Les Danaïdes*; Bacchylide, dans un dithyrambe *Io* (Bakchyl. 19, 15, cf. Maehler, H., *Bacchylides* [1968] 104); Eschyle (Aischyl. *Suppl.* 291-315; *Prom.* 561-900); Sophocle, auteur du drame satyrique *Inachos* (West, S., «Io and the Dark

Stranger», *ClQ* 34, 1984, 292-302) qui montre Io sous la forme d'une lionne (*TrGF* IV F 269a, 42); Euripide (Eur. *Phoen.* 247. 676-681. 828. 1115; *Iph.* T. 394; Or. 932; *Suppl.* 628); Aristophane (Aristoph. *Eccl.* 80, et les *schol.*), ainsi que le tragique Chairemon (*TrGF* I 71 F 9) et deux poètes comiques athéniens, auteurs chacun d'une *Io*, Sannyrion (Suda s. v. *Σαννυρίων*; *CAF* I 795 *frg.* 10-11) et Platon le comique (Suda s. v. *Πλάτων*; *CAF* I 615 *frg.* 55). Il faut enfin mentionner Apollodore, dont on sait qu'il puise dans les catalogues hésiodiques et dans les autres épopées archaïques, ainsi que dans les tragédies classiques.

Les rapports d'Io avec l'Égypte étaient si évidents qu'à l'époque d'Hérodote on l'identifiait à la déesse-vache Isis (Hdt. 2, 41; Diod. 1, 24, 8), et son fils Épaphos à → Apis, dieu-taureau (Hdt. 3, 27; cf. Cook, *Zeus* III 1, 637 ss.). La conscience de cette parenté remonte, comme on l'a vu, au VII<sup>e</sup> s., époque où l'ouverture des frontières de l'Égypte permit aux Grecs d'y pénétrer et même d'y fonder des colonies. C'est alors que les philosophes présocratiques entrent en contact avec les savants orientaux et égyptiens et parlent souvent, avec beaucoup de respect, de leurs religions. On remarque d'ailleurs entre mythes grecs et orientaux des similitudes et des parallèles surprenants (cf. West, M., *Hesiod Theogony* [1970]; Heubeck, A., «Mythologische Vorstellungen des alten Orients im archaischen Griechenland» [1955], dans Heitsch, E., éd., *Hesiod: Wege der Forschung* [1966] 545-570); ils manifestent les relations très étroites du monde hellénique avec l'Égypte et l'Orient, qui remontent au moins à l'époque mycénienne (Carpenter, o. c. 183). Ces rapports permettent aujourd'hui de replacer au cours du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire certains événements de Méditerranée orientale, jusqu'ici obscurs, qui dénotent les incessantes migrations des peuples et la fusion de leurs cultures. On perçoit l'écho de cette fusion dans divers récits (cf. Bérard, J., *Les Hyksos et la légende d'Io* [1952]; Duchemin, J., «La justice de Zeus et le destin d'Io. Regard sur les sources proche-orientales d'un mythe eschyléen», *REG* 92, 1979, 1-54; Lekatsas, P., *Τὸ κάλεσμα τῆς Θεονύμφης* [1980]), et l'on peut en reconnaître plusieurs étapes qui se succèdent depuis l'époque préhistorique jusqu'à celle des Diadoques, moment où la légende et le culte d'Io sont définitivement constitués. Après elle, d'autres divinités grecques ont aussi été identifiées à Isis: → Demeter, → Selene et aussi Héra (Diod. 1, 24, 8), et l'on a vu qu'Épaphos, fils d'Io et de Zeus, régna en Égypte (Diod. 3, 74, 1).

Localisé à l'origine en Argolide, et enrichi au cours des siècles de traits populaires et d'allusions historiques, le mythe d'Io prit assez tôt une dimension panhellénique. Cette importance s'explique avant tout parce qu'il s'agissait d'un *lōpōs λόγος* relatif, semble-t-il, à un culte très ancien. On a même parlé, à juste titre, d'un culte préolympien et d'éléments préépiques à propos de l'épiphanie du dieu qui s'unit à son amante sous forme animale (Wehrli, F., «Io, Dichtung und Kultlegende», dans *Festschr. K. Schefold* [1967] 198): Io était probablement à l'origine une déesse, remplacée ensuite par Héra dont elle devint la prêtresse dans son sanctuaire d'Argos. On a même supposé que le récit



réunissant Io, Zeus et Héra, tout comme le culte d'Héra, furent importés à Argos depuis l'Eubée, où Héra avait primitivement son culte (Deubner, *Zur Iosage* 101 ss.): c'est là que, selon l'*Aigimios*, se situait le bois sacré où Io était gardée par Argos (Hes. *fig.* 296 Merkelbach/West; *Etyim.* m. 389, 1 s. v. *Εἰβοία*; cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Ἀργούρα*; Strabon 10, 1, 3 p. 445: *βοός ἀύλη* ... *ἀντρον ἐν τῇ πρὸς Αἰγαῖον τετραμμένη παραλίᾳ* [*Εἰβοίας*], *ὅπου τῇ Ἰὼ φασὶ τεκεῖν Ἐπαφρον...*) On peut supposer un couple originel formé d'Io et d'Argos, que remplace le couple Héra → Herakles (la massue et la peau d'animal sont communes à Argos et à Héraclès): le récit relatif à Argos appartiendrait donc à une époque pré-dorienne qui ne connaissait pas encore Héraclès (Furtwängler, *AG* III 40). Ce dernier fait partie des descendants d'Io: c'est ainsi que le présente Eschyle dans son *Prométhée délivré*.

D'ailleurs le culte d'Io à Argos n'était pas sans rapport avec des rites destinés à obtenir la fécondité de la terre argienne, que l'amour de Zeus pour Io aurait ravivée tandis qu'une sécheresse aurait été provoquée par la jalousie d'Héra. En outre Io était à Argos identifiée à Selene (cf. *supra*). D'autre part lorsque dans sa course errante elle arrive à Dodone, l'oracle la salue comme *κλεινὴ δάμαρ*, «épouse illustre» de Zeus (Aischyl. *Prom.* 829-835). Son aspect de génisse lui-même rappelle l'Héra *βοῶπις*. Les nombreux rapprochements qu'on peut établir entre Io et Héra, sous cette forme, font penser que les Grecs considéraient Io comme une hypostase, un substitut de la déesse. La persécution d'Io par Héra laisse entrevoir leur relation étroite, que suppose aussi le thème de l'*ἀφροδισιὸς ὄρκος* déjà abordé par Hésiode (Hes. *fig.* 124 Merkelbach/West). Ce n'est probablement pas un hasard si, parmi les multiples amours de Zeus, seule sa passion pour Io préoccupe sérieusement Héra et si le serment qu'elle lui demande a une importance tout particulière: elle n'a jamais eu une telle exigence qu'à propos d'Io, sa plus dangereuse rivale parmi toutes les amantes de Zeus.

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265-280; Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst*; Wesenberg, B., «Zur Io des Nikias in den pompejanischen Wandbildern», dans *Kanon, Festschr. E. Berger, AntK* 15, Beih. (1988) 344-350 pl. 96; Yalouris, N., «Le mythe d'Io: les transformations d'Io dans l'iconographie et la littérature grecques», dans *IconogrCl* 3-23.

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## CATALOGUE

### I. Délivrance d'Io zoomorphe, transformée en génisse

#### A. Hermès délivre Io en attaquant Argos

##### 1. Sans la présence de Zeus

**Céramique attique**  
I. (= Hera 485\*, = Hermes 841, = Ianus 6 - avec bibl.) Amphore f. n. Londres, BM 1848.6-19.4 (B 164). De Bomarzo. - *ABV* 148, 2; *Add* 41: proche

d'Exékias; Yalouris 4 fig. 1. - Vers 540 av. J.-C. - Hermès (barbu, pétase, peau de bête), vers la g., frappe Argos (deux visages barbus, peau de bête) qui tombe en arrière. Héra regarde la scène; la génisse Io tourne le dos à l'action.

2.\* (= Hermes 851 in fine) Lécythe f. bl., f. n. New Haven, Yale Univ. 1913.116. - *ABV* 550, 317: style du P. de Haimon; *Add* 135; Baur, P. V. C., *Cat. of the R. D. Stoddart Coll. of Greek and Italian Vases in the Yale Univ.* (1922) 79-80 n° 116 fig. 20 pl. 1; Simon 272 n. 249. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Devant Io en génisse, de profil à dr., Hermès (pétase, bottes, chlamyde, kérykeion) attrape par les cheveux Argos (deux visages barbus, cinq yeux rouges sur le corps) qui tombe à genoux. Une femme (Héra?) assiste à la scène.

3. Plat f. r. Local. inconnue, anc. coll. Blaydes (Grande-Bretagne). De Chiussi. - *ARV* 2 163, 5: Paséas (P. de Cerbère); Engelmann n° 12; Yalouris 5 fig. 3. - 520-510 av. J.-C. - Au centre Hermès (inscr.); barbu, pétase, peau de panthère) va donner de son épée le coup de grâce à Argos terrassé (barbu, chiton court, pétase) et dépourvu d'yeux multiples. Derrière Hermès, Io (taureau) bondit vers la g.

4.\* (= Aktaion 27 [A], = Hermes 845b - avec bibl.) Amphore f. r. Hambourg, Mus. KG 1966.34. - *Para* 347, 8 ter: P. d'Eucharidès; *Add* 199; Schefold, *SB* III 134 fig. 173. - Vers 480 av. J.-C. - Ag. Hermès barbu (nu sauf chlamyde, pétase) attaque de son épée Argos (barbu, le corps parsemé d'yeux) qui est déjà agenouillé, la main g. appuyée sur un rocher. A dr. Io (taureau). Noms inscrits.

5. Coupe fr. f. r. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H 5344a et b. - *CVA* 2 pl. 37, 2: Onésimos; Simon 270 fig. 57. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - Sont conservés les cuisses et le pied g. d'Hermès, la jambe dr. parsemée d'yeux et le pied g. d'Argos déjà agenouillé. A dr. on distingue le rocher.

6. Genchoé fr. f. r. New York, marché des ant. - Inédite. - P. de Briseis, vers 480 av. J.-C. - Ag. Hermès (barbu, pétase, chlamyde) attaque de son épée Argos parsemé d'yeux, qui plie le genou. A dr. Io (seul l'arrière-train de la génisse est conservé).

7.\* (= Hermes 843 avec bibl.) Genchoé f. r. Naples, Mus. Naz. Stevens 127936. De Cumes. - *ARV* 2 874, 2: P. de Florence 4021; *Para* 427, Gábrici, E., *MonLincei* 22, 1913, 521-522 pl. 85; *ArchCl* 5, 1953, pl. 46; Sichtermann, H., *Die griech. Vase. Gestalt, Sinn und Kunstwerk* (1963) fig. 4; Yalouris 9 n° 7. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Hermès (barbu, nu sauf chlamyde, pétase) attaque de son épée Argos colossal, parsemé d'yeux, qui plie déjà le genou. Derrière lui, Io (vache) immobile.

8. (= Hera 486\*, = Hermes 838, = Inachos 2\* - avec bibl.) Hydrie f. r. Boston, MFA 08.417. De Capoue. - *ARV* 2 579, 84: P. d'Agrigente; *Para* 391; *Add* 262; Boardman, *ARFH* I fig. 327; Moret, *Ilioupersis* 137-138. 168-169 pl. 78; Schefold, *SB* III 135 fig. 175; Yalouris 6-7 n° 6; Mantis, A., *Προβλήματα ελκονογραφίας Ιερειών και Ιερέων* (1983) 357. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Au centre Io (taureau) bondit vers la g. Au premier plan Argos barbu (pilos, épée au côté, peau de panthère), le corps tout entier constellé d'yeux, fuit

vers la g. en brandissant une massue; il se retourne vers Hermès (pétase, chlamyde) qui dégaine son épée. Entre eux une colonne; derrière le dieu, un autel et une femme (la mère d'Io, Mélia?); à g. une femme tenant un sceptre et une clé (prêtresse ou Héra?) et un personnage barbu debout (Inachos?).

### Glyptique

9. Jaspe vert. Local. inconnue. - Engelmann 55 n° 27; Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* III 179 n° 9. - Ép. romaine. - Hermès (caducée, harpé) tient dans la main g. la tête d'Argos dont le corps décapité gît par terre. Au second plan, Io (génisse) fuit vers la dr. Dans le champ un paon.

### Description d'œuvre imaginaire (toreutique)

10. (= Hermes 854) Relief de métal ornant la corbeille d'Europe. - Moschos (II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.) 2, 55-61; Simon 277-278. - Hermès tue Argos, parsemé d'yeux; de son sang surgit un oiseau multicolore. Pour un autre épisode, cf. 67.

### 2. En présence de Zeus

#### Céramique attique à f. r.

11.\* (= Hermes 845a) Kalpis. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. ZA 48, prêt de Takuhito Fujita (Tokyo). - Simon 265-280 fig. 48-49: P. d'Eucharidès. - Vers 470 av. J.-C. - Ag. Hermès (barbu, nu, pétase, chlamyde) attaque de son épée Argos barbu, le corps parsemé d'yeux qui ressemblent à ceux d'un mourant; déjà blessé à l'épaule et à l'aisselle, le Géant est tombé à genoux, la main g. appuyée sur un rocher. Derrière lui, Io (taureau) et une colonne. A dr. Zeus assis sur un trône ailé, tenant un sceptre de la main g., caresse de la dr. la tête d'Io.

12. (= Hermes 847 avec bibl.) Péliké fr. Anc. New York, coll. Bareiss 350. - Vers 480-470 av. J.-C. - Hermès (pétase, chlamyde, chaussures ailées) attaque en le saisissant aux cheveux Argos agenouillé, le corps parsemé d'yeux. A dr. Zeus assis, l'aigle à ses pieds. Derrière Hermès et Argos, Io (génisse). Il manque le haut du corps d'Hermès et de Zeus et la plus grande partie d'Io.

13.\* (= Hermes 846 avec bibl.) Stamnos. Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. IV 3729. De Cerveteri. - *ARV* 2 288, 1: P. d'Argos; *Add* 209; Philippaki, B., *The Attic Stamnos* (1967) 99 pl. 37; Schefold, *SB* III 135 fig. 174; Yalouris 9 n° 8 fig. 5. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Au centre Io (taureau); devant elle Argos barbu et nu, le corps parsemé d'yeux, est terrassé par Hermès (chiton, chlamyde). A dr. Zeus assis sur un siège s'apprête à caresser le taureau. La scène est encadrée par un olivier et un palmier; derrière ce dernier, un cervidé.

### Glyptique

14.\* Gemme. Londres, BM 1262. - Walters, *BMGems* 143 n° 1262 pl. 18; Cook, *Zeus* III 634 fig. 431. - Ép. romaine. - A dr., Hermès (pétase, caducée), tenant Io (vache) par les cornes, l'amène à Zeus, qui a un aigle à ses pieds.



## 3. Io et Héra

Cf. *etiam* 1-2 (?).

*Œuvre disparue*

15. Relief du trône d'Apollon à Amyclées (Laconie), œuvre de Bathyklès de Magnésie. – Paus. 3, 18, 13; Buschor, E./v. Massow, W., *AM* 52, 1927, 1 ss.; Yalouris 5. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Parmi d'autres scènes, Héra et Io sous la forme d'une génisse.

## 4. Io, Argos et Inachos

*Œuvre imaginaire*

16. Episème du bouclier de Turnus. – Verg. *Aen.* 7, 789; Simon 267 n. 230. – Io (génisse) surveillée par Argos en présence du fleuve Inachos.

## 5. Io-génisse, seule

*Monnaies*

17. AR tridrachmes (début du IV<sup>e</sup> s.) puis tétradrachmes, drachmes et hémidrachmes, et AE, Byzance, IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Svoronos, J. N., *ArchEph* 1889, 74-77 pl. 1, 1-2; 1890, 74-77 pl. 1, 1-2; Engelmann 57 n° 48; Babelon, *Traité IV* (1932) 979-984 n° 1537 (tétradrachme). 1538-1540 pl. 347, 10-16; 348, 1-8; Baldwin-Brett, *BostonGrCoins* 108 n° 798 pl. 44; Schönert-Geiss, E., *Die Münzprägung von Byzanzion I* (1970) n° 650-855. 856 (tridrachme). 871-922. 927-945 pl. 27-32. 35; 37-39; Yalouris 3 n° 5 fig. 4. – *Rv.* (tridrachmes) puis *Av.* (autres dénominations): génisse ou taureau passant à g., au-dessus d'un dauphin. *Av.* (tridrachmes): Héraklès enfant étrange les serpents. *Rv.* (autres dénominations): carré creux, puis trident entre deux dauphins ou trident seul.

La frappe de ces séries à Byzance, qui fut à l'origine une colonie argienne avant de passer sous l'influence mégarienne, rappelle vraisemblablement le passage d'Io par le «Bosphore». L'interprétation d'E. Schönert, «Der Io-Mythos auf den Silbermünzen von Byzanz», *Helicon* 6, 1966, 174-182, qui fait de ce «taureau» un symbole de fertilité, n'est pas convaincante.

18. AE pseud autonome, Byzance, II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – BMC Thrace etc. 97, 48-49, ill.; Svoronos, J. N., *ArchEph* 1889, 71-73. 80-82 pl. 1, 7-9; Schönert-Geiss, o.c. 17, n° 2012-2022 pl. 123-124. – *Rv.* Génisse de profil à dr., tête levée; lég. *BYZANTI-ON. Av.* Tête féminine (?) cornue à dr., les cheveux longs: Io?

*Relief (terre cuite)*

19. Lampe corinthienne. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1897 (coll. Fröhner VII 553). – III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Io (génisse) couchée; devant elle une plante stylisée, peut-être du silphion. Le croissant, derrière elle, pourrait être une allusion à la parenté d'Isis avec Io. Cf. aussi les lampes de Corinthe d'ép. romaine: Brommer, O., *Corinth IV* 2, n° 1241-1243 pl. 29, 108 fig. 51.

*Œuvres disparues connues par les textes*

20. Statue de bronze. Corinthe, près de la source Pirène. – Athen. 13, 605e. – Génisse de bronze.

21. Statue de bronze érigée sur la rive du Bosphore par la cité de Calcédoine. – Eust. *ad Dion. Per.* 140, GGM II 241. – Vache de bronze.

## 6. Argos sans Io

*Céramique attique*

22. (= Hermes 848 avec bibl.) Skyphos f.n. Paris, Louvre CA 792. De Thèbes. – Haspels, *ABL* 253 n° 6: proche du P. de Thésée. – Vers 520-500 av. J.-C. – A. A g. Hermès (barbu, pétase, chiton court, chlamyde, endromides), frappe de son épée Argos barbu, assis sur un rocher, le corps nu et parsemé d'yeux (rehaut blanc). A dr. Athéna assiste à la scène. B. Le même sujet, mais Argos, dépourvu d'yeux multiples, a pris la fuite, poursuivi par Hermès. Sous chaque anse un chien.

23. (= Hermes 851 avec bibl.) Lécythe f.n. Paris, Cab. Méd. 302 (4790). – *ABV* 572, 1: P. de Pholos; de Ridder, *BiblNatVases* 200 n° 302; *CVA* 2, pl. 84, 8-9; 85, 4-5 (470-471). – Vers 480 av. J.-C. – Hermès (barbu, pétase, chaussures ailées, chiton court, chlamyde), brandissant l'épée de la main dr., attaque Argos (chiton court, lance, bouclier et peau de bête) dont le corps est couvert d'incisions figurant les yeux. Derrière la tête d'Argos, mal conservée, apparaissent deux longues cornes qui feraient partie de son casque (de Ridder). Dans le champ à g., le caducée d'Hermès.

24. Péliké f.r. Chicago, Univ. – *ARV* 200: imitation du P. de Syriskos; Johnson, *AJA* 42, 1938, 350 fig. 12 a-b; Hadjisteliou, Th., *ArchCl* 23, 1971, 262 pl. 73; Yalouris 10 n° 11. – Vers 470 av. J.-C. – A g. Hermès barbu terrassant Argos lui aussi barbu, au corps parsemé d'yeux.

25. (= Athena 530, = Herakles 1676 [A], = Hermes 849 – avec bibl.) Péliké f.r. Louvre G 229. De Vulci. – *ARV* 289, 3: P. des Sirènes; *Add* 210; Yalouris 9 n° 9 fig. 6. – Vers 470-460 av. J.-C. – Hermès (pétase sur les épaules, chiton court, chlamyde, chaussures ailées) va frapper de son épée Argos (corps colossal parsemé d'yeux; inscr.), en train de s'effondrer. A dr. Zeus, appuyé sur un bâton, lève le bras dr. pour l'encourager.

26. (= Hermes 840\* avec bibl.) Cratère f.r. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. G 293 (527). De Capoue. – *CVA* 1, pl. 23, 3 (115); Yalouris 10 n° 12. – Vers 480-470 av. J.-C. – Hermès (barbu, pétase, chiton court, chlamyde) attaque avec son épée Argos barbu, au corps parsemé d'yeux, déjà tombé à genoux.

27. Fr. de cratère f.r. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. 1216, 26-27. 29-30. Du Pirée. – *ARV* 1181, 15-16: P. du dinos d'Athènes; *CVA* 1, pl. 29, 8-9. – 420-400 av. J.-C. – Sur les fr. on reconnaît Hermès imberbe (chlamyde, sandales) attaquant Argos lui aussi imberbe (peau d'animal, corps demi-nu parsemé d'yeux).

*Document non-attique*

28. (= Hermes 852 avec bibl.) Skyphos béotien (?) f.r. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 4295 (1407). – Engelmann 48-49. 55 n° 26 fig. 5-6; Lullies, R., *AM* 65, 1940-41, 15. 17 n° 1 pl. 13, 1-2; Yalouris 14 n° 16

fig. 10 a-b. – Vers 430 av. J.-C. – Au centre Hermès juvénile (pilos ailé) attaque de son épée Argos (chiton, peau de bête) qui a deux visages, l'un barbu, l'autre imberbe, et des yeux multiples; tombé sur le genou g., il essaie de se défendre avec sa massue. A g. un Satyre et un joueur de flûte.

*Œuvres imaginaires*

29. Carquois de Philoctète. – Q. Smyrn. 10, 190. – Le carquois était orné, parmi d'autres scènes, du meurtre d'Argos par Hermès.

30. Bouclier d'Hippomédon. – Eur. *Phoen.* 1115. – Il portait en épisème le *Panoptès Argos* figuré seul.

## B. Hermès délivre Io par la ruse

31.\* (= Hermes 837 avec bibl.) Amphore ionienne «Northampton», f.n. Munich, Antikenslg. 585. De Vulci. – Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 148; Buschor, *GrV* fig. 110; Schefold, *SB* II 28 fig. 19; Yalouris 4-5 n° 2 fig. 2. – 530 av. J.-C. – Hermès (barbu, chiton long, coiffé de la *kyné*), marchant sur la pointe des pieds, tient la longe d'Io, imposante génisse tournée à g. qui occupe tout le centre de la scène; entre eux un chien, derrière elle un palmier. A l'extrémité dr. Argos colossal à demi étendu, barbu, doté d'un œil supplémentaire sur la poitrine, tient l'autre bout de la corde.

## C. Io piquée par le taon

32.\* Pâte de verre du XVIII<sup>e</sup> s. d'après un béril de la coll. du Comte de Devonshire. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. Kr 37. – Simon 275 fig. 58; Zwiernlein-Diehl, E., *Kat. der Glaspasten von antiken und nachantiken Gemmen, Slg. Krutzsch* (1986) n° 37. – Original daté vers 400 av. J.-C. – Io (taureau); sur son flanc un insecte de grande taille, probablement un taon.

## II. Délivrance d'Io sous forme hybride

33.\* (= Hermes 839 avec bibl.) Cenochoé lucanienne f.r. Boston MFA 1901.562. – *LCS* 16, 9: P. de Pisticii; Engelmann 38-41. 54 n° 15 fig. 1; Schauenburg 90 n° 3; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* 32 II 6, fig.; Yalouris 10-12 n° 13 fig. 7. – Vers 440-430 av. J.-C. – A g. Hermès imberbe (pétase, chlamyde, caducée) attaque avec une épée Argos barbu (pilos, bâton, chiton court, peau de bête); celui-ci, qui n'a rien de monstrueux, court vers la dr. Derrière lui Io, tournée vers la dr., a le corps d'une génisse et la tête d'une femme, voilée, avec des cornes.

## III. Délivrance d'Io anthropomorphe, sous l'aspect d'une femme cornue

## 1. Io, Argos et Hermès

*Vases attiques*

34. (= Hermes 844 avec bibl.) Cratère attique f.r.

Gènes, Mus. Civ. 1145. De Ruvo. – *ARV* 1054, 48: Gr. de Polygnotos; Yalouris 14 n° 15 fig. 9. – Vers 440 av. J.-C. – Au centre Argos (pétase, peau de panthère) avec deux visages, l'un barbu, l'autre imberbe, le corps parsemé d'yeux, brandit de la main dr. une massue. A g. Hermès barbu l'attaque: en chiton court, chlamyde et bottes, coiffé de la *kyné*, le couvre-chef d'Hadès, tenant de la main dr. une épée, il saisit de l'autre le bras d'Argos. A dr. Io (péplos) s'enfuit vers la dr.

35.\* Cenochoé attique f.r. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. 2651. – Höfer 271, ill.; Jacobsthal, *OrnGrV* 218 pl. 83; Schefold, *SB* III 136 fig. 177; Simon 279-280 fig. 63; Yalouris 14-16 n° 17 fig. 11. – Vers 415 av. J.-C. – A g. Hermès imberbe, debout vers la g. (himation, pétase, caducée), tourne la tête vers Argos imberbe (nu, himation autour du bras), assis sur un rocher, la massue dans la main g. A dr. Io portant deux petites cornes, couronnée de lierre. Au-dessus d'Argos, *protomé* de vache.

*Peintures murales romaines*

36.\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 9548. De Pompéi VIII 7, 28, temple d'Isis. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* 39 n° 135; Engelmann 54 n° 18; Rizzo, *PER* 45-46 pl. 80a; HBr 72-73 pl. 57; Lippold, *Gemäldekopien* 94; Schefold (1952) 60-61; *WP* 233; Richardson 132; Wesenberg 344-345. 348-349 fig. 5 pl. 96, 2. – 4<sup>e</sup> style; P. d'Io (Richardson). – A g. Io (chiton, himation, ténia), munie de cornes, est assise sur une pierre sur laquelle elle s'appuie de la main g., posant l'autre sur sa poitrine. Près d'elle une vache. A dr. est assis Argos nu, la chlamyde couvrant les cuisses, appuyé sur un bâton. Entre eux Hermès debout, nu (chaussures ailées, chlamyde tombant de son bras, caducée), offre à Argos une syrinx (Helbig).

37.\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 9557. De Pompéi I 4, 5, «Casa del Citarista». – Engelmann 54 n° 20; Curtius, *Wandgemälde* 236 fig. 159; Rizzo, *PER* 46 pl. 81; HBr 73-74; Elia 2, 22-24 fig. 14; Schefold (1952) 65 pl. 43; *WP* 16; Gabriel, M. M., *Masters of Campanian Painting* (1952) 54-59 pl. 34; Richardson 135 n. 85; Wesenberg 344. 346 fig. 4. – Vers 70 ap. J.-C., P. du Baroque (Gabriel). – Au centre, sur un rocher élevé, est assise Io (chiton laissant la poitrine nue, himation, voile). A dr. Hermès debout, nu, s'appuyant sur un bâton, offre une syrinx à Argos qui est assis à g. sur un rocher, un bâton près de ses genoux. Entre Hermès et Argos, un chien.

38. Œuvre perdue. D'Herculanum, «Casa d'Io ed Argo». – Engelmann 54 n° 19; Rizzo, *PER* 46 pl. 80b; Lippold, *Gemäldekopien* 95; Wesenberg 344. 346 fig. 3. – 2<sup>e</sup>-3<sup>e</sup> style (?). – Dans un paysage rocheux, sur un niveau élevé, est assise Io (chiton, himation, voile). Devant elle, Argos (chiton, himation, pedum renversé), assis sur un rocher, reçoit une syrinx d'Hermès (sandales ailées, chlamyde sur son caducée).

## 2. Io et Hermès

*Vases à f. r.*

39.\* (= Hermes 880 avec bibl.) Skyphos attique. Palerme, Fond. Mormino 178 (Banco di Sicilia 20). –

ARV<sup>2</sup> 1689: P. proche du P. de Pénélope. - 450-430 av. J.-C. - Sur une face Hermès imberbe (chlamyde, pétase, kérykeion) court vers la dr., un bras tendu; sur l'autre Io, figurée comme une femme en péplos munie d'oreilles et de cornes de vache, fuit vers la dr. en tendant les bras.

40. Skyphos lucanien. Métaponte, Mus. 20.150. De Pisticii. - LCS Suppl. 1, 6, 84b pl. 1, 2: proche du P. de Pisticii; Yalouris 16 n° 20. - Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Io (diadème) figurée comme une femme aux oreilles et aux cornes de vache; assise, elle se regarde dans un miroir; derrière elle, une stèle. Sur l'autre face, Hermès juvénile tient le caducée.

#### Monnaies

41.\* AE, Tralles (Lydie), Antonin (138-161). - BMC Lydia CXLVI. 348, 142 pl. 36, 8. - Rv. Ag. dieu nu, de face, un caducée (?) dans la main dr., conduisant de la g. Io debout, voilée, en robe longue. Lég. EIOYΣ ΓΑΜΟΙΙ ...

42. AE, Tralles, Antonin. - BMC Lydia CXLVI. 348, 141. - Rv. Dans un char tiré par deux bœufs à bosse que conduit un personnage nu (Hermès ?), une jeune femme voilée qui pourrait être Io, par comparaison avec la monnaie précédente (Hill, G. F., BMC CXLVI).

#### 3. Io et Éros

43.\* Rhyton f.r. en forme de tête de taureau. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1116. De Ruvo. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1551, 12: Gr. de la classe W; Para 505; Hoffmann, H., *Attic Red-figured Rhyta* (1962) 42 n° 113; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* 29 n° 20 pl. 40, 1; 41, 1. - Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Sur le rebord, Éros vole vers Io, jeune femme portant des cornes sur le front, assise vers la g. (chiton, himation) et se regardant dans un miroir.

#### 4. Io et Argos seuls

##### Céramique italienne (f. r.)

44. Cratère. Local. inconnue, anc. Catane, Mus. Biscari. - Engelmann 52 n° 8; Libertini, G., *Il Museo Biscari* (1930) 174; Schauenburg 90 n° 6; Yalouris 16 n° 21. - Fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?) - A g. Argos juvénile, nu et imberbe (endromides, peau de bête), tient dans la main dr. un coquillage. A dr. est assise Io, portant de petites cornes; elle fait le guet, la main dr. en visière au-dessus des yeux. A dr., dans le champ, est suspendu un sac à osselets.

##### Peintures murales de Pompéi

45. Pompéi IX 9 d, triclínium, *in situ*. - Mau, A., *RM* 5, 1890, 234-235, fig.; Reinach, *RépPeint* 16, 2; Curtius, *WP* 258 fig. 156; Schefold, *WP* 284; *Pittura e Pavimenti di Pompei* III 548. - 3<sup>e</sup> style. - Io (chiton, himation) est assise sur un rocher, la main dr. sur la poitrine. Devant elle Argos nu, une lance dans la main g., le pied dr. sur le rocher.

46. Pompéi VI 14, 42, «Casa dell'Imperatrice di Russia». - *Pittura e Pavimenti di Pompei* II 297-298;

Wesenberg 344. 347 n. 16 fig. 1. - 3<sup>e</sup> style. - Semblable à 5.

47.\* Pompéi VII 9, 7, «Macellum», *in situ*. - Rizzo, *PER* 27-28 pl. 42; Rizzo (1936) 29 fig. 20; Curtius, *WP* 260 fig. 157. 103; Lippold, *Gemäldekopien* 94 fig. 75; Schefold (1952) 176. 198 pl. 36; Becatti, G., *EAA V* (1963) 379-380 fig. 615 s. v. «Nikias»; Richardson 122 pl. 27, 1; 30, 4; Wesenberg 344. 347-348 pl. 96, 3. - 4<sup>e</sup> style, P. d'Io (Richardson), vers 65 ap. J.-C. - Io munie de cornes (chiton, himation, bracelets), l'épaulé g. et une partie de la poitrine nues, est assise sur un rocher, la main dr. sur la poitrine. Devant elle, Argos nu, un vêtement autour du bras g. et sur la cuisse dr., l'épée à la main, un pied posé sur un rocher, regarde Io.

48.\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 9556. De Pompéi VI 9, 2, «Casa di Meleagro», tablinum. - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* 38 n° 132; Elia 1, 74 n° 144; Schefold, *WP* 111; Richardson 140-142 pl. 4, 2; Paribeni 170 fig. 207; Wesenberg 344 fig. 2. - 4<sup>e</sup> style, P. de Méléagre (Richardson). - Io munie de cornes (chiton, himation), assise sur un rocher dans la même attitude que sur 45-47; à dr. Argos nu (vêtement posé sur l'épaulé g. et venant sur la cuisse dr.), le pied dr. sur un rocher, tient une lance.

49. Anc. Pompéi VI 9, 6-7, «Casa dei Dioscuri». Détruite. - Helbig n° 133; Schefold, *WP* 119; Richardson 43 n. 249. - Ep. de Néron (Schefold). - Semblable à 48, mais Argos porte un long bâton de berger.

50. Anc. Pompéi VII 14, 5, «Casa del Banchiere». Détruite. - Helbig n° 134; Schefold, *WP* 204. - Semblable à 48, mais Io a le haut du corps nu et Argos porte un simple bâton.

51. Anc. Pompéi IX 2, 18, cubiculum. Détruite. - Mau, A., *Gesch. d. dekorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeii* (1882) 442; Schefold, *WP* 243. - 3<sup>e</sup> style (Mau). - Semblable à 48.

##### Mosaïques romaines

52. Rome, Nymphaeum du Quirinal, *in situ*. - Coarelli, F., *Roma sepolta* (1984) 151, ill.; Müller, C. W., «Io und Argos auf einem frühkaiserzeitlichen Wandmosaik», *RhM* 129, 1986, 142-156. - De Néron à Vespasien. - Io, en femme munie de cornes (chiton autour des jambes, torse nu), est assise sur un rocher (?) cylindrique; elle s'y appuie de la main g., la dr. posée sur la cuisse. Devant elle Argos nu, debout, le manteau autour du bras g., une lance dans la main g.

53. Torre de Palma (Portugal), villa romaine, *in situ*. - De Almeida, F., dans *La mosaïque gréco-romaine I* (1975) 222 pl. 80, 2. - Début IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A g. Io assise, cornes sur le front; devant elle, Argos nu se tourne vers elle.

##### Tableau disparu

54. Peinture de Nicias. - Plin. nat. 35, 132; Pfuhl, *Muz* II 753 § 823; III fig. 708; Curtius *WP* 255; Neutsch, B., *Der Maler Nikias von Athen* (1940); Rumpf, A., *JHS* 67, 1947, 21; Becatti, o.c. 47, 379-380; Wesenberg 344-350. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - On reconnaît des copies de cette œuvre dans quelques peintures murales de Pompéi (45-51).

#### 5. Io, Argos et d'autres personnages

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

55. Cratère fr. Leningrad, Ermitage *FKH* 122. D'Elkegen, près de Kertch. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 628, 2 (a): P. de Chicago; Ducati, P., «Frammenti di vaso attico con dipinto rappresentante la morte di Argo», *RM* 21, 1906, 98 137 pl. 3-4. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - Hermès (?) barbu tire son épée du fourreau, en présence d'autres divinités: Héra (sceptre, diadème), Zeus (sceptre), Poséidon (trident). Ducati, Beazley: mort d'Argos.

56.\* (= Aphrodite 1373, = Hermes 850 - avec bibl.) Cratère en calice. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1498. De Ruvo. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1409, 9: P. de Méléagre; Para 490; Add<sup>2</sup> 374; Engelmann 54 n° 22; Yalouris 17 n° 22 fig. 14; Simon 278 fig. 61. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Au centre Hermès juvénile (chiton, himation), armé d'une épée et d'une pierre, s'élance vers Argos qui est assis plus haut, (peau de bête, corps parsemé d'yeux), et tient un lagobole. Entre eux est assise Io (diadème, cornes et oreilles de génisse), tenant un plant de silphion. Au registre supérieur, assemblée des dieux entre deux Érotés: Hébé (?), Zeus, Héra, Iris ou Déméter, Aphrodite. En bas, encadrant Hermès, deux Satyres.

##### Vases italiotes (f. r.)

57. (= Aphrodite 1372\*, = Hera 489) Hydrie apulienne. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. F 3164. D'Anzi (Basilicate). - *RVAp I* 170, 34: associé au P. de la péliké de Moscou; Neugebauer, *Führer Berlin II* pl. 75; Cook, *Zeus III* 638 fig. 436; Moret, *Ilioupersis* 165-172 pl. 91, 2; Yalouris 18 n° 23 fig. 15; Kunze, M./Kästner, V., *Staatl. Mus. zu Berlin* (1985) 81 fig. 63. - Vers 360 av. J.-C. - Io, jeune femme munie de cornes (chiton, himation laissant une grande partie de la poitrine nue), est assise sur un autel qui supporte une statue d'Artémis (torche, arc); elle tient d'une main un coffret, de l'autre un rameau (de silphion?). Devant elle, Zeus debout (sceptre) et Aphrodite (chiton, himation) tenant un oiseau. Derrière Io, Argos debout, appuyé sur sa massue, tient un diptyque qui contiendrait l'annonce de son sort (Engelmann, Eitrem). En haut à g., Héra (sceptre); au registre supérieur, Eros avec un cerceau et Pan avec sa syrinx et une branche.

58. Hydrie apulienne. Local. inconnue, anc. USA, Marché des ant. - *RVAp Suppl.* 1, 76. 78, 63d: P. de Darius. - Vers 340-330 av. J.-C. - A g. Pan, une femme assise et deux jeunes gens; Aphrodite tenant une *iyx*; Zeus assis près d'Io (femme munie de cornes); un Éros vole vers elle, tenant une couronne. A dr. Hermès attaque Argos, étendu sur une peau d'animal; près de lui une figure ailée.

59.\* Amphore lucanienne f. r. de type panathénaique. Local. inconnue, anc. coll. Coghill. D'Anzi. - LCS 122, 621: P. des Choéphores; Moret, *Ilioupersis* 165 n° 111 pl. 91, 3; Yalouris 18 n° 24 fig. 16. - Vers 340 av. J.-C. - Au centre Io, en femme munie de cornes, les jambes drapées dans un himation, le torse nu, est assise sur un autel. Au-dessus, Eros verse le contenu d'un alabastré. Devant elle Zeus tenant son sceptre, puis un Satyre avec une syrinx. A g. une statue d'Artémis ou d'Héra sur une colonne ionique, et Ar-

gos imberbe (himation, endromides) tourné vers Io. Derrière lui, un arbre.

60.\* Cenochoé campanienne. Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 1035. D'Apulie. - LCS 258, 209 pl. 102, 6-7: P. d'Io; v. Sacken, E. F./Kenner, E., *Die Sammlungen des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinets* (1866) 229-230 n° 171; Engelmann 54 n° 23; Furtwängler, A., *Kleine Schriften* (1912) 18. - Vers 330 av. J.-C. - Au registre supérieur, flanquée de deux Érotés, Aphrodite au miroir assise sur un rocher et, lui tournant le dos, Argos (?) nu, assis sur une peau de panthère, tenant une corne à boire. Devant lui Hermès (chlamyde, sandales, pétase ailé, kérykeion), entre deux petits Érotés; puis une figure féminine (chiton, ruban), un éphèbe avec un ruban et un Satyre assis sur une peau de panthère, tenant une syrinx, tourné vers le centre. Au registre inférieur, une femme assise porte une pyxis; derrière elle une autre, debout; devant elle un homme (pétase, chaussures, chlamyde) et un petit Eros tenant un ruban. Plus à dr. Io (chiton, rameau) en femme cornue, assise sur un rocher, tournée vers la g.; derrière elle une femme assise, un jeune homme assis sur un rocher, un Satyre dansant avec un tambourin, une autre femme en chiton assise sur un rocher, et Hermès assis (pétase, chaussures, chlamyde et kérykeion), se retournant vers une femme assise.

##### Peinture murale romaine

61. Rome, Palatin, Maison de Livie, *in situ*. - Curtius, *WP* 263, fig.; Rizzo, *PER* 28 pl. 17, 43; Rizzo 25-30 fig. 11. 18-19 pl. 1-3; Lippold, *Gemäldekopien* 94; Schefold (1952) 60-62 pl. 9; SB III 137 fig. 178; Wesenberg 344. 347-348 pl. 96, 1. - 2<sup>e</sup> style, vers 30 av. J.-C. - Au centre Io (inscr.), vêtue d'un chiton qui laisse nues l'épaulé et une partie de la poitrine, est assise sur un rocher. Derrière elle arrive Hermès (inscr.; chlamyde, pétase, caducée). A dr. Argos nu et juvénile (peau de panthère [?] autour de la main g. et ramenée sur la cuisse dr., épée et lance). Près d'Io, une colonne supporte une statue féminine tenant un sceptre (Héra?); à l'arrière-plan, un grand arbre.

#### IV. Rencontre amoureuse de Zeus et d'Io

62.\* (= Hera 331\*, = Hermes 853 - avec bibl.) Péliké attique f. r. Naples, Mus. Naz. Spinelli 2041. De Suessula. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1122, 1: P. d'Io; Add<sup>2</sup> 332; Engelmann 45-48 fig. 3-4; Schefold, *SB III* 135 fig. 176; Yalouris 12. 14 n° 14 fig. 8. - Vers 440 av. J.-C. - Zeus nu, courant vers la dr. (chlamyde sur les épaules, sceptre dans la main dr.), poursuit Io, qui a l'aspect d'une femme aux cornes et aux oreilles de vache: il lui touche l'épaulé, et elle tente de s'échapper. Sur l'autre face, Héra et Hermès.

#### V. Divinisation d'Io. Io dans un décor végétal

63.\* Amphore campanienne f. r. Chicago, Univ. - Beazley, J., *JHS* 63, 1943, 67 n° 6: P. du Owl Pillar

Group. - 3<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Io figurée comme une femme munie de cornes surgissant du tronc d'un palmier; devant elle un personnage drapé.

64.\* Hydrie apulienne f.r. Naples, Mus. Naz. H 2922. Du Basilicate. - Höfer 277-278, ill.; FR III 206. 368; Hafner, *MusHelv* 8, 1951, 142 fig. 7; Schauenburg 90 n° 4; 91; Yalouris 16 n° 19 fig. 12; Simon 275 n. 259; 279 n. 277 fig. 59. - Vers 350 av. J.-C. - Io en femme munie de cornes, assise sur un ornement végétal d'où s'échappent des feuilles d'acanthé, des volutes et des palmettes; de part et d'autre, une panthère.

## VI. Io reçue en Égypte par Isis

### Peintures murales

65.\* (= Aigyptos 12, = Isis 265 - avec bibl.) Naples, Mus. Naz. 9558. De Pompéi VIII 7, 28, temple d'Isis. - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 138; Curtius, *WP* 215-218 fig. 127-128; HBr 71-72 pl. 56; Pfuhl, *MuZ* 666; Elia, O., *Pittura del tempio di Iside* (1941) 27-30 pl. B; Matz, F., *AA* 1944-45, 106; Lippold, *Gemäldekopien* 153-156 fig. 12 pl. 23; Schefold (1952) 60-61. 65 pl. 43; *WP* 233; Richardson 131-132 pl. 29. 31, 1. 5; Paribeni 171 fig. 208. - 4<sup>e</sup> style, vers 60-65 ap. J.-C. (Schefold), P. d'Io (Richardson). - Près d'une statue de → Sphinx, Io munie de cornes (himation), portée par le Nil (→ Neilos) sur son épaule g., tend la main à Isis (chiton, himation, lotus dans les cheveux, serpent dans la main g., un crocodile à ses pieds). A sa g. Harpocrate enfant (→ Harpocrates), près de lui un vase et un serpent. Au second plan deux jeunes filles tiennent un sistré; celle de g. a un caducée, celle de dr. une lance.

66.\* (= Aigyptos 13, = Isis 266 - avec bibl.) Naples, Mus. Naz. 9555. De Pompéi VI 9, 1, «Casa del Duca d'Aumale». - Helbig 139; Engelmann 55 n° 29; HBr 74 pl. 58, 2; Reinach, *RépPeint* 16, 6; Curtius, *WP* 218-220 fig. 129; Elia 1, 102; Richardson 145 n. 111; Schefold, *WP* 110. - Ép. de Vespasien (Schefold). - Semblable à 65.

### Œuvre imaginaire (toreutique)

67. Relief de métal ornant la corbeille d'Europe. - Moschos 2, 48-54; Simon 277-278. - Arrivée d'Io en Égypte après ses errances: au bord du Nil Zeus, en l'effleurant, la transforme à nouveau en femme. Autre épisode illustré sur le même objet: cf. 10.

## VII. Io à Gaza

68.\* AE, Gaza, d'Hadrien, 131/32 ap. J.-C., à Élagabal, 219/220. - Engelmann 57 n° 50; BMC Palestine LXXV. 147-165 n° 23-27. 106-109. 120-124. 126-129. 136 pl. 15, 12-13; 16, 10. 14-16; 17, 2; SNG ANS 6, 915-920. 941-942. 944-945. 950-951. - *Rv.* Ag. Io debout (chiton long, manteau) serre la main de la → Tyche de → Gaza. Lég. *ΕΙΩ, ΓΑΖΑ*, lettre  $\chi$  et dates.

Variante sous Elagabal, 219/20. - BMC 166, 140. - Lég. *ΙΩ*, génisse aux pieds de Tyché: ce pourrait être

une seconde représentation zoomorphe de l'héroïne, de même que la génisse régulièrement figurée aux pieds de Tyché sur d'autres monnaies de Gaza, d'Hadrien à Gordien III (p. ex. SNG ANS 925).

## VIII. Io anthropomorphe seule

### 1. La figure en pied

#### Ronde-bosse (pierre), ép. hellénistique

69. Tête de statue fr., marbre. Genève, Mus. 15203. D'Alexandrie. - Deonna, W., *Genava* 16, 1938, 72; Schefold, *Meisterwerke* 95-97. 279 fig. 367; Mustilli 344; Freyer-Schauenburg, B., «Io in Alexandria», *RM* 90, 1983, 38-39 pl. 25. - Début du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Freyer-Schauenburg). - Tête d'Io-Isis, munie de cornes, coiffée d'un diadème.

70.\* Tête de statue fr. Naples, Mus. Naz. 113529. - Guida Ruesch II 66 n° 223; Mustilli 344. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête de femme cornue.

71.\* Tête de statue colossale fr., marbre. Hildesheim, Pel.-Mus. 1776. D'Alexandrie. - Freyer-Schauenburg, o. c. 69, 36-49 pl. 23-24 avec bibl. - Milieu du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête de femme cornue, portant un diadème.

#### Ronde-bosse (pierre), ép. romaine

72.\* Tête de statue fr. Leningrad, Ermitage A 327. - Kobylina, M., *AA* 43, 1928, 69-72 fig. 1-2; Waldhauer, *Skulpt* III 72-74 n° 332 fig. 79; Mustilli 344; Freyer-Schauenburg, o. c. 69, 40 pl. 26, 2. - Fin du I<sup>er</sup> ou début du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Freyer-Schauenburg). - Tête d'Io munie de petites cornes.

73. Buste d'une statue fr. en marbre, Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 17838. - Breccia, E., *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (1922) 206 n° 12 fig. 107; Comstock/Vermeule, *SculptBoston* 67 n° 106; Freyer-Schauenburg, o. c. 69, 40-42 pl. 27. - Fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Buste d'Io munie de cornes, voilée et portant un diadème.

74.\* Tête de statue fr. York, Castle Howard. - Michaelis, *AncM* 328 n° 25; Engelmann 55 n° 32; Mustilli 344; Freyer-Schauenburg, o. c. 69, 30-40 pl. 26, 1. - Fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Tête munie de cornes et voilée.

75. Tête de statue fr. de marbre noir. Copenhague, Mus. Thorv. - EA 1477; Mustilli 344. - Ép. romaine. - Tête munie de cornes couronnées de fleurs.

#### Figurines de terre cuite

76. Statuette sur base. De Halai (Locride). - Goldman, H./Jones, F., *Hesperia* 11, 1942, 395 n° II a 16 pl. 9 (milieu). - 420-390 av. J.-C. - Io (oreilles de vache, himation, polos) s'enfuit, le bras g. levé et le dr. abaissé; son vêtement s'écarte de son corps.

77.\* Statuette fr. Londres, BM 57.12-20.63a. D'Halicarnasse. - Walters, *BMTerracottas* C 493; Higgins, *BMTerracottas* 123 n° 420-421 pl. 60; Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* III 179 n° 2. - Fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Analogie à la précédente; traces d'oreilles et de cornes.

78. Statuette sur base. Athènes, Mus. Nat. De Ta-

nagra. - Winter, *Typen* I 69, 5; Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* III 179 n° 1. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Analogie aux précédentes. Pour d'autres exemplaires semblables cf. Brommer n° 5-8.

79.\* Statuette fr. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. B 620. De Centorbi (Centuripe). - Kekulé, R., *Die Terrakotten von Sicilien* (1884) 77-78 fig. 126 pl. 49, 1; Höfer 279, fig.; Engelmann 42. 54 n° 16; Yalouris 12. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. - Buste d'Io (chiton, himation); un ruban passe entre ses cornes.

80. Statuette fr. De Tyndaris (Sicile). - Brøndsted, *Voyage en Grèce* II 133, 291; Engelmann 56 n° 42 fig. 10. - Tête d'Io munie de cornes et d'oreilles de génisse.

81.\* Fr. de statuette. Paris, Louvre MNB 1074. - De Tarse (Cilicie). - Besques III 329 D 2820 pl. 406g. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête d'Io munie de cornes.

82.\* Statuette sur base. Boston, MFA 1901, 7904. De Mégare (?). - Hellénistique (?). - Semblable à 81.

#### Œuvres disparues ou imaginaires

83. Statue, œuvre du sculpteur Deinoménès, érigée sur l'Acropole d'Athènes. - Paus. I, 25, 1. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Statue d'Io en femme. G. Despinis en a reconnu une copie dans la «Suppliante Barberini», Paris, Louvre MA 3433 (pour d'autres interprétations de cette sculpture, → Danae 40). Simon 279-280 n. 276 fig. 62. Cf. → Kallisto 2.

84. Statue à Ninive. - Philostr. *VA* 1, 19. - Io figurée comme une femme portant de petites cornes qui semblent de venir de pousser.

## 2. Têtes, bustes et masques

#### Céramique italiote (f. r. et vases plastiques)

85. Amphore apulienne f. r. Bari, Mus. Arch. 872. De Canosa. - *RVAp* II 497 fig. 44; P. de Darius; Paribeni, E., *Immagini di vasi apuli* (1964) n° 16 pl. 18; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* 98 III 3, 39; Schauenburg, K., *RM* 88, 1981, 110 pl. 23. - Vers 330 av. J.-C. - Sur laèvre, tête d'Io munie de cornes.

86.\* Canthare plastique apulien f. r. Los Angeles, County Mus. of Art 50.8.25 (A 5933.50-31). - *CVA* 1 pl. 43 (883): associé au P. de l'Iliouperis; Clement, P. A., *Hesperia* 24, 1955, 23; Schauenburg 90. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête d'Io avec des cornes. Sur le col du vase, Eros assis tenant une phiale, entre une oie et un faon.

87.\* Thylasson plastique apulien. Paris, Petit Palais DUT 0403 (394). - *CVA* 44, 8. 10 (684); Schauenburg 90. - Le corps du vase a la forme d'une tête féminine munie de cornes, représentant Io. Schauenburg mentionne à Bari un autre vase plastique figurant Io.

#### Reliefs, pierre

88. Acrotère de pierre. Leningrad, Ermitage M 41-195. - *Gosudarstvennyy Ermitag* (1956) fig. sans n°. - Ép. hellénistique (?). - Tête d'Io munie de cornes.

89.\* Relief fr. Boston, MFA 1963.2683. De Patras. - Comstock/Vermeule, *SculptBoston* 67 n° 106; Freyer-Schauenburg, o. c. 69, 47 pl. 28, 1. - Ép. hellénistique récente (Vermeule); ép. d'Hadrien (Freyer-Schauenburg). - Tête d'Io munie de cornes, portant un diadème et un voile.

90. Stèle hermaïque à double face. Madrid, Prado 482. - Barron, E., *Mus. Nac., Cat. de la escultura* (1908) 82-83 n° 91 pl. 46, 2; Ricard, R., *Marbres antiques des musées du Prado* (1923) 75 n° 72 pl. 49; *EA* 1616-1618; Blanco, A., *Museo del Prado, Cat. de la escultura* (1957) 70 n° 91 E; Mustilli 344-345. - Art gréco-rom. (Barron), ép. d'Hadrien (Mustilli). - Deux têtes féminines opposées, munies de cornes: Io (la plus jeune) et Isis.

#### Antéfixes de terre cuite

91.\* a) Bari, Mus. Arch. De Tarente. - Sciarra, B., *Brindisi, Mus. Arch. Provinciale* (1976) 40 n° 263 fig. 39. - V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête d'Io portant des cornes et des oreilles de vache, avec des pendants d'oreilles en forme de pyramide renversée suspendue à un disque. Entre les cornes, un ruban (stéphané); au cou, un collier. b) Bâle, coll. Schwitter. De Tarente. - Herdejürgen 1, 104 n° 92 pl. 21. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête d'Io, identique. c) Bâle, Antikenmus. Lu 170. - Herdejürgen 1, 94-95 n° C 14, fig.; eadem, dans Berger, *SlgLudwig* II 126-127 n° 170 fig. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Autres exemplaires au mus. de Brindisi. Herdejürgen et Schauenburg, K., *RM* 80, 1973, 196-197, s'opposent à l'identification comme Io. d) Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 7816, 7838. De Tarente. - Engelmann 55 n° 34 fig. 8; Willeumier, P., *Tarente* (1939) 428 n. 4. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - D'autres exemplaires identiques à Rome, Villa Giulia; Siennese, Mus.; Munich, Antikenslg.; Stuttgart, Landesmus. etc. e) Anc. coll. A. B. Cook. De Tarente. - Furtwängler, A., *JdI* 3, 1888, 223 n° 1; Cook, *Zeus* III 636 fig. 433; Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* III 180 n° 16. - Vers 400 av. J.-C. - Selon Furtwängler, il ne s'agit pas d'Io mais d'une tête d'Artémis Tauropole. Brommer, 180 n° 18, mentionne un autre exemplaire (Sotheby, 24. 4. 1967, n° 145). f) Londres, BM 1329\*, 1330. De Tarente. - Walters, *BMTerracottas* 415 D 665; 419 D 692; Higgins, *BMTerracottas* 361-362 n° 1329-1330 fig. 183; Cook, *Zeus* III 635. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. g) Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts T 91. De Tarente. - Oroszlán, Z., *Cat. des terres cuites* G 16; idem, *ArchErt* 48, 1935, 52 n° 6 fig. 51. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Autre exemplaire dans le même mus., inv. 50371. h) Copenhague, Glypt. I N 1010 (T 112). - Poulsen, V., *Cat. des terres cuites grecques et romaines* (1949) 24 n° 35 pl. 18. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Autre exemplaire: Poulsen n° 36. i) Tarente, Mus. Naz. De Tarente. - Laviosa 239-240 n° 29 pl. 73, 6. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Laviosa mentionne un autre document identique: Paris, Cab. Méd. 757. j) New York, MMA 10.210.52. - Robinson, D. M., *AJA* 27, 1923, 19. 21 fig. 25; Richter, *The Metr. Mus. of Art: Handbook of Greek Collection* (1953) 114 pl. 93g. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. k) Bâle, Antikenmus. BS 1928.48. De Tarente. - Herdejürgen 1, 58 n° 47 pl. 16. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du



IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Herdejürgen (104 n. 17) signale d'autres objets identiques: Bari; Bénévent; Rome, Pal. Cons., Sala del Camino. 1) Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Mus., anc. coll. Scheurleer. - Willeumier, o. c. 91d, 428 n. 4 pl. 39, 4; Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. W., *AA* 1932, 325 n. 7. - Début du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Deux autres exemplaires identiques dans la même coll.: n<sup>os</sup> 1135, 1839. m) Métaponte. De S. Biagio della Vennella, région de Métaponte. - Adamesteanu, D., *RA* 1967/1, 24 fig. 29. - Fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. n) Trieste, Mus. Civ. T 37-3822. De Tarente. - Hadaczek, K., *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker* (1903) 30 fig. 50; Willeumier, o. c. 91d, 428 n. 4. - Fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. o) \* Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1886, 678. De Tarente (?). - Evans, A. J., *JHS* 7, 1886, 33 n<sup>o</sup> 1; Willeumier, o. c. 91d, 429 n. 4.

92. \* a) Bâle, Antikenmus. Lu 175. De Tarente. - Herdejürgen dans Berger, *Slg Ludwig II* 132 n<sup>o</sup> 175, fig. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête d'Io du même type que 91a, mais sans boucles d'oreilles. b) \* Tarente, Mus. Naz. I.G. 17614 (60). De Tarente. - Laviosa 240 n<sup>o</sup> 30 pl. 74, 1; Belli, C., *Il Tesoro di Taras* (1970) 106. - Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Même type.

93. \* Antefixe fr. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1947, 323. Don de Mrs Anderson Jr. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête d'Io munie de cornes et d'oreilles de vache avec des pendants; entre les cornes, un ruban (stéphané).

94. Local. inconnue, anc. coll. J. Gréau. - Froehner, W., *Coll. J. Gréau, Cat. des terres cuites grecques* (vente, 1891) 52 n<sup>o</sup> 228. - «Antefixe arrondi: grand masque d'Io, le front ceint d'une bandelette, les oreilles chargées de pendants (triglema), des cornes de génisse aux tempes et une rivière de perles au cou.»

#### Masques en relief, terre cuite

95. Mascaron ornant la volute des anses d'un cratère apulien f. r. Milan, coll. H. A. 270. - *RVAp* I 421, 42; Gr. de l'Orphée de Milan. - Vers 345 av. J.-C. - Masque d'Io: tête féminine portant des cornes au front. Pour le même ornement utilisé par le même peintre: Naples, Mus. Naz. 3230 (inv. 82923). - *RVAp* I 421, 43.

Le même motif est fréquemment repris par divers peintres apuliens: P. de Gioia del Colle, 340-335 av. J.-C.: *RVAp* II 457, 1 pl. 161, 1-2. 6. 8. 11-12; *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 61, 3a. - P. de Copenhague 4223 et son groupe, vers 330: *RVAp* II 465, 48-49. 51; 468, 60a-61; *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 65, 40b; 66, 49c pl. 7, 1-2; 49e. - P. de Loebbecke, vers 330: *RVAp* II 470-471, 69-70. 74. - Gr. de Berlin - Branca, vers 330: *RVAp* II 475, 3. - P. de Darius et son entourage, 340-330: *RVAp* II 487, 17; 495, 38-39; Aellen, Ch./Cambitoglou, A./Chamay, J., *Le peintre de Darius* (1986) 97-108, ill. - Underworld P., vers 325: *RVAp* II 534, 287. 289 pl. 197-198; 539, 328. - Patera P., vers 330: *RVAp* II 727-731, 7. 14. 19-20. 23. 31. 35. 38. - Seated Women Gr., vers 325: *RVAp* II 756, 239 pl. 281, 1. 2; 757, 240-242. 246-247. - Gr. de Tarente 9243, vers 325: *RVAp* II 772, 90. - P. de Ganymède, vers 330-325: *RVAp* II 796, 1 pl. 294; 2-7. 10a. - P. de Baltimore, vers 330: *RVAp* II 862-863, 13 pl. 322; *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 150, 12c. - White Saccos P., vers 325:

*RVAp* Suppl. 1 182b; 183, 2c-d. - P. de Capodimonte, peu après 320: *RVAp* II 907-908. - Helmet P., vers 320: *RVAp* II 911, 17-18 pl. 347, 2-3; 23-24. - Gr. de Tarente 7013 («Lasimos» Gr.): *RVAp* II 914, 38; 1023, 37. - P. du Louvre K 67, vers 310: *RVAp* II 930, 115-116 pl. 365, 1-2. - Tenri Gr.: *RVAp* Suppl. 1 201, 6a. - Foggia Gr., vers 310-300: *RVAp* Suppl. 1 202, 20a. - Vases tardifs décorés de têtes féminines, vers 300: *RVAp* II 1034-1035, 134.

96. Askos à vernis noir. Londres, BM G 52. - Walters, *BMVases* IV 246 G 52; Engelmann 56 n<sup>o</sup> 37. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête d'Io ou d'un dieu-fleuve (→ Fluvii).

97. Askos. Londres, BM 330 (D 184). De Canosa. - Walters, *BMVases* D 184; *CVA* 7 pl. 13, 2b (468). - Ép. hellénistique. - Sur la panse du vase, en relief, à l'avant tête de Méduse (→ Gorgo, Gorgones), à l'arrière tête d'Io munie de cornes.

98. \* Coupe à vernis noir. Leningrad, Ermitage II 1867/68.903. De Panticapée. - *CRPetersb* 1869, 190 pl. 4, 21; Reinach, *RépVas* I, 30-31 n<sup>o</sup> 7; Engelmann 55 n<sup>o</sup> 31. - Buste d'Io en femme munie de cornes; derrière elle, aigle aux ailes déployées.

#### Gemmes

99. Sardoine. Leningrad, Ermitage 155. - Neve-rov, O., *Antique Cameos in the Hermitage Coll.* (1971) 77 n<sup>o</sup> 7. - III<sup>e</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Buste de femme de profil à dr., munie de cornes: Io ou reine ptolémaïque?

100. Cornaline. Florence, Mus. Arch. - Furtwängler, *AG* 234 pl. 49, 9; Engelmann 53 n<sup>o</sup> 33; Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* 63-64 n. 86 pl. 67. 93, 3; Richter, *EngrGemsRom* 143 n<sup>o</sup> 671. - Sign. Dioscouridès, ép. d'Auguste. - Buste d'Io munie de petites cornes (ruban, collier).

Pour des copies de la même œuvre, cf. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* 197 n<sup>os</sup> 4928-4930; Richter, *EngrGemsRom* n<sup>o</sup> 734, tantôt avec, tantôt sans cornes.

101. Sardoine. Hanovre, Kestner Mus. K 1493. - Furtwängler, *AG* 234 pl. 51, 17; *AGD* IV 118 n<sup>o</sup> 511 pl. 69. - Ép. romaine. - Buste d'Io (?); le haut de la tête manque. Pour un objet similaire, cf. une cornaline de Munich: *AGD* I 3, 16 n<sup>o</sup> 2122 pl. 190.

102. Gemme. Boston, MFA. - Froehner, W., *Coll. M. Tyszkiewicz*, vente Rollin et Feuadent (1898) pl. 24, 9; Furtwängler, *AG* 234 n<sup>o</sup> 9; Beazley, J. D., *The Lewes House Coll. of Ancient Gems* (1920) 94-95 n<sup>o</sup> 113 pl. 6; Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* 64 pl. 68, 4; Richter, *EngrGemsRom* 71 n<sup>o</sup> 336. - Buste d'Io (ténia, collier, cornes?). Selon Furtwängler et Beazley, copie de l'œuvre de Dioscouridès (100); pour Vollenweider, portrait d'Agrippine l'Aînée héroïsée et assimilée à Io.

103. Pâte de verre. Boston, MFA 21.1216. - Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* 64 n. 92 pl. 68, 2. 5. - Ép. romaine. - Buste d'Io (ruban, collier, cornes?). Selon Vollenweider, portrait d'Agrippine la Jeune.

104. Gemme. Coll. M. Velay. - Richter, *EngrGemsRom* 71 n<sup>o</sup> 337. - Ép. romaine. - Buste d'Io (ruban, collier, cornes?), semblable à 103.

105. Pâte de verre. Genève, Mus. (Foll. 1997). - Vollenweider, *CatGenève* 212-213 n<sup>o</sup> 222 pl. 65,

4-4a. - Vers 20-50 ap. J.-C. - Buste féminin muni de petites cornes (ruban et collier). Pour Vollenweider, portrait d'Agrippine veuve de Germanicus, ou d'une des sœurs de Caligula.

106. Gemme. Aquileia, Mus. Naz. - Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* 64 n. 92 pl. 68, 1. - Ép. romaine. - Tête d'Io (?): pour Vollenweider, copie de l'œuvre de Dioscouridès et portrait d'Antonia.

#### IX. Identification douteuse

##### Peinture murale

107. Klagfurt, Landesmus. Du Magdalensberg *AA*/15. - Kenner, H., *Wandmalereien aus AA/15. Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Magdalensberg 1969 bis 1972. Magdalensberg Grabungsbericht* 13 (1973) 263 fig. 25; *idem*, *AntW* 7, 1976, 26 fig. 2; *idem*, *Archäol. Forschungen zu den Grabungen auf dem Magdalensberg* 8 (1985) 51 pl. 21-22. - 20-15 av. J.-C. - Figure féminine (péplos, diadème) tenant un thyrsos. Sur le diadème sont fixées des volutes, qui permettent à Kenner de reconnaître Io et non Isis comme d'autres l'avaient proposé.

##### Mosaïques

108. Princeton, Univ. Art Mus. 65-617. De Daphné. - Campbell, W. A./Stillwell, R., *Antioch III, Cat. of Mosaics* (1941) 189 n<sup>o</sup> 135 Panel E pl. 64; Levi, *Antioch* 210-211 pl. 41a. - Période 235-312 ap. J.-C. - Deux personnages assis sur un rocher. A g. une femme (chiton, himation) couronnée de plantes aquatiques, qui s'appuie de la main g. sur le rocher et tient de la dr. une syrinx. L'homme (longue tunique orientale, bonnet phrygien, pedum dans la main g.) semble se pencher vers sa compagne. A sa g., derrière le groupe, l'avant-train d'une vache. Selon Campbell/Stillwell, il s'agit de Pâris et d'Œnone (→ Oinone).

109. Antakya, Mus. Hatay. De Daphné, «House of the Red Pavement». - Campbell/Stillwell, o. c. 108, 194 n<sup>o</sup> 140 Panel F pl. 67; Weitzmann, K., *Antioch III, Illustrations of Euripides and Homer in the Mosaics of Antioch* (1941) 238-239 D; Levi, *Antioch* 75-80 pl. 12a. - Ép. d'Hadrien ou d'Antonin (Levi). - Au centre une jeune femme (chiton, himation, collier, diadème en or, éventail), parle à un homme en montrant de la main une autre femme (chiton, himation), appuyée derrière elle à un pilastre: celle-ci semble suivre le dialogue avec inquiétude. A g. l'homme, qui a l'apparence d'un berger (tunique orientale, bonnet phrygien, syrinx, pedum), écoute avec attention la première femme, en s'appuyant à un autre pilastre; derrière lui un arbre (Campbell/Stillwell: Pâris [→ Alexandros], → Helene et → Aphrodite; Weitzmann: scène inspirée d'Homère ou d'Euripide; Levi: Io, Argos, Héra).

##### Monnaies

110. AE, Lampsaque (Mysie), IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - SNG Copenhagen 206-207 pl. 5; SNG v. Aulock 1300 pl. 40; 7399-7400 pl. 255. - Av. Tête féminine à dr. (cornes, couronne de laurier): Io ou divinité de source? Rv. Protomé de cheval ailé (→ Pegasos) à dr.

##### Reliefs (métal)

111. Lampe en bronze. Požarevač, Mus. d'Hist. 490. - Cermanović, *Starinar* 9-10, 1958-59, 203-204 fig. 1-3. - I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - L'anse porte en relief une tête: Io, ou plutôt un masque tragique. Représentation semblable: lampe, Cluj, Mus. - Picard, Ch., *RA* 1955, 63-67. - Le «chapeau» que porte la tête serait en fait un diadème avec des cornes: masque de théâtre de Dionysos ou d'Io.

112. *Imago clipeata* de bronze. D'Herculanum. - *Antichità di Ercolano. Bronzi* I p. III, vignette; Engelmann 56 n<sup>o</sup> 39.

113. Masque de bronze. Fejervary. - *BdI* 1851, 125; Overbeck, J., *Griech. Kunstmythologie* (1871-1889) 486; Engelmann 56 n<sup>o</sup> 40. - Masque avec cornes bovines et oreilles caprines; Engelmann: Io.

114. Tête de bronze. Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. VI 451. - Brunn, H., *AZ* 1873, 128; 1874, 112; v. Sacken/Kenner, o. c. 60, n<sup>o</sup> 1239; Engelmann 56 n<sup>o</sup> 41. - Brunn et Engelmann: dieu-fleuve.

#### X. Fausse identification

115. (= Harmonia 11, = Kadmos I 46\*) AE, Tyr, monnaies coloniales, Philippe I (244-249) et Trébonien Galle (251-253). - Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 447 n<sup>o</sup> 44; *BMC* Phoenicia 283, 434 pl. 34, 2. - Rv. Un héros nu (sceptre transversal) donne la main à une jeune femme voilée derrière laquelle on voit une génisse debout à dr., la tête retournée: il s'agit de → Kadmos (I) et → Harmonia, et non d'Io comme le suggère Imhoof-Blumer.

116. AE, Iotapé (Cilicie), Valérien I (253-260). - *BMC* Cilicia 86, 1. 3 pl. 14, 8-9; SNG v. Aulock 13, 5583 pl. 187. - Rv. Tyché debout, tête à g. (polos, péplos, himation), tenant un gouvernail et une corne d'abondance. Contrairement à la description de Mionnet, T. E., *Suppl.* VII 216 n<sup>o</sup> 254 (d'après Sestini, D., *Mus. Hederv.* II Add. pl. 6, 8), la figure n'a pas de «tête de taureau cornu» et n'est pas coiffée d'un «vase».

#### COMMENTAIRE

Quoique lié à l'Argolide, le mythe d'Io n'a jamais été représenté dans l'art argien. On le trouve illustré hors de cette région, trois fois dans le Péloponnèse (à Amyclées près de Sparte: 15; à Corinthe: 19-20), une fois en Ionie (31), une autre fois en Béotie (28), et fréquemment en Attique dès l'époque archaïque (1-6. 22-23. 31). C'est surtout au cours du V<sup>e</sup> s. que ces représentations deviennent très nombreuses dans l'art attique (7-8. 11-13. 24-27. 34-35. 39. 43. 54-56. 62. 83), peut-être sous l'influence des grands tragiques (les *Supplantes* d'Eschyle ont été représentées entre 465 et 459 av. J.-C.) qui ont maintes fois traité ce sujet: le mythe avait évidemment franchi les limites de sa région d'origine et Io, comme Héraclès, était devenue une figure panhellénique. On peut aussi devi-

ner les raisons politiques qui ont pu dicter cet intérêt athénien pour Io: dans l'*Orestie* d'Eschyle, jouée en 458, Oreste promet, après l'accueil généreux qu'il a reçu à Athènes, que les Argiens ne marcheront jamais contre Athènes. Et un peu plus tard, dans la 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s., Deinoménès érige sur l'Acropole une statue d'Io en bronze (83). Dans l'histoire des relations entre Athènes et Argos, quelques faits notables peuvent être mis en rapport avec l'intérêt manifesté par les Athéniens pour Io: en 462, l'alliance conclue entre Athènes, Argos et la Thessalie; en 461, l'ambassade attico-argienne à Suse; en 421, la ligue unissant Athènes, Argos, Mantinée et Elis; en 417, le renouvellement pour cinquante ans de l'alliance entre Athènes et Argos, et l'aide d'Athènes aux Argiens dans leur conflit avec Sparte. Pour Lippold, *GrPl* 203, la dédicace sur l'Acropole de la statue d'Io par Deinoménès et celle de la statue de → Kallisto (Paus. 1, 25, 1) pourraient commémorer l'alliance entre Athènes, Argos et Mantinée.

Depuis les premières représentations figurées de l'époque archaïque jusqu'à la fin de l'époque classique tardive, l'illustration du mythe subit diverses modifications. Signalons les plus importantes, qui permettent de distinguer plusieurs phases iconographiques.

Les représentations de l'époque archaïque (1-6. 11. 22-23. 31), purement narratives, suivent probablement la version que donnaient de la légende les épopées: *Aigimios*, la *Danaïde*, *Phoronis* et d'autres œuvres épiques dont on ne possède que quelques fragments (cf. Sources litt.). Sur le vase attique 1 la disposition des figures en deux groupes de deux (Hermès-Argos, Héra-Io) est schématique et conventionnelle et la composition, décentrée vers la g., est déséquilibrée. Un motif répété sur trois vases (4-5. 11), celui d'Argos agenouillé s'appuyant sur un rocher pour se défendre contre Hermès, est probablement emprunté à une grande peinture de la même époque. Sur l'amphore Northampton 31 la composition centripète et axiale, que domine l'imposante stature d'Io encadrée par Hermès et Argos, reflète la gaieté idyllique des œuvres de l'archaïsme récent en Ionie, d'où provient ce vase. La figure fine et agile d'Hermès contrastant avec le gigantisme d'Argos, l'absence de souffle héroïque, les détails qui laissent entendre que la libération d'Io se fera par la ruse, tout annonce les tendances de cette époque: l'esprit épique et la naïveté narrative font place à de nouveaux thèmes et à de nouveaux moyens d'expression, qui vont dominer dans l'art dès le début du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

Sur le plat attique 3 Hermès, placé au centre, terrasse Argos qui tombe vers la dr., tandis que derrière lui la génisse Io bondit vers la g. La disposition des trois figures sur des plans différents et la direction opposée des deux personnages latéraux accentuent l'intensité de l'action. On sent déjà l'ambiance dramatique de la génération de Phrynichos.

L'ensemble des illustrations de ce mythe reflète donc l'évolution de l'art grec, de la construction paratactique de l'art archaïque à la composition fermée et centrée, hiérarchisée des époques suivantes, de l'inspi-

ration purement narrative à l'indication des rapports psychologiques entre les figures.

D'autre part c'est chaque fois un personnage différent du mythe qui domine la composition: tantôt le duel d'Hermès et d'Argos (24-26), tantôt Io elle-même, placée au centre (13. 31. 43). Parfois de nombreuses figures sont dessinées (1. 8. 11. 13), ou bien la scène forme une composition à trois personnages, axiale et centrée (2-4. 7. 34), ou encore une seule figure emplit le champ (39), ou seul le meurtre d'Argos est représenté (24. 26). Une seule fois Zeus trônant assiste à la scène comme troisième personnage (25).

Depuis la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. Hermès ne porte plus la peau de bête du berger, non plus qu'Argos sur la plupart des documents connus, bien qu'il la retrouve parfois (8. 27-28. 33-35. 44. 56), comme une survivance archaïsante.

Sur les documents de l'époque archaïque 1-2 Argos est représenté avec deux visages dotés chacun d'une paire d'yeux, comme dans les épopées du VI<sup>e</sup> s. Mais depuis le début du V<sup>e</sup> s. il a le corps tout entier parsemé d'yeux innombrables (4-5. 7-8. 11-13. 22-27. 34), ce qui illustre les descriptions qu'en donnent les œuvres littéraires de ce siècle, surtout les tragédies. Un autre vase attique à f.r. (34) combine le type d'Argos aux deux visages et celui du corps parsemé d'yeux. Seul le plat archaïque 3 le montre comme un homme normal sans aucun trait monstrueux. Le vase ionien 31 fait probablement allusion au thème de la ruse d'Hermès, qui aurait délivré Io en endormant le Géant avant de le tuer (Ov. *met.* 1, 669-687. 713-721). Hermès ne put accomplir sa mission qu'après avoir tué Argos, et le meurtre est représenté dans la céramique attique (1. 3-4. 7-8. 11. 13. 22. 24-27. 34) et sur le vase italote 33 (cf. *supra*). Sur un seul vase attique (2) Hermès attaque Argos en tenant le *kérykeion* au lieu d'une épée. Sur un autre vase attique (56) il le tue en brandissant l'épée de la main dr. et de l'autre une pierre (cf. *supra*).

D'autre part Argos et Hermès sont représentés barbus pendant toute l'époque archaïque et presque jusqu'à la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. On les trouve pour la première fois imberbes sur le vase 27. Dès lors les deux adversaires sont en général figurés comme des jeunes gens sans barbe, sauf sur les vases 55 (Hermès barbu) et 56 (Argos barbu). Par la suite, et jusqu'à l'époque romaine, ils garderont, à très peu d'exceptions près, leur aspect juvénile.

Dès la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. et pendant la 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s., une période *μεστή Ἀρεως*, profondément marquée par les guerres Médiques, où l'idéal agonal atteint son apogée, même les divinités adoptent des attitudes empruntées aux scènes de combat et de palestra. Aussi Hermès prend-il des poses athlétiques lorsqu'il lutte contre Argos (7. 24-26). La victoire remportée sur Argos devient alors le centre d'intérêt du mythe, tandis que les autres figures (Io, etc.) sont reléguées à une place secondaire ou même omises (24. 26. 39-40. 43. 63-64).

Toutes les œuvres d'art de l'époque archaïque et la plupart de celles de la 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s. représentent

Io sous son aspect zoomorphe, comme une génisse selon la tradition des poèmes épiques – sauf quelques vases (2?-3?. 4. 11. 13) sur lesquels Io est figurée comme un taureau (voir l'explication proposée par Simon 272). Mais sur l'œnochoë lucanienne de Boston 33 l'aspect zoomorphe d'Io a subi un changement important: son corps de génisse est surmonté d'une tête de femme pourvue de cornes. Certes, le vase provient de Grande-Grèce et il est daté vers 440 av. J.-C., mais il rappelle tout de même un passage des *Suppliantes* d'Eschyle (v. 299. 568-570), pièce représentée vers 463 av. J.-C., qui caractérise Io comme *τέρας...μειζόμβροτον, τὴν μὲν βοῶς, τὴν δ' αὖ γυναικὸς* («un monstre hybride», mélange de femme et de vache). Ce nouvel aspect d'Io ne peut pas être une invention d'Eschyle, car la description est elliptique, comme si cette métamorphose était connue de tous. Peut-être s'inspire-t-il d'œuvres de la grande peinture et d'une présentation nouvelle d'Io répandue à cette époque, dont le souvenir ne serait préservé que sur l'œnochoë de Boston (Engelmann 37; cf. Weiß, *Flußg* 104).

Sur les vases attiques à f.r. 34. 39. 62, Io a pris une forme entièrement humaine et seules les cornes et les oreilles animales rappellent son aspect zoomorphe antérieur. C'est ainsi qu'elle apparaît quelques années après les *Suppliantes* d'Eschyle, dans le *Prométhée enchaîné* (v. 588) où elle est décrite comme *βοῦκερως παρθένος*, «vierge aux cornes de bœuf» (cf. v. 674-676; sur l'attribution à Eschyle de cette tragédie jouée vers 450-440 [?], cf., entre autres, West, M., *JHS* 99, 1979, 130-148, et Saïd, S., *Sophiste et tyran* [1985] 41-46. 73. 76. 78). La brièveté de la description qu'en donne le poète fait penser qu'il n'invente pas, et que cet aspect d'Io était alors familier au public athénien (pour les autres interprétations, cf. Weiß, *Flußg* 106). Le peintre du vase tout comme le poète se sont donc inspirés d'une image d'Io bien connue à cette époque, comme on peut le voir d'après les documents ultérieurs. Ceci est confirmé par une phrase d'Hérodote (2, 41): à propos de la statue d'Isis figurée comme une femme munie de cornes, il ajoute *κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἰοὺν γράφουσιν*, «exactement de la façon dont les Grecs représentent Io dans leurs peintures».

Ces transformations successives d'Io, de génisse en *μειζόμβροτον τέρας*, «monstre hybride», puis en femme pourvue de cornes, proviennent plutôt de la tendance générale qu'avaient les Grecs à humaniser peu à peu les êtres zoomorphes des temps primitifs, tendance qui s'affirme au plus haut point à l'époque classique. Le cas le plus connu et le plus caractéristique est celui des dieux-fleuves qui connaissent une évolution semblable (cf. Weiß, *Flußg*; → Acheloos).

La représentation d'Io sur la péliké 62 illustre son aventure amoureuse avec Zeus qui, comme toutes les histoires d'amour entre dieux et mortels, devient à partir de la 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s. un des motifs favoris des peintres. L'intérêt de cette représentation tient aussi au fait que le peintre se limite à deux personnages, Zeus et Io, afin de concentrer le mythe sur le thème de la poursuite amoureuse. Le même motif se rencontre déjà sur un vase de peu antérieur, le stamnos 13. L'inspiration guerrière (cf. le groupe d'Hermès et d'Argos) contraste

avec l'intérêt nouveau porté aux rapports psychologiques entre les personnages, et dans ce cas au lien amoureux qui unit Zeus à Io. On remarque le geste de caresse de Zeus: sa main dirigée vers le front de la génisse est suivie par leurs deux regards, dont la rencontre accentue l'ambiance amoureuse. Mais ce geste du dieu qui étend la main vers son amant (aussi bien sur ce vase que sur 39) traduit aussi son intervention bienfaisante dans le destin de l'être humain: c'est l'attitude de Zeus *Δεξιὼν* comme celle d'Apollon sur le fronton ouest d'Olympie où la main protectrice est dirigée vers l'épaule du roi des Lapithes.

Le motif d'Io humanisée mais munie de cornes, parfois même d'oreilles de génisse, se retrouve sur de nombreux vases (28. 34-35. 39-40. 43-44. 57-60. 63-64. 85-87. 95). Parmi ces représentations, celle de l'œnochoë de Berlin 35 présente un intérêt spécial. Ici aucun combat, pas d'ambiance dramatique ou amoureuse. Les personnages baignent dans une sérénité olympienne. Le mythe, la destinée des deux protagonistes, Io et Argos, ne sont plus envisagés sous l'angle des événements éphémères mais de l'éternité. Désormais la félicité éternelle domine dans la composition. C'est là l'ultime et définitive métamorphose d'Io après ses pénibles épreuves. A cette métamorphose participe aussi Argos: le Géant, redoutable serviteur d'Héra – ici, de surcroît, il est au centre de la composition – a perdu son aspect monstrueux, et dans sa beauté idéale, avec sa massue, il fait penser à l'Héraclès olympien. Instrument de l'inexorable volonté divine, Argos s'ennoblit à la fin, tout comme Io, pour accéder à un rang supérieur, bien différent de celui que rappelle la protomé de vache placée au-dessus de lui.

A ce groupe de représentations appartient aussi la statue monumentale d'Io érigée sur l'Acropole, œuvre du sculpteur Deinoménès (83) bien qu'on ignore si elle était dotée de cornes.

La même atmosphère et le même esprit caractérisent deux autres peintures de vases: sur l'une Io sort du tronc d'un palmier (63), sur l'autre (64) elle est assise sur un ornement végétal entouré d'acanthos et de panthères. Toutes deux évoquent le monde de l'au-delà, où règne le bonheur éternel qu'expriment ces plantes idéales, symboles d'héroïsation et de divinisation; les panthères, animaux de Dionysos et d'Artémis, dominent la nature dans le monde de l'au-delà où l'héroïne est transportée.

Il en est de même avec le skyphos lucanien 40. Aucun élément narratif dans cette image; Io est là, dans un lieu idéal; elle se regarde dans un miroir, ici objet rituel, qui reflète son image rétablie parmi les figures divines. Enfin, sur le cratère italote 44, la représentation d'Io et d'Argos exprime une fois de plus la sérénité et le calme des deux protagonistes qui se sont élevés jusqu'au monde céleste après leurs épreuves tragiques.

Les scènes figurées sur les vases attiques 55-56, dans lesquelles prévaut la composition à plusieurs personnages, s'inspirent visiblement du théâtre comme peut-être de la peinture monumentale. Les vêtements luxueux, chargés d'ornements, qui sont nettement ceux d'acteurs, ainsi que les deux Satyres, font penser



peut-être à un drame satyrique ou à une tragédie attique écrite à la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s., comme celle de Chairémon.

D'autre part divers éléments picturaux – les différents plans sur lesquels sont répartis les personnages ou les lignes irrégulières indiquant le terrain qui cachent à demi certaines figures – montrent les progrès faits dans le traitement du paysage par les grands peintres de l'époque classique tardive. Il en est de même pour la composition des vases italiotes 57. 59–60. Sur le vase 57, le paysage montueux est indiqué par une ligne sinieuse derrière laquelle Pan est dissimulé jusqu'aux genoux, et le sol par une rangée irrégulière de cailloux visibles sous les pieds de Zeus, d'Aphrodite et d'Argos ainsi que sous l'hydrie placée derrière lui. Sur 59, la composition est plus ou moins la même mais simplifiée et accentuée. D'autre part ces deux scènes (57. 59) ont ceci d'inattendu et de bizarre, qu'elles se déroulent dans le sanctuaire d'Artémis, sur l'autel de laquelle Io est assise.

La seule peinture du IV<sup>e</sup> s. figurant Io que mentionnent les sources littéraires est celle de Nicias (54), datée vers 330 av. J.-C. Ce tableau suivait plutôt la tradition classique des trois personnages principaux (Hermès, Io, Argos), et fut le prototype de nombreuses fresques romaines (44–51).

Comme on l'a déjà signalé, le mythe d'Io avait franchi assez tôt les frontières de la Grèce propre: dans les colonies grecques d'Égypte et du Proche-Orient, mais aussi en Sicile et en Grande-Grèce, la figure d'Io était devenue très populaire. Les divers épisodes du mythe, les aventures d'Io se multiplient dans l'art de ces pays. Le nombre considérable de vases italiotes qui les illustrent montrent la faveur dont Io jouissait dans cette région. Le sujet y était très répandu dans les arts mineurs et dans l'architecture, comme l'atteste le grand nombre d'antéfixes en terre cuite provenant des temples de Tarente (91–94). Enfin l'abondance de fresques, de Pompéi et d'ailleurs, qui représentent Io tient d'une part à des influences directes de la Grèce – celles des sources littéraires, des œuvres d'art et surtout de la peinture de Nicias – et d'autre part à un courant d'influences qui peut provenir d'Égypte, dans la mesure où Io y est assimilée à Isis. D'ailleurs cette confusion entre Io et Isis a elle-même une double origine: elle remonte d'une part à l'époque archaïque, autour de Cyrène, d'autre part à l'Alexandrie lagide. La légende s'est en effet surtout diffusée lorsque les Ptolémées ont décidé de faire revivre et de répandre une tradition macédonienne selon laquelle, leurs aïeux étant des Héraclides, ils provenaient de l'union d'Io avec Zeus. Cette ascendance remplaçait celle qui rattachait Alexandre le Grand à Zeus Ammon; grâce à elle les Lagides, notamment Ptolémée III et Arsinoé II, assuraient plus promptement leur déification en soulignant le parallélisme de leurs destinées avec celles d'Io et d'Épaphos (Freyer-Schauenburg 44–48). C'est pourquoi les portraits de ces reines ptolémaïques portent de petites cornes, allusion à leur ascendance «ioisiaque» (Freyer-Schauenburg, l. c.).

NICOLAS YALOURIS

## IO II

(*Ἰώ*, corinthien *Fiōi*) Néréide (→ Nereides) représentée sur un vase corinthien. Son nom ne figure dans aucune des listes de Néréides connues.

1. (= Achilleus 897\* avec bibl., = Hamathoi 1) Hydrie corinthienne. Paris, Louvre E 643. De Caeré. – Kretschmer, P., *Die griechischen Vasenschriften* (1894) 22 n° 24; 201 n. 13; Kakridis, I. Th., *Ελληνική Μυθολογία* 5 (1986) 124 fig. 104. – P. de Damos. – 570–550 av. J.-C. – Le cadavre d'Achille est étendu sur une kliné; une dizaine de Néréides se lamente auprès de son corps. Parmi elles, I. (*FIOI*) apparaît deux fois: elle est debout à dr. de la scène, de profil à g., tordant une mèche de ses longs cheveux de la main dr., la main g. baissée. Elle est également au pied du lit, de profil à dr., les mains tendues.

I., dont le nom a parfois été interprété comme une exclamation de douleur (cf. Pottier, *Vases Louvre* p. 59) car il évoque le cri (*ἰών*), est une Néréide qui ne semble pas avoir de légende particulière. Ce nom est fréquemment porté par des femmes dans la céramique corinthienne (→ Io IV). NOËLLE ICARD-GIANOLIO

## IO III

(*Ἰώ*, ionisch *Fiō*) Mänadenname (→ Mainades) in Vasenschriften.

1.\* (= Chora 1 mit Querverweisen) Amphora, chalkid. Leiden, Rijksmus. 1626. Aus Vulci. – Fränkel, *Namen* 14. 82 Nr. A; Rumpf, *ChalkVas* 7–8 Nr. 2; 46 Nr. 2 Taf. 2. – Sechs Silene tanzen mit sechs Nymphen (die Namen → Chora 1). I. (*FIO*) tanzt mit → Simos.

2. (= Dorkis 2) Kolonettenkrater, chalkid. Brüssel, Mus. Roy. A 135. Aus Vulci. – Fränkel, *Namen* 14. 82 Nr. B; Rumpf, *ChalkVas* 13 Nr. 13; 46 Nr. 13 Taf. 29; CVA 2 Taf. 1 (52) 1b. – Tanz von sieben Silenen und fünf Nymphen (die Namen → Dorkis 2). Die Lesung *FIO* ist unsicher, da nur geringe Reste der Inschrift erhalten sind.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## IO IV

(*Ἰώ*, kor. *Fiōi*) Frauenname, verschiedenen Figuren auf spätkorinthischen Vasen beigeschrieben, literarisch für die jeweiligen Szenen nicht belegt. Vgl. auch → Io II und III. Zum Namen cf. Kretschmer, P., *Die griechischen Vasenschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht* (1894) 43–44.

1. (= Antimachidas 1\*, = Dion 4\*) Kolonettenkrater. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 1959.1. – Amyx, *CVP* 271–272, D 1: Tydeusmaler; 590, 119. – Frau bei der Ausfahrt des Kriegers Antimachidas.

2. (Charon III 3, = Dioi II 2, = Dion 5\*) Hydria. Paris, Louvre E 642. – Amyx, *CVP* 265, A 2: Damonmaler; 577–578, 78. – Frau bei der Ausfahrt des Kriegers Dion.

Auf 1 und 2 steht I. jeweils im Bildhintergrund neben den Pferden.

3. (= Eryba(t)s 1\*) Kolonettenkrater. Paris, Louvre E 637. – Amyx, *CVP* 575, 71. – Braut des Eryba(t)s in einer Hochzeitsausfahrt.

4. (= Doroi 1\*) Hydria. fr. Paris, Louvre Cp. 10488. – Amyx, *CVP* 578, 81. – Frau auf Wagen (Lesung Arenas) eines Hochzeitszuges (?).

Zur Interpretation → Dion, Kommentar, und Amyx, *CVP* 552–553. PIERRE MÜLLER

## IOBATES

(*Ἰοβάρης*, Iobates) König von Lykien, Vater der Stheneboia und der Philonoe; Gastgeber des → Proitos und des Bellerophon (→ Pegasos), die beide seine Schwiegersöhne werden.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Bei Hom. *Il.* 6, 170 ist dieser lykische König noch namenlos. Vielleicht stand der Name in Hes. *frg.* 43a 88 Merkelbach/West (suppl. Wilamowitz). In Soph. Tragödie *Iobates* (*TrGF* IV F 297–299), die offenbar in Lykien spielte, und Eur. *Stheneboia* (*TGF* 2 p. 567) heißt der König von Lykien I. – Der Name seiner Gemahlin ist in den Schriftquellen nicht überliefert. Seine erste Tochter Stheneboia verheiratet I. mit Proitos, dem er in Argos wieder zur Macht verholfen hatte (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [24] 2). Seine jüngere Tochter Philonoe (auch Kasandra, Asklep. *Trag.*, *FGH* 12 F 13; *TrGF* IV p. 268) gibt er am Lebensende seinem zweiten Gastfreund Bellerophon zur Frau. Bellerophon wird von Proitos, an dessen Hof er weilte, um durch ihn von einem Verwandtenmord entführt zu werden, aus Eifersucht zu I. nach Lykien geschickt (Hom. *Il.* 6, 155–197; Pind. *I.* 7, 44–47, O. 13, 60–92; Eur. *Stheneboia*, *TGF* 2 *frg.* 661–672; Asklep. *Trag.* l. c.; Diod. 6, 9; Strabon 12, 8, 5–6 p. 573; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [30–33] 3, 1–2, Plut. *de mul. vir.* 248a–d; Hyg. *fab.* 57; Zenob. *cent.* 2, 87; Paus. 2, 4, 2; Athen. 5, 185b–c). Stheneboia (oder bei Hom. *Il.* 6, 160 Anteia), die Gemahlin des Proitos, hatte versucht Bellerophon zu verführen. Zurückgewiesen, verleumdet sie ihn bei Proitos und verlangt seinen Tod (Schol. Aristoph. *Ranae* 1043; Hor. *c.* 3, 7, 13–16). Daraufhin schickt Proitos ihn zu seinem Schwiegervater nach Lykien mit einem versiegelten Brief (vgl. Plaut. *Bacch.* 810–811; Plin. *nat.* 13, 88), der seine Tötung fordert. König I. behält Bellerophon neun Tage als Gastfreund, bis er den Brief entziffert hat. Weil I. sich scheut, seinen königlichen Gast zu töten, auferlegt er ihm mehrere gefährliche Aufgaben (Tötung

der → Chimaira, Krieg gegen die Solymen, Kampf gegen die → Amazonas; für die lit. Quellen s. auch → Pegasos). Nach Hom. *Il.* 6, 187 und Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (33) 3, 2 versucht I., nachdem Bellerophon diese Aufgaben gelöst hat, den Helden durch eine Schar auserwählter Lykier in einem Hinterhalt umbringen zu lassen. Bellerophon überwältigt sie alle, und I. erkennt seine göttliche Abkunft (Hom. *Il.* 6, 191). Er bittet Bellerophon zu bleiben, gibt ihm seine zweite Tochter Philonoe (die bei Homer namenlos ist) zur Frau und überläßt ihm die Hälfte des Königreiches (Hom. *Il.* 6, 193). Nach Apollod. a. O. überträgt er ihm sterbend das Reich als Erbe. Auch die Lykier überlassen ihm ein Landgut (Hom. *Il.* 6, 194–195). Bei Apollod. a. O. zeigt I. dem Bellerophon nach der Aussöhnung den Brief von Proitos. Das Motiv des Uriasbriefes wird in Eur. Jugendwerk *Stheneboia* aufgegriffen, in dem I. wohl nur eine Nebenrolle gespielt hat. Erst die Tragödie des Soph. *Iobates*, von der außer dem Titel drei Fragmente erhalten sind, gibt einige Auskünfte über I. Den neu aufgetauchten Vasenbildern (1–4. 12. 13) zufolge – sofern sie sich auf Soph. *I.* zurückführen lassen – spielte das Drama in Lykien, hatte außer I. auch Philonoe eine wichtige Rolle (cf. 2. 3. 12. 13) und am Ende des Stückes starb König I.

Eine abweichende, wohl lykische Lokalsage überliefert Plut. (*de mul. vir.* 247f–248d): I. habe gar nicht daran gedacht, Bellerophon für seine Taten zu belohnen, auch nicht, als er die lykischen Piraten mit ihrem Anführer Cheimarrhos aus der Ebene von Xanthos vertrieben hatte. In dieser Version wird Poseidon (der göttliche Vater des Bellerophon) von seinem Sohn angerufen. Er überschwemmt die Ebene von Xanthos, während sein Sohn Bellerophon sich dem Palast des I. nähert. Da sich ihm niemand anders entgegenstellt, laufen ihm die xanthischen Frauen mit bis zu den Hüften erhobenen Röcken (was wohl auf einem alten Kultbrauch beruht) entgegen, so daß er sich umdreht und davonläuft. Die Wellen ziehen sich mit ihm zurück. Erst jetzt ist I. von der Unschuld seines Gastes überzeugt. Auf dieses Ereignis hin befiehlt er, die Xanthier sollen für alle Zeiten ihre Herkunft von der Mutter ableiten, statt vom Vater: so wird das bis in historische Zeit weibliche Erbfolgesgesetz in Lykien dem mythischen König I. in den Mund gelegt, um es als möglichst alt erscheinen zu lassen. Diese Erbfolgesnorm zeigt aber auch, daß die griechischen Einwanderer den Xanthiern ihre eigene patrilineare Erbfolge nicht aufzwingen konnten; wahrscheinlich spiegelt der Mythos so die historischen Verhältnisse der Beziehungen zwischen den lykischen Fürstenhöfen und der Argolis wider, denn in die Zeit des 9. und 8. Jh. v. Chr. fallen die Versuche der Griechen, an der kleinasiatischen Westküste kolonisatorisch Fuß zu fassen. Homer hat den historischen Kämpfen einen mythischen Hintergrund gegeben.

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mann, R., *ML II 1* (1890-94) 281-282 s. v. «Iobates»; Heubeck, A., *Schrift, ArchHom X* (1979) 128-142; Hiller, St., *Bellerophon, ein griechischer Mythos in der röm. Kunst* (1970); Lohmann, H., *Grabmäler auf unteritalischen Vasen* (1979) 41-51 (zu den Naiskoi); Maltin, L., *Jdl* 40, 1925, 121-160; Moret, J. M., *AntK* 15, 1972, 95-106; Peppermüller, R., *Die Bellerophonsage, ihre Herkunft und Geschichte* (ungedr. Diss. Göttingen 1961), zum Potipharmotiv und Uriasbrief vgl. 105 ff. 132; Schauenburg, K., *Jdl* 71, 1956, 59-96 (= Schauenburg 1); Schauenburg, K., *AA* 1958, 21-37 (= Schauenburg 2); Schauenburg, K., *Jdl* 104, 1989, 19-60 (= Schauenburg 3); v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U., *Die Ilias und Homer* (1916); Yalouris, N., *Pegasos* (1975).

## KATALOG

### A. Bei König Iobates in Lykien

1.\* Kelchkrater, apul. rf. Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Mus., Hunt Coll. - *RVAp II* 501, 64a: Dareiosmaler; *The Summa Galleries Auction* 1 (1981) Nr. 26; v. Bothmer, D., in *Wealth of the Ancient World* (1983) Nr. 15; Schefold/Jung, *SB IV* 123-124 Abb. 148. - Um 350 v. Chr. - I. mit Vogelzepter und Tiara in orientalischer Tracht (Theaterkostüm?) auf einer prächtigen Kline sitzend, die im Zentrum der Komposition steht. Er hebt erstaunt die Hand zum Kopf und schaut dem von I. auf Pegasos heranziehenden Bellerophon (mit dem Brief in der Hand!) entgegen. Über dem Kopf von I. hängen Wagenräder und ein Schild. Zu seinen Füßen liegen zwei Omphalosschalen, eine Spendenkanne und ein Kantharos, der auf den Heroenkult weist. Anscheinend greift Poseidon, r. oben in der Götterregion sitzend, mit gebieterisch ausgestrecktem Arm in das Schicksal von I., Philonoe und Bellerophon ein. Unterhalb von Poseidon steht ein Luterion, das auf die davoneilende Philonoe bezogen werden kann: es weist auf ihr Brautbad voraus. Da I. so auffällig ins Zentrum gesetzt ist, darf man sich fragen, ob dieses und das folgende Vasenbild vom Iobates des Soph. angeregt sein könnten (vgl. Kommentar).

2.\* Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Los Angeles, Kunsthandel (NFA Antiquities, vorher Summa Galleries 2028). - *RVAp Suppl.* 1, 86, 288a Taf. 17, 3: Unterweltmaler. - Um 340 v. Chr. - I., wie auf 1 mit Tiara, Vogelzepter und Theaterkostüm in einem viersäuligen Grabnaiskos sitzend, sich mit seiner r. Hand sorgenvoll an den Kopf greifend. Der Naiskos kann den Königspalast von I. und sein Grabmal zugleich andeuten, erinnert aber auch an den Unterweltpalast. (Zur vielschichtigen Bedeutung dieser Naiskosform vgl. Lohmann 50.) Die Begegnung von Vater und Tochter, die hier in der Grabaedicula als Zweifigurenbild dargestellt ist, kommt dem Geist griechischer Grabreliefs nahe: I. sitzend, seine Tochter stehend, die l. Hand im Redegestus erhoben. Oben l. vom Naiskos erscheint Bellerophon auf dem Pegasos und versetzt die den Amazonen ähnlich gekleidete lykische Palastwache in Schrecken (Chor?). Die lykischen Krieger (mit «phrygischer» Mütze) unterhalb des Palastes vollführen die gleiche Gebärde zum Kopf, wie ihr König.

3.\* Kelchkrater, apul. rf. London, Kunsthandel. - Sotheby, 10. Dez. 1984 Nr. 365a. - Dareiosmaler, um 350 v. Chr. - Pendantstück zu 1? Der thronende I. mit

Tiara und Vogelzepter wiederum im Theaterkostüm. Vor ihm steht, von Pegasos abgestiegen, Bellerophon mit Dreizack und dem Brief des Proitos. Hinter dem Thron Philonoe, verschleiert wie eine Braut. Neben ihr steht Herakles, mit dem sie im Gespräch verbunden ist. Oben sitzen Apollon und Aphrodite, die Eros mit einer Binde ausgeschickt hat, wohl zu Philonoe. Zu Herakles neben Philonoe vgl. → Herakles/Hercle 327 = Chimaira (in Etruria) 75\*.

4.\* Loutrophoros, apul. rf. Privatslg. - Schauenburg 3, 19-27 Abb. 1-4: Baltimore-Maler. - Um 320 v. Chr. - I. (bärtig), wie bei 3 auf einem Thron (ohne Lehne) mit Fußbank, mit reichverziertem gegürteten Ärmelgewand und Tiara, in der l. Hand das Zepter, in der r. den Brief des Proitos haltend. Vor ihm Bellerophon mit Pegasos am Zügel. Hinter I. steht ein Lykier mit «phrygischer» Mütze, Pelta und dem krummen Hiebschwert. Am Ende des Frieses die sitzende, sich entschleiende Philonoe mit Diadem. An der Wand hängen Spiegel, Helm und Kanne. Zwischen den Beinen des Pegasos eine Situla.

5.\* Kolonettenkrater, apul. rf. Südkalifornien (ehem. Hillsborough), Slg. R. A. Hearst, San Simeon Warehouse 9964, Hearst Estate 5612. - Raubitschek, I. K., *The Hearst Hillsborough Vases* (1969) 93-97 Nr. 27 Abb. 27a-c; Schauenburg 2, 27-29; Moret 100 Taf. 29, 2: Umkreis des Ariadnemalers. - Um 400-380 v. Chr. - I. (bärtig) stehend, nur mit Himantion bekleidet, stützt sich wie ein attischer Bürger mit der l. Achsel auf einen Knotenstock und streckt dem auf Pegasos ankommenden Bellerophon die Hand entgegen. Hinter ihm ein Leibwächter mit Lanze. Einziges Erkennungszeichen des lykischen Königs ist die Tiara.

6.\* Glockenkrater, camp. rf. Winterthur, Münzkabinett 364 (432). - *LCS* 415, 360 Taf. 167, 5: Manchester-Maler; Moret 103 Taf. 26, 3. - 2. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. - I. (weißhaarig, bärtig) sitzt im Theaterkostüm mit Tiara und Zepter auf einem Diphros mit Fußbank und liest den Brief (Diptychon) des Proitos. Hinter ihm die verschleierte, wegschreitende Philonoe (Diadem), die ihren Kopf zurückwendet und dem Gast in die Augen schaut. Vor I. steht Bellerophon mit dem Pegasos.

7. Lekythos, camp. rf. Neapel, Privatslg. - *LCS* 302, 537: Laghetto-Maler; Schauenburg 2, 35. - Um 340 v. Chr. - I. erhält den Brief.

8.\* Lekythos, camp. rf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 147868. Aus Aversa. - *LCS* 334, 781 Taf. 130, 8: Aversa-Maler; Schauenburg 1, 87; Hiller 19 Abb. 6. - Um 340 v. Chr. - I. mit Zepter, sehr jugendlich, merkwürdigerweise ohne Bart, aber an der orientalischen Bekleidung und der Tiara zu erkennen. Er liest im geöffneten Diptychon, das Bellerophon (ohne Pegasos, dafür mit Hund), noch mit einer Hand festhält.

### B. Iobates als Zuschauer beim Chimairakampf

DEUTUNG VON 9 UND 10 NICHT GESICHERT

9. Vase, apul. rf. Ehem. Slg. Hamilton, verloren. - Tischbein, W., *Collection of Engravings from Ancient*

*Vases I* (1791) Taf. 1; Moret 101-105 Abb. 1. - Wohl Ende 5. Jh. v. Chr. - I. ohne Tiara. Zum Deutungsproblem dieser Vase, in der schon Tischbein I. als Zuschauer beim Chimairakampf erkennen wollte, vgl. die Diskussion bei Moret 104 Anm. 60 und → Proitos.

10. (= Chimaira [in Etruria] 67\*) Kelchkrater, etrusk. rf. Parma, Mus. di Ant. C. 101. - *EVP* 37, 2: Sommarvilla-Maler; Yalouris 61 Abb. 43. - Ende 5. Jh. v. Chr. - I. (?) unbärtig, ohne Tiara (dafür mit Kranz oder Krone) und Zepter im felsigen Gelände sitzend, als Zuschauer beim Chimairakampf. Sein Pendant ist eine weibliche Figur mit polosartiger Krone auf dem Kopf, mit langem, gestickten Chiton bekleidet, darüber Kreuzbänder (Philonoe?). Über den Henkeln Piloshelme.

11.\* (= Chimaira [in Etruria] 76) Kelchkrater, falisk. rf. Rom, Villa Giulia 1514. Aus Falerii (Civita Castellana). - Schauenburg 1, 82. 67 Abb. 10; Depert, K., *Die faliskischen Vasen* (1956) 55. - Um 350 v. Chr. - I. als weißhaariger König mit Bart, reichverzierter Tiara und Zepter. Neben ihm Philonoe. Rundherum Amazonen oder Lykier, die den Kampf gegen die Chimaira, mit großen Felsbrocken bewaffnet, zu unterstützen scheinen, ganz entgegen den antiken Schriftquellen.

12.\* Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Kunsthandel. - Schauenburg 3, 25 Abb. 7: Baltimore-Maler. - Um 320 v. Chr. - Wie auf 1 hängen oberhalb von I. Wagenräder. Er ist durch Zepter und Tiara als König gekennzeichnet und sitzt auf zwei übereinanderliegenden Kissen. Vor ihm stehende, verschleierte Philonoe mit Diadem, auf die I. einzureden scheint (vgl. 2). Hinter ihr Dienerin mit Schirm. Die Gruppe ist von der lykischen Palastwache umgeben. In der unteren Region, direkt unter I., kämpft Bellerophon mit der Chimaira, wiederum von lykischen Kriegerinnen unterstützt. Eine Nike mit Siegeskranz kündigt den guten Ausgang des Kampfes an. Der Baltimore-Maler verteilt also das Geschehen auf zwei Ebenen, die obere spielt im Palast des Königs; die Hochzeit mit der Königstochter ist durch den Brautthron (?) hinter Philonoe und den Schirm (ein Hochzeitsrequisit) angedeutet (vgl. das Luterion auf 1). Auf dem Halsbild darüber erscheint Aphrodite im Blätterkelch zwischen Erosen.

13.\* Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Privatslg. - Schauenburg 3, 23-24 Abb. 5-6: Baltimore-Maler. - Um 320 v. Chr. - Im Zentrum ein weißer Naiskos mit drei ionischen Säulen an der Front, in dem I. (Tiara, Zepter) auf einem Thron mit Sphingenstützen sitzt; wie auf 2 ist er mit seiner Tochter als Zweifigurengruppe dargestellt. Philonoe (?) steht bekrönt und verschleiert, ebenfalls mit einem Zepter, vor I., der mit ihr spricht. Nach lykischem Erbrecht kann Philonoe bei I.s Tod seine Nachfolgerin werden. Wäre auf dem Halsbild des Kraters nicht Bellerophon im Chimairakampf dargestellt, würde man den Naiskos nicht unbedingt als Königspalast, sondern als Unterweltpalast interpretieren, zumal hinter dem thronenden I. mit dem Schwert die Hadeskappe hängt (→ Aphrodite 1554\*; → Hades 149. 154). Grabmal und Unterweltpalast durchdringen einander. Aber I. ist eindeutig an der Tiara zu erkennen. Schauenburg 3, 24 verknüpft die Palastszene

mit dem Halsbild des Chimairakampfes, der zwischen Ranken dargestellt ist, und macht auf das Nebeneinander der zwei Episoden auf ein und demselben Bildträger aufmerksam, «die in der Realität getrennt zu denken seien», weil sie verschiedene Seinsebenen andeuten. Unterhalb des Palastes stehen lykische Krieger mit Pferden. R. und l. vom Naiskos Grabbesucher.

### C. Iobates auf einem römischen Sarkophag

14.\* Sarkophag mit Deckel, Marmor. Algier, Mus. Nat. Aus Azzefoun (antik Rusazus). - Aymard, J., *MEFRA* 52, 1935, 143 ff. Taf. 1-3; Hiller 51-56. 106 Nr. 13 Abb. 20; Darmon, J.-P., *Nymfarum Domus* (1980) 172-173; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 143 Abb. 154; Schefold/Jung, *SB IV* 126-127 Abb. 153. - Um 260/70 n. Chr. - L. Deckel, l.: Ankunft in Lykien bei I. auf einem Thron und Philonoe, die den Brief des Proitos entgegennehmen; r.: Bellerophon mit Virtus über der getöteten Chimaira. Die Mittelszene des Sarkophagkastens mit der erlegten Chimaira, dem siegreichen Bellerophon und Virtus ist eine Wiederholung der r. Deckelszene. L. vom Hauptbild Bellerophon mit Pegasos an der Quelle; r. Auszug des von Virtus angeführten Bellerophon aus einem Königshof. Es ist schwierig zu sagen, ob der Hof von I. in Lykien oder der Palasteingang des Proitos gemeint ist, vor dem die liebeskranke Stheneboia sitzt, ähnlich wie → Phaidra auf den → Hippolytos-Sarkophagen, ebenfalls mit einer Amme verbunden. Für Aymard ist das Gebäude im Hintergrund ein Poseidontempel und die Szene davor spielt in Korinth. Darmon 172-173 verbindet die Darstellung vor dem Tempel mit der lykischen Lokalsage bei Plut., in der die lykischen Frauen sich Bellerophon anbieten, damit er von seinem Vorhaben, die Stadt durch eine Überschwemmung zu zerstören, abläßt. Er bezeichnet die Kniende - sonst als kupplerische Amme der Stheneboia gedeutet - als sich anbietende Lykierin. Auf dem l. Deckelbild hingegen wird die Zweiergruppe von I. und seiner Tochter meist als Proitos und Stheneboia erklärt. Stheneboia wird jedoch niemals mit Proitos so eng verbunden in einer Zweiergruppe dargestellt. Die Deckelszenen scheinen in Lykien zu spielen. In der Mitte des Sarkophagkastens ist Bellerophon als Triumphator aufgefaßt, gerahmt von den Episoden in Griechenland.

### D. Iobates bei der Hochzeit von Philonoe und Bellerophon (15 unsicher)

15. Bronzeciste, praenestinisch. London, BM 84.6-14.33 (640). Aus Palestrina. - Walters, *BMBronzes* 104-105 Nr. 640; Schauenburg 1, 87 Abb. 29; Yalouris 58; Foerst, G., *Die Gravierungen der praenestischen Cisten* (1978) 133-134 Taf. 26c. d. 27a-d Nr. 30; *CPI* 1, 119-120 Nr. 32 Taf. 145-147; Darmon, a. O. 14, 173-175 Taf. 68; vgl. Rez. Donderer, M., *Gnomon* 1983, 69-73. - Spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. - Im Zentrum des umlaufenden Frieses befindet sich eine

Gruppe von drei Figuren, in der nur Bellerophon mit Pegasos am Zügel eindeutig zu benennen ist. Sein Pendant, ein bärtiger, älterer Krieger mit Panzer, Beinschienen, Schild und pilosartigem, ziseliertem Helm, nimmt gerade sein Schwert ab und blickt sich um zu einer Frau mit Spendekanne und Phiale in den Händen (Venus nach Darmon); zwischen beiden fliegt ein Vogel (Taube?). Darmon identifiziert den Krieger mit I., Schauenburg mit Proitos. Zwischen dem Krieger und Bellerophon steht eine Frau mit Diadem. Sie berührt mit ihrer l. Hand hinter dem Speer Bellerophons Arm. Neben ihrem Kopf erscheint eine Biene. R. von Pegasos ein junger Krieger in voller Rüstung, auf den eine geflügelte Frau mit Kanne und Phiale (Victoria?) zuschreitet. Darmon postuliert im Zusammenhang mit dem Mosaik 16 für die Mittgruppe: Philonoe, umgeben von ihrem Vater I. und dem siegreichen Bellerophon, dem sie als Lohn für seine Taten versprochen ist.

16. \* Mosaik. Nabeul (Neapolis, Tunesien), Maison des Nymphes, Grabungsmagazin. – Darmon, a. O. 14, 125–129. 163–175 Nr. 32 Taf. 62, 1; 66. 87–88. 91 und farbiges Frontispiz. – Durch Münzfunde auf die Zeit nach 317 n. Chr. datiert. – Hochzeit von Bellerophon und Philonoe im Beisein des I. Obwohl es bis heute keine eindeutig nachgewiesene Darstellung dieser Szene gibt, kann die Interpretation als gesichert gelten, weil neben Bellerophon Reste des Pegasos erhalten sind. I. ist bärtig und mit Königsbinde im Haar dargestellt. Er trägt einen segmentartigen Clavus auf der Brust. Er steht (Beine zerstört) zwischen dem Brautpaar und führt dem Bellerophon die in einen goldenen Mantel gehüllte Philonoe zu. Das Brautpaar ist im Begriff, sich die Hände zu reichen. Philonoe wird von zwei Frauen geleitet, die über ihren Kopf einen goldenen Kranz mit Stirngemme halten, wie bei der Hochzeit einer Kaiserin am byzantinischen Hof.

#### E. König Iobates empfängt Geschenke der Solymer

##### DEUTUNG UNSICHER

17. (= Chryses I 13). Mosaik. Nabeul (Neapolis, Tunesien), Maison des Nymphes, Grabungsmagazin. – García y Bellido, A., *Enciclopedia clásica I* (1972) 797 Abb. 1. 358 s. v. «Arte Romano 2»; Darmon, a. O. 14, 121–125 Nr. 31 Taf. 62, 1; 85. 86. 90. – 2. Viertel 4. Jh. n. Chr. – I. thronend, mit hellenistischer Königsbinde und Panzer, empfängt Geschenke. Hinter ihm bewaffnete Krieger mit «lykischen» Helmen. Zu seinen Füßen liegt ein Lorbeerkrantz. Vor I. kniet ein würdiger alter Togatus mit einer *infula* (Wollbinde), in dem García y Bellido den Apollonpriester → Chryses vor Agamemnon sieht. Darmon deutet den Thronenden im Panzer als I., dem die von Bellerophon unterworfenen Solymer Geschenke bringen, weil im gleichen Gebäudekomplex auf der Langseite ein Mosaik mit Bellerophon, der Pegasos an der Quelle trinkt, zu finden ist, und im Nebenraum desselben

Traktes das Mosaik 16 mit der Hochzeit von Bellerophon und Philonoe.

#### KOMMENTAR

Der Schauplatz des Chimairakampfes ist schon bei Hom. in Lykien angesiedelt. Die frühesten Darstellungen gehen ins 7. Jh. v. Chr. zurück (→ Chimaira und → Pegasos). Zuschauer treten erst im 6. Jh. v. Chr. auf, und unter diesen König I. erst seit dem späten 5. Jh. v. Chr. durch die Tiara besonders gekennzeichnet – vermutlich unter dem Einfluß der Tragödie. Während in den Eur.-Dramen die Gestalt der Stheneboia im Vordergrund stand, spielte der fremdländische König I. in der gleichnamigen Tragödie des Soph. die Hauptrolle. Man darf vermuten, daß das neue Interesse an dieser Sagengestalt in der apul. Vasenmalerei des 4. Jh. v. Chr. mit dem verlorenen Soph.-Drama zusammenhängt. Auf I ist Poseidon (der göttliche Vater des Bellerophon) als einziger Gott bei der Ankunft des Bellerophon am Palast des I. in Lykien anwesend (vgl. auch den Dreizack bei Bellerophon auf 3). Vielleicht spielte Poseidon auch in der Tragödie eine prominente Rolle, indem er als *deus ex machina* die Geschichte der Protagonisten mitbestimmte: des Königs I., seiner Tochter Philonoe und des Bellerophon. Die Grabnaiskoi auf 2 und 13 mit dem auf Kline und Thron sitzenden König lassen darauf schließen, daß der König am Schluß des Bühnenstückes starb (vgl. → Achilleus 794\*; → Alkestis 5\*). Die Beschränkung und Konzentration der Vasenmaler von 1 und 2 auf zwei Personen (zwei Schauspieler) im Zentrum der Komposition unterstützen die Hypothese, in 1 und 2 die Nachwirkung eines Bühnenwerkes zu erkennen. Auf beinahe allen Vasenbildern trägt I. die aus Ärmelgewand, Chiton und Himation bestehende Theatertracht. Er ist als weißhaariger Greis (I. 2. 6. 11), mit Vogelzepter (I–3) und Tiara (I–8. 11–13) charakterisiert. Beim Chimairakampf sitzt I. als Zuschauer in der freien Landschaft (11). Als Repräsentant seines Reiches thront er in seinem Palast, der durch einen Naiskos, dessen Säulenzahl variiert (2. 13), oder nur durch eine Kline (1) oder einem Thron mit oder ohne Lehne (3. 4. 7. 8) angedeutet wird. Das Klinkenmotiv im Naiskos ist vor allem für Hades (→ Hades 122. 124–126; → Herakleides 13. 15), aber auch bei mythologischen Figuren nachweisbar, die auf der Bühne sterben (→ Achilleus 794\*; → Alkestis 5\*; → Althaia 4\*). Die aufgehängten Waffen und Räder an der Rückwand des Naiskos oder zu Häupten von I. sind im 4. Jh. v. Chr. allgemeine heroisierende Bildchiffren. Sie kommen aber besonders häufig im Palast des Hades vor (→ Danaides 18\*; → Hades 132. 134). Seine Tochter Philonoe oder Kasandra, die neben I. auf den apulischen Vasen (I–4. 6. 10–13) erscheint, ist dem König auf 2 und 13 in einer Zweifigurengruppe wie auf einem Grabrelief gegenübergestellt. Bei 2 wendet sie sich in einem Redegestus an den greisen I., der sich, über ihre Botschaft bekümmert, an sein Haupt greift (vgl. die Gebärde von Troilos, → Helene 187\*). Vielleicht hat die Tochter, ähnlich wie ihre tro-

janische Namensschwester ihrem Vater, dem alten König I., vorausgesagt, daß der gerade ankommende Gast Bellerophon das Ende seiner Herrschaft bedeutete. Der Name Kasandra (s. lit. Quellen) läßt möglicherweise Aufschlüsse über den Inhalt des Dramas und die Funktion von Philonoe/Kasandra im Handlungsablauf der zugrundeliegenden Tragödie zu. Sie hat den aus der Luft kommenden Fremdling offenbar von Anfang an unterstützt. Ihre Gesten auf I. 2. 6. 11 würden zu dieser Hypothese passen. Die Lykier unterhalb des Palastes von 2 vollführen dieselbe Gebärde wie ihr König (Chor?). Die dekorativen Hiebschwerte der lykischen Palastwachen auf 4 und 12 wirken wie dem Theater entlehnte Requisiten, so daß man vermuten kann, daß der Chor aus lykischen Kriegern bestand. Auf 3 und 4 ist der König im Augenblick der Briefübergabe, also einem späteren Moment, wiedergegeben. Auf 6–8 liest I. den Brief, während auf 6 Philonoe und Bellerophon Blicke austauschen. Schwierig zu interpretieren ist 5, weil Bellerophon zwar am Hofe ankommend von I. begrüßt wird, aber ohne Brief auftritt. Es kann also auch der Moment nach der Bezwingung der Chimaira gemeint sein. Daß auf 9 der immer als I. gedutete König keine Tiara trägt, kann mit dem frühen Entstehungsdatum der Vase zusammenhängen. Allerdings ist I. auf der gleichzeitigen Vase 5 schon mit der Tiara dargestellt. Nach 11, 12 und 13 zu urteilen, gab es eine Version des Chimairakampfes, in der Bellerophon von der einheimischen lykischen Bevölkerung unterstützt wurde (vgl. auch → Pegasos).

Die spätapul. Vasenmaler von 12 und 13 verteilen die Handlung der Bellerophonsage auf verschiedene Teile des Bildträgers. I. sitzt im Zentrum der Komposition auf dem Bauch des Gefäßes und bildet mit seiner bräutlich verschleierte Tochter eine Zweifigurengruppe, was auf 13 in der Naiskosszene noch deutlicher zum Ausdruck kommt. Der Kampf mit der Chimaira findet über ihm, in einer Art Entrückungsszene auf dem Halsbild zwischen Ranken statt, an der Stelle, wo auf 12 Aphrodite im Blätterkelch zwischen Erosen als Göttin des Werdens und Vergehens erscheint, eine Szene, die man wohl sepulkral interpretieren darf. Diese Interpretation gilt nach Schauenburg auch für das Halsbild mit Bellerophon zwischen den Ranken, der auf 13 als Gleichnis für Unsterblichkeit erscheint. Welche Rolle spielt dann I. im Naiskos darunter? Nach Schauenburg setzen die Vasenbilder mit Gottheiten und Heroen im Naiskos einen engen Bezug zu den beigesetzten Verstorbenen voraus, in deren Grab die Vasen standen. Sie bringen die Hoffnung auf Privatapotheose zum Ausdruck und lassen sich als Vorläufer der kaiserzeitlichen Sepulkralsymbolik verstehen. Auf dem Kasten des röm. Sarkophages 14 wird die Virtus des Verstorbenen gefeiert, der sich mit der Gestalt des triumphierenden Bellerophon identifiziert. Die beiden Randszenen bilden nur noch einen mythischen Rahmen für den siegreichen Helden, mit dem sich der Auftraggeber identifiziert. Dabei ist es dann unwichtig geworden, ob die r. Palastszene in Griechenland bei Proitos oder in Lykien am Hof des I. spielt. Ein Vergleich zwischen dem röm. Sarkophag

14 und dem Mosaik 16 zeigt die Variationsbreite der kaiserzeitlichen Kunst. Anscheinend fühlte sich der Mosaizist von 16 nicht mehr an bestimmte Bildtypen gebunden, da er den Mythos des Bellerophon mit der kaiserlichen Ikonographie verknüpft. – Die praenestinische Ciste 15 überliefert (wenn Darmons Deutung richtig ist) eine völlig neue Variante, die König I. als Krieger darstellt, was auf dem röm. Mosaik 17 wiederkehrt. Das Mosaik 16 bezieht sich auf das eheliche Glück im Diesseits, das I. als Vater zwischen Philonoe und Bellerophon stiftet. Hier ist nicht ein mythologisches Gleichnis des Glücks gemeint, sondern eher das Glück des Besitzers und Auftraggebers der Nymphaeum Domus in seiner mythologischen Verkleidung.

GRATIA BERGER-DOER

#### IODAMA

(*Ιοδάμα*) Fille d'Itonos et nièce d'Amphiktyon. Prêtresse d'Athéna Itonia à Coronée en Béotie, où elle était l'objet d'un culte. Aimée de → Zeus, I. lui donna une fille, → Thebe.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Paus. 9, 34, 2 rapporte qu'I. fut, de nuit, surprise dans le sanctuaire d'Athéna Itonia par la déesse qui lui apparut et dont le *gorgonéion* la pétrifia. Dans le temple, un autel lui était consacré, sur lequel devait être entretenu en permanence un feu. Selon Simonides, *FGrH* 8 F 1, I. aurait été la sœur d'→ Athena qui l'aurait tuée par jalousie pendant un exercice guerrier. Sa fille Thébé épousa Ogygos, d'où le nom d'Ogygia donné à la ville de Thèbes (Lykos, *FGrH* 380 F 2).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 172 s. v. «Iodama»; Gunning, J., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 1839–1841 s. v. «Iodama»; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890–94) 283 s. v. «Iodama».

#### CATALOGUE

##### INTERPRÉTATION INCERTAINE

I. Amphore att. f. r. Londres, BM E 299. De Nola. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 650, 1: p. de Nikon; *CV* A 5 pl. 52, 2b; Wade-Gery, H. T., *JHS* 53, 1933, 100 fig. 4; Hausmann, U., dans *Charites, Festschr. E. Langlotz* (1957) 148; Boardman, *ARFV* 195 fig. 366. – 480–470 av. J.-C. – B: une jeune femme vêtue d'un péplos à apotypygmata décoré de deux bandes verticales s'enfuit vers la dr. en faisant des gestes de frayeur. Elle se retourne vers Athéna (face A) qui la poursuit en brandissant une lance dans la main dr. et un *aphlaston* dans la g.: I. effrayée par Athéna Itonia dans le sanctuaire de Coronée, ou personnification de l'Asie (→ Asia I) mise en fuite par les Athéniens lors des guerres médiques?



## COMMENTAIRE

Deux hypothèses ont donc été avancées à propos de la scène de l'amphore du peintre de Nikon I. En faveur de l'identification avec I.: la scène est dans son ensemble conforme à la légende et la femme poursuivie porte le même collier que la déesse. Par contre, il faut noter l'absence de toute indication du lieu de l'action et surtout du *gorgonéion* sur l'égide d'Athéna, un élément pourtant essentiel dans le déroulement du mythe.

En faveur de l'identification avec l'Asie: l'*aphlaston* que brandit Athéna est certainement un trophée oriental, la tête coiffée d'un bonnet pointu recourbé étant celle d'une Amazone ou d'un Perse; ensuite, la jeune femme porte un péplos décoré de deux rayures (Hausmann). Nous sommes donc vraisemblablement en présence d'une scène évoquant la victoire de Salamine.

Dans un contexte plus général, peut-être faut-il considérer le *gorgonéion* figuré sur les monnaies de Coronée (*BMC Central Greece* 46 n° 6-8 pl. 7) non seulement comme un rappel du culte d'Athéna Itonia dans la cité, mais aussi comme une allusion à la légende d'I. changée en pierre. JEAN-ROBERT GISLER

## IOKASTE

(*Ἰοκάστη*, Iocasta, in den ältesten Quellen auch *Ἐνικάστη*) Tochter des Menoikeus, Schwester des → Kreon, Frau des → Laios, und durch ihn Mutter und später Frau des → Oidipous, nach der gängigsten Version Mutter seiner Kinder → Eteokles, → Polyneikes, → Antigone und → Ismene.

In der seit den Tragikern üblichen Version zeugt Laios trotz des Orakels, das er von Apollon in Delphi empfangen hat, mit I. den Oidipous und läßt das Kind aussetzen. Als Oidipous nach der Tötung des Vaters und der Lösung des Rätsels der Sphinx in Theben die Herrschaft erlangt, heiratet er I. und zeugt mit ihr die vier bekannten Kinder. Nach der Entdeckung des Inzests tötet sich I. nach der einen Version sofort, nach der andern erlebt sie noch den Streit zwischen ihren Söhnen und begeht erst, nachdem die beiden sich gegenseitig getötet haben, auf dem Schlachtfeld Selbstmord.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Im Epos scheint I. noch nicht die Mutter der vier Oidipous-Kinder gewesen zu sein. Hom. *Od.* 11, 271-280 war Epikaste Mutter und Frau des Oidipous und erhängte sich nach der Entdeckung des Inzests, während Oidipous, verfolgt von den Rachegeistern der Mutter, weiterlebte. Da die Götter den Frevel «*ἄφρα*» (274) den Menschen offenbaren, kann Epikaste in Homers Vorstellung nicht die Mutter von vier Kindern gewesen sein. Diesen Schluß zieht schon Paus. 9, 5, 10-11, und er fügt

hinzu, daß in der *Oidipodia* Euryganeia, die Tochter des Hyperphas, die Mutter von Oidipous' Kindern gewesen sei. Sie sei auch in dem Fresko des Onasias in Plataiai beim Tod ihrer Söhne dargestellt (→ Eteokles 6) – es muß also dort Namensbeischriften gegeben haben. Ausführlicher erzählt Pherekydes, daß I. zwei Kinder, Phrastor und Laonytos, gehabt habe, die im Krieg mit den Minyern umgekommen seien. Die vier bekannten Kinder stammen von Euryganeia, der Schwester der I., der zweiten Frau des Oidipous, der nach ihr auch noch Astymedousa heiratete (*FGH 3 F* 95). Auch bei Peisandros heiratet Oidipous nach dem Tod der I. und seiner Blendung Euryganeia, von der die vier Kinder stammen (*FGH 16 F* 10). Eine noch kompliziertere Version wird von Epimenides von Kreta, *FGH 457 F* 13, angedeutet (Diskussion dieser Quellen Daly 773-775; Höfer 726-727). Wie die Mutter hieß, die in dem Stesichoros zugeschriebenen Papyrus in Lille (Parsons, P. J., *ZPE* 26, 1977, 7-36; Bremer 128-172) den Streit der Söhne zu schlichten sucht, geht aus dem Text nicht hervor.

Erst bei den Tragikern wird I. (zu Epikaste als älterer Form vgl. auch *Schol.* Eur. *Phoen.* 12) zur einzigen Frau des Oidipous und Mutter seiner Kinder (Aischyl. *Septem* 926-936). Über die Rolle der I. in der thebanischen Trilogie des Aischylos ist nichts Näheres bekannt; jedenfalls ist sie in den *Septem* nicht mehr am Leben. Auch bei Sophokles tötet sie sich nach der Aufdeckung des Inzests (*Soph. Oid.* 1. 1235-1264). Nur in der Sophoklestragödie wird I. während ihrer Ehe mit Oidipous und ihr Verhalten bei der Aufdeckung seiner Herkunft geschildert, ihre Skepsis gegenüber Orakeln und ihre Versuche, Oidipous von der Entdeckung dessen, was sie schon ahnt oder weiß, fernzuhalten. Aus den wenigen erhaltenen Fragmenten des euripideischen *Oidipous* ist nur zu entnehmen, daß I. treu zu ihm hielt (Diskussion der Fragmente: Webster, T. B. L., *The Tragedies of Euripides* [1967] 241-246); in dem Sophokles nachgebildeten Oedipus-Drama des Seneca hat I. wenig Auftritte vor der Szene, in der sie nach einem kurzen Gespräch mit Oedipus, der sich gerade geblendet hat, auf offener Bühne sich mit dem Schwert durchbohrt, mit dem schon Oedipus den Laios getötet hatte (1004-1041).

Häufiger in der erhaltenen antiken Literatur wird I. als alte, leidgebeugte Mutter gezeigt, die die Aufdeckung ihres Verhältnisses zu Oidipous überlebt hat und nun den tödlichen Streit des Eteokles und Polyneikes, die ja zugleich ihre Söhne und ihre Enkel sind, miterleben muß. Sie versucht, meist unterstützt von Antigone, vergeblich zu vermitteln und begeht schließlich bei den Leichen der beiden Selbstmord. Nach dem Papyrusfragment in Lille sind es vor allem die *Phoenissen* des Euripides, die I. in der Rolle der leidgeprüften Mutter zeigen, die verzweifelt versucht, das Verhängnis aufzuhalten. I. spricht hier den Prolog, in dem sie die Vorgeschichte erzählt und zum Schluß erwähnt, daß sie ein Gespräch zwischen Eteokles und Polyneikes vermittelt hat (1-83). Polyneikes kommt, was Anlaß zu einer langen, bewegenden Wiedersehensszene gibt (301-442); im folgenden Streitgespräch der Söhne wendet I. vergeblich alle Überredungskünste

auf (452-468. 528-585). Gegen Ende des Stücks eilt sie mit Antigone aufs Schlachtfeld, um wenigstens den Zweikampf der Söhne zu verhindern (1264-1282). Sie kommt zu spät, erlebt den Tod beider und tötet sich mit dem Schwert des Eteokles, das sie aus der Leiche des Polyneikes gerissen hat (1427-1459).

Durch die Tragödien des 5. Jh. sind die wesentlichen Ereignisse im Leben der I. mitsamt ihren Varianten festgelegt. Die späteren Quellen überliefern ihren Lebenslauf in verschiedenen Kombinationen, ohne wesentlich Neues hinzuzufügen. So folgt z. B. Apollod. (*bibl.* 3 [48-56] 5, 7-9) im wesentlichen der Version des Sophokles, erwähnt allerdings auch den Namen Epikaste und Euryganeia; bei Hyg. *fab.* 243, 7 tötet sich I. wegen des Todes ihrer Söhne. In den *Phoenissen* des Seneca versucht sie in einer langen Szene auf dem Schlachtfeld, die Brüder umzustimmen (363-664, wo der Text abbricht). In der ausführlichsten nachklassischen Schilderung ihrer letzten Lebenszeit, in der *Thebais* des Statius, sucht I. zuerst Polyneikes im Lager vor den Toren Thebens auf, um ihn zum Abzug zu überreden (7, 470-614), gegen Ende der Schlacht versucht sie Eteokles vom Zweikampf mit dem Bruder abzuhalten (11, 315-353); als sie erfährt, daß der Kampf begonnen hat, ersticht sie sich im Palast mit dem Schwert (11, 642-647).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Bethe, E., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 1841-1842 s. v. «Iokaste»; Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 171 s. v. «Iocasta»; v. Freytag gen. Lörringhoff, B., *Das Giebelrelief von Telamon und seine Stellung innerhalb der Ikonographie der Sieben gegen Theben*, *RM Erg.-H.* 27 (1986) 55-64; Robert, C., *Oidipus* I (1915) 298-303. 308-320. 434-436; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 284-285 s. v. «Iokaste 1».

Zu den literarischen Quellen sind auch die Oidipous-Artikel der genannten Lexika hinzuzuziehen, vor allem Daly, L. W., *RE* XVII 2 (1937) 2103-2117 und *RE* Suppl. VII (1940) 769-786; Höfer, O., *ML* III 1 (1897-1902) 700-746; s. auch Bremer, J. M./van Erp Taalman Kip, A. M./Slings, S. R., *Some Recently Found Greek Poems (Mnemosyne Suppl. 99, 1987) F: Stesichoros, The «Lille Papyrus»* 164-172.

## KATALOG

## A. Einzeldarstellungen und Bilder aus unbekanntem Zusammenhang

1. Bronzestatue der sterbenden I. von Silanion (4. Jh. v. Chr.), nicht erhalten. – Plut. *quomodo adul.* 18c; *quaest. conv.* 674a (= Overbeck, *SQ* Nr. 1353-1354). Nach *quaest. conv.* 674a hatte Silanion die Todesblässe der Sterbenden angedeutet, indem er für das Gesicht der Bronze Silber beigemischte. Identifizierungsversuche: a) Ein von Winter, F., *Jdl* 5, 1890, 166-167 Anm. 77 erwähnt Kopf in Subiaco, Santa Scolastica, ist bis heute nicht publiziert. Geschlossene Augen dürften als Identifikationskriterium nicht ausreichen. b) Ein Fragment eines Marmorkopfes mit geschlossenen Augen und von einer Binde zusammengehaltenem Haar in Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts (Hekler, A., *Die Antiken in Budapest I: Die Skulpturen* [1929] 28 Nr. 18) wurde von Schmidt, E., *Jdl* 47, 1932, 286-290 Abb. 37-39 als I. gedeutet. Die für eine Frau ungewöhnliche Frisur

mit den vom Oberkopf zur Seite und nach vorn gekämmten, relativ kurzen Haaren spricht jedoch eher gegen eine Deutung auf I. Die etwas wirre Haarpartie über der Stirn muß nicht als im Schmerz zerwühltes Haar interpretiert werden, sondern könnte bei einer liegenden, schlafenden Figur allein durch die Kopfhaltung bedingt sein.

2. Stoffdecke mit aufgemaltem Dekor. Leningrad, Ermitage S Br VI. 16. Aus einem Kriegergrab (6. Kurgan «der Sieben Brüder») bei Temrjuk im Kuban-Gebiet. – Stephani, L., *CRPetersb* 1878/79, 126 Taf. 4; Gerziger, D., *AntK* 18, 1975, 52. – 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Unterhalb einer Efeuranke Reste von Zweigen und die Inschrift *IOKAETH*. Von der Darstellung nichts erhalten, eventuell zum selben Tuch gehörig Reste zweier in entgegengesetzte Richtungen laufender Frauen.

## UNSICHER

3. Terrakottamaske. Lipari, Mus. Eoliano 2301 G. Aus Lipari, Contrada Diana Grab 406. – Webster, T. B. L., in: Bernabò Brea, L./Cavalier, M., *Meligunis-Lipara II* (1965) 145. 299 Nr. A 9 Taf. 146, 3. 4; Webster, *MTSP*<sup>2</sup> 124. 150 ST 5; Bernabò Brea, L., *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi* (1981) 43 A 18 Abb. 30 Taf. 6, 4. – Mitte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Frauenkopf mit merkwürdig schlaffen und zugleich wie angeschwollen wirkenden Zügen und einem breiten, im Vergleich mit anderen Masken nicht sehr weit geöffneten Mund. Diese ungewöhnlichen Züge führten in Verbindung mit der im selben Grab gefundenen Maske eines blinden (?) Mannes (Bernabò Brea/Cavalier a. O. 299 Nr. A 2 Taf. 146, 1. 2; Webster, *MTSP*<sup>2</sup> 150 ST 5; Bernabò Brea a. O. 35 A 4 Abb. 12 Taf. 6, 3) zur Deutung auf Oidipous und die sterbende I.

## B. Iokaste und Oidipous

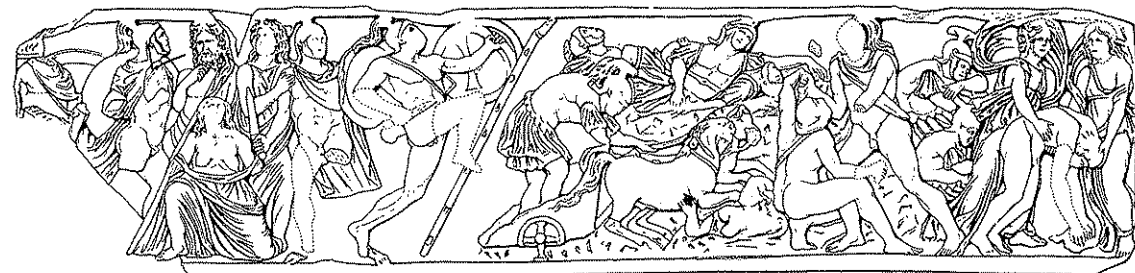
## 1. Bei der Lösung des Rätsels der Sphinx

4. Kelchkrater, apul. rf. Tarent, Mus. Naz. 106581. Aus Tarent. – *RVAp* I 38, 19; Kreis des Malers der Dionysosgeburt; Simon, E., *Das Satyrspiel «Sphinx» des Aischylos* (1981) 28 Anm. 91 Taf. 14; Moret, J.-M., *Oedipe, la Sphinx et les Thébains* (1984) 178 Nr. 106 Taf. 66, 1. – 1. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – L. von Oidipous und der Sphinx verschiedene Personen, u. a. Kreon, Teiresias?, hinter ihm eine Frau, I.?

## 2. Bei der Aufdeckung der Frevel

5. (= Antigone 1\* mit Lit.) Kelchkrater, sizil. rf. Syrakus, Mus. Reg. 66557. Aus Syrakus. – *LCS* Suppl. 1, 105, 98a: Capodaso-Maler; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III 2, 8. – 3. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Szene aus einer Oidipous-Tragödie (*Soph. Oid.* 1. 924-1072?): I., in Chiton und Mantel gehüllt, beide Hände in ahnungsvoller Angst zum Gesicht erhebend, blickt auf Oidipous, zu dem ein greiser Bote (aus Korinth?) spricht.





Iokaste II

### 3. Bei der Blendung des Oidipous

6.\* Etr. Alabasterurne. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 5707. Aus Volterra. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi II* 1 21–22 Taf. 7, 1; Robert 307–310 Abb. 48; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 52–53. 97 Öd 39; Pairault, F.-H., *Recherches sur quelques séries d'urnes de Volterra à représentations mythologiques* (1972) 64. 66 Taf. 21: atelier des «rosettes» et «palmettes»; Cristofani, M., in *Edipo. Il teatro greco e la cultura europea. Atti del Conv. Int. Urbino 15.–19. 11. 1982*, 197 Abb. 12. – 3. Drittel 2. Jh. v. Chr. – In der Bildmitte der am Boden kniende Oidipous, der von drei Dienern festgehalten und geblendet wird, l. Kreon und eine sitzende Frau mit Diadem (eher Eurydike als → Periboia). Von r. stürzt mit offenen Haaren und ausgestreckten Armen l. auf die Mittelgruppe zu, vor ihr ihre beiden kleinen Söhne.

### 4. Nach der Blendung

7. Fresko, Pompeji III 4, 2 (Casa del Moralista oder di C. Arrius Crescens e T. Arrius Polites). – Spinazzola, *Pompei II* 745–751 Abb. 730; Scheffold, *WP* 58; Croisille, J.-M., *Poésie et art figuré de Néron aux Flaviens, Coll. Latomus* 179 (1982) 164–166. – «Vespasianischer 3. Stil» (Scheffold). – Theaterszene: der geblendete Oedipus (nur Oberkörper erhalten) wendet sich mit einer pathetischen Geste einer Frau, l. zu, die sich erschreckt abwendet. Von ihr sind nur die Maske (mit schmerz erfülltem Ausdruck) und die l. Schulter erhalten.

### C. Iokaste in Szenen der «Sieben gegen Theben»

#### 1. Vermittlungsversuche

##### a) Iokaste an einem der Tore Thebens

8. (= Antigone 6\* mit Lit.; weitere Szenen: → Antigone 9, → Eteokles 9) Homerischer Becher. London, BM G 104; Robert 451–452 Abb. 58; Sinn, *Becher* 107 MB 45 Taf. 18, 4. – Spätes 3./1. Drittel 2. Jh. v. Chr. – l. eilt hinter einem Boten (Angelos) her aufs Schlachtfeld, auf dem die Brüder bereits kämpfen. Sie wendet sich dabei im Lauf um zu Antigone, die noch etwas zögernd im Stadttor steht.

9. (= Eteokles 3 mit Lit.; weitere Szenen: → Amphiaraios 34, → Eteokles 41) Fresko, Pompeji, Mus.

Aus Regio VII 6, 28. – Scheffold, *WP* 192; Croisille, a. O. 7, 173–174. – 3. Stil, 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. n. Chr. – l. mit aufgelösten Haaren, versucht den aus dem Tor reitenden Eteokles festzuhalten.

##### b) Iokaste zwischen den bewaffneten Brüdern

10. Etr. hellenistische Urnen mit einer oder zwei Frauen (l. und Antigone), die die Brüder zurückzuhalten versuchen: → Eteokles 13\*. 14\*.

11.\* (= Antigone 5\* mit Lit., = Eteokles 36\* mit Lit.; weitere Szenen: → Eteokles 42, → Antigone 11, → Amphiaraios 46, → Kapaneus 17) Sarkophag, röm. Rom, Villa Doria Pamphilj. – *RömSark* 186. 264 Abb. 202; Croisille, a. O. 7, 172–174. – Ende 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Am l. Bildrand l. als alte Frau mit aufgelösten Haaren und entblößten Brüsten zwischen den Brüdern kniend. Daß auch Oidipous und Antigone anwesend sind und Eteokles von einem Krieger mit gezücktem Schwert begleitet wird, macht wahrscheinlich, daß hier nicht der Augenblick unmittelbar vor dem – weiter r. dargestellten – Zweikampf, sondern eine vorhergehende Begegnung, vielleicht in Theben, gemeint ist.

12. (= Eteokles 37\* mit Lit.) Aschenurne, röm. Ehem. Vigna Pacca. Aus Ostia. – Croisille, a. O. 7, 172–174; Sinn, F., *Stadtrömische Marmornen* (1987) 244 Nr. 629 Taf. 92a. – 3. Viertel 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Die drei Hauptfiguren von 11 um die Inschrifttafel der Urne gruppiert.

13. (= Eris 12 mit Lit., = Eteokles 39a\*) Grabstele. Sopron (Ödenburg), Liszt Ferenc Mus., Lapidarium 55.200.2. Aus Walbersdorf. – Krüger, M. L., *CSIR Österreich I/5* (1974) 13–14 Nr. 9 Taf. 4. – 1. Jh. n. Chr. – l., im Typus von 11–12, jedoch stehend, ihre ausgestreckten Arme berühren deshalb die Köpfe der beiden Krieger. Zur Deutung → Eteokles 39a.

14. (= Eteokles 38\* mit Lit.) Tonformen. Ostia, Mus. Ostiense 3771–3783. – Frühes 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Eine stehende Frau, l. oder Antigone, zwischen den Kriegern.

##### 2. Iokaste bei den sterbenden Brüdern

##### a) Klagend, Deutung auf Iokaste oder Antigone möglich

15. (= Eteokles 27\*. 28\*. 31 mit Lit.) Etr. Aschenurnen. – 2.–Anfang 1. Jh. v. Chr. – Hinter der Mittelgruppe des Oidipous und seiner sterbenden

### KOMMENTAR

In dem ältesten uns überlieferten Bild, das die Mutter der Oidipous-Söhne beim tödlichen Zweikampf ihrer Kinder zeigt, dem Fresko des Onasias in Plataiai (→ Eteokles 6), war nicht l., sondern Euryganeia dargestellt. Irgendein Nachklang dieser Szene, die sich ja unverändert auf l. hätte übertragen lassen, ist in den wenigen uns erhaltenen Denkmälern (11–19) nicht zu fassen. Paus. beschreibt Euryganeia als «κατηφής», was «verzweifelt, niedergeschlagen», aber auch «mit niedergeschlagenen Augen» heißt und keinesfalls zu den leidenschaftlichen Gefühlsausbrüchen passen würde, die für die späteren l.-Bilder (vor allem die römischen: 11–13. 18) typisch sind. Dagegen sollte nicht bezweifelt werden – unabhängig davon, wie man «ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ» übersetzt (dazu v. Freytag 57 Anm. 182) –, daß neben Euryganeia auch ihre kämpfenden oder sterbenden Söhne zu sehen waren; eine Einzelfigur ist im Kontext der Fresken des Athena-Areia-Tempels kaum vorstellbar.

l.-Bilder sind erst aus dem 4. Jh. bekannt (1–5). Keines dieser Bilder zeigt sie im Kontext des Kampfes um Theben. Aus den Notizen des Plut. über die Statue der sterbenden l. (1) geht nicht hervor, an welche Version ihres Todes Silanion gedacht hat. Die Denkmäler aus Westgriechenland zeigen sie im Rahmen des Oidipous-Mythos (4. 5). Auch die Tonmasken 3 weisen auf ein Oidipous-Drama in der Art des sophokleischen hin; daß l. neben Oidipous als Sterbende charakterisiert wird – und nur darauf beruht ja überhaupt die Deutung der weiblichen Maske als l. –, wäre zwar bei realen Theatermasken nicht denkbar, da sie keinen derart momentanen Gesichtsausdruck festhalten durften, setzt aber auch bei einer Tonnachbildung voraus, daß l. in dem Stück, an das man dachte, auch wirklich zu Tode kam.

Daß es im 4. Jh. auch schon griechische Darstellungen der l. bei ihren sterbenden Söhnen gegeben hat, wird indirekt durch zwei etruskische Sarkophage nahegelegt (19. 20). Beide zeigen je drei zwei- oder einfigurige Szenen, die mehr (20) oder weniger (19) sinnvoll aneinandergereiht sind: die sich gegenseitig tötenden Brüder, Oidipous, der von einem Helfer geführt wird, und eine auf dem Boden oder einem Felsen sitzende Frau, die in merkwürdiger Weise mit erhobenem rechtem Arm mit einem Gewandstück hantiert. Aus einem Vergleich mit späteren Denkmälern (17. 18) wird klar, daß in diesem Zusammenhang nur die mit dem Schwert oder Dolch zum Selbstmord ausholende l. gemeint sein kann. Selbst wenn die etruskischen Bildhauer das Motiv nicht mehr richtig verstanden und l. statt eines Dolches nur ein Gewandstück in die Hand gegeben haben sollten, kann in der Vorlage nichts anderes gemeint gewesen sein (anders: Small, P., *Studies Related to the Theban Cycle on Late Etruscan Urns* [1981] 125 für 19: «personification of the River Dirce or a local Theban nymph»). Die stark variierte Wiedergabe aller Details bei allen drei Gruppen – die Figuren von 19 wirken, als ob jemand nach einer ungenauen Beschreibung der Gruppen von 20 gearbeitet habe – zeigt, welchen Wand-

Söhne eine Frau mit klagend erhobenen Armen und aufgelösten Haaren. Auf der Urne im Palazzo Antinori-Aldobrandini (v. Freytag 281 U 37 Taf. 57, 2) und dem Fragment Volterra 465 (a. O. U 38) erscheint daneben eine zweite Frau, die sich mit einer Hand an den Kopf faßt, im selben Schema die einzelne Frau auf der chiusin. Urne → Eteokles 31.

16. (= Eteokles 26 mit Lit.; weitere Szenen: → Adrastus 16, → Amphiaraios 45, → Kapaneus 21) Etruskischer Terrakotta-Giebel (Platte K). Florenz, Mus. Arch. 9798. Aus Talamone. – Zur Deutung der Frau: v. Freytag 32–33; Cristofani, a. O. 6, 196; Gostoli, A., *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico, Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli, Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 5, 1983, 69–71. – 2. Viertel 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Zu dem linken, noch lebenden Bruder beugt sich eine Frau in Chiton und noch vom eiligen Lauf zurückwehendem Mantel herab. Mit der Rechten stützt sie den Zurücksinkenden, der l. Arm, der nur im Schultergelenk erhalten ist, war erhoben.

##### b) Der Selbstmord der Iokaste

17.\* (= Antigone 7\* mit Lit., = Eteokles 10 mit Lit.) Homerischer Becher. Halle, Univ. – Spätes 3./1. Drittel 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Zu Füßen des Polyneikes, der die Hand nach ihr ausstreckt, kniet l., sich das Schwert in die Brust stoßend, hinter den Brüdern Antigone mit klagend erhobenen Armen.

18. (= Eteokles 43\* mit Lit.) Tonlampe, röm. Köln, Röm.-Germ. Mus. Wo 1375. – 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. n. Chr. – l. in die Knie brechend, mit ausgestrecktem l. Arm. Mit der Rechten stößt sie sich wie auf 17 das Schwert in die Brust. Über ihr die Inschrift: PHOENISSA.

#### DEUTUNG NICHT GANZ GESICHERT

19. (= Erinyes 92, = Eteokles 2/19 mit Lit.) Nenfrosarkophag, etr. Vatikan, Mus. Greg. Etr. 14561. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Am l. Bildrand eine nackte, auf einem Felsen sitzende Frau. Sie hat den r. Arm erhoben und hält in der Hand einen Zipfel eines Gewands. Neben ihr eine Dämonin mit Fackel, die auf den von einem Helfer geführten Oidipous zuläuft. R. davon die Brudermordgruppe.

20. (= Eteokles 20\* mit Lit.) Nenfrosarkophag, etr. London, BM D 21. – 3. Drittel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Am r. Bildrand eine auf dem Boden kniende Frau in Chiton und Mantel, die von einem Helfer gestützt wird. Sie hat den r. Arm erhoben, zieht mit der Hand den Mantel hoch und hält vielleicht noch einen Gegenstand (Dolch?) in der Faust. L. von ihr der von einem Helfer geführte Oidipous, dann die Brudermordgruppe.

#### DEUTUNG UNWAHRSCHEINLICH

21. Tabula Iliaca «Borgia». Neapel, Mus. Naz. 2408. – Sardurska, *Tables* 60–61 Taf. 11, 10; v. Freytag 59 (mit Argumenten gegen die Deutung der r. Szene auf l.).

lungen ein Motiv in einer über mehrere Zwischenglieder führenden Bildüberlieferung ausgesetzt sein kann. Trotz aller Verschiedenheit müssen beide Sarkophage wohl letzten Endes von derselben Vorlage abhängen, von einer das Geschehen in viele Einzelgruppen auflösenden Darstellung der letzten Szenen der *Phoenissen* des Euripides oder einer ähnlichen Tragödie.

Eine ähnliche Darstellungsweise findet sich auf den homerischen Bechern: Zwei Becher mit Szenen aus der Euripides-Tragödie sind erhalten: 8 mit der Szene Eur. *Phoen.* 1264-1282, 17 mit dem Tod von Eteokles und Polyneikes und dem Selbstmord der I. (1427-1459).

In Etrurien, wo die ältesten Selbstmordbilder erhalten sind (19. 20), wird dagegen in hellenistischer Zeit das Motiv nicht mit dem der sterbenden Brüder kombiniert. Zwischen den sich zum Kampf Vorbereitenden oder aufeinander Losstürmenden erscheinen schlichtende Frauen in Standardtypen, die in gleicher Weise I. oder Antigone meinen können (10); den Sterbenden (15) sind zwei Figurentypen zugeordnet: eine mit erhobenen Armen heranstürmende Frau und eine stiller trauernde, auf die Pausanias' Beschreibung der Euryganeia des Onasias, «κατηφής», zutreffen könnte. Welche dieser Gestalten I. darstellen sollen und ob überhaupt einheitlich ein Schema für I. und das andere für Antigone verwendet worden ist, ist nicht mehr zu entscheiden. Dagegen läßt sich die Frau, die sich im Talamone-Giebel (16) über einen der Gefallenen beugt, vielleicht benennen. B. v. Freytag denkt an I., da sie in der entsprechenden Szene der *Phoenissen* gegenüber Antigone die wichtigere Rolle spielt. Sie umarmt beide Söhne, zuletzt Polyneikes, der noch einige Worte sprechen kann, nachdem Eteokles schon gestorben ist. I. müßte im Talamone-Giebel also bei Polyneikes dargestellt sein. Nun ist ja aber keineswegs sicher, daß sich das Giebelrelief so eng an die *Phoenissen* anschließen läßt. Zudem spricht Polyneikes dort Mutter und Schwester an (1442-1453), und im Tode umarmt I. beide Söhne (1458-1459). Es wäre ausgesprochen ungeschickt, aus dieser Szene I. und Polyneikes zu isolieren. In den bildlichen Darstellungen ist I. nie mit einem Sohn enger als mit dem anderen verbunden; auf dem Homerischen Becher 17 kniet sie zwar zu Füßen des Polyneikes, ist aber ganz auf sich, auf den Selbstmord konzentriert. Auf den nicht etruskischen Denkmälern (17. 18) ist mit den Sterbenden immer die Selbstmord begehende I. kombiniert, während Antigone auf dem Becher 17 als Klagernde erscheint. Ihre Vorliebe für Polyneikes ist aus der Literatur bekannt; wenn also eine Frau ganz eng einem der beiden Brüder zugeordnet ist, liegt die Deutung auf Antigone und Polyneikes nahe. Außerdem gibt es auch Versionen des Mythos, in denen nur Antigone aufs Schlachtfeld kommt; auf die Verwandtschaft der Szenen des Talamone-Giebels mit der Schilderung des Statius, für die dann eine ältere Vorlage angenommen werden müßte, hat schon A. Gostoli (a. O. 16, 68-76) aufmerksam gemacht.

I. spielt also in den hellenistischen etruskischen Bildern der Sieben gegen Theben (10. 15. 16) nur

eine Nebenrolle; das Motiv der Sarkophage aus Tarquinia (19. 20) wird nicht mehr aufgenommen. Dagegen überliefern Volterrane Aschenurnen (6) eine sonst in der Bildkunst nicht belegte Szene, die Blendung des Oidipous durch Diener, die vielleicht auf den Oidipous des Euripides zurückgeht; I., die in Etrurien sonst nur in Szenen der Septem dargestellt wurde, ist hier das einzige Mal mit Oidipous unmittelbar verbunden; die Söhne, die noch Kinder sind, begleiten sie allerdings auch hier.

Eine bedeutendere Rolle spielt I. in den römischen Darstellungen. Zwar wird sie auch hier nur einmal mit Oidipous zusammen gezeigt (7), aber in den Szenen der Septem bildet sie oft den Mittelpunkt der Komposition (11-14. 18). In allen Bildern (auch auf 9) ist sie in höchster Erregung, mit weit ausgreifenden Gesten und offenem, wehendem Haar gezeigt, am eindrucksvollsten auf dem Sarkophag 11 und der Urne 12, wo sie mit entblößter Brust zwischen den Brüdern kniet und sie mit ihren ausgestreckten Armen voneinander abzuhalten versucht. Vor allem Croisille hat für diese Szene auf die Parallele in den *Phoenissae* des Seneca (440-449) hingewiesen, wo I. sich zwischen ihre Söhne wirft und sie auffordert, sie zu töten, ehe sie einander umbringen. Auch für das Fresko 7 läßt sich bei Seneca eine verwandte Szene finden (Sen. *Oed.* 1009-1023). Für die Szene am Tor in dem Fresko 9 bietet sich Statius (*Theb.* 11, 324-353. 387-392) als Parallele an, dessen *Thebais* freilich erst nach dem Untergang Pompejis vollendet wurde. Auf eine literarische Quelle verweist schließlich ausdrücklich der Verfasser der Lampe 18 mit dem Wort *Phoenissa*.

Die Beziehung der römischen I.-Bilder auf Werke der römischen Literatur ist zwar möglich, aber in keinem Fall zwingend. Auf jeden Fall aber verbindet beide das extreme Pathos, das sich in den Worten und den Gesten der I. in gleicher Weise äußert. Auch wenn dieses Pathos uns übertrieben erscheinen mag, sind die römischen Bilder von der letzten Begegnung der Mutter mit ihren verfeindeten Söhnen (9. 11. 12) die eindrucksvollsten antiken Bilder der I., die uns erhalten sind. Die Szenen dagegen, die I. wie Oidipous in der abendländischen Kultur berühmt gemacht haben, die Szenen aus dem Oidipous Tyrannos des Sophokles, sind in der antiken Bildkunst kaum dargestellt worden.

INGRID KRAUSKÖPF

IOKASTOS → LIMC Suppl.

## IOLAOS

(*Ἰόλαος*, ion.-att. *Ἰόληος*, *Ἰόλεως*, dor. *Ἰόλαφος*, *Ἰόλας*, lat. Iolaus) Boeotian hero, son of → Iphikles and Automedousa, nephew and faithful companion of → Herakles in many deeds. He took a particularly active part in the killing of the Hydra, accompanied Her-

akles against Geryon, Kyknos and the Amazons, went with him to Troy and, according to Latin writers, participated in the Argonaut expedition and the Calydonian Boar Hunt. He was particularly famous as Herakles' charioteer. He married Herakles' wife → Megara after Herakles had repudiated her to marry → Iole (I). He was present in Herakles' last moments on Mt. Oite and later became the protector of his sons (→ Herakleidai) against Eurystheus' wrath. He led most of the sons born to Herakles by the daughters of Thespios to Sardinia where he founded Olbia and other cities and where, according to one source, he died. In other sources he then went to Sicily where he received great honours. He was worshipped in Sardinia, Sicily and particularly his home, Thebes, where a festival, the Iolaia, also known as Herakleia, was held in his honour.

LITERARY SOURCES: The earliest reference to I. is in Hes. *theog.* 317 where he assists Herakles in the killing of the Hydra. His decisive help in this deed is frequently mentioned by later writers (Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 5, 2; Diod. 4, 11, 6; Q. Smyrn. 6, 215-219; cf. *Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1137) who are also more explicit about his role: burning the roots of the Hydra heads to prevent them from sprouting. In [Hes.] *sc.* 74 ff. 323-324. 340-342. 467-470, he drives Herakles and Athena against Kyknos and helps Herakles remove the armour from Kyknos' body. Other occasions where he appears at Herakles' side are the expedition against Troy (Pind. *N.* 3, 36-37), the war against Sparta (Eur. *Heraklidae* 741), the Amazonomachy (Eur. *Heraklidae* 215-217) and the killing of Geryon (Diod. 4, 24, 4). Latin writers include him among those who took part in the Argonaut expedition (Hyg. *fab.* 14), the Funeral Games for Pelias (Hyg. *fab.* 273) and the Calydonian Hunt (Hyg. *fab.* 173; Ov. *met.* 8, 310). He was mentioned as Herakles' charioteer in the lost *Ehoiai* (frg. 230 Merkelbach/West). Pind. *I.* 1, 16-17 calls him and Kastor the bravest charioteers and Paus. 5, 8, 3-4 speaks of his victory at Olympia with Herakles' chariot.

Diodorus relates that he was threatened by Herakles in his madness (4, 11, 1), that he married Megara after Herakles repudiated her to marry Iole (4, 31, 1; cf. Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 6, 1), that he followed Herakles in his exile from Tiryns to Pheneos (4, 33, 2) and was present at Herakles' death on Mt. Oite where he built the pyre (4, 38, 4). The first mention of him as protector of the Herakleidai and punisher of Eurystheus is in Pind. *P.* 9, 80-82 where he kills Eurystheus (cf. Paus. 1, 44, 10) and after he dies is buried next to Amphitryon in Thebes. The most detailed account of the Herakleidai story is in Euripides' play of that name: I., who is rejuvenated by the gods to help the children of Herakles (793-796; cf. *Schol. Pind.* *P.* 9, 137: rejuvenated or brought to life again), captures Eurystheus at the Skironian rocks and hands him over to Alkmene who orders his execution (843 ff. 928 ff. 1022 ff.). In Diod. 4, 57, 6 and Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 8, 1-2 it is Hyllus who kills Eurystheus. Strabon 8, 6, 19 p. 377 has I. and the Herakleidai fight Eurystheus at Marathon where the latter is killed.

Diod. 4, 29, 1-30, 3; 5, 15 tells of I.'s colonization of Sardinia (cf. Paus. 1, 29, 5; 7, 2, 2; 10, 17, 5; Strabon 5, 2, 7 p. 225) and of the honours that he received there and in Sicily where he stopped on his way back (Herakles had already established a cult for I. at Agyrion during the Geryon expedition: Diod. 4, 24, 4). According to Paus. 9, 23, 1 and to the *Schol. Pind. N.* 4, 32 he died in Sardinia. The Theban Pindar often refers to his important heroic cult in Thebes where games, the Iolaia (also called Herakleia), took place near his grave (Pind. *I.* 5, 32-33; *P.* 9, 79-80; *O.* 9, 98-99; *N.* 4, 20; cf. *Schol. Pind. I.* 1, 11, 79; *P.* 9, 156; *O.* 7, 153; 9, 148; *N.* 4, 32; Paus. 9, 23, 1; *Schol. Aristoph. Ach.* 867). Arr. *an.* 1, 7, 7 mentions his *temenos* outside the city walls. Paus. 1, 19, 3 mentions an altar of I. in Athens and Plut. *de frat. amore* 492c refers to him as «symbomos» of Herakles in many areas.

Although he is Herakles' close companion he is not normally known as his lover; this is found only in Plutarch (*amatorius* 761d-e and *Pelopidas* 18, 5, quoting Aristotle [frg. 97 Rose]) who also says that homosexual lovers worshipped him and exchanged vows at his tomb.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ciaceri, E., *Culti e miti nella storia dell'antica Sicilia* (1911) 95-96. 285-289; Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 172 s.v. «Iolaos»; Kroll, W., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 1843-1846 s.v. «Iolaos I»; Roscher, W. H., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 285-289 s.v. «Iolaos I»; Schachter, A., *Cults of Boiotia I* (= *BICS* Suppl. 38. 1 [1981]) 30-31; II (= *BICS* Suppl. 38.2 [1986]) 17-18. 25-27. 64-65.

## CATALOGUE

References to LIMC IV and V «Herakles» are prefaced by «H.» for catalogue numbers.

### A. Iolaos alone or with Herakles alone

1. Calyx-crater, Attic rf. London, Private Coll. - Eucharides P. - About 510 B.C. - Herakles ties his lionskin watched by I., in full armour with two spears and shield. Both figures named.

#### UNCERTAIN

2. (= H. 3 with bibl.) Cup, Attic bf. Rome, Villa Giulia 63613. From Vulci. - Riccioni, G., in *Mél. J. Heurgon* II (1976) 903-913 pls. 1. 3; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III no. 2522 (A. Greifenhagen). - 530-520 B.C. - On A and B, between eyes, bust of Herakles between busts of warriors; at handles, bust of man identified as Theseus (Riccioni) or I. (Greifenhagen) between busts of warriors.

3. Coin, AE, Agyrion (Sicily), 420-353 B.C. (Head), 344-317 B.C. (Gàbrici). - SNG Copenhagen 128 pl. 3; Gàbrici, *Bronzo* 120 no. 5 pl. 4, 6; Rizzo, *MGS* pl. 59, 10. - Obv.: head of youth (I.?).

4. Coin, AE, Agyrion (Sicily), after 241 B.C. (Head), Roman period (Gàbrici). - SNG Copenhagen 130; Gàbrici, *Bronzo* 120 no. 8. - Obv.: Head of Zeus. Rev.: Man in chiton with crook and horn crowned by a Nike (I.); dog.

5. Bronze statuette. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Ol. 4076. From Olympia. - *Olympia* IV (1890) 18 no. 42 pl. 7; Neugebauer, *KatBrBerlin* I no. 161 pl. 21; Leon, C., *AM* 83, 1968, 180 pl. 63, 1-3; Herfort-Koch, M., *Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens* (1986) K 142. - About 530 B.C. - Warrior, probably once attached to a bronze vessel; objects held in his outstretched arms missing. Generally associated with the bronze Herakles in Kassel (= H. 73\*), even regarded as coming from the same vessel (Höckmann, U., *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel. Antike Bronzen* [1972] 18 no. 14; but cf. Kunze, *OlBer* VII [1957-58] 178 n. 77, who dates the Kassel bronze two decades earlier) and interpreted as Herakles too (Kunze, Léon) or as I. holding Herakles' weapons (Höckmann).

### B. Iolaos as charioteer

For I. as charioteer in Herakles' deeds see sections C-E. I. may also drive Herakles' chariot on some Attic vases of the mid-6th and 4th cent. B.C. which probably show the Apotheosis (6-7; H. 1417, 2877, 2878), as well as on some late Archaic scenes where the subject is less clear (8-11; H. 1411-1413, 1415).

#### a) Iolaos in Herakles' Apotheosis

6.\* (= H. 2879/3296\*, = Hera 469) Hydria, Attic bf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 253. From Vulci. - *ABV* 104, 127; Tyrrhenian Group; *CVA* 1 pls. 32 (316), 13; 33 (317), 1-2. - About 550 B.C. - I. (bearded, wearing corselet) drives a chariot I. Behind him, Herakles holding a wreath. Beyond the horses, Athena; in front of them, Hera and Hebe, all with wreaths. All figures named.

See also H. 2877-2878.

7. (= H. 1418\*) Bell-crater, Attic rf. Birmingham, City Mus. 1620.85. - Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 29, 1. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - Herakles is driven by a wreathed youth, probably I., to the I. Hermes leads the chariot.

Cf. H. 1417/2932 (similar, with chariot flying over sea). The identification of the driver as I. is supported by a similar scene on a Talos P. amphora in a Private Coll. (RM 92, 1985, 48) where the charioteer is named I.

For I. following on foot in some late Archaic Apotheosis scenes or, less certainly, watching on a Classical vase see below Section F.a.(i).

#### b) Other scenes

##### (i) Iolaos with Herakles in chariot

8.\* Column-crater, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 309. - *CVA* 2 pl. 4 (76), 3. - About 520 B.C. - Herakles and I. (bearded, in himation) in chariot moving r.; with Apollo, Athena and a youth.

9.\* (= H. 1414, = Hermes 414) Amphora, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1416 (J. 379). From Vulci. - *ABV* 367, 90; Leagros Group; *Add* 98; *CVA* 1 pl. 51. - 510-500 B.C. - Herakles with spear and I. (hel-

meted, with kentron and club), both named, in chariot moving r.; Hermes facing the horses and Athena beyond them.

See also: H. 1411 (I. inscribed, with Athena). 1413 (with Athena, Apollo, Hermes). Herakles holds the reins on H. 1420 (I. as a warrior; with Athena, Dionysos, Hermes).

Sometimes I. is mounting the chariot:

10.\* Hydria, Attic bf. London, BM 1843.11-3.84 (B 320). From Vulci. - *ABV* 364, 49; Leagros Group; *Add* 97; *CVA* 6 pl. 82 (341), 4; 85 (344), 1. - 510-500 B.C. - I. (youth in himation) mounting chariot in which Herakles stands. With Athena, Dionysos, a woman and a deer.

Very similar: H. 1415.

##### (ii) Iolaos in chariot and Herakles on ground

11.\* Amphora, Attic bf. Toronto, ROM 929.22.8 (633). - *ABV* 323, 23; 694; Euphiletos P.; *CVA* 1 pl. 5, 1. - 520-510 B.C. - Charioteer (bearded, long chiton), probably I., in chariot and Herakles on foot behind it. With Athena, Apollo and Hermes.

See also: Lekythos Bowdoin Coll. 1966.53 (youth in himation as charioteer); H. 1416 (chariot driven by warrior); lekythos Athens NM 380 (Haspels, *ABL* 204, 5; warrior mounting chariot). I. (named, with helmet and corselet) mounts the chariot on H. 1412\* (with Hermes; Schefold, *SBII* 105 suggests the bringing of the horses of Diomedes).

##### (iii) Harnessing a chariot for Herakles

Such scenes (= H. 1423-1427) are sometimes attended by a charioteer (a warrior on 1426), once named I. (= H. 1427).

I. (named) in a chariot on side B of → Amazones 62\* probably belongs to the Amazonomachy on A (see below Section C.g.). He may also be recognized in the charioteer looking round on side B of H. 1674\* (below Section F.b.) and, less certainly, in the frontal charioteer on side B of → Geryoneus 16\* (below Section C.h.), and be associated with the Herakles scenes on the obverse of both vases.

##### (iv) Iolaos in chariot without Herakles

On the hydria Leiden PC 33 (*ABV* 364, 57; Leagros Group; *CVA* 1 pl. 10) I. (named, wearing a helmet and a short chiton, sword hanging) drives a chariot; Athena stands beyond the horses and a boy walks before them. The absence of Herakles is probably an error, and the vase should not be separated from those with a similar scene in Sections (i) and (ii) above.

### C. Iolaos in Herakles' labours

(The lists are selective)

#### a) Herakles and the Nemean Lion

Attic bf. vases

12.\* Amphora. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 245. From Vulci. - *ABV* 133, 1; Group E; Langlotz,

*KatWürzb* pl. 79. - About 540 B.C. - B: Herakles wrestling with the lion between I. (bearded, naked, one arm raised) at r. and Athena (unarmed) at l. (A = Eurytion II 6\*.)

Cf. Munich 1382 (*ABV* 135, 47; *CVA* 1 pl. 18, 1); Vatican 348 (*ABV* 134, 16; Albizzati pl. 44). I. extending an arm to Herakles: Paris, Louvre F 33 (*ABV* 141, 3; *CVA* 3 pl. 15 [152], 7); Copenhagen, NM 7068 (= H. 1829); London B 160 (*ABV* 134, 15; *CVA* 3 pl. 28 [148], 1b); with hands at waist as if drawing sword: Munich 1397 (*ABV* 134, 20; *CVA* 1 pl. 30, 2); Berlin F 1720 (= H. 1792). See also: Würzburg L 263 (*ABV* 142, 6; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 68); Vatican 354 (*ABV* 142; Albizzati pl. 46); Hannover 1962.78 (*CVA* 1 pls. 7, 2; 8, 1). I. drawing sword: Toronto 919.5.176 (*ABV* 134, 11; *CVA* 1 pl. 2, 1); Oxford 1965.135 (*ABV* 137, 59; *CVA* 3 pl. 2; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 94; on side B with club).

13.\* Neck-amphora. London, BM B 234. From Vulci. - *ABV* 292, 3; Psiak; *CVA* 4 pl. 57 (202), 3a. - About 520 B.C. - Herakles and the lion between I. at l. (bearded, corselet over chiton, sword hanging) and Athena at r.

Cf. Boston 1976.41 (*Para* 123, 12; *CVA* 1 pl. 44, 1); London B 308 (*CVA* 6 pls. 78, 1; 81, 1). With helmet: Würzburg L 248 (= H. 1833); Richmond 62.17 (*Para* 56, 42 bis; *MuM* Auktion 22, 1961, pl. 39, 127; drawing sword); Kassel T 384 (= H. 1806).

14. (= H. 1865) Neck-amphora. Munich, Antikenslg. 1556 (J. 270). From Vulci. - *CVA* 8 pls. 392, 1; 393; Manner of Lysipides P. (Kunze-Götte). - 520-510 B.C. - Herakles and the lion between I. on the l. (bearded, corselet, chiton, sword hanging, holding club) and Hermes on the r.

Cf. Würzburg L 185 (= H. 1795); Würzburg L 254 (Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pls. 82, 84); Würzburg L 247 (*ABV* 134, 17; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pls. 67, 84; with helmet); New York 67.44.1 (*ABV* 328, 5; *CVA* 4 pl. 34, 3); Rome, Villa Giulia 14216 (*ABV* 257, 1; *CVA* 1 pl. 1 [5], 3); Hannover 1964.9 (*CVA* 1 pl. 11, 2); Hirschmann Coll. (Bloesch, H., ed., *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection* [1982] 53 no. 24); Toledo 56.70 (= H. 1853); Rothschild Coll. (*ABV* 255, 12; *Para* 113; *ÖJh* 46, 1961/63, 81 fig. 43); Naples SA 126 (*CVA* 1 pl. 32, 1); Paris, Cab. Méd. 254 (*ABV* 324, 38; *CVA* 2 pl. 58, 8; seated). See also: Zurich, ETH 7 (= H. 1860); Turin 4100 (*ABV* 274, 128; *CVA* 2 pls. 3-4).

15. Column-crater. Athens, Agora P 24123. - *Hesperia* 55, 1986, pl. 9 no. 70; *Agora* XXIII pl. 45 no. 474. - About 510 B.C. - Herakles and the lion between Athena on the l. and I. (bearded, chiton, cloak over shoulder, with club) on the r.

Cf. Paris, Louvre F 238 (*Para* 151; *CVA* 4 pl. 46, 3); Munich 1554 (*CVA* 9 pl. 18, 3); Würzburg H 5169 (*ABV* 195, 5; *Para* 80; *CVA* 1 pls. 41, 1; 42, 1-2; beardless). See also: Munich 1557 (*ABV* 290, 3; *CVA* 8 pl. 395, 1); Boston 1970.69 (*CVA* 1 pl. 42); Altenburg 222 (*ABV* 268, 27; *CVA* 1 pl. 30, 1). With quiver on back: Munich 1412 (*ABV* 328, 9; *Para* 145; *CVA* 1 pls. 41, 4; 44, 1-2); Florence 94315 (= H. 1801).

16.\* Amphora. Geneva, Mus. 14989. - *CVA* 2 pl.

50 (106), 3. - About 520 B.C. - Herakles and the lion between I. standing at l. with club and bow (bearded, in chiton) and Athena at r.

Cf. Paris, Louvre F 37 (= H. 1803); Paris, Louvre F 237 (*ABV* 283, 7; *CVA* 4 pl. 46 [212], 1); London B 232 (*ABV* 270, 57; *CVA* 4 pl. 57 [202], 2a); Paris, Cab. Méd. 223B (*ABV* 391, 1; *CVA* 1 pl. 42, 7); Boulogne 62 (*AJA* 61, 1957, 107); Bologna 19 (= H. 1800); Cleveland 1971.16 (= H. 1782). With corselet: Los Angeles 50.9.36 (*CVA* 1 pl. 8); Bologna 151 (= H. 1832); Basel Market (= H. 1793; beardless); Würzburg L 306 (= H. 1900). Naked: Würzburg L 181 (*ABV* 286, 4; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 54).

Attic rf. vases

17.\* Cup. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81326 (H 2614). From Etruria. - *ARV* 2 79, 6; Manner of Epiktetos; *AM* 92, 1977, pl. 42, 1. - 510-500 B.C. - Herakles wrestling with the lion between Athena, seated, at l. and I. (beardless, wearing pilos and chiton, with club, one arm extended) crouching at r.

Cf. Florence 3984 (*ARV* 2 271, 2; *CVA* 2 pl. 58, 1); Boston 00.334 (= H. 1874).

18. Column-crater. Rome, Villa Giulia 984. From Falerii. - *ARV* 2 239, 21; Myson; *Para* 349; *Add* 201; *CVA* 2 pl. 15 (54), 3. - About 500 B.C. - Herakles and the lion between I. (beardless, chiton, club, l. arm extended) and Athena.

Cf. Würzburg L 532 (*ARV* 2 587, 54; 1660; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 195). I. bearded and naked, with club, on London B 193 (= H. 1883).

Uncertain

19. (= H. 1917\*) Calyx-crater, Attic rf. Palermo, Mus. Naz. 13840. - *ARV* 2 613, 4; P. of Woolly Satyrs; *Add* 269; Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, 126 pl. 9, 1-2. - About 450 B.C. - Herakles, naked, sitting on rock (frontal face) with dead lion at his feet; to l., seated king (Eurystheus?) and youth in pilos, chlamys, lionskin (!) and boots, with spears and bow (perhaps I.), standing before him.

#### b) Herakles and the Lernean Hydra

Attic Vases

20. (= H. 1998\*) Neck-amphora, bf. Paris, Louvre E 851. - *ABV* 97, 24; Tyrrhenian Group; *CVA* 1 pls. 5 (35), 5; 7 (37), 4; Schauenburg, K., *AJA* 1971, 172 figs. 15-16. - 560-550 B.C. - Herakles and I. (helmet, corselet) attacking the Hydra with sword and torch respectively. Behind H., from l. to r., two horses with woman holding the reins, Hermes and Athena.

21. (= H. 2003) Neck-amphora, bf. Paris, Louvre F 386. - Haspels, *ABL* 238, 131; Diosphos P.; Schauenburg, *o.c.* 20, 173 figs. 17-18. - 500-490 B.C. - A: Herakles attacking Hydra with harpe; B: On the l., I. as warrior (helmet, corselet, greaves, sword hanging) shooting to l.; on the r., Athena hurrying to r., crab before her.

22.\* Lekythos, bf. wg. Copenhagen, NM Chr. VIII. 946. - Haspels, *ABL* 234, 52; Diosphos P.; *CVA* 3 pl. 112, 2. - 500-490 B.C. - Herakles and I. (warrior as on 21, shield on ground) attack Hydra with



harpe and torch respectively; Athena with owl behind Herakles.

23. (= H. 1702\*/2502) Volute-crater, rf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 77.AE.11. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 186, 51-52: Kleophrades P.; Getty Mus. 4, 1977, 69 fig. 12; Getty Vases 2 (1985) 197 fig. 15; 201 fig. 20. - 500-490 B.C. - Only Hydra and I. preserved; I. (helmet, greaves, shield and spear in l. hand) attacks from r. with torch.

Other examples with I. are H. 1996. 1997. 1999-2002. 2004-2006. 2008. 2009. 2012-2015. 2017. 2018.

#### Non-Attic Vases

24.\* Aryballos fr., Corinthian bf. Corinth C-71-321. From Corinth. - Amandry, P./Amyx, D. A., *AntK* 25, 1982, 102 no. 2 fig. 1, 2 pl. 18, 2; Amyx, *CVP* 558, 8. - 610-600 B.C. - I. (inscr. *FIOAAFOE*), beardless, in short chiton, attacking the Hydra with a harpe from the r.

25. (= H. 2011 with bibl.) Aryballos, Corinthian bf. Athens, Kanellopoulos Mus. 392. - Amandry/Amyx, *o.c.* 24, no. 3 fig. 1, 3; Amyx, *CVP* 559, 13. - About 600 B.C. - Herakles and I. (as on 24), both named, attack the Hydra with sword and harpe respectively. Club and bow behind Herakles, horse behind I. Arrow on snake body.

26.\* Skyphos, Corinthian bf. Paris, Louvre CA 3004. - Lorber, *Inscriften* no. 37 pl. 9; Amandry/Amyx, *o.c.* 24, no. 13 fig. 2, 13; Amyx, *CVP* 561, 19 pl. 73, 2. - 580-570 B.C. - On the l., Herakles attacking Hydra with club; behind him, chariot and Athena with oinochoe. On the r., I. (as on 24), inscr. *FIOAAE*, with harpe.

Cf. also H. 1990-1995; cup fr. Bonn 697.82 (Amandry/Amyx, *o.c.* 24, no. 11 fig. 2, 11 pl. 18, 3); dinos fr. Athens, NM, from Vari (*ArchEph* 1970, 86-113 fig. 1 pl. 33).

27.\* (= H. 2015a) Cup fr., Laconian bf. Samos, Mus. K 176. From Samos. - Stibbe, *LakVas* no. 206a pl. 68, 3; Hunt P.; Pipili, *LacI* no. 6 fig. 5. - About 560 B.C. - Herakles on the l. (only l. arm preserved) grasping snake body; I., beardless, inscr. *FIOAAE*, on the r.

Other non-Attic vases: H. 2007 (Eretrian bf.; I. with sword like Herakles). 2016 (Caeretan; I. at l., beardless, with harpe). 2010 (Apulian rf.; I. with torch and sword).

#### Other works

28. (= H. 2019\* with bibl.) Bronze fibula. London, BM 3205. From Boeotia. - Brommer, *Herakles*<sup>2</sup> pl. 11; Pittschen, *Sagendarstellungen* 147 SB 28. - About 700 B.C. - On the l. half of the fibula, Herakles (only lower part preserved) with sword grasping all Hydra heads; beneath Herakles, a small I. with harpe; crab.

Cf. the fibulae H. 2020 and Heidelberg Univ., with I. on the l. I. appears also on the reliefs H. 2021-2025.

29. (= H. 2031; H. [Dodekathlos] 1697) Chest of Kypselos. - Paus. 5, 17, 11. - Probably 2nd quarter of 6th cent. B.C. - Herakles shooting at Hydra; Athena behind him. The I. in chariot believed by Paus. to be-

long to the adjacent Games for Pelias was probably part of the Hydra scene.

#### c) Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar

##### (i) Herakles wrestling with the Boar

30.\* Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 182. - ABV 327, 4: Long-Nose P.; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 54. - About 520 B.C. - Herakles and the boar between I. (bearded, chitoniskos, holding club, sword hanging) on the l. looking away from the scene and Athena on the r. moving r. and looking back at the fight.

Cf. Bologna 64 (CVA 2 pl. 38, 3) and Germany, Private (Hornbostel, W., *Aus der Glanzzeit Athens* [1986] 61 no. 22; I. in corselet, with club); Paris, Louvre F 213 (ABV 369, 110; CVA 3 pl. 26, 4; I. wrapped in himation); Boulogne 64 (I. in corselet, with spear).

##### (ii) Herakles delivering the Boar to Eurystheus

31.\* Neck-amphora, Attic bf. New York, MMA 06.1021.88. - ABV 282, 1: Group of Toronto 305; CVA 4 pl. 26. - About 520 B.C. - Herakles delivering the boar to Eurystheus between I. on the l. (bearded, in chitoniskos, holding club and bow) and Athena on the r.

Cf. Heidelberg S 180 (ABV 692; CVA 1 pl. 34, 4); H. 2123. I. with club only: Tarquinia 1503 (*Para* 145, 5bis; CVA 1 pl. 10, 1); London B 161 (= Athena 518); Mississippi Univ. 1977.3.63 (*AJA* 60, 1956, pl. 8, 36, 40; beardless). In corselet holding club: H. 2125. 2127. In himation holding club: Copenhagen, NM 3858 (ABV 290, 1; CVA 3 pl. 107, 2).

32.\* Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Toronto, ROM 927.39. 2 (305). - ABV 282, 2: Group of Toronto 305; CVA 1 pls. 11, 3; 12, 3. - 520-510 B.C. - Herakles delivering the boar; I. at l., bearded, in chiton and himation, holding spears, quiver on back; Athena on the r.

Cf. H. 2117 (in corselet, with spears).

#### d) Herakles and the Kerynitian Deer

The youth in chlamys and petasos, with spears, standing next to Athena and watching Herakles on H. 2197 (= Artemis 1317, = Apollon 1053), is probably I. The youth with bow and arrows on H. 2189 is more likely to be Apollo than I.

#### e) Herakles and the Stymphalian Birds

33. (= H. 2244) Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 387. From Vulci. - Haspels, *ABL* 238, 132: Diosphos P.; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* pl. 87 (B); Flacelière, R./Devambez, P., *Héraclès, images et récits* (1966) pl. 7; HDHG (Rouen) 222-223 no. 90. - Early 5th cent. B.C. - A: Herakles fighting the birds to the r.: B: I. (helmet, corselet, sword hanging) fighting to the l., sling in l. hand; spears and shield on ground.

Cf. H. 2243 (I. with bow in one hand, sling in the other).

A very uncertain case is the bronze fibula H. 2280 showing two (male?) figures each holding a bird.

#### f) Herakles and the Cretan Bull

34. (= H. 2329\*) Amphora, Attic bf. Munich, Antikenslg. 1407 (J. 614). From Vulci. - ABV 290: Circle of Antimenes P.; Add<sup>2</sup> 75; CVA 1 pl. 37, 2; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 194. - About 510 B.C. - Herakles tying the bull; on the l. I., bearded, naked, cloak over extended l. arm, holding club; another club beside him.

35.\* Bell-crater, Apulian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81410 (H 2865). From Bari. - *RVAp* I 133, 292: P. of Naples 2865; Moret, *Ilioupersis* pl. 76, 1. - 370-360 B.C. - Herakles attacking the bull with club, crowned by a Nike, between I. at l. (youth in cloak and pillos, holding spear and shield) and Athena at r.

36. (= H. 2346\*) Volute-crater, Apulian rf. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1097. From Ruvo. - *RVAp* I 417, 16: Lycurgus P.; *RVAp* Suppl. I 56; Sichtermann, *SlgJatta* K 72 pls. 120; 122, 1. - Around 350 B.C. - On the neck, Herakles wrestling with the bull; Athena seated at l.; I. (youth in cloak, holding club and quiver), seated woman and Eros at r.

Other examples with I. watching the fight: Bf., H. 2309. 2323. 2341 (three l.). 2343. Baltimore 48.251 (ABV 491, 54). London B 441 (ABV 563, 575). Nicosia 1968/V.30/348. Parma C 139 (CVA 1 pl. 19 [2020], 1-2). Rf., H. 2350. 2352. Leningrad B 2680 (ARV<sup>2</sup> 1337, 5; RA 1982, 114-115 fig. 3).

#### g) Herakles and the Amazons

37. (= Amazones 1\*) Alabastron, Corinthian bf. Once Imbros. From Samothrace. - Fredrich, C., *AM* 1908, 112 fig. 32; Payne, *NC* 130. 161. 283 no. 366; Bothmer, *Amazons* 3 no. 4; Lorber, *Inscriften* no. 24 fig. 19; Amyx, *CVP* 557, 4. - Late 7th cent. B.C. - Three Amazons, named, fighting against three Greeks named Herakles, I. (inscr. [or miscopied] *AIOAAE* instead of *FIOAAE*) and Menoitias (?).

I. may also be present in the fight on → Amazones 16\* (Bothmer, *Amazons* 12-13) and in the more peaceful → Amazones 780 (= H. 2461) and Switzerland, Branca Coll. (*RVAp* II 476, 5 pl. 169, 1-2). It is also possible that the I. (inscr. *IOAEO*) in a chariot on the reverse of the cup → Amazones 62\* is associated with the Amazonomachy on the obverse.

#### h) Herakles and Geryon

The only example with I. present is H. 2501 (= Eurytion II 44) where I., named, stands fully armed watching the fight. It is not at all certain if he was also present on the west side of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (metope 28 with a warrior may not belong to the Geryon series; see H. 2506/Eurytion II 52).

The helmeted charioteer in a frontal chariot on side B of → Geryoneus 16\* (= Eurytion II 47, = Athena 512) has been associated with the Herakles scene on A (Lippold, G., *JdI* 67, 1952, 81-83; Scheffold, *SB* II 117; Brize, P., *Die Geryoneis des Stesichoros und die frühe griechische Kunst* [1980] 43) but might well

be a separate picture (cf. Robertson, C. M., *CIQ* 63, 1969, 208-209).

#### i) Herakles and Kerberos

A male figure present apart from the usual deities on some Attic bf. vases might be I. See H. 2585 (youth with bow). 2594 (youth with spear). 2592 (man with bow and club). 2607 (man in chlamys and petasos). Lekythos D. J. Coll., Ostwestfalen (Korzus, B., ed., *Griechische Vasen aus Westfälischen Sammlungen* [1984] 194 no. 75; warrior in full armour with spears and shield).

#### j) Herakles and the Hesperides

38. (= H. 2717\*) Hydria, Attic rf. London, BM E 224. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1313, 5: Meidias P.; CVA 6 pl. 91 (366); Arias/Shefton/Hirmer pl. 214; Burn, L., *The Meidias Painter* (1987) 15-25 pls. 1-3. - About 410 B.C. - Herakles seated, Hesperides, I. (inscr. *IOAEΩE*) in chlamys, with spear, moving r. and looking back.

39.\* (= H. 2723) Hydria, Attic rf. New York, MMA 24.97.5. - Richter/Hall no. 171 pl. 166; Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 27, 4. - About 350 B.C. - Herakles and an Hesperid on either side of tree. With I. (mantle loosely draped), two more Hesperides, Pan, a satyr and a Nike flying towards Herakles.

Other examples with another male figure (I.?) are the bf. H. 2716 (warrior) and the rf. H. 2718 (youth with spear) and 2726 (youth in himation leaning on staff).

#### D. Iolaos in Herakles' expedition to Troy

##### a) Herakles sacrificing to Chryse

One of the young companions of Herakles in the few Attic rf. representations of the scene might be I.: → Chryse I 2\* (inscr. *IOAJEΩN?*). 3\*. 4\*. 5. and cf. H. 2789 with a sacrifice which might also be for Chryse.

##### b) Herakles rescuing Hesione

40. Column-crater, Corinthian bf. Boston, MFA 63.420. From Cerveteri. - *BullMFA* 61, 1963, 159 fig. 10; *The Trojan War in Greek Art. A Picture Book. Museum of Fine Arts Boston* (1965) pl. 2; Scheffold, *SB* II 139 fig. 181. - 560-550 B.C. - Herakles shooting at the Ketos in the presence of Hesione. Behind Herakles, chariot turned l.; the charioteer (long dress, helmet) is presumably I.

##### c) The fight at Troy

The East pediment of the temple of Aphaia on Aegina (= H. 2792) is usually interpreted as Herakles' Trojan War. The youth who runs to help in front of the shooting Herakles has been identified with I.

#### E. Iolaos in scenes of Herakles with other adversaries

##### a) Herakles and Acheloos

41. (= Acheloos 228) Statuary group in wood and gold once in the Megarian Treasury at Olympia. Lost.

— Paus. 6, 19, 12: by the artist Dontas (a corruption for Medon?). — Late 6th cent. B. C. — Paus. mentions as spectators of the fight Athena, Deianeira, Zeus and Ares. The last two might actually have been Oineus and an armed I. respectively (Isler, H. P., *Acheloos* [1970] 107; Beck, I., *Ares* [1984] 77. 138–139; Brommer, *Herakles* II 74). Cf. the seated old man and warrior on London B 313 (= *Acheloos* 248\*).

#### b) Herakles and Alkyoneus

A warrior sometimes helping Herakles (→ Alkyoneus 11\*. 16) is usually regarded as Telamon after Pindar's passage (*N.* 4, 25). I., however, also took part in the expedition against Troy during which the event took place. See also the rf. volute-crater Malibu 84.AE.974 (*GettyMusJ* 13, 1985, 170 no. 24) on the neck of which a warrior (Telamon or I.?) drives away Alkyoneus' cattle while Herakles attacks the sleeping giant.

#### c) Herakles and Antaios

A warrior, perhaps I., is present on → Antaios I 6 and 9.

#### d) Herakles and Apollo struggling over the tripod

42.\* (= Apollon 1037, = Artemis 1310, = H. 3034) Column-crater, Attic bf. New York, MMA 07.286.78. — v. Bothmer, D., in *Festschr. F. Brommer* (1977) 52–53 no. 16 pls. 17–18. — 530–520 B. C. — Herakles and Apollo flanked by chariots driven by I. (beardless, wearing corselet over charioteer's dress) on the r. and → Lykomedes on the l., both turning to watch the struggle. Behind the chariots, Artemis on the l. and Athena on the r. All names inscribed.

43. (= H. 3027\*) Cup, Attic rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 27250. From Todi. — *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 124, 8: Nikosthenes P.; *CVA* 2 pls. 24; 25, 2–3; 26, 2; v. Bothmer, *o.c.* 42, no. 18. — About 520–510 B. C. — Herakles and Apollo struggling over the tripod. On the l., chariot driven by youth wearing helmet, probably I. Beyond horses, Athena running towards Herakles.

The central group of the east pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (= H. 3026 = Apollon 1038) is flanked by a pair of shorter figures and chariots. One of the small figures on the r. has been identified as I. (v. Bothmer, *o.c.* 42, 52). Cf. the anonymous male figures on the r. of Herakles on the lekythoi H. 3040–3042 (on 3041 it is a hoplite).

#### e) Herakles and the Kentauroi

##### (i) Herakles and Pholos

Anonymous spectators occasionally flank the scene. On lekythoi there is often, as in other scenes, a youth present, sometimes moving away. When he is given a club, as on Copenhagen, NM Chr. VIII. 948 (Haspels, *ABL* 247, 8; *CVA* 3 pl. 111, 18), we are entitled to call him I. A bearded man in chiton, chlamys, petasos, with spear (I.?) stands behind Pholos on New York, MMA 41.162.2 (*CVA* 4 pl. 49, 1–2).

##### (ii) Herakles fighting the Kentauroi

Herakles is not normally assisted by a companion in this fight. In the two exceptions below there is probably a confusion with the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs (cf. the fallen hoplite on Würzburg L 198: *ABV* 224, 1; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 51):

44.\* (= H. 1426 [other side]) Cup, Attic rf. Los Angeles, County Mus. 50.8.15 (A 5933.50–21). — *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 125, 11: Nikosthenes P. (signed by the potter Pamphaios); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 176; *CVA* 1 pls. 37, 1; 38, 1. — 510–500 B. C. — Herakles with sword and a young companion, perhaps I. (naked, holding Boeotian shield and spear), fight back to back against three centaurs; cloak and quiver hang.

45. Bell-crater, Campanian rf. Tübingen 673 (F 46). — *LCS* 314, 635: Near the Caivano P.; Watzinger, *KatTübingen* 65 pl. 44; Schauenburg, K., *AntK* 5, 1962, pl. 22, 2. — 3rd quarter of 4th cent. B. C. — Herakles in lionskin, with club in r. hand and bow in l., fights two centaurs, one of whom is collapsing. To l., young warrior, perhaps I., in pilos, short chiton, chlamys, greaves, carrying a shield and brandishing a spear.

##### f) Herakles and Kyknos

46. (= Apollon 922, = Ares 42\*, = Halios Geron 1\*) Oinochoe, Attic bf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 1732 (signed by potter Kolchos). From Vulci. — *ABV* 110, 37: Lydos; *Para* 44, 48; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 30; Schefold, *SB II* 136 fig. 176; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 68; Brommer, *Herakles* II pl. 28. — 3rd quarter of 6th cent. B. C. — Herakles fights Ares over the dead Kyknos with Zeus intervening and Athena helping Herakles. On either side a chariot moving away (the charioteers, both bearded, are named *IOA[EOΣ]* and *ΦO[BJOΣ]*. Poseidon and Apollo beyond each chariot. Halios Geron and Dionysos flank the scene.

Chariots driven by anonymous charioteers (presumably I. and Phobos after 46) flank the central group on: amphora London B 212 (*ABV* 297, 1; *CVA* 4 pl. 51 [196], 1a); crater fr. London B 365 (Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 105 A 18); dinos Vienna IV 4603 (3619) (*ABV* 140, 3; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 106 A 13); volute-crater fr. Athens, Acr. 655 and Stathatou Coll. (*ABV* 289, 26; *BCH* 79, 1955, 177 ff. figs. 1–2 pls. 5–6; the charioteer behind Athena is a warrior); cup Tarquinia RC 2066 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 126, 23; *CVA* 1 pl. 6, 2; Ares' charioteer is named Phobos); volute-crater Rome, Villa Giulia (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 206, 131; *Il Mus. Naz. Etr. di Villa Giulia* [1980] 140 fig. 177). Simon (Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 67) suggested that the two warriors fighting on the dinos Louvre E 874 by the Gorgon P. (*ABV* 8, 1; *Para* 6; Arias/Shefton/Hirmer, pl. 37 below) are Herakles and Kyknos, the chariots on either side being driven by I. and Phobos (both with shield on their back and turning to watch the fight).

47. Lekythos, Attic bf. Athens, NM 497. — Haspels, *ABL* 27; Karouzou, S., *AM* 56, 1931, 99–100 Beil. 44 no. 2. — 3rd quarter of 6th cent. B. C. — Herakles fighting Kyknos with Zeus intervening; Ares on the r. and Athena on the l.; horseman on either side; on the far l., behind the horse, man with spear. The

horsemen probably stand for the chariots on the works above, but the presence of the spearman on the side of Herakles suggests that he might be I.

Riders instead of chariots also flank the central group on Copenhagen, NM 3877 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 63, 87; *CVA* 3 pl. 138, 1c). Beazley suggested that the warrior with horse by each handle on side B of London E 8 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 63, 88; Bruhn, A., *Oltos* [1943] figs. 44–45; Schefold, *SB II* 137 fig. 178) might belong to the Kyknos scene of A.

48. Hydria, Attic bf. London, BM 1843.11–3.49 (B 329). From Vulci. — *ABV* 334, 1: A. D. P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 91; *CVA* 6 pl. 89, 3. — c. 510 B. C. — On the shoulder, Herakles fighting Kyknos with Athena (not Zeus) intervening. On either side a warrior (helmet, corselet, Boeotian shield, spear) in a fighting attitude, presumably Ares on the r. and I. (?) on the l.

A warrior, perhaps I., appears behind Herakles on the hydria Munich 1716 (*ABV* 362, 25) and the lekythos fr. *MonAnt* 11, 1901, 462 figs. 156–157. A warrior flees behind Herakles (then not I.?) on the neck-amphora Tarquinia RC 979 (*ABV* 284, 3; *CVA* 1 pl. 8 [1140], 1).

##### g) Herakles and Nereus (?)

On side B of the bf. skyphos Philadelphia MS 5481 (Haspels, *ABL* 253, 1; Luce, S. B., *AJA* 26, 1922, 174–175 figs. 1–2; *Allentown Art Museum, Aspects of Ancient Greece* [1979] 52–53 no. 23) with Herakles attacking a figure usually interpreted as Nereus (Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 205: Syleus?) on A, a bearded man with bow and arrows in one hand and club in the other, presumably I., walks to the r. between Hermes and Athena.

##### h) Herakles and Nessos

A warrior who might be identified as I. is present together with an old man (Oineus?) on the lekythos Munich, Antikenslg. 1905 (Schiffler, B., *Die Typologie des Kentauren* [1976] pl. 2 A 78).

##### i) Herakles and Omphale

The youth with a rhyton standing next to Herakles and Omphale on a Roman mosaic from Thina in Tunis, Bardo 2788 (Yacoub, M., *Le Musée du Bardo* [1970] 86 no. 2788; Poinssot, *BullArchCTH* 1936–37, 120–121; Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 273 no. 3) is probably a young Bacchus and not I. who never appears in the scene. A youth who could be I. is present on H. 1537\* showing, according to Lullies (*AM* 65, 1940, 13 no. 4. pl. 12, 1), Herakles and Omphale, but this interpretation is very improbable; Schauenburg (*RhM* 102/103, 1959/60, 66–67) suggests a simple homecoming of Herakles.

##### j) Herakles and Triton

The only possible case of an I. watching the fight is on the amphora Naples SA 116 (*CVA* 1 pl. 1 [945], 3–4; Ahlberg-Cornell, G., *Herakles and the Sea-Monster in Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting* [1984] 112 cat. no. III 2 B), where a bearded man in chiton and mantle gesticulates on the l.

##### k) Herakles fighting a snake

Herakles and I. (warrior) both armed with a club attack a snake in the usual Hydra scheme on H. 2822. Cf. the strange amphora Louvre E 707 (*AA* 1971, 172–175 fig. 20).

##### l) «Herakles» and «Iolaos» fighting a Chimaera

49. Amphora, Attic bf. London, BM B 162. From Vulci. — *ABV* 306, 29: Swing P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 81; Schefold, *SB II* 87 fig. 103; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1977) no. 20 pl. 23. — About 530 B. C. — A man with club on the r. (Herakles?) and another with harpe on the l. (I.?) fight a Chimaera. (A = H. 2122.)

#### F. Iolaos with Herakles in other scenes

##### a) Herakles with gods

##### (i) Herakles' Apotheosis

For I. as charioteer in scenes of Herakles' Apotheosis or others which are difficult to interpret see above Section B. In some late-6th-cent. Apotheosis scenes I. may follow on foot:

50. Hydria, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 50. From Etruria. — *ABV* 277, 8: Manner of Antimenes P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 72; *CVA* 6 pl. 67, 2. — 520–510 B. C. — Herakles with club in chariot to r.; Athena mounting holding the reins. I., bearded, carrying club, follows on foot. With Apollo, Artemis and Hermes.

51.\* Column-crater, Attic bf. Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 29.140. — *CVA* 1 pl. 11, 1. — 520–510 B. C. — Herakles mounting chariot. I., beardless, follows with club and bow. With Athena, Dionysos and Apollo.

See also H. 2895 (club). Apollon 836\* (club). Boulogne 417 (club and bow). Cf. H. 2892 (I. with spear standing beyond the chariot). It is not certain whether I. is intended in the 4th-cent. H. 2918 where a man in chlamys and petasos above r. watches H. being driven by a Nike over the pyre.

##### (ii) Herakles in conversation or shaking hands with gods

WITH ATHENA

52.\* Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Cerveteri, Mus. — Moretti, M., *Cerveteri* (1978) 60 fig. 84: Class of Cab. Méd. 218. — 510–500 B. C. — Herakles and Athena facing. To r., I. bearded, in corselet and chiton, sword hanging, holding club.

53. (= H. 3186\*) Amphora, Attic rf. Vatican 16573. From Vulci. — *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 182, 3: Kleophrades P.; Schefold, *SB IV* 183 fig. 222. — About 500 B. C. — Herakles shakes hands with Athena. Behind Herakles, I. wearing corselet and greaves and holding helmet and spear.

See also H. 3123–3125. 3135 (I. in the middle; Herakles seated). 3144 (all seated). With other figures present: H. 3176. 3404.

WITH ATHENA AND HERMES

54.\* (= H. 3119) Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 188. — *ABV* 269, 44: An-

– Paus. 6, 19, 12: by the artist Dontas (a corruption for Medon?). – Late 6th cent. B.C. – Paus. mentions as spectators of the fight Athena, Deianeira, Zeus and Ares. The last two might actually have been Oineus and an armed I. respectively (Isler, H. P., *Acheloos* [1970] 107; Beck, I., *Ares* [1984] 77. 138–139; Brommer, *Herakles* II 74). Cf. the seated old man and warrior on London B 313 (= *Acheloos* 248\*).

#### b) Herakles and Alkyoneus

A warrior sometimes helping Herakles (→ Alkyoneus 11\*. 16) is usually regarded as Telamon after Pindar's passage (N. 4, 25). I., however, also took part in the expedition against Troy during which the event took place. See also the rf. volute-crater Malibu 84.AE.974 (*GettyMusJ* 13, 1985, 170 no. 24) on the neck of which a warrior (Telamon or I.?) drives away Alkyoneus' cattle while Herakles attacks the sleeping giant.

#### c) Herakles and Antaios

A warrior, perhaps I., is present on → Antaios I 6 and 9.

#### d) Herakles and Apollo struggling over the tripod

42.\* (= Apollon 1037, = Artemis 1310, = H. 3034) Column-crater, Attic bf. New York, MMA 07.286.78. – v. Bothmer, D., in *Festschr. F. Brommer* (1977) 52–53 no. 16 pls. 17–18. – 530–520 B.C. – Herakles and Apollo flanked by chariots driven by I. (beardless, wearing corselet over charioteer's dress) on the r. and → Lykomedes on the l., both turning to watch the struggle. Behind the chariots, Artemis on the l. and Athena on the r. All names inscribed.

43. (= H. 3027\*) Cup, Attic rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 27250. From Todi. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 124, 8: Nikosthenes P.; *CVA* 2 pls. 24; 25, 2–3; 26, 2; v. Bothmer, *o.c.* 42, no. 18. – About 520–510 B.C. – Herakles and Apollo struggling over the tripod. On the l., chariot driven by youth wearing helmet, probably I. Beyond horses, Athena running towards Herakles.

The central group of the east pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (= H. 3026 = Apollon 1038) is flanked by a pair of shorter figures and chariots. One of the small figures on the r. has been identified as I. (v. Bothmer, *o.c.* 42, 52). Cf. the anonymous male figures on the r. of Herakles on the lekythoi H. 3040–3042 (on 3041 it is a hoplite).

#### e) Herakles and the Kentauroi

##### (i) Herakles and Pholos

Anonymous spectators occasionally flank the scene. On lekythoi there is often, as in other scenes, a youth present, sometimes moving away. When he is given a club, as on Copenhagen, NM Chr. VIII. 948 (Haspels, *ABL* 247, 8; *CVA* 3 pl. 111, 18), we are entitled to call him I. A bearded man in chiton, chlamys, petasos, with spear (I.?) stands behind Pholos on New York, MMA 41.162.2 (*CVA* 4 pl. 49, 1–2).

##### (ii) Herakles fighting the Kentauroi

Herakles is not normally assisted by a companion in this fight. In the two exceptions below there is probably a confusion with the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs (cf. the fallen hoplite on Würzburg L 198: *ABV* 224, 1; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* pl. 51):

44.\* (= H. 1426 [other side]) Cup, Attic rf. Los Angeles, County Mus. 50.8.15 (A 5933.50–21). – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 125, 11: Nikosthenes P. (signed by the potter Pamphaios); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 176; *CVA* 1 pls. 37, 1; 38, 1. – 510–500 B.C. – Herakles with sword and a young companion, perhaps I. (naked, holding Boeotian shield and spear), fight back to back against three centaurs; cloak and quiver hang.

45. Bell-crater, Campanian rf. Tübingen 673 (F 46). – *LCS* 314, 635: Near the Caivano P.; Watzinger, *KatTübingen* 65 pl. 44; Schauenburg, K., *AntK* 5, 1962, pl. 22, 2. – 3rd quarter of 4th cent. B.C. – Herakles in lionskin, with club in r. hand and bow in l., fights two centaurs, one of whom is collapsing. To l., young warrior, perhaps I., in pilos, short chiton, chlamys, greaves, carrying a shield and brandishing a spear.

##### f) Herakles and Kyknos

46. (= Apollon 922, = Ares 42\*, = Halios Geron 1\*) Oinochoe, Attic bf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 1732 (signed by potter Kolchos). From Vulci. – *ABV* 110, 37: Lydos; *Para* 44. 48; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 30; Schefold, *SB II* 136 fig. 176; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 68; Brommer, *Herakles* II pl. 28. – 3rd quarter of 6th cent. B.C. – Herakles fights Ares over the dead Kyknos with Zeus intervening and Athena helping Herakles. On either side a chariot moving away (the charioteers, both bearded, are named *IOA[EOΣ]* and *ΦO[B]OΣ*). Poseidon and Apollo beyond each chariot. Halios Geron and Dionysos flank the scene.

Chariots driven by anonymous charioteers (presumably I. and Phobos after 46) flank the central group on: amphora London B 212 (*ABV* 297, 1; *CVA* 4 pl. 51 [196], 1a); crater fr. London B 365 (Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 105 A 18); dinos Vienna IV 4603 (3619) (*ABV* 140, 3; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 106 A 13); volute-crater fr. Athens, Acr. 655 and Stathatou Coll. (*ABV* 289, 26; *BCH* 79, 1955, 177 ff. figs. 1–2 pls. 5–6; the charioteer behind Athena is a warrior); cup Tarquinia RC 2066 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 126, 23; *CVA* 1 pl. 6, 2; Ares' charioteer is named Phobos); volute-crater Rome, Villa Giulia (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 206, 131; *Il Mus. Naz. Etr. di Villa Giulia* [1980] 140 fig. 177). Simon (Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 67) suggested that the two warriors fighting on the dinos Louvre E 874 by the Gorgon P. (*ABV* 8, 1; *Para* 6; Arias/Shefton/Hirmer, pl. 37 below) are Herakles and Kyknos, the chariots on either side being driven by I. and Phobos (both with shield on their back and turning to watch the fight).

47. Lekythos, Attic bf. Athens, NM 497. – Haspels, *ABL* 27; Karouzou, S., *AM* 56, 1931, 99–100 Beil. 44 no. 2. – 3rd quarter of 6th cent. B.C. – Herakles fighting Kyknos with Zeus intervening; Ares on the r. and Athena on the l.; horseman on either side; on the far l., behind the horse, man with spear. The

horsemen probably stand for the chariots on the works above, but the presence of the spearman on the side of Herakles suggests that he might be I.

Riders instead of chariots also flank the central group on Copenhagen, NM 3877 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 63, 87; *CVA* 3 pl. 138, 1c). Beazley suggested that the warrior with horse by each handle on side B of London E 8 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 63, 88; Bruhn, A., *Oltos* [1943] figs. 44–45; Schefold, *SB II* 137 fig. 178) might belong to the Kyknos scene of A.

48. Hydria, Attic bf. London, BM 1843.11–3.49 (B 329). From Vulci. – *ABV* 334, 1: A. D. P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 91; *CVA* 6 pl. 89, 3. – c. 510 B.C. – On the shoulder, Herakles fighting Kyknos with Athena (not Zeus) intervening. On either side a warrior (helmet, corselet, Boeotian shield, spear) in a fighting attitude, presumably Ares on the r. and I. (?) on the l.

A warrior, perhaps I., appears behind Herakles on the hydria Munich 1716 (*ABV* 362, 25) and the lekythos fr. *MonAnt* 11, 1901, 462 figs. 156–157. A warrior flees behind Herakles (then not I.?) on the neck-amphora Tarquinia RC 979 (*ABV* 284, 3; *CVA* 1 pl. 8 [1140], 1).

##### g) Herakles and Nereus (?)

On side B of the bf. skyphos Philadelphia MS 5481 (Haspels, *ABL* 253, 1; Luce, S. B., *AJA* 26, 1922, 174–175 figs. 1–2; *Allentown Art Museum, Aspects of Ancient Greece* [1979] 52–53 no. 23) with Herakles attacking a figure usually interpreted as Nereus (Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 205: Syleus?) on A, a bearded man with bow and arrows in one hand and club in the other, presumably I., walks to the r. between Hermes and Athena.

##### h) Herakles and Nessos

A warrior who might be identified as I. is present together with an old man (Oineus?) on the lekythos Munich, Antikenslg. 1905 (Schiffler, B., *Die Typologie des Kentauren* [1976] pl. 2 A 78).

##### i) Herakles and Omphale

The youth with a rhyton standing next to Herakles and Omphale on a Roman mosaic from Thina in Tunis, Bardo 2788 (Yacoub, M., *Le Musée du Bardo* [1970] 86 no. 2788; Poinssot, *BullArchCTH* 1936–37, 120–121; Dunabin, *Mosaics* 273 no. 3) is probably a young Bacchus and not I. who never appears in the scene. A youth who could be I. is present on H. 1537\* showing, according to Lullies (*AM* 65, 1940, 13 no. 4. pl. 12, 1), Herakles and Omphale, but this interpretation is very improbable; Schauenburg (*RhM* 102/103, 1959/60, 66–67) suggests a simple homecoming of Herakles.

##### j) Herakles and Triton

The only possible case of an I. watching the fight is on the amphora Naples SA 116 (*CVA* 1 pl. 1 [945], 3–4; Ahlberg-Cornell, G., *Herakles and the Sea-Monster in Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting* [1984] 112 cat. no. III 2 B), where a bearded man in chiton and mantle gesticulates on the l.

##### k) Herakles fighting a snake

Herakles and I. (warrior) both armed with a club attack a snake in the usual Hydra scheme on H. 2822. Cf. the strange amphora Louvre E 707 (*AA* 1971, 172–175 fig. 20).

##### l) «Herakles» and «Iolaos» fighting a Chimaera

49. Amphora, Attic bf. London, BM B 162. From Vulci. – *ABV* 306, 29: Swing P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 81; Schefold, *SB II* 87 fig. 103; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1977) no. 20 pl. 23. – About 530 B.C. – A man with club on the r. (Herakles?) and another with harpe on the l. (I.?) fight a Chimaera. (A = H. 2122.)

#### F. Iolaos with Herakles in other scenes

##### a) Herakles with gods

##### (i) Herakles' Apotheosis

For I. as charioteer in scenes of Herakles' Apotheosis or others which are difficult to interpret see above Section B. In some late-6th-cent. Apotheosis scenes I. may follow on foot:

50. Hydria, Attic bf. Paris, Louvre F 50. From Etruria. – *ABV* 277, 8: Manner of Antimenes P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 72; *CVA* 6 pl. 67, 2. – 520–510 B.C. – Herakles with club in chariot to r.; Athena mounting holding the reins. I., bearded, carrying club, follows on foot. With Apollo, Artemis and Hermes.

51.\* Column-crater, Attic bf. Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 29.140. – *CVA* 1 pl. 11, 1. – 520–510 B.C. – Herakles mounting chariot. I., beardless, follows with club and bow. With Athena, Dionysos and Apollo.

See also H. 2895 (club). Apollon 836\* (club). Boulogne 417 (club and bow). Cf. H. 2892 (I. with spear standing beyond the chariot). It is not certain whether I. is intended in the 4th-cent. H. 2918 where a man in chlamys and petasos above r. watches H. being driven by a Nike over the pyre.

##### (ii) Herakles in conversation or shaking hands with gods

WITH ATHENA

52.\* Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Cerveteri, Mus. – Moretti, M., *Cerveteri* (1978) 60 fig. 84: Class of Cab. Méd. 218. – 510–500 B.C. – Herakles and Athena facing. To r., I. bearded, in corselet and chiton, sword hanging, holding club.

53. (= H. 3186\*) Amphora, Attic rf. Vatican 16573. From Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 182, 3: Kleophrades P.; Schefold, *SB IV* 183 fig. 222. – About 500 B.C. – Herakles shakes hands with Athena. Behind Herakles, I. wearing corselet and greaves and holding helmet and spear.

See also H. 3123–3125. 3135 (I. in the middle; Herakles seated). 3144 (all seated). With other figures present: H. 3176. 3404.

WITH ATHENA AND HERMES

54.\* (= H. 3119) Neck-amphora, Attic bf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 188. – *ABV* 269, 44: An-



timenes P.; Langlotz, *KatWurzb* pl. 53. – 520–510 B.C. – Herakles with bow and club facing Athena. Behind the latter, Hermes and I., bearded, in corselet and chitoniskos, holding club.

See also H. 3121. Boston 97.205 (CVA I pl. 41, 2). With one more woman (Hebe?): H. 3120. With Dionysos: Munich 1576 (CVA 8 pls. 386, 4; 390, 1).

#### WITH ZEUS

A youth in pilos, corselet and boots watching Herakles shake hands with Zeus (?) on H. 3371 might be I. He is probably not intended in the white-haired man pouring a libation on H. 3373.

#### (iii) Scenes of homage to Herakles

Anonymous youths regularly appear in scenes of Herakles honoured by gods, heroes or mortals in an undefined setting which are particularly popular in the late 5th–early 4th cent. B.C. A single youth present is likely to be I.: H. 1566. 1568. 1571. 3149. 3326–3328. 3409. 3410. 3461. 3462. 3464. 3466. 3472. 3490–3492. Athens, Kanellopoulos (ex Tyne-mouth, Wilfred Hall; Trendall, *ESIVP* 41, 417; *LCS* 92, 479); Leningrad 361 (Trendall, *ESIVP* 40, 379; *LCS* 88, 428; *AuA* 10, 1961, pl. 20, 36). Cf. the early-5th-cent. B.C. H. 3162/3318 with I. (bearded, in petasos and chlamys, with spear) shaking hands with Hermes. Two youths attending might be the Dioskouroi: H. 3403. 3406/3325. 3474. 3482. The many youths on H. 3407–3408 remain anonymous.

#### (iv) Gigantomachia

Zeus, who regularly appears in the same chariot as Herakles, is replaced on → Gigantes 124 and 125 by a hoplite who, however, cannot be I. who has nothing to do with the Gigantomachy.

#### b) Iolaos with Herakles' wives and children

55. (= H. 1679\*) Bell-crater, Attic rf. Munich, Antikenslg. 6026 (WAF 2398). – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1446, 3: Pourtalès P.; *Para* 492; Metzger, *Recherches* pl. 32, 2. – About 380 B.C. – In an open space (herm, tree) Herakles leaning on club and Deianeira, seated, with Hyllos. On the l., man seated; on the r., a woman with phiale and oinochoe and a youth (I.). Metzger calls I. the man at l., but he is probably Oineus (thus Brommer, *Herakles* II, 121).

The charioteer looking round on side B of H. 1674\* might be I., connected with the scene of Herakles with Oineus, Deianeira and child on A. A beardless I. (inscr. *IOAHOΣ*) is a witness of Herakles' madness on H. 1684\* (= Alkmene 18\*).

#### c) Herakles as symposiast

56. (= H. 1490\*) Hydria, Attic bf. Athens, NM 564. – *ABV*<sup>3</sup> 329, 4: Madrid P.; Heydemann, H., *Griechische Vasenbilder* (1870) pl. 3, 1. – 520–510 B.C. – Herakles reclines with kantharos; seated before him, Dionysos and Athena; seated behind him, I., bearded, in himation, holding club.

57. Neck-amphora, Attic bf. London, Market. – Christies 16 July 1985, 95 no. 419: Manner of Anti-

menes P. – 520–510 B.C. – Herakles reclining; Athena with flower standing before him; bearded man in corselet (I.?) standing l.

Cf. H. 1486\* (I., bearded, named *IOAEOΣ*, behind Athena on the r.). 1493 (seated before Herakles). 1519 (man seated with helmet, phiale and spear: Ares rather than I.). The two men reclining (quiver and bow hanging) on H. 1518. 1520 and London B 497 (*ABV*<sup>3</sup> 377, 243) might be Herakles and I.

#### d) Other scenes

##### (i) Herakles in a sanctuary

A youth with spears or club, perhaps I., attends on H. 1369. Boston 21.272. H. 1373\* (= Athena 442/Hedone 3). Paris, Rodin TC 1 (= Hedone 4). H. 1374. 1380\*.

Two youths, two satyrs and a bearded man (I. according to Mingazzini and Metzger) are present on Rome, Villa Giulia 3619 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1420, 7; Mingazzini, *MemLinc* 6.1, 1925/26 no. 261 pl. 8, 2; Metzger, *Représentations* 226 no. 62).

##### (ii) Herakles at Eleusis

Herakles' youthful companion holding a bakchos, one hand raised, on H. 1401\* is perhaps I. or one of the Dioskouroi who were initiated early like Herakles.

##### (iii) Herakles mousikos

I. (bearded, short chiton) carries Herakles' club on H. 1460. He may also be recognized on both sides of H. 1475\* although characteristic attributes are lacking.

##### (iv) Other

H. Hoffmann identified two figures on the Panagurishite gold amphora as Herakles and I. in a scene of divination (*RM* 65, 1958, 132–135 fig. 5) but the interpretation is very uncertain.

#### G. Iolaos and the Herakleidae

For I. with the children of Herakles seeking the protection of Athens see → Herakleidae 2\*. 3. Also, → Akamas et Demophon 21\* where I. watches a dead girl (Makaria?) in the presence of a king (Demophon?).

#### H. Other scenes with Iolaos

58.\* Stemless cup fr., Attic rf. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. G 138.14. From Naukratis. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1252, 49: Eretria P.; CVA I pl. 39, 5; Lezzi-Hafter, A., *Der Eretria-Maler* (1988) no. 290 pl. 187a. – About 430 B.C. – Only I. (inscr. *IOAEOΣ*) is preserved, turned l., his foot resting on something; he is bearded and shown as a warrior (helmet, corselet over chiton, holding spear). 59.\* Coin, AE, Agyrion (Sicily), after 241 B.C.

(Head). – Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 125; *SNG* Copenhagen 131. – Obv.: Head of Herakles. Rev.: I. burning the Hydra heads.

60. East pediment of temple of Athena in Tegea. – Paus. 8, 45, 6. – 2nd quarter of 4th cent. B.C. – Paus. describes the scene as that of the Calydonian Boar Hunt with Atalante, Meleagros, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Polydeukes and Iolaos among other heroes.

#### COMMENTARY

I.'s first appearance in both art and literature is as Herakles' active helper in the killing of the Hydra. In the earliest scenes (bronze fibulae 28. → H. 2020; bronze tripod leg → H. 2025; Corinthian vases 24–26. → H. 1990–1992. 1994–1995) he is always armed with the harpe, a weapon which is, however, unknown in early Attic works. The earliest Attic vases showing the scene, of the second quarter of the 6th cent., have him either with the torch (20), as mentioned by the much later literary sources, or merely attending as Herakles' charioteer (→ H. 1996–1997), in the way he appears on the Acropolis pediment (→ H. 2021) and presumably also on the Kypselos Chest (29). Another early appearance of I. is on the Corinthian 37 where he fights the Amazons alongside Herakles, and he may also be present in an early Attic Amazonomachy (→ Amazones 16\*). In another early scene both he and Herakles, each armed with a club, are involved in the killing of an anonymous snake (E. k). In his characteristic role as Herakles' charioteer he drives Herakles on a few Attic vases of c. 560–550 B.C. (6. → H. 2877–2878) which are usually regarded as showing the hero's journey to Olympus. He is also shown as a charioteer in the rescue of Hesione on the Corinthian 40 (and cf. the few Hydra scenes above). Finally, I. attends Herakles in the earliest rendering of him as a single symposiast (→ H. 1486\*, c. 550 B.C.). I.'s presence here indicates that the setting of such scenes is probably terrestrial.

Herakles' popularity in the second half of the 6th cent., particularly on Attic vases, is responsible for I.'s frequent appearance in this period. He continues to assist Herakles in the killing of the Hydra, a subject which is not as popular as in the previous period. He is usually shown with the torch (22. 23. → H. 2002. 2004. 2014. 2015. 2017. 2018; relief → H. 2022) but he may also use the old harpe (→ H. 1999–2001. 2013; Caeretan → H. 2016) or the sword (→ H. 2012). On the early 5th cent. 21 he is shooting. I. is also prominent on two vases which show the Birds episode (33. → H. 2243), armed with a sling in one and with a sling and a bow in the other. There is no literary evidence for I.'s participation in this deed. Another occasion in which he might be recognized as Herakles' active companion is the fight against Kyknos: the warrior fighting on Herakles' side on two Archaic vases (47–48) is perhaps I. In the Alkyoneus scenes it is usually Telamon who is recognized as Herakles' companion (E. b), although I. also took part in the expedition. I. might also appear fighting on Herakles' side in

a Centauromachy (44), or at Troy (D. c). Finally, in the odd 49 two men who look like Herakles and I. are shown attacking a Chimaera.

In most of the main fights of Herakles, with the Lion (12–18), the Boar (30–32), the Bull (34), Geryon (C. h), Nereus (?) (E. g), Acheloos (41), I. may appear carrying the hero's weapons (usually the club or the club and bow) or merely watching without these. He also attends Herakles in some other scenes, mainly non-narrative, which are popular in the late 6th cent.: Herakles in conversation with gods (52–54), as symposiast (56–57), as musician (F. d [iii]), leaving for a journey, probably that to Olympus (50–51), or, unusually, tying his lionskin (1).

As a charioteer, he continues to drive Herakles in what is usually regarded as the hero's apotheosis (8–11). He drives the chariot while Herakles fights Kyknos (46) or waits in it during the struggle for the tripod (42–43), or on the obverse of an Amazonomachy (→ Amazones 62\*), of a fight against Geryon (C. h) or of a family scene (→ H. 1674\*).

In the later 5th and 4th cent. the scenes in which I. appears are much fewer. He helps in a rare Hydra scene where he uses the torches (→ H. 2009), fights the Calydonian Boar (60) and may be present in the sacrifice to Chryse (D. a). As a mere spectator, he is present in idyllic scenes like the Hesperides 38–39, and perhaps in a fight with the Deer (C. d), the family group 55 and scenes of homage to Herakles (F. a [iii]). As a charioteer, he may drive Herakles to Olympus (7. → H. 1417/2932).

On South Italian vases, I. is present in a Hydra scene carrying a torch and a sword (→ H. 2010), might be recognized in a Centauromachy (45), or is a mere spectator in scenes such as Herakles' encounter with the Bull (35–36) or the Amazons (→ H. 2461). He is also present in two stories, both treated in plays by Euripides, which appear only in South Italian vase-painting: Herakles' madness (→ H. 1684\*) and the Herakleidae seeking the protection of Athens (G).

I.'s popularity in Sicily and particularly his cult in Agyrion has led to his identification on three coin types of this city, one of the 4th cent. B.C. (3), the other two later (4. 59).

It is interesting to note that, apart from the Hydra scene on the Hephaisteion metope (→ H. 2023), I. is absent from all other Dodekathlon scenes, presumably because in such scenes Herakles is the focus of the composition.

I. is very often depicted as a warrior in Archaic art, whether fighting next to Herakles (20–23. 33. 37), standing as a spectator in the latter's deeds (13–14. 41), accompanying him on other occasions (52–54. 57) or driving his chariot (6. 9. 40. 42. 43). When he is fully armed, with helmet, and not carrying any of Herakles' attributes, he may easily be confused with Ares (cf. Beck, I., *Ares* [1984] 138–142; cf. E. a). When not shown as a warrior he is usually dressed in a short chiton or in the charioteer's long dress; in a few cases he is naked. In Classical Attic or South Italian vases he is usually in chlamys and petasos (or pilos), suitable for a participant in expeditions, carrying spears. The odd

19 where he wears Herakles' lionskin is unique (but cf. also → H. 2350).

I. is always shown as a youth on Corinthian vases (in contrast to the bearded Herakles) and the Laconian 27 follows Corinth. In early Attic bf. however, he is usually bearded; in late Archaic art he is either bearded or not, indiscriminately. From the Classical period onwards he is a youth (two rare exceptions are → H. 2350, where he watches the fight against the Bull, and the fragment 58), unless shown with the Herakleidae, since this episode took place late in his life.

MARIA PIPILI

## VILE

(Vilae, Vile) The Etruscan form of the name → Iolaos, attested on ten Etruscan mirrors (I. 2. 4. 12. 14. 15. 18. 21. 30. 32) and one vase (31) dating from the 4th to the 2nd cent. B. C. (on the vase and on one mirror [32] inscribed erroneously instead of the names \*Viphicle [→ Iphikles] and Hercle [Herakles] respectively). Like most other Etruscan names which are borrowed from the Greek, the name V. comes from Doric, maintaining the initial F of the Doric type *Filāa(F)os* (for Doric influence on Etruscan presumably through Corinthian traders and Dorian colonists of South Italy see de Simone, *Entlehnungen* II 304 ff. 320 ff.).

Apart from the inscribed works there are several others where, in spite of the lack of characteristic attributes, V. may be recognized with certainty as the youthful companion of Hercle (→ Herakles/Hercle), appearing alone with him or with other figures, particularly deities.

The mythical coloniser of Sardinia, it is probably from there and from the Greek cities of Magna Graecia that V. came to Etruria. He was an important figure in Etruscan religion and seems to have been associated, like Hercle, with water and springs. It is also possible and indicative of V.'s popularity in Etruria that, as Heurgon suggested, the cognomen *Violens* which appears in the family of the Volumnii of Perugia came from the name V., as did also probably *Monte Vile*, a hill near the grave of the Volumnii where there might have been a sanctuary of V.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Bayet, J., *Hercle* (1926) 170–186 and *passim*; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 66–67; II *passim*; Enking, R., *RE VIII A 2* (1958) 2134–2135 s. v. «Vilae, Vile»; Fiesel, E., *Namen des griechischen Mythos im Etruskischen* (1928) 13–14 and *passim*; Fischer-Graf, U., *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci* (1980) 55–56. 63–64. 93. 106. 123; Heurgon, J., «A propos du cognomen Violens et du tombeau des Volumnii», *ArchCl* 10, 1958, 151–159; Pauli, W., *ML VI* (1924–37) 320 s. v. «Vilae, Vile»; Pfiffig, *Rel-Etr* 340–346 (= Pfiffig 1); Pfiffig, A. J., *Herakles in der Bilderwelt der etruskischen Spiegel* (1980) 12–13 (= Pfiffig 2); Rebuffat-

Emmanuel, D., *Le miroir étrusque d'après la Collection du Cabinet des Médailles* (1973) 471–474. 513–521; Stibbe-Twist, A., «Herakles in Etrurien», in *Thiasos* (1978) 80–106, esp. 83–84.

## CATALOGUE

### A. Vile with Herakles (Hercle) alone

1. (= Herakles/Hercle 88\*) Bronze mirror. Perugia, Mus. Naz. 998. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 128; Del Chiaro, M., *AJA* 59, 1955, 283–284 pl. 80, 7; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 66 (4); Rebuffat-Emmanuel 474. 514–519; Fischer-Graf 106 V 88. – Around 300 B. C. – Standing opposite one another Herakles (Hercle) on the r. (lionskin, club, r. foot on amphora) and V. (inscr. *Pile* [Gerhard] or *Vile* [de Simone]) on the l. (cloak over shoulders, spear and shield). Del Chiaro suggested improbably that *Pile* stands for Pelias and connected the scene with an episode of the Argonaut expedition.

2.\* (= Herakles/Hercle 140) Bronze mirror. Brussels, Mus. Roy. R 1286 (837). From Praeneste (?). – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 336; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 66 (7); Lambrechts, R., *Les miroirs étrusques et prénestins des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles* (1978) 223–227 no. 36. – 4th cent. B. C. – Herakles (Hercle) on the l. (club, bow) and V. ([*V*]il[*a*]e) on the r. (himation, spear and shield), both seated and facing each other.

3.\* (= Herakles/Hercle 142) Bronze mirror. Once Barberini Coll. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 337, 1. – Around 300 B. C. – Facing each other Herakles on the r. (lionskin, club) and V. on the l. (chlamys over shoulder, sword hanging, spear and shield). Altar next to Herakles.

For a similar composition see: Mirror Brussels, Mus. Roy. R 1287 (838); → Herakles/Hercle 141;



Vile 3

Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 83 no. 64d; Lambrechts, *o.c.* 2, 229–232 no. 37 (Herakles seated at r., V. at l., one hand on Herakles' thigh, the other raised). Mirror once Westropp Coll.; → Herakles/Hercle 142a; Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 337, 2 (Herakles standing at r., V. seated at l., one hand on Herakles' shoulder; column between them). Gold necklace relief pendants London BM 2285; → Herakles/Hercle 143; Marshall, *BMJewellery* 262–263 pl. 46 (at l. Herakles seated, at r. V. half seated holding a spear). Cf. also the mirror Boston, MFA 92.2740; → Herakles/Hercle 145c; Comstock/Vermeule, *Bronzes Boston* 262–263 no. 377 (Herakles and Apollo); Fischer-Graf 107 V 91 (Herakles and Hermes); unless the partly damaged seated figure (chlamys, staff) who faces Herakles wore a petasos, he is not distinguishable from the V. of the works above.

### B. Vile with Herakles (Hercle) and a deity

#### a) Vile with Herakles (Hercle) and Hermes (Turms)

4.\* (= Herakles/Hercle 90) Bronze mirror. Lost. From Belora (Valdichiana). – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 127; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 66 (5); Rebuffat-Emmanuel 513–519; Pfiffig 2, 60–61 no. 15. – 3rd cent. B. C. – Hermes (Turms) between Herakles (Hercle) on the l. (cup, club, l. foot on amphora) and V. (Vilae) on the r. (chlamys over shoulder, strigil, hand on Hermes' shoulder). Fountain behind Herakles.



Vile 4

5. (= Herakles/Hercle 90a\*) Bronze mirror. Bologna, Mus. Civ. It. 1072 (Coll. Univ. 278). From Praeneste. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 131; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 513. 518–519 pl. 89; Pfiffig 2, 62–63 no. 16; CSE Bologna 1, 30–32 no. 12 fig. 12a–d. – 3rd quarter of 4th cent. B. C. – Hermes standing between Herakles at r. (lionskin, club, foot on amphora) and V. at l.,

seated on rock, in chlamys and holding staff. Hermes has his head turned towards V. Gerhard (*EtrSp* III 127) calls the seated figure Apollo.

V. with Herakles, Hermes and Athena on 17.

#### b) Vile with Herakles (Hercle) and Athena (Menerva)

6. (= Herakles/Hercle 138) Bronze mirror. Vienna, Kunst. Mus. VI 2774. – Eichler, F., *Führer durch die Antikensammlung* (1926) 54 pl. 8b; Noll, R., *ÖJh* 29, 1935, 163–166 fig. 61. – 4th cent. B. C. – Athena between Herakles seated on the l. (lionskin, club) and V., naked, seated on the r.

7.\* (= Athena/Menerva 192, = Herakles/Hercle 135) Bronze mirror. Lost. Once Mannheim, Hofantiquarium. From Orvieto. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 63, 1; Fischer-Graf 63 V 40 pl. 17, 2; CSE Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1, 71–72 no. 46. – 4th cent. B. C. – Herakles (lionskin, club) standing between Athena on the l. and V. on the r. (chlamys, hand on Herakles' shoulder).



Vile 7

8. (= Herakles/Hercle 92\*) Bronze mirror. Once Rome, Martinetti Coll. From Praeneste. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 63, 2; Mansuelli, G., *StEtr* 15, 1941, pl. 12, 1; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 516. – Late 4th cent. B. C. – Athena between Herakles on the l. (lionskin, club) and V. on the r. (spear which looks like a kerykeion, chlamys over shoulder), each with foot on amphora. Fountain behind Herakles.

Similar are the calyx-crater once in Rome (→ Athena/Menerva 184; Beazley, *EVP* pl. 11, 2) and the mirrors Paris, Cab. Méd. 1288 (→ Athena/Menerva 191\*); Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 154; V. on the r. in chlamys, with sword, one hand on Athena's shoulder, Berlin Fr. 133 (→ Herakles/Hercle 137; Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 163; V. at l. in chlamys, boots and spiked crown) and once Perugia (→ Herakles/Hercle 115b; Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 221 no. 17; Herakles in the middle, V. on the l. inscribed erroneously *Turan*).

## Uncertain

9. (= Herakles/Hercle 265) Bronze mirror. Rome, Villa Giulia 24888. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 338, 1; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 472; Fischer-Graf 93 V 60. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - Herakles with club standing between a woman in himation (Athena?) on the r. and V. (?) seated on the l. The woman has been identified as Alkmene by Gerhard and Rebuffat-Emmanuel and as Athena by Fischer-Graf. Compare → Alkmene 19 (woman in himation between Herakles and a youth with pilos, perhaps Hermes).

The boy with Herakles and Athena on the mirrors Frankfurt X 15224 (→ Herakles/Hercle 136) and Madrid (→ Athena/Menerva 188\*) is too young to be V.

V., Herakles and Athena with more deities on 13 (with Nike and Aphrodite), 15 (with Ares), 16 (with Aphrodite), 17 (with Hermes).

## c) Vile with Herakles (Hercle) and Eros

10.\* (= Herakles/Hercle 144) Bronze cista feet («Ficoroni cista»). Rome, Villa Giulia 24787. From Praeneste. - Dohrn, T., *Die Ficoronische Ciste* (1972); Fischer-Graf 121-124; *CP* II 1 (1986) 64-65 K 31, 1-2 pl. 38 a-b (one of the three feet is a modern replacement). - 3rd quarter of 4th cent. B.C. - Eros between V. seated l. in chlamys holding staff and Herakles at r. with club. Herakles is leaning forward and has one hand on Eros' shoulder; Eros looks at V.

## Uncertain

11. (= Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 49\*\*) Bronze mirror. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1321. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V pl. 9, 1; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 206-209. 509-510 pl. 39; Fischer-Graf 106-107 V 89. - 3rd cent. B.C. - Winged figure with club between two naked youths, one with shield, the other with spear. Perhaps Eros holding Herakles' club between Herakles at l. and V. at r. Rebuffat-Emmanuel and R. de Puma (→ Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 49) interpret the figures as a winged Herakles between the Dioskouroi; Körte (Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 15) as Hermes between two warriors.

## d) Vile with Herakles (Hercle) and Mean

12. (= Herakles/Hercle 410) Bronze mirror. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12639. From Vulci. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 142; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 66 (2); Rebuffat-Emmanuel 472 n. 4; 516. - 4th cent. B.C. - Herakles (Hercle) with lionskin, club and phiale in r. hand between a winged Mean (boots, cloak over shoulder) who crowns him on the r. and V. (Vile) seated on the l. (cloak over shoulder, boots, hand raised). All names inscribed.

## C. Vile with Herakles (Hercle) and more deities

13. (= Athena/Menerva 185\*, = Herakles/Hercle 412) Bell-crater, Faliscan rf. Rome, Villa Giulia 6364. From Corchiano. - Beazley, *EVP* 70-73: Nepi

Group; Deppert, K., *Die rotfigurigen faliskischen Vasen* (unpublished Diss. Frankfurt, 1954) pls. 37b-c. 38a. 48f. - Early 4th cent. B.C. - Herakles seated with kantharos among Aphrodite (?) seated playing with goose, Nike, Athena, and a youth in chlamys carrying spears, presumably V., on the r.

14. (= Apollon/Aplu 62, = Artemis/Artumes 44\*, = Herakles/Hercle 159) Bronze mirror. Once Florence, Private Coll. From Bagnoregio. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 219-220 no. 16; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 66 (6); Pfiffig 2, 84-85 no. 26. - 3rd cent. B.C. - Herakles (Hercle) standing in the middle (phiale in one hand, club in the other) one foot on boar; on the l. Artemis (Artumes) and Apollo (Aplu); on the r. youth in himation holding spear (Marisherles) and V. (Vile), seated, also in himation and with spear.

15. (= Ares/Laran 26\*, = Herakles/Hercle 118) Bronze mirror. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Fr. 130. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* III pl. 255c; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 67 (9); Rebuffat-Emmanuel 472-473. - 2nd cent. B.C. - From l. to r., V. (Vile) seated (partly missing), Athena (Menerva) standing turned towards him, Herakles (Hercle) standing with club and Ares (Laran) seated. All names inscribed.

16. (= Aphrodite/Turan 34, = Herakles/Hercle 119) Bronze mirror. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. F 1868. From Città di Castello (near Perugia). - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 82-83 no. 64c; Schumacher, K., *Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronzen* (1890) 217 no. 233a pl. 24a. - 4th cent. B.C. - Herakles (Hercle) embraces Aphrodite (Turan) between Athena (Menerva) on the l. and a young warrior (helmet, corselet, spear and shield), presumably V.

17. (= Athena/Menerva 202, = Herakles/Hercle 91\*) Four bone relief plaques once attached to a box (?). Palestrina, Mus. Naz., formerly Rome, Villa Giulia 13248 (Vile), 13250 (Hermes), 13251 (Herakles), and once Coll. E. Brummer (Athena). From Praeneste. - Ducati 458 pl. 218 fig. 537 (Hermes and Herakles); Giglioli pl. 306, 3 (Herakles and Vile; the plaques in between do not belong to this group); Bonfante Warren, L., *AJA* 68, 1964, pl. 15 fig. 12 (all four plaques after the first publication); Huls, Y., *Ivoires d'Etrurie* (1957) 81-82; *The Ernest Brummer Collection* II (1979) 281 no. 657 (Athena). - First half of 4th cent. B.C. - From l. to r., Hermes, Herakles (corselet, chiton, lionskin, club, one foot on amphora), Athena, a warrior (chiton, corselet, chlamys, greaves, spear), presumably V. Fountain (lion-head spout) between Herakles and Athena.

## D. Vile in Herakles' introduction to Olympus

18.\* (= Herakles/Hercle 397) Bronze mirror. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1283. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 346; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 67 (10); Rebuffat-Emmanuel 33-39. 471-474 pl. 1. - 2nd cent. B.C. - From l. to r., Herakles (Hercle) wearing boots and holding club, Hera (Uni), Zeus (Tinia) seated and V. (inscr. Aile for Vile) in Phrygian cap, chlamys, boots, leaning forward, one foot on rock.

## UNCERTAIN

19. (= Acheloos 117\*, = Herakles/Hercle 396\*) Bronze mirror. Rome, Villa Giulia 12988. From Praeneste. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 347; Helbig\* III no. 2974. - 1st half of 4th cent. B.C. - From l. to r., a small-size Herakles (lionskin, club), Zeus seated, Hera standing and a figure in himation holding a flower (?), more likely a woman (Hebe?; cf. Dohrn in Helbig\*) than a youth.

## E. Vile in scene of Herakles suckled by Hera

20. (= Herakles/Hercle 402a\*) Bronze mirror. Bologna, Mus. Civ. It. 1075 (Coll. Univ. 275). - Gerhard, *EtrSp* II pl. 126; Bayet 53. 150-154; Renard, M., in *Hommages J. Bayet* (Coll. Latomus 70, 1964) 611 no. 1 pl. 30, 1; Dohrn, T., *RM* 73/74, 1966/67, 22-24 fig. 2; Fischer-Graf 54-56 V 34 pl. 14, 2; Pfiffig 2, 28 cover ill.; Sassatelli, G., *CSE Bologna* 1, 37-38 no. 15 fig. 15a-f. - Middle of 4th cent. B.C. - Herakles suckled by Hera watched by a youth in chlamys on the r. who has his r. hand on Hera's shoulder. The youth has rightly been identified as V. by Bayet, Renard, Fischer-Graf, Sassatelli and others. Gerhard (*EtrSp* III 125) and Dohrn call him Ares, while Pfiffig (Pfiffig 1, 345; Pfiffig 2, 28) Apollo. Compare the two youths in chlamys on a lost terracotta medallion from Praeneste (→ Herakles/Hercle 400), a duplicate V. according to Cook, *Zeus* III 89 n. 1. On a Faliscan rf. crater in the Villa Giulia (→ Herakles/Hercle 401) a seated youth in petasos with spears watches (a Dioskourous?; cf. Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 70, 1963, 129).

## F. Vile without Herakles in a divine assembly

21. (= Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 54\*) Bronze mirror. Once Rome, Lovatti Coll. From Vitorchiano (near Viterbo). - Gerhard, *EtrSp* III pl. 255B; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 66 (8). - About 300 B.C. - Athena (Menerva) and youth with spears, chlamys over shoulder, boots (Pultuce) standing between two seated youths in Phrygian caps and boots who lean on altars. The latter are inscribed *Vile* and *Castur* but are almost certainly meant as the Dioskouroi, Pultuce and Castur. The name *Vile* might then have been intended for the youth erroneously inscribed *Pultuce*.

## G. Vile in Herakles' Labours

## a) Herakles and the Lion

22.\* (= Acheloos 229 [other side], = Herakles/Hercle 169) Neck-amphora, bf. Florence, Mus. 80675. From Saturnia. - Camporeale, G., *StEtr* 36, 1968, 31-34 pl. 2; Michelucci, M., in Cristofani, M. (ed.), *Gli Etruschi in Maremma* (1981) 111 fig. 81. - About 500 B.C. - Herakles struggling with the lion; V. with club and curved stick on the l.

23. (= Herakles/Hercle 185\*) Neck-amphora, bf. Richmond, Virginia Mus. 62.1.8. - *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum* (1973) no. 133. - 1st quarter of 5th

cent. B.C. - Herakles attacks the lion, while V. watches with raised hand on the r.

## b) Herakles and the Hydra

24.\* (= Herakles/Hercle 199) Hydria, bf. Paris, Louvre CA 2510. - Beazley, *EVP* 16, 2 (with wrong inv. no.): P. of Vatican 238; Maffre, J.-J., *RLouvre* 1985, 87 fig. 6a-b. - About 500 B.C. - Herakles attacks the Hydra from the l. with his club; V. on the r. grasps one of the snake heads.

25.\* Many à jour reliefs of bronze cista feet, e.g.: a) Hamburg, Mus. KG 1925.185. b) Munich, Antikenslg. 3399. - *CP* II 1, 24 K 2, 4. 5 pl. 4d-f. - Around 500 B.C. - Herakles attacks the Hydra from the l. with his club; V. (short chiton, corselet, greaves) attacks from the r. with sword. Other examples: *CP* II 1, 23-25 K 2, 1-3 (= Herakles/Hercle 200). 6-10 pls. 4a-c. 5. 6a.

## c) Herakles and the Amazons

26. (= Amazones Etruscae 14\*, = Herakles/Hercle 242) Bronze mirror. Toronto, ROM 919.26.31. From Castel d'Asso. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* V 69 pl. 56; Matteucig, G., *AJA* 50, 1946, 63 fig. 4, 64-65; Fischer-Graf 93 V 61. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - Herakles attacks an Amazon in the presence of a man seated l. with spear and shield, presumably V.

## H. Vile (?) in other deeds of Herakles

## a) Herakles and the Centaurs

27. (= Herakles/Hercle 278) Amphora, bf. Florence, Mus. 78738. From Cortona. - Magi, A., *StEtr* 21, 1950/51, 375-377 figs. 1-2. - 1st quarter of 5th cent. B.C. - In a continuous frieze all around the vase Herakles (club and bow) and another man (sword and shield), perhaps V., fight the Centaurs.

## b) Herakles and Kyknos

28. (= Ares/Laran 14, = Athena/Menerva 203, = Gigantes 406, = Herakles/Hercle 295\*) Amphora, bf. Vatican, Guglielmi Coll. G 91. From Vulci. - Beazley, *EVP* 2 pl. 3, 3-4; Micali P.; Vian, F., *REA* 51, 1949, 31-32 pl. 3, 1-4; Spivey, N., *The Micali Painter and his Followers* (1987) 20 no. 110 pl. 21a. - About 500 B.C. - Herakles followed by Athena and a warrior fights against two warriors, a female warrior and another warrior attacked by a bird to whom runs a winged female figure. E. Simon (→ Ares/Laran 14), G. Colonna (→ Athena/Menerva 203), F. Vian (→ Gigantes 406) and Sh. Schwarz (→ Herakles/Hercle 295) interpret the scene as the fight of Herakles and Kyknos: Herakles is assisted by Athena and V., while Kyknos by Ares, Aphrodite (?) or his mother, Phobos and a winged daemon (Lasa?). Beazley and Spivey see the scene as a Gigantomachy.

29. (= Ares/Laran 13\*, = Herakles/Hercle 294) «Pontic» amphora, bf. Heidelberg, Univ. 59/5. - *CVA* 2 pls. 55, 1-2; 56, 1-3; Hampe, R./Simon, E., *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst* (1964) 8-10 pls. 2, 1; 3, 1; 4. - 3rd quarter of 6th cent. B.C. -



Side A shows Herakles against Kyknos assisted by Ares. The two chariots on side B have been plausibly connected by Hampe and Simon with A and seen as the chariots of Herakles and Kyknos led by V. and Phobos respectively.

### c) Herakles and Alkyoneus

In the Alkyoneus story Herakles' occasional companion in Greek art is identified with Telamon rather than with Iolaos (→ Alkyoneus 11\*. 16). In Etruscan art two men (then Herakles and Telamon?) are involved in the episode on the vases Paris, Louvre E 631 (= Herakles/Hercle 230/246/274; side A, Herakles attacks Alkyoneus; side B, two men follow a bull, probably to be connected with A) and Cambridge G 43 (= Alkyoneus 34\*; two warriors with spears approach Alkyoneus).

### I. Vile and Herakles wrongly associated with the Minotaur

30. (= Ariadne/Ariatha 4\*, = Herakles/Hercle 330) Bronze mirror. Lost. From Civita Castellana. – Körte, G., in *Strena Helbigiana* (1900) 164–170 fig.; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 66 (3). – Late 4th or early 3rd cent. B.C. – From l. to r., Minos (Mine) seated, Athena (Menrva), V. (Vile) in corselet, chiton and chlamys, holding a spear, Ariadne (Ariatha), Herakles (Hercle) seated and dead Minotaur (Thevru Mines).

### J. Figures erroneously inscribed Vile

31. (= Alkmene 12, = Herakles/Hercle 152, = Iphikles 7\*) Stamnos, rf. Florence, Mus. 70528 (1968). From Orvieto. – Beazley, *EVP* 52, 1 pl. 10, 1: Settecami P.; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 66 (1); *Image et céramique grecque* (Rouen, 1983) 124 fig. 5. – Early 4th cent. B.C. – Infant Herakles wrestling with the snakes in the presence of Alkmene into whose arms flees Iphikles (inscribed Vile instead of \*Viphi- cle); on the r. woman with distaff and spindle (maid?); at a window over the scene, Zeus and Hera.

32. (= Althaia 1\*) Bronze mirror. Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Art Mus. 74.23. – Bonfante, L., *StEtr* 45, 1977, 149–168 pls. 21–23; CSE U.S.A. 1 (Mid-western Colls.) 18–20 no. 4. – Last quarter of 4th cent. B.C. – In the exergue, under the scene of the Judgment of Paris, a small naked boy squatting on an altar (?) holding two serpents. The inscription *Vilae* is obviously a mistake, since the image is that of the infant Herakles (Hercle) wrestling with the snakes.

### COMMENTARY

The earliest appearance of V. in Etruscan art is on a few black-figure vases dating from about 550 to 475 B.C. and showing some of Herakles' deeds: he is present in the fight with the Lion (22. 23), the killing of the Hydra (24) and perhaps also in the Centauromachy

(27) and the Kyknos episode (28. 29). A series of bronze cista feet of c. 500 B.C. also has the Hydra scene (25). None of these works is inscribed but it is logical to identify Herakles' companion as V. In the Hydra, Centaur and Kyknos episodes V. takes an active part in the scene: on 24 he grasps one of the Hydra heads and on 25, where he is dressed as a warrior (corselet, greaves), he attacks the monster with a sword; on 27 the man who fights the Centaurs together with Herakles is armed with a sword and a shield; on 28 a fully armed warrior follows Athena and Herakles in the fight against Kyknos. In the Kyknos story V. probably appears as a charioteer as well (29), a role so characteristic of Iolaos in Greek art in general and in the Kyknos story in particular. This would be the only depiction of V. as a charioteer in Etruscan art. Finally, V. is a mere spectator in the lion episode (carrying Herakles' club and a curved stick on 22, raising a hand in surprise on 23), as well as on a bronze mirror of the 4th cent. B.C. showing the Amazonomachy (26).

Most representations of V. belong to the period from the late 5th/early 4th cent. to the 2nd cent. B.C. and show V. either with Herakles alone or with Herakles and one or more deities. Most are on bronze mirrors but there are also a bronze cista foot (10), a series of bone reliefs (17), two vases (13. → Athena/Menrva 184) and a necklace gold pendant (→ Herakles/Hercle 143). On some mirrors V. is identified by an inscription and this helps to recognize him on other similar non-inscribed works. On the mirrors and the few other works which are contemporary with them V. appears as a youth (the only exception is 26), either naked or wearing a chlamys (or more rarely a himation). On 12. 21 and → Herakles/Hercle 137 he is in chlamys and boots and on 18 he wears a Phrygian cap as well in the type of a Dioskouros. Sometimes he is shown with a corselet (17. 30; cf. 25) and once with a helmet as well (16; cf. 28). He is usually holding a spear and a shield (1. 2. 3. 16. 26) or just a spear (8. 11. 13. 14. 17. 21. 30. → Herakles/Hercle 143), a staff (5. 10. → Herakles/Hercle 145c) or a sword (→ Athena/Menrva 191\*) and once he is shown as an athlete holding a strigil (4).

The relative frequency of Vile's depiction on mirrors and the iconography of these attest his importance in Etruscan religion. In spite of the lack of characteristic attributes he is not a secondary figure in these works (for the opposite view see Rebuffat-Emmanuel 472–473. 517 with n. 2). When he appears with Herakles alone the two are shown as equals, facing each other in conversation, often in physical contact (7. 9; → Herakles/Hercle 115b. 141. 142a). A column (→ Herakles/Hercle 142a) or an altar (3) may indicate a sanctuary of one or other or a common cult-place. The most popular composition on mirrors, since it is well adapted to their shape, is that of three figures, a deity usually in the middle and Herakles and V. on either side seated or leaning towards the centre. Sometimes the deity faces V. and not Herakles, as if V. were a more important figure (thus Hermes on 5, Athena on 6, Eros on 10 and, in a different composition, Zeus

and Hera on 18, which makes the scene look more like an introduction of V. to Olympus). On some mirrors where the god is turned towards Herakles, we may find V. with his hand on the god's shoulder (Hermes' on 4, Athena's on → Athena/Menrva 191, Hera's on 20) in a familiar gesture which may indicate his high standing.

Finally, V. often accompanies Herakles in those scenes which show the hero in connection with an amphora or a fountain (1. 4. 5. 8. 17; Hermes or/and Athena may also be present). These scenes have usually been regarded as indicative of Herakles' association with water and springs in Etruria (Rebuffat-Emmanuel 514–517 sees them as athletic scenes in which the amphora is the prize). It is possible that the presence of V. in many such scenes (see in particular 8 where V. has his foot on an amphora just like Herakles) indicates his own association with water and fountains in Etruscan religion.

MARIA PIPILI

### IOLE I

(*Ἰόλη*, *Ἰόλα* in 1, *Ἰόλας* in 2, Iole) The youngest child and only daughter of → Eurytos (I) – the famous king of Oichalia – and of Antioche or Antiope. Sister of → Deion, → Klytios (I), → Toxeus (I) and → Iphitos (I). Herakles won her as a prize in the archery contest set up by her own father. Since Eurytos refused to give her to him, Herakles destroyed Oichalia and held her captive. Deianeira, Herakles' wife, jealous of I., gave him the poisoned mantle which killed him. Herakles, on the pyre entrusted I. to the care of Hyllus.

LITERARY SOURCES: For the different locations of Oichalia and the discrepancy in the number and names of I.'s brothers, cf. → Eurytos (I). According to Hes. *ehoiai* (fig. 26, 31a Merkelbach/West) her mother was Antioche or perhaps Antiope; she was the youngest of Eurytos' children. The epithet *ξανθή*, blond (Hes. *l.c.*; Strabon 14, 1, 18 p. 638) is a conventional way to mention her beauty. Herakles' love for I., the archery contest which Herakles won, Eurytos' refusal to give his daughter to him and the hero's vengeance, were to be the main subject of the lost poem *Οἰχάλιας ἄλωσις* (*The Conquest of Oichalia*) attributed to Kreophylos the Samian (Davies *EGF* pp. 149–153; Bernabé *PEG* 161–164). It was possibly the source used for representations (Robert, *Heldensage* 2, 583). The sole extant line alludes to a dramatic dialogue between Herakles and I.: «*Ἰὼ γόναι, αὐτὴ ταῦτά γ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὄρηαι*» The subject was treated possibly by Panyassis of Halikarnassos in his *Herakleia* at the beginning of the 5th cent. B.C. (no evidence preserved; Huxley, G., *Greek Epic Poetry* [1969] 177 ss.) and by Pherekydes of Athens (*FGH* 3 F 82a), in the 1st half of the same cent. According to him, Herakles had requested

that I. should marry Hyllus. Ion of Chios, a tragic poet active in Athens about the middle of 5th cent., treats the epic subject in his *Eurytidai* (*TrGF* 19 F 10–13a). Soph. *Trach.* and Bakchyl. *dith.* 16 deal with Deianeira's jealousy when the arrival of captive I. is announced (Bakchyl. *o.c.* 23–30). In Soph. *Trach.* 856–862, I. is the bride, won by his spear, that victorious Herakles takes home. The goddess Kypris is responsible. Equally, the drama stresses Eros' role as the god solely responsible for Eurytos' death and the conquest of Oichalia (351–357). Herakles on the pyre, commands his son to take I. as his wife (1220–1228), an echo of the treatment in Pherekydes. Hyllus regards I. as the person who caused his mother Deianeira's death and Herakles' end (1233–1234). In Eur. *Hipp.* 546, I. is called an unyoked filly that was given to Herakles by Kypris. In all these versions madness and destruction accompany love. In Hyg. *fab.* 35, I. endured with firm heart the killing of her parents by Herakles, in her presence and in spite of her entreaties. In Ps.-Plut. *Par.* 13, 308f (*FGH* 60 F 1), I. jumped from the walls of Oichalia in order to escape Herakles, but her clothes filled with the wind prevented injury. This is likely to be a later addition to the myth.

For the etymology of I., see Neumann, Appendix to Olmos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: For a more complete bibliography see → Eurytos I. Beazley, J. D., «Brygan Symposia», in *Studies D. M. Robinson* II (1953) 66–82; Bernhard, *ML* II 1 (1890–94) 289–290 s.v. «Iole»; Isler-Kerényi, C., *Stamnoi* (1976/77) 36–42; Olmos, R., «Die Einnahme von Oichalia», *MM* 18, 1977, 130–147, with an epigraphical appendix by G. Neumann, 148–150; Robert, *Heldensage* 2, 585–586; Schefold, *SB* II 148–150.

### CATALOGUE

#### A. Herakles meets Iole banqueting in Oichalia

1.\* (= Deion 1\* with further refs., = Eurytos I I with bibl., = Iphitos I I) Column crater, Corinthian. Paris, Louvre E 635. From Cerveteri. Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pl. XI. – Early Corinthian: 600–590 B.C. – Banquet given by Eurytos and his sons in honour of Herakles. I. (*FIOAA*), depicted with white flesh, has long hair, and is walking to the r. in front of the klinai of Iphitos and Herakles. She turns to face her family while holding her red mantle with both hands in a gesture of *aidōs*, chastity. When Herakles sees her, he seems about to rise from the couch.

#### B. Archery contest and Herakles' vengeance

2.\* (= Antiphonos 1\* with bibl., = Eurytos I 3 with bibl., = Iphitos I 3\*) Amphora, Attic bf. Madrid, Mus. Arch. 10916. From Vulci. – *ABV* 508: near the Sappho P.; *Add* 126. – About 500–490 B.C. – In the same scene the contest for I.'s hand and Herakles killing the Eurytidai. I. (*IOAEAS*) depicted with white flesh, long hair, dressed in chiton and himation at the r. of the scene watches the killing of her family. She

extends her arms, powerless. Near her is the target with the arrows stuck in it, alluding to the contest.

3. (= Eurytos I 4 with bibl., = Iphitos I 4) Cup fr., Attic rf. Palermo, Mus. Reg. V 653. From Chiuse. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 73, 30; 1623: Epiktetos; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 168. – About 510–500 B. C. – The scene is composed in the opposite direction to the scene on 2. Of I., at the l., remains only the lower part of her body. She is dressed in chiton and himation. At the r., part of Herakles shooting. Since the Eurytidai are turning their faces towards I., while running to the r. with their bows and arrows ready, we may suppose that they are astonished by the target near I., with the arrows, as on 2, 4, and 5. Eurytos runs ahead of them, standing between them and Herakles.

4. (= Eurytos I 2/5\* with bibl., = Iphitos I 5) Cup fr., Attic rf. Athens, Nat. Mus. Acr. 288. From the Athenian Acropolis. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 370, 7: Brygos P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 224. – 490–480 B. C. – A: Eurytos and his sons run to the r. turning their heads towards I., as on 3. By I.'s head an arrow. I. is poorly preserved, dressed in tunic and mantle, with parts of her hand and wrist raised to her chin.

5. (= Eurytos I 7\* with bibl., = Iphitos I 7) Stamnos, Attic rf. Once Basle market. – Isler-Kerényi 36–42 figs.: Eucharides P. – 490–480 B. C. – A: Herakles to l., about to shoot again towards I. Before him an archer with Phrygian cap and Eurytos as king, turning his head back to I. She wears chiton and himation and holds a flower in her l. hand. On her breast a strange target in which an arrow is stuck.

## COMMENTARY

I. is depicted on only five Greek vases from the archaic period, in scenes always related to the *Capture of Oichalia*, a poem that directly or indirectly is to be considered their source of inspiration. The earliest representation, the Corinthian crater I of the beginning of the 6th cent. B. C., places the origin of the story in a magnificent and aristocratic atmosphere, at a banquet in Eurytos' palace. (On hybris as a recurrent theme in this subject, already present in the banquet, cf. comm. to → Eurytos I, and → Iphitos I). The unusual presence of I. inspires sudden love in Eurytos' guest, Herakles, who rises from his couch. The reason for the presence of I. at the men's banquet is not known, but it reminds one of → Iphigeneia's presence at the symposium in Agamemnon's palace, to sing a Paean in honour of the guests (Aischyl. *Ag.* 243–247; Beazley 82 n. 29). The young girl reacts by wrapping herself up in the red himation, a feminine gesture, similar to → Penelope's when she entered the suitors' room (cf. Hom. *Od.* I, 334; 21, 65). The double movement of I.'s figure demonstrates the tension of the drama: on the one hand her family ties, on the other Herakles' appeal.

The archery contest for I.'s hand, and Herakles' vengeance caused by Eurytos' refusal to give her to him, is the subject of the other representations (2–5), on Attic vases almost a century after the Corinthian, between 510 and 480 B. C. On the simultaneous re-

presentation of the contest and vengeance cf. comm. to → Eurytos I. Like → Achilles in the first book of the *Iliad*, deprived of Briseis by Agamemnon, and therefore of his honour, Herakles is also dishonoured when not given his corresponding τιμή, I. That is why she appears associated with the target with stuck arrows, since she is the prize (2, 4, 5, and probably also 3). The stuck arrow on a strange target on her own breast on 5, alludes to the winner's immediate possession of the νόμιον; target and woman are the same thing. On these vases Eurytos' family interposes again between Herakles and I.: she stands in front of Herakles, at the opposite end of the scene. She contemplates the fight, powerless or vividly gesticulating (2, ca. 500–490 B. C.), or containing her sorrow with more restrained gestures on later vases (4, 5, 490–480 B. C.). On 5, the stamnos by the Eucharides P., the look between I. and her father shows the intimate tension between them, in contrast to the brothers' lively movement and the imminent vengeance: the silent dialogue between father and daughter alludes to the decision about I.'s fate. But we are not sure whether she is here participating (cf. Hyg. *fab.* 35) or just respecting her father's decision. The vigorous action of the men contrasts with the hieratic I., depicted like a kore. On 5, and perhaps also on 4, she holds a flower to express her beauty, charis. Her beauty, referred to in the literary sources, is expressed in the conventional contemporary fashion: she also has her long hair tied with a band on 5, and, as a princess, she wears a rich peplos and himation.

RICARDO OLMOS

## IOLE II → Amazones 764

## IOLEIA

(*Ἰολεία*) «Veilchen», Mänamenname (→ Mainades) in einer Vaseninschrift.

I.\* Kelchkrater, att. rf. Athen, Nat. Mus. 12594. – Fränkel, *Namen* 51. 102 Nr. 0; Nicole 263–264 Nr. 1138 Taf. 20. – Lagernder Dionysos, heranfliegender Eros mit Kranz. L. steht die Mänade → Mainas, r. I. (*IOLEIA*) (Stephane im hochgesteckten Haar, r. Fuß hochgestellt, hält I. Thyrsos und r. eine Schale mit Früchten) im Blickkontakt mit Dionysos.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## ION

(*Ἴων*, Ion) Sohn des → Xouthos, Bruder des Achaïos, Enkel des Hellen, des Stammvaters der Hellenen. Die Brüder I. und Achaïos sind die eponymen

Heroen der Ioner und der Achäer in einem Stammbaum, der in nachhomerischer Zeit, wohl im 7. Jh. v. Chr., entstanden ist. Die Eponymen der beiden anderen griechischen Hauptstämme, Doros und Aiolos, sind dagegen Brüder des Xouthos, der selbst kein namentgebender Heros ist. In der attischen, durch Eur. *Ion* und Plat. *Euthd.* 302c bezeugten Version unterscheidet sich I. von den anderen Heroen des Stammbaums dadurch, daß er neben dem menschlichen Vater einen göttlichen hat: → Apollon. Dieses Phänomen ist für eine ganze Reihe von Heroen typisch – man denke an → Herakles oder → Theseus – und sollte nicht durch rationalistische Konstruktionen (Xouthos angeblicher Beiname des Apollon) oder als bloße Erfindung des Euripides abgetan werden. Erfindung des Euripides ist freilich Doros als Bruder des I., was sich aber nicht durchgesetzt hat (Eur. *Ion* 1589–1591): Doros ist sonst, wie in den hesiodeischen Katalogen, Sohn des Hellen und Bruder, nicht Sohn des Xouthos. – Mutter des I. war die attische Prinzessin → Kreusa (I), Tochter des → Erechtheus; für den Namen seiner Gattin ist Helike überliefert, die eine Tochter des peloponnesischen Königs Selinus war. Nach den vier Söhnen des I. – Geleon, Hoples, Argades, Aigikores – waren die vier attisch-ionischen Urphylen benannt. Mit diesen wurde I. in Samos gemeinsam kultisch verehrt, wie dort gefundene Horossteine zeigen. Die Annahme von Carl Robert, I. habe keinen Kult gehabt (*Heldensage*<sup>4</sup> II 148), ist also widerlegt. Auch das von Paus. I, 31, 3 erwähnte Grab des I. im ostattischen Demos Potamoi spricht für Heroenkult. Nach einer von demselben Autor 7, 1, 5 überlieferten Sage (zum Teil wohl nach Eur. *Erechtheus*, → Chthonia) soll I. den Athenern von der Peloponnes her gegen die Eleusiner (und Thraker) zu Hilfe gekommen und gefallen sein. Der Beiname seines Vaters Apollon, Boedromios, wird in anderen Quellen damit in Verbindung gebracht. Vor allem aber stand Apollon als Patroos, wie er in Athen, auf Delos und in Kleinasien verehrt wurde, mit I. in Verbindung. Er war identisch mit dem Apollon Pythios und Hypoakraios, der am Nordwesthang der Akropolis einen uralten Höhlenkult besaß. Dort soll Kreusa den von Apollon empfangenen Sohn I. ausgesetzt haben.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Hauptquelle ist Eur. *Ion*, ein Spätwerk, dessen genaue Ausführungszeit nicht feststeht. Es ist auch unbekannt, ob die für Sophokles überlieferten Titel *Ion* und *Kreusa* früher oder später als die Tragödie des Euripides waren und ob sie zu einem einzigen Drama oder zu zweien gehörten; vgl. *TrGF* IV p. 308–309. 321–324. Im Prolog von Eur. *Ion* schildert Hermes, wie er auf Geheiß des Apollon den ausgesetzten Sohn der Kreusa aus der Akropolis-Höhle, wohl der ältesten Kultstätte des Apollon in Athen, nach Delphi trug. Hermes sagt voraus, daß I. der Ktistes der kleinasiatischen Ioner sein wird (74). Athena, die am Schluß als *dea ex machina* erscheint, spricht von der ionischen Kolonisation der Kykladen und der kleinasiatischen Küste (1581–1588). – Die hesiodeischen *Ehoiai* sind in bezug auf den Stammbaum der Hellenen durch Neufunde erweitert. Zu fig. 9 und 10 Merkelbach/West tritt nun fig. 10a Solm-

sen/Merkelbach/West (1983<sup>2</sup>). Doros, Aiolos und Xouthos als Söhne des Hellen sind ebendort und bei Hdt. I, 56 verankert, ebenso bei den späteren Autoren. Hdt. 8, 44 nennt den I. Strataches, was vielleicht mit dem athenischen Amt des Polemarchos gleichgesetzt werden kann (Oldfather, Strasburger). Der Polemarch richtete nämlich das Apollonfest der Boedromia aus, die nach der Hilfe des I. für die Athener im eleusinisch-thrakischen Krieg genannt sein sollten (*Etym. m. s. v.* Boedromion). Hdt. 5, 66 sowie Eur. *Ion* 1575–1581 und Aristot. *Ath. pol.* 41, 2 bringen die Namen der vier attischen Urphylen mit den Söhnen des I. zusammen. Der Name seiner Gattin Helike ist bei Paus. 7, 1, 3–4 überliefert. Kult des I. in Samos: Barron, J. P., «Religious Propaganda of the Delian League», *JHS* 84, 1964, 37; vgl. Meiggs, R., *The Athenian Empire* (1972) 298. Die Testimonia zu I. sind zum Teil bei Prinz gesammelt (Nr. 209. 210. 212. 213. 216. 217), der allerdings die Neufunde zu den hesiodeischen Katalogen noch nicht verwendet und viel zu sehr der überholten Meinung von Carl Robert (*Heldensage*<sup>4</sup> II 149) anhängt: «Für Sage, Poesie und Kunst bleibt Ion eine Null». Eine gute neue Behandlung der I.-Sage findet sich bei Parker, der zu Recht betont, daß der Beiname des Apollon Patroos ohne I. nicht erklärbar sei. Höhle des Apollon Hypoakraios: Travlos, *Top. Ath.* 91–95; dort auch die Quellen für die Gleichsetzung dieses Gottes mit dem Apollon Patroos und Pythios.

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Speziell zum Ion des Euripides: Imhof, M., *Euripides' Ion. Eine literarische Studie* (1966); Lesky, A., *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen* (1972) 425–437; Owen, A. S., *Euripides Ion with introduction and commentary* (1939); Schauenburg, K., «Kreusa in Delphi», *AA* 1988, 633–651; Schmidt, M., «Ein Danaidendrama(?) und der euripideische Ion auf unteritalischen Vasenbildern», in *Studies in Honour of A. D. Trendall* (1979) 163–169; Webster, T. B. L., *The Tragedies of Euripides* (1967) 202–204. 293–294; Weitzmann, K., *ArtBull* 25, 1943, 298–303; v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U., *Euripides Ion* (1926).

## KATALOG

Zur Verfolgung der Mutter des I., Kreusa, durch Apollon, die nicht inschriftlich gesichert ist: → Kreusa (I). Die Rettung des ausgesetzten I. durch Hermes auf Geheiß des Apollon ist bisher in den Darstellungen nicht nachgewiesen. Sie könnte dort dargestellt sein, wo das Kind aus ikonographischen Gründen nicht Dionysos genannt werden kann; zum Problem Kossatz-Deißmann, A., in *Festschr. A. Cambitoglou* (im Druck). – Ein Teil der hypothetisch auf I. gedeuteten Denkmäler ist bei Schmidt 167 Anm. 35 gesammelt.

Von den Nummern des folgenden Katalogs ist keine ganz gesichert, doch ist die Deutung von 2 durch M. Schmidt allgemein anerkannt.

#### A. Ion im Kreis seiner athenischen Verwandten beim Streit um Attika

1. (= Erysichthon II 4 mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Figur E im Westgiebel des Parthenon. – Brommer, F., *Die Skulpturen der Parthenongiebel* (1963) 35. 167 Taf. 64, 1; 90, 1. Am besten in der Zeichnung von Carrey erhalten, allerdings auch dort ohne Kopf. Durch sie konnte ein Torso im Akropolismuseum zugewiesen werden (Brommer Taf. 90, 1). Zur Situation, in der sich die Figuren in der I. Hälfte des Westgiebels befinden: Simon, E. in *Tainia, Festschr. R. Hampe* (1980) 243–244. Es ist eine «Sintflutsituation», denn Poseidon droht Attika zu überschwemmen. Die Figuren suchen verzweifelt Halt beieinander. Der junge Mann (nicht Knabe) E bricht in die Knie, stützt die Rechte auf die neben ihm zusammensinkende matronale Frau und streckt die Linke abwehrend zur Giebelmitte hin, wo Amphitrite mit ihren Seeungeheuern heranzieht. Eine jüngere Frau sucht ihm vom Hintergrund her Halt zu geben. Wenn man die bis vor wenigen Jahren noch im Giebel befindliche Gruppe B/C als Kekrops mit einer Tochter erklärt, so ist in E → Erysichthon (II) zu sehen, der einzige Sohn des Kekrops, mit seinen Schwestern (→ Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos). Wenn man mit R. Hampe (vgl. → Chthonia 1) in der Figur B jedoch → Erechtheus sieht, was mir trotz des Verdikts von U. Kron (→ Erysichthon II 4 und sonst) möglich erscheint, so kann E der Enkel des Erechtheus, I., sein, der wahrscheinlich in der Erechtheus-Tragödie des Euripides auftritt (→ Chthonia). Die ihn umgebenden Frauen sind dann nicht die Kekropstöchter, sondern Praxithea und Kreusa.

#### B. Ion als Tempeldiener des delphischen Apollon

2. (= Aphrodite 1532, = Apollon 326\* mit Lit., = Chryses I 14, = Eros 928) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1097. – Mittleres 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Am Altar vor einem ionischen Tempel, in dem eine Statue des Apollon steht, wird ein Stieropfer dargebracht. Am Altar steht ein langlockiger Knabe mit einem bindengeschmückten Lorbeerzweig, den M. Schmidt als I. deutet. Der Opfernde ist dann Xuthos, der aus Freude über den angeblich wiedergefundenen Sohn, dem er feierlich den Namen Ion gibt (Eur. *Ion* 661), ein Stieropfer darbringt; und die Frau I. ist Kreusa mit dem Chor der euripideischen Tragödie. Ob der vor dem Tempel betende Greis der alte Pädagoge des Erechtheus ist (Eur. *Ion* 725), bleibe dahingestellt, ebenso die Deutung der I. Sitzenden als → Asia durch M. Schmidt. Ich möchte sie für Artemis halten, die auch sonst auf Vasen des 4. Jh. eine Phrygermütze trägt (vgl. → Artemis 1097a\*. 1334\*. 1375\*. 1392\*). Durch das Fehlen der Athena, die als *dea ex machina* bei

Euripides eine wichtige Rolle spielt, wird das Geschehen weniger athenisch als panhellenisch akzentuiert, was dem Entstehungsort und der Zeit der Vase besser entspricht. Vielleicht ist der vor Apollon betende königliche Greis Hellen, Vater des Xuthos und Stammvater der Hellenen.

3. (= Apollon/Aplu 48\* mit Lit., = Chrysis I 7 mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Praenestische Ciste («Cista Barberini»). Rom, Villa Giulia 13199. – Drittes Drittel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Vor dem an seinem Omphalos thronenden Apollon Pythios steht betend ein vornehmer Krieger. Dem Apollon ist im Hintergrund ein Knabe zugeordnet, dessen Beine und I. Hand von dem Gott überschritten werden. Er ist nackt, mit Fackelfrisur, und dient dem Apollon, der in der Rechten eine Phiale vorstreckt, als Ministrant. Wenn man in dem Krieger, der um ein Orakel bittet, in der herkömmlichen Interpretation Laios oder Ödipus sieht, bleibt der Knabe unbenannt. Diese Deutung ist aber nicht zwingend, denn außer dem Raub des Chrysis I 7 ist auf der Ciste noch das Parisurteil (→ Parisid iudicium, → Iris I 136) abgebildet, also eine Szene aus einem ganz anderen Sagenkreis. Deshalb muß auch die dritte Szene inhaltlich nicht mit dem übrigen Fries übereinstimmen. Chrysis I 7 war nicht Kultdiener des Apollon, wohl aber I., den ich in dem Knaben erkenne (vgl. *Jdl* 93, 1978, 207 Anm. 35). Der Orakelsuchende ist dann Xuthos aus dem Drama des Euripides. I. ist zu nahe an den Gott herangerückt. In der Vorlage dürfte er eine Kanne zum Füllen von dessen Phiale gehalten haben.

#### AUSZUSCHIEDEN

4. (= Alkestis 56, = Hippothoon 5) Silberschale, 1903 in Kasachstan bei Kustanai gefunden. Leningrad, Ermitage. – Weitzmann 298–303 Abb. 1. 5–8 und *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (1970) *passim* hat das Verdienst, dieses spätantike Gefäß mit dem griechisch-römischen Kulturkreis verbunden zu haben. Seine Deutung der Szenen auf verschiedene Tragödien des Euripides (Alkestis, Bakchai, Alope und Ion) ist trotz der partiellen Zustimmung von M. Schmidt (→ Alkestis 56) zurückzuweisen. Für die Deutung des Mittelbildes (Abb. 8) auf Kreusa und den alten Diener und eines Teiles des Frieses (Abb. 7) auf Ion, Kreusa und Chorführerin fehlt jeder Anhalt. Die verschiedenen Szenen der Schale hängen deutlich als fortlaufende Erzählung zusammen; es handelt sich wahrscheinlich, wie an anderer Stelle gezeigt werden soll, um die Illustration eines Romanes.

#### KREUSA UND XUTHOS IN DELPHI, ION FEHLT:

5. Zwei apul. Lutrophoren, a) Tarent, Mus. Naz. (RVAp II 499, 57 Taf. 179, 1–2; Dareiosmaler; Schauenburg 635 Abb. 4); b) ehem. Basel, Kunsthandel (Gal. Palladion; Schauenburg 634 Abb. 1–2; Dareiosmaler) lassen sich durch die Inschrift *Kreusa* im Zentrum von a wenigstens allgemein deuten. Es dürfte sich um den Ion des Euripides (Schauenburg) oder um die Kreusa des Sophokles (Simon bei Schauenburg 647 Anm. 81) handeln. Das Elternpaar tritt jedoch ohne I. auf.

#### KOMMENTAR

Darstellungen des I. in der antiken Kunst sind selten. Einige bei M. Schmidt verzeichnete «Illustrationen» sind problematisch (vgl. zu 4). Aus dem im Zusammenhang mit dem attisch-ionischen Seebund errichteten I.-Kult auf Samos geht hervor, daß I. im 5. Jh. v. Chr. ein Heros war, unter dessen Vorzeichen sich Athen mit seinen ionischen Verbündeten treffen konnte. R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (1972) 298 betont zu Recht, daß Euripides mit seinem Ion-Drama «had more than Athenians in mind; there would be allies as well in the audience». Diese Bundesgenossen gingen nicht nur ins Dionysos-Theater, sondern auch auf die Akropolis. Wenn sie in der Figur E des Westgiebels I. sehen konnten (1), so handelte es sich nicht um eine lokalathenische, sondern um eine panhellenische Sage, deren Wurzeln aber in attischem Boden ruhten. Eine solche Darstellung wäre des perikleischen Zeitalters würdig gewesen. Auf dem Volutenkrater des Lykurgosmalers (2) ist das Drama des Euripides so abgewandelt, daß Athens Rolle zurückgedrängt erscheint. Athena fehlt – fehlte sie auch in großgriechischen Aufführungen des *Ion*? Wir wissen es nicht, doch es erscheint durchaus möglich, daß an der Schwelle zum Hellenismus jenes Drama aktualisiert wurde. M. Schmidt hat zu Recht Reden des Isokrates zur Deutung herangezogen. Wenn die oben versuchte Benennung des Greises stimmt, wäre der Stammvater der Hellenen selbst in der Neufassung des *Ion* aufgetreten. Dem großgriechischen Bereich, dem 2 angehört, ist auch 3 in Stil und Inhalt verpflichtet. Für die Latiner in Praeneste und Rom, für die diese Cisten graviert wurden, kam es aber weniger auf I. als auf den auch in Latium hoch verehrten Apollo Pythios an (→ Apollon/Apollo).

ERIKA SIMON

#### IONIOS

(*Ἰόνιος*) Illyrischer Held, nach dem das Ionische Meer, das in der Antike auch einen Teil der Adria mit einschloß, benannt wurde.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Nach Theop. ist Ionios ein Illyrier (FGH I 15 F 128a–b), Sohn des Adrias (F 128c), und stammt aus Issa (F 129). Bei App. *div.* 2, 39 wird I., Sohn des Dyrrhachos, von Herakles aus Versehen erschlagen und seine Leiche im Meer bestattet.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Brunšmid, J., «Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechischen Städte Dalmatiens», *Abh. des Archäologisch-Epigraphischen Seminars der Univ. Wien* 13, 1898, III–IV. 30–31. 58–61. 67–68; Cambi, N./Kirigin, B./Marin, E., *RdA* 4, 1980, 81–89; Gorini, G., «Monete greche riconiate in Illiria», in *Attes du 9<sup>e</sup> Congrès int. de numismatique*, Berne, 1979 (1982) 141–146; Katičić, R., «Jonios der Illyrier», *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja* 11, 1973, 185 ff.; Rendić-Miočević, D., «IONIOΣ (TO ΓΕΝΟΣ ΙΑΛΥΠΙΟΣ) and the Graeco-Illyrian Coinage», in *Festschr. G. Novak* (1970) 347–376 (serbo-kroatisch mit englischer Zusammenfassung); Schultz, A./Stoll, H. W., *ML II* 1 (1890–94) 292 s. v. «Ionios»; Visonà, P., «Early Greek Bronze Coinage in Dalmatia and the Škadijivac Hoard: A Reappraisal of IGCH 418–420», in *Attes du 9<sup>e</sup> Congrès int. de numismatique*, Berne, 1979 (1982) 147–155; Weicker, G., *REIX* 2 (1916) 1895 s. v. «Ionios I».

#### KATALOG

##### Münzen

1.\* AE, Issa oder Pharos, 4./3. Jh. v. Chr. – Brunšmid 60 Nr. 1–3 Taf. 3, 56; 4, 57–58; 61 Nr. 6 Taf. 4, 62; MacDonald, *Hunter* II 8 Nr. 1 Taf. 31, 12; SNG Copenhagen 538–539; Rendić-Miočević 351 Abb. 1; 357 Abb. 7–8; 358 Abb. 10; 369 Typ A Taf. 1–2; Gorini 141–143; Visonà 147–155. – Vs.: jugendlicher Kopf mit Tanie. *IONIO*. Rs.: Delphin.

2.\* AE, Issa oder Pharos oder Herakleia in Illyrien, 4./3. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Thessaly to Aetolia 84, 1 Taf. 15, 9; Brunšmid 61 Nr. 5 Taf. 3, 60; 4, 61; Rendić-Miočević 359 Abb. 12–14; 361 Abb. 15; 369 Typ C Taf. 4; Gorini 141–143; Visonà 147–155. – Vs.: Bärtiger Kopf nach I. *IONIO* oder *IONIOΣ*. Rs.: Löwenkopfhaut oder Kopf des Zeus.

3.\* AE, Issa, 4./3. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Thessaly to Aetolia 82, 10–11 Taf. 15, 3; Brunšmid 67–68 Nr. 33–37 Taf. 5, 85–89; SNG Copenhagen 540; Rendić-Miočević 353 Abb. 2; 369 Typ B Taf. 3, 1; Visonà 147–155 Tf. 24, 6. – Vs.: jugendlicher männlicher Kopf, bekränzt oder unbekränzt, nach r. Rs.: Delphin über Wellen oder Kantharos.

#### KOMMENTAR

Verschiedene Münztypen (1–3) zeigen einen männlichen Kopf, der meist mit der Legende *IONIO* versehen ist (1–2). Aufgrund dieser Beischrift wird der Kopf von Brunšmid, Schultz/Stoll und Weicker mit Ionios und genauer mit der gleichnamigen mythologischen Person identifiziert, die nach Legenden angeblich in dieser Gegend lebte, in der auch unsere

#### IONE

(*Ἰώνη, Ἡώνη*) Néréide (→ Nereides). Le nom *Ἡώνη* figure dans deux des quatre listes antiques de Néréides: Hes. *theog.* 255; Apollod. *bibl.* 1 (12) 2, 7; Apollod. mentionne en outre *Ἰώνη* comme Néréide distincte d'*Ἡώνη*. Cf. REXVII 1 (1936) 3–4 s. v. «Nereiden».

1. Mosaïque. Aquilée, Mus. Arch. D'Aquilée. – Brusin, G., *NotSc* 5<sup>e</sup> sér. 20, 1923, 227. – III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Panneau très fragmentaire d'un ensemble qui comportait d'autres représentations de Néréides (→ Klymene I, → Thetis); il ne subsiste que la fin du nom du personnage (inscr. *[Ἰ]ου Ἡ[ἰ]ώνη*, qui ne permet pas de décider entre les deux noms possibles), ainsi que la main dr. et quelques parties squameuses du → Triton qu'il chevauchait.

JEAN CH. BALTZ



Münzen geschlagen wurden. Rendić-Miočević S. 371 argumentierte dagegen, daß der Name auf den Münzen in den Genitiv gesetzt wurde und daß in solchen Fällen in der Regel auf eine lebende Person angespielt wurde, sei es der Münzmeister oder – wie auf etwa gleichzeitigen Münzen der naheliegenden Städte Dyrrhachion oder Pharos – der dort regierende Herrscher Mounios oder Ballaios. Daher stellte Rendić-Miočević die These auf, daß in dem Dargestellten ein auf Issa lebender Dynast zu erkennen wäre. Gorini S. 141 wies aber darauf hin, daß bei einer erneuten Überprüfung eines Exemplars im Britischen Museum in London (= *BMCThessaly* etc. 81, 1 Taf. 15, 9; hier 2), Herr Dr. Price eindeutig *IONIOΣ* lesen konnte und so zumindest hier kein Genitiv angenommen werden kann. Damit erscheint jedoch die ältere Interpretation viel wahrscheinlicher, wie sie auch kürzlich Visonà S. 151 wieder aufnimmt, daß auf diesen Münzen die mythologische Gestalt des I. zu erkennen ist.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

IONOPOLIS → Glykon 20

IORDANES → LIMC Suppl.

IOULIOPOLIS → LIMC Suppl.

IPHIANASSA → Iphigeneia

## IPHIDAMAS

(*Ἰπιδάμας*) Fils du Troyen → Antenor (I) et de → Theano (I), fille du roi de Thrace Cissée (Kisseus). Il fut élevé par celui-ci, dont il épousa une autre fille. Il participa à la guerre de Troie avec douze navires et fut tué par → Agamemnon. Homère (*Il.* 11, 221–247) décrit le duel avec beaucoup de détails.

I. (= Agamemnon 72) Coffre de Cypsélos, œuvre en bois sculpté orné d'or et d'ivoire, perdue, connue par la description de Pausanias. – Paus. 5, 19, 4; Jones, H. S., «The Chest of Kypselos», *JHS* 14, 1894, 30–80 (surtout 74); v. Massow, W., «Die Kypseloslade», *AM* 41, 1916, 1–117 (en particulier 84); Friis Johansen, *Iliad* 245, 5; Schefold, *Sagenbilder* 68 fig. 26; Papachatzis, *Paus. Messeniaka, Eliaka* 295 n. 2; 296. – Vers 550 av. J.-C. – Agamemnon et → Koon combattent au-dessus du cadavre d'I.; sous les personnages, des inscr. confirmaient leur identité.

ALIKI KAUFFMANN-SAMARAS

IPHIDAME → Hypermestra 5

## IPHIGENEIA

(*Ἰπυγένη*, variantes principales Iphianassa? [*Ἰπιδάσσα*], Iphimédé [*Ἰπυμέδη*], Iphigoné [*Ἰπυγόνη*]; en latin Iphigenia, Iphianassa) D'une part ancienne divinité liée à → Artemis et épicièle d'→ Hekate, d'autre part héroïne légendaire, fille d'→ Agamemnon et de Clytemnestre (→ Klytaimnestra), sœur d'→ Orestes. Selon une version plus rare, fille d'→ Helene et de → Theseus, née à Aphidna, confiée ensuite par Hélène à Clytemnestre qui la fait passer pour son enfant. Selon les prédictions de → Kalchas, qui invoque les exigences d'Artémis, I. devait être sacrifiée à Aulis afin que la flotte grecque, bloquée par des vents contraires, puisse partir pour Troie. Amenée à Aulis sous le prétexte d'y épouser → Achilleus, I. y est conduite par force à l'autel d'Artémis, ou au contraire s'y rend volontairement. Elle est sauvée *in extremis* par la déesse qui lui substitue une biche ou une ourse (version brauronienne). Selon la seconde partie de la légende, Artémis aurait secrètement transporté I. en Tauride (Crimée) où elle devint sa prêtresse, gardienne du sanctuaire et chargée du sacrifice. C'est là qu'Oreste (accompagné de → Pylades), auquel Apollon avait enjoint de voler la statue d'Artémis, retrouve sa sœur. Après plusieurs péripéties, tous trois sont sauvés: Oreste, avec Pylade, ramène en Grèce sa sœur et la statue de la déesse, et I. devient prêtresse du sanctuaire d'Artémis à Brauron.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Sans aucun doute I. a été une déesse tout comme elle a été une héroïne. Les témoignages qui nous sont parvenus sont plus nombreux pour l'héroïne que pour la déesse mais il est impossible de les tenir entièrement séparés si l'on veut comprendre l'importance du personnage et l'évolution de son iconographie. Pour les Anciens en effet, pareille ambiguïté ne posait pas de problème: ils expliquaient les «aventures» de l'héroïne par son caractère de déesse qui lui avait finalement permis d'échapper à la mort. En dépit de cela, I. est certainement intimement liée à la mort et au sacrifice, son existence même ne s'explique point autrement. Les études au sujet de l'ancienneté de son nom ne sont pas concluantes: elle en porte d'ailleurs plusieurs. Une Iphimedeia était connue dans les inscriptions de Pylos (*I-pe-me-de-ja*, PY 172 = Tn 316: Ventris, M./Chadwick, J., *Documents in Myc. Greek* 2 [1973] 286–288; Neumann, G., *Münch. Stud. zur Sprachwiss.* 46, 1985, 165–171 avec bibl.), dont l'identification demeure douteuse. L'absence de *W* initial rend difficile sa mise en relation avec I. Cependant chez Hésiode, dans le *Catalogue des femmes* (Hes. *fig.* 23a, 17 Merkelbach/West), le nom *Iphimédè* désigne bien I. et son sacrifice à Aulis est clairement mentionné. I. ne figure pas dans les poèmes homériques, à moins que l'*Iphianassa*, fille d'Agamemnon, ne lui soit identique, ce qui a été contesté avec raison (Hom. *Il.* 9, 145). Enfin I. est appelée *Iphigoné* chez Euripide (*El.* 1023). Sur *I-φi* (force) cf. Chantraine 469 s. v. *ig*. Pour diverses étymologies, cf. Kjellberg 2588. I. est généralement considérée comme la fille d'Agamemnon et de Clytemnestre, mais une variante de la légende veut en faire une fille de Thésée

et d'Hélène, née à Aphidna, qu'Hélène aurait ensuite confiée à Clytemnestre (Paus. 2, 22, 6).

Il semble bien que le sacrifice d'I. à Aulis ne paraît ni dans l'*Iliade* ni dans l'*Odyssée* (en dépit de Hom. *Il.* 1, 106–108); ce sont les *Chants Cypriens*, connus par l'intermédiaire du résumé de Proclus (Davies *EGF* p. 32, l. 55–63), qui nous donnent la première version détaillée de l'épisode d'Aulis; ils relatent la colère d'Artémis, irritée par Agamemnon (meurtrier d'une biche de la déesse ou s'étant vanté de la surpasser à la chasse), qui empêche le départ de la flotte grecque, et la prophétie de Calchas qui ordonne le sacrifice d'I. amenée sur les lieux sous le faux prétexte d'épouser Achille; à la dernière minute Artémis aurait ensuite transporté I. en Tauride et l'aurait rendue immortelle; à sa place une biche aurait été sacrifiée à Aulis. L'animal de substitution, la biche d'après les *Chants Cypriens*, est celui qui sera le plus souvent mentionné dans les textes ultérieurs et constamment représenté dans l'iconographie; mais la légende locale de Brauron y substitue une ourse (cf. Phanodemos, *FGH* 325 F 14 et *Schol. Aristoph. Lys.* 645). Cependant c'est à partir des récits des poètes tragiques que la légende du sacrifice d'I. sera développée et que divers épisodes, dont nous n'avons pas trace auparavant, seront mentionnés. Eschyle et Sophocle avaient écrit des tragédies intitulées *Iphigénie* mais dont on sait peu de chose: Eschyle, *TrGF* III p. 213–214, et Sophocle, *TrGF* IV F 305–312. Comment le sacrifice de l'héroïne y était-il accompli? Peut-être encore par Agamemnon lui-même, comme l'indiqueraient les *Chants Cypriens*, quoique cela ne soit pas expressément rapporté. L'*Agamemnon* d'Eschyle (v. 209–210) atteste clairement que l'acte a été accompli par le roi lui-même. La légende est développée chez Euripide et un certain nombre d'épisodes sont ajoutés. Dans *Iph. T.* le prologue donne un récit plus détaillé que celui des *Chants Cypriens* (v. 6–30) et c'est toujours Agamemnon qui est le sacrificateur (v. 359–371). Dans *Iph. A.* – tragédie dont l'authenticité des derniers vers est très controversée (1531–1629) (cf. Séchan, *Etudes* 374 et Jouan 61–74) –, diverses modifications de la légende initiale semblent avoir été effectuées. Sont-elles dues à Euripide lui-même, ou bien, puisque la pièce est posthume, représentée en 405, un an après la mort du poète, seraient-elles dues à son fils ou encore ajoutées ultérieurement? Quoi qu'il en soit, alors que chez les prédécesseurs d'Euripide l'héroïne allait au sacrifice contre son gré, et mourait en dépit de ses supplications (Aischyl. *Ag.* 228–230), chez Euripide, I. supplie tout d'abord son père de l'épargner, Clytemnestre convainc Achille, le fiancé d'I., d'empêcher que s'accomplisse l'immolation de sa fille et Agamemnon lui-même, au début, essaie d'empêcher l'arrivée de l'héroïne en confiant une lettre à un messager qui doit la remettre à Clytemnestre; cette lettre est interceptée par Ménélas et les préparatifs du sacrifice s'achèvent sur les injonctions du devin Calchas. Après maints épisodes vient le revirement, I. se déclare prête à être sacrifiée pour sa patrie et s'avance héroïquement vers l'autel (1551–1560). Mais c'est au moment où Calchas lui-même, ou encore le prêtre (1578), va frapper,

que se produit le prodige et qu'à la place d'I. une biche est immolée. Dans cette version euripidéenne, il n'est point question du transfert de l'héroïne en Tauride, auquel cependant le poète avait dédié une autre tragédie, *Iph. T.*, représentée probablement dès 414. Le sujet en est fort différent puisqu'il concerne l'arrivée d'Oreste et de Pylade dans le sanctuaire d'Artémis en Tauride dont I. est devenue la prêtresse. Il y est aussi question du sacrifice en Aulide mais toute une série d'épisodes – arrivée d'Oreste et de Pylade prisonniers, lettre confiée à Pylade pour informer à Argos Oreste du sort d'I., scène de reconnaissance et enfin fuite d'I., de son frère et de son compagnon emmenant la statue d'Artémis – y sont narrés. Une fois de plus, alors que → Thoas, roi des Taures, veut tuer les fugitifs, le poète doit faire intervenir un prodige: ici c'est l'apparition d'Athéna qui ordonne à Oreste d'instaurer le culte d'Artémis Tauropole à Halae (1456–1461) et à I. de devenir porte-clé du temple d'Artémis de Brauron (1462–1467). On pourrait croire qu'il s'agit là d'une de ces inventions dont Euripide est coutumier, mais les fouilles récentes des sanctuaires d'Artémis à Brauron et d'Artémis Tauropole à Halae ont confirmé l'ancienneté de la version euripidéenne (cf. Kahil, L., dans *Greece and Italy in the Classical World. Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, London 3–9 Sept. 1978 [1979] 75–76 et n. 4).

Une tragédie de Sophocle, *Chryses* (*TrGF* IV F 726–730), mentionne un épisode peu connu postérieur au départ d'I. et d'Oreste et Pylade poursuivis par Thoas et qui se situe chez Chrysès, prêtre d'Apollon Smintheus (cf. *infra* 87 et p. 729; → Chryses II).

Les textes postérieurs n'ajouteront que peu au récit des Tragiques. Les plus importants, rassemblés par Croisille, J.-M., *Latomus* 1963, 222–225, qui les subdivise en I. non consentante et Agamemnon sacrificateur et en I. consentante et Agamemnon voilé, sont ceux de Lucrèce 1, 84–100, où l'héroïne, appelée Iphianassa, est menée de force à l'autel pour être immolée par son père Agamemnon, et d'Ov. *met.* 12, 27–34, où I. est consentante. D'autres textes d'époque romaine font allusion au tableau de Timanthe qui aurait représenté le sacrifice d'I. en présence de Calchas, d'Ulysse et de Ménélas, alors qu'Agamemnon voilé ne pouvait supporter le regard de sa fille: Val. Max. 8, 11, 6; Quint. *inst.* 2, 13, 13; mais aussi Plin. *nat.* 35, 73. La légende est également évoquée par Hyg. *fab.* 98.

## Culte

Un culte d'I. est attesté pour la Grèce et, également, pour la Tauride. Partout I. y est liée à Artémis, ainsi à Hermione où une Artémis appelée I. possédait un sanctuaire (Paus. 2, 35, 1), à Mégare où se trouvait un héros d'I., qui y serait morte (Paus. 1, 43, 1); à Aigira, dans le temple d'Artémis, Paus. 7, 26, 5 mentionne la présence d'une ancienne statue d'I. et en conclut, peut-être avec raison, que le temple appartenait originellement à cette dernière. Mais c'est à Brauron, en Attique, dans le sanctuaire d'Artémis Brauronia, que le personnage d'I. est le plus fermement ancré; en fuyant la Tauride, elle y aurait apporté la statue d'Artémis (Paus. 1, 33, 1). Devenue prêtresse d'Artémis, porte-clé de

son sanctuaire, c'est là qu'elle devait être enterrée et que les vêtements des femmes mortes en couches lui étaient consacrés (Eur. *Iph. T.* 1464-1467). La tombe d'I. à Brauron était un cénotaphe selon Euphorion *frg.* 91 Powell = *Schol. Aristoph. Lys.* 645. Ces quelques textes soulignent le caractère chthonien du culte d'I. qui se manifeste également dans son assimilation à Hécate (Paus. 1, 43, 1, qui l'attribue au *Catalogue des Femmes* d'Hésiode, *frg.* 23b Merkelbach/West). La même assimilation apparaît également chez Stésichore, dans son *Orestie* (Page *PMG frg.* 215). Sous le nom d'*Iphimédé*, I. est aussi chez Hésiode assimilée à Artémis Enodia (*frg.* 23a Merkelbach/West). Enfin, d'après Hdt. 4, 103, les Taures sacrifiaient à la Vierge (taurique) les naufragés et les prisonniers grecs: cette divinité, d'après les Taures eux-mêmes, aurait été I., fille d'Agamemnon. En ce qui concerne les cultes d'I., il apparaît ainsi que l'aspect funéraire y est partout prédominant et que le lien entre l'I. de Grèce et celle de Tauride est connu depuis une haute époque, même dans les manifestations cultuelles (cap Parthénion du Bosphore?). Il faut rappeler ici que les fouilles récentes en Attique ont largement confirmé les textes anciens (*cf. supra* p. 707) qui nous sont parvenus et infirmé les doutes maintes fois exprimés sur l'existence de deux sanctuaires d'Artémis sur la côte Est de l'Attique dont l'un, celui de Brauron, est plus spécialement lié à I. (*contra*, entre autres, Kjellberg 2590-2591).

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195-242; Huys, M., «Euripide, *Iphigénie à Aulis*, v. 1284-91 et la montagne où l'enfant exposé devait périr», *EtCl* 54, 1986, 135-146; Jenkins, I., «Is there Life after Marriage? A Study of the Abduction Motif in Vase Paintings of the Athenian Wedding Ceremony», *BICS* 30, 1983, 137-145; Jouan, F., «Autour du sacrifice d'Iphigénie» dans *Texte et Image. Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly* 13-15 octobre 1982 (1984) 61-74 pl. 18-20; Kjellberg, A. L., *RE IX* 2 (1916) 2588-2622 s. v. «Iphigeneia»; Lefkowitz, M. R., «Was Euripides an Atheist?», *SiItal V/2*, 1987, 149-165; Lloyd-Jones, H., «The Robes of Iphigeneia», *ClRev* 2, 1952, 132-135; idem, «Artemis and Iphigeneia», *JHS* 103, 1983, 87-102; Löwy, E., «Der Schluss der Iphigeneia in Aulis», *OeJh* 24, 1929, 1-41; Macchiore, V., «Nuova rappresentanza vascolare del mito di Oreste», *WJh* 12, 1909, 318-326; Papachatsis, N., *ArchDelt* 33, 1978 (1984) 1-23 et 389; Philippart, H., «Iconographie de l'Iphigénie en Tauride» d'Euripide, *RBPhil* 4, 1925, 5-33; Prag, A. N. J. W., *The Oresteia* (1985) 61-67; Preller/Robert, *GrMyth* 513, 1096-1105, 1327-1334; Robert, C., «Iphigeneia in Tauris», *AZ* 33, 1875, 133-148; Roberts, S. R., *The Attic Pyxis* (1978) 184-187; Sale, W., «Tempel-Legends of the Arkteia», *RhM* 118, 1975, 265 sqq.; Seaford, R., «The Tragic Wedding», *JHS* 107, 1987, 106-130; Séchan, L., «Le sacrifice d'Iphigénie», *REG* 44, 1931, 392-421; Séchan, *Études* 369-388, 603-604; Solmsen, F., «The Sacrifice of Agamemnon's Daughter in Hesiod's *Ehoëa*», *AJPh* 102, 1981, 353-358; Sourvinou-Inwood, Chr., «The Sacrifice of Iphigeneia in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*: Ancient Meanings and Modern Constructs» (à paraître); Stinton, T. W. L., «Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron», *ClQ* 70, 1976, 11-13; Stoll, H. W., *ML II* 1 (1890-94) 298-305 s. v. «Iphigeneia»; Studniczka, F., «Artemis und Iphigeneia», *AbhLeipzig* 37 n° 5 (1926); Tosi, T., «Rappresentanze del sacrificio d'Iphigeneia», *Studi e Materiali*, repris dans *Scritti di Filol. e di arch.* (1957) 115-148; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* 91-94; Weitzmann, K., *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (1947) 20-25, 44-46, 159-160 (= Weitzmann 1); Weitzmann, K., *Hesperia* 18, 1949, 184-185 pl. 28, 36 (= Weitzmann 2); Wernicke, K., *RE II* 1 (1896) 1335-1440 s. v. «Artemis».

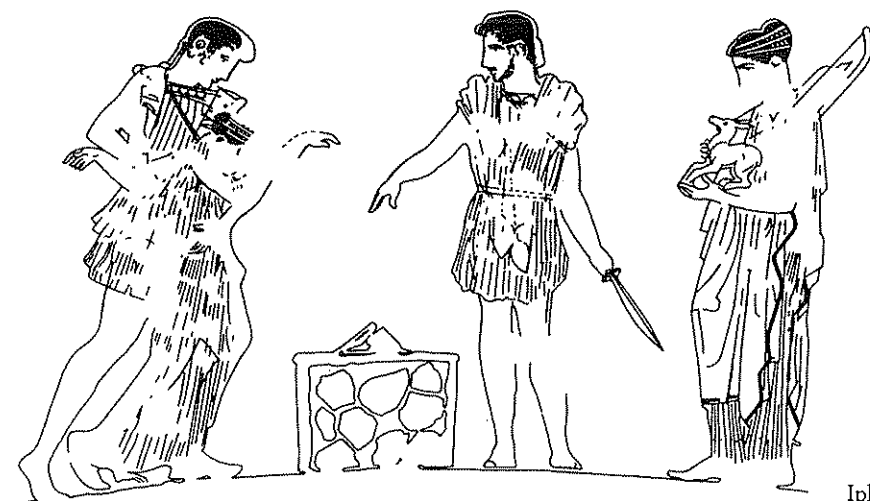
## I. Époque grecque

### CATALOGUE

#### A. Iphigénie à Aulis

##### a) Iphigénie est traînée au sacrifice

1. \* \* Énochoé attique à f. r. Kiel, Univ. B 538. - Lezzi-Hafter, A., *AntK* 29, 1986, 94: probablement du P. de Schuwalow; Freyer-Schauenburg, *CVA* 1, 80-83 pl. 39 (2704) 1-4; 40 (2705) 1-4 (bibl.). -



Iphigeneia 1

430-420 av. J.-C. - I. est traînée par un jeune guerrier imberbe vers un autel de pierres sur lequel sont placées deux bûches et où l'attend un guerrier barbu (chitoniskos ceinturé, sorte d'himation dont les pans sont retenus par la ceinture) qui tient une épée dégainée dans la main g. L'héroïne a les genoux à demi fléchis, les bras écartés et se laisse emmener sans force. Elle est vêtue d'un fin chiton plissé avec deux bandes croisées sur la poitrine, et coiffée d'une large stéphané décorée d'une double rangée de points et de petites pointes. Le jeune guerrier (chitoniskos, cuirasse et baudrier) la tient par la taille de la main g. et probablement par l'épaule de la main dr. A dr. Artémis (chiton, manteau, arc sur le dos), tournée vers la scène; sur la main g. elle porte une toute petite biche debout, les pattes légèrement pliées. Il est difficile de donner un nom aux deux guerriers qui entourent I. Celui de dr. est soit → Teukros, soit Agamemnon, celui de g. ne saurait être Achille qui, d'après la tradition, veut empêcher le sacrifice d'I.

### INTERPRÉTATION POSSIBLE

2. \* (= Kalchas 21) Cratère protoattique fr. Boston, MFA 6.67. Prov. inconnue. - Vermeule, E./Chapman, S., *AJA* 75, 1971, 285-293 pl. 69-70; Jouan 64-65 pl. 18, 1; Prag, A. J. N. W., *The Oresteia* (1985) 63, 148 H 1; Morris, S. P., *The Black and White Style* (1984) 30-31, 43, 69-70, 124 n° 2 pl. 16. - 650-630 av. J.-C. P. de l'amphore de Nessos de New York. - A: une femme couchée sur le dos (on voit le bas de sa longue robe à ourlet brodé et ses pieds blancs pointés vers le ciel) est emportée par plusieurs hommes qui marchent vers la g. Il ne reste que trois d'entre eux: celui de dr., presque complet, n'est pas un guerrier; le deuxième, en partie caché par le corps de la femme, semble être une réplique du précédent; du troisième, qui devait tenir la femme à hauteur des hanches ou de la poitrine (?), il ne subsiste qu'une partie de la jambe et du pied g. La place est suffisante pour ajouter au moins un personnage. B: il ne semble y avoir eu qu'une seule figure, entre des palmettes: un homme barbu retournant la tête.

Ce vase représente une scène rare, le sacrifice d'une femme, et il est à rapprocher de celui de Polyxène tel qu'il est figuré sur l'amphore tyrrhénienne de Londres, BM 97.7-27.2. L'attitude de la femme est comparable mais l'on a songé à d'autres personnages, notamment I. (pour les différentes interprétations, *cf.* Vermeule/Chapman 291 n. 17, mais seules Polyxène et I. doivent être retenues). En effet, Polyxène a le visage tourné vers la terre afin qu'on lui tranche la gorge au-dessus de la tombe d'Achille; ici, au contraire, les pieds sont pointés vers le ciel. On pourrait supposer que la femme n'est pas encore au-dessus de l'autel, ou encore qu'elle ne reste pas passive et se retourne: cette attitude conviendrait mieux à I. (*cf.* Aischyl. *Ag.* 228), dont ce serait alors la première représentation du sacrifice. En faveur de cette interprétation, nous pouvons remarquer que les hommes qui la portent ne sont pas des guerriers et évoquent les serviteurs d'Aulis (Aischyl. *Ag.* 231). Mais Vermeule va probablement trop loin en voulant reconnaître, dans le personnage barbu de la face B, Calchas qui prévoit les ennuis qui attendent les Grecs. Saladino (→ Kalchas 21) pense que si Calchas apparaît, ce serait l'un des trois hommes de la face A.

Quoique le sacrifice d'I. ait été décrit par Stasinos dans les *Kypria* et celui de Polyxène par Arktinos dans l'*Ilioupersis*, les deux épisodes sont rarement figurés: les peintres semblent avoir évité ces scènes «barbares» (cependant, selon Jouan, le sacrifice de Polyxène est plus souvent représenté). Pourtant, ce vase appartient au Protoattique moyen, époque où les représentations mythologiques apparaissent et où l'histoire des Atrides semble assez fréquemment illustrée (mort d'Égisthe, défilé des Prétendants...).

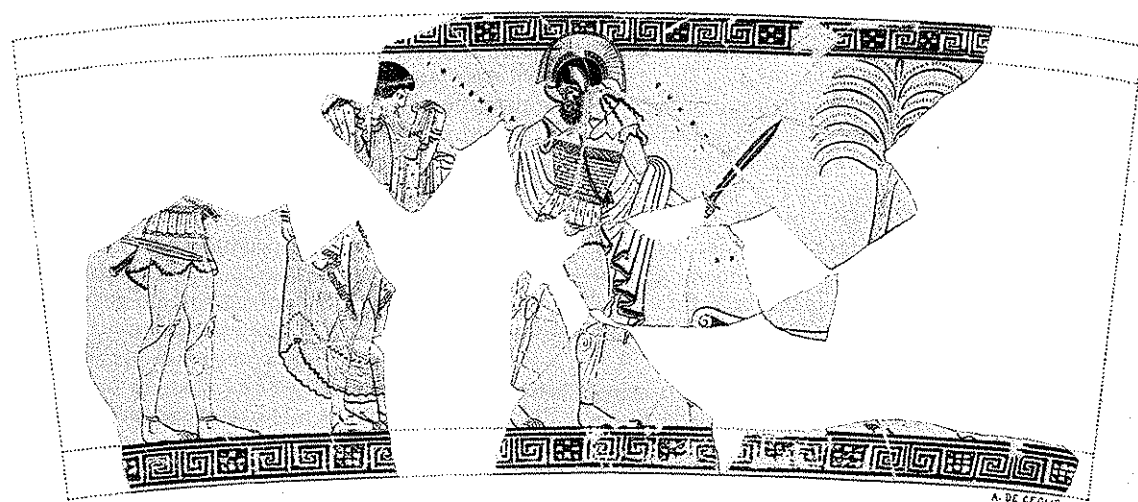
### b) Iphigénie est «conduite» au sacrifice

3. \* \* Lécythe à f. bl. Palerme, Mus. Reg. NI 1886. De Sélinonte. - *ARV* 2 446, 226: Douris; *Add* 2 241; Gábrici, E., *MonAnt* 32, 1927, 331 fig. 142 pl. 94; Marconi, P., *Il Mus. Naz. di Palermo* (1936) pl. 60, 1-2; Kurtz, D. C., *Attic White Lekythoi* (1975) 140 pl.



Iphigeneia 2





Iphigeneia 3

10, 1; Mertens, J. R., *Attic White Ground, Its Development* (1977) 206 pl. 39, 3; Roberts, S., *The Attic Pyxis* (1978) 185 pl. 104, 3; Kahil, L., dans *Acta XI Congr. Arch. Class.* London 1978 p. 82; Jouan 65 fig. 2. – Vers 470 av. J.-C. – I. (inscr.) vers la dr., en chiton transparent, soulève de la main g. un pan de son himation au-dessus de l'épaule; elle avance, tête légèrement baissée, et suit Teucros (inscr.) qui la mène vers un autel (inscr. AP, probablement Artémis) derrière lequel se trouve un palmier. Teucros marche en se retournant vers I., l'épée dégainée dans la main g., et en l'attirant (?) par son himation de la main dr. Derrière I. un second guerrier, l'épée dégainée dans la main dr. L'interprétation précise de cette scène qui évoque les v. 1433-1471 d'Eur. *Iph. A.*, où I. accepte héroïquement le sacrifice, diffère selon les auteurs. En effet la façon dont l'héroïne soulève son voile rappelle le geste de la fiancée et, pour certains, le stratagème employé par Agamemnon pour attirer sa fille à Aulis sous prétexte de la marier à Achille: cf. Jouan, mais aussi Cunningham, M. L., *BICS* 31, 1984, 11 fig. 1. D'autres assimilent l'image de la «conduite de la fiancée» à une mort symbolique: Foley, M. P., *Arethusa* 15, 1982, 168-173; Jenkins, I., *BICS* 30, 1983, 141 fig. 2.

4. (= Agamemnon 31 avec bibl., = Kalchas 8) Peinture, perdue, de Timanthe de Kythnos. – Reinach, *RecMilliet* 244-249 n°s 305-309 (avec les différents textes antiques); Löwy 5. 33-40; Weitzmann 2, 190-191; Jouan 71-72; Elvira, M. A., *ArEspArq* 54, 1981, 17-20 fig. 9 (reconstitution). – Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Nous n'avons de cette peinture que des descriptions succinctes, les plus connues étant celles de Plin. *nat.* 35, 73, de Cic. *or.* 22, 74, et de Quint. *inst.* 2, 13, 13. I. y était représentée debout devant l'autel, sur le point d'être immolée en présence de divers personnages dont Agamemnon (la tête voilée), Calchas, Ulysse, Ménélas et Ajax. Concernant l'influence qu'a pu avoir cette célèbre peinture, les avis sont partagés en deux tendances, résumées par S. de Caro (*BollArte* 169, 1984/1, 42. 49 n. 17-18): les uns (Amelung, Pfuhl,

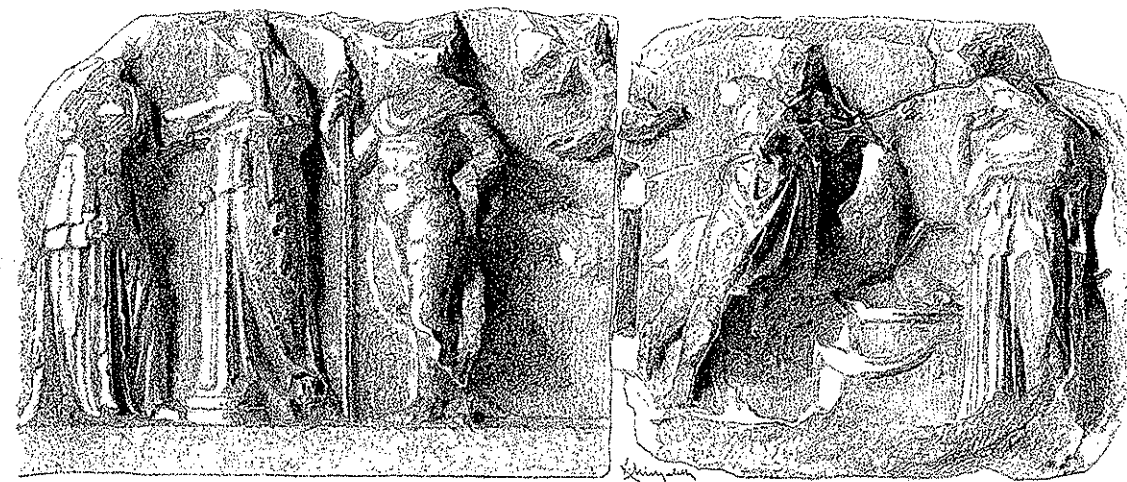
Löwy, Lippold, Rumpf, Hafner, Moreno) cherchent dans l'autel de Cléoménès (42) un reflet de cette peinture, se fondant surtout sur la présence d'Agamemnon voilé; d'autres (Michaelis, Klein, Buschor, Studniczka, Curtius, Dragendorff, Götze, Fuchs, Simon) pensent au contraire que le modèle de l'autel de Cléoménès serait un relief attique perdu, de type «Orphée, Eurydice, Hermès» de Naples. On a voulu trouver aussi des reflets de cette peinture sur la mosaïque d'Ampurias 39 (Weitzmann) ou la peinture de la Maison du Poète Tragique (38).

4bis. Peinture perdue de Kolotès de Téos représentant aussi le sacrifice d'I. – Quint. *inst.* 2, 13, 13. – Rien ne nous est parvenu au sujet de ce tableau, si ce n'est l'indication de Quintilien qui donne Timanthe comme vainqueur de Kolotès.

#### c) Documents à séquence narrative

##### Reliefs de pierre

5.\* (= 26, = Kalchas 24) Deux plaques à reliefs. Termessos (Pisidie), *in situ*. Appartenant vraisemblablement à la décoration d'un temple. – Lanckoronski, C., *Les villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie II* (1893) 45-46 fig. 5; Studniczka 46-51 fig. 30; Weitzmann 2, 184-188 pl. 28, 12; Staehler, K., *AA* 83, 1968, 280-289. – Vers 120 av. J.-C. (Staehler). – Les deux plaques ne sont pas jointives et représentent deux épisodes de la légende d'I. L'une figure trois personnages: à g. deux femmes drapées, en chiton et himation, se font face, la première tenant vraisemblablement un objet, la seconde, tournée vers la g., debout sur une base. A dr. un jeune homme nu, de trois quarts vers la g., s'appuie de la main dr. sur une lance; son himation est rejeté dans le dos. L'interprétation est difficile: pour Weitzmann il pourrait s'agir à g. d'I., au centre de Clytemnestre et à dr. d'Achille, mais il est fort improbable que Clytemnestre soit placée sur une base. Staehler préférerait voir au centre I. face à une servante, et à dr. Pylade; il s'agirait alors d'une scène figurant I. en Tauride: Pylade attendant la lettre d'I. La seconde plaque montre à dr. I., vêtue d'un chiton cein-



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turée à colpos; son bras dr. est plié, la main levée vers la tête légèrement baissée; peut-être était-elle voilée (le haut du personnage est assez abîmé). Au centre un autel derrière lequel se trouve Artémis, en chiton court, qui retient de la main g. un cerf bondissant: c'est lui qui sera sacrifié à la place de l'héroïne. A l'extrême g., traces d'un personnage dans lequel on a voulu reconnaître Calchas ou Agamemnon. D'autres scènes concernant le mythe d'I. ont probablement été représentées sur cette frise.

##### Bols à reliefs en terre cuite

6.\* (= Agamemnon 32\*) New York, MMA 31.11.2. – Richter, G. M. A., *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook of the Greek Collection* (1953) 131 fig. 111a. c; Weitzmann, K., *Ancient Book Illumination* (1959) 65 fig. 74; Sinn, *Becher* 109-110 n° MB 52 pl. 1, 2; 22, 1-2; 23, 1-3. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Sur le pourtour du bol, cinq scènes correspondant au début de l'*Iph. A.* d'Euripide: 1) v. 111: Agamemnon remet au serviteur, à g., une lettre pour Clytemnestre dans laquelle il lui demande de ne pas envoyer I. à Aulis. 2) v. 303-313: Ménélas, vers la dr., intercepte le serviteur et lui subtilise la lettre. 3) v. 320-326: Ménélas montre la lettre à Agamemnon et lui reproche

d'avoir passé outre la décision prise par les chefs grecs. Il tient la lettre ouverte en main. 4) v. 414-441: le messager, à g., annonce à Agamemnon l'arrivée d'I. 5) v. 613-630: Oreste et I. (*IPHIGENEIA*) arrivent sur un char, Électre les aide à en descendre; un écuyer près des chevaux. Les inscriptions sont données en détail par Sinn, dont nous suivons la description.

7. (= Agamemnon 33) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 22633. Du Pirée. – Sinn, *Becher* 110 n° MB 53 pl. 1, 1; 22, 3; 23, 5-9; Sakellariou, M. B., *Makedonia* (1982) 90 fig. 53-54. – Même date que 6. – Mêmes scènes que sur 6.

8.\* (= Agamemnon 34, 1) Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 3161 q. D'Anthédon. – Séchan, *Études* 369 fig. 107; Courby, *Vases à reliefs* 293; Weitzmann 1, 20. 44-45 fig. 10; Hausmann, *Reliefsbecher* 53 n° HB 10a pl. 22, 1-2; 29, 2; Weitzmann, *o.c.* 6, 64-65 fig. 73; Sinn, *Becher* 111 n° MB 55 fig. 9, 1. – Même date que 6. – L'artiste a indiqué sa source: ΕΥΡ[ΙΠΙΔΟΥ] ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ et les noms de tous les personnages sont inscrits. Cinq scènes: 1) v. 623-680: arrivée de la famille d'Agamemnon: Clytemnestre, vers la g., caresse la tête d'Oreste enfant tandis qu'I. se précipite vers Agamemnon assis sur un trône, le pied dr. posé sur un tabouret, la main dr. levée à son visage en un geste d'angoisse.



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Iphigeneia 8

2) v. 819-854: Clytemnestre s'entretient avec Achille qui esquisse un geste de surprise. 3) v. 866-895: Clytemnestre esquisse un geste de consternation devant le récit du vieux serviteur qui lui annonce le sort d'I. 4) v. 1338-1344: à g. Achille appuyé sur sa lance, au centre Clytemnestre, à dr. I. qui se détourne, soulevant un pan de son chiton. 5) v. 1211-1252: I. supplie son père dont la tête est voilée de son manteau en signe de deuil. Le petit Oreste s'agenouille devant le roi et fait un geste de supplication. A g. Clytemnestre se détourne, la tête voilée. Les deux dernières scènes sont interverties et ne suivent pas l'ordre de la pièce.

9.\* (= Agamemnon 34, 2) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 2114. De Béotie. - Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 53 n° HB 10b pl. 21, 1-2; Sinn, *Becher* 112 n° MB 56 fig. 9, 2. - Même date que 6. - Mêmes scènes que sur 8, tous les noms sont inscrits.

10. (= Agamemnon 34, 3). Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 893. - Courby, *Vases à reliefs* 293 fig. 53; *CVA* 3, pl. 1 (139), 1; Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 53 n° HB 10c; Sinn, *Becher* 112 n° MB 57. - Même date que 6. - Mêmes scènes que sur 8 et 9.

Weitzmann 1, 20-25, 44-66 et *Ancient Book Illumination* 64-67, note que les bols 6 et 7 illustrent le début de la pièce alors que 8, 9 et 10 se rapportent à la suite. La fin du drame ne semble pas être illustrée sur ces bols si l'on s'en tient à l'état actuel des découvertes.

Un extrait de la scène représentée sur les bols 6-10 apparaît sur un fr. de bol de Volos (Sinn, *Becher* 111 MB 54 pl. 23, 4): seul Ménélas, à genoux, tenant la lettre ouverte, y est figuré.

Sur tous ces bols (6-10) les noms des personnages sont inscrits: celui d'I. sous la forme *Iphigeneia*, sauf en 7 où on lit deux fois *EIPHIGENEIA*. En 8-10, la pièce d'Euripide est citée: *Euripidou Iphigeneias*.

#### d) Substitution de la biche

11.\* (= Agamemnon 30\*, = Artemis 1373, = Kalchas 23) Cratère à volutes apulien. Londres, BM F 159. Du Basilicate. - *RVAp* I 204, 104: associé à l'œuvre du P. de l'Ilioupersis; *RVAp Suppl.* 1, 25; *FR* III 165 fig. 80; Jouan 67 pl. 19, 2. - 370-355 av. J.-C. - Au registre supérieur, Apollon et Artémis. En bas à dr. I. s'avance vers l'autel. Sa silhouette se superpose à celle d'une biche dressée sur ses pattes postérieures, au second plan, et dont la tête, les pattes et l'arrière-train sont figurés. Un sacrificateur (Agamemnon plutôt que Calchas), debout près de l'autel, un sceptre dans la main g., brandit de la main dr. un large couteau au-dessus de la tête d'I. et de celle de la biche. A g. de l'autel, un jeune homme et une femme: Jouan suggère d'y reconnaître Achille (ou un acolyte) et Clytemnestre.



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Il pense également que le moment représenté serait celui de l'ablation de la boucle, prélude au sacrifice, mais la présence de la biche évoque plutôt l'immolation de la victime.

12.\* (= 50, = Artemis 1374\*, = Artemis/Diana 337\* - avec bibl.) Groupe de marbre fr. Copenhague, Glypt. 481-482. 482a. De la Villa Spithoever (jardins de Salluste). - Œuvre de la Grèce de l'est. Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Bieber); vers 150 av. J.-C. (Lippold); vers 50 av. J.-C. (Simon). - I., vêtue d'un chiton ceinturé qui en glissant découvre le sein dr. et une partie des hanches, tombe, soutenue par Artémis. De la biche, il ne subsiste que le cou et la tête cornue. Pour la reconstitution, - Artemis/Diana 337.

#### REPRÉSENTATION INCERTAINE

13.\* Vase à tête plastique. Matera, Mus. Naz. Ridola 11013. De Timmari. - *RVAp* II 616, 92: associé à l'œuvre du P. de Darius et du P. des Enfers; Lattanzi, E., *Il Mus. Naz. Ridola di Matera* (1976) 123 pl. 42, 1. - 330-320 av. J.-C. - Tête féminine? ou masculine (Ac téon selon Lattanzi) qui porte sur le front une paire de petites cornes. Sur le rhyton lui-même, une Amazone assise à g. avec phiale et feuille de lierre. Trendall suppose qu'il pourrait s'agir d'une tête d'I. et d'une allusion à la substitution de la biche à Aulis.

#### B. Iphigénie en Tauride

##### a) Arrivée d'Oreste et de Pylade prisonniers

##### Vases apuliens (15?)

14.\* Cratère en cloche. Pavie, Mus. Civ. - *RVAp* I 130, 265: P. d'Iris; Macchiolo 318-326 fig. 158; Philippart 10 n° 2; Séchan, *Études* 381 fig. 110; Cambitoglou 57 (B), 60 pl. 25, 3. - Vers 365-360 av. J.-C. - La composition est réduite à trois personnages et l'autel n'est qu'une petite construction derrière I. Oreste (pilos, chlamyde, sandales), les mains liées derrière le dos, est amené par un garde devant I. Le costume d'I. (épaisse couronne d'où pend un voile, chiton et himation, boucles d'oreilles, bracelets) et la clé du sanctuaire qu'elle tient de la main g. se retrouveront sur presque tous les vases suivants. Elle tend la main dr., probablement pour intimer l'ordre de délier la victime destinée à Artémis (Eur. *Iph. T.* 468-469).

15. Amphore. Naples, Mus. Naz. SA 24 (peut-être perdu). Du Basilicate. - Philippart 10 n° 1; Séchan, *Études* 381 fig. 109. - Oreste et Pylade nus, ligotés, conduits par trois gardes, s'avancent derrière un guerrier qui tend la main vers I., assise à g., appuyée sur un sceptre, et qui se retourne vers les arrivants. Restaurations modernes et repeints.

## Intailles

16. Pâte de verre noire. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 792. D'Italie. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* 56 n° 792 pl. 10; Philippart 13 n° 11. – Travail italique (Furtwängler). – Autel au centre, à g. Oreste et Pylade enchaînés, à dr. I. qui fait un geste vers eux.

17. Pâte de verre brune fr. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 792. D'Italie. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* 56 n° 793; Philippart 13 n° 12. – Travail italique (Furtwängler). – Oreste et Pylade enchaînés devant I. qui porte sa main dr. au menton.

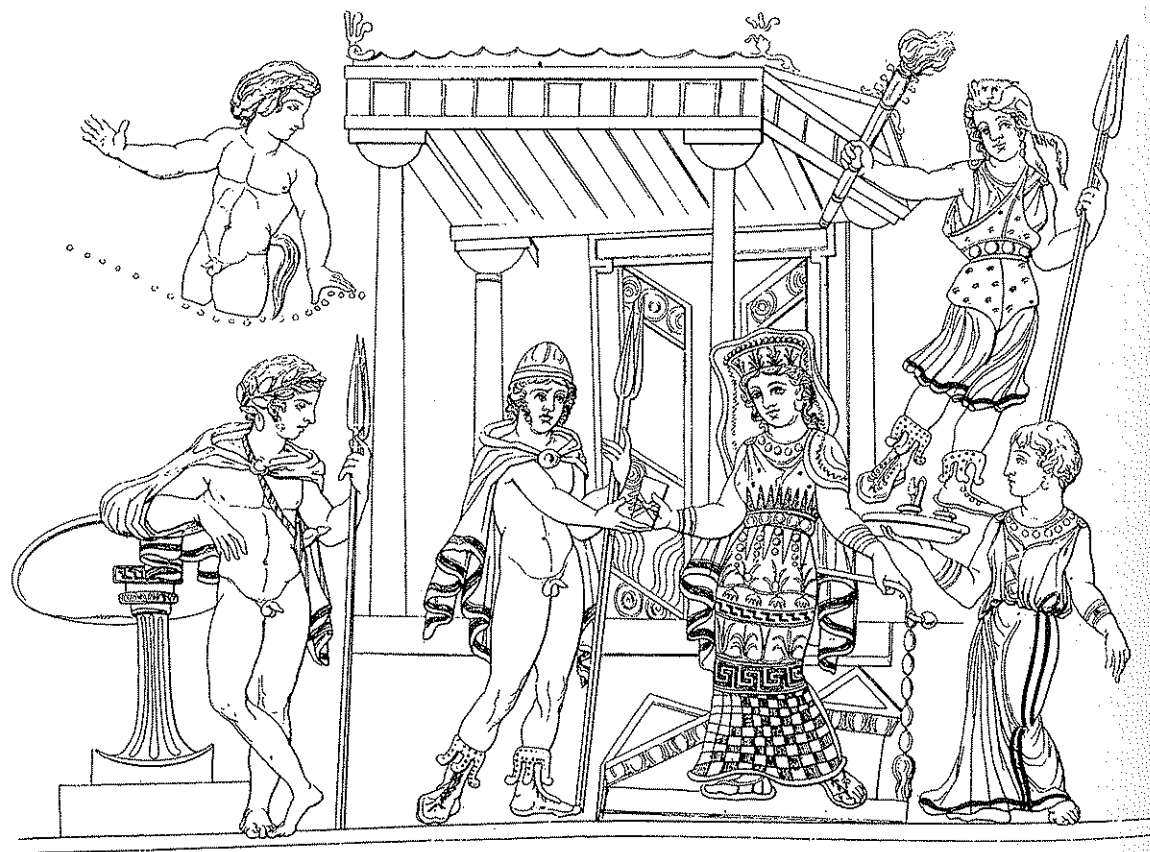
## b) Premier entretien entre Iphigénie, Oreste et Pylade

18.\* (= Artemis 1380 avec bibl.) Amphore apulienne. Naples, Mus. Naz. 82113 (H 3223). De Ruvo. – *RVAp* I 193, 3: P. de l'Ilioupersis; *FR* III 165 fig. 79 pl. 148; Philippart 10 n° 3 fig. 1; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III 3, 28; Cambitoglou 59. – 370–360 av. J.-C. – Oreste (inscr.), armé du glaive, est assis sur un autel derrière lequel pousse un laurier. Tête baissée, les mains croisées sur un bâton, il paraît affligé. A dr. I. (inscr.) lui adresse la parole, tenant à la main la clé du sanctuaire. A g. Pylade debout, appuyé sur son bâton, attentif à ce que dit I., porte une main à sa tête. Derrière I. une servante du temple porte sur la tête un plateau chargé de branches et tient une cœnochoé. Au registre supérieur, Apollon, Artémis et le temple, portes entrouvertes.

Selon Séchan et Philippart, on pourrait rapprocher cette scène du passage d'Eur. *Iph.* T. 617–637: Oreste s'est offert pour mourir à la place de Pylade et il a été convenu que ce dernier porterait à Argos la lettre d'I. Celle-ci, émue, profère des paroles de consolation. Les branches et le vase qu'apporte la servante vont probablement servir à consacrer la victime.

## c) Remise du message

19.\* (= Artemis 1376 avec bibl.) Cratère en calice attique à f.r. Ferrare, Mus. Naz. T 1145 (3032). De Comacchio. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1440, 1: P. d'Iphigénie; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 377; Aurigemma, S., *Dedalo* 12, 1932, 409–429; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III 3, 27; Alfieri, *Spina* fig. 276–277. – 390–380 av. J.-C. – Au centre, le temple d'Artémis est évoqué par une légère construction qui abrite la statue de la déesse. Des couronnes et des bandelettes sont suspendues dans le champ et une table à offrandes est placée devant l'idole. I. (couronne de feuillage, chiton, himation), à g., descend les gradins du temple; elle tient la clé de la main g. et tend de la dr. la lettre à Pylade assis sur un rocher à un niveau inférieur. En bas Oreste et Thoas. Au-dessus du roi, près du temple, une servante porte une phiale et une corbeille à offrandes, peut-être pour évoquer le moment où I. quitte le sanctuaire avec la statue pour la purifier. En haut à g. Artémis (?) et un jeune homme en costume barbare qui tient une couronne. A l'extrême dr. en haut, un autre jeune homme, nu, assis, tenant



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une ténia, se retourne vers la scène en faisant un geste de stupeur.

20.\* (= Artemis 1377\* avec bibl.) Amphore de l'anc. coll. Buckingham,auj. perdue, apulienne (?). – Philippart 12 n° 6; Cambitoglou 58. 64. – Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Devant un temple, I. (chiton brodé, haut diadème, voile), la clé dans la main g., remet à Pylade prêt pour le départ (pilos, chlamyde, endromides, deux lances) son message fermé par une cordelette. A g. Oreste, lui aussi vêtu d'une chlamyde et armé de deux lances, est debout, appuyé à un loutérion, le visage tourné vers les précédents. A dr. d'I. une servante apporte des objets dans un plat. En haut, de part et d'autre du temple, un Satyre (→ Silenos, Silenoi) et Artémis. Le dessin semble suspect à Cambitoglou.

21.\* Cratère en cloche fr. apulien. New York, Atlantis Antiquities, *Greek and Roman Art* (1990). – P. de Boston 00.348 (Trendall), vers 350 av. J.-C. – A g. le temple, avec la statue d'Artémis en partie visible. I. (fin chiton, haute couronne ornée de palmettes, voile descendant dans le dos et passant sur le bras dr.) tient la clé de la main g. et tend la lettre à Pylade (pétase, chlamyde, deux lances). Au-dessous, Oreste (pilos, chlamyde) assis tient une lance, un chien assis devant lui. En haut à dr. Artémis (chiton long, peau de bête) arrive sur un char tiré par deux panthères. En dessous un jeune homme tient un félin au-dessus d'un loutérion.

22.\* (= Artemis 1379 avec bibl.) Cratère en calice apulien. Moscou, Mus. Pouchkine 504. – *RVAp* II 478, 8: Gr. de l'Iphigénie de Moscou; Philippart 11 n° 5; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III 3, 30a; Cambitoglou 57. 61–62. – 345–340 av. J.-C. – Sous un édifice à quatre colonnes ioniques, I. (cheveux longs en partie relevés en chignon, chiton et himation brodés) est debout, appuyée à la statue d'Artémis, la clé du temple dans une main et élevant dans l'autre le message que va prendre Pylade (costume de voyageur). A dr. du temple, Artémis assise sur un autel et Apollon tenant le laurier de la main g. Devant le temple se trouvent différents récipients et un carquois.

23.\* (= Artemis 1378\* avec bibl., = Athena 629, = Iris I 158 avec bibl.) Amphore apulienne. Leningrad, Ermitage B 1715A (St 420). – *RVAp* II 863, 18: P. de Baltimore; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III 3, 29; Cambitoglou 57. 60–61. – 330–320 av. J.-C. – Au centre, dans un petit édifice ionique, se trouve I. (cheveux longs, chiton brodé, himation), debout auprès d'un autel qui supporte la statue d'Artémis. Elle tient d'une main la clé du sanctuaire et de l'autre relève son voile tout en tenant le message, la tête inclinée vers Pylade (pétase, chlamyde, bottes) debout, appuyé sur son bâton. Un peu plus bas Oreste, les cheveux dénoués, est appuyé à un bassin d'eau lustrale dans une attitude affligée. En haut à g. Iris et Athéna, à dr. Artémis et Hermès. Plus bas un guerrier scythe (costume oriental) et une femme. Au niveau inférieur, un autre guerrier scythe est assis auprès d'une femme et un troisième tend une couronne à un chevreuil, ce qui convient à un sanctuaire d'Artémis.

24.\* Cratère à volutes. Anc. Bari, marché de l'art. – Attr. au P. de Darius (Trendall). – Au centre, dans un naïskos au plafond duquel sont suspendues des armes,

près d'une statue d'Artémis dressée sur un socle, I. (haute couronne, cheveux longs, chiton, himation) tient la clé du temple de la main g. et lève la lettre de la main dr. A dr. en haut Artémis et un jeune homme; au-dessous une grande coupe renversée et Oreste nu, la chlamyde sur l'épaule, portant une lance et une épée au fourreau de la main g. et son pilos de la main dr. A g. en haut une jeune femme debout face à Apollon assis; au-dessous Pylade debout, appuyé sur la lance (chlamyde et pilos dans le dos). En bas, sous le naïskos, deux jeunes gens assis, séparés par un trépied posé sur un socle, se regardent; celui de g. tient une lance, celui de dr. joue avec un chien.

25.\* Amphore à col campanienne. Sydney, Nicholson Mus. 51.17. – *LCS* 406, 305 pl. 160, 4–5: P. de la libation; *LCS Suppl.* 2, 220; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III 3, 30b; Cambitoglou 56–66 pl. 25, 2. – 3<sup>e</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Scène très simplifiée: le temple est réduit à deux colonnes ioniques avec un autel sur lequel flambe un feu; un bouclier votif est suspendu au plafond. I. (haut diadème, voile, chiton), debout à dr., tient dans la main g. la clé du temple et tend la lettre à Pylade qui, debout face à elle, s'apprête à la prendre. Il est vêtu d'une chlamyde, coiffé d'un pilos et s'appuie sur une lance. Le sang des victimes est représenté par des taches de peinture jaune diluée sur le corps de l'autel.

26. (= 5\* avec bibl.) Deux plaques à reliefs de Termessos (Pisidie), *in situ*. L'une des deux plaques représenterait I. face à une servante et Pylade attendant qu'on lui remette la lettre.

## d) Deuxième entretien entre Oreste et Iphigénie

27.\* (= Artemis 1375\* avec bibl.) Cratère en cloche campanien. Paris, Louvre K 404 (L 112). – *LCS* 321, 702: P. de Caivano; Philippart 12 n° 8; Cambitoglou 57 B. 62–63. – 330–320 av. J.-C. – Le sanctuaire est figuré par deux portes entrouvertes surmontées d'un fronton et reliées par un toit, ce qui donne un effet scénique. Devant l'une des portes se dresse la statue d'Artémis, sur le seuil de l'autre, à dr., se tient I. (bijoux, chiton, himation ramené sur la tête, chaussures) qui relève son vêtement sur l'épaule de la main dr. et s'adresse à Oreste et Pylade. Tous deux se trouvent devant le bâtiment, sur une ligne de sol représentée par des points; ils sont nus, armés d'un glaive et d'une lance.

La scène représentée ici serait le dialogue entre Oreste et I. en présence de Pylade (*Iph.* T. 989–1055), lorsque tous trois cherchent un moyen de fuir la Tauride.

## REPRÉSENTATION INCERTAINE

28. Fr. de relief. Izmir, Mus. Arch. 1002. De Pergame. – Kleiner, G., *AM* 71, 1956, 202–205 Beil. 113–114. – II<sup>e</sup>–I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – A g. une figure féminine drapée debout vers la dr., précédée d'un guerrier en train de ligoter (?) un jeune homme nu, la chlamyde rejetée derrière les épaules. Selon Kleiner, il s'agit non pas d'un fr. de la frise de Téléphe, de l'autel de Pergame, mais plutôt d'un relief représentant I. et Oreste (?) sur le point d'être ligoté à la demande de



celle-ci, au moment même où elle prépare leur fuite (*Iph. T.* 1204).

### e) Fuite des prisonniers et d'Iphigénie

29.\* Amphore à col campanienne. Leningrad, Ermitage B 2080 (W 1033). De Capoue. - LCS 338, 790 pl. 131, 6: P. d'Ixion; Philippart 12 n° 7; Beazley, J. D., *JHS* 63, 1943, pl. 1, 2; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* III 3, 32; Cambitoglou 57 C. 64. - 330-320 av. J.-C. - Devant le temple qui domine la composition Oreste, Pylade et I. s'enfuient: l'un scrute l'horizon, les deux autres se retournent pour s'assurer qu'ils ne sont pas suivis. I. (courts cheveux bouclés, chiton, himation) porte la statuette d'Artémis au creux du bras g. Oreste et Pylade sont nus, coiffés d'un pétase et simplement drapés d'une chlamyde. En haut à dr. un morceau de draperie et une tête coupée sont suspendus, rappelant à quel sort Oreste a échappé.

### f) Iphigénie en Tauride, scène indéterminée

30. Peinture perdue, de Timomachos de Byzance. - Pfuhl, *MuZ* § 899-901; Séchan, *Études* 380; Rizzo, *PER* 44-45. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. (?). - Plin (*nat.* 35, 136) ne décrit pas cette peinture mais dit simplement que Timomachos avait peint Oreste et I. en Tauride. Certains auteurs ont tenté de préciser la scène: C. Robert (*AZ* 33, 1875, 147-148) pensait que le peintre avait évoqué la première rencontre d'I. et des prisonniers, mais Pfuhl et Rizzo, préférant voir dans la peinture de la Casa del Citarista (59) un reflet de l'œuvre de Timomachos, estiment qu'il s'agirait plutôt de la préparation de la fuite, I. quittant le temple avec la statue pour la purifier, en présence de Thoas et des deux prisonniers.

### REPRÉSENTATION INCERTAINE

31.\* (= Erinyes 39\*) Amphore à col campanienne. Capoue, Mus. Camp. 7559 (P. 14). - LCS 331, 757: P. de Carlsruhe B 2400; CVA I pl. 20 (528), 4: Schauenburg, K., *Jdl* 71, 1956, 86 n. 80. - 325-300 av. J.-C. - Au centre un personnage probablement masculin, vêtu d'un long chiton à manches et d'un manteau, chaussé, est assis sur un siège à dossier recouvert d'une pardalide et posé sur un degré. La tête baissée dans une attitude pensive, il porte la main dr. au menton et tient de la main g. une épée au fourreau. Un jeune homme nu (pilos, chlamyde, chaussures) debout s'adresse à lui. Debout à dr., une femme (péplos ceinturé à apotypygmata, la tête couverte d'un long manteau qui descend jusqu'aux pieds, chaussures, bracelets) pose la main dr. sur l'épaule g. du jeune homme assis. Au-dessus apparaît un buste d'Erinyes. Différentes interprétations ont été proposées. Seul Schauenburg tente de reconnaître Oreste, Pylade et I., mais cela semble peu probable.

### C. Iphigénie avec divinités ou autres personnages

32.\* (= Helene 380\* avec bibl.) Pyxis attique à f. r. Londres, BM E 773. D'Athènes. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 805, 89; 1670: succ. de Douris; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 291; Jouan 65 pl. 18, 3. - I. (inscr.), debout dans l'embrasement d'une porte, vêtue d'un chiton, ajuste la ténia qui enserre ses cheveux et

regarde → Danae (inscr.) qui s'approche, sortant un collier d'un coffret. Les autres personnages sont Hélène (inscr.), Clytemnestre (inscr.), Cassandre (inscr.; → Cassandra I) et une autre femme.

### INTERPRÉTATION PROBABLE

33. (= Apollon 865, = Artemis 1225\* avec bibl.) Relief de marbre fr. Brauron, Mus. 1180. De Brauron. - Kahil, L., «Le relief des dieux» du sanctuaire d'Artémis à Brauron...» (à paraître dans *Mélanges A. Cambitoglou*). - Vers 420 av. J.-C. - Zeus trônant, Léo et Apollon debout. I.-Hécate court vers la g. en se retournant, la main dr. baissée tendue en avant, la main g. levée; elle tenait très probablement des torches et précédait Artémis qui arrivait sur un char tiré par des cervidés.

### COMMENTAIRE

Comme tous les héros ou héroïnes de la guerre de Troie, I. a défrayé la chronique littéraire et iconographique de l'antiquité classique. Son personnage, à la fois divin et héroïque, qui a fait l'objet de bien des discussions de spécialistes de la religion grecque, a connu des périodes de grande popularité, non point tant parmi les artistes de Grèce propre qu'en Italie méridionale et plus tard à l'époque romaine. La dualité de sa nature, fille d'Agamemnon d'une part, ancienne divinité abaissée au rang de prêtresse d'Artémis d'autre part, a donné lieu à maintes hypothèses que les découvertes récentes de l'archéologie permettent peut-être de clarifier. Il apparaît en effet que certains sanctuaires d'Artémis, celui de Brauron sans aucun doute, mais aussi très probablement ceux d'Halae et d'Aulis, lui vouaient un culte dont la caractéristique principale est d'être un culte chthonien, funéraire. Ceci apparaît clairement dans le texte de l'*Iph. T.* d'Euripide où les vêtements des femmes mortes en couches sont dédiés à I. alors que les inscriptions témoignent que les femmes ayant eu une heureuse délivrance font des offrandes à Artémis (cf. Sources littéraires, culte). C'est en effet à la déesse Artémis qu'I. est intimement liée, soit qu'on la considère comme une hypostase à caractère funéraire de cette divinité (et elle peut alors prendre le nom d'I.-Hécate), soit que plus simplement elle soit devenue la prêtresse d'Artémis. Dans l'un comme dans l'autre cas, héroïne ou ancienne divinité, le personnage d'I. est entièrement axé sur sa mort. La légende veut en effet que, sacrifiée par Agamemnon afin que des vents propices permettent aux Grecs de quitter enfin la rade d'Aulis, elle ait été enlevée à la dernière minute par la déesse Artémis et qu'à sa place une biche (à Brauron, une ourse) ait été sacrifiée. A partir de ce moment, la légende d'I. se passe dans un pays lointain et mythique, en Tauride, sur les bords de la mer Noire où elle devient la prêtresse d'Artémis, la gardienne de son temple. Ici aussi elle est porte-clés, comme elle le sera à Brauron. L'épisode brauronien serait ainsi le dernier moment connu de son existence.

Les auteurs anciens antérieurs aux Tragiques ne sont pas prolixes sur son histoire: celle-ci se divise essentiellement en deux grands épisodes, son sacrifice à

Aulis, et son séjour en Tauride, ce dernier épisode étant lui-même subdivisé selon la légende telle qu'elle nous est rapportée dans l'*Iph. T.* d'Euripide. Leur illustration, qui n'est peut-être pas des plus riches à l'époque grecque, a cependant joué un grand rôle, d'une part au cours du IV<sup>e</sup> s. en Italie méridionale, et d'autre part dans le monde romain.

### Iphigénie à Aulis

Le sacrifice d'I., en présence ou non d'Artémis, est peut-être déjà figuré à une très haute époque si l'on peut vraiment reconnaître l'héroïne sur le cratère de Boston 2 qui se situe au milieu du VII<sup>e</sup> s., à un moment où foisonnent pour la première fois les représentations légendaires, et parmi elles celles des légendes troyennes. Cependant cette représentation n'est pas typique de ce que sera l'iconographie future. Celle-ci se développera sous deux variantes, qui sont d'ailleurs assez difficiles à distinguer. On a voulu les relier aux deux versions développées, l'une chez Eschyle et chez Euripide *Iph. T.*, d'une I. refusant la mort et comme entraînée au sacrifice, l'autre, chez Euripide *Iph. A.*, d'une I. se rendant d'elle-même à l'autel, fière de servir sa patrie. Malheureusement, il est difficile dans l'iconographie, d'ailleurs rare, de ce premier épisode de la légende d'I., d'opérer ces distinctions: l'art grec différencie à peine les deux schémas, «I. entraînée au sacrifice» et «I. conduite sur le lieu du sacrifice», qui ne varient que par des nuances. C'est seulement en 1 - puisque 2 demeure incertain - que la force semble être employée pour amener I. devant l'autel. On songe évidemment au passage d'Aischyl. *Ag.* 231-238 où l'héroïne, en dépit de ses prières, est «saisie, soulevée, cependant qu'un bâillon fermant sa belle bouche arrêtera toute imprécation»... «telle une chèvre au-dessus de l'autel, couverte de ses voiles et désespérément s'attachant à la terre». Le sacrificateur, qui demeure anonyme, a le glaive dégainé, tandis qu'à dr. Artémis est présente, portant la toute petite biche symbole de la future substitution. En 3 nous avons au contraire le schéma de la «conduite de la fiancée» où I. soulève le voile de son épaule tandis qu'elle est conduite vers l'autel d'Artémis par Teucros et un autre guerrier. La violence se manifeste seulement par la présence des deux épées dégainées que tiennent les guerriers. En 11 et peut-être en 12 la substitution de la biche est en train de s'accomplir ou même est déjà accomplie: le personnage d'I. est en quelque sorte doublé par une grande biche qu'Agamemnon lui-même (?) est en train de sacrifier. En 11, outre Artémis, dont la présence est indispensable (en 3 l'autel est surmonté de son nom), et peut-être Apollon, des personnages annexes que nous ne pouvons guère identifier, un jeune homme et une jeune femme, assistent à la scène. En 12 il est difficile de décider quel moment de l'épisode est figuré, l'immolation du cerf ou au contraire l'enlèvement d'I. vers la Tauride (cf. 38).

Les bols «mégariens» 6-10 se rattachent étroitement à des épisodes rapportés par Euripide dans *Iph. A.* La source est d'ailleurs indiquée en 8-10. Alors que 6-7 illustrent le début de la pièce, 8-10 se rapportent à la suite de la tragédie. Les épisodes figurés ne sont pas

seulement ceux qui apparaissent réellement sur la scène, mais aussi ceux qui sont narrés par les messagers. Le sacrifice lui-même n'est jamais figuré. C'est ici d'ailleurs qu'apparaît pour la première fois le personnage d'Agamemnon tête voilée.

Ce groupe de documents atteste la grande popularité à cette époque d'Euripide, dont une série d'œuvres ont été illustrées, quoique l'*Iphigénie en Aulide*, probablement achevée seulement après sa mort (cf. aussi Sinn, *Becher* 54), ait été fortement critiquée déjà dans l'antiquité. Le choix des thèmes figurés sur les bols à reliefs, en particulier sur ceux trouvés dans le nord de la Grèce, ne correspond donc pas aux pièces qui ont connu le plus de succès durant la vie du poète. Sinn (p. 57-58) en conclut que l'*Iphigénie en Aulide* a dû être composée pendant le séjour du poète à Pella en Macédoine.

### Iphigénie en Tauride

Il est curieux de constater que le séjour d'I. en Tauride et les épisodes divers concernant l'arrivée d'Oreste et de Pylade, la reconnaissance du frère et de la sœur, la remise du message, le deuxième entretien entre Oreste et I. et la fuite d'I., sont quasiment ignorés de l'art attique à l'époque grecque. Ils figurent une seule fois sur un vase à figures rouges (19), daté du 1<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. Ce vase présente cependant toutes les caractéristiques que nous retrouvons dans la peinture apulienne et plus généralement dans la peinture d'Italie méridionale dans le courant du IV<sup>e</sup> s. Comme cette dernière, il est inspiré par la tragédie d'Euripide, *Iph. T.* L'héroïne apparaît comme prêtresse d'Artémis, dont la statue est figurée à l'intérieur de son naïskos, remettant une missive à Pylade en présence d'Oreste, de Thoas, d'un Scythe et de deux personnages féminins qui demeurent à déterminer. Artémis elle-même est peut-être figurée en haut à gauche. Tous les autres documents appartiennent au domaine de l'Italie méridionale et présentent, en dépit des divers épisodes figurés, des caractères communs: on y voit le sanctuaire d'Artémis plus ou moins élaboré, allant du simple naïskos au véritable temple orné d'acrotères (18, 22-23), figuré parfois avec une porte entrouverte (18, 27), à l'intérieur duquel, à une exception près, se trouve toujours la statue d'Artémis, soit sous forme de xoanon (21-22) soit au contraire en Artémis chasse-resse en chiton court et bottes, le carquois sur l'épaule (24), la torche en main (23), mais aussi l'arc (27) et la lance (23). En 29 la statue de la déesse n'est qu'une petite statuette (cf. aussi Kahil, → Artemis p. 743). Sur la plupart des représentations, la déesse est d'ailleurs représentée une seconde fois assistant à la scène, parfois en compagnie d'Apollon. Elle peut porter une (23) ou deux lances, un arc (24, 27) ou arriver dans un char traîné par deux félins (panthères?) (21). Rarement I. est figurée toute seule, accueillant Oreste et Pylade (14), mais toujours porte-clé d'Artémis. C'est seulement au moment de leur fuite, sur le vase campanien 29, que l'héroïne a abandonné sa clé et qu'elle s'est saisie du petit xoanon de la déesse qu'elle doit transporter en Attique. Le problème qui a maintes fois été posé au sujet de ces représentations et que l'on peut aussi se poser



pour les deux reliefs de Termessos (5. 26) est celui de l'influence plus ou moins directe jouée par le théâtre d'Euripide. Il est indéniable que les illustrations de l'*Iph.* T. ne font leur apparition qu'à la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. et qu'elles reflètent très certainement l'impact considérable exercé par la tragédie euripidéenne, non pas tant en Grèce propre (cependant la rareté de notre documentation n'est peut-être que l'effet d'un hasard) qu'en Italie méridionale où les artistes locaux ont représenté si fréquemment divers épisodes reflétant l'atmosphère de la pièce. Deux théories ont été défendues à ce sujet: alors que Webster et Trendall (92-94) sont en faveur d'une influence directe, Cambitoglou (65-66) préfère reconnaître dans l'imagerie d'Italie méridionale des épisodes de la légende euripidéenne plutôt que des représentations de différentes scènes telles qu'elles étaient figurées au théâtre même. Cette opinion paraît la plus vraisemblable, particulièrement en raison de la multiplicité des personnages si fréquente sur les vases apuliens et qui semble suggérer l'atmosphère générale de la pièce, plutôt qu'illustrer la scène d'un acte précis. S'y ajoute parfois l'imagination des artistes (ainsi en 21, l'arrivée d'Artémis sur le char tiré par les panthères et le jeune félin soulevé au-dessus d'une vasque) qui ne correspond point à un événement quelconque relaté par les textes. Cette remarque peut d'ailleurs s'appliquer très généralement à l'invention des peintures, surtout des peintures apuliens: elle ne diminue en rien l'influence que le théâtre, et en particulier celui d'Euripide, a exercée en Grande Grèce et ailleurs, tout en laissant les artistes maîtres de leur propre imagination.

Le vêtement et la coiffure d'I. varient sensiblement avec le style des représentations et leur époque, et aussi avec les divers épisodes illustrés. Les rares documents attiques qui nous sont parvenus et qui figurent I. en Aulide, à l'exception de 2, à la fois trop incertain et trop fragmentaire, représentent l'héroïne vêtue d'un fin chiton ceinturé avec bandes croisées en 1, finement plissé et couvert d'un himation en 3; sur la pyxide 32 qui montre une scène de gynécée, elle porte un chiton à colpos. Sa coiffure, peu visible en 1, comporte une stéphané décorée d'une double rangée de points et de petites pointes, en 3 ses cheveux longs tombent sur ses épaules et sont maintenus par une mince couronne, elle aussi décorée. Sur les bols mégariens (6-10), I. est vêtue d'un chiton et drapée dans un himation qui, en 6-7, lui recouvre la tête. En 8-10, l'héroïne est figurée deux fois portant le même costume. En 12, I. porte un chiton qui a glissé et laisse découverte une partie de son corps tandis qu'en 5, dont l'interprétation est controversée, les deux personnages féminins qui pourraient représenter I. sont vêtus d'un chiton et d'un himation.

Les documents qui figurent I. en Tauride et qui, à l'exception du cratère attique 19 et du relief 26, proviennent tous d'ateliers d'Italie méridionale, la représentent vêtue et coiffée d'une manière plus riche. Elle porte un chiton fréquemment orné de broderies (18-20. 22. 23. 27), mais il peut aussi être simple, et à plis fins (14. 21. 24-25. 29); il est souvent partiellement couvert d'un himation (14. 18-19. 21. 23-24.

29). Elle porte un long voile sur la tête, à moins que ce ne soit son himation, en 21. 24-25. 27. Sa chevelure est généralement longue et retombe sur ses épaules à l'exception de 19. 21. 29; ses cheveux sont entièrement cachés par un voile en 27. En 19 elle ne porte que le chignon mais souvent, ailleurs, le chignon s'ajoute aux longues mèches: ainsi en 18. Une haute coiffure – calathos décoré ou couronne – peut maintenir son voile (14. 20-21. 24-25). Sur toutes ces représentations, I. est fréquemment parée de bijoux et porte des bracelets. Dans les scènes qui la figurent en Tauride, son attribut de prêtresse d'Artémis et gardienne du temple est toujours une grande clé qu'elle porte de la main g., ce qui laisse libre sa main dr. qui souvent tient ostensiblement le message qu'elle doit remettre à Pylade (19-25). Mais, dans la préparation à la fuite (27) et la fuite elle-même (29), l'héroïne est évidemment figurée sans sa clé.

Les discussions maintes fois reprises sur l'interprétation qu'il faut donner aux costumes que portent les protagonistes des scènes figurant I. en Tauride, costume de théâtre pour elle-même, pour Thoas, pour les Scythes (18-23. 27) ne semblent point avoir apporté de solution définitive. Sans nier l'influence très nette de la tragédie d'Euripide – et la chronologie même des documents en est une confirmation –, il me paraît plus vraisemblable d'y voir plus simplement les vêtements si richement brodés que portent les Orientaux dans les représentations grecques de l'époque et principalement en Italie méridionale. Notons que le costume de la déesse Artémis est d'ailleurs lui aussi richement brodé (22-24. 27), tandis que les deux visiteurs grecs, Oreste et Pylade, sont toujours figurés dans leur costume de voyageurs. Rien n'indique une allusion à un costume théâtral.

L'absence de toute représentation du sacrifice d'I. en Italie méridionale, dans les documents iconographiques qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nos jours, est difficile à expliquer; elle témoigne aussi de l'absence d'influence de la peinture de Timanthe (4) qui aurait cependant eu un grand retentissement à l'époque romaine (cf. *infra*).

Les deux documents 32 et 33 méritent que l'on s'y arrête plus longuement. La représentation de la pyxide attique 32, où I. apparaît par la porte entrouverte, concorde avec l'iconographie de la «préparation au mariage» qui montre fréquemment la jeune mariée attendant devant la maison; les personnages qui l'entourent ici sont, à l'exception de Danaë, étroitement liés à la guerre de Troie dont I. est la victime: Hélène, Clytemnestre, Cassandre. Elle est à comparer au lécythe de Douris (3) – dont elle est d'ailleurs proche par la date – et qui figure le sacrifice même d'I. selon le schéma de la «conduite de la fiancée». En 32 les spectateurs connaissent par avance la transformation en sacrifice du mariage projeté de l'héroïne (avec Achille) qu'Euripide a exploitée dans *Iph. A.*; il n'est pas possible d'entrer ici dans les multiples discussions suggérées par le rapprochement du lécythe de Douris 3 avec le texte de l'Ag. d'Eschyle (v. 238-249). Il s'agit évidemment d'une équivalence qui se retrouve fréquemment dans le rituel de la religion grecque entre ma-

riage et mort et qui s'exprime également dans l'emploi ambivalent de la loutrophore, vase de mariage, mais aussi offrande aux jeunes femmes mortes avant leur mariage, les futures épouses d'Hadès. Ce rite de passage symbolisé par le personnage d'I. (déesse et héroïne) est le plus important de la vie féminine et s'exprime en Attique par le rituel de l'Ourse, l'*arkteia*, des fillettes de Brauron et peut-être de Mounychia.

Quant à l'admirable relief de Brauron (33), il symbolise vraisemblablement l'alliance d'I., prêtresse d'Artémis, non seulement avec celle-ci, mais aussi avec Hécate elle-même, si proche d'Artémis, dont le caractère chthonien s'exprime dans le rituel de Brauron.

LILLY KAHIL

(Catalogue: LILLY KAHIL  
avec la collaboration de NOËLLE ICARD)

## II. Epoque romaine

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Croisille, J.-M., «Le sacrifice d'Iphigénie dans l'art romain et la littérature latine», *Latomus* 22, 1963, 209-225; Curtius, L., «Orest und Iphigenie in Tauris», *RM* 49, 1934, 247-294; de Caro, S., «Ifigeneia in Aulide su una brocca fittile da Pompei», *BollArte* 69, 1984/1, 39-50; Jouan, F., «Autour du sacrifice d'Iphigénie», dans *Texte et Image* (1984) 61-74 pl. 18-20; Löwy, E., «Der Schluß der Iphigenie in Aulis», *OeJh* 24, 1929, 1-41; Parra, M. C., «Tre marmi antichi a Livorno (e i sarcofagi di Ifigenia in Tauride)», *Prospettiva* 13, 1978, 50-58; Philippart, H., «Iconographie de l'Iphigénie en Tauride d'Euripide», *RBPhil* 4, 1925, 5-33; Robert, C., «Iphigeneia in Tauris», *AZ* 1876, 133-148; Weitzmann, K., «Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art», *Hesperia* 18, 1949, 177-192 pl. 27-29. 33-36.

## CATALOGUE

### A. Iphigénie seule

#### Peintures murales

34.\* Klagenfurt, Landesmus. für Kärnten. Du Magdalensberg. – Kenner, H., *Gymnasium* 74, 1967, 437-444 pl. 17-18; *eadem*, *AntW* 1, 1970, 42-46 fig. 2; Piccottini, G., *Die Römer in Kärnten* (1989) 188 pl. 1. – 20-15 av. J.-C. – I. debout, en costume de prêtresse (tunique longue et manteau, couronne de laurier et rangées de perles ornant la chevelure qui tombe sur les épaules), porte la statuette d'Artémis sur le bras g. et tient un rameau de la main dr. baissée. Des fr. de six autres personnages laissent supposer que dans la même pièce étaient représentées, autour de → Dionysos (dont subsiste le buste), d'autres grandes figures de la tragédie antique.

35. Stabies, villa San Marco, pièce n° 30. – Elia, O., *Pitture di Stabia* (1957) 45-46 pl. 18; Barbet, A., *La peinture murale romaine* (1985) 192-193 fig. 131. – 4<sup>e</sup> style, après 62 ap. J.-C. – I., vêtue d'un long chiton et d'un manteau, les cheveux ceints d'une couronne de feuilles mêlées de perles, tient la statuette d'Artémis, en forme de *palladion*, sur la main g. et de la dr. baissée un flambeau.

### B. Iphigénie à Argos (interprétation incertaine)

36. Peinture sur stuc. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9022. D'Herculanum. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 1435; Guida Ruesch n° 1471; Bendinelli, G., *RendPontAcc* 18, 1941-42, 143-153 fig. 1; Schefold, *La peinture pompéienne* (1972) 127 pl. 14; Jouan 65-66. – Vers 25 av. J.-C. – Ag. une femme assise sur un fauteuil pose la main sur l'épaule d'une jeune fille accoudée sur le bras du fauteuil. Toutes deux regardent la scène qui se déroule à dr. d'un pilastre qui occupe le centre du tableau: une jeune femme est en train d'arranger la coiffure d'une toute jeune fille en tunique longue et manteau, représentée au premier plan. A dr. un guéridon sur lequel est posé un coffret; sous le guéridon une loutrophore. Bendinelli suggère d'interpréter la scène comme les préparatifs du mariage d'I. en présence de Clytemnestre. Le tableau qui fait pendant représenterait Achille.

### C. Iphigénie à Aulis

#### a) Avant le sacrifice

37.\* Mosaïque. Antakya, Mus. Hatay 961. D'Antioche, Maison d'Iphigénie. – Levi, *Antioch* 119-126 pl. 22; Balty, J., dans *ANRWII* 12/2 (1981) 372-373. – Ép. sévérienne. – Au centre Clytemnestre entoure de son bras dr. les épaules d'I. qu'elle regarde. La jeune fille, drapée dans un manteau blanc qui lui couvre les cheveux, regarde Agamemnon avec tristesse; sa main g., dissimulée par le manteau, est levée vers le visage et de la dr., également cachée, elle soulève un pan de sa draperie. A dr. Agamemnon en costume de scène, un sceptre à la main g., tend la main dr. vers sa fille. Arrière-plan architectural avec *frons scaenae*.

#### b) Iphigénie conduite au sacrifice

38. (= Agamemnon 41\*, = Artemis/Diana 48, = Kalchas 9 – avec bibl.) Peinture murale. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9112. De Pompéi VI 8, 13 (Casa del Poeta Tragico). – Croisille 217-219 pl. 25, 1; de Caro 41 fig. 15; Jouan 69 pl. 19, 5. – Ép. de Vespasien. – Au centre I., le haut du corps nu, les jambes couvertes d'une draperie, les deux bras levés, est emportée vers l'autel (figuré à l'extrémité dr.) par deux hommes (Ulysse et Diomède?). A dr. Calchas; à g., se détournant de la scène centrale, Agamemnon voilé devant un pilier surmonté d'une statuette d'Artémis. Dans le ciel, à g., I., la draperie gonflée par le vent, est emportée par une biche cornue vers la dr. où l'attend Artémis, derrière un nuage.

39.\* (= Agamemnon 42, = Apollon/Apollo 487, = Artemis/Diana 339, = Kalchas 10, – avec bibl.) Mosaïque. Ampurias, Mus. Monográfico de las Excavaciones. D'Ampurias. – de Caro 41 fig. 16; Jouan 70 pl. 20, 2; Blázquez Martínez, J. M./Lopez Monteagudo, G./Neira Jimenez, M. L./San Nicolas Pedraz, M. P., *ArEspArq* 59, 1986, 101-102 fig. 1. – 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. ou fin de l'ép. impériale? – Au premier plan, l'autel et un jeune homme nu portant un linge et un



Iphigeneia 40

plateau. I., drapée dans un manteau blanc qui lui couvre les cheveux, le visage incliné, les yeux baissés, est conduite vers l'autel par Ulysse qui la tient par la main. A g. Ménélas ou Diomède (plutôt que Calchas) lève la main dr. devant ses yeux. Près d'Ulysse, à dr., Calchas dissimule son épée sous son manteau; plus loin Agamemnon, une lance à la main, se détourne de la scène. À g. une colonne contre laquelle est posé un bouclier et derrière laquelle apparaît un jeune homme nu: Achille? A dr., derrière un arbre, un guerrier grec. A l'arrière-plan, quatre autres personnages devant une tenture. Au ciel, à dr., Artémis avec une biche cornue.

#### c) Calchas coupe les cheveux d'Iphigénie

##### Peinture murale

40.\* (= Kalchas 11 avec bibl.) Pompéi VI 5, 2, (Casa del Vico di Modesto), détruite. - Croisille 215 pl. 25, 2; de Caro 41 fig. 14; Jouan 69 pl. 20, 1. - Ép. de Vespasien. - Au centre I., les cheveux défaits (couronne de laurier, tunique longue), la main g. levée

vers le visage incliné, fait un pas vers Calchas qui s'apprête à lui couper de son épée une longue mèche de cheveux. Entre eux un autel bas. A g., tournant le dos à I., Agamemnon (?) assis, drapé et voilé, devant le mur d'un temple.

##### Stuc

41.\* (= Kalchas 12 avec bibl.) Rome, «Basilique souterraine» de la Porte Majeure. - Croisille 211 pl. 27, 4; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 119 K 16; de Caro 41; Jouan 69. - Vers 40 ap. J.-C. - I. et Calchas, comme sur 40.

##### Reliefs

42.\* (= Alkestis 70, = Kalchas 13) Autel de marbre, signé de Cléoménès. Florence, Uff. 612. - Mansuelli, *ScultUff* 1 n° 116; Croisille 212 pl. 19, 11; Froning, *Schmuckreliefs* 132-140 pl. 48-49; de Caro 41 fig. 13; Jouan 68 pl. 19, 3. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Au centre du groupe principal I., vêtue d'un pé-



Iphigeneia 42

plos et voilée, est tournée vers la g., la main dr. levée vers le visage, le bras g. ramené sur la poitrine. Face à elle Calchas, l'épée dans la main dr., lui relève sur le front un pan de son voile. Derrière I. un jeune homme nu (Achille?) la conduit par le bras. A dr., tournant le dos à la scène, Agamemnon voilé se tient près d'un platane. A g. un jeune homme porte un plateau chargé de fruits.

43.\* (= Kalchas 14) *Oscillum* fr. de marbre. De Bol-sena. - Balland, A./Goudineau, C., *MEFRA* 79, 1967, 567-583 fig. 1; Jouan 68 pl. 19, 4. - Ép. augustéenne. - I. est debout vers la g., le visage incliné, le menton appuyé sur la main dr., le bras g. ramené sous la poitrine. Elle est vêtue d'un péplos, ses cheveux sont ceints d'une bandelette et un voile lui couvre la nuque. De Calchas ne sont conservés que les deux bras, le dr. levant un glaive court, la main g. saisissant sur le front d'I. une mèche de cheveux. Entre les deux personnages un autel rustique.

44.\* (= Kalchas 15) Fr. de céramique arétine. Anc. Dresde, Staatl. Kunstslg. Zv 679.94. - Amelung, W., *RM* 22, 1907, 344; Dragendorff, H., *Arretina, SbHeidelb* 1935-36, 2. Abh., 9-16 pl. 2; Balland/Goudineau, *o.c.* 43, 574-577 fig. 4; de Caro 41 fig. 12; Jouan 68. - Début de l'ép. impériale. - Même représentation que sur 43, mais I. et Calchas (dont ne subsistent, comme sur l'*oscillum*, que les avant-bras et le couteau) sont nettement séparés par l'autel.

45.\* (= Kalchas 16) Fr. de céramique arétine. New York, MMA 17.194.2012. - Dragendorff, *o.c.* 43, 10-11 pl. 1, 6; CVA 1 pl. 46 (458), 8; Balland/Goudineau, *o.c.* 43, 577. - Ép. augustéenne. - Même représentation que sur 44. Seules sont conservées la partie supérieure du corps d'I. et la main dr. de Calchas avec la poignée du glaive.

46.\* (= Kalchas 17) Cenochoé de terre cuite à reliefs. Pompéi, dépôt de fouilles 10901. De Pompéi II 8, 2. - De Caro 39-50 fig. 1. 4-9. - Début de l'ép. impériale. - Calchas, debout à côté de l'autel où brûle une flamme, lève son épée vers le front d'I.; la jeune fille, debout face à lui, vêtue d'un long péplos, a les bras baissés, mains jointes, le visage incliné. Derrière elle un jeune homme nu, qui a passé les deux bras autour

de son buste, la conduit vers l'autel. Derrière ce groupe, à dr., Agamemnon debout vers la g., drapé et voilé, appuyé sur un bâton. Aux deux extrémités un jeune homme nu de profil à dr. appuyé sur un bâton.

47.\* (= Kalchas 18) Coffret d'ivoire, dit «coffret de Veroli», panneau dr. de l'un des longs côtés. Londres, Victoria and Albert Mus. - Weitzmann 177-178 pl. 27, 7; *idem*, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (1951) 169-174 fig. 214; Beckwith, J., *Victoria and Albert Museum. The Veroli Casket* (1962) 14-15 pl. 10-11 et frontispice; Simon, E., *Jdl* 79, 1964, 330-334 fig. 27; de Caro 41 fig. 18; Jouan 70 pl. 20, 3. - Vers 1000 ap. J.-C. - Le groupe central montre Calchas, I., le jeune homme qui la conduit et le serviteur de g. comme sur 42. Le serviteur de g. est redoublé à dr. par une figure symétrique. À g. un homme barbu assis (Agamemnon pour Jouan, → Asklepios pour Weitzmann et Beckwith, → Zeus pour Simon), à dr. une femme nourrissant un serpent (→ Hygieia pour Weitzmann et Jouan, → Persephone pour Simon).

#### d) Sacrifice d'Iphigénie: interprétations douteuses

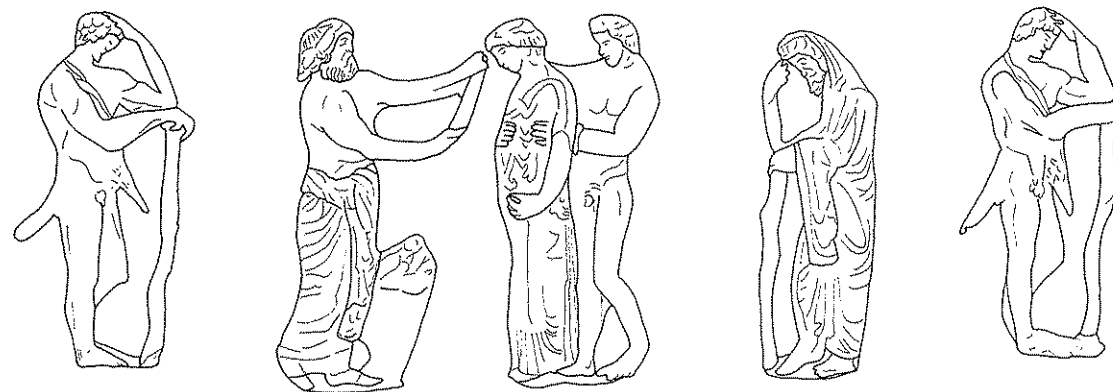
##### Gemmes

48.\* (= Kalchas 28) Sardoine. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. FG 488. - AGD II n° 316. - Ép. républicaine. - Un homme barbu cuirassé (Agamemnon ou Calchas?) lève son couteau au-dessus d'une jeune fille (I.?) qui lui tourne le dos, agenouillée, les mains liées, derrière un autel; de l'autre main il tient une coupe remplie de fruits. I. est vêtue d'un chiton et a les cheveux courts.

49.\* Pâte de verre. Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. XI B 291. - AGOe II n° 667 pl. 16. - Milieu du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Un homme barbu en exomis (Calchas?), tenant un couteau et une coupe remplie d'offrandes, debout devant un autel derrière lequel est figurée I. (?), de petite taille, drapée et voilée.

#### e) Intervention d'Artémis

50.\* (= 12\*, = Artemis 1374\*, = Artemis/Diana 337\* avec bibl.) Groupe de marbre fr. Copenhague, Glypt. 481, 482, 482a. De la Villa Spithoever (Jardins



Iphigeneia 46

de Salluste). – Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Bieber), vers 150 av. J.-C. (Lippold), milieu du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Simon). – Il ne reste que les torsos d'I. et d'Artémis et des fr. de l'animal: Artémis, qui tenait de la main dr. un cerf par les cornes, devait, de la g., saisir I. chancelante, vêtue d'un chiton à ceinture qui laisse découvert le côté dr. du corps. Pour la reconstitution, → Artemis/Diana 337.

51. (= Artemis/Diana 338\* avec bibl.) Groupe de marbre. Rome, Mus. Cap. 9778. Du sanctuaire de Jupiter Dolichéus sur l'Aventin. – Milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Artémis se dirige rapidement vers la dr., tenant de la main dr. un animal (bouc?) par les cornes, une torche à la main g. A ses pieds, derrière sa jambe g., est assise I., représentée à une très petite échelle; vêtue d'un péplos, le sein dr. découvert, les cheveux défaits, elle regarde Artémis, levant vers elle la main dr. Derrière I. un autel.

Voir aussi 38.

### C. Iphigénie en Tauride

#### a) Oreste et Pylade sont conduits devant Iphigénie

##### Peintures murales

52.\* Peinture fr. Naples, Mus. Naz. 111439. De Pompéi V 1, 26 (Casa di L. Cec. Giocondo). – Robert 133-134 pl. 13; Guida Ruesch n° 1312; Philippart 18 n° 25; Schefold, WP 66; Barriello, M. R./Lista, M./Pappalardo, U./Sampaolo, V./Ziviello, C., *Le Collezioni del Mus. Naz. di Napoli* (1986) n° 87. – 3<sup>e</sup> style, vers 40-50 ap. J.-C. – I., couronnée de laurier et de perles, vêtue d'une tunique longue et drapée dans un voile, apparaît, suivie de trois servantes, entre les colonnes du temple. De sa main dr. levée elle écarte un pan du voile, de la g. elle relève sur la jambe les plis de sa tunique. A sa g. une jeune servante tient une épée et une hydrie. En contrebas, à g., est partiellement conservé le groupe d'Oreste et de Pylade comme sur 59.

53.\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 9538. D'Herculanum. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 1334; Guida Ruesch n° 1313; Reinach, *RépPeint* 170 n° 2; Philippart 18 n° 26 fig. 3. – A g. Oreste et Pylade enchaînés sont conduits par un garde taure. A dr. I. debout les regarde (tunique longue, voile soulevé par le vent); derrière elle deux servantes s'affairent près de l'autel (?). Au centre une table sur laquelle est posée une statuette.

##### Reliefs

54.\* Relief de pierre. Sens, Mus. Municipal 98-99-100. D'*Agedincum* (Sens). – Espérandieu, *Recueil* IV n° 2760; Curtius 248-250 fig. 2; Toynbee, J. M. C., *Latomus* 36, 1977, 391 fig. 22; Froning, H., *JdI* 95, 1980, 335-336 fig. 11. – Fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Au centre Oreste est conduit vers l'autel par Thoas ou l'un de ses soldats. A dr. de l'autel I. drapée et voilée s'éloigne vers la dr. tout en se retournant vers son frère vers lequel elle lève un rameau de laurier. Sur la face g. du relief, Ulysse et Calchas. Voir aussi 75. 79-82.

#### INTERPRÉTATION INCERTAINE

55. Gemme, pierre noire. Göttingen, Univ. G 425. – AGDIII n° 275. – Début du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Oreste (?) et Pylade (?), les mains liées derrière le dos, debout devant I. (?), en longue robe, qui porte une main à son visage.

#### b) La reconnaissance entre Iphigénie et Oreste

##### Sarcophages de marbre romains

56. (= 75 [face princ.] avec bibl.) Petits côtés g. et dr. Munich, Glypt. GL 363. – Côté dr.: I. (tunique longue et manteau), debout vers la dr., lève une tablette; à ses pieds une hydrie. Oreste et Pylade s'avancent vers elle à grandes enjambées. Derrière I. un guerrier taure. Même scène, mais inversée, sur le côté g., fr.

57.\* (= 68 [couverture]) Petit côté g. fr. New York, MMA 28.57.8a-d. – McCann, A. M., *Roman Sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1978) n° 7 fig. 57; Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 171 n. 6. – 150-160 ap. J.-C. – Même scène que sur 56. Seuls sont conservés le haut du corps d'I., le profil d'Oreste et une jambe de Pylade.

Voir aussi 77. 80. 82-84.

##### Toreutique

Voir 85.

#### c) Iphigénie emporte la statuette d'Artémis et/ou demande à Thoas la permission de la purifier dans la mer

##### Peintures murales

58. (= Artemis/Diana 47) Pompéi III 4, 4 (Domus Pinari Cerealis). – Schefold, WP 59; idem, *VergP* 114 pl. 78. – 4<sup>e</sup> style, ép. néronienne. – Au centre, en haut des marches du propylon du temple, apparaît I. (couronnée et vêtue d'une longue tunique), un rameau à la main dr., la statuette d'Artémis sur le bras g., entourée de deux compagnes. Au premier plan, à g. Thoas assis avec un garde, à dr. Oreste et Pylade debout, les mains liées dans le dos.

59.\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 9111. De Pompéi I 4, 25 (35) (Casa del Citarista). – Guida Ruesch n° 1314; Philippart 20-21 n° 30 fig. 4; Curtius, WP 244-245 fig. 142-143; Schefold, WP 16; idem, *La peinture pompéienne* (1972) 174-175 pl. 34. – 4<sup>e</sup> style, vers 65 ap. J.-C. – A g. Oreste et Pylade debout, les mains liées dans le dos, surveillés par un garde. A dr. Thoas assis avec un soldat. Entre les deux groupes, un autel contre lequel est posée une torche, et une hydrie. A l'arrière-plan, au centre, I. (dont la tête manque) apparaît en haut des marches du temple, la statuette d'Artémis dans la main g.; à sa g. un autre autel.

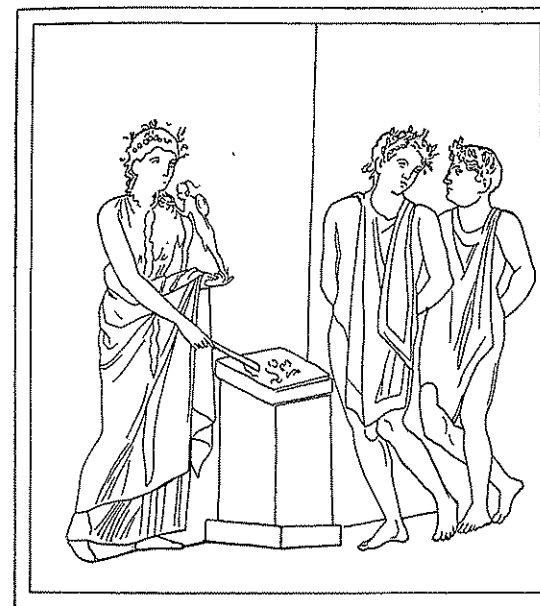
60.\* Pompéi IX 8, 3 et 6 (Casa del Centenario). – Philippart 20 n° 27; Lippold, *Gemäldekopien* pl. 9, 48; Schefold, WP 278-279. – 4<sup>e</sup> style. – A dr. I. apparaît sur les marches du temple, vêtue d'un chiton long et d'un manteau rabattu sur les cheveux, portant sur la main g. la statuette d'Artémis, dissimulée sous les plis du manteau. A g. Oreste et Pylade, l'un assis sur un autel élevé sur lequel l'autre s'appuie.

61.\* Pompéi VI 15, 1 (Casa dei Vettii). – Philippart 20 n° 29 fig. 2; Curtius, WP 249-250 fig. 146; Sche-

fold, WP 147. – 4<sup>e</sup> style. – À g. Oreste et Pylade, l'un assis, l'autre debout, accoudé. Au centre I., la statuette d'Artémis dans la main g., allume une torche sur un petit autel; derrière elle une petite servante soulève un pan de son manteau. A dr. Thoas assis la regarde.

62.\* Pompéi IX 5, 14-16, partiellement détruite. – Robert, *SarkRel* II fig. p. 181; Philippart 20 n° 28; Schefold, WP 260. – A g. I. (couronne, tunique longue, manteau), tenant sur la main dr. une statuette en forme de *palladion*, approche une torche (?) d'un autel sur lequel brûle un feu. A dr. Oreste et Pylade marchent vers l'autel.

Voir aussi 34-35.



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#### INTERPRÉTATION INCERTAINE

63. Pompéi VI 9, 6-7 (Casa dei Dioscuri), détruite. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 1336 b; Reinach, *RépPeint* 170, 4; Philippart 24 n° 37; Schefold, WP 117. – Ép. néronienne. – Au centre I. (couronne de lierre, chiton, manteau), tenant une statuette en forme de *palladion* sur le bras g., entre Oreste et Pylade armés.

64. Peinture fr. Éphèse, Hanghaus 2. – Strocka, V. M., *Gymnasium* 80, 1973, 368.372 fig. 3; idem, *Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser, Ephesos VIII* 1 (1977) 48.54 fig. 68. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'une illustration d'un passage d'Eur. *Iph. T.* (inscr. [IPHIGENEIA]: à g. I. (?), dont la tête manque, en long vêtement à ceinture. A dr. Thoas (?) dont le masque tragique est tourné vers la dr. I., surélevée par rapport à Thoas, se tient probablement sur les marches du temple d'Artémis. Entre elle et Thoas pouvait se tenir un troisième personnage disparu.

##### Mosaïque

65. Rome, Antiquarium Comunale. De Rome. – Bevilacqua, G., *BullCom* 86, 1978-79, 39-46 pl. 16. 18-19. – Fin du II<sup>e</sup>-début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – A g. Oreste est assis sur un autel cubique contre lequel est

posée une tablette. Il regarde I., debout devant lui, vêtue en prêtresse (tunique pourpre sous un vêtement à ceinture et un manteau blanc, voile bleu, couronne de feuilles d'or). Tenant sur sa main dr. la statuette d'Artémis, la main g. sur la hanche, elle regarde Oreste. Un arrière-plan architectural sommaire pourrait figurer le temple d'Artémis.

##### Textile

66. (= Artemis [in per. or.] 33, = Artemis/Diana 340\* avec bibl.) Tissu de laine, soie et lin. Francfort, Mus. für Kunsthandwerk 3610. D'Antinoë. – Weitzmann, *Spirituality* n° 218. – VI<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Au centre, au-dessus de son autel, Artémis. A g. I. drapée et voilée, la main g. tendue, tient de la dr. un couteau. Face à elle, symétriquement, Thoas ou un garde taure; de part et d'autre de l'autel Oreste et Pylade agenouillés, les mains liées derrière le dos.

##### Sarcophage de marbre attique

67.\* Deux fr. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 105 et 117. – Michaelis, *AncMn* n° 105. 117; Robert, *SarkRel* III 1 n° 36; Ashmole, B., dans *Essays in Memory of K. Lehmann* (1964) 25-26 fig. 1; Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 402. – Début du 3<sup>e</sup> quart du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – À g. Thoas assis vers la dr., accompagné de deux gardes taures. A dr. I. debout de face devant le temple, près de l'autel. Vêtue d'un chiton et d'un himation, elle porte sur le bras g. la statuette d'Artémis et lève de la main dr. un rameau. A sa dr. une jeune servante porte une corbeille ou un plat de fruits.

##### Sarcophages de marbre romains

Voir 77. 83-84.

#### d) Le combat sur le rivage et/ou l'embarquement

##### Sarcophages de marbre romains

68. (= 57 [côté g.]) Couverture fr. New York, MMA 28.57.8a-d. – McCann, A. M., *o. c.* 57, n° 7 fig. 55. – 150-165 ap. J.-C. – Seule est conservée la partie dr. du couvercle, avec la scène de l'embarquement: Oreste (ou Pylade) franchit la passerelle du bateau où l'attend I. debout, voilée, accompagnée d'une servante et d'un marin. A g. le bouclier de Pylade (ou d'Oreste) qui est encore en train de combattre les Taures. Un autre fr. montre les jambes d'un guerrier tombé à terre.

Voir aussi 74-79. 82.

##### Reliefs provinciaux

69.\* Fr. de sarcophage en pierre. Budapest, Mus. Nat. Hongrois 62.84.2. D'Aquincum. – Robert, *SarkRel* III 3 n° 311; Goddard King, G., *AJA* 37, 1933, 72 pl. 13, 2; Erdélyi, G., *A Romai Köfaragás és Kőszobrászat Magyarországon* (1974) fig. 75b; Toynbee, *o. c.* 54, 389 fig. 23. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – A dr. Oreste (ou Pylade), à la poupe du bateau, se penche pour saisir I. par les bras. Celle-ci, vêtue d'une tunique longue, le manteau gonflé par le vent, se hâte vers la passerelle. A g. Pylade (ou Oreste), l'épée dégainée, debout à côté du cadavre d'un Taure. A l'arrière-plan le temple d'Artémis.



70. \* Fr. de sarcophage de marbre. Marseille, Académie. – Robert, *SarkRel* II n° 174; Espérandieu, *Recueil* I n° 120 («enlèvement d'Hélène»); Toynbee, *o. c.* 54, 391. – I. (tunique longue, manteau gonflé par le vent), la statuette d'Artémis sur l'épaule g., monte sur la passerelle du bateau à la poupe duquel Oreste (ou Pylade) lui tend les mains. A l'angle g. la tête d'un Taure gisant au pied d'un arbre.



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71. \* Relief de marbre ornant le tombeau des Prisciani. Šempeter-Celeia, in situ, inv. 601. – Klemenc, J./Kolšek, V./Petru, P., *Antične grobnice v Šempetru* (1972) pl. p. 63; Toynbee, *o. c.* 54, 390-391. – A dr. I., drapée dans un manteau, tête retournée, franchit la passerelle du bateau dans lequel Oreste (ou Pylade) l'aide à monter. A g. Pylade (ou Oreste), saisissant par les cheveux un Taure tombé à terre, le menace de son épée. Un autre relief du même monument montre Oreste et Pylade de part et d'autre de l'autel d'Artémis, l'un d'eux écrivant une lettre comme sur 85, mais I. est absente. Un troisième relief (86) montre une scène plus difficile à interpréter.

72. Stèle funéraire fr. Szombathely, Mus. Savaria. De Ják. – Erdélyi, G., *ArchErt* 77, 1950, 72-77 pl. 16, 2; Kádár, Z., dans *Le rayonnement des civilisations gr. et rom. sur les cultures périphériques* (1965) 383-384 pl. 89, 3; Toynbee, *o. c.* 54, 389-390. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Ne subsiste qu'I. à demi nue fuyant vers la g., les deux bras tendus, le pied dr. posé sur le cadavre d'un Taure.

73. \* (= Artemis/Diana 52b/410 avec bibl.) Fronton de grès provenant d'un monument funéraire. Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. U 194. De Frenz. – Toynbee, *o. c.* 54, 391. – I. drapée et voilée, portant de la main g. la statuette d'Artémis, se dirige vers un bateau dont on aperçoit la poupe à dr. Elle est entourée par Oreste et Pylade qui se dirigent aussi vers le bateau, tous deux armés d'un poignard. À l'extrémité g. un autel avec une biche; à l'arrière-plan, derrière I., le temple d'Artémis.

Toreutique  
Voir 85.

# e) Documents à caractère narratif

Sarcophage de marbre attique

74. \* Deux fr. Thèbes, Mus. 109 (?). De Thespies. – Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Giuliano, A., *Il commercio dei sarcophagi attici* (1962) n° 129; Giuliano, A./Palma, B., *La maniera ateniese di età romana. I maestri dei sarcophagi attici*, *StudMisc* 24 (1975-76 [1978]) 47-48 n° 2 pl. 52, 128; Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 402-403 fig. 434-435. – Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – L'un des fr. montre Thoas ou un guerrier taure qui semble allumer une torche sur l'autel d'Artémis; à l'arrière-plan le temple de la déesse. L'autre fr. montre I. franchissant vers la dr. la passerelle du bateau, la statuette d'Artémis sur l'épaule g.; à la poupe Oreste (ou Pylade) lui tend les bras.

Sarcophages de marbre romains

## TYPE A

75. \* (= 56 [côtés g. et dr.], = Erinys 80\*) Face principale. Munich, Glypt. GL 363. – *SarkRel* II n° 167; Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 171 fig. 195; Parra 53-55 fig. 14-14a. – 140-150 ap. J.-C. – Quatre épisodes se succèdent de g. à dr. (sans respecter totalement la chronologie). A: Oreste et Pylade sont conduits auprès d'I. A g. un arbre aux branches duquel sont suspendues les têtes de deux étrangers sacrifiés, la statuette d'Artémis sur un socle et l'autel devant le temple. I. (tunique longue), l'épée à la main g., se dirige vers l'autel tout en se retournant vers Oreste et Pylade enchaînés, conduits vers elle par un Taure. B: Oreste, frappé de folie, est assis à terre, soutenu sous les épaules par Pylade; à dr., derrière une éminence, une Erinys. C: le combat sur le rivage. I. (cheveux défaits, tunique longue) debout, la statuette d'Artémis sur le bras g., regarde les combattants: Oreste (ou Pylade) s'attaque à deux Taures, l'un debout, l'autre tombé à la renverse. D: l'embarquement. Oreste (ou Pylade) franchit la passerelle du bateau à la poupe duquel se tient I. voilée, entraînée vers la dr. par un compagnon.

76. \* Fr. Paris, Louvre Ma 1607. – Robert, *SarkRel* II n° 169; Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* n° 39. – 140-150 ap. J.-C. – Deux scènes partiellement conservées: à g. la folie d'Oreste comme sur 75 (B), à dr. le combat sur le rivage auquel assiste I. comme sur 75 (C).

77. (= Artemis/Diana 52\*, = Aigisthos 34 [cuve], = Erinys 36 [cuve] – avec bibl.) Couvercle. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Prof. 10450. De Rome, Porta Viminalis. – Robert, *SarkRel* II n° 155; Sichter mann/Koch, *MythSark* n° 53 pl. 138-139; Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 171 n. 4; Parra 55-56 fig. 17. – 140-150 ap. J.-C. – Quatre épisodes de g. à dr. A: la reconnaissance entre I. et son frère comme sur 56, mais le guerrier taure est à dr.; à g. le temple d'Artémis et l'autel comme sur 75 (A). B: I., la statuette d'Artémis sur le bras g., se dirige vers la g., suivie d'Oreste et Pylade enchaînés, vers lesquels elle se retourne; un Taure escorte les prisonniers; à l'extrémité dr. Thoas dont le geste, main ouverte, montre qu'il vient d'accorder sa permission à I. C: le combat sur le rivage comme sur 75 (C), mais I. est absente. D: l'embarquement comme

sur 75 (D) mais I., tournée vers la dr., porte la statuette d'Artémis.

78. Deux fr. de couvercle. a) Leningrad, Ermitage A 259. b) Rome, Mus. Cap. – Robert, *SarkRel* II n° 170 (a); Saverkina, I. I., *Römische Sarkophage in der Ermitage* (1979) n° 8 pl. 20 (a); Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 171 n. 7 (a); Robert, *SarkRel* II n° 170a (b). – Vers 150 ap. J.-C. – a: le combat sur le rivage comme sur 75 (C) et Oreste ou Pylade franchissant la passerelle du bateau, comme sur 75 (D). b: I. dans le bateau avec un compagnon comme sur 75 (D).

79. \* Couvercle. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 106467. De Rome, Via Salaria. – Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2137; Sichter mann/Koch, *MythSark* n° 54 pl. 133-134; Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* 171 n. 5; Parra 56 fig. 18. – 150-160 ap. J.-C. – Trois épisodes de g. à dr. A: Oreste et Pylade conduits devant I. comme sur 75 (A), mais avec deux gardes taures. B: la folie d'Oreste comme sur 75 (B). C: le combat sur le rivage comme sur 75 (C).

80. Fr. de couvercle. Malibu, Getty Mus. 71.AA.266. – Koch, G., *Roman Funerary Sculpture, Cat. of the Collections* (1988) 14 n° 5. – Vers 160 ap. J.-C. – Trois épisodes de g. à dr. A: Oreste et Pylade conduits par un Taure devant I. (presque entièrement disparue), comme sur 75 (A). B: la reconnaissance entre I. et Oreste comme sur 75, mais sans garde taure. C: la folie d'Oreste comme sur 75 (B).

81. Deux fr. a) Rome, Villa Albani. b) Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti. – Robert, *SarkRel* II n° 168 (a); Wrede, H./Harprath, R., *Der Codex Coburgensis* (1986) n° 68 fig. 36 (a-b). – a: Oreste et Pylade conduits vers I. comme sur 75 (A) avec l'adjonction d'un garde taure derrière I. b: l'extrémité dr. de la scène précédente et la folie d'Oreste comme sur 75 (B).

## TYPE B

82. \* Weimar, Staatl. Kunstlg. Schlossmus. G 1744. – Robert, *SarkRel* II n° 172; Weitzmann, K., *AntK* 7, 1964, 42-47 fig. 1 pl. 12, 1; Parra 55 fig. 15. – 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Quatre épisodes de g. à dr. A: la reconnaissance entre I. et Oreste comme sur 56: B: Oreste et Pylade sont conduits vers la dr. par un guerrier scythe devant I. (tunique longue et manteau) qui se tient, les mains jointes, à côté de l'autel derrière lequel est figurée la statuette d'Artémis sur un socle; à l'arrière-plan un arbre auquel est suspendue la tête

d'un prisonnier. C: le combat sur le rivage. Oreste ou Pylade, l'épée dégainée, debout à côté du cadavre d'un Taure; à côté de lui un autre guerrier taure debout. D: l'embarquement. I., la statuette d'Artémis sur l'épaule g., franchit la passerelle, aidée par Oreste ou Pylade qui, debout à la poupe, la saisit par le bras.

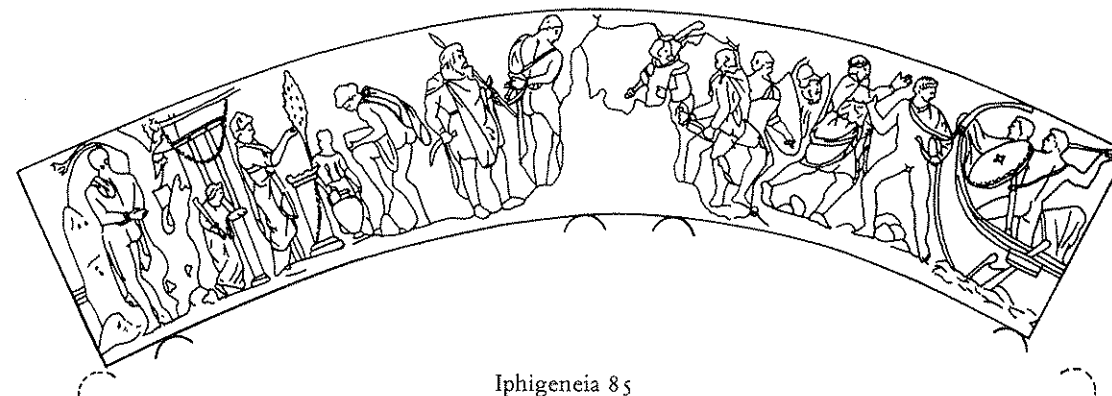
## TYPE C

83. \* Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. SK 845. – Robert, *SarkRel* II n° 177; Parra 55-56 fig. 16; Koch/Sichter mann, *RömSark* fig. 194. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Trois épisodes de g. à dr. A: la reconnaissance entre I. et Oreste comme sur 56 mais avec une servante derrière I. et deux guerriers taures à côté d'Oreste et Pylade. B: les adieux de Pylade à Oreste. Oreste, surveillé par deux Taures, est assis sur un rocher, le manteau rabattu sur la tête; Pylade se tient debout devant lui. C: I. demande à Thoas la permission d'aller purifier la statuette. Thoas est assis à l'extrémité dr., accompagné d'un garde. I. est debout devant lui, vêtue d'une tunique longue, le manteau ramené sur les cheveux, tenant une torche enflammée à la main dr. et la statuette d'Artémis sur la main g. Elle est suivie à g. par Oreste et Pylade enchaînés, conduits par un garde taure (selon le schéma de 82 B).

84. \* Weimar, Staatl. Kunstlg. Schloßmus. G 1745. – Robert, *SarkRel* II n° 178. – Les trois épisodes A, B, C comme sur 83, avec quelques variantes: la servante est absente de A, deux gardes conduisent Oreste et Pylade en C, Thoas est accompagné de deux Taures et derrière I. sont représentés le temple d'Artémis et l'autel.

## Toreutique

85. \* (= Apollon 929) Cratère de bronze. Varna, Mus. Arch. De Balčik (Dionysopolis). – Škorpil, K., *OeJh* 15, 1912 Beibl. 112 n° 10; idem, *BullInstArchBulg* 9, 1930-31, 58-68. 87 fig. 45-49; Curtius 247-294; Schindler, W., *Wiss. Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Ges.- u. Sprachwiss. Reihe* 25, 1976, 475-483; idem, *Klio* 622, 1982, 99-104 fig. 1-9; Froning, *o. c.* 54, 334-335 fig. 10. – Fin de l'ép. de Tibère – début de l'ép. de Claude (Curtius), 23-12 av. J.-C. (Schindler). – La scène principale se situe près du sanctuaire d'Artémis, figuré à l'arrière-plan. I. (tunique longue, manteau) debout à côté de l'autel lève la main dr. vers Pylade qui, à dr. de l'autel, est en train d'écrire la lettre qu'elle lui dicte. Derrière I., à g., une servante;



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une autre, près de l'autel, tient un grand vase. A g. Oreste vu de dos, enchaîné près d'un arbre. La scène suivante vers la dr. est très lacunaire. Un guerrier taure conduit les prisonniers (dont un seul subsiste). La troisième scène montre le combat sur le rivage et l'embarquement. Oreste et Pylade sont à la poupe du bateau dans lequel I. est assise vers la dr., entièrement voilée. Sur le rivage, Apollon s'interpose entre les fugitifs et Thoas, que suivent deux guerriers taures; deux autres se dirigent vers la g., tête retournée.

#### f) Scène difficile à interpréter

86. Relief de marbre ornant le tombeau des Prisciani. Šempeter-Celeia, *in situ*, inv. 2. – Klemenc/Kolšek/Petru, *o.c.* 71, 25 n° 2 (fig. p. 29); Toynbee, *o.c.* 54, 388–389 fig. 21. – A g. un homme barbu semble allumer une torche sur un autel. Au centre une femme (?) voilée, vêtue d'une longue tunique, lève de la main dr. un rameau. A dr. un homme agenouillé vers la g. plaie à terre une biche de la main g. et lève la main dr. Le personnage de g. a la même attitude que le guerrier taure sur 74, la femme du centre ressemble à l'I. de 54 et à celle de 64. Comme deux autres reliefs du monument de Šempeter (voir 71) la scène se situe en Tauride bien que la présence de la biche ait conduit certains à l'interpréter comme le sacrifice d'I. à Aulis (Klemenc, Toynbee); mais la biche est parfois représentée près de l'autel d'Artémis en Tauride (73; voir aussi 23).

#### D. Iphigénie, Oreste et Pylade dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon Smintheus

87.\* (= Apollon 355, = Apollon/Apollo 498 avec bibl., = Artemis/Diana 341 avec bibl., = Chryses II 1) Canthare d'argent à reliefs. Londres, BM 1960.2-1.1. – Stenico, A., dans *Arte in Europa. Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di E. Arslan* (1966) 29–31 fig. 3. – 4<sup>e</sup> quart du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Sous le platane d'Apollon Smintheus et tournant le dos à la statuette du dieu sont assis Oreste (ou Pylade) et I. prostrée, le manteau entièrement rabattu sur sa tête inclinée; sur ses genoux repose la statuette d'Artémis. Devant elle Pylade (ou Oreste) debout, plus loin à dr. Chryséis et Chrysès, puis Thoas et un guerrier.

Plusieurs fr. de céramique arétine proviennent de représentations identiques (voir liste dans Stenico 32–35 fig. 11–12), p. ex.:

88. Fr. de céramique arétine. Arezzo, Mus. Arch. – Stenico, *o.c.* 87, 34 n° 11 fig. 11 E; Froning, *o.c.* 54, 337 fig. 14. – Sans doute atelier de Rasinius, vers 10 av. J.-C. – I. assise et Oreste (ou Pylade) debout, comme sur 87.

#### COMMENTAIRE

Les deux épisodes majeurs de l'histoire d'I., le sacrifice d'Aulis et la reconnaissance entre I. et son frère en Tauride, ont été inégalement illustrés dans l'art romain: moins du tiers des documents recensés dans le

catalogue concerne le premier et on notera en particulier que l'iconographie des sarcophages semble totalement ignorer le sacrifice d'I. tandis qu'elle fait une large part aux événements de Tauride.

Un seul document, le *pinax* peint d'Herculanum 36, pourrait représenter l'épisode qui précède juste le départ pour Aulis: on y verrait la jeune fille à Argos, près de sa mère et de ses sœurs, en train d'être parée pour son mariage auquel ferait aussi allusion la loutrophore posée au sol. Toutefois rien ne prouve que la scène représentée soit mythologique et l'interprétation demeure très incertaine. Beaucoup plus vraisemblable est celle que donne D. Levi à la mosaïque d'Antioche 37: clairement située dans un contexte théâtral, cette scène a été rapprochée des vers 1122–1123 d'Eur. *Iph. A.* où, peu avant le sacrifice, Agamemnon voit sortir sa fille en larmes, voilée, aux côtés de Clytemnestre.

Parmi les représentations du sacrifice, deux documents se distinguent par le sujet même comme par le nombre des personnages représentés: la peinture de la Maison du Poète Tragique 38 et la mosaïque d'Ampurias 39. La peinture est le seul document d'époque romaine qui reprenne le motif ancien d'une I. non consentante: la jeune fille y est emportée vers l'autel par deux hommes qui la soulèvent à bras-le-corps, exactement comme sur les urnes étrusques (I. in Etruria 3–15); mais à la différence de ces dernières le sacrificeur est Calchas, non point Agamemnon qui, sur la peinture, se détourne, voilé, selon le célèbre motif timanthéen (voir 4). L'identité des deux hommes qui portent I. est difficile à préciser: rien ne permet de confirmer l'identification couramment admise – Ulysse, barbu, et Diomède, imberbe – sinon la comparaison avec certaines urnes étrusques où l'un des deux hommes porte le pilos. L'intervention d'Artémis, qui n'est pas un élément fondamental des représentations romaines du sacrifice d'I., est clairement indiquée sur le tableau pompéien, où la déesse apparaît émergeant des nuages; toutefois il est difficile de savoir si la jeune femme qui chevauche la biche à l'angle opposé n'est, comme on l'a cru longtemps, qu'une acolyte de la déesse, ou n'est pas plutôt I. elle-même, enlevée vers la Tauride par l'animal (voir le Commentaire à → Artemis/Diana p. 847). Le groupe de marbre 50 pourrait représenter le moment qui précède juste cet enlèvement, encore qu'il soit difficile de savoir si le cerf était destiné à être sacrifié sur l'autel à la place d'I., ou s'il devait emporter I. vers la Tauride comme cela semble être le cas sur la peinture pompéienne. Quant au groupe sculpté 51, s'il fait certes allusion à l'intervention d'Artémis, l'inspiration en est très différente: le mythe y est relégué à l'arrière-plan et I. n'y est qu'une figure mineure, dominée par l'imposante stature d'Artémis.

Le seul autre document d'époque romaine qui fasse allusion à l'intervention d'Artémis est la mosaïque d'Ampurias 39 qui présente, avec un nombre exceptionnellement élevé de personnages, la version iconographique du sacrifice la plus courante, celle de l'I. consentante – encore I. n'y avance-t-elle pas librement vers l'autel, mais précédée par Ulysse, identifié ici grâce à son pilos, qui la tient par la main. I. est enve-

loppée dans un ample manteau à plis orangés, qui est le costume traditionnel de la mariée romaine. Agamemnon, reconnaissable à son sceptre, n'a pas la tête voilée ni le geste qui le caractérisaient sur le tableau de Timanthe; il se détourne néanmoins de la scène. Les identifications des autres personnages, sauf celle de Calchas qui dissimule son épée sous son manteau, demeurent très hypothétiques.

Toutes les autres représentations du sacrifice (40–47) constituent une série iconographique homogène, caractérisée par le petit nombre des personnages annexes, voire par leur absence, autour d'un groupe central restreint où l'on voit I. prêter la tête au couteau de Calchas pour l'ablation propitiatoire d'une mèche de ses cheveux. La longévité de cette série – les œuvres s'étagent du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. (42) au X<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (47) – et la variété des supports témoignent de l'impact du modèle original dont toutes découlent plus ou moins directement. Le document le plus ancien de cette série est l'autel à reliefs signé de Cléoménès (42) qui présente, outre le groupe I. – Calchas, un jeune homme nu qui conduit I. et dont l'identité demeure incertaine (Achille?), Agamemnon voilé, qui tourne le dos à la scène, et un serviteur anonyme. L'origine de ce monument a suscité bien des discussions: certains, dont Löwy, ont voulu y voir une reproduction de la peinture de Timanthe 4, surtout en raison de l'attitude d'Agamemnon; d'autres, avec Dragendorff, l'imitation d'un relief néo-attique à trois personnages, dérivant lui-même d'une œuvre attique d'époque classique. Plus récemment Froning a montré que le modèle pourrait n'être que d'un siècle plus ancien que l'autel lui-même, qu'elle place dans la 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.

L'œnochoé de Pompéi 46 présente un groupement de personnages très proche de celui de l'autel de Cléoménès, avec quelques variantes: l'adjonction d'un autel entre Calchas et I., ce qui écarte les deux personnages l'un de l'autre, et surtout l'inversion du personnage d'Agamemnon, tourné cette fois-ci vers le groupe central tandis que les deux jeunes gens des extrémités reproduisent, eux, l'attitude de l'Agamemnon de l'autel de Cléoménès. Les deux fragments de céramique arétine 44–45, dont découle vraisemblablement l'image de l'*oscillum* 43, isolent les deux personnages centraux que sépare, comme sur 46, un autel bas. Ce groupe est inversé sur le stuc de la Basilique de la Porte Majeure 41 et sur la peinture 40 où l'autel – si le dessin est exact – était figuré et où l'on note à g. la présence d'un homme voilé assis, probablement Agamemnon. Au début du X<sup>e</sup> s. un relief d'ivoire byzantin (47) reproduit à nouveau la disposition des personnages de l'autel de Cléoménès, à l'exception d'Agamemnon, remplacé par un porteur d'offrandes qui fait pendant à celui de g.

Sur tous les documents de cette série, l'attitude d'I. ne varie guère: la tête voilée, inclinée, appuyée sur la main levée au menton tandis que l'autre main est généralement ramenée sous la poitrine, évoque sa douloureuse résignation; seule l'œnochoé 46 la montre tête découverte et les bras baissés le long du corps, attitude qui rappelle l'I. du cratère apulien du British Museum (11). La jeune fille porte invariablement un pé-

plos et, sauf sur 46 et peut-être 40, un long voile ramené sur ses cheveux. Seuls 47 et peut-être 40 la montrent couronnée mais ce détail, que l'on a parfois rapproché des v. 1477–1478. 1512. 1567 d'Eur. *Iph. A.*, n'est pas très significatif sur 47 où tous les personnages sont couronnés. Lorsqu'I. est accompagnée à l'autel par un jeune homme, elle peut être conduite par un bras (42. 47), ou soutenue par le buste (46), ce qui accentue sans doute l'effet dramatique. L'identité de ce jeune homme est difficile à préciser: le nom le plus souvent avancé est celui d'Achille, encore que le v. 1462 d'Eur. *Iph. A.* laisse entendre qu'un simple serviteur conduit la victime au sacrifice. On se gardera toutefois de chercher une correspondance trop étroite entre la tragédie et les œuvres d'art, où paraissent se mêler diverses sources d'inspiration – le thème de l'ablation de la boucle, presque omniprésent dans les représentations romaines du sacrifice d'I., n'est pas évoqué par Euripide.

Tandis que les sarcophages illustrent en un cycle narratif les événements de Tauride, depuis l'arrivée d'Oreste jusqu'au départ des fugitifs en bateau, l'art pictural n'en a retenu, semble-t-il, que deux temps forts: l'arrivée d'Oreste et Pylade devant la prêtresse et leur départ avec I., qui emporte la statuette d'Artémis. En fait la mise en place des personnages et leurs attitudes ne varient guère selon que l'un ou l'autre moment est représenté: sur 52, 58–60, I. apparaît en haut des marches du temple, généralement accompagnée de servantes, Oreste et Pylade enchaînés étant figurés en contrebas, à dr. ou à g. Seules la présence de Thoas (58–59) et la statuette d'Artémis dans les bras d'I. (58–60) permettent de différencier les deux épisodes. La peinture 61 montre une composition très proche mais plus sobre, sans arrière-plan architectural; d'une main I. porte la statuette d'Artémis, de l'autre elle allume une torche sur un autel, comme sur 62 où la composition est restreinte aux trois personnages principaux, I. et les deux prisonniers. Sur la plupart de ces peintures, I. a une stature imposante qu'accentue encore son apparition solennelle en haut des marches du temple et qui la différencie de la toute jeune fille représentée sur les images du sacrifice. Elle porte invariablement le costume de la prêtresse – tunique longue que recouvre un épais manteau – et ses cheveux sont généralement ceints d'une couronne de feuillages auxquels se mêle parfois un rang de perles (52); c'est ce costume et cette coiffure qui la caractérisent encore comme prêtresse sur la peinture du Magdalensberg (34) et celle de Stabies (35) où elle apparaît seule, portant, comme sur 61, l'image d'Artémis et la torche.

Une seule mosaïque, de provenance romaine (65), se rapporte aux événements de Tauride. La scène est réduite à deux personnages: Oreste est assis sur l'autel tandis qu'I. s'avance vers lui, composition que l'on peut rapprocher de celle de l'amphore 18; mais là s'arrête la comparaison entre les deux œuvres: le vase montre le moment qui précède juste la reconnaissance entre I. et son frère tandis que sur la mosaïque la reconnaissance vient d'avoir lieu – la tablette par laquelle Oreste a appris l'identité de sa sœur est posée contre l'autel et I., qui vient d'enlever à l'intérieur du temple



la statuette d'Artémis, invite Oreste à la suivre. On notera, comme sur les peintures, la silhouette imposante d'I. et son costume sacerdotal – tunique longue que recouvre un lourd manteau, voile et couronne de feuillages.

Un assez grand nombre de sarcophages sculptés dans les ateliers romains dans le courant du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. est consacré à l'évocation des divers épisodes de Tauride, illustrés, à la manière d'une bande dessinée, en une succession d'images placées tantôt sur la cuve (56. 75–76. 81–84), tantôt sur le couvercle (57. 68. 77–80) dont le champ étroit et allongé se prêtait mieux encore à ce type d'illustration. Deux de ces couvercles (68. 77) correspondent à des cuves dont les reliefs illustrent le double meurtre d'Égisthe et de Clytemnestre: les épisodes de Tauride s'inscrivaient donc dans un cycle plus complet dont le héros principal était Oreste plutôt qu'I. Une comparaison entre les différents exemplaires permet d'isoler plusieurs motifs originaux dont la juxtaposition ne respecte pas nécessairement l'ordre chronologique. Sur une première série de monuments (type A: 75–81), dont le sarcophage de Munich 75 apparaît comme le chef de file, sont combinés la scène de la folie d'Oreste, l'arrivée des prisonniers devant I., la reconnaissance entre I. et son frère, le combat sur le rivage et l'embarquement. L'arrivée des prisonniers se situe devant le sanctuaire d'Artémis près duquel I., qui tient prête l'épée du sacrifice, les accueille; à côté du sanctuaire, un arbre auquel sont suspendues les têtes des précédentes victimes, détail qui apparaît déjà sur l'amphore campanienne 29. La scène de la reconnaissance reproduit invariablement le même schéma: Oreste et Pylade se précipitent à vive allure vers I. qui leur tend une tablette. I., la statuette d'Artémis dans les bras, assiste, sauf sur 77, au combat contre les Taures. Elle est ensuite à nouveau figurée dans la scène de l'embarquement: entièrement voilée, alors que les autres épisodes la montrent tête nue, elle se tient à la poupe du bateau, serrant contre elle la statuette d'Artémis, tandis que son frère ou Pylade franchit la passerelle. Thoas n'apparaît pas sur ces reliefs, sauf sur 77 où la scène de la folie d'Oreste est remplacée par un tableau où l'on voit I., suivie des deux prisonniers, s'éloigner de Thoas pour aller purifier dans la mer la statuette d'Artémis. Sur le même monument sont confondues l'arrivée des prisonniers et la scène de la reconnaissance.

Le sarcophage de Weimar 82 (type B) reprend, pour la scène de la reconnaissance, le même «carton» que les sarcophages du type A. Mais les autres épisodes diffèrent sensiblement: la scène de l'arrivée des prisonniers est inversée et I. n'est pas armée pour le sacrifice. L'épisode du combat sur la plage est très réduit, I. n'y assiste pas et c'est elle, cette fois-ci, et non pas Oreste ou Pylade, qui franchit la passerelle du bateau, aidée par un de ses compagnons déjà à bord.

Un troisième groupe de sarcophages, 83–84 (type C), qui conserve le même «carton» que ceux du type A pour la scène de la reconnaissance, montre au centre les adieux de Pylade à Oreste et donne un développement plus important à la scène de dr. où I. s'adresse à Thoas. La disposition des personnages rappelle celle

des peintures pompéiennes (en particulier 59): au centre I., qui porte ici, avec la statuette d'Artémis, une longue torche, à g. le groupe des deux prisonniers debout, à dr. Thoas assis; mais en raison de la disposition linéaire des personnages I. n'a pas l'allure majestueuse, quasi divine, que lui avaient donnée les peintres pompéiens en la surélevant sur les marches du temple.

Seuls nous sont parvenus deux sarcophages attiques, tous deux fragmentaires, relatifs aux épisodes de Tauride. Le fr. d'Oxford 67 met en scène I. et Thoas dans une composition qui ne semble pas avoir de parallèle dans les ateliers romains: I., qui vient de sortir du temple, se présente seule devant Thoas, comme dans la version transmise par Eur. *Iph. T.* 1156–1206; sur le bras g. elle tient l'image d'Artémis et lève de la main dr. un rameau probablement destiné aux rites de purification qu'elle doit accomplir. L'un des fragments du sarcophage de Thèbes 74 montre I. franchissant la passerelle du bateau, aidée par l'un de ses compagnons, selon le même «carton» que le sarcophage de Weimar 82; sur l'autre fragment, un Taure est en train d'allumer une torche sur un autel, à l'extérieur du temple: ce motif n'a pas non plus de parallèle dans les ateliers romains; on songe aux v. 1214–1216 d'Eur. *Iph. T.* où I., avant de s'éloigner vers le rivage, recommande à Thoas de rester près du temple et de le purifier par la torche.

L'art provincial, représenté presque exclusivement par des reliefs funéraires, semble avoir privilégié, parmi les épisodes de Tauride, le départ des fugitifs (69–73). Le schéma adopté est généralement celui du sarcophage de Weimar 82. On notera que la statuette d'Artémis est omise sur 69, 71 et 72. Le relief de Bonn 73 utilise un schéma plus original où I. se dirige vers le bateau, encadrée par Oreste et Pylade. Le relief de Sens 54 montre une autre scène, qui est à rapprocher de celle de l'arrivée des prisonniers sur les sarcophages romains du type A, mais I. y lève un rameau comme sur le sarcophage attique 67. Le même geste apparaît encore sur l'un des reliefs du monument funéraire de Sempeter (86), dans une scène difficile à interpréter: un Taure allume une torche sur un autel comme sur le sarcophage attique 74 et l'on pourrait donc penser aux rites de purification; mais comment expliquer la présence de l'homme agenouillé qui plaque au sol une biche, sinon par une contamination avec l'épisode du sacrifice d'I.?

Le cratère de bronze à reliefs 85 découvert sur les bords de la Mer Noire permet à cet égard d'entrevoir comment certains motifs utilisés par les toreutes au début de l'époque impériale ont pu aisément circuler et parvenir à la connaissance des sculpteurs de divers ateliers provinciaux. Comme les sarcophages romains, le cratère de Varna illustre en une frise continue plusieurs épisodes de Tauride. La scène de la reconnaissance, qui y occupe une large place, ne suit pas la version transmise par les sarcophages: au lieu de remettre à Pylade une lettre déjà écrite, I. lui en dicte le contenu qu'Oreste, les mains liées, écoute. Or on trouve cette scène partiellement reproduite sur un autre relief du monument funéraire de Sempeter (voir 71) d'où, cependant, I. est absente, ce qui enlève à la scène sa signi-

fication d'origine. Le cratère de Varna présente ensuite une scène lacunaire, dont ne subsiste que le groupe du guerrier taure conduisant un prisonnier: on retrouve exactement le même groupe sur le relief de Sens 54. La scène du combat sur le rivage et celle du départ en bateau ne trouvent en revanche aucun écho dans la sculpture, pas plus d'ailleurs que dans la tradition littéraire: Oreste et Pylade sont déjà dans le bateau, avec I. assise, entièrement drapée, tandis qu'Apollon – et non pas Athéna comme dans Eur. *Iph. T.* 1435–1489 – s'interpose entre Thoas et les fugitifs.

Les événements postérieurs au départ de Tauride sont illustrés par un très petit nombre de documents, le canthare d'argent 87 et plusieurs répliques en céramique arétine (88), tous datés, comme le cratère de Varna, de l'époque augustéenne. Oreste et I. fuyant la Tauride ont cherché asile dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Sminthe; Chrysès, le prêtre d'Apollon, est sur le point de les livrer à Thoas lorsque sa mère Chryséis lui révèle qu'il est le demi-frère d'I. et Oreste. Il s'agit ici de l'unique illustration de cet épisode, que Sophocle avait mis en scène dans sa tragédie perdue *Chrysès* (*TrGF* IV F 726–730) et qui fut repris par la suite par Pacuvius (*TF* I. 76–112; voir aussi Hyg. *fab.* 120–121). On notera ici l'attitude d'I. prostrée sous son voile, comme elle l'est lors de la fuite en bateau sur le cratère de Varna 85. L'existence de plusieurs fragments de céramique arétine reproduisant l'image du canthare en argent illustre bien comment la céramique pouvait diffuser à de multiples exemplaires des motifs susceptibles de servir ensuite de modèles dans les ateliers de sculpture (voir aussi, à ce sujet, 43–45).

Comme pour la scène du sacrifice d'I., figurée au X<sup>e</sup> s. sur un ivoire byzantin, une illustration tardive de l'histoire d'I. en Tauride est parvenue jusqu'à nous: le tissu copte 66 montre les principaux protagonistes – I., Thoas, Oreste et Pylade – disposés symétriquement autour de l'effigie centrale d'Artémis, figurée à la même échelle qu'eux comme si, descendue de son piédestal, elle intervenait directement dans la scène. Malgré les tentatives de Weitzmann, qui a rapproché cette image de la scène centrale du sarcophage de Weimar 82, il me paraît difficile d'établir pour ce document tardif une filiation avec les sarcophages romains.

Epoque grecque: LILLY KAHIL  
(catalogue: LILLY KAHIL  
avec la collaboration de  
NOËLLE ICARD)  
Epoque romaine: PASCALE LINANT  
DE BELLEFONDS

## IPHIGENEIA (IN ETRURIA)

Der etruskische Name der Iphigenie ist nicht überliefert, da ihr Mythos vor allem auf Denkmälern ohne Namensbeischriften dargestellt wurde. Da aber für

ihre Eltern und ihren Bruder etruskische Namensformen belegt sind (Achmemrun, Clutnsta, Urste), ist es wahrscheinlich, daß es auch für ihren Namen eine solche Form gab.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: enthält nur Lit. speziell zu etruskischen Monumenten, im übrigen s. Bibl. zu → Iphigeneia. – Bonfante, L., «Un'urna chiusina con «têtes coupées» a New York», in *Studi ... G. Maetzel* I (1984) 143–150 (= Bonfante 1); eadem, «Human Sacrifice on an Etruscan Funerary Urn», *AJA* 88, 1984, 531–539 (= Bonfante 2); Brunn, *Rilievi* I 40–52. 106–112; Dareggi, G., *Urne del territorio perugino. Quad. dell'Ist. di Arch. dell'Univ. di Perugia* I, 1972, 34–35; Heurgon, J., «D'Iphigénie à Troïlos (notes sur la substitution des victimes de sacrifices sur des urnes de Chiusi)», in *Studi ... G. Maetzel* II (1984) 317–320; Pairault, F.-H., *Recherches sur quelques séries d'urnes de Volterra à représentations mythologiques* (1972) 142–144 Taf. 37–45. 88–96; Rebuffat, R., *MEFRA* 84, 1972, 530–535.

## KATALOG

### I. Opferung und Entrückung der Iphigenie

1.\* (= Agamemnon 35\*, = Artemis/Artumes 61\*, = Artemis/Diana 336, = Kalchas 19\* mit Lit.) Praenestinsche Ciste. Rom, Villa Giulia 13141. Aus Praeneste. – Helbig\* III Nr. 2979 (Dohrn); Schefold/Jung, *SB V* 151 Abb. 134; *CP* I 2 (im Druck). – 4. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – I. steht, frontal gesehen, nackt vor der Folie ihres Mantels, den sie noch in beiden Händen hält, im Begriff, ihn ganz herabgleiten zu lassen. R. von ihr der Hirsch, dann Kalchas mit gezücktem Opferschwert, Artemis, Klytaimestra, Agamemnon und ein junger Krieger mit einem Speer, l. ein gebeugt, trauernd?, dastehender Jüngling mit Schwert und zwei Speeren und ein gepanzerter Krieger mit einem Pferd.

2. (= Agamemnon 40\* mit Lit., = Kalchas 25 mit Lit.) Nenfrosarkophag. Rom, Villa Giulia 15531. Aus Tuscania. – Helbig\* III Nr. 2495 (Dohrn). – 3. Jh. v. Chr. – R. sitzt I., den Kopf trauernd in die r. Hand gestützt, auf dem Altar. Ihr Unterkörper ist von einem Mantel verhüllt. In der Mitte ein bärtiger Mann in einem Himation (Agamemnon?, Kalchas?); mit der Linken packt er I. an der Schulter, mit der Rechten schwingt er das Opferrmesser (nicht erhalten). L. am Boden kauern ein Trauernder (Pädagoge?).

#### Travertinurnen aus Perugia

3.\* Perugia, Mus. Naz. 18. – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 41 Taf. 36, 3. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – I. wird von einem gepanzerten bärtigen Krieger (mit Pilos, Odysseus?) über den Altar gehalten. Sie wendet sich mit beiden Armen gestikulierend an den r. vom Altar stehenden bärtigen Krieger (Agamemnon), der eine Phiale über ihrem Kopf ausgießt. R. und l. zwei Frauen in «Furientracht» (Rock und Kreuzbandgürtung über nacktem Oberkörper, Stiefel): die l. hält das Hirschkalb, die r. faßt Agamemnon an der Schulter (Artumes? und eine ihrer Nymphen?).

Sehr ähnlich: a) Perugia (= Agamemnon 36), Agamemnon trägt ebenfalls einen Pilos und hält das Opferschwert in der Linken.



Variante 1, die rechte Dämonin hat den r. Arm erhoben: **b)** Perugia, Mus. Naz. 46 (Brunn, *Rilievi* I Taf. 35, 2; Löwy 22 Abb. 14; Pairault Taf. 39), ferner Brunn, *Rilievi* I 41 Nr. 35, 2a. b; **c)** Perugia, Mus. Arch. 236 (Pairault Taf. 37); **d)** Perugia, Mus. Arch. 343 (Pairault Taf. 41); **e)** Papiano, Privatbesitz (Dareggi 34–35 Nr. 3 Taf. 2, 1).

Variante 2, die rechte Dämonin hält eine Fackel: **f)** Perugia, ehem. San Pietro = Perugia, Mus. Naz. 16? (Brunn, *Rilievi* I 41 Taf. 35, 1; Pairault Taf. 38).

Variante 3, statt der beiden Dämoninnen zwei junge Männer mit schräg nach unten gerichteten Speeren: **g)** Perugia, Mus. Naz. 281 (Brunn, *Rilievi* I 42 Taf. 37, 5; Pairault Taf. 40).

4. Rom, Villa Giulia 50313. Aus Perugia, Necropoli del Palazzone. – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 45 Taf. 41, 11; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III Nr. 2492 (Dohrn). – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Mittelgruppe ähnlich 3, Agamemnon ohne Panzer. L. die Dämonin mit dem Hirsch, r. ein stehender und vor ihm ein am Boden kauender Mann. Letzterer faßt sich in Schrecken und Trauer mit der Rechten an den Kopf, mit der Linken stützt er sich auf den Boden; er wirkt, als ob er gerade erst zu Boden gestürzt sei.

5.\* (= Artemis/Artumes 63\*) Perugia, Mus. Naz. 43, ehem. Giardino Meniconi. – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 46 Taf. 42, 14; Löwy 26–28 Abb. 20; Rebuffat 530–533 Abb. 10a. 11. – Untere Figurenreihe wie 3, die linke «Dämonin» (Artumes) hat einen Köcher. Darüber eine zweite Figurenreihe: von r., eine Tympanon-Spielerin, ein Flötenbläser, eine frontal gesehene Frau, die mit beiden Händen in ihre langen, offenen Haare greift, eine Dienerin, die sie stützt, und ein Opferdiener mit Beil.

Sehr ähnlich (Artumes ohne Köcher, in der oberen Reihe statt der Tympanon- eine Kitharapspielerin; der Diener mit dem Beil fehlt): **a)** Perugia (Brunn, *Rilievi* I 46 Taf. 42, 13; Rebuffat 530–531 Abb. 9b), ferner Brunn, *Rilievi* I 46 Nr. 42, 13a. b.

Variante, in der unteren Reihe l. hinter Artumes eine Frau, die mit der Linken in ihr Haar faßt, in der oberen Reihe nur Opferdiener und Musikanten (von l.: mit Tuch, mit Tablett mit Kuchen, mit Kanne, mit Flöte, mit Kithara): **b)** Perugia, Mus. Naz. (Brunn, *Rilievi* I Taf. 43, 17; Löwy 27 Abb. 21).

6. (= Agamemnon 37\*) Rom, Villa Giulia 50311. Aus Perugia. – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 44–45 Taf. 40, 10; Löwy 25 Abb. 19; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III Nr. 2492 (Dohrn); Pairault 46 Anm. 3; 102 Taf. 15–17 (Atelier de la fleur et des ondes). – Mitte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Mittelgruppe ähnlich 3–5, neben Agamemnon kniet eine Frau (Klytaimestra), die ihre Arme flehend zu ihm emporstreckt, hinter ihr ein mit einer Schreckensgeste nach r. entweichender Mann, der einen unklaren Gegenstand (Stein?) in der Rechten hält. L. ein zu Boden gestürzter nackter Mann (vergleichbar der Figur r. auf 4), der von einem Diener festgehalten wird. In einer oberen Reihe, auf leicht differierendem Niveau, l. die Dämonin mit dem Hirsch, ein Opferdiener mit einem Tablett, eine Dämonin mit einer Fackel, zwei Männer und eine Gestalt mit verhülltem Haupt.

Ähnlich, etwas weniger Figuren in der oberen Reihe, z. T. auch zerstört: **a)** Perugia, Mus. Naz. 49

(Atelier de la fleur et des ondes, Brunn, *Rilievi* I 43 Taf. 39, 9; Löwy 24–26 Abb. 16, 18; Pairault 46 Anm. 3; 102 Taf. 18; Dareggi Taf. 45).

7. Perugia, Mus. Naz. 330 (chem. 127). – Pairault Taf. 42. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Die Hauptfiguren der unteren Reihe ähnlich 6, ohne den Diener l. und den nach r. Entweichenden am r. Rand; der zu Boden Gestürzte trägt Chiton und Chlamys. Dahinter, d. h. in der oberen Reihe, die beiden Dämoninnen (wie auf 3b–e).

Sehr ähnlich: **a)** Perugia, Mus. Naz. 394 (Brunn, *Rilievi* I 42 Taf. 37, 6), ferner Brunn, *Rilievi* I 43 Nr. 37, 6a.

Variante 1, mit weiteren Figuren in der oberen Reihe, der zu Boden Gestürzte mit Diener wie auf 6: **b)** Rom, Villa Giulia 50312 (Brunn, *Rilievi* I 48 Taf. 45, 20; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III Nr. 2492 (Dohrn)).

Variante 2, ähnlich, der Gestürzte ohne Diener: **c)** Perugia, Mus. Naz. (Brunn, *Rilievi* I 43 Taf. 38, 7).

Variante 3, ähnlich Variante 1, statt der knienden Frau r. ein Mann: **d)** Perugia, Mus. Naz. (Brunn, *Rilievi* I 43 Taf. 38, 8; Heurgon 318–319 Taf. 2b).

8. Perugia, Casa del S. Cuore (ex Villa Monti) 14. – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 48 Taf. 44, 19; Dareggi, G., *StEtr* 37, 1969, 472 Nr. 11 Taf. 118a. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – In der vorderen Reihe alle Figuren wie auf 6 (der Mann r. mit Speer wie auf 3g), dazu, direkt hinter Odysseus, die Hirschkalbträgerin. In der oberen Reihe Musikanten und weitere Männer.

Sehr ähnlich, der Gestürzte ohne Diener: **a)** Perugia, Mus. Naz. 279 (Brunn, *Rilievi* I 48 Nr. 44, 19a; Pairault Taf. 43).

Variante, ohne die äußersten Figuren der vorderen Reihe, in der oberen Reihe auch Opferdiener mit Beil, Kanne und Tablett: **b)** Vatikan, Mus. Greg. Etr. 13902 (Brunn, *Rilievi* I 47 Taf. 44, 18; Pairault Taf. 45).

9.\* Perugia, Mus. Naz. 348. – Pairault Taf. 44; Dareggi Taf. 46. – 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr. – In der vorderen Reihe zu Seiten der Mittelgruppe nur die kniende Frau r. und eine kniende Figur l.; in der oberen Reihe von l. Hirschkalbträgerin, Frau mit offenen Haaren (wie 5), Mann und Flötenbläser.

Variante, der Mann vorne l. steht; in der oberen Reihe fehlt die Frau mit den offenen Haaren: **a)** (chem.?) Villa Sorbello in Pischello (Brunn, *Rilievi* I 47 Taf. 43, 16).

10. Perugia, (chem.?) Villa di Compresso. – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 45 Taf. 41, 12; Rebuffat 530–531 Abb. 9a. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – In der vorderen Reihe neben der Mittelgruppe nur die Hirschkalbträgerin und die kniende Frau, oben r. eine Flötenbläserin, oben l. eine Frau mit wehendem Schleier.

11. Perugia, Mus. Naz. inv. Palazzone 55. Aus Perugia, Necropoli del Palazzone. – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 47 Taf. 43, 15; Galli, E., *Perugia, Il Mus. Funerario del Palazzone all'Ipogeo dei Volumni* (1921) 54–57 Abb. 27. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – I. wird von zwei Männern getragen, der Opfernde mit der Phiale hat keinen Panzer. L. die Hirschkalbträgerin, r. die kniende Frau und ein Diener, in der oberen Reihe Opferdiener, Musikanten und die Frau mit den offenen Haaren, die von einer Dienerin gestützt wird.

12. Perugia, (chem.?) Villa Antinori a Monte Vile. – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 49 Taf. 45, 21. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Der zweite Träger der I. steht hinter ihr und faßt sie an den Achseln; r. die Kniende mit Dienerin, l. ein zu Boden Stürzender mit Diener. In der oberen Reihe l. die Hirschkalbträgerin und weitere, zerstörte Figuren.

#### Volterraner Alabasterurnen

13. (= Agamemnon 38a\*, = Artemis/Artumes 65) Ehem. Mannheim, Reiß-Mus. (im Krieg verbrannt). – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 50 Taf. 46, 24; Löwy 28 Abb. 22. – 2. Hälfte 2.–Anfang 1. Jh. v. Chr. – I. (Haltung ähnlich wie 3–12) wird von drei Männern in kurzem Chiton über den Altar gehalten. Der Opfernde mit Phiale und Opfermesser ähnlich wie auf 3–12, aber ohne Panzer, r. neben ihm ein Krieger mit Schild und Lanze, ganz r. eine geflügelte Dämonin in «Furientracht» (vgl. 3) mit Torques, die das Hirschkalb trägt. Von l. stürzt mit ausgebreiteten Armen eine Frau (Klytaimestra) auf die Mittelgruppe zu. Zwei Diener versuchen sie zurückzuhalten.

Sehr ähnlich: **a)** Volterra, Mus. Guarnacci 457 (Brunn, *Rilievi* I 50 Taf. 46, 23; Catani, G., *CUE* II 2, 88 Nr. 99 Abb.).

Variante, I. wird von zwei Männern getragen: **b)\*** Volterra, Mus. Guarnacci 512 (= Agamemnon 38b mit Lit.).

14. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 5754. – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 51 Taf. 47, 25. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh.–Anfang 1. Jh. v. Chr. – Zwischen dem Opfernden und der Hirschträgerin auf einem dem Altar gleichenden Unterbau eine viersäulige Aedícula, in deren Mitte ein Omphalos steht, um den sich eine Schlange windet. Linkes Viertel der Urne weggebrochen, das Erhaltene wie auf 13b.

15. Volterra: Aus Volterra, «piccola tomba Inghirami». – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 50 Taf. 46, 22. – Spätes 2./Anfang 1. Jh. v. Chr. – Linker Teil ähnlich 13b, der Opfernde hält eine Keule, neben ihm ein Pferd. Die Hirschträgerin fehlt.

#### Chiusinische Alabasterurnen

16.\* (= Agamemnon 39\*, = Artemis/Artumes 62, = Kalchas 20) Chiusi, Mus. Naz. 955 (ex Paolozzi). – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 51 Taf. 47, 26; Rebuffat 532 Abb. 10b; 534; Heurgon 319 Taf. 2a. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Der Opfernde in Panzer und Chiton ähnlich wie auf 3–15, die Schale tiefer haltend, neben ihm eine Frau.



Iphigeneia (in Etruria) 16

R. von ihm am Boden kniend ein Bärtiger in Chiton und Mantel, erschreckt die Arme hehend; ganz r. ein Krieger. L. vom Altar eine kniende Gestalt, die ein Tier (Hirschkalb?) mit den Vorderbeinen über den Altar hält. Ganz l. eine kniende Frau, ebenfalls mit einer Geste des Erschreckens auf das Geschehen reagierend, hinter ihr ein Krieger. Über der Gestalt mit dem Opfernde eine Frau, deren Kopf von einem bogenförmig sich bauschenden Mantel umgeben ist, Artumes?. Sie faßt mit ihren Armen ein Mädchen in kurzem Chiton und Stiefeln, I. Aus der Haltung der I. wird deutlich, daß die Gruppe emporschwebend gedacht ist.

#### DEUTUNG UNSICHER, WENIG WAHRSCHEINLICH

17. (= Geryoneus 19 [anderer Fries] mit Lit.) Kolonettenkrater, etrusko-korinthisch. Cerveteri, Mus. Naz., ehem. Rom, Villa Giulia 19539. Aus Cerveteri. – Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 28 Taf. 16; Fischer-Hansen, T., in: *Studia Romana in honorem P. Krarup septuagenarii* (1976) 20–26 Abb. 1–2; Prayon, F., *RM* 84, 1977, 194–195 Taf. 100; Prag 62 Taf. 42a; *CerEtr* 132 Abb. 85; 289–291 mit Lit. – 580/70 v. Chr. – Ein Mann trägt in seinen Armen eine Frau die Stufen eines Altars empor. Über dem Altar Kopf und Arme eines sonst durch den Bau verdeckten oder aus ihm emporsteigenden Mannes (Schatten des Achill?, Todesdämon?). R. eine Frau mit einer Phiale. Wenn die Szene einen griechischen Mythos darstellt, ist eher an die Opferung der Polyxena zu denken (Fischer-Hansen, Martelli).

18. (= Apollon/Aplu 8\* mit Lit.) Bemalte Tonplatte der «Campana»-Serie. Paris, Louvre S 4033. – 530/20 v. Chr. – Hinter Aplu ein Flügeldämon, der eine in einen Mantel gehüllte Frau trägt. Zur Deutung s. Kommentar zu Aplu, S. 353.

Vgl. auch → Kalchas 22 (Deutung auf I.: Prag a. O. 65. 149 H 3 Taf. 40a–b).

#### II. Iphigeneia und Orest in Tauris

##### Chiusinische Alabasterurnen

19.\* (= Cacu 7a mit Lit., = Erinyes 78) Siena, Mus. Arch. 730. Aus Sarteano. – Brunn, *Rilievi* I 107 Taf. 84, 2; Pairault 143 Taf. 92–93; *Artigianato artistico in Etruria*, Cat. mostra Chiusi-Volterra 1985, 48 Nr. 25 Abb.; Bonfante 1, 144 Taf. 3a; Bonfante 2, Taf. 70, 4. – Ende 3./Anfang 2. Jh. v. Chr. – In der Bildmitte sitzen Rücken an Rücken Orest (l.) und Pylades, beide nackt. Vor Orest, der in sich zusammengesunken, den Kopf in die l. Hand gestützt, am Geschehen keinen Anteil nimmt, steht in ähnlich bedrückter Haltung I., nackt bis auf einen den Rücken bedeckenden Mantel und ein Kreuzband über der Brust. In der Hand hält sie ein Schrifttäfelchen. Pylades werden gerade von einem von r. herantretenden Mann die Hände entfesselt. Ganz r. ein Krieger mit Schwert. Im Hintergrund wird zwischen Orest und Pylades der Kopf eines Pferdes sichtbar; vor ihnen kauert am Boden eine schlafende Erinyes, die ein Schwert hält. Ganz l. eine Frau in

«Furientracht» mit einem Schwert und einem runden Tablett.

20. (= Cacù 7c mit Lit., = Erinyes 79\*) Florenz, Mus. Arch. 5777. Aus Chiusi. – Brunn, *Rilievi I* 106–107 Taf. 84, 1; Pairault 143 Taf. 91a; *Artigianato*, a. O. 19, 48 Nr. 26 Abb. (S. 79); Bonfante I, 144 Taf. 2b; Bonfante 2, Taf. 70, 3. – Ende 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Ähnlich 19, Orest und Pylades sitzen auf einem Altar, hinter dem (an der Stelle des Pferdekopfes auf 19) eine Säule mit einem Gefäß zu erkennen ist. Vor dem Altar eine Amphora. Die schlafende Erinyes fehlt; anstelle des Mannes neben Pylades hier eine Flügeldämonin mit einer Fackel. Pylades hält ein Täfelchen (oder Schwertgriff?).

21. (= Cacù 7b mit Lit.) Kopenhagen, Glypt. H 298. Aus Città della Pieve. – Pairault 143 Taf. 89. – Ende 3./Anfang 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Hauptgruppe ähnlich 19, vor dem Altar Amphora wie auf 20. R. von Pylades ein zu Boden Stürzender, ein Mann, der ein Pferd heranzuführt, und ein Krieger.

Reduzierte und mißverständene Variante: → Cacù 6\*: «Pylades» hält eine Kithara.

22.\* New York Univ. Collection. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi II* 2, 184 Nr. 8a; Rees Clifford, H., *AJA* 41, 1937, 300–311 Abb. 1; Bonfante I, 143–150 Taf. 1; Bonfante 2, 531–539 Taf. 70, 1–2. – Anfang 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Orestes sitzt in ähnlicher Haltung wie auf 19–21 auf einem kleinen Altar; Pylades, mit einem Schrifttäfelchen in der Hand, steht neben ihm. Vor Orest I., in Chiton und Mantel, ebenfalls mit einem Schrifttäfelchen in der Hand. R., größtenteils weggebrochen, eine weitere weibliche Figur. Hinter Orest, auf einem hohen, altarähnlich abschließenden Pfeiler zwei Köpfe, die dieselbe Binde im Haar tragen wie Orest und Pylades. Zwischen den Köpfen ein dreifüßiges Tischchen.

#### DEUTUNG UNSICHER

23. Verschollen. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi II* 2, 183 Taf. 78, 8; Rees Clifford, a. O. 22, 302 Abb. 2; 306–309; Bonfante I, 145–146 mit Anm. 13 Taf. 2a. – 1. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr.? – Die Gruppe Orest?–I.? ähnlich wie auf 22, Orest bärtig. Beide halten ein Schwert. Pylades? sitzt ebenfalls auf dem Altar; er hält einen undeutlich gezeichneten kleinen Gegenstand in der Linken. Neben ihm eine Frau mit Schwert.

#### DEUTUNG UNWAHRSCHEINLICH

24. Sard-Skarabäus. London, BM 950. – Furtwängler, *AG I* Taf. 24, 4; III 230; Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 950 Taf. 14; Zoff, *EtrSk* 190 Nr. 1146. – Spätes 4.–3. Jh. v. Chr. – Ein nackter Mann, der sich mit einem großen Schritt auf eine r. stehende Frau zubewegt hatte, wird von einem Bärtigen in langem Gewand an einem Arm gepackt und mit einigem Kraftaufwand (man beachte die Stellung seiner Beine) zurückgehalten. Die Frau, die einen langen Chiton trägt, hält in der einen Hand eine Peitsche mit zwei Riemen (so Walters a. O.) oder ein Seil oder eine Binde, deren beide Enden herunterhängen. Die andere Hand streckt sie nach dem jungen Mann aus; vielleicht berührt sie seinen anderen lose herabhängenden Arm. In

diesem Fall ließe sich die Szene so verstehen, daß sowohl der ältere Mann wie die Frau versuchen, den jungen festzuhalten und eventuell zu fesseln. Man könnte sich aber auch vorstellen, daß der Jüngling auf die Frau zulaufen will und der Bärtige versucht, ihn daran zu hindern. Auf keinen Fall ist ein Gefangener dargestellt, der vor die Frau geführt wird – Orest und Pylades haben in den vielen Bildern der entsprechenden Szene (→ Iphigeneia 14–17, 52–62) im übrigen immer auf dem Rücken gefesselte Hände. Weder in der literarischen noch in der bildlichen Überlieferung der Sage von I. in Tauris ist eine Szene zu finden, die der hier dargestellten entspräche.

#### KOMMENTAR

Die Geschichte der I. ist in Etrurien anscheinend erst in hellenistischer Zeit dargestellt worden; bis jetzt haben sich Bilder fast nur auf Aschenurnen nordetruskischer Werkstätten gefunden. Nur in Praeneste war die Opferung der I. schon früher, noch im 4. Jh., dargestellt worden (1). Der Figurenfries der Ciste 1 orientiert sich, wie am deutlichsten die Gestalt der Artemis in skythischer Tracht (vgl. vor allem → Artemis 1375\* = Iphigeneia 27), aber etwa auch die Frau im Fenster (Klytaimestra?) zeigen, an großgriechischen Vorbildern; es wurden aber wohl eher einzelne Figuren als die ganze Szene von dort entlehnt. Daß I. vor der Opferung alle Gewänder ablegt, ist in der griechischen Kunst nie dargestellt worden; die Wahl des Motivs mag mit einer Vorliebe des Cistengravers für die Wiedergabe nackter Frauenkörper zusammenhängen. Eine ähnliche Figur findet sich auch in anderem Kontext, bei der Wiedergabe von Badeszenen (→ Helene/Elina 41, = Altria/Alsir 2\* = Chryseis I 2; → Helene/Elina 42 = Chryseis I 1; auch CPI 1 Taf. 114, 22b). Andererseits ist das Motiv des die Vorbereitungen zum Opfer gespannten, aber nicht mit sichtbaren Anzeichen von Trauer beobachtenden Agamemnon, der wie eine Repertoire-Figur wirkt, offensichtlich so eng mit seiner Gestalt assoziiert gewesen, daß die Figur auch in andere Szenen übernommen wurde, mit der dort notwendigen erklärenden Beischrift *Agamemnon*; der junge Krieger mit dem Pferd erscheint dort ebenfalls, als *Ajax Ilios* (CPI 1 Taf. 192, 45n; 191, 45l; → Doxa I = Istor I). Wie schon G. Bordenache (CPI 1, 149) betont hat, hatten beide Cistengraver offensichtlich dieselbe Vorlage vor Augen, aus der sie Figuren für ihren Bedarf auswählten. Der Agamemnon der Cisten wirkt in seiner Haltung wie eine schwächere Variante des mit verhülltem Haupt trauernden auf dem Iphigenie-Fresko aus der Casa del Poeta Tragico (→ Iphigeneia 38 = Agamemnon 41\*); dagegen haben die anderen Personen der Ciste 1 nichts mit der Bildtradition zu tun, die sich in dem Fresko dokumentiert.

Das Bild der Nebenseite eines Sarkophags aus Tarquinia (2), die älteste erhaltene etruskische Darstellung der Opferung der I., steht mit dem Motiv der auf dem Altar sitzenden I. ebenfalls außerhalb aller uns bekannten Bildüberlieferungen; der Opfernde kann

hier Kalchas oder Agamemnon sein (zu dem am Boden Hockenden s. → Agamemnon 40\*).

Auf den hellenistischen Urnen 3–16 findet sich keine einzige der Figuren der Ciste wieder; dagegen haben sie mit dem Fresko aus Pompeji ein wesentliches Motiv gemeinsam: nur dort und auf den Urnen 3–15 wird I. von einem (3–10) oder mehreren (zwei: 11, 12, 14, 15; drei: 13) Männern über den Altar gehalten, wobei sie ihre Arme flehend entweder dem Opfernden (3–15) entgegen- oder – wie auf dem Fresko – zum Himmel, zu den Göttern emporstreckt. Von den Trägern ist einer auf vielen Urnen (3, 3b–7a, 7c, 8a–9a) und dem Fresko durch einen Pilos als Odysseus erkenntlich. Damit enden aber die Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen Fresko und Urnen schon beinahe. Der Opfernde mit der Phiale ist eine Repertoirefigur der Urnenwerkstätten; mit erhobener Phiale stehen z. B. auch die Priesterin auf den Urnen, die die Gruppe Priesterin–Gefangener verdoppeln (s. unten), und der Mann (Porsenna?), der ein wolfsköpfiges Ungeheuer beschwört (→ Olta, Lit. auch → Hades/Aita, Calu VI b). Auf den I.-Urnen trägt der Opfernde meist einen Panzer (3–3g, 5a–7b, 7d, 10, 12, 16), sonst oft kurzen Chiton und Chlamys, was ebenfalls zu Agamemnon weit eher als zu Kalchas paßt (vgl. zu dieser Tracht auch die attische Kanne → Iphigeneia 1). Eine als trauernder Vater interpretierbare Figur fehlt, mit Ausnahme der chiusinischen Urne 16 (s. unten), in allen Bildern; die Überlegung, daß eher Kalchas als Agamemnon weggelassen werden kann, unterstützt die Deutung des Opfernden als Agamemnon (s. auch, ausführlicher, im Kommentar zu Agamemnon S. 275–276). Auf fast allen Peruginer Urnen sind – in der einfachen fünffigurigen Komposition von 3 rechts und links vor der Mittelgruppe, bei mehrfigurigen Bildern manchmal auch in der oberen Reihe – zwei Frauen in der Tracht etruskischer Dämoninnen anwesend. Eine trägt das Hirschkalb, das anstelle von I. geopfert werden wird, die andere faßt in der sinnvollsten Variante ihrer variierenden Haltung (3) Agamemnon an der Schulter, um ihm Einhalt zu gebieten. Die Hirschkalbträgerin ist auf 5 durch den Köcher als Artumes gekennzeichnet (zu Artemis mit einem Hirschkalb in den Händen vgl. auch → Iphigeneia 1); auf 16 kann sie auf keinen Fall Artumes sein. Auch in der Dämonin der Volterranner Urnen (13–14) wird man kaum Artumes erkennen können (ausführlicher zum Problem Kommentar → Artemis/Artumes S. 791–792).

Eine gewisse Parallele zu dem bereits genannten Fresko aus Pompeji (→ Iphigeneia 38 = Agamemnon 41\*) besteht in der Zweizahl der zu Hilfe kommenden Figuren auf den Peruginer Urnen, auch wenn die Frau mit dem Hirsch in dem Fresko anders zu interpretieren ist (1., s. → Artemis/Diana 48).

Von den anderen Figuren, die zu dem Grundschema hinzugefügt werden können, ist eine sicher benennbar: Klytaimestra. Auf Peruginer Urnen (6–7c, 8–12) kniet sie rechts neben Agamemnon und faßt ihn am linken Arm, in dem er das Opferschwert hält; auf Volterranner Urnen (13, 15) stürzt sie von links herbei und wird von zwei Dienern zurückgehal-

ten. Auch die Frau mit aufgelösten Haaren in der oberen Reihe einiger Peruginer Urnen (5, 5a, 9, 11), die oft von anderen gestützt wird (5, 5a, 11), muß Klytaimestra sein, ebenfalls die links stehende auf 5b und die zu Boden gesunkene auf der chiusin. Urne 16. Eine Frau mit wehendem Schleier auf 10 wird in Analogie zu einer verwandten Figur, die auf Troilos-Urnen an ähnlicher Stelle erscheint, von Rebuffat als Nyx interpretiert (Rebuffat 517–534, Troilos-Urnen: a. O. Abb. 2, 3a, 4, 5.). Da aber Artumes auf der chiusin. Urne 16 und auf dem pompejanischen Fresko von einem ähnlichen Schleier umgeben ist, besteht kein Anlaß, die frühere Deutung dieser Figur als Artumes aufzugeben; offensichtlich kann der Schleier auch zu Artumes/Diana gehören.

Die figurenreichen Peruginer Urnen, die die Opferszene am stärksten variieren, fügen in der oberen Reihe neben den bereits erwähnten Personen eine ganze Anzahl weiterer Figuren hinzu, die mit verschiedenen Opfergeräten und Musikinstrumenten beim Opfer assistieren; in den griechischen und den von griechischen Vorlagen abhängigen römischen Bildern findet sich nur eine einzige von ihnen, ein junger Mann mit einem Tablett oder Opferkorb, wieder. Alle anderen gehören, wie schon E. Löwy (27–28) erkannt hat, zum üblichen Personal italischer und römischer Opferszenen.

Eine Figur, die mit kleineren Variationen häufig wiederkehrt, ist schwer zu erklären: ein zu Boden gestürzter (4, 6–9, 12), manchmal von anderen festgehaltener (6, 6a, 7c, 8, 12) junger Mann. Als Pendant zur knienden Klytaimestra (auf 6–7b, 8–9, 12) möchte man auch ihn als einen derjenigen interpretieren, die vergeblich das Opfer irgendwie aufzuhalten versuchten, und müßte dann an Achill denken, auch wenn literarisch keine Szene überliefert ist, in der Achill in einer solchen Haltung erscheinen könnte. O. Ribbeck (*Die römische Tragödie* [1875] 99–102) hat als erster gesehen, daß diese Figur sich manchmal auf einen Stein stützt, und daß einmal (6) ihr gegenüber eine weitere Figur mit einem Stein in der Hand dargestellt ist, und deshalb an die Szene Eur. *Iph. A.* 1350–1356 gedacht, in der das griechische Heer Achill mit Steinigung droht, wenn er I. verteidige (weitere Diskussion bei Löwy 24). Wenn tatsächlich bei der Figur auf den Urnen die Erinnerung an eine solche Szene mitspielen sollte, dürfte die Darstellung des durch Steinwürfe getroffenen (?) oder jedenfalls am weiteren Eingreifen gehinderter Achilleus eine Erfindung der Etrusker sein; in dieser Form dürfte die Gestalt kaum in einer griechischen Vorlage zu finden sein. Überhaupt hat es wohl keinen Sinn, für alle Gestalten eine direkte Vorlage in der griechischen Bildkunst oder auch eine indirekte in der griechischen Literatur zu suchen. Die Urnen illustrieren die Geschichte der I., wie sie den entwerfenden Etruskern aus einer oder aus mehreren literarischen Fassungen bekannt war; dabei werden sowohl Gestalten der griechischen Bildtradition wie auch Repertoire-Figuren der Urnenwerkstätten verwendet – so entstammt z. B. die über den Altar gehaltene I. dem griechischen, der Opfernde dem einheimischen Bildrepertoire.



Auch die schon mehrfach herangezogene chiusinische Urne (16), die als einzige einen etwas späteren Augenblick, die Entrückung der I., zeigt, bietet eine in sich sinnvoll erklärbare Kombination der Hauptpersonen. Ihre Figuren entnimmt sie allerdings sehr verschiedenen Vorlagen, daraus resultieren einige Mißgriffe bei deren Bekleidung. Die am Boden knienden, mit Gesten des Erschreckens auf das Geschehen reagierenden Gestalten können Klytaimestra und Agamemnon sein. Dann kann freilich der Opfernde nicht I.'s Vater, sondern nur → Kalchas sein; er trägt aber den Panzer, wie in den Peruginer Reliefs, in denen Agamemnon selbst das Opfer vollzieht. Die Figur, die getragen wird, ist wie Artumes mit kurzem Chiton bekleidet, vielleicht verwechselt mit der Tragenden in einer Vorlage? Kriegerfiguren sind zum Auffüllen der Szene verwendet. Wirklich unsinnig sind selbst in einer derart zusammengewürfelten Kombination auf einer Urne geringer Qualität nur einige Details (so etwa der Panzer bei Kalchas, während Agamemnon in Chiton und Mantel auftritt).

Daß die letzten Endes verhinderte Tötung der I. ein geeignetes Thema für die Sepulkralkunst war, ist evident; sie gibt ein Beispiel für ein Weiterleben in einer anderen Sphäre nach dem scheinbaren Tod. Warum das Thema vor allem in Perugia so beliebt war, läßt sich nicht weiter erklären; die Urnenwerkstätten hatten die Szene offensichtlich in einer Art Massenproduktion vorrätig.

Nur in Chiusi wurde dagegen eine zweite I.-Szene dargestellt, die Szene, in der I. in Tauris Pylades einen Brief überreicht und dann Orest als ihren Bruder erkennt (19-23). Daß einige Figuren dieser Szene ähnlich auch für andere Themen, z. B. für den Überfall der Brüder Vibenna auf den Seher Cacus, verwendet wurden (→ Cacus 2-5), hat moderne Interpreten und z. T. auch schon die Urnenbildhauer selbst in Verwirrung gebracht. Durch die schlafende Brinys im Vordergrund, die entlehnt ist aus Darstellungen von Orest in Delphi (→ Brinys 46\*, 47, 49, 63), ist die Szene auf der Urne 19 eindeutig auf den Orest-Mythos festgelegt – schlafende Dämonen sind aus keiner anderen Szene bekannt. Auch die Dämonin links mit dem Opfertablett paßt nur in eine Opferszene und nicht zur Gefangennahme des Cacus (zu dieser Deutung s. die im Artikel Cacus zitierten Aufsätze von J. P. Small). Die Nacktheit der Priesterin I. überrascht; vielleicht wurde hier ein I.-Typus aus einer Opferszene wie der der Ciste 1 verwendet. Daß I. gemeint sein muß, wird deutlich durch den Brief, den sie noch in der Hand hält, während rechts – in einer Zusammenziehung mehrerer aufeinanderfolgender Szenen – schon die Gefährten des Orest Pylades von seinen Fesseln lösen. Eine ähnliche Szenenkombination wird auch auf den Urnen 20-21 dargestellt; auf 20 hält Pylades den Brief, auf 21 hat er bereits ein Schwert. I.- und Cacus-Bilder hat der Verfertiger einer Urne in Berlin (→ Cacus 6\*) vermischt. In einer anderen Variante der Szene (22) fehlen die ins Heiligtum stürmenden Gefährten; I. ist passender bekleidet; die Binden, die Orest und Pylades im Haar tragen, zeigen an, daß ihnen dasselbe Schicksal bevorsteht wie

anderen Opfern, deren Köpfe auf einer Art Altar im Hintergrund liegen. Sehr differenziert ist die Haltung des Orest und des Pylades wiedergegeben. Die Frau rechts muß als eine der Dienerinnen verstanden werden, die I. auch in vielen römischen Darstellungen der Szene begleiten (→ Iphigeneia 52, 53, 58, 61, 67, 83, 85; vgl. auch schon 18-20). Schematischer ist dieselbe Szene auf 23 dargestellt, wo Orest, wenn die alte Zeichnung richtig ist, unsinnigerweise ein Schwert hält. Aus solchen Bildern wurde wohl ein Bildtypus hergeleitet, der einen gefesselten Gefangenen und eine Priesterin mit einer Opferschale und meist auch einem Messer in schematischer Verdoppelung zeigt (Volterranner und chiusinische Urnen: z. B. Brunn/Körte, *Relievi* II 2, 179-183 Taf. 75-78, 7; Pairault 143-144 Taf. 33, 88, 95-97a; CUE I I Nr. 50, 104, 106, 115, 133; *Artigianato*, a. O. 19, 61 Nr. 53). In seltenen Fällen sind in diesem Bildtypus noch Details aus dem Orest-Mythos enthalten, etwa wenn der stehende Gefährte des Sitzenden auf der Urne Volterra 208 (Brunn/Körte, *Relievi* II 2 Taf. 76, 4) ein Schrifttäfelchen hält; da aber sonst nirgends irgendein Hinweis auf eine Unterbrechung des bereits eingeleiteten Opfers zu entdecken ist, kann hier nicht mehr die Orest-Sage gemeint sein. Sowenig wie die Urnen mit der Opferung und Entrückung der I. lassen sich diejenigen, die I. und Orest in Tauris darstellen, auf eine bestimmte griechische Vorlage in Bildkunst oder Literatur zurückführen. Sie gestalten die Szene relativ frei und schmücken sie zuweilen sogar mit Details aus, die aus einem ganz anderen kulturellen Umfeld entlehnt sind; so sind z. B. die abgeschlagenen Köpfe auf 22, die L. Bonfante (I, 148-149; 2, 536-537) aus keltischen Einflüssen herleitet, sehr gut zur Charakterisierung des barbarischen Heiligtums in Tauris geeignet.

INGRID KRAUSKOPF

## IPHIKLES

(*Ἰφικλῆς*, Iphicles) Son of → Amphitryon and → Alkmene, much overshadowed in mythology by his illustrious twin-brother → Herakles and his son → Iolaos, faithful companion and aid to his uncle, Herakles.

One night, before the consummation of her marriage, Zeus came to Alkmene disguised as her husband Amphitryon and begat upon her Herakles; a little while later Amphitryon himself embraced his wife and begat I. As a result Alkmene gave birth to twins. The difference between the two boys was decisively established when as babies they were attacked by serpents, sent either by Hera to destroy Herakles or, according to a rationalizing theory, placed in the cot with the babies by Amphitryon in order to establish which child was his. Herakles, true to his nature, immediately seized and dispatched the monsters (→ Herakles 1598-1664), while I. cried out in terror and tried to flee into his mother's arms.

Little is recorded of I.'s later life. He married Automedusa, who bore him Iolaos, and was later given the younger daughter of Kreon to wife. He is occasionally included in great heroic group expeditions such as the voyage of the Argonauts (→ Argonautai) and the hunt of the Kalydonian boar (→ Meleagros), but is by no means always thought of as a member of the party. He died assisting his brother Herakles in one of his wars, either fighting the sons of Hippokoon or fighting Augeas and the Eleans.

LITERARY SOURCES: Hes. sc. 37-56, 87-94 is our earliest extant source to mention I. He tells how Zeus and Amphitryon both shared the bed of Alkmene on the same night and how she brought forth the twins, Herakles and I., the first the son of Zeus, the second that of Amphitryon, as unlike in spirit and strength as they were in paternity. He further mentions that I. was the father of Iolaos and that I. left home and parents to serve the wicked Eurystheus, a course he later regretted.

Pherekydes (*FGH* 3 F 13 b-c) agrees with Hes. sc. 37-56 that Amphitryon embraced Alkmene on the same night as Zeus, but Theokr. 24 and Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 4, 8 consider Herakles the elder by a night. Pind. P. 9, 84-89 simply refers to the «single birth» of the twins that Alkmene bore.

Many authors (→ Herakles, *LIMCIV* pp. 827-828) tell of Herakles' infant feat of strangling the snakes sent to destroy him by Hera without mentioning I. at all; when he is mentioned it is to contrast his mortal parentage and understandable terror with the heroic initiative taken by Herakles, as in Theokr. 24, Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 4, 8 and Plaut. *Amph.* 1098-1124.

According to Pherekydes (*FGH* 3 F 69), who appears to be the earliest extant source to mention I. in this episode, the snakes were not sent by Hera at all, but used by Amphitryon as a trial to distinguish his child from the child of Zeus.

Only Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 8, 2 mentions I.'s participation in the hunt of the Kalydonian boar (*Ov. met.* 8, 299 ff. and *Hyg. fab.* 173 include Iolaos, not I.). Diod. (4, 49, 3) is alone in mentioning I. among the Argonauts when he is sent by Herakles to make demands of Laomedon in Troy in the course of the homeward voyage.

Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 4, 11 recounts that after the defeat of the Minyans, Kreon gave his elder daughter as a wife to Herakles and his younger daughter to I., who already had a son, Iolaos, by Automedusa, daughter of Alkathoos.

As to his end, Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 7, 3 and Diod. 4, 33, 6 say that I. died fighting in Herakles' war against the sons of Hippokoon, but Paus. 8, 14, 9 says he died in Pheneus fighting Augeas and the Eleans. (Diod. 4, 33, 2 mentions his leaving Tiryns with Herakles, Alkmene and Iolaos to live in Pheneus).

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## CATALOGUE

### I. Iphikles, frightened, accompanies infant Herakles strangling snakes

#### a) Iphikles and Herakles alone or with Alkmene only

##### Coins

1. (= Herakles 1663\* with *bibl.*) EL stater, Kyzikos. - 450-400 B. C. - Baby I. kneels to r., reaches out to r., imploring help. Herakles, kneels to l., strangling snakes.

2. (= Herakles 1664\* with *bibl.*) AE, contorniate, 4th cent. A. D. - Baby I. (?) in the arms of a woman (Alkmene?) at r., moving r., while infant Herakles kneels to l., strangling snakes.

#### b) Iphikles with infant Herakles strangling snakes and several others

##### Attic cf. vases

3. (= Alkmene 8\* with *bibl.*, = Athena 522, = Herakles 1650) Stamnos. Paris, Louvre G 192. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 208, 160: Berlin P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 195; Woodford fig. 1. - About 480 B. C. - Two babies on kline, I. to r., back view, rushing into the arms of a woman (Alkmene), looking back to l. at Herakles, strangling snakes. Far r., man with hand raised (Amphitryon); l. Athena and a woman with hand raised, matching Amphitryon.

4. (= Alkmene 9 with *bibl.*, = Herakles 1651\*) Column crater. Perugia, Mus. Naz. 73. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 516: near Mykonos P.; Woodford fig. 2. - About 475 B. C. - Two babies on kline, I. to r., back view, reaching to r., looking back to l. at Herakles, strangling snakes. At r., woman fleeing (Alkmene); at l. Athena and Amphitryon.

5.\* (= Alkmene 10 with *bibl.*, = Herakles 1652) Cup fr., wg. tondo. Leipzig, Univ. T 3365. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 559, 151: Pan P. - About 470 B. C. - I., apparently front view, to r. of Herakles, strangling snakes. Woman fleeing to r. (Alkmene?); another to l.; far l., a man (Amphitryon?). Possibly Athena to l. of babies.

6.\* (= Alkmene 11\* with *bibl.*, = Herakles 1653 with *bibl.*) Hydria. New York, MMA 25.28. From Capua. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1110, 41: Nausikaa P.; Woodford fig. 3. - 460-450 B. C. - Babies on kline, Athena behind them. I., front view, reaching to r., looking to r. toward woman (Alkmene) fleeing r. Herakles, to l. of I., strangling snakes. Far l., Amphitryon approaches with drawn sword.

##### Etruscan cf. vases

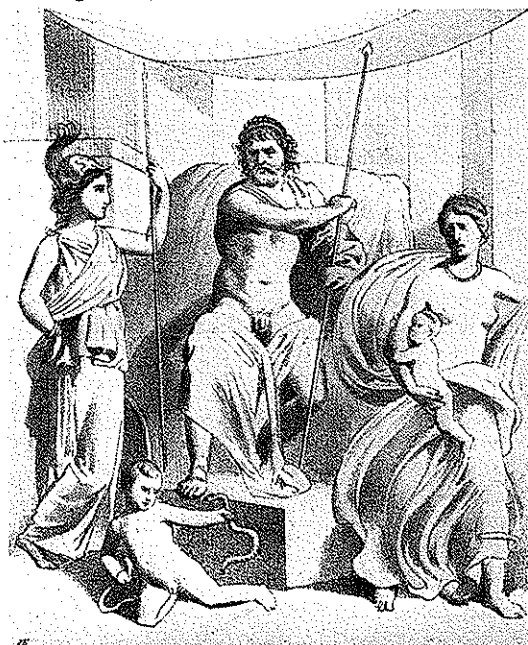
7.\* (Alkmene 12, = Herakles/Heracle 152 with *bibl.*) Stamnos. Florence, Mus. Arch. 70528. - From Orvieto. - *EVP* 52 pl. 10, 1: Settecimini P.; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* 66 (1); Woodford fig. 5. - 4th cent. B. C. - I. (by mistake inscribed Vile = Iolaos) l. of centre, standing, rushes into the arms of Alkmene, far l., looking fearfully back at the snakes, one of whom, Herakles, kneeling to r. is dispatching. Far r., maid-servant. Above, in window, Zeus and Hera.



8. (= Apollon/Aplu 51\* with further refs., = Heracles 152a) Volute krater, Faliscan. London, BM F 479. From Falerii. - *EVP* 92-94 pl. 21, 1; 22, 1: Nazzano P. - About 380 B. C. - I. centre, r., below, hands raised toward a nurse above him to r., while he looks fearfully back at the snakes, one of which Herakles, below, is strangling. Far l., Artemis and Hermes, far r. Athena. Above, l. to r. Hera and Zeus, flanked by flying Eros, Apollo, nurse, reaching down toward I., and Dionysus.

#### Roman Wall Paintings

9. (= Alkmene 14 with bibl., = Herakles 1655) Pompei VII, 3, 10. Lost. - Schefold, *WP* 176; *OeJh* 16, 1913, 170 fig. 87; Woodford fig. 12. - 1st cent. A. D. - Herakles, centre foreground, on the floor, strangling snakes. At r., woman rushing to r., looking back to l., holding baby I., who looks and reaches to l. Centre, seated man on throne (Amphitryon?); at l., Athena, standing calmly.



Iphikles 9

10. (Alkmene 16\* with bibl., = Herakles 1657) Naples, Mus. Naz. 9012. From Herculaneum. - Woodford fig. 13. - About 70 A. D. - Herakles, centre foreground, on the floor, strangling snakes. At l. paidagogos, holding I., back view, legs to l., but head turned r. to look at Herakles. Centre, behind Herakles, a woman (Alkmene), fleeing r.; at r., a man on a throne drawing his sword (Amphitryon).

#### II. Iphikles and Linos

##### Attic rf. vase

11. (= Herakles 1666\* with bibl.) Skyphos. Schwerin, Staatl. Mus. 708. From Cerveteri. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup>

862, 30: Pistoxenos P.; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 298. - About 470 B. C. - I. seated on a stool to r. playing the lyre and attending to the instruction offered by Linos, seated on a klismos to l. Both names are inscribed.

#### COMMENTARY

Although Iphikles apparently participated in heroic exploits during his later life, his appearances in art are restricted to his childhood, normally in company with his more celebrated twin brother Herakles and in a very subordinate role. Thus, his fear of the snakes which Hera sent to attack Herakles in babyhood helps to identify (by contrast) the heroic son of Zeus, who wastes no time crying and fleeing into his mother's arms but sets about strangling the intrusive monsters without hesitation. Similarly I. appears as the docile student of music attentively listening to Linos, while Herakles is shown approaching, round eye fiercely glowing, ready to teach the teacher a lesson he will not be able to forget.

The earliest extant representation of I. in the company of the infant Herakles strangling snakes is on the vase by the Berlin Painter in the 1st quarter of the 5th cent. B. C. (3), and is followed quickly by a number of other Attic vase paintings (4-5, 6). (I. also appears early with his illustrious brother strangling snakes on an electrum coin from Kyzikos, 2nd half of 5th cent. [1].) I. is present in two Etruscan vase paintings of the 4th cent. B. C. depicting the same subject (7, 8). He is also included in some (though not all) many-figured scenes on Roman wall paintings of the 1st cent. A. D. depicting the infant Herakles strangling snakes (9, 10), and seems to make his last extant appearance in this context on a 4th cent. A. D. contorniate (2).

One other event from his childhood is portrayed in Attic vase painting around 470 B. C., his music lesson at the hands of Linos (11). Here again I. is a foil to Herakles. He is the docile, good pupil, who provides the contrast with Herakles, whose very different approach to his master is yet to come (→ Herakles 1666-1673).

In art as in literature and myth, I. is a minor character, subordinate to his greater twin-brother. There do not appear to be any extant three-dimensional representations of him. Perhaps the only iconographical peculiarity to be noticed is the fact that he is often (though not always) represented in back view, looking behind him (3, 4, 10).

SUSAN WOODFORD

IPHIKLOS → Peliou athla

IPHIMEDE I → Iphimedeia

IPHIMEDE II → Iphigeneia

#### IPHIMEDEIA

(*Ἰφιμέδεια*) appelée aussi Iphimédé (*Ἰφιμέδη*). Fille de Triops et femme d'Aloée (Alôeus), mère des Aloades (→ Aloadaï) Otos et Éphialtès, et d'une fille, Pancratis.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Une tablette de Pylos PY 172 = Tn 316 mentionne une *i-pe-me-de-ja* en tant que titulaire d'un sanctuaire. Selon Ventris/Chadwick, il pourrait s'agir d'une divinité préégrecque dont le nom aurait été modifié par l'étymologie populaire. Cf. Ventris, M./Chadwick, J., *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*<sup>2</sup> (1973) 286-288, 462-464. Son identification à I. n'est pas assurée; → Iphigeneia, Sources litt. (avec bibl.).

Hom. *Od.* 11, 305-320, dans l'épisode de la *nekyomanteia*, évoque I. et ses amours avec → Poseidon, dont elle eut deux fils, Otos et Éphialtès, les Aloades, au destin tragique. Cf. Simon, E., → Aloadaï, Lit. Quellen.

L'union d'I. avec le dieu se réalisa de la manière suivante: amoureuse, I. alla souvent dans la mer, versant de l'eau dans son sein tant et si bien que Poséidon finit par exaucer ses vœux. Otos et Éphialtès n'auraient donc eu en Aloée qu'un père «humain», voire même en I. seulement une mère nourricière (Hes. *frg.* 19 Merkelbach/West; Eratosth., *FGH* 241 F 35). Pour les autres traditions de paternité des Aloades, cf. Simon, *ibidem*.

I. eut d'Aloée une fille, Pancratis, laquelle fut enlevée avec sa mère par des pirates thraces établis sur l'île de Strongylé (Naxos), alors qu'elles célébraient les fêtes de → Dionysos en Achaïe sur le mont Dios ou, selon d'autres sources, en Thessalie. Leurs ravisseurs Sikélos et Hékétoros (nommés Skellis et Agassaménos chez Parth. 19 = Andriskos, *FGH* 500 F 2, texte corrompu) se battirent pour obtenir Pancratis, dont la beauté était exceptionnelle, et finirent par s'entretenir. Agassaménos, le roi des Thraces de Naxos, s'appropriera alors Pancratis et attribua I. à l'un de ses amis (Diod. 5, 50, 6-7).

Aloée dépêcha ses deux fils Otos et Éphialtès à Naxos avec pour mission de libérer leur mère et leur sœur: ils battirent les Thraces, les expulsèrent de Naxos et régnèrent sur l'île, avant de mourir tragiquement (Pind. *P.* 4, 88-89; Diod. 5, 51, 1-2; *Schol.* Hom. *Il.* 5, 385b Erbse; Hyg. *fab.* 28). On montrait encore la tombe d'I. et des Aloades à Anthédon à l'époque de Pausanias (Paus. 9, 22, 6).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 179 s. v. «Iphimedeia»; Eitrem, S., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 2022-2023 s. v. «Iphimedeia»; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 308-309 s. v. «Iphimedeia».

1. Peinture murale (disparue) représentant la *Nekyia*. Delphes, Lesché des Cnidiens. Œuvre de Polygnote de Thasos. - Robert, C., *Die Nekyia des Polygnote*, 16. *HallWPr* (1892) 8. 23. 31. 62; Weizsäcker, P., *Polygnots Gemälde in der Lesche der Knidier in Delphi* (1895) 38. 61; Felten, W., *Attische Unterweltdarstellungen des 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (1975) 76; Papachatzis, Paus. *Boiotika, Phokika* 144 n. 2; 406 n. 2. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

- Selon Paus. 10, 28, 8, non loin d'→ Eurynomos se trouvaient figurées ensemble → Auge et I., laquelle ne fait l'objet d'aucune description.

JEAN-ROBERT GISLER

#### IPHIS

(*Ἴφης*) Achilleussklavin und Geliebte des Patroklos.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Achilleus hatte in Skyros I. als Sklavin erbeutet und sie seinem Freund Patroklos zur Geliebten gegeben. Als die Presbeia Achill verläßt, ruht er im Zelt mit → Diomedes, während ihm gegenüber Patroklos mit I. liegt (Hom. *Il.* 9, 666-668). Sonst ist I. nur bei Philostr. *her.* 33, 43 Lannoy genannt.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 179 s. v. «Iphis»; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 310 s. v. «Iphis 2»; Weicker, G., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 2024-2025 s. v. «Iphis 2 Nr. 1».

#### KATALOG

1. (= Briseis 53, = Diomedes 1). Iliupersisgemälde des Polygnote. Delphi, Lesche der Knidier. Nicht erhalten. - Um 460 v. Chr. - Paus. 10, 25, 4 beschreibt, daß I. (Namensbeischrift) vor den beiden anderen Achilleussklavinnen → Briseis und → Diomedes stand und mit diesen gemeinsam die Schönheit der Helena bei der Einschiffung der Griechen nach der Zerstörung Trojas bewunderte.

#### MÖGLICHE DARSTELLUNG

2. (= Achilleus 446\* mit Lit.) Pelike, fr., att. rf. Paris, Louvre G 374. - Isler-Kerényi, C., *AntK* 26, 1983, 131 und *passim* Taf. 31.- Gesandtschaft an Achill. Hinter dem sitzenden zürnenden Achill stehen zwei Frauen (Köpfe und Teile der Oberkörper nicht erhalten, früher ergänzt), für die Robert, C., *AZ* 1881, 141 die Benennung I. und Diomedes vorschlägt. Meist werden in den Presbeiabildern keine Frauen dargestellt. Die Deutung auf diese beiden Achilleussklavinnen wäre möglich, da beide bei Hom. *Il.* 9, 665. 667 nach dem Weggang der Presbeia im Zelt des Achill anwesend waren, was dann hier zu einem Bild vereint wäre.

#### AUSZUSCHIEDENDE DARSTELLUNG

3. (= Achilleus 487/603 mit Lit. und Beschreibung, = Briseis 20, = Hektor 72\*) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 81393 (H 3254). Aus Canosa. - *RVAp* II 495, 39: Dareiosmaler. - Um 340/30 v. Chr. - Scheiterhaufen des Patroklos mit Schleifung des Hektor und Opferung der Trojaner. Für die junge Frau in der untersten Zone, die aus einer Hydria Was-

ser in ein Becken gießt, schlägt Heydemann im Neapler Vasenkatalog die Benennung I. vor, doch wies bereits Hauser in FR II 159 darauf hin, daß es unnötig sei, diesem Mädchen und seiner Gefährtin Namen zu geben. Da viele Namen in Frage kämen, scheint mir jegliche Benennung hypothetisch.

## KOMMENTAR

Gesichert ist die Darstellung der Patroklosgeliebten nur auf dem Wandgemälde 1 aufgrund der Beischrift. Auf 2 ist ihre Wiedergabe möglich, auf 3 sehr unsicher. I. wurde in der antiken Literatur nur selten genannt und ist wohl auch – wie Diomedes – deshalb kaum in der Bildkunst dargestellt worden. Als Achilleussklavin spielt vielmehr Briseis die größere Rolle. Zwar wäre die Anwesenheit der I. in Szenen mit Achilleus und Patroklos möglich, doch ließe sie sich dann mangels einer eigenen Ikonographie kaum benennen. So könnte man erwägen, ob die mit Achilleus am Totenbett des Patroklos trauernde Frau (→ Briseis 13–18) I. ist. Doch ist die Trauer um Patroklos auch für Briseis belegt (Hom. *Il.* 19, 282–301).

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

IPHITO → Amazonas 5. 20

## IPHITOS I

(*Ἰπίτος, Ἰφίτος* [I. 9]) Sohn des → Eurytos (I), des Königs von Oichalia, und der Antioche oder Antiope, und Bruder des → Deion, → Klytios, → Toxeus und der → Iole (I). Mit Klytios nahm er an der Argonautenfahrt teil. Er war ein berühmter Bogenschütze. Den Bogen Apollons erbte er von seinem Vater Eurytos und machte ihn seinerseits dem Odysseus zum Geschenk. Nach einer Version starb er durch die Hand Herakles', während er als Gast bei diesem in Tiryns weilte. Eine andere Version bringt seinen Tod in Verbindung mit der Einnahme von Oichalia durch Herakles, nachdem dieser mit Eurytos und seinen Söhnen einen Wettstreit im Bogenschießen ausgetragen und als Preis Iole erhalten hatte.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Über die verschiedenen Lokalisationen von Oichalia und die unterschiedlichen Überlieferungen von Anzahl und Namen der Brüder des I. siehe → Eurytos (I). Über den Mythos der Einnahme von Oichalia, das dem Kreophylos von Samos zugeschriebene Epos *Οἰχάλιας ἄλωσις* vgl. ebenfalls → Iole (I) (die Fragmente in Davies *EGF* p.

149–153; Bernabé *PEG* p. 161–164). I. war ein berühmter Bogenschütze; den Bogen hatte er von seinem Vater geerbt, welcher ihn von Apollon erhalten hatte. I. wiederum machte Bogen und Köcher dem Odysseus zum Geschenk (Hom. *Od.* 21, 11–14). Die Version vom Tod des I., welche *Od.* 21, 24–30 berichtet, ist, trotz der Vermutung Furtwänglers (a. O. 10), in der Ikonographie nicht belegt, sowenig wie andere Versionen seines Todes. Soph. *Trach.* 269–280; Diod. 4, 31, 2–3; Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 6, 2 berichten in mehreren Varianten, daß I., auf der Suche nach der von Autolykos geraubten Herde seines Vaters, von Herakles von der Mauer der Burg Tiryns gestoßen wurde (vgl. Robert, *Heldensage* 2, 586). Herodotos von Herakleia, *FGrH* 31 F 37, und Pherekydes von Athen, *FGrH* 3 F 82, zwei mit den attischen Darstellungen des Mythos (3–7) nahezu gleichzeitige Autoren, berichten dagegen, daß die Rache des Herakles unmittelbar auf die Ablehnung des Eurytos, ihm seine Tochter nach dem siegreichen Bogenschießen zu überlassen, folgte, und er alle Söhne des Eurytos, einschließlich I., tötete, was die Erzählung sehr nah an die erwähnten attischen Darstellungen rückt. Das Thema enthält in seiner Synthese den zentralen Kern der *Οἰχάλιας Ἀλώσις* des Kreophylos von Samos. Daß Iole sich während des Banketts in Herakles verliebte, dürfte Teil des ursprünglichen Mythos gewesen sein, aber es sind keine so frühen literarischen Hinweise erhalten wie die Darstellungen. Die Hybris, welche aus dem Trinkgelage entsteht, wird von Autoren des 5. Jh. nahegelegt, sowie durch die oben erwähnten Abbildungen: Soph. *Trach.* 268–269 berichtet, wie Eurytos den vom Wein betrunkenen Herakles (*φρονιμένος*) vom Bankett verweist (s. 2); Ion von Chios, Tragödiendichter in Athen, erzählt in seinen *Eurytidai* (*TrGF* I<sup>2</sup> 19 F 10) vom maßlosen Genuß des Weines (*οἶνον ὑπερφιάλον*) (vgl. das Bankett auf 1).

Nur einige viel spätere Texte als die erhalten gebliebene Darstellung 8 berichten von der Teilnahme des I., zusammen mit seinem Bruder → Klytios, an der Argonautenfahrt (Apoll. Rhod. 1, 86–89; Hyg. *fab.* 14, 8). Für seine Teilnahme an den Leichenspielen für Pelias (→ Peliou athla) gibt es keine lit. Zeugnisse; bei Stesich. (Page *PMG* fig. 179b) und Simonides (a. O. fig. 564) siegt → Meleagros mit dem Wurfspeer, also in der Disziplin, an der nach dem ikonographischen Zeugnis 8 auch I. teilnahm. S. auch Komm.

Für die Etymologie von I. als \**Ἰφίτι-τιμος*, «der für seine Kraft Berühmte», vgl. Neumann, *Anh.* zu Olmos, 148–149 (nach Athanassakis A., *Glotta* 49, 1971, 1–20 könnte das homerische Epitheton *ἰφθίμος* gleichen Ursprungs sein). Vgl. Komm. zu 9.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Für eine umfassendere Bibl. → Eurytos I; Beazley, J. D., «Brygan Symposia», in *Studies Robinson* II (1953) 66–82; Furtwängler, A., *ML* 12 (1886–90) 2233–2234 s. v. «Herakles»; Isler-Kerényi, C., *Stamnoi* (1976–77) 36–42; Olmos, R., «Die Einnahme von Oichalia», *MM* 18, 1977, 130–147, mit einem epigraphischen Anhang von G. Neumann, 148–150; Richter, G. M. A., «A new Euphronios Cylix in the Metropolitan Museum of Art», *AJA* 20, 1916, 125 ff.; Robert, *Heldensage* 2, 579–581; Schefold, *SB* II 148–150; Weniger L., *ML* II 1 (1890–94) 310–314 s. v. «Iphitos 2».

## KATALOG

### A. Iphitos in der Episode der Einnahme von Oichalia

1. (= Deion 1\*, = Eurytos I 1\*, = Iole I I mit Lit.) Kolonettenkrater, korinth. Paris, Louvre E 635. Aus Cerveteri. – Frühkorinthisch: 600–590 v. Chr. – Bankett, von Eurytos und seinen Söhnen zu Ehren des Herakles veranstaltet. I. befindet sich, zurückgelehnt auf einer Kline, neben Herakles. Zwischen beiden schreitet Iole.

2.\* (= Bousiris 3I [B], = Herakles 2794 [B]) Schale, att. rf. New York, MMA 12.231.2. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 319, 6: Onesimos, «early», Töpfer Euphronios; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 214; Richter 125–133; Richter/Hall Nr. 39 Taf. 38; Olmos Taf. 35c. – 500–485 v. Chr. – A: Der Streit des Herakles mit dem Eurytiden während des Banketts. Herakles versetzt Klytios, einem der Söhne des Eurytos, einen Faustschlag; dieser taumelt, bevor er zu Boden fällt. Drei Gefährten eilen ihm zu Hilfe, einer von ihnen mit Pantherfell und Keule; ein zweiter, mit einem Bogen in der r. Hand – vielleicht will er ihn außer Reichweite des Herakles bringen – ist I. (Beischr. *ΙΦΙΤΙ*.). Da es sich um eine fr. Figur handelt, wissen wir nicht mit Sicherheit, ob er den l. Arm ausstreckt, um den Helden zurückzuhalten (zur Haltung vgl. 7). Der dritte nimmt, ebenso wie Herakles, die Stellung für einen Faustkampf ein. Über den Kline und auf dem Boden liegen die Umhänge der Banketteilnehmer.

3.\* (= Antiphonos 1\* mit Lit. = Eurytos I 3, = Iole I 2) Amphora, att. sf. Madrid, Arch. Mus. 10916. Von Vulci. – *ABV* 508: nahe dem Sapphomaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 126; Olmos 134–137. – Etwa 500–490 v. Chr. – In der gleichen Szene der Streit um Ioles Hand und die Rache des Herakles, indem er die Eurytiden tötet. Es ist schwierig zu entscheiden, auf welchen der beiden Kämpfer, die Herakles' Pfeile niedergestreckt haben, sich der zwischen ihnen geschriebene Name *ΙΦΙΤΟΣ* bezieht. Wahrscheinlich gehört er zum l. Krieger, zu Füßen des Herakles, da der Name näher von dessen Gesicht ausgeht (*contra*: Neumann, Anhang zu Olmos 148–149). Dieser Held hat langes Haar und einen markanten Bart. Er ist als griechischer Krieger gekleidet, trägt aber als Waffe Bogen und Gorytos, der an seiner Seite hängt. Der Gefährte, zur Rechten liegend, welcher letztlich auch I. sein könnte, trägt eine phrygische Mütze und ist mit einem Schwert gegürtet.

4. (= Eurytos I 4 mit Lit., = Iole I 3) Schale, fr., att. rf. Palermo, Mus. Reg. V 653. Aus Chiusi. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 73, 30; 1623; Epiktetos; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 168. – Ungefähr 510–500 v. Chr. – A, Bewegungsrichtung umgekehrt wie jene auf 3: I. befindet sich Iole, r. Herakles, einen Pfeil schießend. Die Eurytiden, den Kopf zu Iole gewandt, laufen nach r., Pfeil und Bogen in den Händen bereit haltend. Möglicherweise blicken sie mit Erstaunen zur Zielscheibe neben Iole, wo Herakles' Pfeil steckt, wie in 3, 5 und 7. Eurytos geht vor ihnen her und stellt sich vor Herakles. Einer von ihnen ist I., auf keine besondere Art charakterisiert (langer Bart und Haupthaar, außer dem ersten Bogenschützen bedeckt

mit Sakkos, und langer Chiton, mit einem Raubtierfell gegürtet).

5. (= Eurytos I 2\*/5\* mit Lit., = Iole I 4) Schale, fr., att. rf. Athen, Nat. Mus. Akkr. 288. Von der Athener Akropolis. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 370, 7: Brygosmaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 224. – 490–480 v. Chr. – A: Eurytos und seine Söhne laufen nach l. und wenden, wie auf 4, ihre Köpfe zu Iole. Bei Ioles Kopf befindet sich ein Pfeil. Ein Sohn des Eurytos liegt auf dem Boden von Herakles, zwei weitere laufen wahrscheinlich hinter Eurytos, mit Bogen, Pfeilen und Gorytos. Sie sind mit einem feinen Chiton bekleidet, Bart und Haare sind lang, und sie tragen die Gürtel der Banketteilnehmer. I. ist einer von ihnen, aber nicht gekennzeichnet.

6. (= Eurytos I 6) Schale, fr., att. rf. Paris, Cab. Méd. L 243, L 46, L 48, 600. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 370, 8: Brygosmaler; Beazley 73 ff. Taf. 28. – Sehr fragmentarischer Zustand; die Szene steht in Bezug zu jenen auf 3–5. Es ist schwierig, hier die Figur von I. zu erkennen.

7. (= Eurytos I 7\* mit Lit., = Iole I 5) Isler-Kerényi 36–42 Abb.: Eucharidesmaler. – 490–480 v. Chr. – Die Szene ist auf beide Seiten der Vase verteilt. A: l. Herakles, im Begriffe in Richtung Iole zu schießen. Dahinter ein Kämpfer mit phrygischer Mütze, Chiton mit feinen Falten, mit langem Bart und Bogen, sich vor Herakles stellend; er versucht mit dem ausgestreckten r. Arm zu verhindern, daß der Held ein zweites Mal schießt; es könnte sich hierbei um I. handeln (s. Komm.). Eurytos wendet seinen Kopf zu Iole. B: drei Bogenschützen im Tumult.

### B. Iphitos nimmt an den Spielen zu Ehren des Pelias teil

8.\* (= Amphiaraios 2\* mit Lit., = Atalante 62 mit Lit., = Kapaneus 6 mit Lit.) Dinos, fr., att. sf. – Athen, Nat. Mus. Akkr. 590 (15466). Von der Athener Akropolis. – 575–560 v. Chr. – In einem durchgehenden Fries verschiedene Szenen der Leichenspiele für Pelias, von denen u. a. ein Teil des Wettkampfs im Speerwurf erhalten ist. Ein Held (fr.) schickt sich an, den Speer zu werfen. Dahinter machen sich zwei nackte und bärtige Männer bereit, jeder mit zwei kurzen Lanzen. Aufmerksam verfolgen sie den Wurf ihres Gefährten und gestikulieren mit der Hand. Einer der beiden, möglicherweise derjenige vor dem Betrachter, in roter Fleischfarbe, ist I. (Beischr. *ΙΦΙΤΟΣ*). Vor ihnen ein Lebes als Siegespreis; weitere Teilnehmer mit Speeren stehen hinter ihnen.

### C. «Iphitos» in einem heroischen Kampf

9.\* (= Daipylos 1 mit Lit.) Kolonettenkrater, fr., kor. sf. – Leipzig, Univ. T 4849, verschollen. Aus Cerveteri. – Lorber, *Inchriften* Nr. 147 Taf. 44. – Heldenkämpfe mit Namensbeischriften: eine Quadriga und drei Hoplitenpaare in Monomachien. In einem der Einzelkämpfe stehen sich Eurytion (Beischr. *EY-PYTION*) und I. (Beischr. *ΙΦΙΤΟΣ*) gegenüber. Nach l. durchbohrt Eurytion mit der Lanze den geschuppten

Schild von I., der sich mit einem Knie auf den Boden stützt. Hinter I. erkennt man Reste einer Quadriga. Die Namen beider Kämpfer sind rein episch und werden hier als Topos verwendet, der heroischen Resonanz beider Persönlichkeiten wegen, d. h. sie sind bereits losgelöst von den mythischen Figuren Eurytos und I., Vater und Sohn, von Oichalia. Siehe Komm.

#### D. Falsche Zuordnung: nicht Iphitos

10. (= Ismene I 6\* mit Lit.) Schale, rf. wgr. Paris, Louvre G 109. – Furtwängler, A., *ML* I 2 (1886–90) 2233 s. v. «Herakles»; Pottier, *MonPiot* 2, 1895, 52 Abb. 3; Waiblinger, A., *RA* 1972, 233–242 Abb. 1–4. 9. – Nahe Onesimos, 490–480 (Waiblinger). – Entgegen der früheren Interpretation Furtwänglers, der in der Szene den Angriff des Herakles auf den in einer Liege zurückgelehnten I. sah, als dieser Gast des Helden war, basierend auf der Inschrift *HEP* und Hom. *Od.* 21, 21–30, deutet Waiblinger das Thema als den Tod von Ismene durch Tydeus. Bei der zurückgelehnten Figur in der Liege handelt es sich, wenn auch nur fragmentarisch erkennbar, in der Tat um eine Frau. Es kann deshalb nicht I. sein.

#### KOMMENTAR

Die bekannten Darstellungen von I. entstehen vor allem in der archaischen Zeit. Die wichtigste Gruppe von ihnen zeigt Episoden der Einnahme von Oichalia durch Herakles. Auf I. nimmt I. am Bankett teil, das sein Vater Eurytos in Oichalia zu Ehren des Herakles gibt (→ Eurytos I, → Iole I). I. hat sich allein auf einem prachtvollen Liegebett zurückgelehnt, als seine Schwester Iole die Szene betritt. Zu seiner Rechten, am Ende des Raums, befindet sich Herakles. Im Verhältnis zu Eurytos, seinem Gastgeber, der im Zentrum der Szene zurückgelehnt sitzt, nimmt Herakles offenbar eine für einen Gast unangemessene Randposition ein. Dies kann als Hinweis auf die Geringschätzung, mit der er vom König behandelt wurde, und auf die latente Spannung im Saal verstanden werden. Die Schale des Onesimos (2) zeigt die Hybris bei dem Streit, der während eines Banketts zwischen Herakles und den Eurytiden entfesselt wurde: erhalten sind nur die Namen des I. und seines Bruders Klytios, zu beiden Seiten der Helden. I. hält einen Bogen in seiner Rechten, wohl kaum, um ihn damit anzugreifen, möglicherweise, um jenen außer Reichweite des wütenden Herakles zu halten. Einige zeitlich nach diesen Darstellungen verfaßte Texte, wie Soph. *Trach.* 268–269 oder ein Vers des Tragödiendichters Ion von Chios, weisen auf die Maßlosigkeit der Tischgenossen beim Genuß des Weines hin. Auf der Innenseite dieser Schale des Onesimos begibt sich Herakles zum Bankett, begleitet von einem *pais* mit großem Weinschlauch: die Beziehung des Weines zu dem Streit kann vielleicht in der assoziativen Aufeinanderfolge beider Bilder nachempfunden werden.

Eine Gruppe von fünf Darstellungen auf attischen

Vasen (3–7), die in einem Zeitraum von etwa dreißig Jahren entstanden (ca. 510–480 v. Chr.), läßt das heroische Thema in Athen wiederaufleben. Alle haben den gewalttätigen Wettstreit des Herakles beim Bogenschießen um Iole, der im Palast des Eurytos stattfand, zum Inhalt, und die tödliche Rache des Helden an den Eurytiden (→ Eurytos I). Wahrscheinlich gibt es eine Beziehung zwischen dem Bankett, in welchem die Ursache oder Vorbedingung der Hybris liegt (s. dazu lit. Quellen und → Eurytos I, Komm.), und deren Ausgang in dem Kampf mit dem Bogen: einerseits finden wir den Streit in dem Bankettsaal auf der Schale des Onesimos (2), aber vor allem die noch deutlicheren Hinweise auf der Schale des Brygosmalers in Athen (5) sind es, die diese Assoziation zulassen; im Medaillon wird die gespannte Atmosphäre zwischen Herakles und dem liegenden Eurytos vermittelt (vgl. → Eurytos I 2\*). Auf der Außenseite derselben Schale trägt einer der Bogenschützen noch die Bänder des Banketts um den Kopf gewickelt. Auf der andern Schale des Brygosmalers (6), die nur sehr fragmentarisch erhalten ist, findet der Wettstreit im selben Palastgebäude des Eurytos statt, vielleicht sogar im gleichen Bankettsaal, worauf der Schaft einer Säule schließen läßt.

Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß hier der griechische Mythos den historischen Hintergrund zum Ausdruck bringt, die Konfrontation zwischen Griechenland und dem Orient: Herakles kämpft mit Helden, die, obwohl in der mythologischen Tradition eindeutig von griechischer Herkunft (über die Lokalisierung von Oichalia vgl. → Eurytos I, lit. Quellen), durch einige Merkmale und Wesenszüge als Barbaren charakterisiert sind. So respektieren sie nicht die Gesetze der Gastfreundschaft, geben sich widerstandslos der Hybris hin und trinken im Übermaß; Aussehen und Tracht sind halb orientalisches und barbarisch, und sie sind, ebenso wie Skythen und Orientalen, Experten im Kampf mit dem Bogen, was sie in Gegensatz zum hoplitischen Ideal der archaischen Aristokratie stellt. Eine Palme (auf 5) deutet sogar auf eine exotische Landschaft hin. Entgegen dem heroischen Einzelkampf, der Monomachia, widersetzen sich die Eurytiden Herakles auf diesen Schalen in einer tumultartigen Szene. I. wird zwischen ihnen kaum hervorgehoben (2, 7), er erscheint nur als einer in der Gruppe der Bogenschützen (3–5) (vgl. unten). Es ist sicher kein Zufall, daß der Mythos seinen Höhepunkt genau in den Jahren erfährt, in welchen einerseits die Abbildungen skythischer Bogenschützen sich in Attika großer Beliebtheit erfreuten (mit der dem Gebrauch des Bogens innewohnenden Ideologie), und zum anderen die persische Bedrohung herrschte. Paradoxerweise dienten diese Bilder des griechischen Mythos dazu, die griechische Identität – Herakles – gegenüber der unbestimmten barbarischen und exotischen – Eurytiden – abzuheben.

Die Szene der Hybris, welche zwei aufeinanderfolgende Momente der Sage, den Wettstreit und die Rache, zu einem einzigen Bild verschmilzt, ist eindeutig auf 3 dargestellt, wo wir I., durch eine Inschrift dokumentiert, zu Füßen des Herakles niedergestreckt

liegen sehen (zur Diskussion, bei welchem der beiden gefallenen Krieger es sich um I. handelt, vgl. 3). Über die Versionen des Todes von I. vgl. lit. Quellen. Weder auf dieser Schale, noch weniger auf den anderen (4, 5, 7) finden wir eine klare Unterscheidung zwischen I. und seinen Brüdern und Mitstreitern. Auf mehrdeutige Art sind sie durch griechische und orientalische Tracht charakterisiert: einige tragen phrygische Mützen (in 3, 4, 7), Bogen und Gorytos, aber auch Schwert und den kurzen griechischen Chiton des Hopliten (wie in 3) oder einen feinen Faltenchiton (4, 5, 7) mit einem exotischen Raubtierfell darüber (4). Insofern sind die Bilder, in ideologischer und formaler Hinsicht, teilweise beeinflusst von der Figur des skythischen Bogenschützen. Die Maler betrachten den Mythos also auf exotische Weise, was auch für die Ikonographie jener Epoche charakteristisch ist. Die Hybris der Eurytiden steht im Gegensatz zu Herakles und findet ihren formalen Ausdruck in den langen Bärten und Haaren als typische Merkmale maßloser Persönlichkeiten, ähnlich den Giganten (vgl. → Alkyoneus oder → Antaios I). Es läßt sich jedoch eine gewisse Differenzierung von I. auf 2, vielleicht auch auf 7 feststellen, als der versöhnlichsten Figur, welche die Raserei des Herakles zu verhindern sucht, was mit der Version von Apollod. *bibl.* 2, 6, 1 übereinstimmen würde.

Nur eine einzige bekannte Darstellung (8) dokumentiert die Teilnahme des I. an den Spielen bei den Totenfeiern zu Ehren des Pelias, und zwar beim Speerwerfen. Diese Schale liefert uns aus einer frühen Epoche (um 570 v. Chr.) die Bestätigung für die Teilnahme des Helden an der Argonautenfahrt, von der wir nur durch ihre Erwähnung in der *Argonautika* von Apoll. Rhod. 1, 86 und Hyg. *fab.* 14, 8 Kenntnis hatten.

Die Darstellung des I. auf einem korinthischen Krater (9), zusammen mit anderen Kriegeren in einer Monomachie gegen Eurytos (hier Eurytion), beide durch eine Inschrift benannt, verdient höchstes Interesse bei der Forschung nach dem verlorenen mythischen Inhalt des Themas; der epische Wert des Namens dagegen ist erhalten geblieben. Tatsächlich ist keine Quelle bekannt, die von einer Konfrontation des Vaters mit dem Sohn berichtet. Die beiden Namen dienen hier wahrscheinlich nur als heroisierende Betitelung und stehen in keinerlei Beziehung zu dem ursprünglichen Mythos. Vgl. lit. Quellen zur heroischen Etymologie des Namens Iphitos.

Über den Tod des I. als Gast des Herakles, wie ihn Hom. *Od.* 21, 22–30 (vgl. lit. Quellen) erwähnt, kennen wir kein ikonographisches Dokument: das Medaillon der Schale 10 steht nicht, wie Furtwängler vermutete, in Bezug zu diesem Thema, sondern sehr wahrscheinlich zum Tod der Ismene durch Tydeus.

RICARDO OLMOS

#### IRIS I

(Ἥρις, Ἥρις, Iris) Göttliche Botin, die vor allem Aufträge des obersten olympischen Paares, Zeus und Hera, ausführt. Sie übermittelt die göttlichen Entscheidungen den Göttern und vor allem den Menschen und wechselt somit zwischen olympischem und irdischem Schauplatz, weshalb sie in der Bildkunst meist als Flügelfrau dargestellt wird und als Attribut den Botenstab hält. Personifikation des Regenbogens.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Homer erwähnt I. nur in der *Ilias*, nicht in der *Odyssee* (indirekt jedoch *Od.* 18, 6–7; in der *Od.* ist ausschließlich Hermes der Götterbote). Die Göttin führt zahlreiche Aufträge des Zeus aus: *Il.* 2, 786–806 (Zeus schickt I. in anderer Gestalt zu den Troern); 8, 398–425 (sie wird zu Athena und Hera gesandt); 11, 185–210 (zu Hektor); 15, 157–207 (zu Poseidon); 24, 143–188 (zu Priamos mit der Aufforderung, Hektor auszulösen). Seltener bedient sich Hera, zu deren spezieller Botin I. erst später avanciert, in der *Ilias* der I.: 18, 166–202 sendet Hera I. heimlich vor Zeus zu Achilleus. Auf die Verbindung beider könnte vielleicht schon 15, 55 weisen, wo Zeus Hera befiehlt, zu den Göttern zu gehen und I. zu ihm auf den Ida zu schicken. Daneben handelt I. aber auch oft selbständig: 3, 121–140 (I. geht zu Helena und fordert sie auf, bei der Mauerschau dem Zweikampf Menelaos–Paris zuzusehen); 5, 352–369 (sie führt die verwundete Aphrodite aus der Schlacht, bringt sie zum Wagen des Ares und lenkt diesen zum Olymp; anschließend versorgt sie die Pferde); 23, 194–212 (I. erhört das Gebet des Achilleus an die Winde. Sie eilt ins Haus des Zephyros und überredet die Winde, zu Achilleus zu gehen und den Scheiterhaufen des Patroklos anzufachen).

Bei ihren Botengängen nimmt I. oft andere Gestalt an: zu Helena geht sie in Gestalt von deren Schwester Laodike (*Il.* 3, 121–140); zu den Troern als der Priamide Polites (*Il.* 2, 786–806); zu Hypnos als dessen Mutter Nyx (Nonn. *Dion.* 31, 106–198); zu Lykurgos als Ares (Nonn. *Dion.* 20, 184–291) und zu Dionysos als Hermes (Nonn. *Dion.* 20, 261–291).

Homer versteht I. mit Beiworten, die ihre Schnelligkeit mit Flügeln und Füßen charakterisieren: *ἄνεα* (*Il.* 15, 168); *ποδὴνεμος* (15, 200); *χρυσόπτερος* (8, 398); *ἀελλόπος* (8, 409); *ταχέα* (11, 186).

Vermutlich kannte auch Homer schon I. als Regenbogen. *Il.* 11, 27 beschreibt er einen Panzerschmuck mit drei gläsernen Schlangen, welche sich zum Hals gleich den Regenbogen (*ἵρισιν*) erheben. Jedoch erwähnt Homer noch keine Genealogie der I. Hes. *theog.* 265–269. 780 nennt als Eltern der I. Thaummas (Sohn des Pontos und der Ge) und die Okeanide Elektra, als Geschwister Harpyien und als Gatte Zephyros (cf. Hom. *Il.* 23, 200), der sonst auch als Ehemann der anderen Harpyien vorkommt. Eltern, Großeltern, Geschwister und Gatte weisen auf die Zusammengehörigkeit des wundersamen (Thaummas) Regenbogens mit Licht, Wasser und Regenwind hin. Als weitere wichtige Funktion der I. überliefert Hes. *theog.* 784–786, daß I. in einer goldenen Kanne das Styxwasser zum Göttereid heraufholt. Eros als Sohn



von I. und Zephyros ist zuerst bei Alkaios bezeugt (frg. 327 Voigt).

Als Götterbotin tritt I. auch in den homerischen Hymnen auf: 2, 314–324 (Zeus beauftragt I., Demeter zu den Göttern zu bringen); 3, 102–114 (I. wird unter dem Versprechen eines Halsbandes von den um die kreiende Leto versammelten Götinnen ausgesandt, damit sie ohne Wissen der Hera die Eileithyia zur Hilfe herbeihole).

Mit der Bevorzugung des Hermes als Zeusbote wird I. zunehmend die Gesandte der Hera. Im nicht erhaltenen Satyrspiel *Iris* des Achaïos vereitelte I. wohl, auf Anweisung der Hera, Opfer an Dionysos und wurde deshalb von den Satyrn verfolgt und belästigt (TGF I 20 F 19–23; Simon 2, 125–129). Bei Eur. *Herc.* 822–873 führt I. zwar im Auftrag der Hera Lyssa herbei, bezeichnet dies dann aber als eigene Tat und stellt sich auf eine Stufe neben Hera. Ganz ergeben ist I. der Hera bei Kall. h. 4, 226–239: sie sitzt wie ein müder Jagdhund an deren Thron, schläft dort und legt nie Gürtel und Schuhe ab, um immer dienstbereit zu sein. Anders als im genannten hom. Hymnus, wo I. unbemerkt von Hera die Eileithyia zur kreienden Leto holt, wacht I. bei Kall. h. 4, 66–67 in Heras Auftrag darüber, daß keine Stätte der Leto Aufnahme gewähre. Wie eine Kammerzofe bereitet sie bei Theokr. 17, 133–134 das Brautbett für Hera und Zeus.

Da I. das Styxwasser für den Göttereid holt (s. o. und weiter auch Apoll. Rhod. 2, 286–300: I. rettet beim Phineusabenteuer ihre Schwestern, die Harpyien, vor den Boreaden und bringt dabei eine Libation mit Styxwasser dar), hat sie Beziehungen zur Unterwelt. Verg. *Aen.* 4, 693–705 erbarmt sich Iuno der sterbenden Dido und schickt I. zu ihr. Diese schneidet Didos Haar ab, um es dem Totengott für Didos Erlösung zu bringen. Als Iuno in die Unterwelt geht, um die Erinnyen gegen Athamas zu hetzen, wird sie nach ihrer Rückkehr von I. mit Tau entsühnt (Ov. *met.* 4, 480).

Zu I.'s Diensten für Iuno gehört auch, daß sie den nemeischen Löwen mit ihrem Gürtel, dem Regenbogen, fesselte und ihn vom Himmel ins Gebirge bringt (Ps.-Plut. *fluv.* 18 [Davies EGF p. 142]). Nach Verg. *Aen.* 9, 2–19 sendet Iuno I. mit einem Auftrag zu dem Aeneasgegner Turnus. Bei Ov. *met.* 11, 585 nennt Iuno die I. ihre «fidissima nuntia vocis», ja sie kann sogar den Beinamen Iunonia führen (*met.* 14, 85), da sie hauptsächlich als Trabantin der Iuno auftritt (vgl. Nonn. *Dion.* 20, 184–291; 31, 106–198 u. a. Stellen). Nach ihrer Abstammung wird sie auch oft *Thaumantea virgo* oder *Thaumantias* genannt: Verg. *Aen.* 9, 5; Ov. *met.* 4, 480; 14, 845; Colum. 10, 292; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 123; *idem, Ach.* 1, 220; *idem, silv.* 3, 3, 81; 5, 1, 107; Val. Fl. 7, 398; 8, 116.

Als Regenbogen beschreibt Ov. *met.* 1, 270 die in bunteste Farben gekleidete I., welche das Wasser emporzieht und den Wolken Nahrung spendet. Auch 11, 589–590 spricht er vom bunten Kleid der I.: *induitur velamina mille colorum Iris et arcuato caelum curvamine signans*... Als Regenbogen steht I. zur Feuchtigkeit in Beziehung. Bei Hom. *Il.* 24, 77–88 springt I. ins Meer und taucht hinab zu einer Grotte, um Thetis eine Bot-

schaft zu überbringen. Sie holt das Styxwasser, der regenbringende Zephyros ist ihr Gatte (s. o.), als Bruder wird der Flußgott Hydaspes erwähnt (Nonn. *Dion.* 26, 359–365), und sie wird auch selbst als Fluß genannt: Apoll. Rhod. 2, 367. 963; *Anth. Pal.* 9, 668, 7 (Beschreibung des Eros-[sic]gartens, worin der Fluß I. fließt). Bei Claudian *rapt. Pros.* 3, 1–5 ruft sie die Flußgötter zu einer Versammlung. Auch ihre Beziehung zu den Winden spielt in der späteren Literatur noch eine Rolle. Bei Q. Smyrn. 12, 189–195 läßt Zeus von I. die Winde an seinen Wagen spannen, 14, 467–479 wird I. von Athena zu Aiolos geschickt, um die Winde zu holen.

Zwar überwacht I. im Auftrag des Zeus die Opfer der Menschen (Aristoph. *Aves* 1202–1259, wo I. jedoch in Ausübung dieses Amtes verlacht und verjagt wird), doch ist über eine kultische Verehrung der I. selbst wenig bekannt. Hom. *Il.* 23, 198–212 (I. will ins Äthiopienland eilen, da dort Hekatomben geopfert werden, damit sie mit den Unsterblichen speise) ist wohl kein Hinweis auf einen Kult der I., zumal hier einer größeren Göttergemeinschaft geopfert wird. Lediglich Semos von Delos (FGH 396 F 5) berichtet, daß auf der Hekate-Insel die Delier der I. bestimmte Kuchen (*basyriai*) opfern. Weicker 2038 vermutet, daß dieser Kult vielleicht mit dem benachbarten Delos zusammenhängt, da I. hier der gebärenden Leto half (vgl. Hom. *h.* 3, 102–114).

Der Name I. fand bereits in der Antike wie auch heute vielfältige, doch nicht gesicherte Erklärungen, mit denen man meist das Wesen der I. als Götterbotin oder Regenbogen zu umschreiben suchte, s. zur Etymologie weiter Weicker 2037–2038; Osthoff 44–74.

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## KATALOG

### GLIEDERUNG

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I. kann auf vielen Darstellungen nicht sicher benannt werden, da sie keine spezielle Ikonographie hat, sondern typologisch mit anderen Flügel Frauen, vor al-

lem → Nike, verwandt ist. Selbst ihr wichtigstes Attribut, des Kerykeion, kommt ebenfalls in Nike-Wiedergaben vor. Die gemeinsame Typologie von I. und Nike hat wohl ihre Ursache darin, daß auch beider Funktion ähnliche Aspekte aufweist. Beide bezeichnen das Ende des Kampfes und dessen Entscheidung. I. übermitteln das Urteil der Götter über das menschliche Los, während Nike – nach den Ausführungen von Isler-Kerényi 41–42 – auf die Entscheidungen weist, die sich Menschen selbst erkämpfen müssen. Symbol für das Ende des Kampfes ist das Kerykeion, das Zeichen der Unverletzlichkeit des Heroldes, das somit beiden zukommt, da I. wie Nike den Stillstand eines Kampfes herbeiführen können. Daß beide Göttinnen geflügelt sind, hängt mit der Vorstellung ihrer raschen Fortbewegung von einem Schauplatz zum anderen zusammen. Sicher benennen läßt sich I. somit nur auf den Bildern, deren Deutung sich durch den mythischen Kontext oder durch Schriftquellen ergibt. Bei Einzeldarstellungen ist die Deutung dagegen hypothetisch. Die folgende Auswahl der Einzelbilder beschränkt sich daher auf inschriftlich gesicherte Darstellungen und Wiedergaben der Flügel Frau mit Kerykeion, wobei jedoch auch diese – wenigstens ab dem 5. Jh. – aus den genannten Gründen keine sicheren I.-Darstellungen sind. Vgl. weiter → Nike. Zum Problem der Unterscheidung I. oder Nike s. auch Arafat 127–133.

Bei der Gliederung des Kataloges ergab sich die Schwierigkeit der Einordnung bestimmter Darstellungen. Häufig hat I. keinen Bezug zum wiedergegebenen Mythos, sondern ist als Trabantin einer Gottheit zugeordnet. Der leichteren Auffindbarkeit willen werden die betreffenden Denkmäler trotzdem meist nach ihrem Hauptthema aufgeführt. Um Wiederholungen zu vermeiden, sollen Querverweise im Inhaltsverzeichnis und vor den einzelnen Kapiteln auf weitere Darstellungen aufmerksam machen.

Wenn in der Beschreibung nicht anders vermerkt, ist I. immer geflügelt.

#### A. Literarisch überlieferte Irisdarstellungen

1. (= Biris I mit Lit.) Amykläischer Altar, nicht erhalten. – Spätes 6. Jh. v. Chr. – Es ist unsicher, ob die bei Paus. 3, 19, 3 genannte Darstellung einer Biris auf I. zu beziehen ist, wie teilweise angenommen wurde (das B des überlieferten Paus.-Textes wäre dann eine Wiedergabe des archaischen Digammas [s. 4]; vgl. weiter → Biris).

2. Gemälde, unvollendet und nicht erhalten. – Plin. *nat.* 35, 145 bemerkt verwundert, daß unfertige Bilder mehr geschätzt werden als vollendete und nennt in diesem Zusammenhang das Bild einer I. vom Maler Aristeides (4. Jh. v. Chr.); s. zu Aristeides: *EAA* I (1958) 641–642 s. v. «Aristeides» (Orlandini, P.).

#### B. *Iris allein*

(auch Darstellungen, auf denen nur I. allein erhalten ist)

## Reliefs

3.\* Metope, Kalkstein, fr. Paestum, Mus. Naz. Vom Heraion an der Selemündung. – Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele II* 237–249 Nr. 20 Taf. 41. 81; van Keuren, *The Frieze from the Hera I Temple at Foce del Sele* (1989) 103–109 Taf. 30 (Deutung auf → Eris, weshalb van Keuren die Metope auch an einer anderen Position plziert als Zancani/Zanotti und Simon). – Um 550 v. Chr. – Stark zerstört. Nach r. rennende Flügelfrau (kurzer Chiton, Flügelschuhe) im Knielaufschema. Oberkörper in Vorderansicht, Kopf im Profil nach r. (deshalb wohl keine Gorgo). Die Figur scheint mit beiden Händen eine Scheibe vor ihren Körper gehalten zu haben. In Analogie zu anderen (Sonnen-) Scheibenträgern, die jedoch noch ein Kerykeion als Attribut haben (vgl. 5. 11), deuten Zancani/Zanotti als I. Es wurde vorgeschlagen, die Metopen mit den Satyrn, die Hera verfolgen, mit der I.-Darstellung zu verbinden: Simon, E., *JdI* 82, 1967, 291.

3a.\* Arula, Kassel, Staatl. Kunstlg. Aus Slg. Die-richts. – *Funde aus der Antike*. Slg. Paul Dierichs, Kassel (1981) Nr. 54 mit Abb. und Lit. (P. Gercke). – Um 500 v. Chr. – Auf der Vorderseite dieses reliefierten Tonalträgers, das wohl aus Sizilien stammt, ist eine Flügelfrau (Schulterflügel und Flügelschuhe) im kurzen Gewand dargestellt. Sie eilt im Knielaufschema nach r., der Oberkörper ist frontal wiedergegeben. In ähnlicher Weise erscheinen auf den sizilischen Arulae öfter Gorgonen (→ Gorgo, Gorgones 256. 257), doch halten diese immer Attribute. Da Nike eher langgewandete wäre, wird für die Kasseler Arula mit Recht die Deutung auf I. erwogen.

## Malerei

4.\* Metope, fr., Terrakotta. Athen, NM 13404. Aus Thermos. – *AntDenk II* 5, 7 Nr. 3 Taf. 52 A 3. – 7./6. Jh. v. Chr. – Von den bemalten Metopen der kleineren Serie zeigte eine die nach l. gewandte, stehende I. (Beischr. *FIPIΣ*). Erhalten ist nur der Hinterkopf mit dem langen Haar sowie ein Teil des Sichelflügels.

## Gemmen (griech. und etr.)

Sämtliche Darstellungen (5–8) sind wohl für I. auszuschließen.

5. Chazeldon, skarabäoid, griech. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1966.595. Aus Zypern. – Boardman/Vollenweider, *CatGemsOxford I* Nr. 60 Taf. 12 (mit Lit.); van Keuren, a. O. 3, 104 Taf. 31a (s. ebendort 104–108 allgemein zur Deutung der geflügelten Scheibenträger). – 4. Viertel 6. Jh. v. Chr. – Sechsfügelige Gottheit (auch Kopf und Schuhe geflügelt) im langen Gewand nach r. laufend. Sie hält eine Scheibe oder Kugel mit Strahlen in den Händen. Vor ihr Kerykeion. Einfluß orientalischer Gottheiten. Boardman: «Greek version of the eastern sun deity». Das Kerykeion deute auf I. oder Hermes. S. weiter Boardman, *AGGems* 32–33.

6. Karneol-Skarabäus. London, BM 467. Aus Marion (Zypern). – Boardman, *AGGems* 81 Nr. 206; 83 Taf. 13 (mit Lit.). – Um 480 v. Chr. – Laufende Flügelfrau (langes Gewand, Flügel an den Füßen), die

eine Hand erhoben, in der gesenkten anderen eine Schale haltend, als I. gedeutet.

7. Karneol-Skarabäus, etr. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1965.356. – Boardman/Vollenweider, *CatGemsOxford I* Nr. 241 Taf. 40 (mit Lit.). – Spätes 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Flügelfrau (langes Gewand) in Profilansicht beugt sich nach vorn und hebt einen runden Gegenstand hoch, vielleicht keine Scheibe, sondern ein Gefäß. Vorge-schlagene, aber nicht überzeugende Deutung: I. fülle ihre goldene Kanne an der Styx nach Hes. *theog.* 784–786. Diese Deutung könnte aber für 123b zu treffen.

8. Karneol-Skarabäus, etr. London, Slg. Ionides. Aus Tarquinia. – Boardman, J., *Engraved Gems. The Ionides Collection* (1968) 16–17. 92 Nr. 7 Abb. – Um 400 v. Chr. – Flügelfrau füllt Kanne an einem Löwenkopfwasserspeier. Deutung: I. hole Styxwasser, vgl. zu 7. Zu weiteren Deutungsvorschlägen s. auch Mayer-Prokop, I., *Die gravierten etruskischen Griffspiegel archaischen Stils* (1967) 68–70 (Nike); → Eos/Thesan 10a. b (mit Lit.); Simon, E., *GGA* 232, 1980, 202–203 (Thesan); Simon weist darauf hin, daß es kein etruskisches Äquivalent zu I. gibt.

## Toreutik

9. Gravierung auf chalkidischem Bronzeshelm. Früher Neapel, Slg. Santangelo. – Mayer 350 Abb. 6; Kunze, E., *OlympBer* 9 (im Druck). – I. (ungeflügelt, Kerykeion, Flügelschuhe, Stephane im langen Haar, Chiton, Mantel), nach l. laufend.

## Münzen

10. AR Statere, Karien, unbestimmte Münzstätten (früher Mallos zugeschrieben), 480–450 v. Chr. – *BMCLycaonia*, etc. 96–97, 5–11 Taf. 16, 1–7; Robinson, E. S. G., *NC* 1936, 265–273 Taf. 14, 1–5; *SNGv*. Aulock 2347–2350; Troxell, H. A., «Winged Carians», in *Essays in Honor of M. Thompson* (1979) 257–268. – Vs.: Weibliche Flügelfigur (Chiton) – meist mit zurückgewandtem Kopf – im Knielauf nach l., beide Unterarme ausgebreitet, hält Kranz und Kerykeion. Vielleicht I. Rs.: Quadratum incusum mit dreieckiger konischer Erhebung, daneben verschiedenes Beiwerk.

11. AR Statere, Mallos, Anfang 4. Jh. v. Chr. – *BMCLycaonia*, etc. 97–98, 12–18 Taf. 16, 8–13; Babelon, *Traité II* Taf. 137; Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele II* 247–249 Abb. 54; Boardman, *AGGems* 32–33; *SNGv*. Aulock Nr. 5705–5710. – Vs. (seltener Rs.): Männliches Flügelwesen im Knielauf nach r. (*SNGv*. Aul. 5705 nach l.) Oberkörper nackt, Unterkörper mit langem Gewand bekleidet, hält mit beiden Händen Sonnenscheibe (mit Stern verziert) vor den Körper. Vor der Figur zuweilen Kerykeion. Rs.: Schwan und kleiner Fisch. Beischrift MAP sowie teils aramäische Schriftzeichen. Während zuvor in Mallos ein männlicher Gott (Hermes?) in diesem Typus dargestellt wurde, werden die Figuren des früheren 4. Jh. als weiblich gedeutet (jedoch m. E. nicht immer eindeutig zu erkennen), wobei dann wegen des Kerykeion die Benennung I. möglich wäre. I. hätte dann im östlichen Raum Aspekte einer Gestirn- und Lichtgottheit,

was bei ihrer Beziehung zum Regenbogen vorstellbar wäre. Diese Ikonographie müßte dann nach Westen transferiert worden sein, wenn man die Scheibenträgerin auf den Gemmen (5. 7) und in Foce del Sele (3) auch I. benennen will.

## Attisch schwarzfigurige und weißgrundige Vasen

11a.\* Amphora. Malibu, Getty Mus. 86.AE.77. – *CVA I* Taf. 40, 4. – 530/20 v. Chr. – In einem Schulterbild rennende Gorgo, im anderen nach r. laufende I. (kurzer Chiton, Nebris) mit zurückgewandtem Kopf und ausgebreiteten Armen.

12. Amphora, panath. New York, MMA 1956.171.4. – *ABV* 291; *Para* 127, 1: Maler der Warschauer Preisamphora; *CVA* 3 Taf. 40 (572) 1. – Um 520 v. Chr. – Die Athena Promachos trägt als Schildzeichen ein laufendes Flügelwesen, für das die Deutung I. vorgeschlagen wurde. Ein Kerykeion ist nicht zu erkennen. Innerhalb der Schildzeichen auf panathenäischen Amphoren scheint diese Darstellung singulär.

13. Amphora. Basel, Antikenmus. Lu 26. – *Para* 140, 4: Klasse von Cab. Méd. 213; *Add* 86; Berger/Lullies, *SlgLudwig I* 71–74 Nr. 26. – Um 510 v. Chr. – Im Halsbild ist auf beiden Seiten eine nach r. laufende, zurückblickende Flügelfrau dargestellt (kurzer Chiton, Fell, Flügelschuhe), I.?

14. Olpe. Paris, Inst. d'Art et d'Archéologie RS 175. – *Para* 268: Maler von Vatikan G 49. – Um 500 v. Chr. – Flügelfrau im kurzen Gewand nach r. laufend, sich umblickend; vielleicht I.

15. Schale. Paris, Louvre C 10455. – *ABV* 653, 5: Campana-Maler; *Add* 146; *CVA* 10 Taf. 118 (753) 10. – 500/490 v. Chr. – Im Innenbild nach r. laufende Flügelfrau (kurzer Chiton, Flügelschuhe), I.?

16.\* Lekythos, Six-Technik. Paris, Louvre MNB 912. Aus Griechenland. – Six, J., *GazArch* 1888, 204 Nr. 17 bis; Mayer 350 Abb. 7; Haspels, *ABL* 235, 76 Taf. 38, 4: Diosphosmaler; Kurtz, D. C., *Athenian White Lekythoi* (1975) 158 Nr. 2d (zum Ornament). – Um 500/490 v. Chr. – I. (Band über Krobylos, Chiton) r. Kerykeion, l. Schreiftafel, läuft nach r. I. begegnet öfters als Beförderin einer geschriebenen Botschaft.

17.\* Ständer, fr. Eleusis, Mus. 1223. Aus Eleusis. – *ABV* 400, 3: Dikaismaler; Talcott, L., *Hesperia* 5, 1936, 65–66 Abb. 5; Hampe, R., *Antike* 15, 1939, 173 Abb. 5; Isler-Kerényi 39. 40. 138 Nr. 66. – Um 490 v. Chr. – I. (Band über Krobylos, Chiton, schräges Mäntelchen) läuft mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln nach r. Ihr Körper ist in Dreiviertelansicht dargestellt, der Kopf nach l. gewendet. Die l. Hand ist erhoben. In der gesenkten r. Kerykeion.

## Attisch rotfigurige und weißgrundige Vasen

18.\* Hydria. Warschau, Nat. Mus. 142289. Aus Cerveteri. – *ARV* 271, 3: Maler von Goluchow 37; *Add* 206; *CVA* Goluchow Taf. 20 (20) 1. – Um 490 v. Chr. – I. (Chiton, Mantel, Kranz im offenen Haar) eilt mit zurückgewandtem Kopf nach l. Hält l. Kerykeion.

19.\* Nolan. Amphora. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landes-

mus. B 95 (203). Aus Nola. – *ARV* 202, 73: Berliner Maler; *CVA* 1 Taf. 15, 1 (Nike); Thimme, J., *Griech. Vasen. Bildhefte des Bad. Landesmus.* 4 (1975) Nr. 44. – Um 490/80 v. Chr. – Nach r. eilende Flügelfrau (Chiton, Band im langen Haar), Kopf nach l. gewendet und zurückblickend; in der Rechten Kerykeion. Vielleicht I. Isler-Kerényi, C., *AntK* 14, 1971, 25–31 bes. 29 bevorzugt beim Berliner Maler die Deutung der einzelnen Flügelfrau als Nike.

20.\* Lekythos. Palermo, Mus. Naz. V 679. Aus Selinunt. – *ARV* 423, 122: Maler der Pariser Gigantomachie; *CVA* 1 Taf. 25 (682) 3. – 490/80 v. Chr. – I. (Flügel, Kerykeion, eine Spende auf einen Altar gibend) steht frontal und wendet ihren Kopf nach l. R. ein Schmel mit Kissen.

21.\* Schale, fr. Basel Slg. Cahn HC 66. – *ARV* 478, 307: Makron. – 490/80 v. Chr. – I. (?) mit Kerykeion nach l. eilend.

22.\* Schale. Ehem. London, Kunsthandel. Sotheby's 13./14. 7. 1981, 128 Nr. 275: Eucharidesmaler. – Um 490/80 v. Chr. – Im Medaillon: I. (hochgebundenes Haar, Kerykeion, Schreiftafel) steht (sich umblickend) vor einem brennenden Altar.

23. Lekythos. New York, MMA 41.162.7. – *CVA* Fogg und Gallatin Taf. 58 (406) 3; 61 (409) 2: Art des Berliner Malers. – Um 480/70 v. Chr. – Im Schulterbild nach l. fliegende I. (?), Chiton, Haube; hält Phiale und Kanne.

24. Schale, fr. Heidelberg, Univ. 69 (B 15). – *ARV* 370, 12: Brygosmaler; Kraiker, W., *Die rotfig. attischen Vasen* (1931) 22–23 Taf. 11, 69. – Um 480 v. Chr. – Erhalten ist nur der Rest eines Frauenkopfes mit Binde im Haar und davor ein Stück des Flügels (die Namensbeischrift läßt sich zu I. ergänzen). Die Göttin lief mit zurückgewandtem Kopf nach r. Über den mythischen Kontext läßt sich nichts Näheres aussagen. Verfolgung durch Satyrn?

25.\* Schale. Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts 50.89. – *ARV* 379, 141: Brygosmaler; Szilágyi, J. G./Castiglione, L., *Griech.-röm. Slg. Budapest. Führer* (1957) 28 Titelbild; Szilágyi, J. G./Szabó, M., *Antik Kiállítás-Vezető* (1974) 44 Abb. 26; Szilágyi, J. G., *Antik Művész-Vezető* (1979) 17.18. Abb. 11. – Um 480 v. Chr. – Spendende Flügelfrau (Chiton, Mantel, Stephane, Phiale, Kanne) nach r. gewandt vor einem Altar. Hinter ihr lehnt ein Kerykeion. Wohl I.

26. Hydria. München, Antikenslg. 2430 (J. 351). Aus Vulci. – *ARV* 497, 9: Oreithyamaler; 1656; *CVA* 5 Taf. 229, 1. 2; Gazaille 2, 107 m. Anm. 23. – 480/70 v. Chr. – Flügelfrau (Chiton, schräger Mantel, Stephane, l. Kerykeion, r. Kanne) schwebt, sich umblickend, nach r.

27.\* Amphora. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 2163. – *ARV* 409, 47: Briseismaler; *Para* 371; *Add* 233; *GGK, Führer Berlin* 128. – 480/70 v. Chr. – I. frontal stehend (Chiton, Mantel, Haube, Flügel, Kerykeion).

28. Amphora. Dresden, Staatl. Kunstlg. 291. – *ARV* 654, 8: Charmidesmaler. – Um 470 v. Chr. – I. (Kerykeion) rennt – sich umblickend – nach r.

29.\* Oinochoe. New York, MMA 1906.1021.93. – Um 470 v. Chr. – I. (Gewand, Sakkos) kniet nach r. und hält Kerykeion und Schreibgerät.

30. Lekythos. Ehem. Paris, Kunsthandel. Aus Sizilien. – *Antiquités égyptiennes, grecques et romaines*. Auktionskat. Slg. Lambros und Dattari (Paris 1912) 11 Nr. 52 Taf. 7. – Um 470 v. Chr. – I. (Flügel, l. Kerykeion, r. Ranke) frontal stehend.

31.\* Lekythos, weißgr. Malibu, Getty Mus. 86.AE.249. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 686, 193: Bowdoin-Maler; *Para* 406; *Ars Antiqua* 2 (1960) 57 Nr. 158 Taf. 58; *Greek Vases. M. and W. Bareiss Coll.* Ausstellungskat. Malibu (1983) 77 Nr. 125. – 470/60 v. Chr. – Flügel Frau in Chiton und dunklem Mantel (Haar mit Binde hochgebunden) steht nach r. gewandt vor einem Omphalos. In der r. Hand hält sie die Spendekanne, in der l. das Kerykeion; vielleicht I. Der Bowdoin-Maler stellte auf seinen Lekythen häufig Flügel Frauen dar, deren Deutung jedoch meist offenbleiben muß. Teilweise tragen sie ein Kerykeion wie etwa:

a) Oinochoe. Neapel, Mus. Naz. H 3122. Aus Nola. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 689, 258; Schauenburg, K., *AM* 90, 1975, 98 Anm. 9 Taf. 28, 4 (nach r. eilend).

b) Lekythos. Paris, Kunsthandel (Segredakis). – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 679, 42.

c) Lekythos. Tarent, Mus. Naz. 52289. Aus Tarent. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 680, 59; de Juliis, E./Loiacono, D., *Taranto. II Mus. Arch.* (1985) Taf. 238, 268. – Vor einem Altar stehend.

32. Lekythos. Ehem. Basel, Kunsthandel. – *MuM* Sonderliste R (1977) Nr. 53 (Maler der Lekythos Yale). – Um 460 v. Chr. – Flügel Frau (langes Gewand, Binde im langen Haar, mit Kerykeion) nach r. laufend.

33.\* Skyphos. Paris, Cab. Méd. 841. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 889, 164: Penthesileamaler; Millin, A. L., *Peintures de vases antiques*... (1808) I 113 Nr. 4 Taf. 62. – Um 460 v. Chr. – I. (langer Chiton, Mantel, Flügel, Kerykeion, Stephane im langen Haar) läuft nach r. Ziel ihres Laufes ist wohl der bärtige Mann auf der Gegenseite.

34.\* Lekythos. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1936.611. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 624, 80: Villa Giulia-Maler. – Um 460/50 v. Chr. – I. (ungeflügelt, Chiton, Mantel, Sakkos, hält Kerykeion und Schreibtafel) läuft, sich umblickend, nach r.

35. Lekythos. Neapel, Mus. Naz. H 3216. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 697, 28: Ikarosmaler (slightly restored). – Um 460/50 v. Chr. – Schwebende I. (Chiton, Mantel, hält Ranke und Schreibgerät).

36.\* Lekythos, wgr. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 2248. Aus Athen. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 756, 62: Tymbosmaler; Benndorf, *GSV* 44 Taf. 27, 2. – I. (Flügel, Flügelstiefel, kurzer gegürteter Chiton, l. Kerykeion, r. Hand auf die Hüfte gestützt) vor einem einfachen Altar.

#### Böotisch rotfigurige Vase

37. Glockenkrater. München, Antikenslg. 3059. – Lullies, R., *AM* 65, 1940, 24 mit Anm. 2 Taf. 28. – Ende 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Nach l. schwebende I. mit Kerykeion.

#### Unteritalische Vase

37a)\* Pelike, pastan. rf. Neapel, Privatslg. (2) 4-18-2. – *RVP* 381, 135 Taf. 239b. c. – Geflügelte I. mit Kerykeion in der r. Hand nach l. laufend. Auf der Gegenseite Frau mit Thyrsos, Phiale und Kranz.

## C. Iris mit anderen Göttern

### 1. Iris und Zephyros

(Deutung bei 38–41 möglich, aber nicht gesichert)

38.\* Bronzener Spiegelgriff. London, BM 1923.5-14.1. – Greifenhagen, A., *Griechische Erotica* (1957) 36–38 Abb. 28. – Anfang 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Aus eine Blüte steigt ein Paar empor. Der Jüngling (mit Kranz) fliegt nach r., das Mädchen (beide mit Flügelschuhen) mit ausgebreiteten Armen nach l. Nach Greifenhagen wohl eher I. und Zephyros als Eros und Nike.

39. (= Aphrodite 1189/1329\*) Lokrisches Tonrelief. Tarent, Mus. Naz. IG 8326. – Schefold, *SB III* 70 Abb. 83 (mit anderer Deutung); Neuser 133–140 Z 11. – Um 460 v. Chr. – Zwei Flügelwesen ziehen den Wagen der Aphrodite. Weiter Hermes. Simon, E., *Geburt der Aphrodite* (1959) 37–38 sieht hier in Analogie zu späteren tarentinischen Arulae, auf denen das gleiche Motiv verwendet ist, aber zusätzlich Meereswellen angegeben sind (40), ebenfalls die Meerfahrt der Aphrodite. Da bei Hom. *h.* 6, 3–4 überliefert ist, daß Zephyros die meergeborene Aphrodite ans Land nach Zypern trieb, erwägt Simon für das Flügelpaar die Deutung auf I. und Zephyros, die Eltern des Eros (s. lit. Quellen). Anders Prückner, H., *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* (1968) 26–27 (Eros und Nike). Dagegen auch nicht überzeugend Neuser, da sie postuliert, das Paar müsse in mythologischem Zusammenhang zu Aphrodite stehen, was aber nach ihrer Meinung bei I. nicht der Fall sei. Vgl. aber die Beziehung beider zu Eros und Hom. *Il.* 5, 352–369, wo I. der Aphrodite Beistand leistet.

40. (= Aphrodite 1190\* mit Lit.) Tonaltären, tarentinisch, in mehreren Repliken überliefert. – Neuser 137–138 Z 12–13. – Spätes 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Aphrodite fährt in einem von Flügelwesen gezogenen Wagen übers Meer. Simon, a. O. 39, 37–38 deutet das Paar Zephyros und I. Zustimmend Prückner, a. O. 39, 27; anders Neuser.

41. Bronzeattaschen von Hydrien, in mehreren Exemplaren und Varianten überliefert. – Diehl, E., *Die Hydria* (1964) 221 B 185–B 190 (mit Lit.); Neuser, 138–140 Z 14–19; Schefold, *SB III* 199 Abb. 271 (mit anderer Deutung). – 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Flügeljüngling und Flügelmädchen in ruhiger Haltung. Nach Simon, a. O. 39, 38 I. und Zephyros. Zustimmend Diehl; dagegen Neuser.

### 2. Iris als Ministrantin von Zeus und (oder) Hera (auch in anderen Opferszenen mit Hera)

Als Ministrantin ist I. ebenfalls kaum von Nike zu unterscheiden, da Opfer- und Spendegeräte auch Attribute der Nike sind. Vielleicht lassen sich durch den jeweiligen Kontext Kriterien für die Benennung finden. Bei Spendeszenen in Gegenwart von Kriegern dürfte die Flügel Frau Nike sein, bei Zeus und Hera wohl I., weshalb der Katalog hier auf diese Darstellungen beschränkt ist. Denn I. ist persönliche Botin und

Trabantin der Hera und deshalb prädestiniert dafür, ihrer Herrin zu libieren. Weiter bezieht sich das gemeinsame Opfer von Zeus und Hera wohl auf deren Hieros Gamos, wie Simon 1, 58–65 aufgezeigt hat. Dieser Treueeid wurde bei Styxwasser geschworen, das den antiken Quellen zufolge (s. o.) von I. für Götterei herbeigeht wurde, s. dazu das Vasenbild 123b. Dagegen stellt Arafat die Benennung I. für diese Szenen in Frage.

Die Deutung der einschenkenden Flügel Frau (auch mit Kerykeion) bei anderen Göttern muß offenbleiben. Diese Darstellungen wurden ihres hypothetischen Charakters wegen hier nicht aufgenommen. Vgl. weiter → Nike. Als weitere Schwierigkeit kommt hinzu, daß I. (ohne Flügel und Kerykeion, mit Kanoun als Attribut, gesichert durch Namensbeischrift) in einer Opferszene mit Zeus und Hera auftritt (56). Dies ließe die Möglichkeit zu, auch in anderen ministrierenden (ungeflügelten) Göttinnen I. zu erkennen. Weiter wird die Problematik der ministrierenden Flügel Frau noch dadurch erschwert, daß diese – obwohl geflügelt – in einer Darstellung Hebe benannt ist (→ Herakles 2859/3305).

### Hera und Zeus beim Opfer, Iris als Ministrantin (wenn nicht anders vermerkt, ist I. immer geflügelt, langgewandert und hält eine Kanne)

#### Attisch rotfigurige Vasen

42.\* (= Hera 211\*) Amphora. München, Antikenslg. 2304. – Um 500 v. Chr. – Kurzes Gewand, Flügelschuhe, hält außer Kanne noch Phiale.

43. (= Hebe 129, = Hera 213) Hydria. Verschollen, ehem. Slg. Pembroke. – Um 490 v. Chr. – I. (mit Haube) gießt Hera ein.

44. (= Hera 215\*) Pelike. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 161. – Um 490/80 v. Chr. – I. gießt der Hera ein.

45. (= Hera 227\*) Stamnos. Leningrad, Ermitage B 1597 (St. 1712). – Um 490 v. Chr. – In der Mitte stehend; Haube, faßt mit der Linken an ihr Gewand.

46. (= Hebe 134\* mit Querverweisen, = Hera 216) Schale. London, BM E 67. Aus Vulci. – Um 480 v. Chr. – Wohl nicht Hieros Gamos, sondern vielleicht Abschied des Ares. I. (Haube) ministriert Hera.

47.\* (= Hera 228) Stamnos. Paris, Louvre G 181. Aus Nola. – Um 480/70 v. Chr. – I. steht r., gießt dem Zeus ein, faßt mit der Linken an ihr Gewand.

48. (= Hera 225\*) Pelike. Vatikan, Astarita 731. – 480/70 v. Chr. – I. (mit Kanne) in der Mitte.

49.\* (= Hera 218) Hydria. Tübingen, Univ. 5603. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Deutung des opfernden Paares auf Zeus und Hera nicht ganz sicher. I. schenkt dem Gott ein.

50. (= Hera 219\*) Stamnos, fr. München, Antikenslg. SL 408. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Haube, faßt mit der L. an ihren Mantel, gießt Zeus ein.

51. (= Hera 221) Stamnos. Bochum, Univ. S 258. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Mit Kerykeion, gießt Zeus ein.

52. (= Apollon 859\*, = Hera 220) Stamnos. Paris, Louvre G 370. – Um 460 v. Chr. – Mit Apollon. I. (Haube) faßt mit der L. an ihr Gewand; gießt Zeus ein.

53. (= Hebe 124, = Hera 222\*) Kolonettenkra-

ter. New York, Slg. Woodner. – Schefold, *SB III* 219 Abb. 300. – Um 460 v. Chr. – Mit Hermes. I. gießt Zeus ein; während ihre l. Hand von Hera gedrückt wird.

54. (= Hera 223\*, = Hermes 747) Hydria. Leiden, Rijksmus. PC 73. Aus Vulci. – 460/50 v. Chr. – I. bekränzt sitzenden Zeus. Mit Hermes.

55. (= Hera 230\*) Schale, fr. Paris, Louvre C 10564 und S 1322. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Mit Hermes und Poseidon. I. mit Kanne.

56. (= Hera 231) Pyxis. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. V. I. 3308. Aus Attika. – Schelp, J., *Das Kanoun* (1975) 52 mit Anm. 401; 89 K 88. – 460/50 v. Chr. – Mit Nike. I. (Namensbeischrift; ungeflügelt, trägt Kanoun) läuft, sich umblickend, nach l.

57. (= Hera 232\*) Pelike. Vatikan. Aus der Nähe von Norcia. – 460/50 v. Chr. – Hält Kanne und Leier.

58.\* (= Hera 233, = Hermes 748) Kolonettenkrater. San Simeon, State Hist. Mon. 9855. – Mit Hermes. I. hält Phiale.

59. (= Hera 226\*) Hydria. Laon, Mus. Arch. Mun. 37.1027. – Um 450 v. Chr. – Mit Kerykeion.

60.\* (= Hera 224) Glockenkrater. Perugia. Mus. Naz. Aus Orvieto. – Um 450 v. Chr. – I. (Haube) faßt mit der L. an ihr Gewand. Mit Göttin l.

### Iris ministriert Hera oder Iris und Hera in anderen Opferszenen (ohne Zeus)

#### Attisch rotfigurige Vasen

61.\* (= Hera 395) Lekythos. Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 35.707. Aus Gela. – Um 480 v. Chr. – I. (Kopfbedeckung, Kerykeion) gießt Hera ein.

62. (= Hera 392) Lekythos. Ehem. Neapel, Slg. Hamilton. – Um 480 v. Chr. – I. (Haube) gießt Hera ein.

63. (= Hera 393\*) Skyphos. Berlin (DDR) Staatl. Mus. F. 2317. Aus Nola. – Um 460 v. Chr. – I. (Haube) hält statt Kanne Ranke und hebt mit der Linken ihr Gewand hoch.

64. (= Hera 401) Pelike. Cologny (Schweiz), Slg. Bodmer.

65. (= Hera 406\*) Oinochoe. London, BM E 523. Aus Vulci.

66. (erwähnt zu → Hera 400) Kolonettenkrater. Frankfurt, Mus. f. Vor- und Frühgesch. β 395. – I. (Phiale) zwischen Hera und weiterer Göttin. Vgl. auch → Hera 400\*.

#### Unteritalische Vase

67. (= Hera 394) Glockenkrater, campan. rf. Tenri (Japan), Tenri Sankokan Mus. E 114. – 330/20 v. Chr. – I. hält Kranz und Opferschale mit Früchten.

### 3. Iris und Hera in anderen Szenen

#### (außer Parisurteil)

Zu Iris und Hera s. auch: 78. 97. 111. 122. 129–133. 151. 152. 157.

#### Skulptur

68.\* (= Dodekathēoi 4a\* mit Querverweisen, = Hebe 131, = Hera 208\*) Ostfries des Parthenon.



London, BM. Aus Athen, Akropolis. – Schefold, *SB* III 221 Abb. 302. – Um 440 v. Chr. – Innerhalb der Götterversammlung das sitzende Paar Zeus und Hera im Typus einer Hieros Gamos-Darstellung. Zur Rechten der Hera steht eine junge Flügelfrau im langen Gewand (Körper frontal, Kopf im Profil nach l.), die mit ihrer Linken zum Kopf greift, während die Rechte vor dem Körper liegt und vielleicht ein Attribut hielt. Ihre Geste wollte man so erklären, daß sie gerade von einem Flug angekommen sei und nun Gewand und Haar ordne. Vielleicht hielt sie in der Rechten ein Band, um ihre Haare hochzubinden. Sie blickt nicht zu Hera, sondern hält nach Simon 1, 63 nach dem Panathenäenzug Ausschau. Ihre Deutung ist umstritten. Aufgrund der Flügel wird es kaum Hebe sein, sondern Nike oder I., wobei die Nähe zu Hera für I. spricht, die auch sonst mit dem Hieros Gamos von Zeus und Hera verbunden ist, vgl. Simon, E., *AM* 97, 1982, 127. Gegen die I.-Deutung zuletzt Mark, I. S., *Hesperia* 53, 1984, 304–312 (Nike).

69. (= Hera 407\*, = Hermes 750) Relief am Stadttor von Thasos (sog. Zeus-und-Hera-Tor). – 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Darstellung schlecht erhalten. Neben der thronenden Hera steht eine Flügelfrau in Vorderansicht (Attribut nicht erkennbar), wohl I.

#### Vasenmalerei

70.\* (= Hera 390, = Herakles 1915) Amphora, att. sf. New York, MMA X.21.15 (G. R. 523). – Hera sendet I. (Flügel, kurzes Gewand, Flügelschuhe, hält in der Rechten einen Stab, dessen oberes Ende nicht dargestellt ist, Kerykeion?) mit dem nemeischen Löwen zu Herakles aus (vgl. Hes. *theog.* 327–328). Die Gegenseite der Vase zeigt Herakles im Kampf mit dem Löwen.

71. (= Hera 408\*) Schale, att. rf. London, BM E 122. – Wenn die stehende Göttin Hera ist, dann dürfte es sich bei der auf sie zulaufenden Flügelfrau um I. handeln.

72. (= Hera 410\*) Glockenkrater, lukan. rf. Tarent, Mus. Naz. 118371. Aus Manduria. – Um 400 v. Chr. – Thronende Göttin und Flügelfrau, von der nur wenig erhalten ist, wohl Hera und I.

73. (= Hera 409\*) Glockenkrater, lukan. rf. Orvieto, Mus. Faina 2633. – Um 400 v. Chr. – I. (Flügel, Kerykeion) sitzt auf Steinen. Vor ihr steht Hera.

74. (= Astra 75 mit Lit., = Hera 391\*, = Helios 116) Skyphos, apul. rf. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 31. Aus Ruvo. – 330/20 v. Chr. – Unten Dionysos und Ariadne auf Wagen sowie Gestirngötter; oben Götterfries: am l. Rand lehnt Hera am Louterion. I. (nicht ganz erhalten; Flügel, kurzes Gewand, Stiefel) steht neben ihr und redet auf sie ein. R. von I. thronender Zeus, Hermes und Helios.

#### Wandmalerei

75.\* (= Hera 210\* mit Lit., = Hypnos/Somnus 157 mit Lit., = Iuno 286) Gemälde. Neapel Mus. Naz. 9559. Aus Pompeji VI 8, 3 (Casa del Poeta tragico). – Schefold, *SB* III 224 Abb. 307; Gazaille 2, 103–109 Abb. 1. – Neronisch. – Hieros Gamos von

Hera oder Rhea auf dem Ida. I. (Flügel) fungiert als Brautführerin. Sie hat die Braut am Arm gefaßt und geleitet sie zu dem Bräutigam.

#### 4. Iris und Zeus in anderen Szenen

Zu Iris und Zeus s. auch 68. 74. 82. 88. 89. 99. 100. 103.

#### Skulptur

76. Nordmetope 31 vom Parthenon. Athen, Akropolis. – Praschniker, C., *Parthenonstudien* (1928) 31–33 Abb. 22–24; 132–136 Abb. 85; Brommer, F., *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (1967) 58–59 Taf. 129 (mit Lit.); Berger, *PartheDokMet* 47–48 Taf. 32–33. 36, 2 (mit Lit.). – Um 440 v. Chr. – Darstellung stark zerstört. L. sitzt eine Person auf einem Felsen. Vor ihr steht eine Flügelfrau in Vorderansicht, den Kopf nach l. zu der sitzenden Figur gewendet. Ihr Gewand war vermutlich kurz, und sie hielt vielleicht ein Attribut in der l. Hand. Meist folgt man der Deutung von Praschniker auf Zeus und I. (auch Zeus und Eris wurde vorgeschlagen, s. die Lit. bei Berger).

#### Apulisch rf. Vasen

77.\* Kraterfr. Genf, Privatbes. – Aellen, Ch./Cambitoglou, A./Chamay, J., *Le Peintre de Darius et son milieu* (Ausstellung Genf 1986) 172–173 mit Abb.: Dareiosmaler. – Um 330 v. Chr. – R. Unterkörper des thronenden Zeus, l. weibliche Figur in Seitenansicht (Kopf und Rücken nicht erhalten). Der kurze Chiton und die Flügelschuhe könnten auf I. deuten. R. von Zeus thronte vielleicht Hera.

78. Volutenkrater. Ehem. Brüssel, Kunsthandel. – *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 152 Nr. 23c Taf. 27, 1: Baltimore-Maler; Schauenburg, K., *RM* 91, 1984, 366 Anm. 65 Taf. 108. – Um 320 v. Chr. – Zweizonige Darstellung: unten dionysischer Zug mit Pantherwagen, oben Götterfries. Zwischen dem thronenden Götterpaar Zeus und Hera steht I. (Flügel, Kerykeion, kurzes Gewand, Stiefel) und ist zu Zeus gewendet, als ob sie auf einen Auftrag warte. Zeus blickt jedoch zur anderen Seite und ist im Gespräch mit Athena. Dagegen steht Hermes neben Hera und ist zu dieser gewendet.

79. Volutenkrater. Okayama, Kurashiki Ninagawa-Mus. – *RVAp* II 863, 14: Baltimore-Maler; Simon, E., *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum* (1982) 126–128 Nr. 64 Abb. – 330/20 v. Chr. – Unten Amazonomachie, oben Götterfries: Zeus thront am r. Rand und ist von seinen beiden Boten Hermes (l.) und I. (r., geflügelt, Kerykeion, kurzer Chiton, Stiefel, ein Bein hochgestellt; zu ihr springender Hund) flankiert.

80.\* Volutenkrater, fr. Foggia, Mus. Civ. 132732. – *RVAp* II 866, 28: Baltimore-Maler; Schauenburg, a. O. 78, 386 Anm. 190 Taf. 123, 1. – Um 320 v. Chr. – Thema der Darstellung wie auf 78: Götterfries oberhalb von Dionysos und Ariadne im Pantherwagen. Auch hier spricht der thronende Zeus mit Athena, während I. (Flügel, Stiefel, kurzes Gewand, Kerykeion) zu seiner Linken wartet.

#### 5. Iris und Hermes

Iris und Hermes treten noch auf weiteren Darstellungen gemeinsam auf: 54. 78. 79. 94. 100. 122. 127–136. 154. 158. 159.

##### a) Iris trägt das Hermeskind

81. (= Hermes 734\*) Hydria, att. rf. München, Antikenslg. 2426. Aus Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 189, 76: Kleophradesmaler; 1632; *Para* 341; *CVA* 5 Taf. 227, 2; 228, 2; Schefold, *SB* III 47 Abb. 54. – Um 470 v. Chr. – I. (Stephane im langen Haar, Kerykeion) läuft mit einem kleinen Knaben im Arm nach r. Der Junge wird als Herakles oder Hermes gedeutet, wobei die Benennung Hermes in Analogie zu 82 vorzuziehen ist.

82.\* (= Hermes 735) Skyphos, fr., att. rf. Tübingen, Univ. 1600 (E 106). – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 974, 27: Lewis-Maler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 309; Watzinger, *KatTübingen* 48 E 106 Taf. 28; Smith, H. R. W., *Der Lewismaler* (1974) Taf. 23a; Schefold, *SB* III 47 Abb. 55. – Um 450 v. Chr. – Von I. ist nur der Oberkörper erhalten, so daß sich nicht mehr feststellen läßt, ob I. ein Kerykeion hielt. I. ist nach l. gewandt und hält den kleinen Hermes (Kerykeion) im Arm. Sie bringt ihn zu Zeus (l., nur Zepter erhalten), damit er als ihr Nachfolger in sein Amt als Zeusbote eingesetzt werde.

##### b) Iris und Hermes in anderen Darstellungen

83. Amphora, att. sf. Hillsborough, Slg. Hearst. – Raubitschek, I. K., *The Hearst Hillsborough Vases* (1969) 38–41 Nr. 9. – Um 520 v. Chr. – Beide Götterboten (Kerykeia) stehen sich gegenüber. Sie sind im Handschlag miteinander verbunden. I. trägt über ihrem Peplos den Ependytes.

84.\* Lebes gamikos, att. sf. Athen, Agora P 7893 und P 7897. – Shear, T. L., *AJA* 40, 1936, 412 Abb. 9; *idem*, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, 372 Abb. 36; 373; Kenner 92 Abb. 33; 93 Anm. 89; *Agora* 23 (1986) 167 Nr. 516 Taf. 49. – Spätes 6. Jh. v. Chr. – Rennende I. (unter dem Henkel dargestellt; Flügelschuhe, kein Kerykeion) und Hermes führen einen Hochzeitszug an.

85. (= Amphitrite 29 mit Lit., = Hermes 740) Lekythos, att. sf. New York, MMA 1941.162.34. – *ABV* 507, 5: Sapphomaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 126. – 490/80 v. Chr. – Amphitrite auf Flügeln über Meer fahrend. Dem Gespann voraus eilt eine ungeflügelte Göttin mit Flügelschuhen, vielleicht I., während Hermes hinterherläuft.

86.\* Lekythos, att. sf. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 48.230. – *ABV* 550, 318: Haimongruppe. – Um 500 v. Chr. – R. Hermes, l. I. (geflügelt).

87. (= Hermes 737) Lekythos, att. sf. University, Univ. of Mississippi 77.3.82. Aus Attika. – *Para* 248: Diosphomaler; Haspels, *ABL* 235 Nr. 67; *CVA* Baltimore, Robinson Coll. Taf. 38 (171) 7; Kurtz, a. O. 16, 98 mit Anm. 5; *SouthernColls* 24–25 Nr. 5. – 500/490 v. Chr. – Hermes und I. (kurzer Chiton, Flügel, Flügelschuhe, Kerykeion, Kasten in der Hand) laufen, im Gespräch verbunden, nach r. Sinnlose Inschriften.

88. (= Hermes 741\*) Stamnos, att. rf. Paris, Louvre G 192. Aus Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 208, 160: Berliner Maler; 1633; *Para* 343; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 195; *CVA* 6 Taf. 55

(434) 3; Philippaki, B., *The Attic Stamnos* (1967) Taf. 62, 3. – Um 480 v. Chr. – Zeus steht in der Mitte und hat seine beiden Boten ausgesandt: Hermes eilt nach l., I. (Flügel, Kerykeion) schwebt nach r. Vielleicht hängt die Darstellung mit der Gegenseite (schlangenvürgender Herakliskos, → Herakles 1650 = Alkmene 8\*) zusammen, d. h., daß die Boten vielleicht die Rettung des Zeussohnes überwatchen sollen.

89.\* Stamnos, att. rf. Ehem. London, Kunsthandel. – Sotheby's 5. 7. 1982 Nr. 344: Achilleusmaler; Sotheby's 10./11. 7. 1989 Nr. 249. – Um 450 v. Chr. – In der Mitte steht ein bärtiger Gott mit Zepter, wohl Zeus. Von r. eilt Hermes herbei, während I. (Flügel, Kerykeion) nach l. ausgeschickt wird. I. blickt zu Zeus zurück. Die vorgeschlagene Deutung auf Plouton überzeugt nicht.

#### 6. Iris und Athena

Zu Iris und Athena s. auch 135. 158. 159.

90. (= Athena 357 mit Lit., = Eileithyia 14\*, = Hephaistos 200 mit Lit.) Hydria, att. rf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 444. Aus Nola. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1112, 3: Maler von Tarquinia 707. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Geburt der Athena. Unter den anwesenden Göttern am l. Rand eine Flügelfrau (ohne Attribute, macht eine erstaunte Gebärde): I. oder eine andere geflügelte Göttin.

90a.\* Kelchkrater, att. rf. Paris, Louvre G 165. Aus Etrurien. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 601, 21: Niobidenmaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 266; Pottier, *VasesLouvre* III Taf. 126; *CVA* 2 Taf. 23 (93) 1. 2. – 470/60 v. Chr. – Ausfahrt der Athena. Die Göttin besteigt einen Wagen, neben dem ein Krieger steht (Ares? Heros?). Dem Gespann schwebt eine Flügelfrau mit Kerykeion voran, vielleicht I. Im Hintergrund deutet eine Säule ein Gebäude an.

91. (= Apollon 978) Volutenkrater, att. rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. T. 6 C VP. Aus Spina. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1033, 1679; *Para* 442. 444: Polygnotosgruppe; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 318. – Um 440 v. Chr. – Delphisches Heiligtum mit Apollon. R. Athena mit I.

92.\* Kelchkrater, apul. rf. Richmond, Virginia Mus. 81.81. – *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 55, 34a Taf. 6, 1–3: Maler der Dubliner Situlen oder Umkreis; Mayo, *Vases-MagnaGraecia* 111–112 Nr. 34. – Um 350 v. Chr. – Unten Amazonomachie, oben Götterfries: r. sitzt Athena, vor ihr steht eine Flügelfrau (Kerykeion, Stiefel) und präsentiert ihr einen Kranz. I. oder Nike.

93.\* (= Artemis 1040) Oinochoe, apul. rf. Tarent, Mus. Naz. 8855. – *RVAp* II 873, 74: Baltimore-Maler. – 330/20 v. Chr. – Athena mit I. und Artemis.

94.\* Volutenkrater, apul. rf., Ehem. London, Kunsthandel. – Sotheby's 10.–11. 12. 1984, Nr. 369: Baltimore-Maler. – 330/20 v. Chr. – Unten Amazonomachie, darüber Götterfries: im Zentrum sitzt Athena. Ihr zugewandt steht I. (hochgestelltes Bein, Flügel, Stiefel, kurzes Gewand, Kerykeion). L. thronende Frau mit Kreuzfackel (Persephone?), r. Sitzende mit Sonnenschirm (Aphrodite), der Hermes einen Kranz reicht. Die Darstellung erinnert an den Streit zwischen Persephone und Aphrodite um Adonis, bei dem auch I. und Hermes auftreten können (vgl. 100),

doch würde man dann anstelle von Athena Zeus erwarten.

## 7. Iris in der Apollonsage

Zu Iris und Apollon s. auch 91. 154. 160. 161.

95. (= Demeter/Ceres 151\* mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Sarkophagdeckel. Rom, Villa Borghese. Über einem nicht zugehörigen Herakles-Sarkophag eingemauert und stark ergänzt. – Schefold, *SB* III 45 Abb. 51. – Antoninisch. – Geburtssage von Apollon und Artemis in drei Szenen aufgegliedert. Im r. Teil Versammlung von Göttinnen (Demeter am Korb erkennbar). – Von r. kommt eine junge Frau (kurzgewand, Stiefel, Velificatio) bittend herangelaufen, vielleicht I., welche die Eileithyia zu der kreißenden Leto holen will (nach Hom. *h. Ap.* 102–114). Bei I. nur der l. Arm ergänzt.

## 8. Iris in der Gigantomachie

96. (= Hermes 830 mit Lit.) Skyphos, att. rf. Paris, Louvre G 66. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 126, 25: Nikosthenesmaler; *Para* 333; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 176; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* II 149–150 Taf. 96. – Um 500 v. Chr. – Darstellung teils zerstört. R. von einer Säule nach r. laufende I. (mit Kerykeion, Oberkörper nicht erhalten). Vor ihr Herakles und Gigant am Boden. Weiter Göttin, Hermes, Athena, Gigant, Ge. Die beiden Götterboten sind hier den Hauptkämpfern Athena und Herakles zugeordnet.

97. (= Gigantes 24\* mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Hera 371 mit Lit.) Pergamonfries, Ostseite, nur wenig erhalten. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. Aus Pergamon. – 190/160 v. Chr. – Hera lenkt das Gespann des Zeus und war von einer Flügelfrau begleitet, von der nur ein großer Flügel erhalten ist. Die Figur befand sich l. von Hera. Sie kämpfte nicht gegen einen Giganten, sondern begleitete Hera. Simon, *Pergamon* 20: I.

## 9. Iris und Astralgötter

98. (= Eos 39\* mit Lit.) Volutenkrater, fr. apul. rf. Tarent, Mus. Naz. Aus Gravina. – *RVAp* II 1023. 1024, 40: seemed to reflect something of the style of the Arpi Painter and of BM F 278. – 320/10 v. Chr. – Der oberste Fries auf dem Bauch des Gefäßes zeigt l. eine sitzende Frau, r. von ihr I. (Flügel, Kerykeion, kurzes Gewand, Stiefel), die einer weiteren sitzenden Frau (wohl Selene wegen der Scheibe hinter ihrem Kopf) mit Eros zugewandt ist. R. stehender Helios mit Strahlenkranz und Flügelfrau mit Pferd, vielleicht Eos. Über den Figuren Sterne. I. ist hier bei den Astralgötterheiten vielleicht nicht als Botin, sondern als Personifikation des Regenbogens zugegen.

## 10. Iris bei der Schmückung der Pandora

99.\* (= Anesidora 2 mit Lit., = Hera 345 mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Hermes 742) Kelchkrater, att. rf. London, BM E 467. Aus Altamura. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 601,

23: Niobidenmaler; *Para* 395; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 266. – Um 460 v. Chr. – In der oberen Zone Götterversammlung anlässlich der Schmückung der Pandora. Anwesend sind dabei auch beide Götterboten, Hermes und I. (kurzes Gewand, Flügelschuhe, Kerykeion; steht hinter dem Thron des Zeus). Beide führen hier wohl Aufträge des Zeus aus, denn Pandora wurde auf Befehl des Zeus erschaffen und auf dessen Geheiß hin dem Epimetheus übergeben.

## 11. Iris beim Streit um Adonis

100.\* Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Genf, Privatslg. – Schauenburg, a. O. 78, 369–370. 373. 381. 384 Taf. 110, 1–2: Baltimore-Maler; Aellen/Cambitoglou/Chamay, a. O. 77, 215–224 Abb. – 330/320 v. Chr. – Obere Zone: I. vom thronenden Zeus Aphrodite, der Hermes eine Nachricht überbringt, sowie Adonis mit Eros. R. von Zeus stehen Persephone und I. (Flügel, kurzes, über Kreuz gegürtetes Gewand, Stiefel, Kerykeion). Zeus fällt beim Streit der Göttinnen, Aphrodite und Persephone, um Adonis einen Schiedsspruch, den hier offenbar die beiden Götterboten Hermes und I. der jeweiligen Göttin übermitteln.

## 12. Iris bei einer Götterhochzeit

Iris in weiteren Hochzeitsszenen s. auch 75. 84. 124–126.

101. (= Apollon 850 mit Lit., = Artemis 1010/1161 [Fuß], = Hermes 699) Lebes gamikos, att. rf. Athen, Nat. Mus. 1172 (CC 1229). Aus Ampelokipi. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 585, 33: earlier mannerist; Kenner 93 Abb. 34. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Hochzeitszug mit Göttern. Der Zug wird von der rennenden, kerykeiontragenden I. (unter dem Henkel) angeführt.

## 13. Iris im eleusinischen Kreis

S. weiter 100. 153.

102.\* (= Keleos I mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Schale, att. rf. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus St V 7. Aus Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 386: nahe dem Castelgiorgio-Maler; 1649; *Para* 521; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 229; Schefold, *SB* III 50 Abb. 59; Schwarz, G., *Triptolemos* (1987) 38 V 56; 100–108 Abb. 11b (mit Lit.). – 490/80 v. Chr. – Aussendung des Triptolemos in Gegenwart eleusinischer Gottheiten, die teilweise Abschiedsspenden darbringen. Die Frau mit Phiale hinter Triptolemos (Metaneira?) ist eine Flügelfrau (mit Kanne, wahrscheinlich I.) zugewandt. I. ist hier wohl nicht anstelle von Hermes wiedergegeben, der sonst öfter bei der Triptolemosausfahrt vorkommt (s. Schwarz a. O. Index s. v. Hermes). Denn Hermes ist dort weniger als göttlicher Bote, sondern eher als Vater des Keryx aufzufassen. Auch I. tritt hier nicht als Botin, sondern als Ministrant auf. Willemsen, F., *AM* 69/70, 1954/55, 33–40 Taf. 1–2 ergänzte einen weiblichen Torso aus Eleusis (um 490 v. Chr.) zu einer Flügelgöttin und erwägt aufgrund der Darstellung auf dieser Frankfurter

Schale die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Giebel, in dem vielleicht die Triptolemosausfahrt dargestellt war. Doch deutet er den Torso als Nike. Falls der – sehr hypothetische – Rekonstruktionsvorschlag zutrifft, so wäre wie auf der Schale wohl eher I. gemeint.

103. (= Aphrodite 1378 mit Lit., = Demeter 313 mit Lit., = Helios 113, = Hera 343) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 81667 (H 3256). Aus Ruvo. – *RVAp* II 495, 40 Taf. 176, 2: Dareiosmaler. – Um 330 v. Chr. – A: dreizonige Darstellung: unten Koreraub, in der Mitte Korybanten, oben Götterfries. Im mittleren Fries steht I. am Rand neben einem Korybanten I. (Flügel, kurzes Gewand, Stiefel, Kerykeion). Sie verbindet diese Zone mit dem oberhalb von ihr dargestellten Zeus, dessen Willen sie hier dem Korybanten deutlich macht. Denn Zeus ist mit dem Raub einverstanden und will eine Verfolgung verhindern. So läßt er dem Korybanten durch I. Einhalt gebieten.

## 14. Iris beim Streit um das attische Land

104.\* (→ Athena 234\*) Figur N aus dem Parthenon-Westgiebel. London, BM. – Brommer, F., *Die Skulpturen der Parthenongiebel* (1963) 45–47 Taf. 111–113; Berger, E., et al. *AntK* 19, 1976, 126–127 Taf. 29, 3; idem, *AntK* 20, 1977, 128–129; Brommer, F., *Die Parthenonskulpturen* (1979) 42–43 Taf. 122. 123, 1. 2; Simon, E., in *Tainia. Festschr. R. Hampe* (1980) 244–245; Boardman, J./Finn, D., *The Parthenon and its sculptures* (1985) Taf. 23. – Um 440/432 v. Chr. – Figur nicht vollständig erhalten; ebenso ist ihre genaue Position in der r. Giebelseite nicht eindeutig geklärt. Weiblicher Torso in starker Bewegung nach l. Die Einlaßspuren auf dem Rücken deuten darauf hin, daß die Figur Flügel trug. Ihr dünnes Gewand wird vom Wind an den Körper gedrückt, der durch das feine Faltengeriesel hindurch sichtbar ist. Weitere Fragmente wurden hypothetisch mit dieser Statue verbunden (s. Berger und Brommer). Im Westgiebel war der Streit zwischen Athena und Poseidon um das attische Land dargestellt. Beide Götter kamen mit Gespannen, die von Wagenlenkern gefahren wurden. Der Sage nach greift Zeus in den Streit ein, in dem er u. a. durch Hermes Einhalt gebieten läßt. In der l. Giebelhälfte bremst Hermes die Fahrt der Wagenlenkerin der Athena (Nike?), in der r. I. die des Poseidon (Amphitrite als Wagenlenkerin).

## 15. Iris im dionysischen Kreis

Im letzten Viertel des 6. Jh. setzen Vasenbilder ein, die eine Flügelfrau von Satyrn umgeben zeigen. Spätere Darstellungen klären darüber auf, daß die Satyrn die Göttin verfolgen und belästigen. Es muß sich um I. handeln, wie die Namensbeischrift bei I. und auch die Präsenz der Hera auf der Brygosschale (111) zeigen. Dies ist zugleich die ausführlichste Wiedergabe, aus der sich die Handlung am besten erschließen läßt. Sie wird von Simon 2, 125–129 folgendermaßen

rekonstruiert: Hera ist Dionysos feindlich gesonnen und schickt ihre Botin I. aus, um Opfer an Dionysos zu verhindern bzw. die Opferstücke vom Altar zu rauben. Doch die Satyrn wollen dies als treue Diener ihres Herrn nicht zulassen und greifen ein, indem sie I. fangen und ihr Gewalt antun wollen. So spielt I. auch in dieser Geschichte wiederum die Rolle der Heratrabantin. Literarische Quellen zu diesem Stoff sind nicht erhalten, doch muß das Thema auf ein Satyrspiel zurückgehen. Vielleicht wurde es in mehreren Dramen verwendet. Denn die Geschichte könnte auch wieder Thema eines späteren Satyrspiels mit dem Titel *Iris* (nur wenige Fragmente erhalten) von Achaïos (2. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr.) gewesen sein (s. weiter Simon 2, 125–129). Auf die Funktion der I. als Überwacherin von Opfern spielt auch Aristoph. *Aves* 1202–1259 an. Die von Satyrn bedrohte Flügelfrau wird in der Literatur auch zuweilen nicht überzeugend als Nike gedeutet.

## a) Iris und Satyrn

Attisch schwarzfigurige Vasen

105. Lekythos. Ehem. London, Kunsthandel. – Haspels, *ABL* 208, 52 (Gela-Maler); Sotheby's 23. 7. 1930 Nr. 119 Taf. II; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*<sup>2</sup> 73 Nr. 28. – 4. Viertel 6. Jh. v. Chr. – In der Mitte sitzt eine Flügelfrau, r. wegeilender Satyr.

106. Schale, fr. Bern, Slg. Lifschitz. – Brommer, F., *GettyMusJ* 6/7, 1978/79, 144 Nr. 4 (28a). – 4. Viertel 6. Jh. v. Chr.

107.\* Augenschale. Cleveland (Ohio), Mus. of Art 26.514. – *ABV* 630, 3: dem Pittsburgh-Maler vergleichbar; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 145; *CVA* I Taf. 20 (700) 3; 22 (702) 1; Brommer, a. O. 106, 144 Nr. 7 (28d). – 520/10 v. Chr. – Auf beiden Außenseiten zwischen den Augen laufende Flügelfrau, r. und l. je ein Satyr.

108. Augenschale. Ehem. Mailand, Kunsthandel. – Finarte (Auktion 14. 3. 1963) 54–55 Nr. 65 Taf. 29; Brommer, a. O. 106, 144 Nr. 5 (28b). – Um 500 v. Chr. – Darstellung auf beiden Seiten ähnlich wie 107.

109. Augenschale. Sarasota (Florida), Ringling Mus. Aus Zypern. – *ABV* 636, 52: Maler von Oxford 237; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 145; Brommer, a. O. 106, 144 Nr. 6 (28c). – Um 480 v. Chr. – Darstellung auf einer Seite ähnlich wie 107.

Attisch rotfigurige Vasen

110. (= Aias II 105 [A]) Schale. Boston, MFA 1908.30a und Fr. Louvre S 1378. – Aus Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 135: weiterer Umkreis des Nikosthenesmalers; 1628; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 177; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*<sup>2</sup> 26 Abb. 17. 27–28. 73 Nr. 29; Vermeule, E., *AntK* 12, 1969, 13 Nr. 12 Taf. 10, 3. – Um 500 v. Chr. – Die Darstellung ist nicht vollständig erhalten. Seite B zeigt in der Mitte einen Altar, dahinter die nach r. rennende I. (geflügelt, Flügelschuhe, Opferstück in der Hand). Fünf Satyrn (drei von l., zwei von r., der eine mit peltaförmigem Schild) greifen sie an.

111. (= Dromis I\*, = Dionysos 791 mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Hera 327 [A], = Hermes 752 [A] mit Querverweisen, = Hydris I [A]) Schale. Lon-

don, BM E 65. Aus Capua. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 370, 13: Brygosmaler; Para 365; Add<sup>2</sup> 224. – 490 v. Chr. – Die Darstellung erstreckt sich auf beide Seiten. Alle Figuren mit Namensbeischriften. Auf A wollen sich die Satyrn an Hera heranschleichen, der jedoch Hermes und Herakles beistehen. Auf B hat Dionysos drei Satyrn nach I. ausgeschickt, die bereits ein Opferstück vom Altar genommen hat und wegrennt (mit Kerykeion). Zwei der Satyrn haben sie bereits eingeholt und halten sie festgepackt.

112. Schale. Freiburg, Kunsthandel. – *Kunst der Antike* (Gall. G. Puhze) 4 (1982) 19 Nr. 200; Brommer, F., *GettyVases I* (1983) 120 Nr. 361. – 490/80 v. Chr. – Zwei Satyrn rennen auf I. in der Mitte zu (r. Kerykeion, mit der Linken ans Gewand fassend, eilt sich umblickend nach r.).

113. Skyphoschale. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 2591. Aus Nola. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 888, 150: Penthesileamaler; 1673; v. Lücken, G., *Griechische Vasenbilder* (1921) Taf. 10; Brommer, *Satyrschale* 26 Abb. 18. 28–29. 73 Nr. 32. – Um 460 v. Chr. – I. (mit Kerykeion und Opferstück) eilt sich umblickend nach r. R. und l. je ein Satyr. Der r. Satyr hat sie bereits am Arm gepackt. Auf der Gegenseite Dionysos mit zwei weiteren Satyrn.

114. Skyphos. Paris, Cab. Méd. 840. Aus Apulien. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 888, 154: Penthesileamaler («restored»); Brommer, *Satyrschale* 27 Abb. 19; 28. 73 Nr. 33. – I. (mit jeder Hand einen Gewandzipfel hochhebend) läuft nach r. L. und r. ein Satyr.

115. Schale. Ehem. New York, Kunsthandel. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 863, 2: Art des Pistoxenosmalers; 1673. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Die eine Seite zeigt I. mit Kerykeion und Opferstück nach r. laufend, die andere den hinter ihr hereilenden Dionysos. Beazley: Ausschnitt aus einer Szene ähnlich wie 111.

116. Schale. Ehem. London, Kunsthandel. – Christie's 10. 12. 1986 Nr. 217: Ancona-Maler. – Um 460 v. Chr. – Auf der einen Seite wird I. (mit Kerykeion und Opferstück) von vier Satyrn belästigt, auf der anderen Dionysos, Mänade und weitere Satyrn am Altar.

117. Schale. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 1122. Aus Tarquinia. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 953, 45: Angular P.; Brommer, *Satyrschale* 73 Nr. 30. – 460/50 v. Chr. – I. (Chiton, Himation, Sakkos) sitzt nach r. auf einem Felsen. Sie macht mit der R. eine Redegeste und ist den beiden sie umgebenden Satyrn weit überlegen. Diese scheinen von der Göttin eingeschüchtert worden zu sein. Das Thema «Satyrn nahen einer Frau» hat der Maler auch auf der anderen Außenseite und im Innenbild dargestellt. Es ist zu überlegen, ob die Frau auf der Außenseite vielleicht Hera sein könnte.

118. Rhyton. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. 545. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 766, 4: Art des Sokratesmalers; CVA I Taf. 24 (24) 2–4; Brommer, *Satyrschale* 73 Nr. 34a. – 450/40 v. Chr. – Drei Figuren: Mänade, Silen, Flügelfrau mit Fackeln (I.).

119. Kraterfr. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. Ol. V 280. Aus Olynth. – Robinson, D. M., *Olynthus V* (1933) 154 Nr. 280 Taf. 125; Brommer, *Satyrschale* 73 Nr. 34. – Mitte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Flügelfrau, wohl I. (Gegenstände in ihren Händen nicht näher zu deuten) in

Vorderansicht, Kopf nach r. zu einer sitzenden Figur gewandt, von der nur wenig erhalten ist (Hera?). Von l. schleicht ein Satyr heran.

#### Unteritalische Vase

120. \* Glockenkrater, apul. rf. Vatikan 17962. – RVAp I 130, 262: Irismaler; Trendall, *Vat 81 U* 14 Taf. 23g; Brommer, a. O. 106, 144 Nr. 8 (34a). – Um 360 v. Chr. – Neben einer äolischen Säule kniet ein Satyr, der sich mit erhobenen Händen gegen eine von l. herbeilaufende Flügelfrau wehrt. I. attackiert Satyr?

#### b) Iris in anderen dionysischen Szenen

121. Kyathos, att. sf. Omaha, Joslyn Art Mus. 1963.484. – Para 260: nahe dem Theseusmaler (Nike); MuM Auktion 22, 1961, 77 Nr. 146 Taf. 46; CVA I Taf. 28–29. – Um 490 v. Chr. – Wagenbestiegender Dionysos mit Thiasos und Hermes. Neben dem gespannten Flügelgöttin mit Kanne und Spendschale, I.?

122. (= Aphrodite 1354\* mit Lit., = Dionysos 664\* mit Querverweisen, = Hera 323 mit Lit., = Hermes 369) Hydria, att. rf. Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8.3316. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1343, 1; 1691: Semelemaler; Add<sup>2</sup> 367. – Um 390 v. Chr. – Geburt des Dionysos. I. (kurzes Gewand, Stiefel, Kopf Flügel, Kerykeion) schleicht – von Hera ausgesandt – vorsichtig von r. heran, um den neugeborenen Knaben zu rauben. Doch ist Hermes ihr bereits zugekommen und hat das Kind an sich genommen.

123. Dinos, apul. rf. Ehem. London, Kunsthandel. – RVAp Suppl. 1, 80 Nr. 106a Taf. 16, 1. 2: Dareiosmaler; Sotheby's 10./11. 7. 1989 134–135 Nr. 265 Abb. – Um 330 v. Chr. – Sitzender Gott mit Widderhörnern, neben ihm I. (kurzgewandete Flügelfrau, Stiefel, hält Kerykeion und Zweig), weitere Satyrn und Mänaden. Deshalb vielleicht eher Dionysos als Ammon.

#### 16. Iris und Amphitrite

Siehe 85. 104

#### 17. Iris und Aphrodite

Siehe 128.

#### 18. Iris (?) – Dodekathoei

123a) (= Hera 355, = Helios 119 mit Lit.) Marmorrelief, sog. Tribune d'Echmun. Beirut, Mus. Aus Sidon, Echmunheiligtum. – Stucky, R., *Tribune d'Echmun*, *AntK* 13. Beih. (1984) 18–19 Taf. 4, 2; 6, 1; 16, 1. 2. – 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Dreiseitiges Relief mit Darstellung einer Götterversammlung, die l. und r. von je einer auswärts fahrenden Quadriga mit Wagenlenker eingerahmt wird. Beide tragen die charakteristische Wagenlenkertracht. Ihr Geschlecht ist nicht zu bestimmen. Stucky denkt an die beiden Götterboten Hermes und I. oder an eine kosmische Rahmung durch Helios und Selene.

#### 19. Iris bei Styx?

123b) Pelike, att. rf. Polygyros, Mus. Ehem. Slg. Lampropoulos. – *Makedonika* 15, 1975, 222 Taf. 140a. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Von r. läuft eine Flügelfrau (Chiton, Mantel, Sakkos) heran. Sie hält in der Linken ein Kerykeion und macht mit der Rechten eine Gruß- oder Redegeste zu der ihr gegenüberstehenden Frau. Diese präsentiert Kanne und Spendschale. I. holt bei Styx das Libationswasser für die Götter ab (vgl. Hes. *theog.* 784–786)? (Deutung E. Simon mündlich).

#### D. Iris im Heroenkreis und in weiteren mythischen Szenen

##### 1. Iris im trojanischen Sagenkreis

##### a) Iris bei der Hochzeit Peleus–Thetis

124. \* (= Demeter 474 mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Hermes 405, = Hestia 4) Dinos, att. sf. London, BM 1971.11–1.1. – Para 19, 16bis: Sophilos; Add<sup>2</sup> 10; Bakir, G., *Sophilos* (1981) 5–6 A 1 Taf. 1; Williams, D., *GettyVases I* (1983) 9 mit Anm. 4; 11 Abb. 2; 22–23 Abb. 26. – Um 580 v. Chr. – I. schreitet an der Spitze eines Götterzuges nach r., um diesen zur Hochzeit von Peleus und Thetis zu geleiten. Peleus steht schon vor seinem Haus zum Empfang der Gäste bereit. I. (mit Namensbeischrift, ungeflügelt) trägt rote Flügelschuhe und einen kurzen roten Chiton mit einer Brustplatte und Kreuzschnürung. In der R. hält sie einen langen Stab, wohl ein Kerykeion, dessen achtförmige Spitze vom Kantharos des Peleus verdeckt ist.

125. (= Chariklo I 1\*, = Demeter 473 mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Hestia 3) Dinos, att. sf. fr. Athen, Nat. Mus. 15163 (Akr. 587). Von der Akropolis. – ABV 39, 15: Sophilos; 681; Add<sup>2</sup> 10; Bakir, a. O. 124, 1. 5. 13 A 2 Taf. 3g. – Um 580 v. Chr. – Darstellung wie auf 124. Auch hier geleitet I. (jedoch nicht ganz erhalten) den Götterzug nach r. I. (die Namensbeischrift war vermutlich wie bei den anderen Göttern r. von der Figur angebracht und ist deshalb nicht erhalten; ungeflügelt) trägt hier über dem Chiton noch ein Tierfell. Mit Flügelschuhen. In der R. hält sie den Heroldstab. Wie auf 124 ist das erste ihr folgende Götterpaar Hestia und Demeter.

126. (= Cheiron 42\*, = Demeter 475 mit Querverweisen, = Hestia 5) Volutenkrater, att. sf. (sog. Françoisvase). Florenz, Mus. Arch. 4209. Aus Chiusi. – ABV 76, 1: Klitias und Ergotimos; Para 29; Add<sup>2</sup> 21; Detailabb. der I. bei Cristofani, M., et al., *BollArte Ser. spec.* 1 (1981) Abb. 133. – Um 570 v. Chr. – I. führt hier zusammen mit dem Kentauren Chiron den Götterzug nach r. an. Gegenüber von I. wie auf 124 Peleus vor seinem Haus. I. (Namensbeischrift, ungeflügelt) trägt wie auf 125 eine Nebris über ihrem kurzen Chiton und hält ein Kerykeion.

##### b) Iris im Parisurteil

GRIECHISCH

127. \* (= Hermes 739 mit Lit.) Hydria, att. sf.

Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 1895. Aus Vulci. – ABV 268, 31: Antimenesmaler; Add<sup>2</sup> 70. – 520/10 v. Chr. – Der Zug der Göttinnen zu Paris wird hier von beiden Götterboten angeführt. Hinter Hermes schreitet I. (ungeflügelt, mit Kerykeion).

128. Kanne, fr., att. rf. Mailand, Privatslg. (ehem. Basel, MuM). – Sosiasmaler, um 510 v. Chr. – Zug nach l. Hinter Aphrodite Flügelfrau mit nicht ganz erhaltenem Stab (Kerykeion?), die mit der Rechten an den Kopfschleier der Aphrodite faßt, I.?

129. (= Hera 430\* mit Lit.) Pyxis, att. rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 4043. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 833, 47: Amphitritemaler. – Um 460 v. Chr. – I. (Sakkos, Flügel) hält für die ihr gegenüberstehende Hera ein Halsband bereit.

130. (= Eris 7, = Hebe I 52 mit Lit., = Hera 411 mit Lit.) Kelchkrater, att. rf. Leningrad, Ermitage IO.0.52 (St. 1807). Aus Kertsch. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1185, 7: Kadmosmaler; Para 460; Add<sup>2</sup> 341. – Ende 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Unten Parisurteil; in der oberen Zone ist die Vorgeschichte dazu dargestellt: in der Mitte Themis im Gespräch mit Eris, l. gespannte Wagenlenkerin, r. neben Zeus weiteres Gespann (nicht vollständig erhalten) mit geflügelter Lenkerin, vielleicht I. (reichbestickter Peplos, Haarschmuck). Die beiden Wagenlenkerinnen gehören wohl eher zu Eris und Themis als zu den Göttinnen unten. I. wäre dann Themis zugeordnet.

131. (= Hermes 478\*) Pelike, att. rf. Athen, Nat. Mus. 1181 (CC 1855). Aus Athen. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1475, 5: Marsyasmler; Para 495; Schefold, *UKV* 38 Nr. 336 Taf. 36; Raab, I., *Zu den Darstellungen des Parisurteils in der griechischen Kunst* (1972) 181 B 27 (mit Lit.). – Um 330 v. Chr. – Oberhalb von Hera ist die Büste einer Flügelfrau dargestellt. Es könnte sich um I. handeln, die auch sonst im Parisurteil Trabanten der Hera ist.

132. (= Aphrodite 1437\* mit Lit., = Hera 445 mit Lit.) Pelike, apul. rf. Deutschland, Privatbes. – RVAp II 502, 69: Dareiosmaler. – 340/30 v. Chr. – Unten Teilnehmer des Parisurteils, doch ohne Hera. Diese sitzt noch zaudernd oben und wird von I. (kurzes Gewand, Flügel, Stiefel) zum Gehen aufgefordert. Die kleine Flügelfrau mit der Binde unten r. neben Athena ist wohl Nike, die oft bei Agonen präsent ist.

133. (= Aphrodite 1442 mit Lit., = Hedone 9 mit Lit.) Amphora, apul. rf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 3240. Aus Ceglie. – RVAp II 490, 23: Dareiosmaler; RVAp Suppl. 1, 68. – Um 340 v. Chr. – L. von Hera sitzt ein Flügelmädchen mit einem Alabastron in der Hand, wohl I., die das Salbgefäß für Heras Schönheitspflege bereithält.

134. (= Aphrodite 1435\* mit Lit., = Hedone 14 mit Lit.) Hydria, apul. rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. F 3290. Aus Ceglie. – RVAp I 426, 58 Taf. 156, 3: Chama-Maler. – Um 330 v. Chr. – Unterhalb von Paris sitzt eine Flügelfrau nach r. gewandt (Stiefel, kurzer Chiton, hält r. eine Schale), vielleicht I.

135. Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Thonon, Kunsthandel. – RVAp Suppl. 1, 151, 15a: Baltimore-Maler; Numifrance Kat. 2 (1981) 4. 10–11 Nr. 16. – Um 330/20 v. Chr. – In der oberen Zone lehnt r. I. (Stiefel, kurzes Gewand, Kerykeion) an einem Pfeiler. Sie ist



hier der Athena zugeordnet, auf die sie einredet, wie die Geste ihrer r. Hand zeigt.

#### ETRUSKISCH

**136.** (= Alexandros 15\* mit Lit., = Aphrodite/Turan 16 mit Lit., = Athena/Menerva 243 mit Lit., = Eros [in Etr.] 33) Bronzeciste («Cista Barberini»). Rom, Villa Giulia 13199. Aus Palestrina. – Um 330 v. Chr. – Hinter Alexandros steht die geflügelte I.

#### c) Iris in weiteren trojanischen Szenen

##### Ankunft des Antilochos in Troja

**137.** (= Antilochos I 4\* mit Lit.) Schale, att. rf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. F 2264. Aus Vulci. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 60, 64: Oltos; Para 326; Add<sup>2</sup> 164–165. – Um 510 v. Chr. – Achilleus begrüßt Nestor und tritt als Fürsprecher für dessen Sohn Antilochos ein, der ohne Erlaubnis seines Vaters nach Troja gekommen ist. Er wird von Phoinix mit einem Wagen gebracht. Neben den Pferden steht I. (geflügelt; Namensbeischrift). Vielleicht bedeutet ihre Anwesenheit hier, daß Antilochos mit dem Einverständnis der Götter nach Troja kommt, wo er später den Opfertod für seinen Vater sterben wird.

##### Presbeia an Achilleus

**138.** Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Foggia, Mus. Civ. 132821. Aus Arpi. – RVAp II 866, 25: Baltimore-Maler; Schauenburg, a. O. 78, 360 Anm. 8 Taf. 96, 3. – Um 330/20 v. Chr. – Ein Naikos bezeichnet das Zelt des Achilleus, der, über die Wegnahme der Briseis grollend, auf einem Stuhl sitzt. Phoinix redet auf ihn ein, um ihn zum Kampf zu bewegen. Um den Naikos herum weitere Personen, dabei r. oben I. (geflügelt, Stiefel, kurzes Gewand, Kerykeion). Die Präsenz der I. läßt an Hom. *Il.* 18, 165–202 denken, wo I. noch vor der Waffenübergabe von Hera zu Achilleus geschickt wird, gleichsam als weitere Presbeia, damit sie ihn zum Kämpfen bewege. Somit wären hier zwei Presbeien angedeutet.

##### Übergabe der neuen Waffen an Achilleus

**139.\*** (= Achilleus 528 mit Lit., = Hera 449 mit Lit.) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Florenz, Soprintendenza Arch. della Toscana 114106. – RVAp II 864, 20: Baltimore-Maler. – Um 330/20 v. Chr. – A. obere Zone: Übergabe der neuen Waffen an Achilleus. R. von Thetis steht I. (geflügelt, Kerykeion, Stiefel, kurzes Gewand) neben einem Louterion. M. Schmidt (→ Achilleus 528) 55 Nr. 2 bringt die Präsenz der I. hier ebenfalls mit der zu 138 genannten Iliasstelle zusammen, in welcher der der Waffenübergabe vorausgehende Besuch der I. bei Achilleus geschildert wird.

**140.\*** (= Achilleus 529 mit Lit.) Loutrophoros, apul. rf. Tarent, Mus. Naz. 9847 (früher Bari). – RVAp II 869, 44 Taf. 329, 1–3: Baltimore-Maler. – 330/20 v. Chr. – Im Schulterfries Nereiden mit den Waffen für Achilleus. In der Zone darunter sitzender Jüngling (Achilleus?) von zahlreichen Personen umgeben, von denen einige Waffen halten. Vor ihm steht – ihm zu-

gewandt – I. (kurzes Gewand, Stiefel, Kerykeion, ein Tuch haltend) und redet auf ihn ein. Vielleicht auch hier Darstellung nach Hom. *Il.* 18, 165–202 mit anschließender Waffenübergabe, vgl. zu 138 und 139. Die Schwierigkeit der Deutung der gesamten Darstellung liegt jedoch darin, daß nicht nur weibliche, sondern auch männliche Waffenträger vorkommen.

##### Schleifung Hektors

**141.** (= Achilleus 592\* mit Lit. und Beschreibung, = Automedon 14, → Hektor S. 491 mit Lit.) Amphora, att. sf. London, BM 1899.7–21.3. Aus Vulci. – ABV 330, 2: Priamosmaler; Para 146; Add<sup>2</sup> 89–90; Isler-Kerényi 40–42. 138 Nr. 64. – Um 520 v. Chr. – Die Flügelfrau, die dem Wagenlenker Einhalt gebietet, ist in Analogie zu anderen Darstellungen sicher I. Der beigeschriebene Name Konisos gehört wohl zum Wagenlenker. Diese Rolle der I. ist durch Schriftquellen nicht belegt. Bei Homer (s. lit. Quellen) wird Thetis zu Achilleus gesandt, um das Schleifen zu beenden, während I. zu Priamos geschickt wird, damit er sich auf den Weg mache, um Hektor auszulösen. Die Vasenmaler haben offenbar I. auch mit der Mission zu Achilleus betraut.

**142.** (= Achilleus 586\* mit Lit., = Automedon 8) Hydria, att. sf. Boston, MFA 1963.473. – Para 164, 31 bis: Leagrosgruppe; Add<sup>2</sup> 96; Isler-Kerényi 40–42. 138 Nr. 70. – Um 510 v. Chr. – I. läuft von r. mit erhobenen Händen herbei. Da hier I. auf das trojanische Tor zuläuft, in dem Priamos und Hekabe stehen, könnte auch der Auftrag gemeint sein, wonach I. diese auffordert, Hektor auszulösen. Vielleicht hat der Vasenmaler aber auch hier beide Auftritte der I. (Schleifung und Besuch bei Priamos) zu einer Darstellung verbinden wollen.

**143.** (= Achilleus 588\* mit Lit., = Automedon 10, → Hektor S. 491 mit Lit.) Lekythos, att. sf. Delos, Mus. B 6137 546. Aus Delos (Heraion). – ABV 378, 257: Leagrosgruppe (Painter S); Para 163; Add<sup>2</sup> 100; Isler-Kerényi 40–42. 138 Nr. 67. – Um 510 v. Chr. – I. steht vor dem Wagenkasten und gebietet gestikulierend dem Wagenlenker Einhalt.

**144.** (= Achilleus 590 mit Lit., = Automedon 12, → Hektor S. 491) Lekythos, att. sf. Krakau, Nat. Mus. XI. 1245. – ABV 380, 291: Leagrosgruppe; Para 163; Add<sup>2</sup> 100; Isler-Kerényi 40–42. 138 Nr. 69. – Um 510 v. Chr. – Von r. rennt I. herbei, um die Schleifung zu beenden.

**145.** (= Achilleus 595 mit Lit., = Automedon 17\*, → Hektor S. 491 mit Lit.) Hydria, att. sf. München, Antikenslg. 1719. – ABV 361, 13: Leagrosgruppe; Para 161; Add<sup>2</sup> 95; Isler-Kerényi 40–42. 138 Nr. 68. – Um 510 v. Chr. – I. (hier mit Kerykeion) steht vor dem stehenden Gespann, um den Beginn der Schleifung zu untersagen.

##### Bergung des toten Memnon

**146.\*** (= Eos 321 mit Lit.) Schale, att. rf. London, BM E 12. Aus Vulci. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 126, 24: Nikosthenesmaler; Para 333; Add<sup>2</sup> 176. – Um 500/490 v. Chr. – Thanatos und Hypnos bergen einen toten Krieger, dessen Benennung – Memnon oder Sarpedon – von

der Deutung der von r. aufgeregt herbeieilenden Mutter (Eos oder Europa) abhängt. Doch wird es sich trotz fehlender Flügel eher um Eos handeln, da Europa sonst nicht bei der Rettung der Leiche ihres Sohnes Sarpedon dargestellt ist. Von l. läuft I. herbei (ungeflügelt, mit Kerykeion). Ihre Gegenwart hier weist darauf hin, daß der Tod des Memnon ein Ratschluß des Zeus war, da dieser eine Schicksalswägung zwischen Achilleus und Memnon vollzog, wobei das Todeslos auf Memnon fiel.

##### Bedrohung der Cassandra

**146a)** Amphora, att. rf. Cerveteri. – Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 383, 11. – Aias und Cassandra. L. zuschauender Mann, dahinter Flügelfrau mit Kerykeion, wohl I. als Abgesandte der Götter. In anderen Darstellungen dieser Sage kann Hermes zugegen sein, → Aias II, → Cassandra.

#### 2. Iris und Herakles

Zu Iris im Heraklesmythos s. auch 88.

##### Außerattische Vasen

**147.** (= Aphrodite 1510\* mit Lit., = Herakles 2908\* mit Lit.) Hydria, ionisch sf. Rom, Villa Giulia. Aus Caere. – Um 520 v. Chr. – Wagenbesteigende Göttin, wohl Athena, die den stehenden Herakles am Arm gepackt hat. Dem Gespann vorauslaufend Hermes und eine geflügelte Göttin mit Zepter, für die u. a. auch die Deutung I. vorgeschlagen wurde. Doch können in dieser Kunstlandschaft auch andere Göttinnen geflügelt dargestellt werden.

**148.** (= Ares/Laran 14 mit Lit. und Beschreibung, = Athena/Menerva 203) Amphora, etrusk. sf. Vatikan. Aus Vulci. – *Un artista etrusco e il suo mondo. Il pittore di Micali* (Ausstellung Rom 1988) 76 Nr. 30, bes. Farbtaf. 7, 2; Spivey, N. J., *The Micali Painter and his Followers* (1987) 20 Nr. 110 Taf. 21a. – Um 500 v. Chr. – Die Darstellung wurde verschieden gedeutet, u. a. als das Kyknosabenteuer des Herakles. Die anwesende Flügelföttin könnte die Zeusbotin I. sein, in der die Etrusker – so E. Simon, → Ares/Laran 14 – eine → Lasa gesehen haben mögen.

##### Attisch rotfigurige Vasen

**149.** (= Herakles 2473\* mit Lit. und Querverweis) Schale, att. rf. Ehem. Noel des Vergers 137. Aus Vulci. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 62, 84: Oltos; 1622; Add<sup>2</sup> 165. – Um 510 v. Chr. – In der Mitte kämpft Herakles gegen Geryoneus. L. davon eilt eine ungeflügelte Göttin mit Kerykeion heran. Es muß sich um I. handeln. Sie wendet den Kopf zurück zu Athena. Ihre Anwesenheit hier, die literarisch nicht bezeugt ist, wurde verschieden gedeutet: Athena habe I. als Beistand zu Herakles gesandt oder I. übermittle einen Zeusbeschuß.

**150.\*** (= Atlas 24 mit Lit. [B], = Hera 466 mit Lit. [A], = Herakles 2875 mit Lit. [A], = Hesperides 74) Stamnos, att. rf. Leningrad, Ermitage B 1559 (B 640, St. 1641). Aus Nola. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 639, 56: Providence-Maler; Para 514; Add<sup>2</sup> 274. – 470/60 v. Chr. – Beide Seiten gehören thematisch zusammen. A zeigt

die Einführung des Herakles in den Olymp, B den Hesperidenbaum mit einer Hesperide und einem alten Mann (zu dessen Benennung → Atlas 24). Zu diesem eilt von r. I. (geflügelt, Kerykeion) mit erhobener Hand heran, um eine göttliche Botschaft zu übermitteln.

**151.** (= Hera 467 mit Lit., = Herakles 3177 mit Lit.) Glockenkrater, att. rf. Omaha, Joslyn Art Mus. 1963.485. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1163, 40: Maler von München 2335. – 430/20 v. Chr. – Aussöhnung zwischen Hera und Herakles vor dessen Aufnahme in den Olymp (anders: → Herakles 3177). Mit Athena und I. (geflügelt, hält Kerykeion, steht am r. Rand). Vielleicht übermittelte I. als Trabantin der H. vorher die Versöhnungsbereitschaft der Göttin.

##### Unteritalische Vasen

**152.** (= Hera 301\* mit Lit., = Herakles 3344\*) Lekythos, apul. rf. London, BM F 107. Aus Anzio. – RVAp I 395, 1 Taf. 137, 1: Suckling P.; Schefold, *SB* IV 131 Abb. 157. – Um 360 v. Chr. – Hera säugt den kleinen Herakles. R. hinter ihr steht eine Flügelfrau (Stiefel, kurzes Gewand mit kreuzweiser Schnürung). Der Stock, den sie mit der Linken faßt, könnte stellvertretend das Kerykeion bezeichnen. Sie befindet sich im Gespräch mit einer sitzenden Frau, Alkmene? Es handelt sich wohl um I., die hier einen Auftrag der Hera ausführte.

**153.\*** (= Herakleidai 9\* mit Lit., = Herakles 1409\*, = Demeter 468) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Princeton, Univ. Art Mus. 83.13. – RVAp Suppl. 1, 78, 41a Taf. 12, 1: Dareiosmaler; Schmidt, M., in *Festschr. K. Schauenburg* (1986) 169–174 Taf. 32, 1. – Um 330 v. Chr. – Medea im Heiligtum von Eleusis. Der Zusammenhang mit den weiter dargestellten Figuren ist schwierig zu deuten. R. unten stehen Herakles (als Myste) und die auf ihn einredende I. (Flügel, kurzes Gewand, Stiefel, Kerykeion). Schmidt sieht eine Verbindung zwischen den beiden Kindermördern Medea und Herakles. Sie macht auf Eur. *Her.* 822–874 aufmerksam. Vor dem Kindermord findet hier eine Unterredung zwischen I. und → Lyssa statt, wobei I. der Lyssa den Auftrag der Hera übermittle, Herakles in Wahnsinn zu versetzen. Auf dem Vasenbild fehlt Lyssa, und es findet eine direkte Unterredung zwischen der Herabotin I. und Herakles statt. Ob die beiden auf dem Altar sitzenden Kinder die der Medea oder des Herakles sind, sei hier nicht diskutiert. Schmidt deutet Medea zusammen mit den oben dargestellten eleusinischen Gottheiten hier als Heilerin des Herakles, wobei vielleicht die Einweihung des Herakles in die eleusinischen Mysterien für seine Rettung von Bedeutung sei.

#### 3. Iris – Telephos

**154.** (= Agamemnon 18\* mit Lit., = Apollon/Aplu 50, = Artemis/Artumes 75\*) Kelchkrater, falisk. rf. Boston, MFA 1970.487. – Um 370 v. Chr. – Telephos mit Orest am Altar; Agamemnon mit seiner Familie sowie oben ein Götterfries: in der Mitte Apollon und Artemis, r. Zeus und Hermes. Von l. läuft I. heran (Flügel, kurzes Gewand, Stiefel, Kerykeion),

um Apollon auf das gefährliche Geschehen unten aufmerksam zu machen. Weiter I. Athena.

#### 4. Iris – Salmoneus

155.\* Kolonettenkrater, att. rf. Chicago, Art Inst. 1889.16. Aus Nola. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 585, 29: unbestimmter Manierist; *Para* 393; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 263; *Midwestern Colls* 172–174 Nr. 98; Scheffold, *SB* III 158 Abb. 211. – Um 460 v. Chr. – Frevel des Salmoneus. Die Frau zu seiner Rechten könnte Sidero oder Tyro sein, die langgewandete Flügelfrau I., die einen Gewandzipfel hebt und sich umblickend nach I. läuft, I. Da Salmoneus sich gegen Zeus auflehnte und von ihm bestraft wurde, wäre es vorstellbar, daß I. hier einen Zeusauftrag ausführte, vielleicht dem Treiben des Salmoneus Einhalt gebot, wie man aus der Geste ihrer I. Hand schließen könnte. Auf der Gegenseite sind zwei weitere langgewandete Flügelfrauen dargestellt. Vielleicht sind dies Niken. Die Flügelfrau der Vorderseite dürfte wohl kaum zu ihnen gehören, sondern ist sicher I. Zur Verdopplung von Flügelfrauen s. auch: *Aus der Glanzzeit Athens* (Ausstellung Hamburg 1986) zu Nr. 57 (Hornbostel, W.).

#### 5. Iris bei der Bestrafung des Ixion

156.\* (= Bia et Kratos 2 mit Lit., = Erinyes 20, = Ixion 3\* mit Lit.) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Leningrad, Ermitage B 1717 (St. 424). Aus Ruvo. – *RVAp* II 930, 117: Maler von Louvre K 67. Simon, E., *Öjh* 42, 1955, 19 Abb. 9. – 330/20 v. Chr. – Hals: Bestrafung des Ixion. L. thront Zeus, daneben Bia oder Erinyes, Ixion am Rad, Hephaistos, I. (Flügel, nackter Oberkörper, kurzer Rock, Stiefel, Kerykeion). Sie überwacht als Vertreterin der hier nicht dargestellten Hera die Bestrafung des Ixion.

157. (= Hera 479 mit Lit., = Iuno 339, = Ixion 5 mit Lit.) Wandgemälde. Pompeji VI 15, 1 (Vettierhaus). – Archer, W. C., *The Paintings of the Casa dei Vettii in Pompeii* (Diss. Virginia 1981) 400–413. – Vespasianisch; wohl nach einem Vorbild des 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Hera überwacht die Bestrafung des Ixion. Neben ihr steht ihre Dienerin und Trabantin I. (in Gestalt eines jungen Mädchens, ungeflügelt, Nimbus) und spricht mit ihr über das Geschehen.

#### 5a) Iris beim Tod des Hippolytos

157a) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Toledo, Privatslg. – Im unteren Fries Hippolytossage: Hippolytos fährt auf seinem Gespann, weiter Lyssa, welche das Meerungeheuer antreibt. Oben Götterfries. Am r. Rand neben dem sitzenden Zeus steht I. auf ihr Kerykeion gestützt. Zeus selbst befindet sich im Gespräch mit seinem zweiten Boten, Hermes.

#### 6. Iris bei Iphigenie in Tauris

158. (= Artemis 1378 mit Lit., = Athena 629 mit Lit., = Iphigeneia 23\* mit Lit.) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Leningrad, Ermitage B 1715A (St. 420). – *RVAp* II 863, 18: Baltimore-Maler; Schauenburg, a. O. 78, 372 mit Anm. 107 Taf. 117, 2. – Um 320 v. Chr. – Im Zentrum steht Iphigenie im Artemistempel von Tauris neben der Kultstatue. Zuseiten des Gebäudes Göt-

ter: r. sitzend Artemis und Hermes; l. sitzt Athena, neben ihr steht I. (geflügelt, Stiefel, Kerykeion, das l. Bein hochgestellt). I. und ihr Pendant Hermes bilden symmetrisch den Rahmen der Szene. Zwar ist in der *Iphigenie* des Euripides weder ein Auftritt der I. noch des Hermes überliefert, sondern es tritt nur ein einfacher Bote auf, aber hier sind wohl beide göttliche Boten zugefügt, um auf die Beteiligung der Olympier in dieser Sage hinzuweisen. So erteilt etwa Athena in ihrer Schlußrede (1435–1474) zahlreiche Befehle wie die Überführung des Kultbildes nach Attika und die dortige Einsetzung der Iphigenie als Priesterin. Es ist gut möglich, daß sich die Vasenmaler mit der Gruppe Athena–I. auf dieser Vase I. als Mittlerin dieser Anordnungen dachten.

#### 7. Iris bei der Tötung der Niobiden

159. (= Aphrodite 1535 mit Lit., = Apollon 1081, = Artemis 1351) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 424. Aus Ruvo. – *RVAp* II 865–866, 24 Taf. 324, 2: Baltimore-Maler. – Um 330 v. Chr. – Oberhalb der Darstellung der Tötung der Niobiden Götterfries. Dabei steht am l. Rand, der sitzenden Athena zugewendet und mit ihr im Gespräch verbunden, I. (Flügel, Stiefel, kurzes Gewand, hochgestelltes Bein, Kerykeion). Daneben Hermes zu Leto gewandt.

#### 8. Iris beim Streit zwischen Apollon und Idas um Marpessa

160.\* Amphora, att. rf. London, BM 1895.10–31.1. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 583, 1: Maler von London 95; *CVA* 3 Taf. 4 (169) 1a; 12 (177) 4b (mit anderer Deutung); Drougou, S., *Der attische Psykter* (1975) 71; Mayer-Prokop, I., *Die gravierten etruskischen Griffspiegel archaischen Stils*. *RM* 13. Erg.-H. (1967) 48. – Um 460 v. Chr. – Idas und Apollon warben beide um Marpessa. Zeus greift in den Streit ein und läßt Marpessa selbst ihren Geliebten wählen. Diese entscheidet sich für den sterblichen Idas. Ausführlich ist die Geschichte auf einem att. rf. Psykter dargestellt (Drougou, a. O. 69–72). Dort ist Zeus selbst wiedergegeben, der seinen Boten Hermes aussendet, damit er den beiden Streitern den Willen des Zeus verkünde. Auf der Amphora fehlt Zeus, und Hermes ist durch I. ersetzt (frontal stehend, Kopf zu Apollon gewendet, kurzes Gewand, Flügel, Flügelschuhe, r. Hand auf die Hüfte gestützt, in der l. Kerykeion). I. hat hier den Beschluß des Zeus bereits übermittelt, und die Entscheidung ist schon gefallen. R. von I. geht Marpessa mit Idas weg, während I. Apollon allein von dannen geht.

161. (= Apollon/Aplu 22 mit Lit.) Bronzespiegel, etrusk. Ehem. Paris, Kunsthandel Feuarent. – Mayer-Prokop, a. O. 160, 15 S. 6. 48–49 Taf. 6, 2. – Um 450 v. Chr. – Flügelfrau zwischen den Streitern Idas und Apollon. Als Deutung wurde vorgeschlagen: geflügelte Marpessa, Nike, aber auch I. in Analogie zu 160.

#### 9. Iris entführt im Auftrag des Zeus Ganymed?

Schwarz 1–10 stellte eine Anzahl von Vasenbildern zusammen, auf denen eine Flügelfrau mit Kerykeion in der Hand einen Jüngling verfolgt. In Anal-

gie zu Darstellungen, auf denen Hermes im Auftrag des Zeus Ganymed entführt, erkennt Schwarz auf den betreffenden Vasen I. und Ganymed. Als literarische Vorlage für diese Version denkt sie an den Lyriker Ibykos, der Eos als Räuberin des Ganymed nannte (*Page PMG* frg. 289). Nach Meinung von Schwarz liegt hier eine Verwechslung von Eos und I. vor.

Die Verfolgung findet im Schema der Wiedergabe Eos/Tithonos bzw. Kephalos statt, weshalb die betreffenden Darstellungen auch häufig als Eos/Geliebter gedeutet wurden. Doch ist das Kerykeion als Attribut für Eos nicht sicher überliefert (auch → Eos 30 ist unsicher), so daß bei den folgenden Bildern die Deutung von Schwarz auf I. in Erwägung gezogen werden muß. Denn es ließe sich kaum erklären, warum Eos unter der Fülle der Verfolgungsdarstellungen nur auf wenigen Bildern ein Kerykeion halten sollte. Andererseits wäre jedoch zu klären, ob Ganymed als Jäger dargestellt werden kann.

162. (= Eos 231\* mit Lit., = Ganymedes 83a) Schale, att. rf. Graz, Univ. – Um 480/70 v. Chr. – Flügelfrau (nur Oberkörper erhalten; Haube, Kerykeion) packt Knaben an der Schulter.

163. (= Eos 186\* mit Lit., = Ganymedes 83d) Kolonettenkrater, att. rf. Syrakus, Mus. Reg. 53237. Aus Megara Hyblaea. – 470/60 v. Chr. – Flügelfrau mit Kerykeion verfolgt nach l. einen Jüngling. R. weglaufernder Gefährte. Beide Jünglinge mit Musikinstrumenten.

164.\* (= Eos 128 mit Lit., = Ganymedes 83c) Kolonettenkrater, att. rf. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 183. Aus Bologna. – 470/60 v. Chr. – Flügelfrau mit Kerykeion verfolgt Jüngling, der nach l. zu einem stehenden Mann mit Szepter läuft. Wenn dieser Zeus ist (so Schwarz), so spräche dies weiter für I. und Ganymed.

165. (= Eos 187 mit Lit.) Schale, fr., att. rf. Barcelona, Mus. Arch. 4.320. Aus Ampurias. – Um 460 v. Chr. – Oberkörper beider Figuren nicht erhalten. Frau mit Stab (?) in der Hand verfolgt Jüngling nach l. Da sich nicht feststellen läßt, ob die Frau geflügelt war und ob der Stab das untere Ende eines Kerykeion ist, ist die Deutung auf I. unsicher.

166. (= Eos 132 mit Lit., = Ganymedes 83e) Strickhenkelamphora, att. rf. Neapel, Mus. di Capodimonte 959. – 440/30 v. Chr. – Verfolgung nach r. Die Göttin (Stephane) schwebt und hat beide Arme zu dem Jüngling ausgestreckt. Ihr Kerykeion ist zu Boden gefallen.

#### 10. Iris wird von Kentauren überfallen

167.\* Skyphos, att. rf. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 4218. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 191, 102: Kleophradesmaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 189; Beazley, J. D., *Der Kleophrades-Maler* (1933) 28 Nr. 76 Taf. 31; *CVA* 2 Taf. 69 (653); *EAA* I (1958) Farbt. nach S. 900; Scheffold, *SB* III 125 Abb. 157; Korshak, Y., *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (1987) 65 Nr. 211; 119 Abb. 54. – Um 480 v. Chr. – I. (Kerykeion, Kopf [Sakkos] nach l. gewendet, Flügel) wird von mehreren Kentauren an Arm, Hals und Kopf gepackt. Die Geschichte ist nicht bekannt. Möglicherweise wurde I. in göttlichem Auftrag

zu den Kentauren gesandt, von diesen aber nicht ernst genommen und dann – ähnlich wie in der Satyrge-schichte (vgl. 105–120) – tödlich angegriffen und belästigt.

#### 11. Iris und Turnus

167a) Buchmalerei im Vergilius Romanus. Vatikan, Cod. Vat. Lat. 3867 fol. 74 v. – Rosenthal, E., *The Illuminations of the Vergilius Romanus* (1972) 43–46 Taf. 5. – 4./5. Jh. n. Chr. – Illustration zu Verg. *Aen.* 9, 2–19. R. die aus den Wolken herabschwebende I. (Flügel, knielanges Gewand, Schuhe, Nimbus). Ihre Arme sind zur Seite ausgebreitet. Mit beiden Händen faßt sie ein hinter ihrem Rücken entlanggeführtes Tuch. Über ihrem Kopf wölbt sich ein Regenbogen, der ihr als Personifikation zukommt. Sie blickt zu dem gewappneten Turnus, der neben einem Baum steht und zu dem sie von Iuno gesandt wurde. L. oben ein Gebäude.

#### E. Iris in ungedeuteten Szenen

168. Amphora, att. sf. Boston, MFA 1898.918. Aus Ferentino? – *ABV* 306, 41: Schaukelmaler; *Para* 132; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 81; *CVA* 1 Taf. 4 (626) 1; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) 87 Nr. 63 Taf. 64 B. – Um 540 v. Chr. – Nach r. laufende Flügelfrau (sich umblickend) im kurzen Chiton und Tierfell, die von drei Zuschauern begrüßt wird. Zu weiteren Flügelfrauen vom Schaukelmaler und Umkreis s. Blatter, R., *AA* 1969, 70–72, der diese mit Isler-Kerényi als Eris deutet.

169.\* Lekythos, att. sf. Ehem. Freiburg, Kunsthandel. – *Kunst der Antike*. Galerie G. Puhze Kat. Nr. 5, 20 Nr. 183. – Um 520/10 v. Chr. – Nach r. laufende Frau (sich umblickend) mit Doppelflügeln. R. und l. sitzender Mann mit Stock. Vielleicht I.

170. (= Eris 11 mit Querverweis) Hydria, att. sf. Paris, Louvre F 297. Aus Vulci. – *ABV* 333, 1: nahe dem Priamosmaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 91; *CVA* 6 Taf. 71 (410) 6; Kenner, a. O. 84, 92 mit Anm. 79; Isler-Kerényi 42. 139 Nr. 89; de la Genière, J., *Mon Piot* 63, 1980, 51 Abb. 14. – 520/10 v. Chr. – Im Schulterbild zwei aufeinander zufahrende Viergespanne. Dazwischen nach r. laufende Flügelfrau. Die Beischrift *IOIE* heißt wohl eher I. als Eris.

170a) Lekythos, fr., att. sf. Olympia, Mus. II 2752. – Ende 6. Jh. v. Chr. – Wagenbesteigender Mann, dem eine Flügelfrau (I.?) zugewendet ist. Vor den Pferden steht eine weitere Figur.

171.\* Kolonettenkrater, att. rf. San Simeon, State Hist. Mon. 529–9–583 (5435, ehem. Hearst SSW 9956). – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 523, 10: Orchard P. – Um 460 v. Chr. – Zwei Zweiergruppen: l. älterer Mann im Gespräch mit einer nach l. gewandten Flügelfrau (in der Rechten Phiale, mit der Linken gestikulierend), vielleicht I. R. daneben Frau mit Phiale und Zepher vor einem älteren Mann ähnlich dem am l. Rand.

172.\* Schale, att. rf. Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (ehem. Fogg) 1925.30.130. Aus Capua. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 881, 29: Penthesileamaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 301; Buitron, D. M., *Attic Vase Painting in New England Collections* (Ausstel-



lung Harvard Fogg Art Mus. 1972) 114–115 Nr. 62. – Um 460 v. Chr. – Beide Vasenseiten gehören zusammen. Auf *B* steht am r. Rand die gestikulierende *I.* (Flügel, Kerykeion, langes Gewand). Offenbar hat sie den göttlichen Auftrag, den in der Mitte dargestellten Krieger zu einer Schlacht abzuholen. *L.* der über den Abschied betübte Vater. Auf *A* steht *I.* (Flügel, Kerykeion) in der Mitte. Sie blickt nach r. zu einem Krieger, der sich vorbeugt, um einen Zweig abzulegen. Es handelt sich wohl um denselben Krieger wie auf der Gegenseite, wie man aus dem Schildzeichen (Auge) schließen darf, das auf der anderen Seite als Zeichen auf der Schilddecke begegnet. *I.* führt den Krieger mit ihrer ausgestreckten Hand als Schutzflehenden bei dem *I.* sitzenden König ein (wohl nicht Zeus?). Beazley, J. D., *JHS* 47, 1927, 148: Krieger legt nach dem Perserkrieg Dankopfer an Zeus nieder.

173.\* Oinochoe, att. rf. Brüssel, Mus. Roy. A 720. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 775, 3: Maler der Brüsseler Oinochoen; *CVA* 2 Taf. 5 (74) 2a. – Flügel Frau (Kerykeion) läuft, sich umblickend, nach r. (*I.*?). *R.* ein Mann.

174.\* Schale, att. rf. fr. Heidelberg, Univ. W 32b (156). – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 926, 19: Maler von Brüssel R 330; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 306; Kraiker, W., *Die rotfig. att. Vasen* (1931) 43–44 Nr. 156 Suppl.-Taf. 9. – Fr. b: Zwei Zweiergruppen. *L.* Oberkörper eines bärtigen Mannes mit Zepter, vor ihm Frau mit Kästchen. *R.* Flügel Frau (Kerykeion, Sakkos, Mantel über dem Chiton, *I.*?), im Gespräch mit einem bärtigen Mann.

175. (= Dike 12 mit Lit., = Erinys 15\*) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Paris, Louvre N 3153. – *RVAp* II 908, 2: Capodimonte-Maler. – Ende 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Grabzene: Krieger mit Pferd im Naikos. Um das Gebäude herum sind verschiedene Figuren angeordnet. Die beiden Krieger mit den Binden am Bein können nicht – wie bisher gedeutet – die Herakliden sein, da es sich um keine Unterweltsszene handelt und diese als unbewaffnete Kinder mit Brust-, nicht Beinbinden, dargestellt sein müßten. Bei der oben r. sitzenden Flügel Frau (kurzes Gewand, Stiefel), die eine Schwertscheide in der Hand hält, wurde in der bisherigen Lit. nicht erkannt, daß sie in der anderen Hand ein Kerykeion trägt, weshalb die vorgeschlagenen Deutungen (→ Dike; → Erinys) nicht überzeugen. Es dürfte sich um *I.* oder vielleicht auch um Nike handeln, die das Schwert des verstorbenen Kriegers trägt.

## KOMMENTAR

Iris zählt wie die Flußgötter zu den niederen Gottheiten der Griechen. Sie überbringt Botschaften zu den Göttern untereinander und von den Göttern zu den Menschen. Wegen dieses Hin- und Hereilens bei ihrer Mitteltätigkeit stellte man sich *I.* geflügelt vor. Sie ist bei Homer vor allem persönliche Botin des Zeus und wird später, nachdem Hermes an ihre Stelle getreten ist, Trabantin der Hera. Kultische Verehrung genoss sie wenig. Ikonographisch gleicht sie der Nike – beide sind geflügelt und tragen das Kerykeion als Attribut –, was mit einer gemeinsamen Funktion beider Gottheiten, dem Heroldsamt im Krieg, zusam-

menhängt. Deshalb können beide auf vielen Bildern nicht voneinander geschieden werden, vor allem bei Einzeldarstellungen und in Opferszenen. Für die ministrierende Flügel Frau könnte noch eine dritte Benennung in Betracht gezogen werden, denn dieser ist einmal bei einer Libation für Zeus und Hera der Name Hebe beigeschrieben (→ Herakles 2859/3305). Da Hebe jedoch in der Regel ungeflügelt dargestellt wird, dürfte es sich hier um eine singuläre Darstellung der geflügelten Hebe handeln, der der Maler wohl eben wegen dieser Singularität den Namen beigeschrieben hat, so daß die Deutung Hebe für andere dem Zeus und der Hera ministrierende Flügel Frauen, die nicht inschriftlich benannt sind, kaum in Frage kommt. Die Flügel Frau als Botin in mythischen Szenen wird eher *I.* als Nike sein, zumal die letztere auch selten in Mythen eingebunden ist. Nike scheint dagegen häufiger als Ministrantin in Opferszenen zu fungieren. Bei der gemeinsamen Spende von Zeus und Hera liegt jedoch die Deutung auf *I.* näher, wie Simon 1, 58–65 aufgezeigt hat. Wegen der Angleichung im Aussehen beider Göttinnen lassen sich auch nicht alle im Katalog zusammengestellten Denkmäler sicher auf *I.* deuten. Dort sind einerseits die Darstellungen aufgeführt, die in der Forschung auf *I.* bezogen wurden, sowie andererseits diejenigen, bei denen durch den Kontext der Bildszenen die Deutung auf *I.* wahrscheinlich ist.

*I.* ist auf den Denkmälern nur selten inschriftlich benannt: 4. 24(?). 56. 111. 124. 125(?). 126. 137. Die früheste gesicherte Darstellung ist die fragmentarisch erhaltene Metope von Thermos (4), die um 620 v. Chr. entstand. Die weiteren Beispiele gehören dem 6. Jh. und der späteren Zeit an. Es läßt sich verallgemeinernd beobachten, daß *I.* im 6. Jh. mit kurzem Gewand, im 5. Jh. langgewandete und im 4. Jh., besonders auf den unteritalischen Vasen – sie trägt dort die Tracht der Jägerin wie etwa auch die Erinys – wieder im kurzen Chiton dargestellt wurde. Häufig hat sie Flügelschuhe an (3. 9. 13. 15. 42. 77. 84. 85. 87. 99. 124. 125. 160) oder Stiefel (74. 78–80. 92. 95. 98. 100. 103. 122. 135. 138–140. 152–154. 158. 159). Auf 125. 126 und 168 trägt sie über ihrem Chiton ein Fell. In der Regel ist *I.* geflügelt, ungeflügelt ist sie nur auf 56. 124–127. 146. 149. 157, auf 122 ist sie zusätzlich mit Kopfflügeln ausgestattet. Mit den Händen lüpfte sie manchmal ihr Gewand (43. 45. 47. 49. 50. 52. 60. 62. 63. 112. 114. 155) oder hält in der Regel Attribute. Außer dem Kerykeion, Phiale und Kanne können dies sein: Schreibtafel (16. 22. 29. 34. 35), Scheibe (?) (3. 5. 7), Kanoun (56), Kasten (87), Teilstück eines Opfertieres (110. 111. 113. 115. 117), Ranke (30. 63), Obstschale (67), Fackel (118), Halsband (129), Alabastron (133), Kranz (54), Lyra (57). Wagenlenkerin ist sie einmal beim Parisurteil (130) und vielleicht bei einer Götterversammlung (123a). Auf 12 ist sie als Schildzeichen der Athena wiedergegeben.

Wenn auch für *I.* keine so umfangreiche eigene Sage existierte und damit auch keine Darstellungen vorkommen, in denen sie und ihr Mythos die Hauptrolle spielen, so ist sie doch auf vielen Monumenten

im Verbund mit anderen Göttern und Heroen zu sehen. Die Bilder 38–41 zeigen sie vielleicht mit ihrem Gatten Zephyros, auf 38 beide allein fliegend, auf 39 und 40 beide den Wagen der Aphrodite ziehend und auf 41 als Liebespaar nebeneinander stehend.

Besonders ist sie mit dem olympischen Paar Zeus und Hera verbunden. Sie tritt hier als Ministrantin, meist mit Kanne, zuweilen mit Phiale für beide gemeinsam auf (42–60), ministriert auch Hera allein (61–67) und auch einer Frau aus dem eleusinischen Kreis bei der Aussendung des Triptolemos (102).

Neben den Libationsszenen hat sie vielfältige Beziehungen zu Hera: sie drückt ihr die Hand (53), ist Heras Trabantin bei der an eine Hieros-Gamos-Darstellung gemahnenden Szene am Parthenonfries (68), wie sie auch Brautführerin der Hera ist (75). Auf 69 und 73 erwartet sie Aufträge der Hera. Sie bringt auf ihr Geheiß den nemeischen Löwen zu Herakles (70), begleitet Hera beim Gigantenkampf (97) und ist ihr beim Parisurteil zugeordnet (129–133). Als Hera Opfer an Dionysos verhindern will, sendet sie *I.* aus, die Opferstücke zu rauben (111), ja sie beauftragte *I.* schon damit, den kleinen Dionysos nach seiner Geburt zu entführen (122). *I.* überwacht an Heras Stelle die Bestrafung des Ixion (156. 157), und auch ihrem weiteren Auftreten in Heraklesszenen liegt ein Auftrag der Hera zugrunde (151–153).

Für Zeus führt *I.* ebenfalls zahlreiche Botengänge aus oder ist im Gespräch mit ihm verbunden: So bei der Schmückung der Pandora (99), beim Streit zwischen Persephone und Aphrodite um Adonis (100) und beim Streit von Apollon und Idas um Marpessa (160. 161). Im Auftrag des Zeus scheint sie einen Knaben (Ganymed?) zu rauben (162–166), sie wird zu dem rasenden Salmoneus geschickt (155) und beim Koreraub zu den Korybanten (103). Als Poseidon und Athena um das attische Land streiten, sendet Zeus *I.* zu Amphitrite (104). *I.* bringt den kleinen Hermes zu Zeus, damit er als Götterbote eingesetzt werde (81. 82). Weitere Aufträge des Zeus erwartet und führt sie aus auf 74. 76–80. 88. 89.

Mit ihrem männlichen Pendant Hermes wurde *I.* öfter gemeinsam dargestellt: sie trägt ihn als Knaben auf dem Arm (81–82) und begleitet mit ihm Amphitrite übers Meer (85). Beide sind beim Parisurteil anwesend (127–136) oder können gemeinsam einen Hochzeitszug anführen (84). Auf 83 sind sie allein dargestellt und im Handschlag miteinander verbunden, auf weiteren Bildern treten beide Götterboten zusammen auf (54. 78. 79. 88. 89. 94. 100. 122. 123a[?]). Zuweilen stehen dabei beide im Dienst des Zeus (vgl. etwa 79. 88. 89. 100), oder sie können auch gegeneinander wirken, der eine als Gesandter des Zeus, der andere als der der Hera wie bei der Geburt des Dionysos (122).

Seltener ist *I.* mit Athena verbunden. Sie kann bei der Geburt der Göttin anwesend sein (90) und ist Athena einmal beim Parisurteil zugeordnet (135). In anderen Darstellungen ist *I.* im Gespräch mit Athena wiedergegeben (92. 94. 158. 159). Bei Iphigenie in Tauris (158) könnte man erwägen, daß Athena durch *I.* den Auftrag übermitteln lassen will, das Kultbild

von Tauris nach Attika zu überführen. Doch tritt *I.* im entsprechenden Drama des Euripides nicht auf.

Ebenso selten ist *I.* mit Apollon dargestellt. Sie hält sich einmal im delphischen Heiligtum auf (91), macht Apollon auf die Geiselnahme des kleinen Orest durch Telephos aufmerksam (154) und holt die Eileithyia zur kreißenden Leto (95). Am wichtigsten ist ihre Rolle im Marpessamythos (160. 161), wo sie die Niederlage des Apollon und seinen Weggang überwacht. Jedoch ist diese Rolle durch die Schriftquellen nicht für *I.*, sondern für Hermes überliefert.

An der Gigantomachie nimmt *I.* in der Regel nicht teil. Auf 97 ist sie als Trabantin der Hera zugegen, auf 96 ist ihre Rolle nicht genau zu deuten. Sie läuft hinter dem kämpfenden Herakles heran, was sich vielleicht so interpretieren ließe, daß sie diesen im Auftrag der Götter herbeigeht, da die Gigantomachie nur mit Hilfe des Herakles gewonnen werden konnte.

Auf die Beziehung der *I.* zur Unterwelt und zum Wasser des Styx könnte die Darstellung 123b weisen, für 7 und 8 scheint diese Deutung jedoch zu hypothetisch.

Es nimmt wunder, daß *I.* nur selten als Astralgöttin dargestellt wurde. Nur auf 98 ist sie im Kreis anderer Gestirngötter zugegen, doch ist sie dort nicht mit astralen Attributen ausgestattet, sondern trägt das Kerykeion und die gleiche Tracht wie auf den Bildern, auf denen sie als Götterbotin präsent ist. Auf einem pompejanischen Wandgemälde (157) und in einer Vergilillustration (167a) ist sie mit einem Nimbus versehen, wobei jedoch dort keine weiteren Gestirngötter wiedergegeben sind, sondern es handelt sich um mythische Szenen (Bestrafung des Ixion; Aufsuchung des Turnus). In dieser Buchmalerei ist auch der Regenbogen wiedergegeben. Sonst spielt *I.* als Personifikation des Regenbogens offenbar keine große Rolle für die antike Bildkunst.

*I.* kann in Hochzeitsszenen anwesend sein. Wie Hermes kann sie dort wohl als Anführer des Hochzeitszuges (Prohegetes) fungieren (84) bzw. die Braut dem Bräutigam zuführen (75). Bei der Thetishochzeit führt sie den Götterverein zum Palast des Peleus (124–126).

Auf einigen Darstellungen ist *I.* im eleusinischen Kreis wiedergegeben: sie überbringt Persephone den Beschluß des Zeus beim Streit um Adonis (100) und übermittelt beim Koreraub den Korybanten eine Botschaft (103). Bei der Ausfahrt des Triptolemos hält sie die Spendekanne für die Abschiedslibationen bereit (102) und überbringt in einer in Eleusis spielenden Szene dem Herakles eine Nachricht (153).

Aufträge der Hera bringen *I.* mit Dionysos und seinem Thiasos zusammen: sie soll den neugeborenen Gott entführen (122) und später Opfer an Dionysos verhindern, weshalb sie von den Satyrn verfolgt und belästigt wird (105–119). Analog zu dieser Sage muß es einen uns nicht erhaltenen Mythos gegeben haben, in dem *I.* mit einer Botschaft zu den Kentauren gesandt und dann von diesen auf ähnliche Weise belästigt wurde, wie wir aus einem Vasenbild schließen dürfen (167).

Zwei Darstellungen zeigen *I.* mit der wagenfah-



renden Amphitrite (85. 104), und für Aphrodite ist nur ein Vasenbild zu nennen, auf dem diese mit I. verbunden ist (128): I. ordnet beim Parisurteil den Schleier der Göttin.

Im Heroenkreis ist I. häufig als Abgesandte der Götter zugegen. Am meisten begegnet sie dabei in trojanischen Szenen: sie geleitet den Götterzug zur Hochzeit Peleus-Thetis (124-126) und ist beim Parisurteil anwesend (127-136; dabei ist sie vor allem der Hera zugeordnet: 129-133; Athena: 135; Aphrodite: 128). Weiter ist I. anzutreffen bei der Ankunft des Antilochos in Troja (137), bei der Presbeia an Achilleus (138) sowie bei der Waffenübergabe (139. 140). Im Gegensatz zur Schilderung in der Ilias zeigt die Bildkunst sie bei Hektors Schleifung (141-145). Schließlich begegnet sie bei der Bergung des Memnon (146) und bei der Bedrohung der Cassandra (146a).

Bei Herakles kommt I. seltener vor: Kindheit des Herakles (88(?) 152), sie führt ihm den nemeischen Löwen zu (70), bei der Geryonie (149), bei den Hesperiden (150), bei der Aussöhnung des Herakles mit Hera (151) und als Botin bei Herakles in Eleusis (153).

In der römischen Sage wird sie mit einem Auftrag zum Äneasgegner Turnus geschickt (167a).

In zahlreichen weiteren Sagenbildern tritt sie als Götterbotin auf, wobei meist keine Schriftquellen zu ihrem Auftreten bekannt sind: Geiselnahme des Orest durch Telephos (154), Salmoneus (155), bei Ixion als Trabantin der Hera (156. 157), Iphigenie in Tauris (158), Niobiden (159), bei der Entführung eines Knaaben (162-166).

Zur chronologischen Verteilung der Themen läßt sich feststellen, daß aus dem 7. Jh. nur eine Darstellung überliefert ist, die I. allein zeigt (4). Bilder des 6. Jh. geben ebenfalls I. allein sowie in trojanischen Szenen, bei Herakles und mit Hermes wieder. Weiter setzen die Bilder ein, auf denen die Satyrn I. verfolgen. Neue Themen kommen im 5. Jh. hinzu. Hervorzuheben sind die Darstellungen der I. als Ministrantin für Zeus und Hera und ihre Verbindung mit Zephyros. Im 4. Jh. ist I. vor allem in Götterfriesen auf unteritalischen Vasen zugegen und bei vielen Themen der Heroensage. Aus hellenistischer Zeit ist ihre Wiedergabe am Pergamonaltar zu nennen (97) und an Denkmälern der römischen Epoche zwei Wandbilder (75. 157), ein Sarkophag (95) und eine Buchmalerei (167a).

Die im Katalog angeführten Stücke verteilen sich dabei auf folgende Gattungen: 31 attisch schwarzfigurige Vasen (12-17. 70. 83-87. 105-109. 121. 124-127. 141-145. 168-170a), 92 attisch rotfigurige Vasen (18-36. 42. 66. 71. 81. 82. 88-91. 96. 99. 101. 102. 110-119. 122. 128-131. 137. 146. 149-151. 155. 160. 162-167. 171-174), eine böotisch rotfigurige Vase (37), 30 unteritalische Vasen (37a. 67. 72-74. 77-80. 92-94. 98. 100. 103. 120. 123. 132-135. 138-140. 152. 153. 156. 158. 159. 175), 2 Münztypen (10. 11: Deutung unsicher), 4 Gemmen (5-8: Deutung ebenfalls unsicher), 4 etruskische Beispiele (136. 148. 154. 161), eine ionische Vase (147), ein Beispiel aus der Skulptur (104), 8 Re-

liefs (1. 3. 68. 69. 76. 95. 97. 123a), 2 Typen von Terrakottareliefs (39. 40), 4 Darstellungen der großen Malerei (2. 4. 75. 157), eine Buchillustration (167a) und 3 Beispiele der Toreutik (9. 38. 41). Die weitaus meisten Denkmäler, auf denen I. dargestellt ist, sind somit die attisch rotfigurigen Vasen, gefolgt von den schwarzfigurigen und den unteritalischen Vasen. Der größte Teil der Darstellungen insgesamt stammt aus der Zeit vom 6.-4. Jh. v. Chr.

Der Überblick über die Wiedergaben der I. zeigt, daß ihre wichtigste Rolle die der Götterbotin, der Ministrantin und auch der Heratrabantin ist. Es fällt auf, daß I. auf vielen Darstellungen mit Mythen zugegen ist, auf denen sich ihre Rolle nicht durch Schriftquellen erklären läßt. Sie ist hier eine Zufügung der Bildkunst. Ihre Anwesenheit soll das göttliche Einwirken auf die dargestellte Handlung andeuten, wobei dann I. als Mittlerin zwischen den Göttern und (vor allem dem einzelnen) Menschen aufgefaßt ist. So verlangt ihre Präsenz häufig keine bestimmte, auf das Geschehen bezogene Erklärung, sondern oft soll nur exemplarisch darauf hingewiesen werden, daß die dargestellten Handlungen dem (unerforschlichen) Willen und Ratschluß der Götter unterliegen. Die Gegenwart der I. soll damit in ganz allgemeinem Sinne auf die allen Menschen vorbestimmte Lenkung des Geschehens durch die Götter, vor allem durch Zeus, hinweisen.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## IRIS II

(Ἴρις) Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses in Kleinasien (Pontos), identisch mit dem heutigen Yeşil Irmak.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 222 s. v. «Iris»; Danoff, Chr., *KlPauly* II (1967) 1453 s. v. «Iris 3»; Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 357 s. v. «Iris 2»; Ruge, W., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 2045 s. v. «Iris 3».

### Münzen von Amaseia (Pontos)

I.\* AE, Faustina I. († 141 n. Chr.). - *RecGén* I 37 Nr. 22 Taf. 4, 18; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 257 Nr. 210 Taf. 7, 18. - Rs.: Nach I. gelagerter, nur mit einem Himantion bis zu den Hüften bekleideter, bärtiger I., die Rechte auf eine Schiffsprora gelegt, mit der Linken ein Schilfrohr schulternd und auf einen Felsen gelehnt.

Diese einzige bekannte Darstellung des I. auf Münzen von Amaseia, das an diesem Fluß liegt, folgt dem geläufigen kaiserzeitlichen Schema des gelagerten Flußgottes (→ Fluvii). Dieser ruht jedoch hier in origineller Weise nicht auf einem Quellgefäß, sondern auf einem Felsen. Diese besondere Charakterisierung soll wohl auf die markante Lage der Stadt Amaseia (des heutigen Amasya) an einem steilen Felsabhang hinweisen, an dem der Fluß vorbeifloß. Die Schiffsprora spielt des weiteren auf die Schiffbarkeit des Flusses an.

RAINER VOLKKOMMER

## IRISIA

(Ἰρισία) Néréide dont le nom est connu par une inscription; son nom ne figure pas dans les listes (→ Nereides).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 222 s. v. «Irisia»; Roscher, W. H., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 357 s. v. «Irisia».

I. (= Choro I I\*, = Erato III I\*, = Glauke I 2 - avec bibl.) Coupe attique à f. r. Munich, Antikenslg. 2619A (J 331). De Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 146, 2; 1628: P. d'Epéleios; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 179; Schefold, *SB* II 190 fig. 256. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: lutte de → Thetis et Pélée (→ Peleus) en présence de Néréides qui fuient de part et d'autre. Elles sont désignées par des inscriptions: Glauké, Choro, Erato, I., → Kymatothea. I. (diadème, chiton, himation, bracelet) court vers la dr. en se retournant; bras écartés, elle tient un poisson dans la main dr. Sous l'anse se trouve l'autel auprès duquel dansaient les Néréides avant l'assaut de Pélée.

Le nom d'I. signifie probablement «la chatoyante, la changeante». O. Jahn (*Beschv. d. Vasensamm. König Ludwigs* [1854] 97 n° 331) corrigeait son nom en [E]lpeia, à tort selon P. Kretschmer (*Die griech. Vasenschriften* [1894] 200 n. 2; 202) qui le rapproche de celui d'→ Iris (I).

NOËLLE ICARD-GIANOLIO

## IRISIS → Briseis 54

## ISIAURIA

(Ἰσαυρία) Personifikation der gleichnamigen Landschaft zwischen Pisidien im Westen, Lykaonien im Osten und Kilikien im Süden.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 223 s. v. «Isauria»; Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 358 s. v. «Isauria»; Ruge, W., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 2056 s. v. «Isauria»; Treidler, H., *KlPauly* II (1967) 1458-1459 s. v. «Isauria».

### Münzen von Tarsos (Kilikien)

I.\* AE, Septimius Severus (193-211 n. Chr.). - Kenner, F., *Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian in Ober-Österreich* (1871) 153-155 Taf. 5, 12; *BMCL* Lycaonia, Isauria und Cilicia 193, 174; Forrer, L., *The Weber Collection* III 2 (1929) 663 Nr. 7660 Taf. 277; *SNG* v. Aulock 6001 = *SNG* Switzerland I 1023; Ziegler, R., *Münzen Kilikiens in kleineren deutschen Sammlungen* (1989) 92, 686 Taf. 33. - Rs.: Nach I. sitzende Tyche von → Tarsos mit Schleier und Mauerkrone, zu ihren Füßen nach I. schwimmender → Kydnos; von I. nähern sich der Stadtgöttin Isauria und → Kilikia und von r. → Lykaonia. Alle drei tragen ebenfalls einen Schleier und eine Mauerkrone. *ΑΔΡΙ ΣΕΥΗΡΙΑΝΗΝ ΤΑΡΣΟΝ ΜΗΤΡΟ ΤΩΝ Γ ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΩΝ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑ, ΙΣΑΥΡΙΑ, ΛΥΚΑΟΝΙΑ*.

Die personifizierte Landschaft von Isauria begegnet uns nur auf diesem Münztypus von Tarsos. Sie wird hier zusammen mit Kilikia und Lykaonia Tarsos, deren Hauptstadt mit Sitz des Landtages, huldigend dargestellt. Alle drei tragen Schleier und Mauerkrone, weisen aber kein individuell charakterisierendes Attribut auf und können nur durch die Beischriften als solche erkannt werden.

RAINER VOLKKOMMER

## ISIS

(Ἰσις, Isis) Nom transcrit phonétiquement de l'égyptien (st) dont le signe caractéristique est le trône. Les égyptologues ne sont pas unanimes sur l'étymologie de ce nom (cf. *LA* III [1980] 186-188). Dès la fin de l'Ancien Empire, I. formait avec → Osiris un couple divin dont le mythe et le culte s'amplifièrent pour être universellement vénéérés, à l'époque où les Grecs connaissaient l'Égypte, par tous les Égyptiens (Hdt. 2, 42). Reconnue comme la déesse égyptienne par excellence et identifiée par ces derniers à → Déméter, à → Io (I), à Aphrodite (→ Aphrodite in periphéria or.), I. sera bientôt acceptée par les cités helléniques aux côtés de Sarapis, forme nouvelle du dieu syncrétiste Osiris-Apis-Pluton.

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renden Amphitrite (85. 104), und für Aphrodite ist nur ein Vasenbild zu nennen, auf dem diese mit I. verbunden ist (128): I. ordnet beim Parisurteil den Schleier der Göttin.

Im Heroenkreis ist I. häufig als Abgesandte der Götter zugegen. Am meisten begegnet sie dabei in trojanischen Szenen: sie geleitet den Götterzug zur Hochzeit Peleus-Thetis (124-126) und ist beim Parisurteil anwesend (127-136; dabei ist sie vor allem der Hera zugeordnet: 129-133; Athena: 135; Aphrodite: 128). Weiter ist I. anzutreffen bei der Ankunft des Antilochos in Troja (137), bei der Presbeia an Achilleus (138) sowie bei der Waffenübergabe (139. 140). Im Gegensatz zur Schilderung in der Ilias zeigt die Bildkunst sie bei Hektors Schleifung (141-145). Schließlich begegnet sie bei der Bergung des Memnon (146) und bei der Bedrohung der Cassandra (146a).

Bei Herakles kommt I. seltener vor: Kindheit des Herakles (88(?) 152), sie führt ihm den nemeischen Löwen zu (70), bei der Geryonie (149), bei den Hesperiden (150), bei der Aussöhnung des Herakles mit Hera (151) und als Botin bei Herakles in Eleusis (153).

In der römischen Sage wird sie mit einem Auftrag zu dem Äneasgegner Turnus geschickt (167a).

In zahlreichen weiteren Sagenbildern tritt sie als Götterbotin auf, wobei meist keine Schriftquellen zu ihrem Auftreten bekannt sind: Geiselnahme des Orest durch Telephos (154), Salmoneus (155), bei Ixion als Trabantin der Hera (156. 157), Iphigenie in Tauris (158), Niobiden (159), bei der Entführung eines Knaben (162-166).

Zur chronologischen Verteilung der Themen läßt sich feststellen, daß aus dem 7. Jh. nur eine Darstellung überliefert ist, die I. allein zeigt (4). Bilder des 6. Jh. geben ebenfalls I. allein sowie in trojanischen Szenen, bei Herakles und mit Hermes wieder. Weiter setzen die Bilder ein, auf denen die Satyrn I. verfolgen. Neue Themen kommen im 5. Jh. hinzu. Hervorzuheben sind die Darstellungen der I. als Ministrantin für Zeus und Hera und ihre Verbindung mit Zephyros. Im 4. Jh. ist I. vor allem in Götterfriesen auf unteritalischen Vasen zugegen und bei vielen Themen der Heroensage. Aus hellenistischer Zeit ist ihre Wiedergabe am Pergamonaltar zu nennen (97) und an Denkmälern der römischen Epoche zwei Wandbilder (75. 157), ein Sarkophag (95) und eine Buchmalerei (167a).

Die im Katalog angeführten Stücke verteilen sich dabei auf folgende Gattungen: 31 attisch schwarzfigurige Vasen (12-17. 70. 83-87. 105-109. 121. 124-127. 141-145. 168-170a), 92 attisch rotfigurige Vasen (18-36. 42. 66. 71. 81. 82. 88-91. 96. 99. 101. 102. 110-119. 122. 128-131. 137. 146. 149-151. 155. 160. 162-167. 171-174), eine böotisch rotfigurige Vase (37), 30 unteritalische Vasen (37a. 67. 72-74. 77-80. 92-94. 98. 100. 103. 120. 123. 132-135. 138-140. 152. 153. 156. 158. 159. 175), 2 Münztypen (10. 11: Deutung unsicher), 4 Gemmen (5-8: Deutung ebenfalls unsicher), 4 etruskische Beispiele (136. 148. 154. 161), eine ionische Vase (147), ein Beispiel aus der Skulptur (104), 8 Re-

liefs (1. 3. 68. 69. 76. 95. 97. 123a), 2 Typen von Terrakottareliefs (39. 40), 4 Darstellungen der großen Malerei (2. 4. 75. 157), eine Buchillustration (167a) und 3 Beispiele der Toreutik (9. 38. 41). Die weitaus meisten Denkmäler, auf denen I. dargestellt ist, sind somit die attisch rotfigurigen Vasen, gefolgt von den schwarzfigurigen und den unteritalischen Vasen. Der größte Teil der Darstellungen insgesamt stammt aus der Zeit vom 6.-4. Jh. v. Chr.

Der Überblick über die Wiedergaben der I. zeigt, daß ihre wichtigste Rolle die der Götterbotin, der Ministrantin und auch der Heratrabantin ist. Es fällt auf, daß I. auf vielen Darstellungen mit Mythen zugegen ist, auf denen sich ihre Rolle nicht durch Schriftquellen erklären läßt. Sie ist hier eine Zuhilfenahme der Bildkunst. Ihre Anwesenheit soll das göttliche Einwirken auf die dargestellte Handlung andeuten, wobei dann I. als Mittlerin zwischen den Göttern und (vor allem dem einzelnen) Menschen aufgefaßt ist. So verlangt ihre Präsenz häufig keine bestimmte, auf das Geschehen bezogene Erklärung, sondern oft soll nur exemplarisch darauf hingewiesen werden, daß die dargestellten Handlungen dem (unerforschlichen) Willen und Ratschluß der Götter unterliegen. Die Gegenwart der I. soll damit in ganz allgemeinem Sinne auf die allen Menschen vorbestimmte Lenkung des Geschehens durch die Götter, vor allem durch Zeus, hinweisen.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## IRIS II

(Ἥρις) Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses in Kleinasien (Pontos), identisch mit dem heutigen Yeşil Irmak.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 222 s. v. «Iris»; Danoff, Chr., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1453 s. v. «Iris 3»; Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 357 s. v. «Iris 2»; Ruge, W., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 2045 s. v. «Iris 3».

### Münzen von Amaseia (Pontos)

I. \* AE, Faustina I. († 141 n. Chr.). - *RecGen* I 37 Nr. 22 Taf. 4, 18; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 257 Nr. 210 Taf. 7, 18. - Rs.: Nach I. gelagerter, nur mit einem Himantion bis zu den Hüften bekleideter, bärtiger I., die Rechte auf eine Schiffsprora gelegt, mit der Linken ein Schilfrohr schulternd und auf einen Felsen gelehnt.

Diese einzige bekannte Darstellung des I. auf Münzen von Amaseia, das an diesem Fluß liegt, folgt dem geläufigen kaiserzeitlichen Schema des gelagerten Flußgottes (→ Fluvii). Dieser ruht jedoch hier in origineller Weise nicht auf einem Quellgefäß, sondern auf einem Felsen. Diese besondere Charakterisierung soll wohl auf die markante Lage der Stadt Amaseia (des heutigen Amasya) an einem steilen Felsabhang hinweisen, an dem der Fluß vorbeifloß. Die Schiffsprora spielt des weiteren auf die Schiffbarkeit des Flusses an.

RAINER VOLKKOMMER

## IRISIA

(Ἥρις) Néréide dont le nom est connu par une inscription; son nom ne figure pas dans les listes (→ Nereides).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 222 s. v. «Irisia»; Roscher, W. H., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 357 s. v. «Irisia».

I. (= Choro I 1\*, = Erato III 1\*, = Glauke I 2 - avec bibl.) Coupe attique à f.r. Munich, Antikenslg. 2619A (J 331). De Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 146, 2; 1628: P. d'Epéleios; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 179; Schefold, *SB* II 190 fig. 256. - Vers 510 av. J.-C. - A: lutte de → Thetis et Pélée (→ Peleus) en présence de Néréides qui fuient de part et d'autre. Elles sont désignées par des inscriptions: Glauké, Choro, Erato, I., → Kymatothea. I. (diadème, chiton, himation, bracelet) court vers la dr. en se retournant; bras écartés, elle tient un poisson dans la main dr. Sous l'anse se trouve l'autel auprès duquel dansaient les Néréides avant l'assaut de Pélée.

Le nom d'I. signifie probablement «la chatoyante, la changeante». O. Jahn (*Beschr. d. Vasensamm. König Ludwigs* [1854] 97 n° 331) corrigeait son nom en [Ἠλπεσία, à tort selon P. Kretschmer (*Die griech. Vasenschriften* [1894] 200 n. 2; 202) qui le rapproche de celui d'→ Iris (I). NOËLLE ICARD-GIANOLIO

## IRISIS → Briseis 54

## ISAURIA

(Ἰσαυρία) Personifikation der gleichnamigen Landschaft zwischen Pisidien im Westen, Lykaonien im Osten und Kilikien im Süden.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 223 s. v. «Isauria»; Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 358 s. v. «Isauria»; Ruge, W., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 2056 s. v. «Isauria»; Treidler, H., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1458-1459 s. v. «Isauria».

### Münzen von Tarsos (Kilikien)

I. \* AE, Septimius Severus (193-211 n. Chr.). - Kenner, F., *Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian in Ober-Österreich* (1871) 153-155 Taf. 5, 12; BMC Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia 193, 174; Forrer, L., *The Weber Collection* III 2 (1929) 663 Nr. 7660 Taf. 277; SNG v. Aulock 6001 = SNG Switzerland I 1023; Ziegler, R., *Münzen Kilikiens in kleineren deutschen Sammlungen* (1989) 92, 686 Taf. 33. - Rs.: Nach I. sitzende Tyche von → Tarsos mit Schleier und Mauerkrone, zu ihren Füßen nach I. schwimmender → Kydnos; von I. nähern sich der Stadtgöttin Isauria und → Kilikia und von r. → Lykaonia. Alle drei tragen ebenfalls einen Schleier und eine Mauerkrone. *AAPI ZEYHPANHN TAPZON MHTPO TON Γ EIIAPXEION KIAIKIA, IZAYPIA, AYKAONIA*.

Die personifizierte Landschaft von Isauria begegnet uns nur auf diesem Münztypus von Tarsos. Sie wird hier zusammen mit Kilikia und Lykaonia Tarsos, deren Hauptstadt mit Sitz des Landtages, huldigend dargestellt. Alle drei tragen Schleier und Mauerkrone, weisen aber kein individuell charakterisierendes Attribut auf und können nur durch die Beischriften als solche erkannt werden. RAINER VOLKKOMMER

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textes souligne surtout la recherche et la découverte du corps d'Osiris par I., épisodes qui sont consacrés par les festivités dont certains philosophes et Pères de l'Eglise parlaient avec ironie.

Les textes fournissent aussi de précieux renseignements sur l'imagerie d'I. Elle porte sur sa tête deux cornes de vache ou un croissant de lune (Hdt. 2, 41; Plut. de Is. et Os. 372d; Ail. nat. 10, 27) – parce qu'on voulait lui donner l'aspect de la lune et que les Egyptiens lui consacraient la vache (Diod. 1, 11, 4) – sur son front, des épis de blé (Apul. met. 11, 4; Ov. met. 9, 688–690) ainsi que la coiffure dite dépouille de vautour parce que consistant précisément en une tête et en un plumage de cet oiseau (Ail. nat. 10, 22); compte tenu de sa disposition, nous la décrirons plus brièvement comme «vautour accouvé». I. possède des cheveux épars (Philostr. ep. p. 349 Kayser: *λυσίχομος*; Apul. met. 11, 3). Elle porte des vêtements aux couleurs bigarrées (pour symboliser la lumière et les ténèbres, le jour et la nuit, le feu et l'eau, la vie et la mort, le commencement et la fin: cf. Plut. de Is. et Os. 382c–d), ornés d'emblèmes astraux (Apul. met. 11, 3); elle peut aussi revêtir des habits noirs (Orph. h. 42, 9: *μελανηρόπος*). Ses vêtements sont en lin (Tib. 1, 3, 30; Ov. ars 1, 77; met. 1, 747; Pont. 1, 1, 51–52; Philostr. ep. p. 361 Kayser). Sa «stola» sacrée est assez caractéristique pour qu'on puisse la reconnaître facilement, comme dans le cas de Cléopâtre qui s'habilla avec ce vêtement et se fit appeler «nea Isis» (Plut. Ant. 54) ou dans le cas de l'apparition de la déesse à Lucius (Apul. met. 11, 4). Ses pieds sont chaussés de sandales de palme (Apul. met. 11, 4). Dans l'apparition décrite par Apulée, I. tient dans sa main droite un sistre et dans la gauche un serpent uræus (Apul. met. 11, 4; Serv. Aen. 8, 696).

Les monuments iconographiques d'I. se comptent par milliers et les inédits sont nombreux. Dans le catalogue qui va suivre, nous avons opéré un choix, surtout en ce qui concerne les terres cuites, les lampes et les monnaies.

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## I. Isis seule

### A. Isis debout

#### 1. Isis vêtue d'une robe et d'un himation collants

Les vêtements forment, entre les seins, le nœud dit isiaque (critère d'identification d'I., il est formé par l'entrelacement de la pointe du tissu qui descend de l'épaule droite avec la lisière transversale barrant la poitrine; cf. commentaire). Les bras sont baissés, le long du corps.

1. Relief en stuc. Pompéi, façade du Megaron de l'Iseum, *in situ*. - Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 35 pl. 1, 2. - Visage abîmé.

Statues de type égyptien adossées ou non à un pilier

2. Statue colossale en granit. Alexandrie, Sérapeum. Découverte dans le port d'Alexandrie. - Fraser, P. M., *Ptolemaic Alexandria I* (1972) 20 et n. 126; Witt 70 pl. 13. - Ep. hellénistique. - La coiffure et la partie inférieure des jambes manquent.

3.\* Granit. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27471. De Naucratis. - Edgar, *CatGénCaire. Greek Sculpture* (1903) n° 27471 pl. 9. - Ep. hellénistique. - I. tient le signe *ankh* (signe de vie) dans la dr., un lotus dans la g.

4.\* Basalte. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27473. - Edgar, *o. c.* 3, n° 27473 pl. 9. - Sans pilier; I. tient une fleur dans la dr.

5.\* a) Granit. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 344. - Inédit. - I. tient le signe *ankh* dans la g. - b) Marbre. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 1616. D'Alexandrie. - Inédit. - La tête et les jambes manquent. - c)\* Basalte. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 3220. - Inédit. - La tête et les bras manquent.

6.\* Granit. Munich, Ägypt. Slg. Gl. WAF 26b. De Rome, des environs de la Villa Albani. - III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Stricker, B. H., *Oudheikundige Mededelingen van het Rijksmus. van Oudheden te Leiden* 41, 1960, 30 n° 3 pl. 21, 3; Müller, H. W., *Staatl. Slg. ägypt. Kunst* (1976) 204 n° 123 fig. - I. acéphale, tenant un manche de sistre dans la dr., le signe *ankh* dans la g.

7.\* Basalte. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Egizio 107. De Tivoli, Villa Hadriana. - v. Bissing, F. W. Frh., *Ägypt. Kultbilder der Ptolomaier- und Römerzeit* (1936) 12 pl. 3, 8; Botti, G./Romanelli, P., *Le sculture del Mus. Greg. Egizio* (1951) 99 n° 148 pl. 69; Stricker, *o. c.* 6, 30 n° 11 pl. 22, 4; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 483; Pesce 33 fig. 1. - Ep. hellénistique récente. - I. tient le signe *ankh* dans la dr. et un lotus dans la g.

8.\* Gabbro. Leyden, Rijksmus. F 1960/3,1. - Stricker, *o. c.* 6, 20 fig. 5 pls. 19-20. - I. acéphale; sur le pilier, dédicace en grec d'un certain Dionysios fils d'Apaouer, en reconnaissance à I.

Pour d'autres monuments semblables, cf. Stricker, *o. c.* 6, 29-30 pls. 21-22.

#### 2. Isis vêtue du chiton et de l'himation formant le nœud isiaque

Sauf indication contraire, Isis est coiffée du basileion (couronne hathorique formée du disque solaire entouré de cornes de vache et flanqué, entre autres, de plumes ou d'épis de blé), emblème isiaque par excellence; nous ne signalons donc que les éléments de coiffure complémentaires.

#### a) Tenant un serpent uræus dans la main droite et une situle dans la gauche

9. Statue de marbre. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. P.440. De Ras el Soda, Iseum, trouvée sur le podium du sanctuaire. - Adriani, A., *AMAlex* 1935-1939 (1940) 139 pl. 55, 1 et 58 (en haut à droite). - Début II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. coiffée d'un diadème surmonté du *basileion*; son pied g. est posé sur un petit crocodile; himation relevé sur le bras g.

#### Statuettes

10.\* Bronze. a) Athènes, Mus. Nat. 677. - Inédit. - Ep. romaine. - I. avec le vautour accouvé; l'himation pend du côté droit; l'uræus est couronné d'un disque. - b)\* Munich, Ägypt. Slg. AS 4202. - Müller, *o. c.* 6, 219. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Mêmes coiffure et vêtement que a; tête de l'uræus cassée.

11.\* Terre cuite. a) Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. 9944. - Weber n° 27 pl. 3. - Ep. romaine. - I. porte aussi un diadème; himation relevé sur le bras g. - b) Berlin, Staatl. Mus. T. C. 4565. - Weber n° 28 pl. 3. - Coiffure cassée au-dessus du diadème; himation comme a; à côté d'I., pilastre supportant un vase. - c)\*

Francfort, Liebieghaus 2400.1177. - Kaufmann (1915) 47 pl. 15, 85; Bayer-Niemeier, E., *Griechisch-römische Terrakotten* (1988) 131-132 n° 216 pl. 41, 5. - Similaire à b. - Cf. aussi Kaufmann, *o. c.* pl. 15, 84, 86 (localisation actuelle inconnue). - d) Anc. coll. Schreiber. - *ExpSieglin* II 2, 125 n° 7 pl. 42, 7. - Avec une tête n'appartenant pas à cette statue; himation comme b; I. est debout sur un crocodile. - e) Oslo, Univ., coll. Ustinov UT 104. - Skupinska-Løvset, I., *The Ustinov Collection. Terracottas* (1978) 118 n° UT 104 pl. 17. - Himation comme b.

#### b) Tenant un uræus dans la main droite et divers attributs dans la gauche (lorsque celle-ci est conservée)

##### Monnaies

12. AE, nome de Bousiris, Hadrien, 126/127 ap. J.-C. - Milne 1223. - Rv.: I. tient un bélier de la g.

13. AE, nome de Memphis, Antonin le Pieux, 144/145 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 346, 25; Dattari 6302 pl. 36; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 3489. - Rv.: I. tient l'uræus dans la g. et un sceptre dans la dr.; derrière elle, un bélier; himation relevé sur le bras g.

##### Statuettes de bronze

14. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27674 (= JE 25337). - Edgar, *CatGénCaire. Greek Bronzes* (1904) n° 27674 pl. 4. - Le bras dr. est mutilé, le g. baissé tient des épis (?).

15.\* a) Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 54.497 et 54.2016. - Steindorff, G., *Cat. of the Egypt. Sculpture in the Walters Art Gall.* (1946) n° 416-417 pl. 72. - Le bras g. manque dans les deux cas et a été remplacé (dans le second) par le bras dr. (!) d'une autre statue. - b)\* Brooklyn, Brooklyn Mus. 05.395. - *Late Egyptian and Coptic Art* (1943) 18 pl. 23. - Le bras g. manque. - Les exemples suivants appartiennent vraisemblablement au même type: c) Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 19412. - Inédit. - Le bras dr. est mutilé, le bras g. tendu. - d) Paris, Louvre Br 789. - De Ridder, *BrLouvre I* n° 789; Reinach, *RépStat* II 422, 9. - Bras cassés.

16.\* Lyon, Mus. Beaux-Arts L 274. - Boucher, S., *Bronzes romains figurés du Mus. des Beaux-Arts de Lyon* (1973) 39-40 n° 63. - Avec un uræus sur le disque solaire; dans la main g. avancée, une grenade? (plutôt une situle selon S. Boucher); himation relevé sur le bras g.

##### Moule

17. Plâtre. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 32050. - Edgar, *CatGénCaire. Greek Moulds* (1903) n° 32050 pl. 22. - Partie supérieure du corps; I. avec le vautour accouvé; le bras dr. manque dans le moule car il devait être tendu vers l'avant.

#### c) Tenant un sceptre dans la main droite et divers attributs dans la gauche (lorsque celle-ci est conservée)

##### Monnaies

18. a) AE, Perinthos (Thrace), Claude (41-54 ap. J.-C.). - Schönert, E., *Die Münzprägung von Perinthos* (1965) n° 224-226 pl. 9. - Rv.: I. s'appuie du bras g.

sur son sceptre et tient un sistre dans la main dr.; auprès d'I., un autel. - b) AE, Lebedos (Ionie), Sabina († 137 ap. J.-C.). - Imhoof-Blumer, *KIM I* 74 n° 15. - Rv.: avec un sistre (?) dans la dr. - c) AE, Tios (Bythinie), Marc Aurèle César (138-161 ap. J.-C.). - SNG v. Aulock 944. - Rv.: avec un sistre dans la dr. - d) AE, Philadelphia (Lydie), époque de Septime Sévère (193-211 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Lydia 191, 29 pl. 21, 11. - Av.: Sénat romain; Rv.: I. tient un sistre de la g. - e) AE, Thyatira (Lydie), Septime Sévère (193-211 ap. J.-C.), Geta (211-212 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Lydia 301, 53; 311, 109. - Av.: buste de Sarapis; Rv.: I. agitant un sistre de la dr. et s'appuyant sur un sceptre de la g.

19. Bi, Alexandrie, Hadrien, 120/121 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 1405 pl. 17. - Rv.: I. tient une double corne d'abondance dans la g.

##### Statue

20. Marbre blanc. Délos, Sérapeum C, sanctuaire d'Isis, *in situ*. - Horn, R., *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen* (1931) 77 pl. 29; Marcadé, *MusDélos* 429 pl. 57; Walters 15. 63 n. 48. - 128/127 av. J.-C. - La tête, les bras et le bas des jambes manquent; d'après la pose et le déhanchement, I. devait s'appuyer avec le bras g. sur le sceptre.

#### d) Tenant une corne d'abondance sur le bras gauche baissé

Un pan de l'himation est relevé sur le bras gauche

##### Statues

21. Marbre. a) Délos, Mus. A 2255. Du Sérapeum de Délos (?). - Marcadé, *MusDélos* 430 pl. 57. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - La tête et le bras dr. manquent; le pan de l'himation qui forme le nœud tombe de l'épaule g. - b) Délos, Mus. A 378. - Marcadé, *MusDélos* 431 pl. 57. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - La tête et les bras manquent mais les traces de la corne d'abondance sont visibles. Pour des statuettes fragmentaires semblables à Délos, cf. *ibid.* 430-431 pl. 57.

22.\* Marbre blanc. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 11311. - Adriani, *Rep A-II* 38 n° 147 pl. 72, 239. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - I. acéphale, les bras en partie cassés.

23.\* Basalte noir. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 23840. De Canope. - Breccia, E., *Le musée gréco-romain 1925-1931* (1932) 17 pl. 7, 25; Adriani, *Rep A-II* 37-38 n° 145 pl. 72, 237. - I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. acéphale, la corne d'abondance mutilée, le bras dr. (cassé) pendait le long du corps.

24. Granit noir. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 23841. De Canope. - Adriani, *Rep A-II* 38 n° 146 pl. 72, 238. - I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. acéphale, la corne d'abondance mutilée, la main dr. baissée tenant un objet indistinct.

25. Calcaire blanc. Louqsor, dans le temple dont l'inscription porte une dédicace à Sarapis-Hélios. - Leclant, J., *Orientalia* N. S. 20, 1951, 456 pl. 45, 1; 47; Dunand, F., *BIFAO* 81, 1981, 135-139 pls. 27. 31-32; Leclant, J., dans *IconogrCl* 341-343 fig. 1; Walters 7 n. 14; 112 pl. 52d. - Vers 126 ap. J.-C. - La tête et les bras manquent; traces de la corne d'abondance sur l'épaule g.; la main dr. baissée devait tenir une patère.

26.\* Marbre blanc. Salamine, Mus. Sal.st.8. De Salamine. - Karageorghis, V., *Sculptures from Salamis I* (1964) 25 n° 16 pl. 23, 1-2. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. acéphale, traces de la corne d'abondance.

**e) Agitant un sistre de la main droite et tenant une situle dans la gauche**

*Monnaies*

27.\* a) AE, Aizanoi (Phrygie), ép. impériale. - SNG Copenhagen 63. - Av.: buste de Sarapis. - b) AE, Dokimeion (Phrygie), ép. impériale. - SNG Copenhagen 356. - Av.: buste de Sarapis. - c) AE, Synnada (Phrygie), I<sup>er</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - BMC Phrygia 397, 27. - Av.: tête du héros Akamas. - d) AE, Amorion (Phrygie), ép. de Marc Aurèle (161-180 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Phrygia 48, 10 et 11; SNG v. Aulock 3394. - Av.: tête de Sarapis. - e) AE, Bizye (Thrace), Faustine II († 175 ap. J.-C.), Otacilia († 249 ap. J.-C.). - Jurukova, J., *Die Münzprägung von Bizye* (1981) n° 28 pl. 5; n° 151 pl. 25. - Rv.: I. tient le sistre dans la g. et la situle dans la dr. - f) AE, Temenothyrai (Phrygie), Lucilla († 183 ap. J.-C.). - SNG v. Aulock 4005. - g) AE, Bageis (Lydie), règne de Septime Sévère (193-211 ap. J.-C.) ou ép. plus tardive. - BMC Lydia 32, 10. - Av.: buste de Sarapis. - h) AE, Kolossai (Phrygie), règne de Septime Sévère (193-211 ap. J.-C.) ou ép. plus tardive. - BMC Phrygia 155, 6-7. 8 pl. 19, 6; SNG v. Aulock 3767. - Av.: buste de Sarapis. - i) AE, Themisonion (Phrygie), ép. de Septime Sévère (193-211 ap. J.-C.) à Philippe I<sup>er</sup> (244-249 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Phrygia 419, 7 pl. 49, 3; SNG v. Aulock 4016. - Av.: buste de Sarapis. - j) AE, Briana (Phrygie), ép. de Septime Sévère (193-211 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Phrygia 109, 1 pl. 13, 8; SNG v. Aulock 3520. - Av.: buste de Sarapis. - k) AE, Saïttai (Lydie), ép. de Caracalla (198-217 ap. J.-C.) à Gallien (253-268 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Lydia 214, 14. - Av.: tête d'Héraklès. - l) AE, Hyrgaleis (Phrygie), ép. de Caracalla (198-217 ap. J.-C.) à Sévère Alexandre (222-235 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Phrygia 274, 6 pl. 33, 4. - Av.: buste de Sarapis. - m) AE, Hierapolis (Phrygie), ép. de Trajan (98-117 ap. J.-C.) à Caracalla (198-217 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Phrygia 232, 29-31; SNG v. Aulock 3623-3624. - Av.: buste de Sarapis. - n) AE, Prymnessos (Phrygie), Lucius Verus (161-169 ap. J.-C.). - Imhoof-Blumer, *KlM I* 286, 2; BMC Phrygia 366, 28. - o) AE, Serdica (Thrace), Marc Aurèle (161-180 ap. J.-C.), Lucius Verus (161-169 ap. J.-C.). - Ruzicka, L., «Die Münzen von Serdica», *NumZ* 48 (N. F. 8), 1915, 9 n° 1 pl. 3, 1; 11-12 n° 17-18. - p) AE, Anchiale (Thrace), début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Münzer, F./Strack, M. L., *Die antiken Münzen von Thrakien* (1912) n° 409 pl. 5, 33. - Av.: buste de Sarapis. - q) AE, Tripolis (Lydie), III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - BMC Lydia 369, 33. - Av.: buste de Sarapis; Rv.: I. porte un modius au lieu du basileion.

*Statues et statuettes*

28.\* Statue de bronze. Naples, Mus. Naz. 110605. De Pompéi VI 3, 8 (maison de C. Memmius Auctus). - *Pompeii. Leben und Kunst in den Vesuvstädten* (Expos. Essen 1973) 130 n° 161; *Pompeii* (Expos. Paris 1973) n° 98. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Un modius orné d'un uræus rem-

place la dépouille de vautour; I. tenait peut-être un sistre dans la dr. perdue.

29. Statue de marbre, frs. Sarsina, Mus. Arch. - De Sarsina (prov. de Forlì). - Mansuelli, G. A., *RM* 73/74, 1966/67, 166-169 pl. 59, 3-4. - I<sup>er</sup> moitié II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. acéphale; bras dr. mutilé; statue restaurée à tort comme Anubis avec un fr. de tête de chien: Grenier, *Anubis* 142 n° 217.

30.\* Statuettes de terre cuite. a) Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 7829. 7830. 7939. 7941. 22168. - Brecchia, *Mon II* 2 n° 30 pl. 6, 18 (Inv. 7830); 6, 21 (Inv. 22168); 7, 24 (Inv. 7941). - Le basileion est flanqué de deux épis; I. est en outre drapée d'une stola et d'une guirlande de fleurs en sautoir. - b) Anc. coll. Fouquet. - Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet* 109-110 n° 284 pl. 16. - Similaire à a. - c) Anc. coll. Bircher. - *ExpSieglin II* 2 (1924) 5-6 n. 1 fig. 3. - d)\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 65599. Du Kôm Ouchim. - Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 188 n° 64. - Sans situle. - e) Coll. privée. - *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Expos. Francfort 1983) 509-510 n° 117 fig. - I. tient en outre un uræus dans la dr.

**f) Ayant tenu des attributs perdus**

*Statues de marbre*

31.\* Tunis, Bardo C.982. De Carthage. - Reinach, *RépStat III* 124, 4; *Cat. du Mus. Alaoui*, Suppl. [I] (1910) 52, C.982 pl. 32, 1; Walters 7 n. 14; 53 pl. 52b. - I. coiffée d'un large diadème orné d'un disque; les bras manquent.

32.\* Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. I 1165. (anc. coll. du château du Catajo), «I. du Catajo». - Laurenzi, L., *RM* 54, 1939, 45-46 figs. 5-6 pl. 13; Felletti Maj, B. M., *EAA IV* (1961) 236 fig. 284; Pesce 56-57 fig. 4; Tinh, *ANRW* 1724 pl. 5, 7; Walters 14 n. 63. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Les bras et les mèches de cheveux sur le front sont restitués, le pied g. est rapporté, la partie postérieure n'est pas travaillée.

33.\* Naples, Mus. Naz. De Pompéi. - Spinazzola, *Pompei II* fig. 740; Tinh, *ANRW* 1724 pl. 6, 8. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Bras dr. levé (tenant un sceptre?), coude g. sur un pilier.

34.\* Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 125.412. De Rome, Villa Grandi de la Porta Latina (trouvée en 1938). - I. coiffée d'un bandeau orné d'un disque sur un croissant; mèches libyennes, chiton et himation frangé avec nœud isiaque, les deux mains baissées.

35. Madrid, Prado. - Reinach, *RépStat I* 613, 4; Blanco, A., *Cat. de la escultura* (1957) 39 n° 36E. - Tête, bras, pieds et attributs sont modernes; restaurée en I. tenant sistre et situle.

*Statuettes de bronze*

36.\* a)\* Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 54.2013. - Steindorff, o. c. 15a, n° 418 pl. 72. - I. porte le pschent (= couronne double) au-dessus de la dépouille de vautour et tient une situle (?) dans la g. baissée; dr. cassée. - b) Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 8285. - Ägypt. Mus. Berlin (1967) 103 n° 1001 fig. - Ep. hellénistique. - Coiffée de la seule dépouille de vautour; les bras manquent.

**3. Isis vêtue d'un costume sans nœud**

**a) Tenant divers attributs**

37.\* Gemmes. a)\* Jaspe. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 9777. - Philipp, H., *Mira et Magica* (1986) 60 n° 65 pl. 17. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. tenant de la droite une situle et de la g. un sistre: c'est donc l'empreinte qui prévaut sur l'objet puisqu'elle donne la représentation correcte avec le sistre dans la dr. - b)\* Cornaline. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 9824. - Philipp, o. c. 60-61 n° 66 pl. 17. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Similaire à a mais avec la situle au bras droit et une patère supportant un uræus sur le plat de la même main; cf. la remarque faite sous a.

*Monnaies*

38. AE, nome de Hypselis, Hadrien, 126/127 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 363, 101-102; Dattari 6277 pl. 35; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen IV* 3402. - Rv.: I. tenant un bélier de la dr., un sceptre dans la g.

39. AE, nome de Gynaikopolis, Hadrien, 126/127 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 6244 pl. 35; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen IV* 3391. - Rv.: I. tenant un bélier de la dr., son vêtement de la g.

40. AE, nome de Metelis, Hadrien, 126/127 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 6320 pl. 35; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen IV* 3412. - Rv.: I. tenant des épis de la dr. et un faucon (?) de la g.

41. AE, Naucratis, Antonin le Pieux, 144/145 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 350, 41; Dattari n° 6409 pl. 36; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen IV* 3439. - Rv.: I. tient un sceptre de la main g. et un serpent sur la main dr.

*Statue et statuette*

42. Cherchel. Trouvaille locale. - Gsell, S., *Cherchel* (1952) 43 n° 2 fig. p. 42. - Traces de l'emblème sur la tête; chiton et himation en sautoir de l'épaule dr. à l'aisselle g.; situle dans la main g. baissée; le bras dr. manque.

43.\* Bronze. Paris, Cab. Méd. 635. - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 635. - I. vêtue d'un himation, coiffée d'un basileion simplifié, tenant une corne d'abondance de la g. et un objet disparu dans la dr. tendue.

**b) Ayant tenu des attributs perdus**

44. Statue de marbre blanc. Tripoli, Mus. Arch. 25. De l'Iseum de Sabratha. - I. coiffée d'un disque entre deux cornes et tenant un objet cassé dans la g.; le bras dr. manque.

45. Statue. Leptis Magna, Mus. Arch. Du Sérapéum local. - I. (?) coiffée du modius, un pan de l'himation relevé sur le bras g.; la main dr. est cassée.

**4. Isis représentée la tête couverte d'un voile**

Sauf indication contraire, I. est représentée debout, la tête couverte d'un voile frangé, vêtue du chiton et drapée dans l'himation. La plupart de ces monuments sont mutilés, restaurés parfois sans raisons en I. tenant de la main dr. un sistre et de la g. une situle.

**a) Avec le nœud isiaque entre les seins**

46. Monnaie. AE, Tralleis (Lydie), Gordien III (238-244 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Lydia 355, 172 pl. 37, 10. - Rv.: I. porte le basileion, tient le sistre dans la dr. et la situle dans la g.

*Statues de marbre*

47.\* Athènes, Mus. Nat. MN 1617. De Laconie. - Kahil, L., dans *Laodicée du Lycos. Le Nymphée, campagnes 1961-1963* (1969) 191 pl. hors-texte; Walters 83. 104-105 pl. 34c-d. - Les bras et les pieds manquent. 48. Pamukkale, Mus. Arch. De Laodicée du Lycos. - Kahil, o. c. 47, 189-192 n° 1 pls. 61-63; Tran tam Tinh, dans *Mél. ... M. Lebel* (1980) 339-350 figs. 3-6; Walters 81 n. 93. - L'emblème est cassé, les bras manquent.

49. Salamine, Mus. Sal.st.13. De Salamine (Chypre), près de la palestine. - Karageorghis, V., *Sculptures from Salamis I* (1964) 26-27 n° 17 pl. 23, 3-4; Walters 81 n. 93. - La tête et les bras manquent.

50. Rome, Mus. Cap. 744. - Stuart Jones, *Sculpt-MusCap* 354 n° 15 pl. 88; Helbig II n° 1433; Felletti Maj, B. M., *EAA IV* (1961) 239 fig. 286; Nilsson, *GrRel* 3 II 631 pl. 8, 2; Pesce 34 fig. 28; Walters 80. 112 pl. 31a-b. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Emblème, mains et attributs restaurés; il s'agit probablement d'une prêtresse isiaque et non d'I.

51. Rome, Mus. Torlonia. - Visconti, P. E., *Cat. del Mus. Torlonia* (1883) n° 31. - Voile frangé sur les épaules; tête, pieds et bras restaurés (en Cérès).

52.\* Rome, Pal. Cons. De Rome, nymphée de l'Esquilin. - Stuart Jones, *SculptPalCons* 84 n° 15 pl. 30; Pietrangeli, C., *Musei Capitolini. I monumenti dei culti orientali* (1951) 25 n° 2; Horn, o. c. 20, 41-42 pl. 16, 1; Tran tam Tinh, o. c. 48, 346 fig. 9; Walters 17 n. 82. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Voile frangé sur la tête et les épaules; les bras manquent.

53.\* a) Naples, Mus. Naz. 6372. De Naples. - Tinh *DOCampanie* 63-65 n° IS. 16 figs. 1-2; Walters 11 nn. 72-73 pl. 7d. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Voile frangé; les bras et les attributs sont modernes. - b)\* Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. I 158. De la région de Naples. - Tinh, *DOCampanie* 65-66 n° IS. 17 fig. 3; *Osiris, Kreuz und Halbmond* (Expos. Stuttgart et Hanovre 1984) 151 n° 126 fig. p. 153. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Similaire à a.

54. De Regina (act. Reina). - García y Bellido, A., *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (1949) 151-152 n° 161 pl. 121. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. acéphale; voile frangé sur les épaules; les bras manquent.

55. Burgos, Mus. Arch. De Clunia. - García y Bellido, o. c. 54, 152-153 n° 163 pl. 123; *idem, Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*, *EPRO* 5 (1967) 117-118 n° 24 pl. 13. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Trou sur la tête pour y fixer l'emblème; le voile descend très bas dans le dos; les bras manquent.

56. Valladolid, Mus. Arch. 6.475. - García y Bellido, o. c. 54, 152 n° 162 pl. 122. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. acéphale, voile frangé sur les épaules, les bras manquent.

57. Leningrad, Ermitage A 120. - Waldhauer, *Skulpt III* (1936) 56 n° 303 fig. 50. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I.

acéphale, voile frangé sur les épaules; les bras manquent.

58.\* Vienne, Kunsth. Mus. I 1171. - Les bras manquent.

Cf. aussi 128. 129. 153. 182. 264. 311t.

#### b) Sans nœud isiaque

59. Héraclion, Mus. Arch. 260. De Gortyne. - Salditt-Trappmann, R., *Tempel der ägypt. Götter in Griechenland u. an der Westküste Kleinasien*, EPRO 15 (1970) 58-59 fig. 48; Dunand, *Isis* II 75-76 pl. 23, 1; Tinh, *ANRW* 1724 pl. 3, 5; Walters 73-74. 112. 126 (index s.v.) pl. 19c-d. - I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Emblème, cheveux calamistrés, sistre dans la main dr.

Cf. aussi une statue acéphale trouvée également à Gortyne, avec le même drapé et une guirlande de fleurs en sautoir: Porro, G. G., *BollArte* 7, 1913, 358 fig. 9; Dunand, *Isis* II pl. 26.

60. Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 843. Du Sérapeum de Salonique. - Salditt-Trappmann, o.c. 59, 50 fig. 44; Dunand, *Isis* II pl. 16, 1; Walters 74 et n. 47. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. acéphale; la pose et le drapé sont semblables à ceux de l'I. de Gortyne.

61.\* Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 126.380. De Rome, Passo Corese (trouvée en 1953). - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. coiffée de deux épis sur un croissant, chiton ceint à la taille et himation drapé en sautoir, sans nœud isiaque; main dr. (tendue) et bras g. manquent.

#### 5. Figures d'Isis orientalisantes ou archaïsantes

##### Statues de marbre blanc

62.\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 976. De Pompéi, temple d'Isis. - *EAA IV* (1961) 237 fig. 285; Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 156 n° 81 pl. 13; *Pompei AD* 79 (Expos. Londres 1976/1977) n° 202 fig.; Walters 112. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Figure tranchant par son originalité: pose hiératique mais jambe dr. en avant, tunique collante mais avec de menus plis, chevelure frisée retenue par une guirlande de cinq fleurs, la main g. tenant le signe *ankh* et la dr. tendue, le manche d'un objet (sistre?).

63. Cyrène, Mus. 14.273. De Cyrène, Iseum de l'Acropole. - Paribeni, *ScultCirene* n° 411 pl. 175. - Peut-être ép. romaine. - Image du type xoanon; la partie inférieure du corps est serrée par un *reticulatum*. La tête est surmontée d'un disque sur lequel est plaqué un uræus en relief; le disque est sur un croissant. Le drapé semble grec; les bras tenant les sceptres sont figés à l'égyptienne.

#### 6. Figures fragmentaires

##### Statues de marbre

64. Cos, Mus. - Laurenzi, L., *ASAtene* 33/34 (N. S. 17/18), 1957, 92-93 n° 48 fig. - Torse seul, chiton avec nœud.

65. Samos, Mus. de Samos. - Horn, *Samos XII* (1972) 118 n° 86a pl. annexe 10. - Ep. romaine. - I. acéphale; chiton et himation avec nœud, les bras le long du corps.

66. Marbre pentélique. Cyrène, Mus. 14.274. - Paribeni, *ScultCirene* n° 412 pl. 180. - Ep. hellénistique? - Corps de la statue, très élancé, avec nœud isiaque et éventail de plis; la tête, le haut du torse et les bras manquent.

67. Marbre pentélique. Cyrène, Mus. 14.275. - Paribeni, *ScultCirene* n° 414 pl. 180. - Ep. romaine. - Himation avec nœud isiaque et un pan en sautoir de l'aine dr. à l'épaule g.; le visage, les bras et les jambes manquent. Cf. aussi *ibid.* n° 413 pl. 180 (buste acéphale en marbre parien).

68. Londres, BM 61.11-27.84. De Cyrène, temple d'Aphrodite. - Reinach, *RépStat III* 124, 5; CSIR Great Britain II 1, 23-24 n° 45 pl. 18. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Himation avec un grand nœud; la tête et les bras manquent.

69. Loc. inc. - Coll. de feu J. P. Lambros d'Athènes et de G. Dattari du Caire. *Antiq. égypt., grecques et rom.*, Paris, Hôtel Drouot 17-19. 6. 1912, n° 338 pl. 38. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Tête abîmée, nœud isiaque; les bras manquent.

70. Ostie, Mus. Ostiense. D'Ostie. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Himation avec nœud isiaque; la tête, le bras g. et la main dr. manquent.

71. Naples, Mus. Naz. - Levi, A., *MonAnt* 28, 1922, 157-170 figs. 1-3; Walters 17 n. 84; 112 pl. 52e. - Nœud isiaque et grande stola en sautoir; la tête, les mains et une partie des jambes manquent.

72. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. - Amelung, *Skulpt-VatMus I* 756 n° 654 pl. 81. - Horn, o.c. 20, 41 pl. 17, 3. - II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - I. acéphale, grand nœud isiaque, mèches ondulées; bras et jambes manquent.

73.\* Paris, Louvre MNE 439. De France, Massif Central (?). - Tran tam Tinh, «Une statuette d'Isis-Ourania», *RA* 1970, 2, 283-296 figs. 1-5. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (?). - I. acéphale, sans bras dr., main g. ni jambes; vêtue d'une longue tunique ornée d'étoiles, serrée à la taille par une large ceinture et image de kourotrophe sur la poitrine (l'auteur pense à Isis-Ourania).

74. Toulouse, Mus. Saint-Raymond 30.307. De la Villa de Chiragan. - Leclant, J., dans *IconogrCl* 341-342 fig. 2. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. acéphale, chiton et himation avec nœud; les bras manquent.

75. Toronto, ROM 925.13.42. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - La tête et les bras manquent.

76. Ann Arbor, Kelsey Mus. 8196. 25941. De Karanis, temple nord et grenier. - *Guardians of the Nile* (1978) 34 n° 24. - Milieu II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Tête abîmée, perruque, nœud isiaque; bras et jambes manquent.

#### 7. Isis debout, dans des scènes mythologiques ou «liturgiques»

77.\* Peinture murale. Naples, Mus. Naz. 8929. De Pompéi, temple d'Isis. - Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 143-144 n° 47 pl. 10, 1. - I. debout sur un bateau tirant des deux mains un autre bateau sur lequel est posé une caisse cubique jaune; sur le devant de la caisse, un oiseau noir (une hirondelle symbolisant Osiris mort). I. est coiffée d'une fleur de lotus, vêtue d'une tunique et d'un manteau avec stola noire en sautoir.

78. (= Anubis 45\*\*) Médaillon d'applique sur vase en terre cuite. New York, MMA 17.194.870. D'Orange. - Willeumier/Audin, *Médaillons* 30 n° 17; Audin, A./Vertet, H., *Gallia* 30, 1972, 250 fig. 11; Grenier, *Anubis* 162 n° 262 pl. 36. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Dans un char tiré par deux prêtres au crâne rasé, I. - ou prêtresse isiaque - dans un costume avec stola en sautoir agite un sistre de la dr.; sur la droite, un homme en Anubis.

Pour d'autres fragments du même type, cf. Alföldi, A., *JbAC* 8/9, 1965/1966, 71 pl. 9, 2. 5; Audin, A./Vertet, H., o.c. 246 sqq. figs. 7-10.

#### B. Isis assise

##### Monnaies

79.\* AE, Alexandrie, Hadrien, 133/134 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 89, 759-760 pl. 16; Dattari 1748 pl. 17; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen II* 1116; IV 3488 (imitation). - Rv.: tête coiffée d'un uræus, chiton et himation avec nœud, tenant un sistre dans la dr. et un sceptre court dans la g.

80. AE, Alexandrie, Marc Aurèle, 171/172 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 3472. - Rv.: I. (?) tenant une corne d'abondance de la g. et un sceptre de la dr.

##### Statues

81.\* Marbre. Fiesole, Mus. Arch. 21. De l'acropole de Fiesole. - De Agostino, A., *Fiesole, Itinerari* 83 (1949) 29-30 n° 21 fig. 25; (1962) 60 n° 21 fig. 58. - I. acéphale, assise sur un rocher, le menton probablement appuyé sur la main g., la dr. tenant des épis, une situle suspendue au coude g.; sur la base, dédicace à Isis Taposiris.

82. Calcaire. Cologne, Röm.-Germ. Mus. 29.306. De Cologne, église Ste Ursule. - Fremersdorf, F., *Urkunden zur Kölner Stadtgesch. aus röm. Zeit* (1963) 69 pl. 147; *Römer am Rhein* (Expos. Cologne 1967) 168 n° A 118; Grimm, G., *Die Zeugnisse ägypt. Religion und Kunstelemente im röm. Deutschland*, EPRO 12 (1969) 132-134 n° 14 pls. 19-21. - Début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Femme acéphale, sans signe ni attribut distinctifs, assise sur un trône; sur la base: *ISIDI INVICTE*.

83.\* Marbre. Dresde, Staatl. Kunstlg. ZV 2600 (A 81). - I. acéphale, coiffure libyenne, nœud isiaque, les mains et le bas des jambes manquent.

84. Pierre noire. Paris, Mus. Rodin. - Inédit. - I. trônant, deux trous sur la tête pour l'emblème (manquant), le menton appuyé contre la main dr., la g. baissée; chiton et himation avec nœud isiaque.

##### Statuettes de terre cuite

85. a) Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 43540 (= 15.3.22.1). De Mit Rahineh. - Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 178 n° 38 pl. 24. - I. avec diadème et basileion, himation avec nœud isiaque, stola et guirlande en sautoir de g. à dr., assise sur un tabouret, la tête appuyée contre la main dr., une situle suspendue au poignet g., la main g. tenant des épis (?). - b) Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 55242. De Memphis. - Dunand, o.c. 177-178 n° 37 pl. 24. - Similaire.

86.\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 26946. - Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 171-172 n° 21 pl. 15. - I. assise en tailleur sur une corbeille; himation avec nœud isiaque, tenant de la dr. un sistre, de la g. un vase rond.

87.\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 26945. - Dunand, *Relig. pop.* n° 23 pl. 16. - Semblable avec une tête de chat émergeant au-dessus de l'épaule g.

##### Statuettes de bronze

88.\* Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 12674. - I. trônant, appuyant son menton sur la dr.; pilastre avec uræus à la partie inférieure.

89. Londres, Mus. of London. Trouvée dans la Tamise. - I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. coiffée du disque entre les cornes, vêtue de l'himation avec nœud isiaque, appuie son menton sur sa main dr.

90. (= Euthenia 27\*) Paris, Cab. Méd. 617. D'Alexandrie. - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 617. - I. assise sur un sphinx, avec nœud isiaque, la main dr. levée tient des épis; le bras g. est mutilé.

91. Stuttgart, Landesmus. 3.800. - Inédit. - I. trônant, coiffure libyenne, emblème et bras cassés, nœud isiaque.

92.\* Vatican, Mus. Greg. Egizio 15624. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 275. - I. portant chiton et himation avec nœud isiaque, une situle au poignet g., la main g. tenant sans doute des épis, le bras dr. cassé. La tête (avec vautour accouvé) est antique mais n'appartient pas à cette statue.

#### C. Bustes d'Isis

##### 1. Avec nœud isiaque

93. Relief en marbre. Rome, Mus. Cap. 2448. De Rome, environs du théâtre de Marcellus. - Parlasca, K., *RM* 71, 1964, 195-202 pls. 56. 57, 1; 58, 1-2; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1184. - I. de profil vers la dr., la tête tournée vers l'arrière en direction d'un épi; tête ceinte d'un bandeau; himation avec nœud isiaque sans chiton.

94.\* Bracelet d'or gravé. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1926.98. De Tuhk el-Qarmus (Delta). - Ep. hellénistique. - I. coiffée d'un disque entre deux cornes.

95. Gemme. Pâte de verre. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 6043. 6049. - Botti, G., *Cat. des mon. exposés au Mus. gréco-romain d'Alexandrie* (1900) 150 n° 2539. 2545. - Buste d'I. à g.

96.\* Gemme. Jaspe rouge. Bloomington, Indiana Univ. 64.70.48. - *Ancient Gems from the Coll. of B. Y. Berry* (1968) 60 n° 109. - Buste d'I. à dr. avec emblème sur le front.

97.\* Gemme. Agate. Bloomington, Indiana Univ. 66.33.5. - o.c. 96, 113 n° 206. - Buste d'I. à dr.; emblème légèrement stylisé avec cornes et plumes.

98. Poignée de lampe. Terre cuite. Anc. coll. Osborne. - Osborne, A., *Lychnos et lucerna* (1924) 17 n° 94. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Buste d'I. sur piédouche; au revers, basileion gravé.

99. Poignée de lampe. Terre cuite. Tübingen, Arch. Inst. Sch. 5692/25. - Cahn-Klaiber, E.-M., *Die antiken Tonlampen des arch. Inst. der Univ. Tübingen* (1977) 354 n° 229 pl. 21. - Emblème cassé.



**100.** Lanterne. Terre cuite. Anc. coll. Fouquet. – Dunand, F., *DHA* 2, 1976, 71 pl. 1. – Ep. romaine. – Lanterne cylindrique à toit en forme de coupole flanquée de deux torches; sur le devant, buste d'I.

**101.** Moule de plâtre. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 32056. – Edgar, o. c. 17, n° 32056 pl. 8. – Buste d'I. de trois quarts.

#### Monnaies

**102.** AE, Alexandrie, Galba, 68/69 ap. J.-C., Othon, 69 ap. J.-C., Vitellius, 69 ap. J.-C., Vespasien, 71/72 à 74/75 ap. J.-C., Domitien (81-96 ap. J.-C.), Trajan (98-117 ap. J.-C.), Hadrien (117-138 ap. J.-C.), Antonin le Pieux (138-161 ap. J.-C.). – *BMC Alexandria* 24, 202, 203; 26, 214, 215; 36, 302, 304; Dattari 320, 321, 333, 334, 380-386, 504-507, 920, 1746, 2640, 2641; Milne 356, 370, 379, 420, 421, 427, 428, 433-435, 438, 439. – Rv.: I. coiffée d'un disque entre deux cornes.

**103.** Bi, Alexandrie, Nerva, 96/97 ap. J.-C., Hadrien, 119/120 à 121/122, 123/124, 125/126 et 126/127 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux, 138/139 ap. J.-C. – *BMC Alexandria* 74, 624 pl. 16; 131, 1110; Dattari 634, 1394-1401 pl. 17; 1402; Milne 538, 937, 972, 1014, 1015, 1049, 1058, 1150, 1204, 1614. – Similaire à 102.

**104.** AE, Alexandrie, Domitien, 82/83 et 83/84 ap. J.-C., Otacilia († 249 ap. J.-C.), Maximien II (293-311 ap. J.-C.). – *BMC Alexandria* 36, 303 pl. 16; Dattari 4985 pl. 17; Milne 467, 472. – Rv.: I. coiffée du même emblème posé entre deux épis de blé.

**105.\*** Bi, Alexandrie, Héliogabale, 219/220 ap. J.-C., Iulia Paula († 218 ap. J.-C.), Sévère Alexandre, 232/233 et 233/234 ap. J.-C., Iulia Mamaea († 235 ap. J.-C.), Maximinus, 237/238 ap. J.-C., Philippe I<sup>er</sup> (244-249 ap. J.-C.), Otacilia († 249 ap. J.-C.), Gallien, 266/267 et 267/268 ap. J.-C., Salonina, 266/267 ap. J.-C., Dioclétien (284-305 ap. J.-C.), Galère Maximien (293-311 ap. J.-C.), Constance I<sup>er</sup> (293-306 ap. J.-C.). – *BMC Alexandria* 224, 1751, 1752; 256, 1982, 1983; 262, 2029 pl. 16; 294, 2268 pl. 16; Dattari 4165 pl. 17; 4223, 4313, 4314 pl. 17; 4495, 4496, 4579, 4888, 4986, 5336, 5710, 5711, 6072, 6143; Milne 2781-2783, 3118-3120, 3153, 3154, 3282, 4142-4144, 4172; Geissen, *AlexKaiser-münzen* III 2362, 2488, 2535, 2980. – Rv.: I. coiffée d'un disque surmonté de plumes.

#### Bustes en ronde bosse

**106.** Bronze. Athènes, Mus. Nat. 692. – Inédit. – Ep. romaine. – Buste d'I. sur un sistre.

**107.** Terre cuite. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 9434. – Breccia, *Mon.* II 1, n° 232 pl. 24, 10. – I. coiffée du basileion. – Pour d'autres figurines semblables du même musée, cf. *ibid.* pl. 24, 13-16; ces figurines étaient souvent des manches de lampes.

**108.** Terre cuite. Dresde, Staatl. Kunstslg. – *Exp-Sieglin* II 2 (1924) 89-90 pl. 6, 1. – Buste d'I. avec basileion posé sur une corolle végétale.

**109.\*** Albâtre. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 3410. – Botti, o. c. 95, 19 n° 149. – I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – I. avec himation frangé.

**110.** Plâtre. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 16159 (autrefois Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27604). – Edgar, o. c. 3, n° 27604 pl. 32; Adriani, *Rep A-II* 44 n° 161 pl. 78, 258. – Milieu II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – I. avec himation frangé; très restaurée.

**111.\*** Bronze. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 22288. De Canope. – Breccia, o. c. 23, 18 n° 14 pl. 7, 27. – Ep. hellénistique. – I. (?) coiffée de deux plumes ornées d'un disque.

**112.** Bronze. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27855. – Edgar, o. c. 14, n° 27855 pl. 17. – Haut basileion. – Cf. aussi de Ridder, *BrLouvre* I n° 374-375; II n° 3286.

**113.** Poids de balance en cuivre. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 6169. D'Alexandrie. – Botti, o. c. 95, 137 n° 2379. – Avec basileion. – Cf. aussi Bruxelles, Mus. Royaux A 608. A 1627. A 2160, tous similaires.

**114.** Applique (?) de bronze. Boston, MFA 03.1662. De Dendera. – Comstock/Vermeule, *Bronzes Boston* 462 n° 675. – Avec basileion.

**115.** Plaque d'incrustation de bronze. Paris, Louvre E 25949. De Syrie. – Vandier, J., *RLouvre* 18, 1968, 318 fig. 10. – I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Buste d'I. à dr. avec couronne hathorique sur la tête et basileion sur le front; style égyptisant.

**116.** Bronze. Leningrad, Ermitage. De Gorgippia (Russie méridionale). – Kobylina, M. M., *Divinités orientales sur le littoral nord de la Mer Noire*, *EPRO* 52 (1976) 46 n° 10 pl. 37; Derksen, J. J. V. M./Vermaseren, M. J., «Isis kosmokrator», dans *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano*, *Studi A. Adriani* III (1984) 432 pl. 76, 7. – Buste d'I. sur un petit globe; grand basileion.

**117.\*** Marbre blanc. Constanța, Mus. Arch. 2002. De Tomis. – Canarache, V., et al., *Tezaurul de sculpturi de la Tomis* (1963) 46-51 n° 7 figs. 21-24; résumé français p. 135 n° 7; Bordenache, G., *Studii Clasice* 6, 1964, 175-176 figs. 20-21; Canarache, V., *Le musée d'archéologie, Constantza* (1967) 52 fig. – I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Emblème cassé.

**118.\*** Bronze. Turnu Severin, Muzeul Regiunii II 9173. De Drobeta. – Berciu, I./Petulescu, C. C., *Les cultes orientaux dans la Dacie méridionale*, *EPRO* 54 (1976) 30 n° 10 frontispice. – Buste d'I. sur une corolle d'acanthé, haut basileion.

**119.** Terre cuite. Catane, Mus. Civ. 5988. De Centuripe. – Avec emblème.

**120.** Applique (?) de bronze. Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 20614. – Inédit. – Tête surmontée d'un disque entre deux cornes.

**121.** Bronze. Paris, Cab. Méd. 640. 641. – Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 640. 641. – Ep. romaine. – Avec basileion.

**122.** Bronze. Paris, Cab. Méd. 639. – Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 639. – Ep. romaine. – I. coiffée d'un modius surmonté de deux épis à leur tour flanqués de deux uræi.

**123.** Bronze. South Hadley (Mass.), Mount Holyoke College CG 10.1965. – Mitten, D. G./Doeringer, S. F., *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (1967) 278 n° 270 fig.; Derksen/Vermaseren, o. c. 116, 432. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Buste d'I. sur une corolle d'acanthé, basileion orné d'un uræus (cassé).

**124.\*** Terre cuite. Amsterdam, coll. privée. – Derksen/Vermaseren, o. c. 116, 430-432 pl. 76, 1-5. – Buste d'I. sur un petit globe; sur la tête, une grenade et un grand croissant.

**125.** Terre cuite. Anc. coll. Fouquet. – Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet* 26 n° 80 fig. – Buste d'I. sortant d'une corbeille: cheveux calamistrés, main dr. levée tenant un sistre, main g. tenant une petite amphore.

## 2. Sans nœud isiaque

**126.** Statuette de bronze. Réthymnon, Mus. De Hagia Galéné (Crète). – Platon, N., *ArchDelt* 16, 1960, B 257 pl. 225a; Dunand, *Isis* II 210 pl. 29. – I. coiffée d'un haut diadème surmonté d'un croissant de lune, d'un disque et de trois épis.

**127.\*** Patère de pierre. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 26724. – I. avec basileion.

## 3. Avec la tête voilée

**128.\*** Poignée de lampe en terre cuite. Tübingen, Arch. Inst. H.S./II-2040. – Cahn-Klaiber, o. c. 99, 347 n° 204 pl. 19. – I. avec nœud isiaque.

**129.** Vase plastique. Naples, Mus. Naz. 116.660. De Pompéi IX 6, s. n. (boutique). – Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 175 n° 144 pl. 20, 1. – II<sup>e</sup> moitié I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – I. avec basileion et nœud isiaque.

## II. Isis en compagnie d'autres divinités

### A. Isis et Sarapis

**130.** Peinture murale. Pompéi, temple d'Isis. – Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 145 n° 51 pl. 8, 1. – 63-79 ap. J.-C. – I. et Sarapis trônant (il ne reste que la partie figurant Sarapis [Naples, Mus. Naz. 8927]); I., couronnée d'une fleur de lotus, vêtue d'une tunique blanche et d'un manteau bleu drapé sur l'épaule g., sans nœud isiaque; elle ne semble pas avoir d'attributs.

#### Reliefs

**131.** Coupe à reliefs. Stéatite. Munich, Ägypt. Slg. ÄS 5972. – *Staatl. Slg. Ägypt. Kunst* 2 (1976) 199 fig. – I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – I., à g. avec basileion et nœud isiaque; Sarapis à dr. avec modius. – Voir aussi *ibid.* 217, ÄS 2006.

**132.\*** Coupe à reliefs. Serpentine. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 18755. – v. Bissing, *CatGénCaire. Steingefäße* (1907) 162 n° 18755; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 287 fig. 306a. – Bustes sur nénuphar: à g., I. avec basileion et nœud; à dr., Sarapis avec modius.

**133.** Patères. Serpentine. a) Paris, Louvre MA 2734 (= N 5275 = MN 1407). – Tran tam Tinh, «Isis et Sérapis se regardant», *RA* 1970, 1, 71 n. 3 fig. 25; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 287 fig. 307a. – A g., Sarapis, à dr., I. – b) Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 12739. – *Ägypt. Mus. Berlin* (1967) n° 1016 *infra*. – Si-

milair à a avec, au revers, un gorgoneion dans le médaillon central.

**134.** Autel. Bronze. Brooklyn, Mus. 37.1614E. De Tell el-Yahûdiya (Delta). – *Late Egyptian Coptic Art* (1943) 19 pls. 27-28. – III<sup>e</sup>/IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – De chaque côté d'un uræus disposé dans un édifice, bustes d'I. et de S. légèrement tournés vers l'intérieur. – Pour un autel similaire avec les bustes d'I. et Harpocrate, cf. 172.

**135.\*** Os. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. R 1515. De Cerveri. – Tinh, *Sérapis debout* 108-109 n° IB 7 fig. 33. – I. et Sarapis de chaque côté d'Isis-Thermouthis; I. sans emblème sur la tête s'appuie du bras dr. sur le sceptre et tient dans la g. une situle.

#### Gemmes

**136.\*** Grenat. Chicago, Univ., Oriental Inst. A 29790. – Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 136 fig. 62. – III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Côte à côte et tournés vers la g., bustes d'I. coiffée du basileion et de Sarapis coiffé de la couronne atef (= couronne de Haute-Egypte, flanquée de deux plumes d'autruche, l'ensemble étant disposé au-dessus de deux cornes de bélier).

**137.\*** Camée. Onyx. Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. IX A 8. – Eichler, F./Kris, E., *Die Kameen im Kunsthist. Mus.* (1927) n° 32 pl. 12; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 136 fig. 66; *Osiris...*, o. c. 53b, 151 n° 125 fig. – I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Semblable à 136 mais bustes tournés vers la dr.

**138.\*** Cornaline. Munich, Münzslg. – *AGDI* 1 n° 374 pl. 44. – I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Semblable à 136 mais Sarapis est coiffé du modius.

**139.** Cornaline. Paris, Cab. Méd. – Chabouillet, *BiblNatCamées* n° 2016; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 136 fig. 65. – II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Semblable à 138 mais I. est coiffée de deux hautes plumes.

**140.** Jaspe. Caracal, Mus. 1670. De Romula. – Berciu/Petulescu, o. c. 118, 32 n° 16 pl. 10. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Semblable à 138 mais I. est coiffée d'un disque et de deux plumes.

**141.\*** Cornaline. Munich, Münzslg. – *AGDI* 3 n° 2674 pl. 249. – III<sup>e</sup>/IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – I. à g. et Sarapis à dr., face à face, tous deux coiffés d'un modius.

#### Bague et médaillon en or

**142.** Londres, BM 95. – Marshall, *BMFingerRings* n° 95 pl. 4; Boardman, *GGFR* 372 fig. 1011; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 135 fig. 61. – III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Semblable à 136.

**143.** Brooklyn, Brooklyn Mus. 73.85. – *Cleopatra's Egypt. Age of the Ptolemies* (Expos. Brooklyn 1988) n° 102 fig. et pl. 29; *Kleopatra* (Expos. Munich 1989) n° 98 pl. – Règles de Ptolémée IV (222-205 av. J.-C.) ou Ptolémée V (205-180 av. J.-C.). – A g., I. avec emblème et nœud isiaque, à dr. Sarapis avec couronne atef.

#### Monnaies

**144.** AR tétradrachme, Sidon, Ptolémée IV (222-205 av. J.-C.). – Franke/Hirmer, *GrMünze* 2 pl. 220, 808; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 141 n. 3 fig. 68; SNG Copenhagen 197, 198. – Av.: semblable à 136 mais

bustes tournés vers la dr., I. coiffée du basileion sur deux épis; Rv.: aigle sur foudre.

**145.\*** AR statère, Ptolémée VI (180-145 av. J.-C.). - BMC Ptolemies 79, 7 pl. 18, 8. - Av.: semblable à **144**; Rv.: aigle.

**146.** AE, Alexandrie, Hadrien, 133/134 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux, 141/142 et 153/154 ap. J.-C., Sévère Alexandre, 230/231 ap. J.-C., Julia Mamaea († 235 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Alexandria 88, 746 pl. 14; 226, 1764 pl. 14; Dattari 2855 pl. 23; Milne 1719. 2223. 3045; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1414. 1715; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 143. 144-145. 146 fig. 69. 72. - Rv.: semblable à **141** mais avec bustes orientés vers la dr.

**147.** Bi, Alexandrie, Annia Faustina (218-222 ap. J.-C.), Héliogabale, 221/222 ap. J.-C., Maximinus I<sup>er</sup>, 236/237 ap. J.-C., Philippe I<sup>er</sup>, 245/246 ap. J.-C., Maximianus I<sup>er</sup>, 295/296 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 199, 1553; 201, 1562; 213, 1666. 1667; 230, 1797; 335, 2619; Milne 2854. 2855. 3176. 3177. 3247-3249. 3616. 5231-5233; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* III 2574. - Rv.: semblable à **146**.

**148.\*** Bi, Alexandrie, Saloninus Caesar, 259/260 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 297, 2289 pl. 14; Dattari 5367 pl. 23; Milne 4023; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* III 3010. - Rv.: semblable à **138** mais Sarapis a un sceptre.

**149.** AE, Alexandrie, Antonin le Pieux (138-161 ap. J.-C.). - Dattari 2377 pl. 23. - Rv.: bustes affrontés de Sarapis (à g., avec modius) et d'I. (à dr. avec basileion).

**150.** AE, Aigeai (Cilicie), Commode, 187/188 ap. J.-C. - BMC Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia 23, 23 pl. 4, 7. - Rv.: semblable à **149**, mais avec intervention des bustes.

**151.** AE, Eirenopolis (Cilicie), Caracalla, 214/215 ap. J.-C. - SNG v. Aulock 5593. - Rv.: semblable à **149**.

**152.** AE, Laodicée (Phrygie), Trébonien Galle (251-253 ap. J.-C.). - Kenner, F., *NumZ* 4, 1872 [1875], 244-246 pl. 10, 6. - Rv.: semblable à **149** mais avec intervention des bustes.

**153.** AE, Temenothyrai (Phrygie), ép. de Philippe I<sup>er</sup> (244-249 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Phrygia 410, 13. - Av.: buste de Roma; Rv.: Sarapis trônant; devant lui, I. voilée, agite de la g. un sistre et s'appuie de la dr. sur un sceptre.

#### Vases plastiques de terre cuite

**154.\* a)** Munich, Ägypt. Slg. AS 3991. - Staatl. Slg. Ägypt. Kunst<sup>2</sup> (1976) 253-254; Cleopatra's Egypt..., o.c. **143**, n° 103 (avec bibl.) fig.; Kleopatra..., o.c. **143**, n° 99 fig. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av./I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - A dr., I. parée d'un collier, vêtue d'un himation dont le nœud isiaque est sur l'épaule; à g., Sarapis représenté tel un noir, avec cheveux frisés. - **b)** Leyden, Rijksmus. AT 29. - Pour d'autres documents similaires, cf. *ExpSieglin* II 3 (1927) 90. 205 fig. 105e (Tübingen, Univ., Inst. Arch.); 205 pl. 29, 6 (anc. coll. Schreiber); 203 pl. 28, 1 (anc. coll. Herold - v. Sieglin); Cleopatra's Egypt..., o.c. **143**, n° 103; Kleopatra..., o.c. **143**, n° 99.

#### Lampes de terre cuite

**155.\*** Toronto, ROM 907.1.8. - Hayes, J. W., *Ancient Lamps in the Royal Ontario Museum I* (1980) n° 298 pl. 37; Tinh, *Sérapis debout* 95 n° IA 14 fig. 14. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. tenant dans sa dr. une situle (?), dans sa g. une corne d'abondance et Sarapis tenant sa main dr. au-dessus du Cerbère tricéphale.

**156.** Carthage, Mus. 08.35. De Bordj Djedid. - Deneauve, J., *Lampes de Carthage* (1969) 202 n° 981. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Bustes de Sarapis et d'I., côte à côte et tournés vers la dr.

**157.** Ostie, Mus. Ostiense 2146. D'Ostie, nécropole de l'Isola Sacra. - Jucker, H., *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* (1961) 187 n. 11 fig. 88; Tinh, o.c. **133a**, 59-61. 68 fig. 9. - Poignée plastique supportant les bustes d'I. (coiffée du basileion) et de Sarapis (coiffé du modius) se donnant l'accolade.

**158. a)** Paris, Louvre Cp 4855. - Tinh, o.c. **133a**, 61 figs. 4. 5. 8. - Semblable à **157** mais I. et Sarapis ne se donnent pas l'accolade. - **b)** Londres, BM 1950.1-4.3; 1814.7-4.59; 1814.7-4.111. - Bailey, *BMLamps* II 398 Q 1446 - Q 1448 pl. 91. - Semblables à **a**. - Voir aussi une pièce de Paris, Cab. Méd.: Tinh, *ibid.* 61 fig. 7.

**159.** Médaille de lampe. Tunis, Bardo K.813. D'El Djem. - *Cat. du Mus. d'Alaoui*, Suppl. [I] (1910) 189 n° K.813; Tinh, o.c. **133a**, 63 fig. 10. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Bustes affrontés d'I. et de Sarapis. Plusieurs dizaines de lampes semblables ont été retrouvées, surtout en Afrique du Nord: cf. *ibid.* 63 sqq. figs. 11-21; Budde, L., «Julian-Helios Sarapis und Helena-Isis», *AA* 87, 1972, 630-642; Derksen, J. J. V. M., dans *Homm. à M. J. Vermaseren I*, *EPRO* 68 (1978) 296-304 pls. 41. 42.

#### Médailles d'applique de vases en terre cuite

**160.\*** Arles, Mus. Lapidaire d'Art Païen P.663. - Wuilleumier/Audin, *Médailles* 169 n° 335 fig.; Tinh, o.c. **133a**, 73 fig. 23. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Bustes affrontés d'I. (à g. avec basileion) et de Sarapis (à dr. avec modius); entre eux, fleurs et épis. - Ces médailles décoraient les vases fabriqués surtout aux II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. dans la vallée du Rhône (Wuilleumier/Audin, o.c. 118-173).

**161.\*** Augsburg, Röm. Mus. VF 66/2. De Westheim, dans un atelier de potier. - Alföldi, A., dans *Lavreae Aquincenses mem. V. Kuzsinszky I* (1938) 314-315. 326 n° 1 pl. 59, 1; *idem*, o.c. **78**, 66 pl. 15, 1; Grimm, G., o.c. **82**, 226 n° 139, 4 pl. 45; Cysz, W., «Modelltöpfer in der römischen Ziegelei von Westheim bei Augsburg», dans *Forschungen zur Provinzialröm. Archäol. in Bayerisch-Schwaben* (1985) 154-157. 184 n° 12 fig. 6, 2. - Début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Bustes similaires; entre eux, un épi. Pour d'autres médailles semblables, en Pannonie et en Germanie, cf. Alföldi, *Lavreae...* 312-341; *idem*, o.c. **78**, pl. 15, 4. 5; Grimm, o.c. **82**, n° 136-138.

#### Moule de terre cuite

**162.** Berlin, Staatl. Mus. De Troie. - Alföldi, o.c. **78**, 66 pl. 7, 3. - Bustes affrontés de Sarapis (à g.) et d'I. (à dr.); entre eux, vase et fleurs de lotus.

Cf. aussi **330**. Pour un document réunissant I. et Sarapis-Ammon, → Ammon **152**.

#### B. Isis, Sarapis et Harpocrate

**163.** (= Harpocrates 377\* avec bibl.) Peinture murale. De Pompéi VI 2, 14 (Casa delle Amazoni), *in situ*. - Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 127-128 n° 13 pl. 19, 1. - Dans une niche peinte, I., Sarapis et Harpocrate debout; I. est couronnée d'une fleur de lotus, tient une corne d'abondance de la g. et un sistre de la dr.

**164.** (= Harpocrates 380b\*) Coupe à reliefs. Serpentine. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 18756. - v. Bissing, o.c. **132**, n° 18756 pl. 8. - Buste de Sarapis (à g.) et d'I. sans nœud isiaque à dr.; au centre, Harpocrate assis de face, une corne d'abondance dans la g.

**165.\*** Lampe polylychne en terre cuite, en forme de navire. Ostie, Mus. Ostiense 3218. D'Ostie. - NSc 1909, 118 n° 7 fig. 2; Picard, Ch., *RA* 1962, 2, 230 fig. 4; Witt pl. 37; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 307 n. 1 fig. 323. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur le pont, I. debout, un sistre dans la dr., la main g. levée tenant une ciste avec uræus; sur la poupe et la proue, bustes de Sarapis et d'Harpocrate.

**166.** (= Harpocrates 388) Moule fr. Châtillon-sur-Seine, Mus. Arch. De Vertillum. - Alföldi, o.c. **78**, 71 n° 10 pl. 15, 2; Vertet, H., *Gallia* 27, 1969, 100 n. 26. - I. assise sur un bateau, en face de Sarapis; entre eux, Harpocrate.

**167.** (= Harpocrates 379 avec bibl.) Relief de bronze. Pompéi, Antiquarium 1090/4. D'une villa rustica de Pompéi. - Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 172 n° 136 pl. 9, 1. - I. et Sarapis de part et d'autre d'Harpocrate debout sur un autel; I., coiffée d'une fleur de lotus, agite un sistre de la dr. et tient un rameau d'olivier de la g.; sans nœud isiaque.

**168.** (= Harpocrates 390) Monnaie. AE, Apollonia Mordiaion (Lycie), Caracalla (198-217 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Lycia 202, 3 pl. 33, 4. - Rv.: I. avec sistre dans la dr. et situle dans la g. face à Sarapis trônant; derrière lui, Harpocrate.

**169.** (= Harpocrates 389\* avec bibl.) Monnaie. AE, Alexandrie, Hadrien, 133/134 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux, 157/158 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 88-89, 749 pl. 14; Dattari 1843 pl. 23; Milne 1411. 2355. 2356; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1129. - Rv.: bustes affrontés de Sarapis (à g. avec modius) et d'I. (à dr. avec basileion); entre eux, Harpocrate nu, debout; au-dessous, aigle aux ailes déployées.

**170.** (= Harpocrates 391) Monnaie. AE, Nicomedia (Bithynie), Philippe I<sup>er</sup> (244-249 ap. J.-C.), Otacilia († 249 ap. J.-C.). - SNG v. Aulock 7123. 7124; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 155-156. 316 fig. 87b. - Rv.: similaire à **169**.

**171.\*** Statuette de bronze. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 8871. - Tinh, *Sérapis debout* 115-116 n° IB 30 fig. 44. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (?) - De g. à dr.: I., Harpocrate et Sarapis debout sur une plaque rectangulaire; I. tient un sistre dans la dr. et une situle dans la g.

Pour d'autres documents, → Harpocrates 377-393.

#### C. Isis et Harpocrate

**172.** Autel en terre cuite fr. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 6489. D'Alexandrie, nécropole occidentale. - Sur un côté, I. coiffée du basileion; sur l'autre, buste d'Harpocrate. - Pour un autel similaire avec les bustes d'I. et de Sarapis, cf. **134**.

**173.\*** Relief sur patère de stéatite. Athènes, Mus. Benaki 8248. - Tran tam Tinh, *RA* 1972, 2, 334 fig. 19. - Bustes de Sarapis (à g. avec modius) et d'I. (à dr. avec basileion); au centre, Harpocrate.

**174.\*** Relief de marbre. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 47108. - Grimm, G., *Kunst der Ptolemäer- u. Römerzeit im Ägypt. Mus. Kairo* (1975) 22 n° 33 pl. 67. - I. coiffée d'un disque entre deux cornes, costume sans nœud, tenant dans sa dr. un bouquet d'épis et de lotus; derrière son épaule dr., surgit Harpocrate, coiffé du pschent.

**175.** Relief de marbre. D'Ascalon. - Savignac, R., *RBibl* 2, 1905, 426-428 pl. Avi-Yonah, M. (éd.), *Encyclopedia of Archaeol. Excav. in the Holy Land I* (1975) 127-128 fig. - I. coiffée d'un modius sur lequel est posé le basileion; le nœud frangé est fait de deux pointes qui forment un X devant le corps; derrière l'épaule dr., Harpocrate debout, vêtu.

**176.\*** Gemme de prase (variante de calcédoine). Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 9822. - Philipp, o.c. **37a**, 61 n° 67 pl. 17. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Similaire à **37a**; derrière I., un rameau; à la g. d'I. (sur l'original), Harpocrate nu, debout.

**177.** Tessère, Alexandrie, ép. impériale. - Milne 5411. - Av.: Nil couché; Rv.: I. portant Harpocrate.

#### Monnaies

**178.** AE, Alexandrie, Trajan, 113/114 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 926 pl. 17. - Rv.: I. trônant, coiffée du basileion, tenant un sceptre de la g., couronnant de la dr. Harpocrate nu, debout auprès de sa jambe dr. et portant une corne d'abondance.

**179.** AE, Alexandrie, Trajan, 109/110 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 921 pl. 17. - Rv.: I. sans nœud isiaque, tenant un sistre de la dr. et tendant la g. vers Harpocrate assis sur un lotus planté en terre.

**180.\*** AE, nome de Memphis, Hadrien, 126/127 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 346, 21. 22; Dattari 6299 pl. 35; Milne *Addenda* p. 131 n° 1223\*; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 3411. - Rv.: I., avec le vautour accouvé et le basileion, tenant un uræus dans la dr. et, sur la g. tendue, Harpocrate (?) dont ne subsistent sur l'exemplaire illustré ici que les jambes et le bas du vêtement.

**181.** AE, nome de Phthempht, Hadrien, 126/127 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 351, 47; Dattari 6350 pl. 35; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 3420. - Rv.: I. tient de la main g. un lotus sur lequel est assis Harpocrate; la dr. est baissée.

#### Statue, statuette

**182.** (= Harpocrates 364\*) Marbre. Munich, Glypt. 250. De Rome. - Reinach, *RépStat* I 612, 5; Dunand, *Isis* I pl. 30; Walters 70. 127 (index s.v.) pl. 7b. - I. voilée; sa tête et ses bras manquent; à sa dr., Harpocrate debout, tenant une corne d'abondance.

**183.** Bronze. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27669. – Edgar, *o. c.* 14, n° 27669 pl. 4. – Ép. hellénistique. – Dans la g., un lotus sur lequel est assis Harpocrate. – Pour d'autres bronzes semblables du même musée, mais dont il ne reste que le bras g. porteur d'Harpocrate, cf. *ibid.* n° 27676-27677 pl. 4.

Pour d'autres documents, → Abraxas 47; → Harpokrates 359-367.

#### D. Isis, Sarapis et Anubis

**184.** (= Anubis 48) Relief de marbre. Londres, BM. D'Erythrées (Ionie). – Waldstein, C., *JHS* 7, 1886, 249 n° 5 pl. C (en haut); Dunand, *Isis* III 73; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 336 fig. 356; Mitropoulou, E., *Five Contributions to the Problems of Greek Reliefs* (1976) 31 fig. 10; Grenier, *Anubis* n° 231 pl. 21. – I. tenant le sceptre de la dr., debout devant Sarapis trônant, accompagné d'Anubis.

L'on peut rapprocher le relief de Rhodes, Mus. 5900 (= Hera 264\*) de la fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.: cf. Cook, *Zeus* III 2, 1035 fig. 831; Laurenzi, *o. c.* 32, 45 fig. 4; Mitropoulou, *o. c.* 31 fig. 8; Walters p. 14. – I. (?) debout devant un dieu trônant (Sarapis?), la main dr. contre la hanche; relief usé. Pour une interprétation différente de ce document, → Hera 264.

**185.** (= Anubis 50\*) Moule en terre cuite. Quarto d'Altino, Mus. Naz. 2631. D'Altino (prov. de Venise). – Blanck, H., *AA* 1968, 573 fig. 35; Grenier, *Anubis* n° 265. – Bustes affrontés d'I. tenant le sistre et de Sarapis; entre eux, tête canine d'Anubis.

Pour d'autres documents, → Anubis 46-50 et commentaire.

#### E. Isis et Anubis

**186.** (= Anubis 51) Peinture murale fr. Chieti, Mus. Naz. D'Alba Fucens (prov. de L'Aquila), zone du temple d'Hercule, matériaux de remblai. – Mertens, J., *FA* 16, 1961, n° 4569; Visscher, F. De, *Bull. Cl. des Lettres Acad. Roy. de Belgique* 48, 1962, 180; *idem*, et al., *MonAnt* 46, 1963, 383-384; Malaise, M., *Inventaire préliminaire des doc. égypt. découverts en Italie*, *EPRO* 21 (1972) 52; Grenier, *Anubis* n° 246. – Fin I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Nombreux fr. d'une décoration de type nilotique dont un au moins comporte la représentation d'I. et d'Anubis.

**187.\*** Lampes de terre cuite. a)\* (= Anubis 53a) Carthage, Mus. 08.13. De Bordj Djedid. – Deneauve, *o. c.* 156, 192 n° 904 fig. pl. 82; Grenier, *Anubis* n° 253 pl. 30a. – Bustes d'Anubis (à g. avec caducée) tournés vers I. (à dr. avec basileion) qui détourne la tête. – b) (= Anubis 53b). Aix-en-Provence, Univ. de Marseille. – Euzennat, M./Salviat, F., *Les découvertes archéol. de la Bourse à Marseille* (1968) 45 fig. p. 2; Leclant, *IBIS* II pl. 2; Grenier, *Anubis* n° 254 pl. 30b. – Similaire à a.

Pour d'autres documents, → Anubis 52. 54 et commentaire.

#### F. Isis, Harpocrate et Anubis

##### Lampes en terre cuite

**188.** (= Anubis 60i) Göttingen, Univ. De Boscoreale. – Klumbach, H., dans *Helvetia Antiqua. Festschr. E. Vogt* (1966) 175 fig. 6, 1. – I. entre Harpocrate et Anubis; I. est coiffée d'une fleur de lotus, tient une corne d'abondance de la g. et une patère (?) dans la dr. – Voir aussi Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 170-171 n° 132. 133 pl. 21, 1.

**189.** (= Anubis 60d) Naples, Mus. Naz. 19.301. – Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 171 n° 133b pl. 22, 2; Grenier, *Anubis* n° 256f. – I. entre Harpocrate et Anubis; I., coiffée d'une fleur de lotus, tient un sistre de la g. et une patère de la dr. – Pour cette série très connue, → Anubis 59. 60a-60x. 61\*; Harpokrates p. 439 section A 3; cf. aussi Grenier, *o. c.* n° 256.

Pour un autre document, → Anubis 72\* et commentaire.

#### G. Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrate et Anubis

**190.** (= Anubis 55\* avec bibl.) Peinture murale. De Pompéi VI 16, 7 (Casa degli amorini dorati), *in situ*. – Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 129-130 n° 17 pl. 15, 1; Grenier, *Anubis* n° 241. – 63-79 ap. J.-C. – De g. à dr., Sarapis, I., Harpocrate et Anubis debout; I. vêtue d'une tunique et d'une stola en sautoir, coiffée d'une fleur de lotus, tient de la dr. levée un sistre; le bras g. est baissé.

**191.\*** (= Anubis 57\*) Médaille d'applique. Augsburg, Röm. Mus. VF 66/10. De Westheim. – Alföldi, *o. c.* 161, 314-315. 327 n° 4 pl. 60, 1-1a; Grimm, *o. c.* 82, 224-227 n° 139, 1 fig. 39 pl. 44; Czysz, *o. c.* 161, 154-157. 183 n° 11 fig. 6, 1. – I. et Sarapis allongés sur une *klinè*; à g., Anubis et Harpocrate.

Pour d'autres documents, → Anubis 56. 58\* et commentaire; → Hermanubis, après 30 («représentation à écarter»).

#### H. Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrate, Anubis et Hermanubis

**192.** Statuettes de terre cuite. a) (= Hermanubis 18) Anc. coll. Bircher. D'Alexandrie. – *ExpSieglin* II 2 (1924) 14 fig. 1. – I. sur une *klinè* avec Hermanubis, Anubis, Harpocrate et Sarapis. – b) Paris, Louvre E 14371. – I. avec les mêmes divinités à part Hermanubis remplacé par Osiris.

#### I. Isis, Harpocrate et Osiris

**193.** (= Harpokrates 373\*) Relief sur patère de stéatite. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 19579. – *Ägypt. Mus. Berlin* (1967) n° 1016 fig. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Au-dessus d'un lotus incisé, trois bustes en relief: I. (à g.) avec basileion et nœud isiaque, Harpocrate (au centre) coiffé du *pschent* et Osiris imberbe (à dr.), coiffé de deux plumes.

#### J. Isis, Sarapis et Apis

**194.\*** Relief de marbre. Londres, BM 2150. De Rhodes (?). – Cook, *Zeus* III 2, 1036 fig. 832; Laurenzi, *o. c.* 32, 44 fig. 3; Dunand, *Isis* III 23-24 pl. 5; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 335-336 fig. 355; Mitropoulou, *o. c.* 184, 31 fig. 9; Grenier, *Anubis* n° 230 pl. 20. – Fin II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – I. acéphale, un long sceptre dans la g., la dr. contre la hanche (?), se tient debout à g. de Sarapis trônant; entre eux, bœuf debout (Apis?).

Pour d'autres documents, → Apis 33\*. 34\*; → Bès 63\* (?) avec Bès en plus des autres divinités; pour Isis allaitant Apis: → 244-248; → Apis 30\*.

#### K. Isis, Sarapis, Anubis et Apis

**195.\*** (= Apis 13 avec bibl.) Autel. Pythagoreion, Mus. De Samos. – Horn, *Samos* XII (1972) 209-212 n° 173 pls. 80-82; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 341-342. – I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. – I. coiffée d'un grand disque entre deux cornes, s'appuie de la dr. sur un sceptre, la g. sur la hanche, debout entre le bœuf Apis et Sarapis trônant, ce dernier accompagné d'Anubis.

#### L. Isis et Horus

→ Horos 29-35.

#### M. Isis, Sarapis et Horus

**196.** (= Horos 7\*) Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 40715. – Kraus, Th., *MDIK* 19, 1963, 97-98 pl. 15; Tinh, *Sarapis debout* 89-90 n° IA 2 fig. 2. – De g. à dr., I., Horus et Sarapis (accompagné du Cerbère tricéphale, assis à sa dr.), debout dans un naos à fronton arqué; les attributs dans les mains baissées d'I. ont disparu.

#### N. Isis, Harpocrate et Horus

→ Horos 8 et commentaire.

#### O. Isis, Anubis, Horus et Apis

→ Anubis 65 (?); → Horos 47 (= Anubis 68\*) et commentaire.

#### P. Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrate, Horus et Ammon-Rê (?)

→ Horos 6 et commentaire.

#### Q. Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrate et Nil

→ Harpokrates 394.

#### R. Isis, Harpocrate et Nephthys

→ Harpokrates 369\*. 370; au sujet de Nephthys, → Abraxas 54\*.

#### S. Isis et Bès

→ Bès 48\*. 63\* (?) et commentaire.

#### T. Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrate et Bès

→ Bès 12\*.

#### U. Isis, Sarapis, Hathor et Bès

**197.\*** (= Hathor 39) Vase à reliefs de terre cuite. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 22829. – *Ägypt. Mus. Berlin* (1967) n° 1015 fig.; Tinh, *RA* 1972, 2, 327-328. 339-340 figs. 7-8. – Fin I<sup>er</sup>/début II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Bustes en relief d'I. (au centre, coiffée de l'emblème huthorique, avec cheveux calamistrés, nœud isiaque), de Sarapis (à g.), d'Hathor (à dr.) et Bès en pied (à l'extrême gauche).

#### V. Isis, Sarapis et Anoukis

**198.\*** Relief sur patère. Londres, BM 38517. – Parlasca, K., dans *Das römisch-byzant. Ägypten*, Symposium Trier 1978 (1983) 158 pl. 24, 4. – II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Sarapis coiffé du modius entre Anoukis (à g.) avec une couronne de plumes et I. (à dr.), coiffée du basileion; en bas, lotus entre deux enfants nus.

#### W. Isis, Sarapis et Déméter

**199.** (= Alexandria 77\*) Relief sur patère de serpentine. Paris, Louvre MA 2733. – Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 288 fig. 308a. – Sarapis entre I. avec basileion et Déméter (?) ou Alexandrie (?) selon Hornbostel, *o. c.*

**200.\*** Lampes de terre cuite. a)\* Poignée de lampe fr. Anc. coll. Fouquet. – Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet* 78 n° 186 pl. 48; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 304 fig. 320. – I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – I. (avec basileion et corne d'abondance dans la g.) et Déméter de part et d'autre de Sarapis trônant. – b) Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 8578. – Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 304 fig. 319. – II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Similaire à a.

**201.** Médaille de stuc. Marché des ant. – Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 304. 481 fig. 373. – I. (avec corne d'abondance) et Déméter de part et d'autre de Sarapis trônant.

Pour un autre document réunissant I., Sarapis et Déméter, → 280.



## X. Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrate et Déméter

202.\* Lampe de terre cuite fr. (poignée). Athènes, Mus. Nat. coll. Benaki M<sup>n</sup> 830. - Tinh, *Sérapis debout* 249 n° V 13 fig. 269. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - De g. à dr., en position debout, Déméter voilée, Harpocrate nu, Sarapis avec himation et I. coiffée du basileion, avec nœud isiaque, une corne d'abondance dans la main g. et levant la main dr. pour couronner Sarapis.

203. Monnaie. AE, Bizye (Thrace), Philippe I<sup>er</sup> (244-249 ap. J.-C.). - Jurukova, o. c. 27e, n° 136 pl. 22, 136. - Rv.: Sarapis trônant au centre, la dr. tendue au-dessus du Cerbère tricéphale; à sa g., Déméter tenant un flambeau; à sa dr., I. tenant un sistre dans la dr. et une corne d'abondance dans la g.; entre elle et Sarapis, Harpocrate tenant une corne d'abondance.

Pour d'autres documents, → Harpokrates 397.

## Y. Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrate et Dionysos

204. (= Dionysos/Bacchus 126\*, = Harpokrates 395) Relief de marbre. Paris, Louvre MA 3128 (MND 932). De Thuburbo Majus (Tunisie). - Michon, E., *MonPiot* 25, 1921/22, 229-236 pl. 18; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 214 fig. 160; Tinh, *Sérapis debout* 261-262 n° VI 2 fig. 290. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. (avec basileion et sistre dans la dr.) accompagnée de Sarapis, Harpocrate et Dionysos; la main g. d'I. est cachée par les autres personnages.

## Z. Isis, Sarapis et les Dioscures

205.\* Lampe de terre cuite en forme de navire. Londres, BM Q 2722. De Pouzzoles. - Bailey, *BMLamps* III Q 2722 fig. 28 pl. 80; Tinh, *DOCampagne* 52-54 n° IS.4 fig. 31. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur la proue, I. avec une corne d'abondance dans la g., couronnant Sarapis debout, tenant un gouvernail; sur le pont, les Dioscures, figure grotesque et inscription; sous le navire, inscription en l'honneur de Hélios-Sarapis.

## A'. Isis, Sarapis, les Dioscures, Junon et Jupiter Dolichénien

206. (= Dioskouroi/Castores 115\*, = Iuno 110) Relief dolichénien de marbre. Rome, Mus. Cap. 9747. De Rome, Dolichenum de l'Aventin. - Colini, A. M., *BullCom* 63, 1936, 152 n° 16 pl. 4; Merlat, *Répertoire des inscr. et mon. figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichénus* (1951) 166-168 n° 185 pl. 19; Pietrangeli, o. c. 52, 40 n° 24 pl. 8; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 225 fig. 190; Hörig, M./Schwertheim, E., *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni* (CCID), *EPRO* 106 (1987) n° 365 pl. 77. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur les côtés, Jupiter Dolichénien et Junon debout respectivement sur un taureau et une biche; au centre, bustes d'I. et de Sarapis sur l'aigle au-dessus d'un autel; dans les angles, bustes des Dioscures. I. est coiffée du basileion et drapée dans un himation frangé avec nœud isiaque.

207. (= Dioskouroi/Castores 84 avec bibl., = Iuno 113 avec bibl.) Relief dolichénien de marbre. Rome, Mus. Cap. 9750. De Rome, Dolichenum de l'Aventin. - Colini, o. c. 206, 152 n° 17 fig. 9; Merlat, o. c. 206, 202-205 n° 206 pl. 22, 1; Pietrangeli, o. c. 52, 52 n° 38; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 307 n. 1 fig. 330; Tinh, *Sérapis debout* 174-175 n° IVB 1 fig. 130; Hörig/Schwertheim, o. c. 206, n° 386 pl. 87. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. et Sarapis en compagnie de Jupiter Dolichénien et Junon ainsi que des Dioscures; I. est coiffée du basileion et d'un croissant de lune et tient une couronne ou une situle (cf. Merlat o. c.) de la g. et un sistre de la dr.

## B'. Isis, Sarapis et Apollon

→ Apollon 806; cf. aussi 288 et Apollon/Apollo, commentaire p. 438.

## C'. Isis, Chnoum et Déméter

208.\* Relief sur patère fr. Londres, BM 38513. - Parlasca, o. c. 198, 158 pl. 25, 1. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Bustes d'I. coiffée du basileion (à g.), de Chnoum criocephale (au centre) et d'une déesse coiffée du modius, à dr. (sans doute Déméter).

## D'. Isis, Anubis et Minerve

→ Anubis 67\* (= Athena/Minerva 98 avec renvois).

## E'. Isis et Ammon

→ Ammon 117, 174\*.

## F'. Isis et Io

→ 265. 266.

## G'. Isis et Hélios

209.\* Relief sur plaque rectangulaire de bronze. Paris, Cab. Méd. 121. Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNat-Bronzes* n° 121; Thompson, D. B., *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* (1973) 64 pl. 70b. - 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Entre deux piliers galbés, bustes d'Hélios (radié) à g. et d'I.-Séléné (avec basileion) à dr.; tous deux tiennent un sceptre.

## H'. Isis, Harpocrate et Hespéros

210.\* (= Harpokrates 304) Peinture murale. Naples, Mus. Naz. 8836. De Pompéi IX 3, 15. - Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 148 n° 59 pl. 17. - 62-79 ap. J.-C. - I. ailée,

coiffée d'un grand croissant, tenant de la g. une corne d'abondance, de la dr. un sistre et posant son pied dr. sur un globe contre lequel s'appuie un gouvernail. Devant elle s'avance au galop un cavalier nimbé et radié (Harpocrate-Hélios?) et derrière elle, un petit génie nu, ailé tenant une grande torche (Hespéros?).

## I'. Isis et Kaystros

→ Kaystros I 4\*.

## III. Isis lactans

Les monuments représentant Isis lactans sont très nombreux. Nous ne faisons ici qu'un choix représentatif des documents les mieux connus presque tous publiés dans: Tran tam Tinh, *Isis lactans*, *EPRO* 37 (1973) (= Tinh, *IL* 1); idem, «De nouveau Isis Lactans», dans *Homm. à M. J. Vermaseren* III, *EPRO* 68 (1978) 1231-1268 pls. 226-249 figs. 1-56 (= Tinh, *IL* 2); cf. aussi Müller, H. W., «Isis mit dem Horuskinde», *MJBK* 14, 1963, 7-38.

## A. Isis trônant allaitant Harpocrate

Sauf indication contraire, I. est coiffée du basileion, vêtue du chiton qui laisse le sein gauche nu et est drapée dans l'himation avec un nœud isiaque; elle offre de la main dr. le sein g. à Harpocrate qu'elle porte de son bras g.

211. Peinture murale. Karanis, *in situ* (?). De Karanis, maison B 50, chambre E. - Boak, A. E. R./Peterson, E. E., *Karanis. Seasons 1924-28* (1931) 34 fig. 49; Toynbee, A., *The Crucible of Christianity* (1969) fig. p. 237; Tinh, *IL* 1, 72 n° A-24 fig. 48. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Emblème partiellement effacé, la partie inférieure du corps manque.

212. Relief sur plaquette en or repoussé. Paris, Louvre E 14268 = AO 2097. De Mésopotamie. - Tinh *IL* 1, 68-70 n° A-20 figs. 42, 43. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Au centre, Sarapis étendu sur une *klinè*; à g., I.-Thermouthis; à dr., I. lactans.

213. Relief en os fr. Athènes, Mus. Benaki 19014. - Tinh, *IL* 1, 71 n° A-22 fig. 45; Marangou, L., *Bone Carvings from Egypt I* (1976) 119 n° 183 pl. 53e. - Ep. romaine. - I. elle-même en grande partie mutilée.

214. Poignée de lampe en terre cuite. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 6485. D'Alexandrie. - Tinh, *IL* 1, 97 n° A-62 fig. 86. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Le trône est posé sur une corolle d'acanthé. Voir aussi *ibid.* figs. 84-93; Tinh, *IL* 2, pl. 235 figs. 20-21.

215. Lampes en terre cuite. a) Paris, Louvre E 22477. - Tinh, *IL* 1, 104 n° A-76 fig. 99. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Le trône est flanqué de deux défenses d'éléphant. Voir aussi *ibid.* figs. 94-101; Tinh, *IL* 2, pls. 236-238 figs. 22-26. - b) Paris, Cab. Méd. 1894. - Hellmann, M.-Ch., *Lampes antiques de la Bibl. Nat.* I *Coll. Froehner* (1985) n° 45 fig. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sem-

blable à a. Voir aussi Tinh, *IL* 1, 107 n° A-82 figs. 105, 106.

216.\* Bague en or. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 7999. - Ägypt. Mus. Berlin (1967) 102, sous le n° 998; Tinh, *IL* 1, 150 n° A-137 fig. 127. - I. assise sur un trône égyptisant. Voir aussi *ibid.* 150-151 n° A-138.

## Monnaies

217. AE, Alexandrie, Trajan, 108/109 ap. J.-C. - Milne 594. - Rv.: I. est coiffée d'un disque entre deux cornes.

218.\* AE, Alexandrie, Hadrien, 131/132 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux, 141/142, 146/147 et 147/148 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 2648, 2649; Milne 1721. 1918-1920. 1965. - Rv.: I. coiffée du basileion; Harpocrate tient un lotus dans la main g. - Semblable mais sans lotus: Antonin le Pieux, 146/147 ap. J.-C. - Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1547, 1548.

219.\* AE, Alexandrie, Hadrien, 131/132 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 90, 761; Dattari 1750 pl. 17; Milne 1345; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1045. - Rv.: semblable à 218; deux faucons sont debout sur les angles du trône; devant I., une palme. - Même motif sans palme: Hadrien, 131/132 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 90, 762 pl. 16; Dattari 1749; Milne 1346; Geissen, o. c. II 1046. - Même motif avec un griffon derrière I.: Trajan, 108/109 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 923; Milne 594; Geissen, o. c. I 491.

220. a) Bi, Alexandrie, Hadrien (117-138 ap. J.-C.), Antonin le Pieux, 159/160 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 90, 763; 115, 990 pl. 16; Dattari 1752. 2257-2259; Milne 2403-2406; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1841-1843. - Rv.: semblable à 219 (première variante) mais avec un seul faucon sur le dossier du trône. - b) AE, Alexandrie, Marc Aurèle, 169/170 ap. J.-C. - Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* III 2073. - Rv.: semblable à a.

221.\* a)\* AE, Alexandrie, Antonin le Pieux, 144/145 et 146/147 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 2650 pl. 17; 3473 bis; Milne 1695; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1473, 1549. - Rv.: semblable à 218 (première variante); devant I., un autel. - b) AE, Alexandrie, Marc Aurèle, 173/174 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 3474 pl. 17; Milne 2610. - Rv.: semblable à 218; devant I., un étendard.

222. AE, Alexandrie, Antonin le Pieux, 138/139 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 2643 pl. 17. - Rv.: semblable à 220a; avec un vase devant I.

223.\* AE, Alexandrie, Hadrien, 135/136 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux, 141/142 à 143/144 et 148/149 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 102, 878; 142, 1194 pl. 28; 1195; Dattari 1955, 3039-3041, 3043, 3045 pl. 29; 3046; Milne 1495, 1767, 1768, 1770, 2021-2023; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1419, 1420, 1454, 1455, 1609-1613; Handler, S., «Architecture on the Roman Coins of Alexandria», *AJA* 75, 1971, 61-63 pl. 11, 5-6. - Rv.: I. allaitant Harpocrate dans un temple aux chapiteaux lotiformes et au fronton arqué; Harpocrate tenant une fleur de lotus. - Variante sans lotus: Antonin le Pieux, 141/142 et 144/145 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 1954, 3044; Milne 1839; Geissen, o. c. II 1485.

224. AE, Alexandrie, Antonin le Pieux, 143/144 et 148/149 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 3049; Milne 1769. 2018 pl. 4; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1614. 1615; cf. Handler, *o. c.* 223, 61-63. - Rv.: semblable à 223; devant I., une palme.

225.\* AE, Alexandrie, Antonin le Pieux, 148/149 ap. J.-C. - Milne 2019 pl. 4; 2020; Handler, *o. c.* 223, 61-63 pl. 11, 7. - Rv.: semblable à 223; devant I., un vase sur une colonne.

226. AE, Alexandrie, Trajan, 108/109 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 1139; Milne 601; cf. Handler, *o. c.* 223, 61-63. - Rv.: semblable à 225, avec deux faucons sur le dossier du trône.

#### Statues de pierre

227.\* Calcaire. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 3377. - Adriani, *Rep A-II*, n° 142 pl. 71; Tinh, *IL* 1, 58-59 n° A-7 fig. 26. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. acéphale.

228.\* Marbre blanc. Antalya, Mus. Arch. A.3279 + A.3070. De Pergé. - Tinh, *IL* 1, 53-54 n° A-1 figs. 15, 16; Tinh, *IL* 2, pl. 226 fig. 1; Özgür, E., *Skulpturen des Museums von Antalya I* (1987) n° 27; *Antalya Museum* (1988) 79 et 203 n° 95. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Avec nœud isiaque au-dessus du sein droit.

229.\* (= Agathodaimon 14\* avec bibl.) Grès gris. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 20004. De Carinola, en Campanie. - Müller, H. W., *MJBK* 14, 1963, 10. 25 figs. 18-20; Tinh, *IL* 1, 57-58 n° A-5 figs. 20-22. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. acéphale; sphinx couchant sur le siège, de part et d'autre d'I.; griffon sur les côtés du trône; derrière le trône, serpents affrontés (I.-Thermouthis et Agathodaimon).

230.\* Serpentine. Munich, Ägypt. Slg. 4201. De Mata'na el-Asfûn (Haute-Egypte). - Müller, *o. c.* 229, 20 n° 6 figs. 1. 14, 17; *Staatl. Slg. Ägypt. Kunst* (1976) 221 fig.; Tinh, *IL* 1, 60 n° A-9 figs. 28, 29; *Cleopatra's Egypt*..., *o. c.* 143, n° 101 fig.; *Kleopatra*..., *o. c.* 143, n° 97 pl. - Ep. romaine. - Harpocrate mutilé.

231.\* Calcaire. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Dahlem-Mus. (Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung) J.19/61. D'Esh Sheikh Ibâda (Antinoé). - Tinh, *IL* 1, 54-55 n° A-2 fig. 17. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - L'emblème manque.

#### Statuettes de terre cuite

232. Beyrouth, Mus. Nat. Kh.223 et Kh.224. De Kharayeb. - Tinh, *IL* 1, 75-76 n° A-27 et A-28 figs. 54 et 55. - II<sup>e</sup>/I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - I. acéphale (Kh.223) et incomplète de la moitié supérieure du corps (Kh.224).

233.\* Fr. Londres, BM 1938.3-14.1. - Hinks, R. P., *BMQ* 12, 1937/38, 74-75 pl. 27b; Tinh, *IL* 1, 75 n° A-26 fig. 53. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - L'emblème, rapporté, manque.

234.\* Herculanum, Antiquarium 1446. D'Herculanum, insula orientale II, boutique 5. - Tinh, *DOHerculanum* 56-58 n° 4 figs. 7, 8; Tinh, *IL* 1, 73-74 n° A-25 figs. 51, 52. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av./I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. porte un diadème orné de deux cornes.

235. Damas, Mus. Nat. C 3226. De Tafas (Syrie). - Tinh, *IL* 1, 77 n° A-29 fig. 56. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. vue de trois quarts.

236.\* Poignée de lampe en forme de statuette.

Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 8704. - Tinh, *IL* 1, 86-87 n° A-45 fig. 71. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - On compte plusieurs dizaines de poignées de ce type: cf. Tinh, *IL* 1, 79-93 n° A-31 à A-56 figs. 59-80; Tinh, *IL* 2, 1245-1249 n° A-199 à A-209 pls. 232-233 figs. 8-11.

#### B. Isis surgissant d'un calice de feuilles d'acanthé, allaite Harpocrate

237. Poignées plastiques de lampes en terre cuite. a) Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 10060. - Breccia, *Mon.* II 1 n° 237 pl. 24, 8; Tinh, *IL* 1, 166 n° B-1 fig. 149. - I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. est coiffée du basileion, vêtue du chiton et de l'himation avec le nœud isiaque et offre le sein g. à Harpocrate. - b) Paris, Louvre Cp. 4715B. - Tinh, *IL* 1, 173 n° B-14 figs. 163-164. - Plus d'une soixantaine de monuments similaires sont conservés dans différents musées; ils sont tous de provenance égyptienne; voir Tinh, *IL* 1, 166-183 n° B-1 à B-37 figs. 149-180; Tinh, *IL* 2, 1255-1265, n° B-38 à B-64 pls. 239-246 figs. 27-51.

#### C. Isis surgissant d'un panier, allaite Harpocrate

238.\* Statuette de terre cuite. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 23196. - Breccia, *Mon.* II 2 n° 39 pl. 10, 38; Tinh, *IL* 1, 186-187 n° C-6 fig. 185. - I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Buste d'I. (coiffée du basileion) surgissant d'un panier d'osier couronnant une cuve évasée, posée sur une feuille d'acanthé.

239. Statuette de terre cuite. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 22221. - Breccia, *Mon.* II 2 n° 41 pl. 9, 35; Tinh, *IL* 1, 186 n° C-5 fig. 184. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I., coiffée du basileion, assise en tailleur sur un panier cylindrique en osier. - Une vingtaine d'exemplaires sont connus: cf. Tinh, *IL* 1, 184-192 n° C-1 à C-16 figs. 182-192; Tinh, *IL* 2, 1265 n° C-17 pl. 247 figs. 52-53.

#### D. Isis debout, portant Harpocrate sur son bras gauche

240. Statuette de terre cuite. Berlin, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 16150. - Weber 49 n° 26 pl. 2; Tinh, *IL* 1, 193-194 n° D-2 fig. 197. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. est coiffée du basileion et agite un sistre de la main dr. - Une demi-douzaine d'exemplaires similaires sont connus: cf. Tinh, *IL* 1, 194, n° D-3 et D-4 figs. 198-199; Tinh, *IL* 2, 1265-1267 n° D-9 à D-11 figs. 54-56.

241. Statuette en ivoire. Munich, Ägypt. Slg. AS 5532 (anc. Coll. W. Esch, Duisbourg). - Müller, *o. c.* 229, 28. 32 fig. 26; Tinh, *IL* 1, 193 n° D-1 fig. 196. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. acéphale, manteau avec nœud isiaque, seins nus.

#### E. Isis-Thermouthis allaitant

242.\* Reliefs en calcaire. a) Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. 10.4.69.1. De Medinet Madi (Fayoum). - Bresciani, E., «La dea-cobra che allatta il cocodrillo a Medinet Madi», *Aegyptus* 55, 1975, 3-9 pl. 1. - Dans un naos, I. anguipède, coiffée d'un disque solaire entre deux cornes, avec nœud isiaque, tient de la dr. un sceptre et de la g. un crocodile auquel elle offre le sein g. - b)\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 52480. Probablement du Fayoum (voir bibl.). - Grimm, *o. c.* 174, 34 pl. 68; Leclant, dans *IconogrCl* 344-345 fig. 6.

243. Statuettes de terre cuite. a) Loc. inc. De Medinet Madi (Fayoum). - Tinh, *IL* 1, 195 n° D-5 fig. 200. - I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. anguipède, coiffée du basileion, vêtue d'une tunique courte, offrant le sein g. à Harpocrate. - b) Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. P.10790. - Tinh, *IL* 2, 1266-1267 n° D-11 pl. 249 fig. 56.

Pour I.-Th., cf. la section IV H (332-364).

#### F. Isis trônant, allaitant le bœuf Apis

244.\* Intaille. Plasma. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 9820. - Weber 39 n. 42 fig. 15; Philipp, *o. c.* 37a, 58 n° 61 pl. 16; Kater-Sibbes/Vermaseren, *o. c.* 244, I n° 106 (Inv. 9451) et 141 (Inv. 7831) pl. 81. - I. trônant, coiffée du basileion mais sans nœud isiaque, offre le sein g. à Apis; Rv.: → Ptah debout.

#### Statuettes de terre cuite

245.\* Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 7831\*. 9451. - Breccia, *Mon.* II 2 n° 40 pl. 10, 37 et *Mon.* II 1 n° 239 pl. 48, 3; Kater-Sibbes/Vermaseren, *o. c.* 244, I n° 106 (Inv. 9451) et 141 (Inv. 7831) pl. 81. - I. trônant, coiffée du basileion, offre le sein g. à Apis.

246. Fr. Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts T.492. - Semblable à 245; à dr. d'I., un garçon joue de la syrinx.

247.\* a) Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 32853 (= JE 36592). Du Fayoum. - Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 170 n° 17 pl. 12; Kater-Sibbes/Vermaseren, *o. c.* 244, I n° 112 pl. 72. - Apis est debout sur un autel. - b)\* Copenhague, Glypt. AE.I.N.1508. - Mogensen, *La coll. égyptienne* (1930) 119 n° A 204 et *Album* pl. 36; Kater-Sibbes/Vermaseren, *o. c.* 244, I n° 182 pl. 106. - Semblable à a. - c) De Memphis. - Engelbach, R., *Riqqeh and Memphis VI* (1915) 34 n° 79 pl. 61 (4<sup>e</sup> rang, 3<sup>e</sup> doc.). - Semblable à b.

Pour un autre document, → Apis 30\*. Cf. aussi Kater-Sibbes/Vermaseren, *o. c.* 244, II n° 291. 575 pl. 206.

#### G. Isis debout, allaitant le bœuf Apis

248.\* Statuette de terre cuite. Anc. coll. Fouquet. - Perdizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet* 53 n° 156 pl. 16; Kater-Sibbes/Vermaseren, *o. c.* 244, I n° 117 pl. 74. - I. avec le vautour accouvé et le basileion; derrière sa tête, grand nimbe circulaire; elle tient un uræus de la main dr., allaitant Apis debout sur un autel. - Cf. aussi Ka-

ter-Sibbes/Vermaseren, *o. c.* 244, I n° 187. 231 pl. 132; II n° 519.

#### IV. Formes syncrétiques d'Isis

##### A. Isis-Aphrodite

Les représentations d'I.-Aphrodite ont toutes le basileion sur la tête, ce qui permet de les considérer comme des expressions grecques d'un ancien syncrétisme égyptien. Dès le Nouvel Empire, I. s'identifiait avec Hathor, déesse de l'amour comme Aphrodite et s'appropriait la couronne de celle-ci (deux cornes supportant un disque). Dans le nouveau syncrétisme gréco-égyptien, l'emblème est isiaque, constitué notamment du disque sur deux cornes, surmonté de deux plumes.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Hekler, A., «Alexandrinische Aphroditestatuetten», *Oefh* 14, 1911, 112-120; Condurachi, E., «Isis-Aphrodite. Beiträge zu einer Ikonographie der alexandrinischen Synkretismen», *BullRoum* 21, 1939, 33-53; Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 182-187; Jentel, M.-O., «Quelques aspects d'Aphrodite en Egypte et en Syrie à l'époque hellénistique et romaine», dans *MythGrPér* 151-155; Fleischer, R., «Eine Gruppe syrisch-phönizischer Bronzestatuetten-Basen», *DamMitt* 1, 1983, 31-42.

Il est sous-entendu, dans les descriptions ci-dessous, que la coiffure d'I.-A. comporte le basileion.

##### I. Isis-Aphrodite coiffée d'un diadème à palmettes rayonnantes, portant un collier à penditifs, les bras tendus

249.\* Statuettes de bronze a)\* Cologne, Röm.-Germ. Mus. - Reinach, *RepStat* II 1, 361, 10; Jentel 153 n. 16 pl. 3, 5. - I. tient de la g. Harpocrate assis sur un lotus et de la dr. un objet aujourd'hui disparu; collier sans amulette. - b) (= Aphrodite [in peripheria orientali] 85\*) Paris, Louvre 1586 (= Br 12). De Basse-Egypte. - De Ridder, *BrLouvre* I n° 12 pl. 3; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 241 n. 2 fig. 297; Jentel 152-153 pl. 2, 1. - Les mains aux doigts écartés ne tiennent pas d'attributs; collier avec amulette comportant trois figures: Harpocrate, Canope, Aphrodite anadyomène ainsi que séparément, un petit buste de Sarapis. - c) Berlin, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 13791. - Roeder, G., *Ägypt. Bronzefiguren* (1956) 260 § 315d pl. 37h; Jentel 152 n. 15 pl. 3, 3. - Similaire à a; collier avec une amulette difficilement identifiable. - d) Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27654. - Edgar, *CatGénCaire. Greek Bronzes* (1904) n° 27654, pl. 2; Condurachi 51 n° 41 fig. 10; Jentel 153 pl. 3, 2. - Similaire à b; collier avec croissant mais sans amulette figurée; les bras manquent. - e)\* Paris, Mus. Rodin 227. - *Rodin collectionneur* (1967) n° 227 pl. 87; Jentel 153 pl. 2, 2. - Similaire à b; collier avec amulette de l'Aphrodite anadyomène; les bras manquent. - f) Anc. coll. de Clercq. - De Ridder, *Coll. de Clercq III, Les bronzes* (1905) 26 n° 2, pl. 1, 2; Jentel 152 n. 15 pl. 3, 4. - Similaire à b; les bras manquent et l'amulette du collier n'est guère reconnaissable. - g) (= Harpokrates 362) Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 487. - Jentel 152 pl. 1. - La tête et le

torse sont seuls conservés; collier avec amulette figurant Harpocrate. – **h)** Bad Deutsch Altenburg, Mus. Carnuntinum 11956. De Carnuntum. – Fleischer, R., *Die röm. Bronzen aus Österreich* (1967) n° 231 pl. 116; Jentel 152 pl. 4, 1. – Il ne reste que la tête et le torse; collier avec amulette figurée.

## 2. Isis-Aphrodite coiffée d'un diadème, les bras levés au niveau des épaules, sans collier (type «pséliournène»)

**250.\*** Statuettes de bronze **a)** Damas, Mus. Nat. C.7620. De Homs. – Abu-l-Faraj Al-Ush, M., *et al.*, *A Concise Guide to the Nat. Mus. of Damascus* (1980) 88 fig. 3; Fleischer, *DamMitt* 1, 1983, 34 n° 15 pl. 7b. – I. tenant dans la g. un miroir; à ses pieds, un petit Eros. – **b)** Damas, Mus. Nat. – Zouhdi, B., *Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> Colloque internat. sur les bronzes antiques* (1977) 200 fig. 2. – I. tenant dans la g. un miroir. – **c)** Paris, Louvre. De Tortose. De Ridder, *o. c.* 249f, n° 106 pl. 21. – Similaire à **b**; bracelet au poignet; miroir cassé. – Cf. aussi de Ridder, *o. c.* n° 110. 114 pls. 22, 3 et 23, 3. – **d)\*** Madrid, Mus. Arch. 2084. – Thouvenot, R., *Cat. des figurines et objets de bronze* (1927) 14 n° 22 pl. 3; Condurachi n° 28. – Le bras dr. tient le miroir (disparu) et le bras g. est baissé.

**251.** Statuette de terre cuite. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 26942. – Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 182 n° 50 pl. 31. – Torse nu, levant le bras dr. (mutilé), tenant une coupe dans la g.; collier avec pendentif; bracelet au poignet g.; amphore debout, à sa dr.

## 3. Isis-Aphrodite coiffée du vautour accouvé

**252.\*** Statuettes de bronze **a)** (= Aphrodite [in periphéria orientali 212]) Angers, Mus. Pincé MTC 1122. Proviendrait de Tortose. – de Morant, H., *Mus. Pincé, Art Grec/Romain* (1956) 31; Lesueur-Laguerre, C., *Angers, Mus. Pincé* (1982) 10 pl. 7. – I. tient une pomme dans la g. levée. – **b)\*** Berlin, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 7763. – Roeder, *o. c.* 249c, 259 § 315 pl. 38c. – Similaire à **a**. – **c)** Budapest, coll. Beöthy. – Hekler 114–115 n° 1 fig. 111a–b; Condurachi n° 33. – Bras levés. – **d)** Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27652 (= JE 27528) et CG 27653 (= JE 29151). – Edgar, *Cat. GénCaire. Greek Bronzes* (1904) n° 27652. 27653 pl. 2; Hekler 116 n° 5; Condurachi n° 37. 38. – Similaire à **a**. – **e)\*** Londres, BM 134875. – Mitchell, T. C., *BMQ* 36, 1971/72, 141 pl. 59; Fleischer, *o. c.* 250a, 34 n° 16 pl. 7b. – I. tient une pomme dans la g. et une couronne dans la dr. – Pour un autre exemplaire semblable, cf. Walters, H. B., *Select Bronzes*, ... (1915) pl. 47, 2. – **f)** Paris, Louvre Br 386 (= MN 1577). – De Ridder, *BrLouvre* II n° 386 pl. 32. – **g)** Autrefois Paris, Mus. Guimet. – CRAI 1896, 155–160 pl. 6; Reinach, *RépStat* II 1, 341, 3; Hekler 117 n° 13; Condurachi n° 11. – I. tient une pomme dans la dr. levée et porte la g. à ses cheveux. – **h)** Anc. coll. de Clercq. De Tortose. – De Ridder, *o. c.* 249f, 78 n° 107 pl. 22, 1; Hekler 116

n° 10; Reinach, *RépStat* IV 213, 2; Condurachi n° 26. – I. se regardant dans un miroir tenu de la g.

## 4. Isis-Aphrodite anadyomène, les mains portées à ses cheveux

**253.\*** Statuettes de terre cuite **a)** Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 23094. – Breccia, *Mon.* II 2 n° 8 pl. 1, 1; Dunand, *ISIS* 82 pl. 19. – I. porte en pendentif une figurine d'Hathor; deux petits Eros sont en train de poser sur sa tête un diadème surmonté du basileion. – **b)** Heidelberg, Univ., Ägypt. Inst. 961. – *Osiris*, ... *o. c.* 53b, n° 122 fig. – II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – I. coiffée d'un diadème, d'une guirlande bourrelée et d'un basileion flanqué de deux boutons de lotus; à g. d'I., un enfant nu; traces de couleurs. – **c)\*** Le Caire, JE 63552. De Tebtynis. – Dunand, *ISIS* I pl. 20, 2; *eadem*, *Relig. pop.* 186 n° 59 pl. 36. – Similaire à **b** mais une draperie couvre ses jambes.

## 5. Isis-Aphrodite pudique, coiffée d'un diadème

**254.\*** Statuettes de bronze. **a)\*** Londres, BM 1912.4–20.1. De Syrie. – Walters, *o. c.* 252e, pl. 47, 1; Condurachi n° 1. – I. avec large diadème dentelé. – **b)** Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. – Drexler, W., *ML* II 1, 495 fig.; Reinach, *RépStat* II 2, 422, 4. – Sans diadème. – **c)** Anc. coll. de Clercq. – De Ridder, *o. c.* 249f, 35 n° 22 pl. 4, 2; Condurachi n° 22. – I. est coiffée du vautour accouvé.

## 6. Isis-Aphrodite pudique, coiffée du vautour accouvé, vêtue d'une tunique collante

**255.\*** Statuettes de bronzes. **a)\*** Paris, Louvre Br 4409\*; Br 4415; Br 4429. – De Ridder, *o. c.* 249f, 42 n° 39 pl. 6; n° 40 pl. 7; n° 117 pl. 25; Hekler 118 n° 19. 20. 21; Condurachi n° 2. 3 fig. 4; 48; Jentel 154 pls. 4, 3; 5, 2; 5, 5. – I. sans basileion; derrière la tête du vautour, six urai forment un polos. – **b)** Anc. coll. de Clercq. Peut-être d'Amrith. – De Ridder, *o. c.* 249f, 41 n° 38 pl. 5; Fleischer, *o. c.* 250a, 32 n° 5 pl. 6c. – Même coiffure que **a**. – Voir aussi Jentel 154 pl. 5, 4. – **c)** Marseille, Mus. Borély 2258. – Froehner, W., *Cat. des antiq. grecques et romaines* (1897) 153–154 n° 758; Condurachi n° 8; Jentel 154 n. 24. – **d)** Loc. inc. – Condurachi n° 5; Jentel 154 n. 24 pl. 4, 4 (et non 5, 1). – **e)** Loc. inc. – Hekler 117–118 n° 16 fig. 118; Jentel 154 n. 24 (avec bibl.) pl. 5, 1 (et non 4, 4). – Les avant-bras manquent.

## 7. Isis-Aphrodite du type «anasyroménè», relevant sa tunique

**256.\*** Statuettes de terre cuite. **a)\*** Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 26964. – Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 186–187 n° 60 pl. 37. – I. coiffée d'une couronne bourrelée surmontée d'un haut modius orné du basileion; des deux

maines elle relève sa tunique, découvrant son sexe. – **b)** Tübingen, Univ., Arch. Inst. – *ExpSieglin* II 2 (1924) 127 pl. 43, 5. – Similaire à **a**.

**257.\*** Statuette de terre cuite. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 26965 (= JE 27675). – Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 187 n° 61 pl. 37. – I. avec coiffure complexe (deux couronnes de fleurs surmontées d'un objet conique) mais sans basileion, vêtue d'un himation avec nœud isiaque; elle relève sa tunique, découvrant son sexe.

## 8. Isis-Aphrodite les bras baissés le long du corps, coiffée d'une couronne de fleurs surmontée d'un modius

**258.\*** Statuettes de terre cuite. **a)\*** Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 17643. D'Abusir el Meleq. – Weber 133 n° 201 pl. 20. – I. coiffée d'une couronne surmontée d'un haut modius orné du basileion; la poitrine est ornée de *periammata*. – Voir aussi Weber n° 202–205. – **b)\*** Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 32858. – Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 183 n° 52 pl. 33. – Le haut du modius est cassé. – Voir aussi *ibid.* n° 53–58 pls. 33–35 avec des coiffures démesurées par rapport à la tête. – **c)** Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 7809. 7810. – Breccia, *Mon.* II 2 n° 11. 12 pl. 4, 10. 11. – Cheveux calamis-trés, *periammata*; le haut du modius et le bas des jambes sont cassés. – **d)\*** Anc. coll. Fouquet. – Perdrietz, *Terres cuites Fouquet* 4 n° 6 pl. 3 (à dr.). – Modius orné d'un basileion et flanqué de serpents coiffés respectivement du *pschent* et du basileion; *periammata*.

## 9. Isis-Aphrodite accroupie

**259.\*** Relief en calcaire. Turin, Mus. Egizio Cat. 1668. – Fabretti, A., *et al.*, *Regio Museo di Torino* [I] (1882) n° 1668; Adriani, *Rep A-II* 19 fig. 1; 27 n° 106. – I. accroupie dans un naïskos égyptien couronné d'uræi, un genou fléchi au-dessus d'un crocodile.

Pour d'autres documents, → Aphrodite 500\*, Aphrodite (in periphéria orientali) 82\* et commentaire p. 166.

## B. Isis-Déméter

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Kolta, *Gleichsetzung* 42–51.

## 1. Isis-Déméter debout, tenant des épis de blé

**260.\*** Statue de marbre. Vienne, Kunsthist. Mus. I 1173. – Ep. romaine. – I. vêtue du chiton et de l'himation avec nœud isiaque, tenant dans la main g. des épis; emblème isiaque cassé (?).

**261.\*** Statuette de terre cuite. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 7226. – I. avec himation et nœud isiaque; main dr. tenant des épis à la hauteur des épaules.

## 2. Isis-Déméter debout, tenant une torche

**262.** (= Demeter/Ceres 170\*, = Harpokrates 396 avec bibl.) Relief votif de marbre. Rome, Mus. Cap. 4371. De Rome, Via della Conciliazione. – Pietrangeli, *o. c.* 52, 30–31 n° 15 pl. 9; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1185; Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 229–230 n. 2 (avec bibl.) fig. 191; Pesce 31 fig. 21. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Au centre, Sarapis trônant, la main dr. sur le Cerbère tricéphale auquel fait pendant un petit Harpocrate; à g. de Sarapis, I.-Déméter tenant une torche verticalement dans la dr. baissée et peut-être des épis dans la g.; elle porte un croissant sur le front (la coiffure manque); à dr. de Sarapis, I.-Korè, coiffée du modius orné d'un croissant, s'appuie de la dr. sur un sceptre et tenait un sistre dans la g. tendue.

**263.\*** Statuettes de terre cuite. **a)\*** Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 26939. – Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 179 n° 40 pl. 26. – I. en mouvement vers la dr., tenant une torche oblique. L'emblème est composé d'un croissant (?) surmonté de plumes. – **b)** Anc. coll. Fouquet. – Perdrietz, *Terres cuites Fouquet* 108 n° 281 pl. 18. – Similaire à **a**.

**264.\*** Statuettes de terre cuite. **a)** Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 22970. – Breccia, *Mon.* II 2 n° 143 pl. 48, 237. – Femme voilée, drapée de l'himation, coiffée d'un modius orné d'un disque, tenant de la main dr. une torche verticale. Voir aussi *o. c.* pls. 47, 233; 48, 236. 238. – **b)\*** Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 26933. – Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 179 n° 41 pl. 26. – I. voilée, modius orné d'un petit disque sur un croissant; elle tient de la main dr. une grande torche verticale. Voir aussi *o. c.* pl. 27.

Pour d'autres documents, → Ammon 174\*; → Demeter p. 844 («Fonti letterarie»); 81\* et commentaire p. 892; → Demeter/Ceres 171; → Horos 37. Cf. aussi un énigmatique médaillon de bronze découvert à Eleusis sur lequel la présence d'I.-Déméter est incertaine (Vanderpool, E., *AJA* 68, 1964, 293 pl. 91, 2).

## C. Isis-Io

Une cinquantaine d'auteurs grecs et latins mentionnent le mythe d'Io, métamorphosée en vache, trouvant refuge en Egypte (pour le mythe d'Io, → Io I). L'association d'Io à I. est également évoquée par de nombreuses sources.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Bernand, A., «Influences de l'Egypte et innovation d'Eschyle dans la représentation d'Io», *Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University* 3, 1955, 77–103 (cf. un résumé dans Leclant, *IBIS* I n° 97); Yalouris, N., «Le mythe d'Io», dans *IconogrCl* 3–23.

## 1. Mythe d'Isis et Io

**265.** (= Aigyptos 12 avec bibl., = Io I 65\* avec bibl.; → Hermanubis après 30) Peinture murale. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9558. De Pompéi, VIII 7, 28 (mur nord-ouest de l'ecclésiasterion du temple d'Isis). – Schefold, K., *Pompeianische Malerei* (1952) 65 pl. 43; Tinh, *ISIS* 138–140 n° 40 pl. 6. – 63–79 ap.



J.-C. – Io, assise sur l'épaule g. d'un homme barbu émergeant de l'eau, tend sa dr. à I.; celle-ci, assise sur un rocher, est vêtue du chiton et de l'himation, porte un lotus dans les cheveux et tient de la g. un uræus; à ses côtés, un petit Harpocrate assis; à ses pieds, un crocodile; derrière elle, un homme et une femme agitent le sistre en signe de bienvenue.

266. (= Agyptos 13, = Io I 66\* avec bibl.; → Hermanubis après 30) Peinture murale. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9555. De Pompéi VI 9, 1 (Casa del Duca d'Aumale). – Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 128 n° 14 pl. 16, 2. – 63–79 ap. J.-C. – Semblable à 265 avec quelques variantes.

## 2. Isis-Io

267.\* Gemme de jaspe rouge. Boston, MFA 69.1201. D'Égypte (Delta). – Vermeule, C., *BullMFA* 68, 1970, 208 fig. 15. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Femme tenant une torche, menant un cheval galopant.

268.\* Statue. Tête de marbre blanc. Paris, Louvre MA 223. – Charbonneaux, *SculptLouvre* 146; Adriani, A., *Testimonianze e momenti di scultura alessandrina* (1948) 22 n° 79 pl. 16. – Milieu II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Chevelure libyenne, deux cornes sur le front, diadème orné d'un uræus dans un croissant de lune.

Il ne semble pas que d'autres représentations d'Io fassent allusion au syncrétisme d'I.-Io.

## D. Isis Pelagia

Cette expression iconographique correspond peut-être aux titres d'I. Pelagia, d'I. Pharia, d'I. Euploia, d'I. des Ploiaphesia, du *navigium Isidis*, d'I. inventrice de la voile et de la navigation. Nous regroupons sous ce vocable les monuments qui représentent I. debout de trois quarts, une jambe en avant, tenant des deux mains une voile gonflée par le vent et dont l'extrémité inférieure est rattachée auprès du pied avancé; en général, elle porte le basileion sur la tête et son manteau flotte derrière elle. Sur les monnaies d'Alexandrie, à quelques exceptions près, elle tient un sistre dans la main droite.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Alföldi, A., *A Festival of Isis in Rome under the Christian Emperors of the IVth Cent.* (1937); Bruneau, Ph., «Isis Pelagia à Délos», *BCH* 85, 1961, 435–446 (= Bruneau 1); *idem*, «Isis Pelagia à Délos (Compléments)», *BCH* 87, 1963, 301–308 (= Bruneau 2); *idem*, «Existe-t-il des statues d'Isis Pelagia?», *BCH* 98, 1974, 333–381 (= Bruneau 3); *idem*, «Isis Pelagia», *BCH* 102, 1978, 152–161 (= Bruneau 4); Castiglione, L., «Isis Pharia. Remarques sur la statue de Budapest», *BullMusHong* 34/35, 1970, 37–55; Bérard, C., «Modes de formation et modes de lecture des images divines: Aphrodite et Isis à la voile», dans *Actes du Colloque sur les problèmes de l'image dans le monde méditerranéen classique*, Lourmarin 1982 (1985) 163–171; Williams, E. R., «Isis Pelagia and a Roman Marble Matrix from the Athenian Agora», *Hesperia* 54, 1985, 109–119; Daumas, F./Mathieu, B., «Le phare d'Alexandrie et ses dieux: un document inédit», *Mededelingen Koninkl. Acad. voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Kl. der Letteren, Academiae Analecta* 49, 1987, 41–55.

## 1. Isis Pelagia debout, de profil, tenant des deux mains une voile

269.\* Relief de marbre blanc. Délos, Mus. A 3187. De Délos, Agora des Italiens. – Bruneau 1, 437–438 fig. 3; Bruneau 3, 343 n° 1 fig. 4; Bérard 166–168 pl. 2, 4.

270. Relief de marbre blanc fr. Thasos, Mus. 2220. De Thasos. – Bruneau 2, 301–303 fig. 1; Bruneau 3, 343 n° 1. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Fr. dont il ne reste que les pieds.

271. Autel de marbre blanc. Thessalonique, Mus. 6976. De Pylaia. – Blanchaud, M.-H., «Un relief thessalonicien d'Isis Pelagia», *BCH* 108, 1984, 709–711 fig. 1a–b. – I. debout vers la dr., un sistre (?) dans la g.

272.\* Disque de lampe fr. Délos, Mus. B 2984. De Délos, Sérapeum C. – Bruneau 1, 435–436 fig. 1; Bruneau 3, 343 n° 3 fig. 5; Bérard 168 pl. 2, 5. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Sans basileion.

273.\* Lampe. Athènes, Mus. Nat., coll. Benaki M<sup>n</sup> 364. D'Alexandrie. – Bruneau 2, 303 fig. 2; Bruneau 3, 343 n° 4. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Le bateau n'est pas représenté.

### Monnaies

274. AE, Alexandrie, Domitien, 90/91 et 91/92 ap. J.-C., Hadrien, 133/134 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux (138–161 ap. J.-C.), Lucius Verus (161–169 ap. J.-C.). – *BMC Alexandria* 37, 305; Dattari 508, 509, 1754, 1755; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* I 390, 391; II 1883, 2188. – Rv.: I. P. sans sistre.

275.\* AE, Alexandrie, Hadrien, 123/124, 129/130, 132/133 et 133/134 ap. J.-C., Sabina, 131/132 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux, 138/139, 140/141, 141/142, 146/147 et 147/148 ap. J.-C., Marc Aurèle (161–180 ap. J.-C.), Lucius Verus, 163/164 ap. J.-C. – *BMC Alexandria* 89, 750–754; Dattari 1403, 1753, 1756 pl. 17; 1757–1763, 2068, 2662–2664, 2667, 2668, 2670, 3730; Macdonald, *Hunter III* 338, 377, 473, 494; Milne 1372, 1412, 1413, 1607, 1921–1923, 1966–1968; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 856, 1016, 1017, 1078, 1117–1119, 1265, 1353, 1396–1398, 1550, 1551, 1580. – Rv.: I. P. avec sistre. – Variante avec I. P. regardant en arrière: Hadrien, 133/134 ap. J.-C. – Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1120.

276. Bi, Alexandrie, Hadrien, 123/124 et 124/125 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux, 153/154 ap. J.-C. – Dattari 1403, 1404; Milne 2211; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 3463. – Rv.: I. P. sans sistre.

277. Bi, Alexandrie, Hadrien, 121/122, 123/124 et 136/137 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux, 153/154 ap. J.-C., Marc Aurèle César, 153/154 ap. J.-C., Faustine II, 153/154 ap. J.-C. – *BMC Alexandria* 114, 989; 131, 1111, 1112; 132, 1113 pl. 16; 132, 1114–1117; 147, 1227; 162, 1326; Dattari 1403, 2261, 2262, 3161, 3250; Milne 1016, 1050, 1551, 2207–2210, 2212–2214; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 856, 1693, 1694, 1970, 1971. – Rv.: I. P. avec sistre.

278.\* AE, Alexandrie, Trajan, 111/112 ap. J.-C., Hadrien, 132/133 et 133/134 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux, 138/139, 144/145 et 148/149 ap. J.-C., Faus-

tine II, 147/148 ap. J.-C., Marc Aurèle César 148/149 ap. J.-C. – *BMC Alexandria* 54, 450; 89, 755–758; 132, 1118, 1119 pl. 16; 132–133, 1120; 149, 1241–1243; 164, 1338; Dattari 935, 1764–1766, 1767 pl. 17; 1768, 2671–2679, 3204, 3289; Macdonald, *Hunter III* 355 pl. 87, 17; 356, 460; Milne 1373, 1374, 1414, 1416, 1417, 1440, 1608, 1827; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* I 580; II 1121–1125, 1474, 1601–1608, 1913, 1943; IV 3470. – Rv.: I. P. avec ou sans sistre; à côté d'elle, le phare surmonté d'une statue.

279.\* AE, Alexandrie, Trajan, 111/112 ap. J.-C. – *BMC Alexandria* 54, 451. – Rv.: I. P. entre les Dioscures.

280.\* AE, Alexandrie, Trajan, 108/109 ap. J.-C., Hadrien, 134/135 ap. J.-C. – *BMC Alexandria* 66, 548; 103, 886 pl. 29. – Rv.: I. P. sur la proue d'un bateau sur lequel sont Sarapis trônant et Déméter.

281. AE, Alexandrie, Trajan (98–117 ap. J.-C.). – Dattari 936 pl. 17. – Rv.: I. P. sur un bige tiré par des hippocampes.

282. AE, Amastris (Paphlagonie), Faustine II († 175 ap. J.-C.). – *RecGén* I 1 (1925) 181 n° 108 pl. 20, 25. – Rv.: similaire à 274 (sans sistre).

283. AE, Anchialos (Thrace), début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Münzer/Strack, *o. c.* 27p, n° 408 pl. 5, 32. – Av.: buste de Sarapis avec modius; Rv.: I. P. sur une ligne de sol, avec un emblème isiaque fruste, tenant la voile.

284. AE, Aspendos (Pamphylie), Diaduménien († 218 ap. J.-C.), Macrin (217–218 ap. J.-C.). – Imhoof-Blumer, *KIM* 321 n° 452 pl. 10, 31; *BMC Lycia* 104, 85; *SNG v. Aulock* 4589. – Rv.: similaire à 275 (avec sistre).

285. AE hémi-chalque, Antioche, Antiochos IV Epiphane (175–164 av. J.-C.). – Babelon, *Syrie* 74 n° 575 pl. 13, 10; Bruneau 2, 303 fig. 3, type I. – Rev.: I. P. avec croissant de lune au lieu du basileion, sans manteau flottant.

286. AE, Byblos, Claude (41–54 ap. J.-C.), Commode (177–192 ap. J.-C.), Macrin (217–218 ap. J.-C.), Diaduménien († 218 ap. J.-C.), Héliogabale (218–222 ap. J.-C.). – *BMC Phoenicia* 99, 20; 100, 22, 23 pl. 12, 10; 24; 103, 39; 104, 44, 45, 46 pl. 12, 15; 107, 66, 67. – Rv.: sans manteau flottant.

287. AE, Ephèse (Ionie), Gordien III (238–244 ap. J.-C.). – *BMC Ionia* 113, 422. – Rv.: I. P. avec sistre (?).

288. AE, Ephèse (Ionie), Gordien III (238–244 ap. J.-C.). – *SNG Copenhagen* 549; Hölbl, G., *Zeugnisse ägypt. Religionsvorstellungen für Ephesus*, *EPRO* 73 (1978) 73 n° k β pl. 15, 2. – Rv.: I. P. avec sistre; derrière elle, le phare.

289. AE, Kymè (Eolide), Antonin le Pieux (138–161 ap. J.-C.), Valérien (253–260 ap. J.-C.), Gallien (253–268 ap. J.-C.). – Müller, *Isis* 18 pl. 6, 1A–C; *SNG v. Aulock* 1647. – Rv.: I. P. sans sistre.

290. AE, Magnesia (du Méandre, Ionie), Caracalla (198–217 ap. J.-C.), Sévère Alexandre (222–235 ap. J.-C.), Maximus (235–238 ap. J.-C.). – *BMC Ionia* 166, 58 pl. 19, 9; 168, 67A; 170, 81. – Rv.: I. P. avec sistre et situle.

291.\* AE, Perinthos (Thrace), Sévère Alexandre

(222–235 ap. J.-C.). – Schönert, *o. c.* 18a, n° 782 pl. 48. – Rv.: I. P. à la proue d'un bateau, tenant les voiles; derrière, l'empereur (au centre) et Sarapis le couronnant de la dr.

292. AE, Phokaia (Ionie), Maximus (235–238 ap. J.-C.). – *BMC Ionia* 226, 156 pl. 23, 18. – Rv.: similaire à 274 (sans sistre).

293. AE, Rome, Faustine II († 175 ap. J.-C.). – Gnechi, *Medagliani III* n° 43 pl. 151, 4. – Rv.: I. P. tenant un sistre de la dr.; derrière elle, le phare et devant elle, une proue de bateau.

294. AE, Rome, monnaies émises à l'occasion des *Vota Publica*. a) Dioclétien (284–305 ap. J.-C.). – Alföldi n° 2 pl. 1, 1. – Rv.: I. P. tenant la voile. – b) Constantin (306–337 ap. J.-C.), Constance II (337–361 ap. J.-C.), Jovien (363–364 ap. J.-C.). – Alföldi n° 8 pl. 1, 6; n° 9 pl. 1, 7; n° 10 pl. 1, 13; n° 48 pl. 1, 42; n° 49 pl. 2, 2; n° 50 pl. 19, 37; n° 51 pl. 2, 7; n° 52 pl. 2, 9; n° 87 pl. 2, 30, 31 et 19, 40. – Rv.: I. P. tient la voile et regarde vers l'arrière (sauf sur les n° 50 et 51). – c) Constantin (306–337 ap. J.-C.). – Alföldi n° 12 pl. 1, 15. – Rv.: I. P. avec sistre dans la dr., levée et situle dans la g.; la voile est repliée sur la mâture. – d) 2<sup>e</sup> moitié IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Alföldi n° 330, n° 334 pl. 10, 7; n° 342 pl. 10, 16; n° 353 pl. 10, 29. – Av.: buste d'I. vers la g.; elle tient un sistre dans la main dr.; Rv.: I. P. sur le bateau, tenant la voile. – e) 2<sup>e</sup> moitié IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Alföldi n° 372 pl. 7, 25; n° 389 pls. 7, 22 et 20, 12. – Av.: côte à côte, bustes de Sarapis (au premier plan, avec modius) et d'I. (au second plan, avec fleur de lotus sur la tête); Rv.: I. P. sur le bateau, tenant la voile et regardant vers l'arrière.

### Intailles, verres gravés, crétule

295. Gemmes de cornaline. a) Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 9827. – *Ägypt. Mus. Berlin* (1967) 114 n° 1051 fig.; Philipp, *o. c.* 37a, n° 73 pl. 17; Bruneau 3, 344 n° 7. – II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – I. P. sur une ligne de sol, vers la g., tient une voile gonflée; coiffure composée d'un élément central allongé flanqué de deux éléments plus petits (plumes ou disque entre cornes?). b) Vienne, Kunsthst. Mus. IX B 138. – *AGOE* I 144, 453 pl. 75. – Fin I<sup>er</sup> s. av./début I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – I. P. similaire à a; derrière elle, petit Harpocrate nu, tenant une corne d'abondance; inscription dans l'exergue: ERMEI.

296. Verres gravés. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. – Abd El-Mohsen El-Khashab, *Mélanges ... K. Michalowski* (1966) 111–120 pl. 1, 1, 2; Bruneau 3, 343–344 n° 5 fig. 6. – Ep. impériale. a) Représentation sur deux registres: Déméter (avec torche et épis), Sarapis trônant et I. (avec sceptre dans la dr. et sistre dans la g.) au registre supérieur; I. P. (tenant la voile et un sistre), Harpocrate et I. (tenant un uræus) au registre inférieur; serpent uræus à l'extrême gauche, entre les deux registres. – b) Sur un même plan, I.-Déméter (avec torche et épis) suivie de deux Osiris-Canope tournés l'un vers l'autre et séparés par Poséidon (tenant un dauphin et le trident); tout à dr., I. P. tenant la voile et un sistre.

297. Crétule. Du nomophylakeion de Cyrène. – Maddoli, G., *ASAtene* 25/26, 1963/1964, 84 n° 262 fig. 16, 204; Bruneau 3, 344 n° 8 («identification dou-

teuse»). — I. P. touche de la dr. une voile (?) et le bras g. supporte un objet en forme de croissant de lune.

## 2. Monuments mutilés d'interprétation incertaine

### Statues de marbre

298. Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts. De Naples. — Castiglione 37-55 fig. 26; Szilágyi, J. G., *BullMus-Hong* 32/33, 1969, 19-30 figs. 22-25; Tinh, *DOCampanie* 67-68 n° IS.19 figs. 9-11; Bruneau 3, 361-363 figs. 13-15. — Ep. impériale. — La tête et les bras manquent.

299. Ostie, Mus. Ostiense 18141. D'Ostie, Isola Sacra. — Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV n° 3387; Zevi, F., *Mus. Ostiense, Suppl. alla Guida* (1971) 7-8; Bruneau 3, 370-371. — Femme vêtue, drapée et penchée en avant, la jambe gauche sur une excroissance.

300. Fr. Bénévent, Mus. del Sannio. De Bénévent. — Müller, *Isis* 83-85 n° 279 pl. 26; Bruneau 3, 365-370. — Il ne reste que les pieds d'un personnage sur un bateau.

301. Mariemont, Mus. Lévêque, P./Donnay, G., *L'art grec du Mus. de Mariemont* (1967) n° 87 fig. — Statue acéphale et sans bras d'une femme drapée d'un himation à nœud isiaque, un peu penchée en avant.

## 3. Monuments d'interprétation douteuse

302. Monnaie. AE, Alexandrie, Trajan, 108/109, 113/114 et 116/117 ap. J.-C. — Milne 707; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* I 492. 713. 725. 726. — Rv.: déesse coiffée du basileion, drapée d'un himation gonflé dans le dos (identifiée par Milne et Geissen comme étant I.) serrant la main d'une autre déesse coiffée également du basileion et tenant un sceptre (éventuellement I.-Déméter et Euthénia?).

### E. Isis-Fortuna

Sauf indication contraire, I.-F. est toujours coiffée du basileion et tient le gouvernail dans la main dr. et une corne d'abondance dans la g.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: De Salvia, F., «Una lucerna della fabbrica di M. Novius Iustus al Mus. Civ. Arch. di Padova: Fortuna o Iside-Fortuna?», *Boll. Mus. Civ. di Padova* 76, 1987 (1989) 7-15.

### 1. Isis-Fortuna debout

#### a) Isis-Fortuna vêtue du chiton et de l'himation avec nœud isiaque

303.\* Monnaies a)\* AE, Alexandrie, Iulia Mamaea, 230/231 ap. J.-C., Otacilia, 248/249 ap. J.-C. — *BMC Alexandria* 226, 1763; 263, 2038; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* III 2521. 2780. — Rv.: I.-F. porte le modius. — b)\* Bi, Alexandrie, Philippe I<sup>er</sup>, 244/245, 245/246 et 248/249 ap. J.-C., Philippe II, 244/245 et 245/246 ap. J.-C., Gallien, 257/258 et 263/264 ap.

J.-C. — *BMC Alexandria* 255, 1972. 1973. 1974 pl. 11; 1975; 265, 2046. 2047; 287, 2199. 2200; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* III 2714. 2722. 2752. 2789. 2898. 2919. — Rv.: I.-F. porte le modius.

304.\* Statue de calcaire. Hambourg, Mus. KG 1968.38. — *GBA* 111, 1969, Suppl. n° 1201, 24 fig. 100; Hoffmann, H., *AA* 84, 1969, 324 fig. 5a-c; Walters 53 n. 177. — II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — I. acéphale, nœud isiaque et vêtements stylisés; traces d'une corne d'abondance sur le bras g. et du gouvernail auprès de son pied dr.

305.\* Statuettes de bronze. a)\* Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 7502. — Roeder, *o. c.* 249c, 263 § 323b; *Ägypt. Mus. Berlin* (1967) 1002 fig. — I.-F. tient une double corne d'abondance. — Cf. aussi *o. c.* pl. 38h. — b)\* Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. A 268. Probablement de Cologne. — Grimm, *o. c.* 82, 147 n° 29 pl. 25, 5. — La g. tient une corne d'abondance appuyée sur une colonne. — c)\* Damas, Mus. Nat. C.5961. De Hama. — Abu-l-Faraj Al-Ush, *et al.*, *o. c.* 250, 89 fig. 7. — Le basileion manque. — d)\* Mariemont, Mus. B. 340. — Reinach, *RépStat* IV 146, 8; Lévêque, P., *Les antiq. du Mus. de Mariemont* (1952) 95 n° G.78. — I.-F. coiffée du modius surmonté d'un disque sur un croissant; double corne d'abondance. — e)\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 5313. D'Herculanum. — Tinh, *DOHerculanum* 58-60 n° 5 fig. 9; Pesce 33 fig. 18. — I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — L'emblème isiaque est constitué d'un globe entre deux hautes plumes sur deux épis. — f)\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 5310. D'Herculanum. — Tinh, *DOHerculanum* 60-61 n° 6 fig. 10. — I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — Le disque est orné de raies cruciformes; le gouvernail est cassé. — g)\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 5312. De Pompéi. — Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 160-161 n° 98 pl. 22, 1; *Pompéi AD* 79..., *o. c.* 62, n° 190 fig. — Le gouvernail manque. — h)\* Pompéi, Antiquarium 430/4. De Pompéi. — Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 160 n° 96. — Le gouvernail manque. — i)\* St-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. III 78786. De Bois de Loëze (Saône-et-Loire). — Inédit. — j)\* Malibu, Getty Mus. 71.AB.180. — Une croix est incisée sur le disque du basileion.

306. Statuettes de terre cuite. a) Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 7942. — Breccia, *Mon.* II 2, n° 10 pl. 7, 27. — I. acéphale. — b) Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27250 (= JE 26184). — Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 181-182 n° 48 pl. 30. — Emblème isiaque peu distinct.

#### b) Isis-Fortuna vêtue du chiton et de l'himation sans nœud isiaque

307.\* Gemmes. a) Améthyste. New York, MMA 1881.6.187. — Richter, G., *MetMusGems* n° 368 pl. 47. — I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — b)\* Munich, Münzslg. A.2365. — *AGDI* 3, n° 2919 pl. 283. — I.-F. avec modius; tient la corne d'abondance dans la droite et le gouvernail ainsi que des épis dans la gauche (au sujet de cette inversion, cf. 37a); face à elle, Nikè avec couronne et palme; l'une et l'autre sont sur une ligne de sol. — c) Chrysolithe. Coll. Ruthven 21. — Bonner, C., *Studies in Magical Amulets* (1950) 257 n° 23 pl. 2. — I.-F. coiffée de la couronne atef, debout dans un temple; Rv.: uræus avec couronne atef. — d) Jaspe. Coll. Bonner 46. — Bonner, *o. c.* n° 24. — Ag., Anubis avec situle

dans la main g. et objet indistinct dans la dr., qu'il présente à I.-F., debout en face de lui; Rv.: uræus couronné.

308. Empreinte de sceau en terre cuite. De Paphos (Chypre). — Nicolaou, K., dans *Homm. à M. J. Vermaseren* II, *EPRO* 68 (1978) 851 n° 3 pl. 177, 3.

309. Lampe de terre cuite. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 10145. — Inédit. — III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.

310. Monnaies. a) AE, Alexandrie, Trajan, 110/111 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux, 152/153 ap. J.-C. — Dattari 1050. 2885 pl. 24; Milne 2193. 2194. — b) Bi, Alexandrie, Antonin le Pieux, 152/153 ap. J.-C. — *BMC Alexandria* 126, 1076.

311.\* Statuettes de bronze. a) Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 22249. — Sfameni Gasparro, G., *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, *EPRO* 31 (1973) 173-174 n° 20 fig. 12. — b)\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 5356. D'Herculanum. — Tinh, *DOHerculanum* 62-63 n° 9 fig. 12. — Voir aussi *o. c.* n° 13. 14. — I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — c) Naples, Mus. Naz. 220 et 25.383. De Pompéi. — Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 154 n° 74 pl. 18, 1; 156 n° 80 pl. 12, 2. — I.-F. avec diadème et lotus sur la tête; le gouvernail manque (Inv. 220). I.-F. coiffée d'un diadème surmonté d'un croissant de lune et d'un basileion (Inv. 25.383). — Voir aussi *o. c.* 159-160 n° 92. 97. — d) Reggio Emilia, Mus. Civ. 210. De Reggio, Villa San Pellegrino. — Budischovsky, M.-Ch., *La diffusion des cultes isiaques autour de la mer Adriatique*, *EPRO* 61 (1977) 55-56 n° VII 8 pl. 31b. — Le gouvernail est mutilé. — e) Parme, Mus. Naz. B 472. De Velleia. — Budischovsky, *o. c.* 311d, 49-50 n° II 7 pl. 29a. — Les bras, la corne d'abondance et le gouvernail manquent. — f) Turin, Mus. di Antichità 822; 857; 867; 32478. D'Industria (prov. de Turin). — Genaille, N., *RA* 1975, 236-239 n° 12-15. — g) Aquilée, Mus. Naz. — Budischovsky, *o. c.* 311d, 136 n° 56 pl. 73a. — h) Trieste, Mus. Civ. 2.457. — De Trieste. — Lisičar, P., «Isis-Fortuna», *Starinar* 12, 1961, 130 fig. 8; Budischovsky, *o. c.* 311d, 164 n° I 8 pl. 82a. — L'emblème isiaque comporte un croissant de lune; le disque est quadrillé d'incisions. — i) Trieste, Mus. Civ. 3.440. De Trieste. — Lisičar, *o. c.* 311h, 131 fig. 10; Budischovsky, *o. c.* 311d, 165 n° I 11 pl. 83b. — I.-F. s'appuie de la dr. sur un tronc. — j) Pula, Mus. Arch. 4.620A. De Savudrija (Istrie). — Budischovsky, *o. c.* 311d, 167 n° III. — k) Priep, Narodni Muzej. De Priep ou des environs. — Düll, S., *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens in röm. Zeit* (1977) 412 n° 274. — II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — l) Belgrade, Mus. Nat. 2778/III. De Guberevac (Serbie). — Popović, Lj. B., *et al.*, *Antička bronza u Jugoslaviji* (1969) n° 131 fig.; Veličković, M., *Petits bronzes figurés romains au Mus. nat.* (1972) n° 92 fig. — III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — m) Tata (Hongrie), Mus. 56.16.1. De Ács-Vaspuszta. — Wessetzky, V., *Die ägypt. Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn*, *EPRO* 1 (1961) 52 fig. 20. — Gouvernail mutilé; croix sur le disque du basileion. — n) Vienne, Niederösterreich. Landesmus. V.20. Sans doute de Carnuntum. — Fleischer, *o. c.* 249h, 94-95 n° 114 pl. 60. — o) Bad Deutsch Altenburg, Mus. Carnuntinum 11960. De Carnuntum. — Fleischer, *o. c.* 249h, 94 n° 113 pl. 60. — p)\* Lyon, Mus. Beaux-Arts A 2789. — Boucher, *o. c.* 16, n° 62 fig. — Basileion stylisé; le gouvernail manque. — q) Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 54.973. — Hill,

*Cat. of Classical Bronze Sculpture* (1949) 224 pl. 47. — r)\* Boston, MFA 58.968. — Comstock/Vermeule, *Bronzes Boston* 109-110 n° 116. — I.-F. tient une double corne d'abondance. — s) Paris, Louvre N 5404 (= Br 796). — De Ridder, *BrLouvre* n° 796. — Avec double corne d'abondance. — t)\* Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus. Fr.1979. — *Römisches im Antikenmus.* (1978) 31-32 fig. 20. — III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — I.-F. a la tête voilée.

#### c) Isis-Fortuna vêtue d'un chiton serré laissant le sein gauche nu et drapée de l'himation

Sauf indication contraire, le chiton est maintenu par une ceinture, l'himation ramené sur le bras g.

312.\* Statuettes de bronze. a)\* Téhéran, Mus. Arch. 2437. Trouvé dans un temple de Laodécée (Mésopotamie). — Ghirshman, R., *Iran, Parther und Sassaniden* (1962) 18 fig. 23. — Ep. hellénistique (d'après Ghirshman). — b)\* Luxembourg, Mus. de l'Etat 3-475. De Nicomédie (Turquie), palais de Dioclétien. — *Bronzes figurés de l'époque romaine* (1971) 13 n° 26. 44 fig. 26. — Le chiton laisse les seins à demi découverts; bras g. mutilé. — c) Herculanum, Antiquarium 1421. D'Herculanum, vestibule d'entrée de la palestra. — Tinh, *DOHerculanum* 61-62 n° 7 fig. 11. — I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — d)\* Cologne, Röm.-Germ. Mus. N 4224. De Cologne. — Grimm, *o. c.* 82, 145-146 n° 26 pl. 24, 2. 3; *Römer am Rhein* (Expos. Cologne 1967) 225 n° C 114. — e) Douai, Mus. 573. De Bavai. — Faider-Feytmans, G., *Recueil des bronzes de Bavai, Gallia* Suppl. 8 (1957) 61 n° 77 pl. 19. — Le basileion au-dessus du diadème et le gouvernail manquent; la main g. prend appui sur un pilier. — f) Lyon, Mus. Beaux-Arts E 112. — Boucher, *o. c.* 16, 35-37 n° 59 fig. — I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — Gouvernail et corne d'abondance cassés; pilier sous la main g. — g) Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 54.943. — Hill, *o. c.* 311q, n° 221 pl. 47. — I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — h)\* Budapest, Mus. Nat. Hongrois 10, 1951, 109. De Solva (Esztergom). — Wessetzky, *o. c.* 311m, 50 fig. 18. — I.-F. tient une double corne d'abondance. — i)\* Lyon, Mus. Beaux-Arts L 317. — Boucher, *o. c.* 16, 37-38 n° 60. — Avec double corne d'abondance; main g. posée sur une colonne; emblème isiaque et gouvernail. — j) Paris, Cab. Méd. Br 628. — Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNat-Bronzes* n° 628 fig. — La double corne d'abondance est mutilée. — k) Paris, Cab. Méd. Br 631 et Br 632. — Babelon/Blanchet, *o. c.* n° 631 fig. 632. — Le chiton laisse une grande partie de la poitrine à découvert; double corne d'abondance. — l) Vatican, Mus. Greg. Egizio (coll. Grassi) 15618. — Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 269. — I. est coiffée d'un diadème et d'un calathos; avec une double corne d'abondance sur le bras g. appuyé sur une colonne.

#### d) Isis-Fortuna vêtue du chiton et de l'himation qui descend de l'épaule droite

313.\* Statuettes de bronze. a)\* Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 18520. — Sfameni Gasparro, *o. c.* 311a, 203 n° 122 fig. 25. — b) Catane, Mus. Civ. M.C.1851. — Sfameni Gasparro, *o. c.* 311a, 211-212 n° 152 fig. 30. — c) Naples, Mus. Naz. 5316. D'Herculanum. — Tinh, *DOHerculanum* 64-65 n° 14. — I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — d) Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 54.747. De Boscoreale. — Hill, *o. c.* 311q, n° 223 pl. 5. — I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. — e) An-

cona, Mus. Naz. 580. De Sentinum (Sassoferrato, prov. d'Ancona). - Dall'Osso, I., *Guida illustrata del Mus. Naz. di Ancona* (1915) 385 fig.; Budischovsky, o. c. 311d, 36 I 3. - Gouvernail mutilé. - f) Parme, Mus. Naz. B 10. De Copermio (prov. de Parme). - Budischovsky, o. c. 311d, 50 n° III 1 pl. 28c. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - g) Aquilée, Mus. Naz. - Budischovsky, o. c. 311d, 136 n° 56 pl. 73a. - h) Trieste, Mus. Civ. 2466. D'Aquilée ou de Trieste. - Lisičar, *Starinar* 12, 1961, 131 fig. 9; Budischovsky, o. c. 311d, 165 n° I 10 pl. 83a. - i) Mainz, Mittelrhein. Landesmus. 5978. De Francfort/M. - Grimm, o. c. 82, n° 83 pl. 24, 4. - Bras dr. et gouvernail manquent. - j) Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. A 268. Probablement de Cologne. - Grimm, o. c. 82, 147 n° 29 pl. 25, 5. - Avec un appui sous la main g., qui supporte une corne d'abondance mutilée. - k) Lyon, Mus. Beaux-Arts L 59. - Boucher, o. c. 16 n° 61 fig. - Avec un pilier sous le bras g. - l) Bâle, marché des ant. - *MuM Sonderliste P* (1976) 30 n° 66 fig. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Un serpent s'enroule autour du bras dr. d'I.-F.

## e) Isis-Fortuna vêtue d'une draperie couvrant seulement l'épaule gauche et la jambe droite

314. (= Agathodaimon 8\*) Peinture murale. Pompéi IX 3, 10/12 (Pistrinum). - Tinh, *Isis Pompéi* 147 n° 58 pl. 14, 1. - 63-79 ap. J.-C. - A dr. d'une niche, Luna à cheval, tenant une grande torche; à g., I.-F. debout sur un globe, s'appuyant sur un pilastre sur lequel est un sistre; I.-F. est coiffée de deux grandes cornes et d'une fleur de lotus; elle est ailée, tient le gouvernail de la g. et la corne d'abondance de la dr. En bas, deux agathodaimones tournés vers un autel central.

315.\* Statuettes de bronze. a) Naples, Mus. Naz. 2963. - Tinh, *DOCampanie* 212 fig. 19A. - I.-F. panthée, ailée, tenant une double corne d'abondance. - b)\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 5350. - Tinh, *DOCampanie* 212 fig. 18. - I.-F. non ailée, avec une double corne d'abondance. - c)\* Paris, Louvre Br 4425. D'Amrith (Syrie). - De Ridder, o. c. 249f, n° 138 pl. 29, 2; Tinh, *DOCampanie* 212 figs. 19B et 19C. - I.-F. ailée, portant un diadème tourelé, surmonté d'un croissant de lune et à l'arrière de la tête un casque; elle porte un carquois et un serpent s'enroule autour de son bras dr. et de la corne d'abondance. - d) Paris, Cab. Méd. Br 629 et Br 630. De Lyon (pour Br 629). - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n°s 629 et 630. - Large emblème isiaque posé sur un croissant de lune, double corne d'abondance.

## 2. Isis-Fortuna assise

Sauf indication contraire, I.-F. est coiffée du basileion, vêtue du chiton et de l'himation; elle tient une corne d'abondance dans la main gauche et un gouvernail dans la droite.

316.\* Gemme. Plasma. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 9821. - Ägypt. Mus. Berlin (1967) 114 n° 1052 fig. - I.-F. assise de trois quarts sur un trône, la tête coiffée du basileion.

317.\* Monnaies. Bi, Alexandrie, Philippe II César, 246/247 ap. J.-C., Valérien I, 256/257 ap. J.-C., Gallien, 256/257 ap. J.-C., Salonina, 256/257 ap. J.-C., Valérien II César, 256/257 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 265, 2048; 287, 2201; 294, 2265; Dattari 5044. 5212. 5314; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* III 2793. 2794. 2867. 2895. 2962. 2996. - Rv.: I.-F. coiffée du modius; l'himation forme le nœud isiaque. - Variante\* avec palme dans le champ: Gallien, 264/265 et 267/268 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 287, 2202; Dattari 5268 pl. 24; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* III 2925. 2954.

318.\* Statuettes de bronze. a)\* Avignon, Mus. Calvet J 145. - Rolland, H., *Bronzes antiques de Haute Provence*, Gallia Suppl. 18 (1965) 86 n° 145 fig. - Un serpent est enroulé autour du bras dr. d'I.-F. - b) Bologne, Mus. Civ. - Budischovsky, o. c. 311d, 65-66 n° IX 18 pl. 42a. - Le gouvernail manque. - c) Paris, Louvre N 5648 (= Br 797). - De Ridder, *BrLouvre* n° 797; Reinach, *RépStat* II 266, 7. - I.-F. assise sur une base rocheuse.

## F. Isis panthée

319.\*\* Statuettes de bronze. a) Herculaneum, Antiquarium 344. D'Herculaneum III 14 (Casa a graticcio). - Tinh, *DOHerculaneum* 56 n° 3 figs. 13. 14. - I. debout, ailée, coiffée de l'emblème isiaque surmonté de rayons; elle porte un carquois sur le dos, une double corne d'abondance dans la g. et un gouvernail dans la dr. - b)\* Naples, Mus. Naz. 5326. - Tinh, *DOCampanie* 209 fig. 17. - Semblable à d; avec croissant de lune au sommet de l'emblème isiaque; I. est en outre coiffée d'un casque. - c) Parme, Mus. Naz. B.360. - Monaco, G., *Il reale Mus. di Antichità di Parma* (1940) fig. 30; Tinh, *DOCampanie* 210 fig. 19D. - I. a les cornes d'Io sur le front, est radiée, ailée et tient une corne d'abondance. - d) Lyon, Mus. Beaux-Arts L 25. - Boucher, o. c. 16, 42 n° 65 fig. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. coif-



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fée d'un emblème complexe (cornes, disque, plume), radiée, ailée; elle porte un carquois, une corne d'abondance et un gouvernail; un serpent s'enroule autour d'une colonette, à sa g. - e) Avignon, Mus. Calvet. - Rolland, o. c. 318a, 86 n° 144. Semblable à d. - f) Selçuk, Mus. Arch. D'Ephèse, Hanghaus II. - Hölbl, o. c. 288, 59 pl. 8, 1a-b. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. radiée, coiffée d'un emblème complexe composé du basileion et d'un oiseau, couverte de l'égide avec gorgoneion, portant un carquois sur le dos, une corne d'abondance dans la g. et un gouvernail dans la dr. baissée. - g) Hannover, Kestner-Mus. 3160. - Menzel, H., *Römische Bronzen* (1964) 19 n° 31 pl. 2. - Semblable à d. - h)\* Loc. inc. (anc. coll. Charvet). - Cat. vente Charvet, Paris (7.5.1883) 172 n° 1831; Reinach, *RépStat* II 1, 263, 7. - I. ailée, tient de la g. une double corne d'abondance, de la dr. une bourse, des épis, un fruit et un gouvernail; un serpent s'enroule autour de son bras dr. Des bustes de Sol et Luna reposent sur le haut des ailes.

## G. Isis-Sothis

Dès l'époque pharaonique, I. est identifiée avec Sothis, l'étoile Sirius des Grecs. Mais ce n'est qu'à l'époque romaine que l'on rencontre l'image d'I., coiffée du basileion, assise en amazone sur un chien courant.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Clerc, G., «Isis-Sothis dans le monde romain», dans *Homm. à M. J. Vermaseren* I, *EPRO* 68 (1978) 247-281.

320. Peinture murale. D'Akhmîm (Haute-Egypte), antichambre de la tombe 3 de la nécropole. - Neugebauer, O./Parker, R. A., *Egypt. Astronomical Texts* III (1969) 100 n° 73 pl. 52; Clerc 264-265 pl. 34. - Ep. romaine. - Dans le médaillon central, I. tient de la dr. une fleur par sa tige et de la g. un sceptre papyriforme; tout autour, les signes du zodiaque.

321.\* Relief. Fronton de marbre. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. Vraisemblablement de Cerveteri. - Lafaye, G., *MEFRA* 1, 1881, 192-214 pl. 6; Hommel, P., *IstanbMitt* 7, 1957, 13; Clerc 257 pl. 32. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. agite de la dr. un sistre et tient dans la g. une patère.

322. Relief de marbre. Szombathely (Hongrie), Iseum. - Wessetzky, o. c. 311m, 32-33 fig. 5; Clerc 258-259 pl. 33. - Fin II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. agite le sistre de la dr. et tient un plat de la g.

323.\* Coupes en stéatite. a) New York, MMA 74.51.5027. De Chypre. - Myres, J. L., *Handbook of the Cesnola Coll. of Ant. from Cyprus* (1914) 268-270 n° 1545; *Cesnola Coll.* III pl. 114; Parlasca, o. c. 198, 153 pl. 20, 1. - I. tenant dans la dr. un objet indistinct. - b)\* Londres, BM 38511. - Parlasca, o. c. 198, 157 pl. 24, 1. - I. tient dans la dr. une torche et dans la g. une corne d'abondance; au-dessous du chien, deux Eros. - c) Paris, Louvre AF 6867. - Desroches-Noblecourt, Ch., dans *Livre du Centenaire de l'Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Orientale* (1980) 20 fig. 19a-b; Parlasca, o. c. 198, 157

n. 73. - Semblable à b. - d) Zurich, marché des ant. (Galerie Nefer, en 1980). Parlasca, o. c. 198, 157 pl. 23, 2. - Dans le médaillon central, I. similaire à b, sans Eros; autour du médaillon, les signes du zodiaque.

324. Coupe à reliefs en faïence émaillée. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson. - Gallois, H. C., *BullAntBesch* 3, 1928, 11-12 fig. 8. - Ep. romaine. - I. tient un sistre de la dr. et une corne d'abondance (?) de la g.

## Monnaies

325.\* a)\* AE, Alexandrie, Trajan, 109/110 et 112/113 ap. J.-C., Antonin le Pieux, 157/158 ap. J.-C., Faustine II († 175 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Alexandria 164, 1339; Dattari 927. 928. 2680. 2681 pl. 17; Milne 2356. 2358; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 1804. 1884. - Rv.: I. tenant une corne d'abondance de la dr. et un sceptre de la g. - b) Bi, Alexandrie, Antonin le Pieux, 157/158 ap. J.-C. - BMC Alexandria 133, 1121 pl. 16; 1122. - Rv.: semblable à a.

326. AE, Alexandrie, Trajan, 109/110 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 929 pl. 17; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen* I 531. - Rv.: I. tenant une torche oblique.

327. Aigai (Eolide), Faustine II († 175 ap. J.-C.). - Drexler, W., *NumZ* 21, 1889, 37; Dunand, *Isis* III 90. - Rv.: I. tient une corne d'abondance de la dr. et un sceptre de la g.

328. AE, sesterce, Rome, Tarragone, Lyon, Vespasien 71/72 et 72/73 ap. J.-C. - BMC Emp II 123, † pl. 22, 7; 149, †; 189, 780 pl. 35, 3; 202, †; Alföldi, A., *JAC* 8/9, 1965/66, 58 pl. 4, 3; Clerc 255-256 pl. 31. - Rv.: Sur le fronton arqué de l'Iseum Campense, I. assise sur un chien courant à dr., agitant un sistre de la dr.

329. AE, Rome, a) Dupondius, Hadrien, 134-138 ap. J.-C. - BMC Emp III 485, \*. - Rv.: I. agite un sistre de la dr. et tient un long sceptre de la g. - b) Médaille, Faustine I († 141 ap. J.-C.). - BMC Emp IV 255, \*. - Rv.: I. n'a pas de sceptre.

330.\* AE, Rome, émissions des *Vota Publica*, Julien l'Apostat (360-363 ap. J.-C.), Jovien (363-364 ap. J.-C.), Valentinien I<sup>er</sup> (364-375 ap. J.-C.) et anonymes du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Alföldi, o. c. avant 269, n° 66 pl. 2, 20; n° 82 pl. 19, 30; n° 90 pl. 3, 1 (= pl. 12, 16); n° 153 pl. 4, 9; n° 160 pl. 4, 22; n° 172 pl. 10, 33; n° 202 pl. 5, 38; n° 246 pl. 8, 34; n° 356 pl. 10, 30; n° 379 pl. 7, 34; n° 382 pl. 7, 37-38; n° 391 pl. 8, 39; Robertson, *Hunter* V 363, 7 pl. 77, A.7. - Av. des émissions anonymes: buste de Sarapis (n° 153. 160. 172. 208. 246), buste d'I. (n° 356), bustes de Sarapis et d'I. côte à côte (n° 379. 382. 391); Rv.: I. tenant un sistre de la dr. et un sceptre de la g.

331.\* Statuettes de terre cuite. a) Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 9956. - Weber 51 n° 36 pl. 3; Clerc 268 fig. 1. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. a le nœud isiaque sur la poitrine; la dr. semble s'appuyer sur une corne d'abondance placée à côté et la g. tient des épis. Un disque radié surmonte la tête du chien. - b)\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 26924. - Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 177 n° 36 pl. 23. - Semblable à a. - c) Anc. coll. Fouquet. - Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet* 22 n° 76 pl. 16. - Seule la tête d'I. apparaît sur le dos du chien.



## H. Isis-Thermouthis

Isis au corps de serpent est une figure combinée du syncrétisme égyptien Isis-Renenoutet mais avec des caractéristiques hellénistiques et romaines.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Dunand, F., «Les représentations de l'Agathodaimon», *BIFAO* 67, 1969, 9-47; Broekhuis, J., *De Godin Renenwetet* (1971) 105-109; Bresciani, E., «La dea-cobra che allatta il cocodrillo a Medinet Madi», *Aegyptus* 55, 1975, 3-9; Deschênes, G., «Isis Thermouthis: à propos d'une statuette dans la collection du Prof. M. J. Vermaseren», dans *Homm. à M. J. Vermaseren I*, *EPRO* 68 (1978) 305-315 (= Deschênes 1); eadem, «Isis Thermouthis: exemple d'un biculturalisme», dans *Mél. ... M. Lebel* (1980) 363-370 (= Deschênes 2).

## 1. Isis-Thermouthis sous la forme d'un uræus

Sauf indication contraire, I.-Th. est toujours coiffée du basileion.

## Reliefs

**332.** Marbre blanc. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 3172. D'Alexandrie. - Dunand 11 n° 2 pl. 1B. - Uræus lové, dressé, coiffé d'un basileion.

**333.\*** Calcaire. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 3181. - Dunand 11 n° 3 pl. 1C. - Similaire à 332.

**334.\*** (= Euthenia 34) Base votive de marbre blanc. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 22156. De Kom el-Tawal, au sud du lac Mariout. - Breccia, *o. c.* 23, 57 pl. 36; Fraser, P. M., *Berytus* 15, 1964, 85-87 n° 15 pl. 14. - 131 ap. J.-C. (d'après la dédicace). - Sur la face principale, allégories d'Agros, Geouchia et → Prochreia; sur les faces latérales, Nil (côté dr.) et → Euthenia (côté g.) debout; sur la face postérieure, uræus en creux avec épis dans le repli de sa queue.

**335.** Stèle votive en calcaire. Turin, Mus. Egizio Cat. 7148. - Jentel, M.-O., dans *Homm. à M. J. Vermaseren II*, *EPRO* 68 (1978) 542 n° 8 pl. 118. - Sur la face principale, Sarapis debout; sur le revers, Tyché d'Alexandrie sur une *kliné*, buste d'Harpocrate et, dans un édicule, uræus dressé, avec un sistre dans les replis de sa queue.

**336.** Lampe de terre cuite (relief sur la poignée). Leningrad, Ermitage 224. - Waldhauer, O., *Die antiken Tonlampen* (1914) 41, 224 pl. 23. - 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Avec des épis dans les replis de la queue du serpent. Voir aussi les inédits Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 5093. 8209. 16629; Athènes, Mus. Nat., coll. Benaki *Mn* 796. 875.

## Monnaies

**337.\*** AE, Alexandrie, Hadrien, 134/135 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 2047-2050 pl. 32; Milne p. 131, 355\*; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen II* 1193. 1194. - Rv.: Uræus dressé, avec disque solaire sur la tête, sans attributs.

**338.** AE, Alexandrie, Hadrien 131/132 ap. J.-C. - Milne 1348. - Rv.: uræus tenant un pavot et des épis.

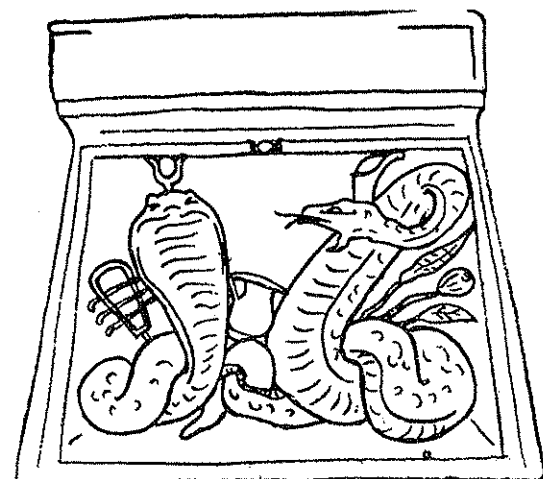
**339.** AE, Alexandrie, Antonin le Pieux, 154/155 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 3813. 3814 pl. 32; Milne 2298. - Rv.: uræus tenant des épis de chaque côté.

**340.** AE, Alexandrie, Marc Aurèle, 171/172 ap. J.-C., Septime Sévère, 202/203 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 3605 pl. 32; Milne 2725. - Rv.: uræus tenant un sistre et des épis.

## 2. Isis-Thermouthis et Agathodaimon sous la forme de serpents, face à face

Sauf indication contraire, l'uræus est toujours coiffé du basileion et l'Agathodaimon du *pschent*.

**341.\*** (= Agathodaimon 16) Relief de calcaire. Berlin, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 8164. - Dunand 12 n. 1 fig. 7. - I.-Th. (enlaçant un sistre) et Agathodaimon (enserrant des épis et un pavot) dans un naos de type égyptien; un vase est disposé entre eux.



Isis 341

**342.** (= Agathodaimon 18) Relief de calcaire. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 27528. - Edgar, *CatGénCaire. Greek Sculpture* (1903) 60 n° 27528 pl. 24; Dunand 21-22 n. 2 fig. 6. - Entre I.-Th. et Agathodaimon, un griffon qui pose sa patte sur une roue.

**343.** (= Agathodaimon 21\*) Relief de marbre. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. R 356. - Breccia, *o. c.* 23, 18 n° 15 pl. 7, 28; Dunand 14 n° 9 pl. 3B. - I.-Th. avec un sistre dans les replis de sa queue; au centre, I. (?) avec un serpent enroulé autour du bras dr.

**344.\*** Monnaies. Bi, Alexandrie. a)\* Hadrien, 125/126 ap. J.-C. - *BMC Alexandria* 79, 668 pl. 26; Dattari 1552 pl. 31; Milne 1164-1166; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen II* 894. - Rv.: I.-Th. (à dr.) et Agathodaimon (à g.) enlacent dans leurs queues un sistre (I.-Th.) et un caducée (Agathodaimon); serrée entre eux, une massue. - b) Hadrien, 125/126 et 133/134 ap. J.-C. - *BMC Alexandria* 98, 844. 845 pl. 26; Dattari 1451. 1550. 1989 pl. 31; 1990. 1991; Milne 1424; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen II* 895. 1096-1098. - Rv.: semblable à a mais sans massue; I.-Th. enserrant deux pavots (Geissen 1096), un sistre (Geissen 1097), un sistre et un pavot (Geissen 1098).

## 3. Isis-Thermouthis sous la forme d'un uræus, avec un buste de femme

Sauf indication contraire, I.-Th. est coiffée du basileion.

**345.\*** Relief de calcaire. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 3171. - Dunand 10-11 n° 1 pl. 1A. - I.-Th. dans un naos cintré, portant un collier.

**346.** Relief sur autel de marbre. Sassari, Mus. Sanna. De Turris Libisonis (Sardaigne). - Mingazzini, P., *Studi Sardi* 12/13, 1952/1954, 1, 495-497 pls. 1-3; Malaise, *o. c.* 186, 315 I 1 pl. 63; Pesce 67 fig. 33. - Ep. romaine. - Sur la face principale, I.-Th. coiffée d'une fleur de lotus; sur la face dr., un chien (Sirius), sur la face g., un crocodile (Souchos) coiffés l'un et l'autre d'une fleur de lotus.

**347.\*** Reliefs de terre cuite. a)\* Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 26929. - Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 175 n° 30 pl. 21; Deschênes 1, 306 n° 2 pl. 48, 1. - I.-Th., coiffée d'un diadème et du basileion, porte un collier et tient une torche; elle est posée sur un socle drapé et orné de deux sphinx ailés de face. - b) Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 7221. - Deschênes 1, 307 n° 9 pl. 51, 1. - Similaire à a. - Pour d'autres documents, cf. Deschênes 1, 306-308 n°s 1. 3-8. 10. 11 pls. 48-52.

## 348. Vacat.

**349.\*** Monnaies d'Alexandrie. a)\* AE, Domitien, 90/91 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 483 pl. 11; Geissen, *AlexKaisermünzen I* 376. - Rv.: I.-Th. tient une torche dans les replis de sa queue. - b) AE, Marc Aurèle, 175/176 ap. J.-C. - Dattari 3476 pl. 17. - Rv.: I.-Th. tient un sistre et des épis dans les replis de sa queue.

**350.\*** Statuette de terre cuite. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. 32855. D'El Bahnasa (= Oxyrhynchos). - Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 175-176 n° 31 pl. 21. - I. coiffée d'une couronne de fleurs bourrelée.

**351.** Lampe plastique de terre cuite. - Berlin, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 8694. - Weber 50 n° 32 pl. 3. - Sur la poitrine, amulette en forme de cœur.

**352.** Statuette de bronze. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 25866. - Inédit. - I.-Th. coiffée du modius.

## 4. Isis-Thermouthis et Sarapis-Agathodaimon sous la forme de serpents avec des bustes humains

**353.** (= Agathodaimon 39\*) Relief. Grand pied votif de marbre blanc. Turin, Mus. Egizio Suppl. 17137. D'Égypte. - Adriani, *Rep A-II* 50 n° 186 pl. 86. - Ep. romaine. - I.-Th. et Sarapis-Agathodaimon de chaque côté du pied; Harpocrate sur le talon; emblème isiaque d'I.-Th. cassé.

**354.\*** Relief de calcaire. Leyde, Rijksmus. F 1960/9.1. D'El Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchos). - Hornbostel, *Sarapis* 297-298 fig. 310. - I.-Th. et Sarapis-Agathodaimon flanquant Canope-Osiris (→ Osiris-Kanopos); I.-Th. tient une torche, Sarapis (avec modius) des épis.

**355.** (= Agathodaimon 27) Lampe de terre cuite. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 26422. - Dunand, *Relig.*

*pop.* 252 n° 298 pl. 103. - I.-Th. (à g.) et Sarapis-Agathodaimon (à dr.) de part et d'autre d'Harpocrate debout.

**356.** Lampe de terre cuite. Alexandrie, Mus. Gréco-Rom. 5203. - Breccia, E., *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (1914) 256 fig. 108. - Sur le médaillon, Harpocrate; sur les côtés, I.-Th. et Sarapis-Agathodaimon.

**357.** Relief de bronze. Alger, Mus. Nat. - Wuilleumier, P., *Musée d'Alger Suppl.* (1928) 60-61 pl. 9, 16. - I.-Th. et Sarapis-Agathodaimon de part et d'autre d'un buste d'Harpocrate.

**358.\*** Gemme. Héliotrope. Munich, Münzslg. A.2042. - *AGDI* 3, 2663 pl. 248. - II<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.

**359.\*** Statuette de bronze. Berlin-Ouest, Staatl. Mus., Ägypt. Mus. 20428. De Cyzique. - *Ägypt. Mus. Berlin* (1967) n° 997 fig. - 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I.-Th. et Sarapis-Agathodaimon entrelacés par leurs queues.

## 5. Isis-Thermouthis vêtue d'une tunique courte et de l'himation avec nœud isiaque

**360.\*** Relief. Décor d'un pilastre de calcaire. Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. JE 67839. De Medinet Madi (Fayoum). - Vogliano, A., *Un'impresa archeologica milanese ai margini orientali del deserto libico* (1942) pl. 17; Adriani, *Rep A-II* 63 n° 213 pl. 99 figs. 328-329; Bresciani, E., *Aegyptus* 55, 1975, 7 pl. 2, 4. - Ep. romaine. - I.-Th. tient une corne d'abondance; côté dr., Harpocrate nu; côté g., pharaon (Aménemhat III, qui fit l'objet d'un culte dans le Fayoum à l'ép. gréco-romaine).

**361.** Relief de calcaire. De Medinet Madi (Fayoum), chapelle dédiée à Auguste. - Vogliano, *o. c.* 360, pl. 23. - Début 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Dans un naos, I.-Th. de face, tenant de la dr. une torche, de la g. une corne d'abondance.

## Statuettes de terre cuite

**362.\*** Londres, BM 37489. - Deschênes 2, 364-368 fig. 1. - Ep. romaine. - I.-Th. tient dans la dr. un uræus et dans la g. une situle. - Pour d'autres documents similaires, voir Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 174 n° 26. 27 pls. 18. 19 avec les exemples parallèles cités pour ces deux pièces.

**363.** Londres, BM 37495. - Deschênes 2, 363-368 fig. 2. - I.-Th. tient un uræus de la dr. et des épis de la g.; une situle est suspendue à son poignet g.

**364.\*** Le Caire, Mus. Egypt. CG 26928. - Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 173 n° 24 pl. 17. - I.-Th. tient de la dr. une torche et de la g. des épis. - Pour d'autres documents similaires, voir Dunand, *o. c.* 173 n° 25 pl. 17 avec les exemples parallèles cités pour ces deux pièces.

Pour d'autres documents concernant I.-Th., cf. 135. 212. 229. 242. 243.

## I. Isis-Artémis

→ Artémis 912-914e (?) et commentaire p. 618. 662; cf. Hölbl, *o. c.* 288, 84-85; cf. également Artemis/Diana 174\* et commentaire p. 847.

## J. Isis-Athéna

→ Athena, commentaire p. 1042. 1043; cf. Hölbl, *o.c.* 288, 63-64.

## K. Isis-Bastet

→ Bastet 1\*. 2\* et commentaire.

## L. Isis-Baubo

→ Baubo, commentaire p. 89.

## M. Isis-Besit

→ Besit 5\*. 8\*. 12\*. 14a. 14b\*. 19\* et commentaire.

## N. Isis-Boubastis

→ Boubastis 1. 4\*. 5\* et commentaire; Wessetzky, V., «A Soproni Liszt Ferenc Múzeum Isis-Bubastis ol-tára» [Un autel d'I.-B. au Mus. F. Liszt de Sopron], *Soproni Szemle* 16, 1962, 358-361 (→ Hathor 42).

## O. Isis-Euthénia

→ Euthenia 1\*. 6. 9\*-12\*. 19\*. 27\* (= Isis 90). 34\*. 49\*. 50\* et commentaire.

## P. Isis-Noreia

Cf. Praschniker, C./Kenner, H., *Der Bäderbezirk von Virunum* (1947) figs. 64-66; Kenner, H., *Oefh* 43, 1956/58, 57-66. 97-98; Tinh, *DOCampanie* 202 n. 6.

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## COMMENTAIRE

Dans le cadre de cet article, il n'est nullement question des documents relatifs à I. de style purement égyptien, qu'ils aient été découverts dans la vallée du Nil même à l'époque hellénistique et romaine, ou qu'ils aient été importés d'Égypte dans les contrées classiques ou périphériques.

## Hellénisation d'Isis

Quand et comment I. a-t-elle été hellénisée? La question est difficile. En effet, ni les sources littéraires ni la documentation archéologique ne permettent de le préciser. On reconnaît pourtant une certaine créativité «isiaque» au cours des III<sup>e</sup> et II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., soit dans l'élaboration d'une théologie arétalogique, soit dans les créations artistiques.

On rencontre globalement trois types iconographiques: 1°) I. égyptienne hellénisante avec quelques retouches selon le goût esthétique grec; 2°) I. hellénisée, conservant cependant dans son costume, sa couronne et partiellement dans ses attributs, des éléments égyptiens; 3°) I. totalement hellénisée gardant seulement soit l'emblème hathorique (disque entre deux cornes), soit surtout l'emblème isiaque appelé basileion (emblème hathorique surmonté de deux plumes et flanqué souvent de deux épis de blé).

I. égyptienne hellénisante, curieusement appelée aussi égyptisante, reconnue aisément grâce à son hiératisme et sa frontalité, se rencontre non seulement en Égypte à partir du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (2-6. 8) mais aussi en Italie aux I<sup>er</sup>/II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. grâce à l'intérêt très marqué des Romains pour ce qui venait d'Égypte (1. 7). La perruque ou la chevelure dite libyenne, le vautour accouvé

sur la tête (15. 17. 183), l'uræus (10. 15. 28. 36. 183), le signe *ankh* (3. 6. 7), le sistre (6), le lotus (3. 7), le lotus sur lequel est assis Harpocrate (15. 183), la situle (10. 28) sont ses attributs préférés.

Parmi les formes syncrétiques, I.-Thermouthis, fusion des deux déesses égyptiennes I. et Renenoutet, se présente soit sous la forme d'un uræus couronné de l'emblème isiaque (332-344), soit sous celle d'un uræus avec buste féminin aux seins développés (345-359) et a souvent pour attributs le sistre (335. 340. 343. 344a[?]), les épis (334. 336. 338-340), les fruits de pavot (338), la torche (347. 349a), la massue (344a); soit enfin, sous la forte influence hellénique, elle prend une forme plus humaine avec toute la partie supérieure d'un corps de femme, habillée «à la grecque» (360-364) avec des attributs variés, épis de blé (364), torche (361. 364), uræus et situle (362-363), corne d'abondance (360-361).

Isis partiellement hellénisée, avec le costume «à l'isiaque» et le basileion constitue cependant la majeure partie des monuments. Depuis l'étude d'H. Schäfer («Das Gewand der Isis», *Festschr.* ... C. F. Lehmann-Haupt [1921] 194-206), les auteurs s'en tiennent pour l'essentiel à ses idées sur le vêtement isiaque (cf. Laurenzi, L., *RM* 54, 1939, 47-48; Breccia, Mon. II 2, 19): un ou des artistes grecs aux IV<sup>e</sup>/III<sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.-C. se sont inspirés de l'habillement égyptien pour créer le costume dit isiaque, constitué d'un chiton léger à manches courtes, et d'un himation souvent frangé, noué sur la poitrine. Ce nœud isiaque, qui constitue le critère pertinent d'identification d'I., est formé de l'entrelacement de la pointe du tissu qui descend de l'épaule droite avec la lisière transversale barrant la poitrine, créant en même temps une masse de plis du chiton entre les jambes et des plis rayonnants en éventail, de chaque côté de la poitrine. Selon le goût grec, ce nœud est plus léger, placé parfois d'une manière asymétrique plutôt du côté du sein droit. À partir de l'époque romaine, l'arrangement devient plus stéréotypé: le nœud deviendra un chou volumineux au centre de la poitrine, entre les seins, et l'extrémité pend amplement vers le bas.

Quant au terme basileion - terme déjà utilisé dans le décret de Canope (lignes 51-54) de 239/238 av. J.-C. (OGIS 90 l. 43; Bernand, A., *Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*. 1. *Les confins libyques* III, *MémInst-ArchO* 91, 1970, 989 sqq.) ainsi que dans l'Inventaire délien de Metrophanès (Roussel, P., *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III<sup>e</sup> au I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.* [= *Annales de l'Est* 29-30, 1915-16] 231. 237; Seyrig, H., dans *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* [1955] [= *Annuaire de l'Inst. de Philol. et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 13, 1953] 603-610) et traduit en latin par *basileum* dans l'Inventaire du temple de Nemi (Vidman, *SIRIS* n° 524) - nous l'utilisons pour désigner l'emblème isiaque. À la différence de l'époque pharaonique, le basileion n'apparaît plus comme une couronne coiffant la tête, mais comme un petit emblème fixé sur le sommet du crâne ou sur le devant du front. Sur certains monuments créés en Italie, le basileion est remplacé par une fleur de lotus (189-190). Au sujet du basileion, cf. en dernier lieu Malaise, M., «Histoire et signification de la coiffure

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Les images hellénisées d'I. comportent soit ces deux caractéristiques, soit au moins l'une d'entre elles. Le prototype d'I. debout tenant une corne d'abondance fut créé vraisemblablement au III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., précédant l'apparition des images de reines en I. sur les *oinchoai* en faïence (Thompson, D. B., *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* [1973] 58-59, 92-93 pls. D et 43-44). Cette iconographie, connue sur de nombreux documents datables du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. au II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (21-26, 43, 155, 163, 188, 200-202, 205, 210), classe d'emblée I. parmi les divinités de la prospérité, dispensatrices des biens. Notons qu'elle diffère de l'image d'I.-Fortuna, I. majestueuse, tenant un sceptre, créée probablement au II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. dans un milieu grec en dehors d'Alexandrie (13, 18a, 19-20, 33, 38, 41, 135, 153, 184, 194-195), proclame sa puissance divine à l'instar des dieux souverains Zeus et Héra.

I. tient aussi d'autres attributs: un bélier (38-39), peut-être une grenade (16?), le lotus sur lequel est assis Harpocrate (179, 181), le sistre et la situle (27a-q, 29, 30a-d, 37, 46, 168, 171, 176, 207). Ce dernier schéma - I. tenant le sistre et la situle - est presque absent en Egypte, mais populaire ailleurs, notamment sur les monnaies d'Asie Mineure (27a-d, f-n, q; 46, 168), de Thrace (27e, o-p; 203) ainsi que sur des monuments fabriqués en dehors de l'Egypte romaine (29, 171), surtout à partir de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. Ce schéma semble être une modification du schéma égyptien d'I. tenant l'uraeus et la situle (9, 10, 11a, 30e). Est-il possible qu'on ait voulu remplacer l'uraeus par le sistre à cause de la difficulté de faire passer le message symbolique du cobra dans des milieux culturels non-égyptiens?

Sur la plupart de ces monuments, on reconnaît, malgré les variantes de la mode féminine, l'héritage de la coiffure libyenne. Cependant, les boucles ne sont plus ni étagées ni disposées à la manière d'une perruque, mais calamistrées ou ondulées et tombent plus librement dans le cou et sur les épaules. Ce n'est que sur les monuments tardifs, peut-être à partir du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., qu'I. porte sur sa tête un châle frangé (47-58, 182).

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I. totalement hellénisée forme un groupe plus libre. Le costume est purement grec, sans nœud isiaque (37-40, 42-43, 45, 163, 167, 176-177, 179, 181, 188-190, 207, 210). La chevelure, aux mèches généralement ondulées, flotte librement sur ses épaules. Les statues de Gortyne (59), de Thessalonique (60), de Cologne (82) ou encore les statuettes d'I.-Aphrodite (249-259) et d'I.-Fortuna (305, 308-310, 311a-t, 312-315) montrent qu'à un certain stade d'évolution, I. garde seulement le basileion comme symbole de son origine égyptienne, mais porte les mêmes attributs que dans le type précédent.

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Dans une autre série, beaucoup plus abondante, I. mère est assise, allaitant son enfant. Il est évident qu'on trouve dans ce schéma l'héritage iconographique d'I. lactans pharaonique, mais l'expression stylistique est plutôt grecque. Si l'acte d'allaiter est anthropologiquement naturel, l'expression religieuse et symbolique incarnée dans l'iconographie est plus riche, car en allaitant, I. transmet à son fils la divinité et la vie. Les images d'I. assise allaitant se classent globalement dans trois groupes: I. sur un trône (211-236), I. sur une ciste (238-239) et I. surgissant d'une corolle d'acanthé (237b). Parfois, on voit la déesse allaiter aussi le bœuf Apis (244) ou le crocodile Souchos (242), actions peu compréhensibles aux yeux des non-Egyptiens et limitées à des manifestations plutôt locales.

Sur certaines représentations, le symbolisme est

parfois latent, parfois évident. La corolle d'acanthé supportant I. serait une forme d'hellénisation du lotus et évoquerait son rôle cosmique (cf. Jucker, *o. c.* 157); il en va de même pour le petit globe sous le buste d'I. (Hombert, P., «Sarapis Kosmokrator et Isis Kosmokrator», *AntCl* 14, 1945, 319-329). Parfois, I. accompagne Hélios sous la forme d'I.-Séléné (209).

#### Les formes synchrétiques d'Isis

Dans le domaine du syncrétisme religieux, l'iconographie semble refléter les auteurs anciens et les arétalogies (cf. Müller, D., *Ägypten und die griech. Isis-Arétalogien* [1961] et Bergman, J., *Ich bin Isis* [1968]) surtout celles de Medinet Madi [MM], d'Andros [A], de Kymè [K], de Maronée [Ma], d'Oxyrhynchos [Oxy] composées à l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine. I. est surtout la déesse civilisatrice. Éduquée par Hermès (Diod. I, 27), I. fit cesser l'anthropophagie (K 21), institua la justice et les lois (Diod. I, 14; MM I 6; K 52; Ma 24, 29; Oxy 205), enseigna l'agriculture (Diod. I, 15; Isid. orig. 8, 11, 84), les arts et les lettres (Isid. l. c.; K 3-4; Ma 2-24; MM I 8), inventa la civilisation en instituant le mariage (K 17-18; Ma 41-42), les règles de morale et les bonnes mœurs (K 25-30; Ma 30-31), la médecine (Diod. I, 25; Lyd. mens. 4, 32; Gal. I 1 p. 126 et 13 p. 774 Kühn). Déesse puissante, I. est souveraine du ciel, de la terre et des mers (Apul. met. II, 5; K 12-15; MM I 9-10), des vents et des tempêtes (Lukianos d. deor. 7); elle est guérisseuse de toutes les infirmités humaines (Diod. I, 25; MM I 30; II 7-8), salvatrice qui préserve les humains de la guerre, des périls de la navigation (Iuv. I 2, 18-28; Stat. silv. 3, 2, 107-110; MM I 31-34) et même de la mort (Apul. met. II, 5; MM II 7-8).

Les spéculations théologiques amenèrent les Grecs et les Romains à identifier I. avec Déméter (Hdt. 2, 59, 156; Diod. I, 13; Apul. met. II, 2, 5; 5, 3; Tert. apol. 16, 5); avec Io (Hdt. 2, 41; Diod. I, 24; Iuv. 9, 22-25; Ov. met. 9, 686-690 etc.), avec Artémis, Aphrodite, Athéna, Séléné et presque toutes les déesses grecques, thraces, syriennes, etc. (Apul. met. II, 5; Oxy 8-83). En somme, I. est la déesse aux multiples noms (polyonyme, myrionyme) et aux formes nombreuses (Apul. met. II, 5, 1; MM I 26; Oxy 9, 70, 97, 101; PLond I 121, 503). Des inscriptions grecques et latines confirment cette tradition littéraire, arétalogique et papyrologique (cf. Vidman, *SIRIS* 325, 351, 505, 639, 656, 692, 698, 721, 749, 808). Les inscriptions font aussi état de manifestations synchrétiques d'I.-Aphrodite, d'I.-Boubastis, d'I.-Diane, d'I.-Io, d'I.-Junon, d'I.-Némésis, d'I.-Hygieia, d'I.-Tyché ou d'I.-Fortuna (cf. Vidman, *SIRIS* index p. 342, 344; Tinh, *DOCampanie* 214-234).

L'interprétation allégorique considère I. comme la terre noire qu'arrose le Nil (Pherekyd., *FGH* 3 F 178; Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 363d, 366a; Orig. Cels. 5, 38; Serv. Aen. 8, 696; Héliodore, *Aethiopica* 9, 9), la terre fertile par opposition au désert.

Sur le plan de l'iconographie, l'«*interpretatio Graeca*» et l'«*interpretatio Romana*» exploitent surtout l'aspect religieux et théologique et négligent les épisodes mythologiques. Les représentations synchréti-

ques mettent surtout l'accent sur I.-Aphrodite, I.-Déméter, I.-Io et I.-Fortuna. Pour ces figures, l'iconographie est variée et le degré de popularité de chacune dépend de plusieurs facteurs.

#### Isis-Aphrodite

Le syncrétisme d'I.-Aphrodite fut préparé de longue date par une assimilation, à la Basse Époque égyptienne, de Hathor par I. Hathor, déesse de l'amour et du mariage est l'équivalent d'Aphrodite chez les Grecs. Comme tous les Hellènes, les Alexandrins vouaient un culte spécial à Aphrodite (Fraser, P. M., *Ptolemaic Alexandria* [1972] 197). Et le syncrétisme d'I.-Aphrodite s'effectuait ainsi grâce à un double apport, grec et égyptien.

I. fut assimilée à Aphrodite assez tôt, déjà au III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., à Alexandrie (Bernand, *o. c.* 925-928; Condurachi, *BullRoum* 21, 1939, 35-36) et en Thrace (Vidman, *SIRIS* 128). Les monuments figurés n'offrent cependant aucun critère de datation sûr. Plusieurs statuettes de bronze provenant de la Syrie semblent avoir été fabriquées dans ce pays (cf. Fleischer, R., *DamMitt* 1, 1983, 36). Le titre d'I.-Aphrodite-Astarté (cf. ID 2132) conviendrait à cette imagerie de type syro-phénicien, où I. est parée d'un imposant diadème et d'un grand collier, parfois avec pendentifs (249, 250, 254). Les artistes ont pris soin de surtout faire figurer sur ces diadèmes complexes le basileion, garant du syncrétisme (cf. Jentel, M.-O., *MythGrRPér* 151-155).

Les autres représentations semblent d'inspiration gréco-égyptienne. On y reconnaît l'imitation des types classiques d'Aphrodite, pudique (254), «*anasyroménè*» (256-257), anadyomène (253), «*pséliouménè*» (250-251), ou accroupie (259). I. porte parfois un voutour accouvé (252) perpétuant ainsi la tradition égyptienne, ou un simple basileion (253, 259) dérivé du nouveau symbolisme religieux alexandrin. Les *periammata*, les pendentifs, le calathos semblent appartenir à un symbolisme apotropaïque populaire.

De nombreuses terres cuites égyptiennes d'époque romaine représentent une femme nue, debout, les bras collés au corps, coiffée souvent d'un grand diadème bourrelé surmonté d'un haut calathos orné d'un basileion (258). Leur identité est incertaine: s'agit-il de concubines du mort comme le pensent certains auteurs (*ExSieglin* I 234; II 2, 47-48 pl. 30), de la déesse protectrice du mort (Weber 31) ou d'I.-Aphrodite (Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet* 1 sqq; Breccia, *Mon.* II 1, 17; Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 68)? Le fait que plusieurs d'entre elles portent le basileion plaide en faveur de l'identification avec la déesse, mais leur rigidité fait penser à l'héritage pharaonique des oushabtis.

#### Isis-Déméter

Le syncrétisme d'I.-Déméter est ancien (Hdt. 2, 59) mais se manifeste dans l'iconographie avec discrétion. En effet, les monuments spécifiques sont plutôt rares. Pour ne pas mettre toutes les figures de Déméter sous le vocable d'I., nous avons répertorié seulement les monuments les plus pertinents: les uns représentant la déesse, vêtue à l'isiaque, tenant des épis de blé



hathorique à plumes», *Studien zur Altägypt. Kultur* 4, 1976, 215-236.

Les images hellénisées d'I. comportent soit ces deux caractéristiques, soit au moins l'une d'entre elles. Le prototype d'I. debout tenant une corne d'abondance fut créé vraisemblablement au III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., précédant l'apparition des images de reines en I. sur les *oinchoai* en faïence (Thompson, D. B., *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* [1973] 58-59, 92-93 pls. D et 43-44). Cette iconographie, connue sur de nombreux documents datables du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. au II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (21-26, 43, 155, 163, 188, 200-202, 205, 210), classe d'emblée I. parmi les divinités de la prospérité, dispensatrices des biens. Notons qu'elle diffère de l'image d'I.-Fortuna. I. majestueuse, tenant un sceptre, créée probablement au II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. dans un milieu grec en dehors d'Alexandrie (13, 18a, 19-20, 33, 38, 41, 135, 153, 184, 194-195), proclame sa puissance divine à l'instar des dieux souverains Zeus et Héra.

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Sur la plupart de ces monuments, on reconnaît, malgré les variantes de la mode féminine, l'héritage de la coiffure libyenne. Cependant, les boucles ne sont plus ni étagées ni disposées à la manière d'une perruque, mais calamistrées ou ondulées et tombent plus librement dans le cou et sur les épaules. Ce n'est que sur les monuments tardifs, peut-être à partir du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., qu'I. porte sur sa tête un châle frangé (47-58, 182).

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I. totalement hellénisée forme un groupe plus libre. Le costume est purement grec, sans nœud isiaque (37-40, 42-43, 45, 163, 167, 176-177, 179, 181, 188-190, 207, 210). La chevelure, aux mèches généralement ondulées, flotte librement sur ses épaules. Les statues de Gortyne (59), de Thessalonique (60), de Cologne (82) ou encore les statuette d'I.-Aphrodite (249-259) et d'I.-Fortuna (305, 308-310, 311a-t, 312-315) montrent qu'à un certain stade d'évolution, I. garde seulement le basileion comme symbole de son origine égyptienne, mais porte les mêmes attributs que dans le type précédent.

I. assise est relativement rare. Sur certains monuments (79, 84, 85a, 88) elle se présente comme une femme en deuil, du type de Déméter devant le rapt de Perséphone sur la façade de la tombe royale de Vergina. Sur la base de la statue de Fiesole, l'inscription l'appelle I. Taposiris (Vidman, *SIRIS* n° 564), évoquant l'endroit où se trouvait, d'après la tradition, le tombeau d'Osiris (Eudoxos, F 291 Lasserre; cf. Kees, H., *RE* IV A 2 [1932] 2259-2260). La peinture du sarcophagus de Pompéi (130) devrait évoquer l'épisode d'errance d'I. à Byblos: I. ramena le cercueil d'Osiris sur un bateau et, prenant la forme d'une hirondelle, elle pleura son mari (Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 357c). Les mystères de la mort d'Osiris étaient célébrés à Rome avec le symbole du sistre et de l'hirondelle (Min. Felix 22). Ce ne sont que de rares documents qui nous informent sur le mythe, peut-être caché aux non-initiés.

Dans une autre série, beaucoup plus abondante, I. mère est assise, allaitant son enfant. Il est évident qu'on trouve dans ce schéma l'héritage iconographique d'I. lactans pharaonique, mais l'expression stylistique est plutôt grecque. Si l'acte d'allaiter est anthropologiquement naturel, l'expression religieuse et symbolique incarnée dans l'iconographie est plus riche, car en allaitant, I. transmet à son fils la divinité et la vie. Les images d'I. assise allaitant se classent globalement dans trois groupes: I. sur un trône (211-236), I. sur une ciste (238-239) et I. surgissant d'une corolle d'acanthé (237b). Parfois, on voit la déesse allaiter aussi le bœuf Apis (244) ou le crocodile Souchos (242), actions peu compréhensibles aux yeux des non-Egyptiens et limitées à des manifestations plutôt locales.

Sur certaines représentations, le symbolisme est

parfois latent, parfois évident. La corolle d'acanthé supportant I. serait une forme d'hellénisation du lotus et évoquerait son rôle cosmique (cf. Jucker, *o. c.* 157); il en va de même pour le petit globe sous le buste d'I. (Hombert, P., «Sarapis Kosmokrator et Isis Kosmokratora», *AntCl* 14, 1945, 319-329). Parfois, I. accompagne Hélios sous la forme d'I.-Séléné (209).

#### Les formes syncrétiques d'Isis

Dans le domaine du syncrétisme religieux, l'iconographie semble refléter les auteurs anciens et les arétologies (cf. Müller, D., *Ägypten und die griech. Isis-Arealogien* [1961] et Bergman, J., *Ich bin Isis* [1968]) surtout celles de Medinet Madi [MM], d'Andros [A], de Kymè [K], de Maronée [Ma], d'Oxyrhynchos [Oxy] composées à l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine. I. est surtout la déesse civilisatrice. Éduquée par Hermès (Diod. 1, 27), I. fit cesser l'anthropophagie (K 21), institua la justice et les lois (Diod. 1, 14; MM I 6; K 52; Ma 24, 29; Oxy 205), enseigna l'agriculture (Diod. 1, 15; Isid. orig. 8, 11, 84), les arts et les lettres (Isid. l. c.; K 3-4; Ma 2-24; MM I 8), inventa la civilisation en instituant le mariage (K 17-18; Ma 41-42), les règles de morale et les bonnes mœurs (K 25-30; Ma 30-31), la médecine (Diod. 1, 25; Lyd. mens. 4, 32; Gal. I 1 p. 126 et 13 p. 774 Kühn). Déesse puissante, I. est souveraine du ciel, de la terre et des mers (Apul. met. 11, 5; K 12-15; MM I 9-10), des vents et des tempêtes (Lukianos d. deor. 7); elle est guérisseuse de toutes les infirmités humaines (Diod. 1, 25; MM I 30; II 7-8), salvatrice qui préserve les humains de la guerre, des périls de la navigation (Iuv. 12, 18-28; Stat. silv. 3, 2, 107-110; MM I 31-34) et même de la mort (Apul. met. 11, 5; MM I 7-8).

Les spéculations théologiques amenèrent les Grecs et les Romains à identifier I. avec Déméter (Hdt. 2, 59, 156; Diod. 1, 13; Apul. met. 11, 2, 5; 5, 3; Tert. apol. 16, 5); avec Io (Hdt. 2, 41; Diod. 1, 24; Iuv. 9, 22-25; Ov. met. 9, 686-690 etc.), avec Artémis, Aphrodite, Athéna, Séléné et presque toutes les déesses grecques, thraces, syriennes, etc. (Apul. met. 11, 5; Oxy 8-83). En somme, I. est la déesse aux multiples noms (polyonyme, myrionyme) et aux formes nombreuses (Apul. met. 11, 5, 1; MM I 26; Oxy 9, 70, 97, 101; PLond I 121, 503). Des inscriptions grecques et latines confirment cette tradition littéraire, arétologique et papyrologique (cf. Vidman, *SIRIS* 325, 351, 505, 639, 656, 692, 698, 721, 749, 808). Les inscriptions font aussi état de manifestations syncrétiques d'I.-Aphrodite, d'I.-Boubastis, d'I.-Diane, d'I.-Io, d'I.-Junon, d'I.-Némésis, d'I.-Hygieia, d'I.-Tychè ou d'I.-Fortuna (cf. Vidman, *SIRIS* index p. 342, 344; Tinh, *DOCampanie* 214-234).

L'interprétation allégorique considère I. comme la terre noire qu'arrose le Nil (Pherekyd., *FGH* 3 F 178; Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 363d, 366a; Orig. Cels. 5, 38; Serv. Aen. 8, 696; Héliodore, *Aethiopica* 9, 9), la terre fertile par opposition au désert.

Sur le plan de l'iconographie, l'«*interpretatio Graeca*» et l'«*interpretatio Romana*» exploitent surtout l'aspect religieux et théologique et négligent les épisodes mythologiques. Les représentations syncrétiques

mettent surtout l'accent sur I.-Aphrodite, I.-Déméter, I.-Io et I.-Fortuna. Pour ces figures, l'iconographie est variée et le degré de popularité de chacune dépend de plusieurs facteurs.

#### Isis-Aphrodite

Le syncrétisme d'I.-Aphrodite fut préparé de longue date par une assimilation, à la Basse Époque égyptienne, de Hathor par I. Hathor, déesse de l'amour et du mariage est l'équivalent d'Aphrodite chez les Grecs. Comme tous les Hellènes, les Alexandrins vouaient un culte spécial à Aphrodite (Fraser, P. M., *Ptolemaic Alexandria* [1972] 197). Et le syncrétisme d'I.-Aphrodite s'effectuait ainsi grâce à un double apport, grec et égyptien.

I. fut assimilée à Aphrodite assez tôt, déjà au III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., à Alexandrie (Bernand, *o. c.* 925-928; Condurachi, *BullRoum* 21, 1939, 35-36) et en Thrace (Vidman, *SIRIS* 128). Les monuments figurés n'offrent cependant aucun critère de datation sûr. Plusieurs statuette de bronze provenant de la Syrie semblent avoir été fabriquées dans ce pays (cf. Fleischer, R., *DamMitt* 1, 1983, 36). Le titre d'I.-Aphrodite-Astarté (cf. ID 2132) conviendrait à cette imagerie de type syro-phénicien, où I. est parée d'un imposant diadème et d'un grand collier, parfois avec pendentifs (249, 250, 254). Les artistes ont pris soin de surtout faire figurer sur ces diadèmes complexes le basileion, garant du syncrétisme (cf. Jentel, M.-O., *MythGrRPér* 151-155).

Les autres représentations semblent d'inspiration gréco-égyptienne. On y reconnaît l'imitation des types classiques d'Aphrodite, pudique (254), «*anasyroménè*» (256-257), anadyomène (253), «*pséliouménè*» (250-251), ou accroupie (259). I. porte parfois un vautour accouvé (252) perpétuant ainsi la tradition égyptienne, ou un simple basileion (253, 259) dérivé du nouveau symbolisme religieux alexandrin. Les *periammata*, les pendentifs, le calathos semblent appartenir à un symbolisme apotropaïque populaire.

De nombreuses terres cuites égyptiennes d'époque romaine représentent une femme nue, debout, les bras collés au corps, coiffée souvent d'un grand diadème bourrelé surmonté d'un haut calathos orné d'un basileion (258). Leur identité est incertaine: s'agit-il de concubines du mort comme le pensent certains auteurs (*ExSieglin* I 234; II 2, 47-48 pl. 30), de la déesse protectrice du mort (Weber 31) ou d'I.-Aphrodite (Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet* 1 sqq; Breccia, *Mon.* II 1, 17; Dunand, *Relig. pop.* 68)? Le fait que plusieurs d'entre elles portent le basileion plaide en faveur de l'identification avec la déesse, mais leur rigidité fait penser à l'héritage pharaonique des oushabtis.

#### Isis-Déméter

Le syncrétisme d'I.-Déméter est ancien (Hdt. 2, 59) mais se manifeste dans l'iconographie avec discrétion. En effet, les monuments spécifiques sont plutôt rares. Pour ne pas mettre toutes les figures de Déméter sous le vocable d'I., nous avons répertorié seulement les monuments les plus pertinents: les uns représentant la déesse, vêtue à l'isiaque, tenant des épis de blé

(260-261) les autres, Déméter voilée, coiffée du modius sur lequel figure discrètement un disque entre deux cornes ou simplement un croissant, et tenant une torche (263-264). Mais le syncrétisme d'I.-Déméter est plus diffus, grâce aux épis de blé ajoutés à l'emblème hathorique originel. Il s'opère surtout sous la forme ingénieuse d'un syncrétisme composite où la déesse des récoltes (Hermouthis) devient I. avec les attributs d'I. (sistre, situle, corne d'abondance) et de Déméter (torche, épis de blé). Cette théologie a été habilement formulée par Isidore de Medinet Madi: «souveraine Hermouthis, I. pure, sainte, grande, Déo au grand nom» (MM III 1-2), et concrétisée par la forme angipède de la déesse.

#### Isis-Io

Malgré sa popularité littéraire, I.-Io est peu connue dans l'iconographie - à moins que par convention nous ne reconnaissons Io que sous la forme d'une fille encore jeune avec des cornes sur le front (267-268). Pour Hérodote, l'image d'I. - femme avec des cornes de vaches - est identique à Io (Hdt. 2, 41). De fait, cette figuration égyptienne était d'abord celle de Hathor avant d'être celle d'I. Les peintures de l'Iseum et d'une maison de Pompéi (265-266) sont parmi les rares documents qui font allusion au mythe, mais ils ne représentent pas son aspect syncrétiste.

#### Isis Pelagia

«I. à la voile», connue au plus tôt sur une monnaie d'Antioche du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (285) et sur un relief de Délos du début du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. (269), apparaît plus tard sur de nombreuses monnaies d'Alexandrie (274-281), de Rome (293-294), de plusieurs cités d'Asie Mineure (282, 284, 287-290), de Phénicie (286) et de Thrace (291), datant toutes de l'époque romaine, de Domitien à Gratien. Les reliefs (270-271), les intailles (295-296), les lampes en terre cuite (272, 273) et quelques sculptures fragmentaires d'identification difficile (298-301) sont également romains.

I. est représentée debout de profil, les mains tenant la voile gonflée par le vent. Le bateau est figuré sur quelques émissions d'Alexandrie sous Trajan et Hadrien (280), de Perinthos sous Sévère Alexandre (291), de Phocée (292). Parfois le phare est présent notamment sur les monnaies d'Alexandrie (278), de Phocée (292) et de Rome (293). Sur une série de monnaies frappées à Rome au cours de la seconde moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., la légende ISIS FARIA sur l'avvers ne semble pas se référer directement à la figure du revers (cf. Alföldi, *o. c.* avant 269, 42-47), mais faire plutôt allusion à la fête du *Navigium Isidis*. Par contre, l'inscription *EISIS ΦΑΡΙΑ* se lit sur la base d'une statuette en bronze de Fortuna sans aucune caractéristique isiaque (De Ridder, *o. c.* 249f, n° 321, Vidman, *SIRIS* 358). L'iconographie devrait faire allusion à I. comme inventrice de la voile, de la navigation et déesse de la mer, appelée dans des dédicaces I. EUPLOIA (*ID* 2132, 2153), I. PELAGIA (*SIRIS* 34, 259, 274, 396, 764), I. PHARIA (Vidman, *SIRIS* 358, 403; Breccia, E., *Iscrizioni greche e latine* [1911] n° 103; Bernand, E.,

*Inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae* II [1969] n° 168). Protectrice de la navigation, salvatrice des marins et des voyageurs comme en témoignent les hymnes de Medinet Madi et Juvénal (12, 25-28), célébrée d'une manière particulière pendant les *megala ploiaphesia* ou le *Navigium Isidis* (Apul. *met.* 11, 9-17; cf. Alföldi, *o. c.* 42-58; Deubner, L., *AM* 37, 1912, 180-182; Bruneau, Ph., *BCH* 85, 1961, 442-446) l'image d'I. à la voile est peut-être l'une des manifestations de cette croyance.

Existe-t-il des statues d'I. à la voile? La question a été posée par Ph. Bruneau (*BCH* 98, 1974, 352-381). Le débat, animé dans les années 1970, montre la difficulté de résoudre le problème de l'origine du type à partir de la ronde bosse, étant donné l'état fragmentaire des monuments connus (298-301). De fait, nous ne connaissons rien sur l'image d'I. Pharia vénérée à Alexandrie, ni sur celle d'I. Euploia à Délos, ni enfin sur celle d'I. Pelagia à Corinthe, pour ne citer que les cas les mieux connus. Les représentations iconographiques révèlent une théologie et une typologie de lecture facile et évocatrice sans pour autant apporter de solution au problème posé. Peut-être est-il plausible d'accepter l'hypothèse émise par Ph. Bruneau (*BCH* 98, 1974, 381) et par M. Malaise (*Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, *EPRO* 22 [1972] 181) selon laquelle l'image d'I. déesse de la mer serait figurée également sous d'autres formes, notamment celle d'I.-Fortuna.

#### Isis-Fortuna

I.-Fortuna est sans doute la forme syncrétiste la plus populaire à l'époque romaine. La plupart des études semblent corroborer la thèse selon laquelle le syncrétisme s'effectua d'abord entre I. et Fortuna (Schefold, K., «Fortuna aus Augst», *Ur-Schweiz* 17, 1953, 41-50; *idem*, «Zur hellenistischen Theologie Alexandrias», *Antidoron: Edgar Salin zum 70. Geburtstag* [1962] 169) mais dans un milieu hellénique, notamment à Délos (*ID* 2072, 2073; Roussel, *o. c.* 148 n° 119, 120) où la déesse est invoquée sous le titre d'I. Tychè Protogeneia.

Fortuna, divinité de la chance individuelle, déesse des femmes, de la naissance et de la progéniture est primordialement différente de la Tychè grecque. Le rapprochement de ces deux divinités prépara leur assimilation par I. qui, d'une part, «a vaincu le destin», et, d'autre part, se déclare être la clairvoyante Fortune qui éclaire même les dieux de sa lumière.

Nouvelle Fortune, elle s'est dotée de tous les attributs de la Tychè-Fortuna, notamment la corne d'abondance et le gouvernail. Elle se distingue cependant de la Fortuna classique par son habillement avec nœud isiaque (303, 304, 306), et/ou grâce au basileion (304, 306-319). Rompant la monotonie des documents, on remarquera des I.-Fortuna qui abandonnent le costume isiaque classique pour adopter des costumes variés: a) chiton et himation sans nœud isiaque avec un pan ramené sur l'épaule ou le bras gauche (308-310, 311a-p, r, t), b) chiton serré à la taille par une ceinture et laissant nu le sein gauche (312a-e,

h-k), c) chiton et himation tombant de l'épaule droite et drapant le corps (311q, 313a-l), d) draperie laissant presque tout le corps à découvert (314-315); dans cette dernière catégorie, I. est souvent ailée (315a, c) et porte parfois le carquois (315c).

#### Isis-Sothis

Bien que le syncrétisme soit d'origine égyptienne, l'imagerie d'I.-Sothis assise sur un chien courant semble apparaître tardivement, peut-être à l'époque romaine (Clerc, *o. c.* avant 320, 250-256). Le fronton arqué, figuré sur les sesterces de Vespasien en 71 ap. J.-C. (328) fait probablement allusion au temple d'I. reconstruit sur le Champ de Mars sous Caligula (37-41 ap. J.-C.). Peut-être est-ce lors de la reconstruction du temple après l'incendie de 80 ap. J.-C. que l'on érigea comme acrotère une statue de la déesse assise sur le chien, qui fera plus tard partie des prodiges dénonçant les crimes d'Héliogabale: «en signe d'horreur, I. détourna sa tête vers l'intérieur» (Cass. Dio 79, 10). Rome continua à émettre des monnaies avec l'image d'I.-Sothis jusqu'à la seconde moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. tandis qu'à Alexandrie, cette image figurait seulement sur les monnaies locales, de Trajan à Antonin (325a-b). Les autres monuments d'I.-Sothis sont aussi romains même les patères de pierre, semble-t-il. I. assise sur le chien tient le sistre (321-322, 324, 328, 329a, 330) qui aurait le pouvoir magique d'accroître les crues du Nil dont dépend la vie des Egyptiens, une torche (323b), un sceptre (320, 325a, 327, 329a, 330), une corne d'abondance (323b-d, 324[?], 325a, 327), des épis (331). I.-Sothis met l'accent sur l'allégorie de l'image du chien-étoile qui n'a de valeur réelle qu'en Egypte avec les crues du Nil. On se demande si sa présence à Rome et dans l'Empire était liée à une certaine «égyptomanie» ou plutôt à l'approvisionnement du grain de l'Egypte, nécessaire à l'annonce impériale.

#### Isis Panthée

Ces images rappellent la doctrine aréalogique propagée parmi les populations méditerranéennes, selon laquelle I. incarne toutes les déesses, qui jusqu'alors étaient connues sous des noms différents et des formes diverses. Dans la nouvelle iconographie, on regroupe dans I. seule les attributs les plus divers mais facilement reconnaissables: les ailes de Nikè-Victoria, le carquois d'Artémis-Diane, l'égide d'Athéna-Minerve, les épis de blé de Déméter-Cérès, la corne d'abondance et le gouvernail de Fortuna, sans parler, parfois, des cornes d'Io, des rayons d'Hélios-Sol, du croissant de Séléné-Luna, du serpent d'Hygie (319d-e, g-h), des *signa panthea* (Weisshäupl, R., «Panthetistische Denkmäler. Isis Panthea», *Oefh* 13, 1910, 176-193 figs. 90-107; Eichler, F., «Signum pantheum», *Oefh* 39, 1952, 21-27) et des lampes représentant une déesse assise rassemblant autour d'elle des dizaines d'attributs, parmi lesquels le sistre, rappellent la présence d'une divinité panthée qui pourrait porter le nom d'I. «una quae es omnia».

#### Isis avec d'autres divinités

I. fut admise, non sans réticence, dans le panthéon gréco-romain. Figure dominante du mythe osirien, elle est notamment représentée avec sa famille composée de Sarapis, d'Anubis et d'Harpocrate, parfois en présence d'autres divinités grecques: avec Sarapis (130-162), avec Sarapis et Harpocrate (163-171), avec Sarapis et Anubis (184-185), avec Sarapis; Harpocrate et Anubis (190-191), avec Sarapis et Apis (194), avec Sarapis, Apis et Anubis (195), avec Sarapis, Harpocrate et Déméter (202-203), avec Sarapis et Déméter (199-201, 280), avec Sarapis et les Dioscures (205), avec Sarapis, Harpocrate et Dionysos (204), avec Sarapis, Harpocrate, Anubis et Hermanubis (192a), avec Sarapis, Harpocrate, Anubis et Osiris (192b), avec Sarapis et Horus (196), avec Harpocrate (172-183), avec Harpocrate et Anubis (188-189), avec Harpocrate et Osiris (193), avec Sarapis, les Dioscures, Jupiter Dolichénien et Junon (206-207), avec Hélios (209), avec Luna (314, 319h), avec les Dioscures (279). La rareté de la présence d'Osiris montre le degré d'hellénisation du culte isiaque, malgré la montée tardive du culte d'Osiris (Vidman, L., *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern* [1970] 122, 173). La provenance des monuments iconographiques et épigraphiques complète les sources littéraires relatives à l'implantation du culte d'I. en dehors de l'Egypte aux époques hellénistique et romaine (cf. surtout Dunand, *Isis* et Malaise, M., *ANRWII* 17, 2, 1615-1691). Strabon fait mention de l'Iseum sur le littoral occidental du golfe persique (Strabon 16, 4, 7 p. 770), et de celui de Soloi de Chypre (14, 6, 3 p. 683). Plin. *nat.* 6, 174) et de l'Iseum de Césarée en Mauritanie (*l. c.* 5, 51). Selon le témoignage de Plin. le Jeune, il existait un temple d'I. à Nicomédie, détruit par un incendie (Plin. *epist.* 10, 33, 1). D'autres temples se trouvaient à Antioche où Séleucos IV fit envoyer de Memphis, Ptolémée III Evergète, une statue d'I. coiffée de cornes (Lib. *or.* 11, 114-115); à Smyrne où Aelius Aristide avait des visions (Aristeides *or.* 47 et 49), à Rhodes où Anthia et Habrocomès, les héros des *Ephésiaques* rendirent grâce à la «grande déesse salvatrice» après de multiples tribulations (Xénophon d'Ephèse 5, 13, 2-4; cf. 1, 6, 2). Pausanias fait état de plusieurs cités grecques qui honoraient I., notamment Athènes (1, 41, 3), Acrocorinthe (2, 4, 6), Kenchrées (2, 2, 3), Phlionte (2, 13, 7), Trézène (2, 32, 6), Méthane (2, 34, 1), Hermione (2, 34, 10), Tithorée (10, 32, 13-14, 18), etc.

Rome, au déclin de la République, interdit en vain l'implantation du culte d'I. (Varro *ant. rer. div. fig.* 46a et b Cardauns; Cass. Dio 40, 47, 3-4; 47, 15); celui-ci réussit à triompher des obstacles pour s'installer dans les sanctuaires (Lucanus 8, 831). Les poètes Tibulle (1, 3, 23), Properce (4, 5, 33-34) et Ovide (*am.* 2, 13, 7-11) font mention de la dévotion à I. de la part de personnes de leur connaissance, des historiens comme Tacite (*hist.* 4, 84), Suétone (*Oth.* 12) et les *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* nous gardent le souvenir de l'expansion du culte isiaque sous Caligula, Commode et les Sévères. Malgré la politique constantinienne qui

sonna le glas du paganisme, l'image d'I. continue à figurer sur les monnaies romaines jusqu'à Théodose (Alföldi, o. c. avant 269) et hante encore la civilisation occidentale (cf. Witt 269-281). TRAN TAM TINH

## ISMENE I

(Ἰσμήνη, Ὀϊσμήνη [3], Ἰσμήνη [4]; Ismene) Tochter des → Oidipous und der → Iokaste oder Euryganeia, Schwester von → Antigone, → Polyneikes und → Eteokles. I. wird seit dem 5. Jh. als die sanftere, eher zu Kompromissen bereite Schwester der Antigone geschildert, die nach der Vertreibung des Oidipous in Theben bleibt, aber die Verbindung mit ihm aufrecht erhält (Soph. *Oid. K.*) und im Konflikt der Antigone mit → Kreon (I) sich auf die Seite der Schwester stellt (Soph. *Oid. t.*). Ein anderes Schicksal hatte sie in der archaischen Literatur: als Geliebte des → Periklymenos, mit dem sie sich – wahrscheinlich in einem Tempel oder Heiligtum der Athena – trifft, wird sie von → Tydeus, der das Liebespaar überrascht, auf Geheiß der Athena getötet.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Bei Aufzählungen der Kinder des Oidipous wird I. stets mit ihren drei Geschwistern genannt (die Quellen → Antigone, → Eteokles, → Iokaste). Über ihr weiteres Schicksal in den Epen des thebanischen Zyklus ist nichts bekannt, offensichtlich gab es aber in archaischer Zeit eine Version, in der sie von Tydeus getötet wird. Mimnermos soll erzählt haben, daß I., als sie sich dem Theoklymenos hingab, von Tydeus auf Geheiß der Athena getötet wurde (West *IEG fig.* 21, überliefert in der Hypothesis des Grammatikers Salustios zur Antigone des Sophokles). Nach Pherekydes (*FGH 3 F 95*) soll Tydeus sie bei einer Quelle getötet haben, die dann nach ihr Ismene benannt wurde (hier mag auch die Erinnerung an die gleichnamige Tochter des Flußgottes Asopos und den Fluß → Ismenos eingeflossen sein – zu dieser I.: → Ismene II und Bethe 2136 s. v. «Ismene 3»; Stoll 550 s. v. «Ismene 1»). Nimmt man die beiden Notizen zusammen, so ergibt sich folgende Geschichte: Tydeus überrascht I. außerhalb der Stadt an einer Quelle, wohl während eines Treffens mit ihrem Liebhaber Periklymenos (der überlieferte Name Theoklymenos wird mit Recht auf einen Irrtum des im 4. Jh. n. Chr. schreibenden Salustios oder seiner Quelle zurückgeführt, s. Robert 124; Hampe 11); die Episode muß sich während der Belagerung Thebens oder – was unwahrscheinlicher ist – schon während der Gesandtschaft des Tydeus (→ Septem, → Tydeus) abgespielt haben. Er tötet I., weil sie sich den Zorn der Athena zugezogen hat. Der Grund dieses Zorns kann nur das Liebesverhältnis mit Periklymenos gewesen sein; möglicherweise war I. Priesterin der Athena – vielleicht spielte auch der Ort der Liebesvereinigung, ein Heiligtum der Athena?, eine Rolle. Athena dürfte

in Theben die Athena Onka gewesen sein, deren Heiligtum nahe bei dem gleichnamigen Tor vor der Stadt lag (Aischyl. *Septem* 486-487. 501-502; cf. Robert 127; Hampe 12).

Dieses Bild der I. ändert sich im 5. Jh. vollkommen durch die Dichtungen der Tragiker. I. überlebt nun zusammen mit Antigone den Angriff der Septem; sie steht meist völlig im Schatten ihrer energischen Schwester Antigone (zuerst: Aischyl. *Septem* 861-Ende, zur Problematik der Szene → Antigone). Als eigenen Charakter schildert sie vor allem Sophokles in der *Antigone* und im *Oidipous in Kolonos*, wo sie dem Vater und der Schwester, nach denen sie lange gesucht hat, aus Theben die Nachricht vom Streit der Brüder und von dem Orakel überbringt, das das Schicksal der Stadt mit dem des Oidipous verknüpft (Soph. *Oid. K.* 311-509). Sie wird dort zuerst von Kreon gefangen (818-819), ehe er sich auch der Antigone bemächtigt; nach der Freilassung (1097-1098) tritt sie nur noch zusammen mit Antigone auf.

Vom weiteren Leben der I. ist uns nichts bekannt – mit einer Ausnahme: Ion von Chios (Page *PMG fig.* 740) soll in einem Dithyrambos erzählt haben, wie sie zusammen mit Antigone von Laodamas, dem Sohn des Eteokles, in einem Heiligtum der Hera verbrannt wurde – wohl doch im Zusammenhang mit der Bestattung des Polyneikes (Lit. und Diskussion → Antigone).

In der uns erhaltenen nachklassischen Literatur bleibt I.'s Charakter und Schicksal blaß. Meist wird sie nur beiläufig erwähnt; in der *Thebais* des Statius hat sie einen Verlobten, Atys, der von Tydeus tödlich verwundet wird und, in die Stadt zurückgebracht, in Gegenwart der I. stirbt (*Theb.* 8, 554-654). I. bleibt in Theben zurück, als Antigone aufs Schlachtfeld eilt, und findet die tote Iokaste (11, 642-647); danach ist von ihr nicht mehr die Rede.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Bethe, E., *RE IX 2* (1916) 2135-2136 s. v. «Ismene 2»; Conticello, B., *EAA IV* (1961) 241-242 s. v. «Ismene» (enthält einige Irrtümer); Hampe, R., «Tydeus und Ismene», *AntK* 18, 1975, 10-16; Pfuhl, E., «Der Tod der Ismene», *Hermes* 50, 1915, 468-470; Robert, C., *Oidipous I* (1915) 121-129. 362-367. 461-462; Stoll, H. W., *MLII I* (1890-94) 550 s. v. «Ismene 2»; Waiblinger, A., «Remarques sur une coupe à fond blanc du Musée du Louvre», *RA* 1972, 233-242.

## KATALOG

### A. Ismene als Kind in einer Szene einer Oidipous-Tragödie

1. Kelchkrater, sizil. rf., → Antigone 1\*, → Iokaste 5.

### B. Ismene im «Oidipous auf Kolonos»

2.\* Kelchkrater, apul. rf. Melbourne, Geddes Coll. A 5:3. – Sotheby 9.12.1985 Nr. 173; Trendall, *RFSIS* 88 Abb. 200: close to the De Schulthess P. – Mitte 4.

Jh. v. Chr. – Auf einem altarähnlichen Gebilde (an der Schwelle des Haines der Eumeniden: Soph. *Oid. K.* 188-196) sitzen der blinde weißhaarige Oidipous und seine beiden Töchter. Die rechte wendet sich, ängstlich an ihre Halskette fassend, zum Vater und zur Schwester um; die linke hat in einer weitausholenden Geste ihren Mantel mit der Linken gefaßt, ihr langer Chiton weht, als ob sie gerade noch in Bewegung gewesen wäre. L. ein Bärtiger mit Zepter, wohl Kreon, r. ein junger Mann in einer Chlamys, Polyneikes. R. oben eine Eriny, die hier eine doppelte Funktion hat: sie ist eine der Eumeniden, der der Platz heilig ist, und zugleich die Rächerin, die den Fluch, den Oidipous gegen Kreon und Polyneikes richtet, erfüllen wird.

In keiner Szene des Sophokles-Dramas treten Kreon und Polyneikes gemeinsam auf; dies erschwert auch die Identifizierung der beiden Schwestern. Denkt man an die Szene, in der Oidipous seinen Sohn verflucht (1348-1396), so wäre in der linken, heftig agierenden Schwester Antigone zu sehen, denn sie bittet unmittelbar danach Polyneikes, von seinem Kriegsplan abzulassen (1414-1446). Betrachtet man Kreon, so könnte man an die Szene 310-460 denken, in der Ismene ankommt und die Ankunft des Kreon und indirekt auch die des Polyneikes ankündigt. Dann wäre sie die linke Tochter, die gerade sprechen will; das merkwürdige Gebilde l. am Boden neben dem Altar könnte dann ihr Reishut sein, den sie gerade noch getragen hat (313-314).

## C. Ismene und Tydeus

### DEUTUNG DURCH INSCRIFTEN GESICHERT

3.\* Halsamphora, spätkorinthisch. Paris, Louvre E 640. Aus Cerveteri. – Amyx, *CVP* 270, A6; 393-394. 588-589, 113: Tydeusmaler. Robert 121-124 Abb. 32; Payne, *NC* 141. 327 Nr. 1437 Taf. 40, 2; Scheffold, *Sagenbilder* 77 Farbt. V; Waiblinger 236-237 Abb. 5; Hampe 11-12 Taf. 1, 5; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* Taf. 29 Farbt. 14; Lorber, *Inschriften* Nr. 100 Taf. 26. – Um 560 v. Chr. – Rechts I. (*HYEMENA*) auf einer Kline, von einer Decke verhüllt, die ihren nackten Oberkörper freiläßt. Tydeus stürmt mit gezücktem Schwert von l. heran und packt I. am r. Arm; er wird ihr im nächsten Augenblick das Schwert in die Brust stoßen. Nach l. entflieht, sich umblickend, der nackte, waffenlose Periklymenos (weißes Inkarnat wie I.). Ganz l. ein Reiter (→ Klytos II).

4.\* Skyphos-Frgte, att. sf. Athen, Nat. Mus. Ak. 603. Von der Akropolis. – Richards, G. C., *JHS* 13, 1892, 286 Taf. 11, 1; Graef/Langlotz I Nr. 603 Taf. 29; Robert 123-124 Abb. 33; Hampe 11 Taf. 1, 6. – 2. Viertel 6. Jh. v. Chr. – I. (*HIEMENE*), nackt bis auf einen um die Schultern gelegten Mantel, kniet auf einer erhöhten (nicht erhaltenen) Unterlage. Sie wird von einem Mann (schwarzes Inkarnat), zu dem sie – bittflehend? – den l. Arm erhebt, am r. Handgelenk gepackt. L. ein weißer Arm, der eine Lanze hält, wohl Athena. Auf einem weiteren Fragment die linksläufige Inschrift «./MEN/..», vielleicht zu «Periklymenos» zu ergänzen.

### DEUTUNG AUFGRUND DER FIGUREN-KOMBINATION

5. (= Helene 246\* mit Querverweisen und anderer Deutung) Skyphos, att. rf. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. 1970.9. – Knauer, E., *BerlWPr* 125 (1973) 12-15 Abb. 2-4. 12-13 (Menelaos-Helena); Hampe 10-16 Taf. 1, 2; 2, 1-2. – Um 480 v. Chr. – Vor einer aus vier dorischen Säulen bestehenden Architektur vier nach r. laufende Figuren: ein junger Mann, Periklymenos, der, nur mit einem Mantel bekleidet, dennoch ein Schwert umhängen hat. Er scheint im Fliehen innezuhalten, greift an sein Schwert und blickt sich um zu einer Frau in Chiton und Mantel, I., die gerade von ihrem Verfolger, einem bärtigen Hopliten mit gezücktem Schwert, Tydeus, eingeholt und an der Schulter gepackt wird. L. Athena, dem Krieger in gemäßigerem Schritt folgend. Unter den Henkeln je ein Altar.

### DEUTUNG NICHT GESICHERT, ABER MÖGLICH

6.\* (= Iphitos I 10) Schale, fr., att. wgr. Paris, Louvre G 109. – Pottier, E., *Mon Piot* 2, 1895, 52-56 Abb. 3 (Herakles-Iphitos); Philippart, H., *Les coupes attiques à fond blanc* (1936) 34-36 Nr. 18 Taf. 16 (Herakles-Eurytos); Waiblinger 233-242 Abb. 1-4. 9; Hampe 13; Wehgartner, I., *Attisch weißgrundige Keramik* (1983) 57 Nr. 24. – 490/80 v. Chr. – Ein nackter, bärtiger Mann hat eine Frau (am nackten Oberkörper deutlich eine weibliche Brust angegeben) an den Haaren gepackt und ist wohl dabei, ihr sein Schwert in die Brust zu stoßen (Unterarm und Schwert des Mannes nicht erhalten, aber Schwertgurt und -scheide sichtbar). Die Frau ist durch die Wucht des Angriffs und ihre heftige Abwehr von der Kline, auf der sie lag, schon halb herabgeglitten; sie ist nackt, war aber anscheinend mit einem Mantel oder einer Decke zugeeckt, die noch über ihren Beinen liegt.

### DEUTUNG UNWAHRSCHEINLICH BZW. ABZULEHNEN (8)

7. (= Alkmaion 16 mit Lit.) Etr. (chiusin.) Aschenurne. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. 1285. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi II* 1, 25-27 Taf. 8a (Tydeus-I.); Robert 124-125 Abb. 34 (Menelaos-Helena); Hampe 13 Anm. 18; Small, P., *Studies Related to the Theban Cycle on Late Etruscan Urns* (1981) 27 Nr. 19; 92-99 Taf. 11a (Menelaos-Helena). – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Die Mittelgruppe, ein Krieger mit gezücktem Schwert, der eine halbnackte, auf einer Kline liegende Frau am Haar packt, erinnert an 3, sämtliche Nebenfiguren (→ Alkmaion 16) passen nicht zur Tötung der I. Bei der Bedrohung der Helena durch Menelaos ließen sich zwar die Nebenfiguren erklären, doch gibt es auf der Urne keinerlei Hinweis darauf, daß der Krieger von seinem Mordplan Abstand nehmen könnte. Außerdem wird Helena in dieser Szene sonst nie auf einem Lager dargestellt (→ Helene 210-371; → Helene/Elina 17-26), so daß ikonographische Parallelen völlig fehlen.

8. (= Apollon 938\*, = Hades 127 [Seite A]) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 81666 (H 3222). Aus Altamura. – *RVAp* 1431, 82: Umkreis des



Lykurgosmalers; Small, a. O. 7, 94 Anm. 92. – Um 340 v. Chr. – Stark übermalt. B: In einer figurenreichen Szene, in der u. a. mehrere Paare, ein Satyr, Fakkelträger, Leier- und Flötenspieler sowie Hermes auftreten, bedroht ein Jüngling eine auf einem Felsen sitzende Frau (mit nacktem Oberkörper) mit einem Schwert. Der Kontext schließt eine Deutung auf die Tötung der I. aus.

### C. Ismene und Antigone verfolgt durch Laodamas, Deutung abzulehnen

→ Antigone 23–25.

### D. Ismene bei der Verurteilung der Antigone

9. (= Antigone 14\* mit Lit., = Herakles 381) Amphora, apul. rf. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 423. – *RVAp* I 403, 41 Taf. 142, 4. 350/40 v. Chr. – I. (*ISMHNH*) r. oberhalb von Kreon sitzend, in Chiton und Mantel, mit langen, offenen Haaren, ein Kästchen in der Linken haltend.

### KOMMENTAR

I. ist anscheinend in der Antike nur in einer einzigen Szene als eine der Hauptfiguren dargestellt worden, in einer Szene, in der ihr in der Tat die wichtigste Rolle zufiel: zwei Vasen aus dem 2. Viertel des 6. Jh. zeigen ihre Ermordung durch Tydeus. Vollständig erhalten ist die korinthische Amphora 3: die Kline, auf der I. nackt unter einer Decke liegt, und der waffenlos und unbekleidet fliehende, mit I. durch die helle Hautfarbe kompositionell verbundene Periklymenos deuten die vorhergehende Szene an: Das Liebespaar ist von Tydeus überrascht worden; Periklymenos bleibt keine Zeit zu irgendeiner Art von Gegenwehr. Da Tydeus es aber nur auf I. abgesehen hat, kann ihr Liebhaber entkommen. Nur dies und keinesfalls ein feiges Entweichen soll durch die fliehende Gestalt ausgedrückt werden. Auf dem etwa gleichzeitigen attischen Gefäß (4) war außerdem gezeigt, daß Tydeus nicht aus eigenem Antrieb handelt: der weiße Arm einer ruhig stehenden Figur, die eine Lanze hält, kann nur zu Athena gehören, die, wie wir aus der Literatur wissen, durch I.'s Liebschaft beleidigt, Tydeus den Auftrag zum Mord gegeben hat. Auf dem attischen Fragment ist nichts erhalten, was auf den Ort des Geschehens hinwies. Die Kline auf 3, zu der der Maler – wohl dem aus Gelageszenen bekannten Schema folgend – noch ein Speisetischchen samt darunterliegendem Hund hinzugemalt hat, deutet einen Innenraum an. Diese »Ortsangabe« darf aber keinesfalls zu sehr strapaziert werden, denn der fliehende Periklymenos überschneidet den Reiter am linken Bildrand, der ja sicher schon »draußen« zu denken ist. Nicht der Ort der Handlung soll durch die Kline angezeigt werden, sondern daß I. gerade noch mit Periklymenos auf ihr gelegen hatte; ein Widerspruch zu der durch die Phe-

rekydes-Notiz nahegelegten Lokalisierung des Geschehens vor den Mauern Thebens läßt sich aus der Kline nicht ableiten.

Der Triptolemosmaler hat auf dem Skyphos 5 das Geschehen deutlicher lokalisiert: Säulenreihe und Altar lassen auf ein Heiligtum schließen. Das überraschte Paar versucht zu fliehen; dabei hat Periklymenos zwar noch Schwert und Mantel ergreifen können, seine Lanze und vielleicht auch den links an einer Säule lehrenden Schild hat er zurückgelassen. Möglicherweise gehören die Waffen aber auch Tydeus, von dem man sich dann vorstellen müßte, daß er dem Paar hinter den Säulen aufgelauert hat. Von der Komposition her gehört der Schild jedenfalls auf die Seite von Tydeus und Athena: links das waffenstarrende »Angreiferpaar« von überlegener Größe – beide Helmbüschel überschneiden das Rahmenornament – rechts die nahezu wehrlos fliehenden, von denen einer, der Mann, entkommen wird. Diese wohlüberlegte Komposition paßt ebensogut zur Geschichte von Tydeus und I., wie sie bei der Bedrohung der Helena durch Menelaos unpassend wäre. Deiphobos kann unmöglich von den ins Haus eindringenden Griechen so sehr überrascht worden sein – in der zur Deutung herangezogenen Odysseestelle (8, 517–520) ist von Kämpfen die Rede –, daß er in einem ersten Erschrecken sich zur Flucht gewandt haben könnte. Außerdem hatte er ja bekanntlich keine Chance zu entkommen; ihn fliehend zu zeigen, könnte nur den Sinn haben, ihn als feig zu charakterisieren. Menelaos bedarf in dem Moment, in dem er Helena niederstoßen will, nicht der massiven Unterstützung der Athena, die durch die Gruppierung auf dem Skyphos 5 ausgedrückt ist. Wenn Athena sonst in die Helenaszene einbezogen ist, tritt sie zwischen Menelaos und Helena (→ Helene 250), oder sie erscheint als Palladion, zu dem Helena flüchtet (→ Helene 272bis. 359. 361–362), nie feuert sie Menelaos an.

Auf dem Skyphos 5 ist die Deutung der Szene durch die Anordnung der vier Figuren sehr wahrscheinlich gemacht; in dem Schaleninnenbild 6, das sich auf einem Ausschnitt, auf zwei Figuren, beschränken muß, wäre ähnliche Sicherheit nur durch Namensbeischriften zu erzielen. Die Kline auf 6 kann als Hinweis auf das vorhergegangene Liebeslager gemeint sein; zwingend ist – ohne den fliehenden Liebhaber – dieser Schluß nicht. Der Vasenmaler hat sein beachtliches Können darauf konzentriert, die Brutalität des Überfalls herauszuarbeiten. Wenn der Maler Tydeus gemeint haben sollte, war sein Thema vor allem dessen Wildheit und Grausamkeit, weniger die Bestrafung eines gegen Athena gerichteten Frevels; I. wäre dann hier mehr hilfloses Opfer als Frevlerin.

Die Erzählung vom Frevel der I. scheint schon im Lauf des 5. Jh. langsam in Vergessenheit geraten zu sein; sie wird später nur noch in gelehrten Kommentaren zu den Tragödien überliefert. Das Bild der I. hat sich offensichtlich unter dem Einfluß der Sophokles-Dramen, vor allem der »Antigone«, gewandelt; von nun an war sie meist die freundliche, weniger energische, passivere Schwester der Antigone, und als solche wurde sie mehr und mehr zur Nebenfigur, vollends in

der Bildkunst (I. 9), die ja die Sophokles-Dramen kaum darstellte. Eine Ausnahme macht der erst kürzlich bekannt gewordene Kelchkrater 2 mit der Darstellung des Oidipous auf Kolonos, auf dem I. möglicherweise mehr als eine Nebenrolle zukommt (zum Problem der Identifizierung s. im Kat.). Auf der apulischen Amphora 9 mit einer Szene aus einem Antigone-Drama ist eine Repertoirefigur inschriftlich als I. bezeichnet; durch ihre langen, lockigen Haare und die präziöse Geste, mit der sie an ihr Gewand faßt, ist sie von Antigone abgehoben als die zwar schönere, aber unbedeutende Schwester. Später scheint sie überhaupt nicht mehr oder jedenfalls nur noch äußerst selten dargestellt worden zu sein; jedenfalls ist uns nichts erhalten. Daß die alte Geschichte vom bestraften Frevel der I. auf etruskischen Urnen (7) noch einmal aufgegriffen und in wenig geglätteter Weise wiedergegeben wurde – außer dem Krieger und der Frau auf der Kline paßt nichts zur I.-Episode, vor allem fehlt der fliehende Liebhaber –, ist äußerst unwahrscheinlich.

INGRID KRAUSKOPF

### ISMENE II

(*Ἰσμήνη*) Quellnymphe in Theben, Tochter des Flußgottes → Asopos, Gemahlin des Argos, Mutter des Argos Panoptes (→ Io I), Grossmutter der → Io (I) durch Iasos (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [5] I, 3).

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Wie ihr Vater Asopos wurde I. mit Argos und den dortigen argivischen Genealogien verknüpft (Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [5] I, 3; Hes. *frag.* 294 Merkelbach/West). Wahrscheinlich ist die Quellnymphe I. auch mit der thebanischen Heroine I. (→ Ismene I) zu verbinden, die dem gleichnamigen Ort an der Mündung des → Ismenos ihren Namen gab und als Athenas Priesterin oder Tempeldienerin im Athenaheiligtum mit dem Poseidonsohn → Periklymenos (Theoklymenos) buhlte, dann auf Athenas Befehl von → Tydeus getötet wurde. Nach Pherekyd., *FGH* 3 F 95 tötete Tydeus I. bei einer Quelle, die daraufhin den Namen der I. trug. Danach muß I. in der älteren thebanischen Sage größere Bedeutung gehabt haben als später in ihrer sekundären Verbindung mit der → Oidipous-Sage, in der sie als Schwester der → Antigone in deren Schatten steht. In der Ikonographie lassen sich zwei Traditionen verfolgen: die der Quellnymphe I. und die der Antigoneschwester I.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Bethe, E., *RE* IX 2 (1916) 2136 s. v. »Ismene 3«; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890–94) 550 s. v. »Ismene I«.

### KATALOG

#### A. Ismene beim Drachenkampf des Kadmos

1. (= Demeter 464 mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Harmonia 2, = Kadmos I 19 mit Lit., = Ismenos

2\*) Hydria, att. rf. Ehem. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2634. Aus Vulci. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1187, 33: Kadmosmaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 341. – Um 420 v. Chr. – I. und der Flußgott Ismenos als einzige Figuren ohne Namensbeischrift beim Drachenkampf des Kadmos. I. in Chiton und Himation, das sie wie Thebe (die Personifikation der zukünftigen Stadt) über den Hinterkopf gelegt hat, wodurch sie dieser angeglichen ist. Die Flußgötter, mit Hermes in der Henkelzone dargestellt, sind mit dem Rücken zur Handlung wiedergegeben und wenden nur ihren Kopf dem Geschehen zu. Sie fungieren als Zeugen des Kampfes, dem die Götter der Amphiktyonien beiwohnen.

2. (= Aphrodite 1414, = Harmonia 3, = Kadmos 19\* mit Lit.) Hydria, att. rf. Leningrad, Ermitage T 1859.2 (St. 2189). Aus Taman. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1187, 2: Art des Kadmosmalers. – Um 400 v. Chr. – I. in fußlangem Chiton mit Kreuzbändern nahe beim Luterion stehend, mit der r. Hand auf das Knie von Thebe (?) gestützt, die ihren Arm durch eine der Schlangenwindungen gestreckt hat. Kadmos und Athena (mit Nike) im Gespräch sind umgeben von Hermes und den ismenischen Nymphen (Paus. I, 31, 4). Hinter Kadmos sitzt Harmonia (mit Diadem). Das Luterion bei I. kann die Quelle und/oder das Brautbad für die Hochzeit der Harmonia andeuten.

3. (= Kadmos I 19a) Hydria, att. rf. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. A 61, T 3387. Aus Ierisso (Akanthos). – Unpubliziert. – Anfang 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Wie auf 2 ist Kadmos' Drachenkampf zu einem vielfigurigen Bild geworden, auf dem die Bedeutung der Ortsgottheiten auffällt. Zu den Lokalpersonifikationen der ismenischen Nymphen kommt neu ein Altar hinzu, der sich zwischen Athena und der Figur auf dem Felsen, Thebe (?), befindet. Die Mittelgruppe wird r. und l. von zwei weiblichen Figuren gerahmt. Hinter Kadmos wohl Harmonia wie auf 1 und 2 und Aphrodite (?). Auf der anderen Seite I. und Dirke (?).

4. (= Fluvii 30 mit Lit., = Harmonia 6, = Ismenos 3, = Kadmos I 23\*) Glockenkrater, paest. rf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 82258 (H 3226). Aus Sant'Agata dei Goti. – *RVP* 85, 132; 95–96 Taf. 52: Asteas (Sign.); Trendall, *PP* 23 ff. – Um 360/50 v. Chr. – In der oberen Region Ismenos (*IMHNOE* [sic]), der alte weisshaarige Flußgott, hier als König mit Zepter dargestellt, und eine Quellnymphe (*KPHNAIH*). Da Ismenos neben Krenaie, der Personifikation der Quelle, erscheint, darf wohl diese Nymphe als I. bezeichnet werden (s. Kommentar). Zwischen beiden Flußgottheiten erscheint die Sonne. Unterhalb der Geländelinie, hinter der die lokalen Flußgötter als Halbfiguren sichtbar werden, findet der Drachenkampf des Kadmos (Beischr.) mit Athene und einer königlichen Thebe statt. Thebe stützt sich mit dem l. Ellenbogen auf den Drachenfelsen und entschleiert sich vor dem alteingesessenen Flußgott Ismenos und der Quellnymphe I.

5. (= Ananke 1\*, = Harmonia 7\*, = Kadmos I 24 mit Lit.) Lekanisdeckel, paest. rf. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 1421. – *RVP* 108–109, 141 Taf. 61: Asteas; *RFSIS* 201 Abb. 359. – Um 340/35 v. Chr. – Auf der Rückseite des zweigeteilten Deckelfrieses sind

zwei inschriftlich bezeichnete Ortsnymphen, I. (*ISMHN[H]*) und Thebe, dargestellt. I. ist mit übergeürtetem Peplos und langlockigem Haar gezeigt. Sie legt ihre l. Hand auf die Schulter der r. anschließend sitzenden Frau mit Fackelfrisur (ohne Namensbeischrift). Für diese kommen nur Harmonia oder Dirke in Frage. Die von Trendall a. O. 108–109 irrtümlich angegebene Beischrift «Dirke» ist aber auf der Vase nicht vorhanden (s. dazu Schmidt, M., *Gnomon*, im Druck). Links hinter I. sitzt wiederum die sich entschleiende Thebe mit reichverzierter Gewand und Zepter. Sie wendet ihren Kopf zu dem in ihrem Rücken dargestellten Drachenfelsen, der zur anderen Seite des umlaufenden Bildfrieses mit Kadmos, Ananke und Athena überleitet.

6. (= Aphrodite 1415, = Harmonia 5\*, = Kadmos 125\* mit Lit.) Kelchkrater, paest. rf. Paris, Louvre N 3157. Aus Sant'Agata dei Goti. – *RVP* 143, 241 Taf. 90: Python. – Um 330 v. Chr. – I. steht r. hinter einem Steinhügel, aus dem der Drache hervorschnellt. I. mit Peplos und einem Zweig in der Linken entschleiert sich vor Kadmos. Hinter Kadmos erscheint Harmonia mit einer Spendeschale; in einer oberen Region Hermes, Aphrodite (mit Spiegel), Pan und ein Satyr. Alle tauchen als Halbfiguren hinter einem Hügel auf; zwischen Hermes und Aphrodite die Sonne.

7. (= Kadmos 126\* mit Lit.) Hydria, camp. rf. Boston, MFA 1969.1142. – *LCS Suppl.* 3, 185, 139a: Whiteface P. – 340/30 v. Chr. – Über dem von Kadmos erlegten Drachen ist ein Gebäude mit geöffneten Türen dargestellt (Grabnaiskos?, Quellhaus? oder Eingang zur Kadmeia oder eines der Tore von Theben?). R. vom Gebäude sitzt eine halbnackte, weißbemalte Nymphe, wohl I., die zum toten Drachen herunterblickt. L. vom Gebäude sitzt eine weibliche Figur mit Spendeschale (Harmonia?) zur Begrüßung des siegreichen Kadmos, vgl. 6.

### B. Ismene zwischen Nymphen und Chariten

8. (= Charis, Charites 41\*) Votivrelief, Marmor. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 6725. Aus Herculaneum. – *Guida Ruesch* 145; Horn, R., *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen in der hellenistischen Plastik*, *RM Erg.-H.* 2 (1931) 13 Taf. 7. – Frühes 3. Jh. v. Chr. (Horn). – Sechs Mädchen in Frontalansicht halten sich an den Händen wie zu einem Reigentanz. Die ersten drei tragen fußlangen Chiton und Himation, die nächsten drei ungegürtete Peploi mit genähten Ärmeln. Alle tragen das Haar hochgebunden. Es sind drei Chariten und drei Nymphen, alle mit Namensbeischriften (Euphrosyne, Aglaia, Thalia; I., Kykai, Eranno). Die letzte der drei Nymphen hält ein Kind (Beischrift Telonnesos) an der Hand, das gleich gekleidet ist wie die erwachsenen Nymphen. Möglicherweise ist das Relief aufgrund des Mädchennamens mit der Insel Telos unweit von Rhodos zu verbinden.

### KOMMENTAR

Es gibt nur wenige sichere I.-Darstellungen. Auf den att. Hydrien 1–3. ist I. nur in Analogie zum paest.

Lekanisdeckel 5 zu erschließen, auf dem sie durch Beischrift benannt ist und im ähnlichen Kompositionsschema auftritt wie auf 2. Alle behandelten Vasen gehören zu dem am Ende des 5. Jh. v. Chr. entwickelten vielfigurigen Bildtypus, der für die unteritalischen Vasenbilder übernommen wird. Auf diesem Bildtypus wird die Quellnymphe I. aus ihrer alten Position bei Quelle und Drache verdrängt und durch Thebe ersetzt. I. wird zur zuschauenden Naturgottheit an den Rand des Geschehens versetzt, auf 1 in die Henkelzone, auf 2 und 5 einer anderen beiwohnenden Figur (Thebe oder Harmonia) attributiv zugesellt. Bei den paest. Vasen wird sie in eine obere Region gestellt, wo sie dann als Halbfigur erscheint (4) oder als herunterschauende Sitzfigur (7) teilnimmt. Bei den Verbildlichungen der Kadmosage fällt die Bedeutung der Ortsgottheiten auf, die durch ihre Verdoppelung noch zusätzlich unterstrichen wird: z. B. Ismenos und Krenaie (4), I. und Ismenos (1), Thebe und I. (2, 5, Beischriften). Aus den klassischen Vasenbildern ist ersichtlich, daß der Kampf um die Quelle geführt wurde, und daß die Quelle durch die Nymphe repräsentiert wurde (→ Harmonia 1 und 4; → Kadmos 13, 15–18). Einen Hinweis auf die Bedeutung des Quellwassers gibt auch die Form des Bildträgers, fast alle Vasen mit diesem Thema sind Hydrien, Gefäße zum Wasserholen, wie Kadmos sie selbst benutzt, um das Opferwasser zu holen.

Der Name der Drachenquelle scheint mehrmals gewechselt zu haben. Sie hieß wohl ursprünglich Ares-Quelle, weil der Ort von einem Drachen bewacht wurde, der als Sohn des Ares galt (Apollod. *bibl.* 3 [22] 4, 3, cf. Paus. 9, 10, 5), dann wurde sie zur Ismene-Quelle, weil die thebanische Heroine I. dort getötet worden war, danach nannte man sie Dirke-Quelle, weil Amphion und Zethos die sterbende Dirke in die Quelle geworfen hatten (Apollod. *bibl.* 3 [44] 5, 5) oder weil die Asche der Dirke nach ihrer Schleifung und Verbrennung dort hineingestreut worden war (Eur. *Antiope*, Seek, G. A., *Euripides VI* [1981] 93 *frg.* 223, 77–82; Hyg. *fab.* 7).

Jeder neue Tod und jede neue Bestattung in der Quelle führte demnach zu einem neuen Quellnamen, zum Weiterleben der Seele der Toten als Numen des Gewässers. So kam es dazu, daß der Maler von 4 *KPHNAIH* (Quellnymphe) neben seine Figur schrieb. Diese unbedingte Benennung der lokalen Quelle bestätigt die Wichtigkeit der Ortsgottheiten in der Kadmosage. Die siegreiche Bekämpfung des Drachen führte zur Gründung Thebens und zum Besitz der Quelle, deren Hüter Drakon nach Palaiph. 3 Festa König der Thebaner gewesen sein soll. Erst als Herr der Quelle konnte Kadmos Kistes von Theben werden. Die Flußgottheiten I. und Ismenos waren bei diesem Kampf als Zeugen notwendig, weil Kadmos kein Göttersohn war.

Man muß sich fragen, ob das plötzliche Anwachsen der thebanischen Themen auf Vasen wie bei den Münzen auf die Machtstellung Thebens in diesen Jahrzehnten zurückgeführt werden kann, und ob mit dem betonten Hinweis auf die Flußgottheiten I. und Ismenos vielleicht zugleich auf das in jener Zeit wich-

tige thebanische Geschlecht mit dem theophoren Namen Ismenias angespielt werden sollte.

GRATIA BERGER-DOER

### ISMENOS

(*Ἰσμενός, Ἰσμενός*, Ismenus) Flußgott des gleichnamigen Flusses von Theben, der bei der Kadmeia entspringt und sich außerhalb Thebens mit der → Dirke-Quelle vereinigt.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: I. galt als Sohn von → Okeanos und → Tethys (Hyg. *fab. praef.* 6) oder als Sohn des → Asopos (Apollod. *bibl.* 3, [156] 12, 6) und der → Metope (Mutter von → Thebe) oder des → Apollon und der Melia, einer Nymphe, die im Tempel- und Orakelbezirk Ismenion mit Apollon I. zusammen verehrt wurde und mit diesem einen Sohn Ismenios zeugte (Pind. *P.* 11, 3–7; Paus. 9, 10, 5–6; *Schol. Lykophr.* 1211). Die Entstehung des Flusses I. wurde von den Mythographen auch mit dem Niobidenmythos verbunden, indem sie I. zu einem Sohn der → Niobe machten, die mit → Amphion, einem der Urkönige Thebens, verheiratet war. I. wurde von Apollon verwundet und soll sich in den später nach ihm benannten Fluß I. gestürzt haben (Apollod. *bibl.* 3 [45] 5, 6; Hyg. *fab.* 11; Ov. *met.* 6, 224–229; Ps.-Plut. *fluv.* 2, 1).

I. selbst gilt als Vater der zwei thebanischen Quellen Dirke und Strophie (Kall. *h.* 4, 75–77). In Theben

war I. mit Apollon gleichgesetzt und besaß einen uralten bedeutenden Kult, was noch in dem von Paus. 9, 10, 2–6 überlieferten Zedernholzbild des ismenischen Apollon von Kanachos nachklingt. Später wurde I. Epiklesis des Apollon in Theben. In Eur. *Suppl.* 1214 wird Theben «die Stadt des I.» genannt.

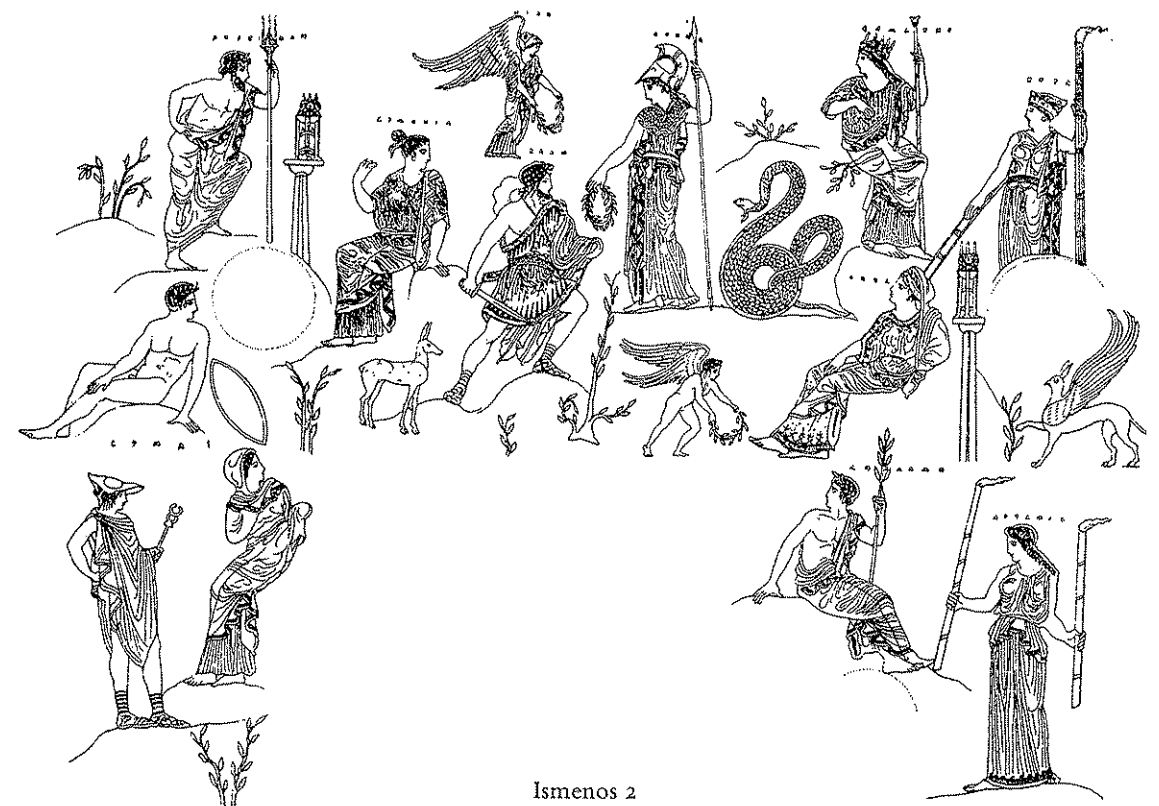
BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Eitrem, S., *RE IX* 2 (1916) 2144–2145 s. v. «Ismenos»; Fröning, H., *Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen* (1971); Stoll, H. W., *ML II* 1 (1890–94) 551 s. v. «Ismenos»; Weiß, *Flußg.*

### KATALOG

#### A. Ismenos beim Drachenkampf des Kadmos

1.\* (= Kadmos 116 mit Lit.) Kolonettenkrater, att. rf. Rom, Villa Giulia. Aus Gualdo Tadino (Umbrien). – Um 440 v. Chr. – I. als bärtiger Greis mit Stock hinter Athena, wohl als einheimischer Zeuge beim Drachenkampf, mit Kadmos und der bereits mit Diadem gekrönten Harmonia auf dem Drachenfelsen.

2.\* (= Demeter 464 mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Harmonia 2, = Ismene II 1, = Kadmos 119 mit Lit.) Hydria, att. rf. Ehem. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2634. Aus Vulci. – *ARV* 1187, 33: Kadmosmaler; *Add* 341; Weiß 167 Kat. II F 2. – Um 420/10 v. Chr. – I. als nackter Jüngling mit Hörnchen, nur mit einem Kranz im kurzen Haar, als beobachtender Zeuge beim Drachenkampf des Kadmos. Unter I. Hermes und Ismene. Die Quellnymphe erscheint als Pendant zu Apollon. Außer den beiden zuschauenden Personifikationen



Ismenos 2

des Ortes wohnen dem Kampf Athena, Poseidon, Demeter, Kore, Apollon, Artemis, Hermes, Nike und Eros bei (alle mit Namensbeischriften). Ebenso sind Kadmos, Harmonia und →Thebe mit Beischriften versehen. Nur die zuschauenden Flußgötter sind nicht benannt, werden aber allgemein als solche gedeutet (vgl. Weiß 167 und 3).

3. (= Fluvii 30, = Harmonia 6, = Ismene II 4, = Kadmos I 23\* mit Lit.) Kelchkrater, paestan. rf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 82258 (H 3226). Aus Sant'Agata dei Goti. – RVP 85, 132; 95–96 Taf. 52: Asteas (sign.): Weiß 168 Kat. I F 3. – Um 360/50 v. Chr. – I. (IMHNOE [sic]) als alter, weißhaariger König mit Zep-ter und verziertem Gewand erscheint als Halbfigur hinter einer Geländewelle und wird Zeuge des Drachenkampfes von Kadmos. Wie auf 2 sind Athena, Thebe und eine zweite weibliche Personifikation des Ortes, eine Quellnymphe (KPHNAIE, →Ismene II 4) als Zeugen zugegen, alle mit Namensbeischriften.

## B. Ismenos in Darstellungen der Aktaionsage

4. (= Aktaion 44\*) Glockenkrater, apul. rf. Göteborg, Röhsska Konstslöjd Mus. 13–71. Holmberg, E., *Röhsska Konstslöjd Arsok* 1969/70, 42 Abb.; Kossatz, *Dramen* 151 K 50; Schauenburg, K., *JdI* 84, 1969, 44; Weiß 117. – Um 350 v. Chr. – I. jugendlich nackt auf Chlamys sitzend, mit Schilfstengel zwischen den Beinen, wohl als Zeuge bei der Bestrafung des Aktaion durch Artemis. Nach Kossatz, *Dramen* 155 liegt diesem Vasenbild die Tragödie *Toxotides* von Aischylos zugrunde. Sie bezeichnet den Jüngling hinter Artemis als Pan, obwohl er durch kleine weiße Stierhörner und das Schilfrohr deutlich als Flußgott gekennzeichnet ist und sich dadurch von dem tiergestaltigen Pan I. über dem Henkel, der gebogene Bockshörner hat, unterscheidet. C. Weiß 116 hat richtig erkannt, daß der Flußgott I. hier auch als Zeuge erscheint. Zur Zeugenrolle von Flußgöttern vgl. Weiß 137. Ähnlich dargestellt ist der menschengestaltige, jugendliche Flußgott → Acheloos 259\* mit Namensbeischrift und der Flußgott mit Muschelhorn auf → Aphrodite 1495\* (dort falsch als Pan beschrieben).

5.\* (= Aktaion 112 mit Lit., = Gargaphia I mit Lit.) Stamnos, apul. rf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 949. – RVP 1429, 71 Taf. 158, 3–4: Umkreis des Lykurgosmalers. – Um 350 v. Chr. – I. dargestellt wie auf 4, anstelle des Schilfrohrs hält er einen Lorbeerstamm wie sonst Apollon, weil I. in Theben Epiklesis dieses Gottes ist. Die Szene scheint entweder im Heiligtum der Artemis Eukleia zu spielen, für die Skopas ein Kultbild geschaffen hat (Paus. 9, 17, 1), oder im Ismenion. Im Zentrum steht nämlich ein Ölbaum, unter dem Aktaion, nur an den Hörnchen über der Stirn kenntlich, friedlich mit seinem Hund spielt. I. ist durch einen Zweig des Ölbaumes Apollon angeglichen. Die Nymphe unterhalb von I. scheint mit Artemis über Aktaion Gericht zu halten. Wenn die Szene am Kultbild der Artemis Eukleia spielt, könnte es sich bei der Nymphe, die unter I. sitzt, um Eukleia, die Personifikation des guten Rufes, handeln (vgl. → Eukleia 2\* im

gleichen Standmotiv), die in Theben mit Artemis gleichgesetzt war, wie I. mit Apollon. Wahrscheinlich basiert das Vasenbild auf einer anderen Version des Aktaionmythos, in der Aktaion die Göttin für sich begehrt und im Gespräch mit Artemis und Eukleia von der Unmöglichkeit seines Wunsches überzeugt werden soll (Diod. 4, 81, 4).

6. (= Aktaion 106\*, = Gargaphia 5) Sarkophag, stadtröm., Marmor. Paris, Louvre 459. Aus Torrenova. – *SarkRel* III 2–5 Taf. 1; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 135 Abb. 267; Baratte/Metzger, *SarkLouvre* 49–55 n° 15. – Um 125–130 n. Chr. – I. als jugendlicher, halbnackter Flußgott lagert, seinen l. Arm auf eine Hydria gestützt, aus der Wasser für das Bad der «kauernden» Diana fließt, oben l. am Bildrand der Reliefszene. Als sein Pendant erscheint die Halbfigur des Aktaion hinter dem Felsen, nach Diana in der Wassergrotte spähend. Auch in der zweiten Szene der Frontseite des Girlandensarkophages liegt I. (mit Schilfstengel im r. Arm) und sieht dem Tod des Jägers Aktaion zu.

## C. Ismenos beim Tod der Niobiden (→ Niobe, → Niobidai)

7.\* (= Gargaphia 4 mit Lit.) Wandgemälde, röm. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 111479. Aus Pompeji VII 15, 2. – Schefold, *WP* 206; v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, U., *BdI* 1874, 52–53; Weiß, *Flußg* 116. – Um 30/40 n. Chr. – Die Niobiden starben durch die Pfeile von Apollon und Artemis, und zwar die Knaben am Kithairon, die Mädchen in Theben. Auf dem Fresko in Neapel sitzt I. mit Schilfstengeln und Füllhorn neben einer Quellnymphe mit Zweigen (Dirke?) vor einem Felsen mit Tempel. Sie schauen dem Tod der Niobiden zu. Wilamowitz nennt die Quellnymphe → Gargaphia und die männliche Ortspersonifikation → Kithairon. Die beiden Lokalgottheiten werden sonst allgemein als → Dirke und I. gedeutet. Noch Ov. *met.* 6, 159 nennt die Bewohnerinnen von Theben in seiner Version des Niobidenmythos «Ismenides».

## KOMMENTAR

Daß die Bedeutung des Flußgottes I. in Theben weit über die einer Ortspersonifikation hinausgegangen sein muß, bezeugt nicht nur sein Erscheinen auf den griechischen Vasen vom mittleren 5. Jh. v. Chr. an bis zu den römischen Monumenten des frühen 2. Jh. n. Chr., sondern auch die in religiöser Hinsicht wichtigste Sage, die I. als Sohn Apollons und Eponym des Flusses I. kennt. Neben I. steht → Ismene (II) und der Hügel Ismenos, auf dem Orakelstätte und Tempel des Apollon I. lagen.

Darstellungen des I. lassen sich mit Sicherheit nur für die Kadmosage und den Aktaionmythos nachweisen, wobei sich die Darstellung des I. in der Kadmosage von seiner Verbildlichung bei Tod und Bestrafung des Aktaion unterscheidet. Einerseits wird I. als alter, weißhaariger König (I. 3) charakterisiert,

dem die in mythische Vorzeit zurückreichende Bedeutung anzusehen ist. Vor allem, wenn er mit Dirke (3. 7) dargestellt ist, wodurch auf seinen Herrschersitz «Stadt des I.» angespielt wird. Andererseits wohnt I. als jugendlicher, menschengestaltiger Flußgott, dessen Stierhörner mit Kranz oder Binde im Haar befestigt scheinen, einmal dem Drachenkampf des Kadmos (2), sonst Bestrafung und Tod des Aktaion bei (4. 5. 6). Ob der Bedeutungsgehalt des Flußgottes I. eine reine Lokalpersonifikation meint, oder die Zeugenrolle auch auf den Bildern miteinschließt, bleibt dahingestellt. Nicht erforscht ist das Auftreten von I. im Mythos der Niobiden und im Sagenkreis um → Pen-theus.

GRATIA BERGER-DOER

## ISMINTHIANS → Maris

## ISTHMOS

(Ἰσθμός, Isthmus) Personifikation de l'Isthme de Corinthe (→ Korinthos, → Kenchrias).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Amandry, M., *Le monnayage des deux v. corinthiens*, BCH Suppl. 15 (1988); Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) s. v. «Isthmos»; Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890–94) 553–554 s. v. «Isthmos»; Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, S., «The Severan Emissions of the Peloponnesus», *Israel Numismatic Journal* 67, 1982–83, 44; Imhoof-Blumer/Gardner, *NumComm-Paus* (repr. 1964) 10–15. 154–155 n° 1–2. 6 pl. B-C. FF (= *NumCommPaus*).

## CATALOGUE

*Monnaies de Corinthe, époque impériale*

### Isthmos debout, seul

1a)\* AE semis pseud autonome, Tibère, 32/3 ou 33/4 ap. J.-C. – BMC Corinth n° 682–683; *NumCommPaus* 14 n° 6 pl. C XXXIII–XXXIV; SNG Copenhagen n° 257–258; Amandry 62–63, 176–177. – Av. I. nu, debout de face ou marchant vers la dr., la tête tournée à dr. ou à g., les mains abaissées sur deux gouvernails posés obliquement à terre. Rv. Pégase (→ Pegasos) à dr. ou à g.

1b)\* AE semis pseud autonome, Tibère. – SNG Copenhagen n° 254–256. – Rv. I. semblable. Av. Mélé-certe (→ Melikertes Palaimon) chevauchant un dauphin à dr.

1c)\* AE as pseud autonome, Galba, 68/9 ap. J.-C. – Amandry 75, 227–229. – Rv. I. semblable. Av. Tête à dr. de Neptune (→ Poseidon/Neptunus).

1d)\* AE, émissions coloniales, Domitien (81–96), Marc Aurèle (161–180), Septime Sévère (193–211), Caracalla (198–217). – Löbbecke, A., *ZfN* 10, 1883, 75 n° 18; BMC Corinth n° 584 pl. 19, 5; *NumCommPaus* 14 n° 6 pl. C XXXV–XXXVI; SNG Copenha-

gen n° 370. – Rv. I. debout, semblable. Variantes dans la position des bras abaissés sur les deux gouvernails.

### Isthmos debout devant l'autel de Mélécerte

2.\* AE, Marc Aurèle. – BMC Corinth n° 612 pl. 20, 12; *NumCommPaus* 10–11 n° 1 pl. B IV. – Rv. I. nu, debout de face, la tête à g., la main g. appuyée sur un gouvernail, la dr. étendue au-dessus d'un autel cylindrique qui porte Mélécerte chevauchant dauphin; à g. un arbre.

### Isthmos assis, seul

3a)\* AE, Hadrien (117–138). – *NumCommPaus* 14 n° 6 pl. C XXXVII. – Rv. Dans un temple tétrastyle à fronton triangulaire, I. nu, assis à g. sur un rocher, la jambe g. avancée, la main g. abaissée sur un gouvernail; il relève le bras dr. sur sa tête, retournée vers la dr.

3b)\* AE, Septime Sévère. – BMC Corinth n° 646 pl. 21, 10; *NumCommPaus* 14 n° 6 pl. C XXXVIII. – Rv. I. dans la même attitude, sans le temple.

4.\* AE, Hadrien. – BMC Corinth n° 590 pl. 19, 10; *NumCommPaus* 14 n° 6 pl. C XXXIX. – Rv. I. assis à g. sur un rocher, le torse nu, le bas du corps drapé; de sa main dr., il tient devant lui un gouvernail renversé. Lég. COL IVL COR ou ISTHMVS.

5.\* AE, Julia Domna (193–217). – *NumCommPaus*, suppl. 154–155 n° 6 pl. FFV. – Rv. Dans un temple circulaire flanqué de deux arbres et couvert d'un toit conique orné de dauphins, I. nu, assis à g. sur un rocher, tenant un gouvernail sur son bras g. et une patère dans sa main dr. avancée.

### Isthmos assis, avec → Ino et/ou Mélécerte

6a)\* (= Ino 17 avec bibl.) AE, Domitien. – Rv. I. nu est assis vers la dr. sur un rocher, le pied g. posé sur un dauphin, la main g. abaissée sur un gouvernail; devant lui, Ino se précipite, portant le petit Mélécerte.

6b)\* AE, Septime Sévère. – BMC Corinth n° 647 pl. 21, 11; *NumCommPaus* 12 n° 2 pl. B XXII. – Rv. Type semblable, inversé: I. est assis vers la g.

6c)\* AE, Septime Sévère. – *NumCommPaus* 14. – Rv. I. assis à g., tenant palme et gouvernail; devant lui, Ino et Mélécerte.

6d)\* AE, Septime Sévère. – *NumCommPaus* 11 n° 1 pl. B X. – Rv. I. semblable, assis à g., le bras dr. abaissé; devant lui, Mélécerte debout sur son dauphin.

*Description de tableau (réel ou imaginaire?)*

7. Tableau décrit par Philostr. *im.* 2, 16, 4: I. est peint sous l'aspect d'un dieu, se renversant sur la terre et reliant l'Adriatique et la mer Egée; près de lui un jeune homme, vraisemblablement le Léchaion, et des jeunes filles personnifiant soit l'autre port de Corinthe, → Kenchreai, soit les Mers (→ Thalassa).

## COMMENTAIRE

Mis à part le tableau (imaginaire?) que décrit Philostrate (7), la personification d'I. n'est attestée que dans l'iconographie monétaire de Corinthe à l'époque



impériale: auparavant, malgré toute son importance pour le commerce de la cité, l'Isthme ne semble pas avoir été considéré comme une divinité locale.

Il est fort peu probable qu'on doive aussi le reconnaître sur des monnaies sévériennes de Mothone: il s'agit plutôt d'un dieu marin, vraisemblablement → Poseidon. A Corinthe d'ailleurs, l'I. d'une monnaie de Marc Aurèle (2) a exactement la même attitude que Poseidon sur d'autres séries contemporaines (*Num CommPaus* 10-11 n° 1 pl. B VI).

I. apparaît pour la première fois sur des émissions pseudautonomes frappées sous Tibère (1a-b), indifféremment au droit ou au revers. Il est figuré comme un jeune homme nu tenant deux gouvernails, un dans chaque main, qui pourraient représenter les deux ports de Corinthe, le Léchaion et Kenchréai. Le même type, avec de légères variations, est repris par la suite, jusqu'à l'époque des Sévères (1c-d).

Dans les quelques cas où I. est figuré avec d'autres personnages (2. 6a-d), il paraît être étroitement associé au mythe d'Ino et de Mélicerte. Peut-être ne faut-il pas accepter sans réserves l'opinion d'Imhoof-Blumer et de Gardner qui voient dans le type d'I. assis (3-6), fréquemment placé dans un temple (3a. 5), une copie de la statue de culte: en effet des représentations parallèles (par exemple celle d'→Hermès à Patras) se retrouvent à la même époque dans le monnayage d'autres ateliers. Et l'on ne peut savoir avec certitude si l'apparition d'I. dans l'imagerie monétaire reflétait des réparations faites au Diolcos ou aux deux ports de Corinthe.

CHARIKLEIA PAPAGEORGIOU

## ISTOR

Name eines jungen Mannes auf:

1. (= Doxa I mit Lit.) Bronzeste, praenestinisch. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library BL-64. - Schoene, R., *AdI* 1870, 335-344; Peter, R., *ML* II 1, 554-555 s. v. «Istor»; *CPI* I Nr. 45 Taf. 189. 193. 194 mit Lit.; Wachter, R., *Altlateinische Inschriften* (1987) 136-141. - Spätes 4./frühes 3. Jh. v. Chr. - Vor einer Säule mit einem angehefteten Schrifttäfelchen «leces» zwei Pferde, l. von ihnen *Aiax Ilios*, r. zwei Personen, die nach l. auf ein unbestimmtes Ziel blicken: *Soresios*, ein nackter Krieger mit Schwert und zwei Lanzen, und Agamemnon (*Acmeneno*), der sich auf einen Stab stützt. Hinter ihnen, von Agamemnon durch ein Stallfenster mit zwei Pferdeköpfen getrennt, l. ein junger Mann in einem knielangen, wie ein Himation getragenen Mantel, der, nachdenklich vor sich hinblickend, die Hand zum Gesicht führt; neben ihm ein in einen Peplos gekleidete Frau, *Lavis*, die die Rechte in einem Redegestus (?) erhoben hat.

Die Beischrift I. wurde schon früh mit dem griechischen *istor* in Verbindung gebracht und die Figur darum als Seher oder Zeuge interpretiert (Schoene a. O. 339. 342). Als Beleg für *istor* wird schon von

Schoene (342 Anm. 3) die Stelle Hom. *Il.* 23, 486 angeführt; aber erst Wachter ist aufgefallen, daß in derselben Zeile auch Agamemnon vorkommt: «*Ἰστορα δ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα Σείλομεν ἄμφω*». Agamemnon soll dort den Schiedsrichter spielen in einem Wortgefecht, das bei den Leichenspielen für Patroklos zwischen Idomeneus und Aias, dem Sohn des Oileus (*Αἴας Οἰλήιος*), über der Frage entstanden ist, wer in der gerade in der Ferne sichtbar werdenden Gruppe von Pferdegespannen der erste ist; dargestellt war diese Szene z. B. auf einem homerischen Becher (Sinn, *Becher* 82 MB 13). Daß auch Aiax Ilios auf der Ciste erscheint, bestätigt Wachters Vermutung, daß die Beischrift I. einem Vorbild entnommen ist, auf dem *ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ ΙΣΤΩΡ* bei der Gestalt des Agamemnon zu lesen war (freilich kann es sich kaum um eine Vase gehandelt haben, wie Wachter vermutet). An Stelle des rätselhaften *Soresios* müßte man in diesem Vorbild Idomeneus oder Achilleus erwarten; auch der vom Graveur irrtümlich als I. bezeichnete junge Mann müßte dann einer der das Rennen beobachtenden Griechen sein. Die gleich an zwei Stellen ins Bild gebrachten Pferde können nicht zu den am Rennen beteiligten Gespannen gehören, passen aber dennoch zur Szene, denn als Siegespreise waren unter anderem Pferde und schöngegrüdete Frauen ausgesetzt (Hom. *Il.* 23, 260-261). In diesem Kontext erscheint die Frage zumindest erlaubt, ob *Lavis*, in der griechischen Form *Lais* vor allem als Hetärenname bekannt, nicht eine dieser für die Sieger bestimmten Sklavinnen sein könnte. Ihr reicher Schmuck erscheint für eine solche nicht ganz passend; aber der Graveur, der seine Vorlage ja auch in anderen Punkten nicht ganz verstanden hat und außerdem für seine Gestalten durchaus auch die auf den Cisten üblichen Typen verwendet (so ist es kein Zufall, daß Aias vollgerüstet und Agamemnon im Himation erscheint, vgl. Kommentar zu → Iphigeneia [in Etruria]), könnte auch bei der Ausstattung der *Lavis* sich an seinen gewohnten Figurentypen, d. h. an reichgeschmückten Frauen, orientiert haben.

INGRID KRAUSKOPF

## ISTROS

(*Ἰστρος*, Ister, Hister) Nom d'origine thrace (Kretschmer, P., *Glotta* 11, 1921, 280) donné par les anciens - tout comme → Danuvius - au Danube, le grand fleuve européen. Le dieu-fleuve portait, naturellement, les deux noms (→ Fluvii).

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: D'après Strabon 7, 3, 13 p. 304-305 le cours supérieur du Danube, depuis les sources jusqu'aux cataractes (les Portes de Fer), était appelé → Danuvius, tandis que le dernier tiers de son cours, des cataractes au Pont-Euxin, s'appelait I. *Hes. theog.* 337-339 nous apprend qu'I. est le fils d'Océan (→ Okeanos) et de → Tethys. I. eut comme fils → Ak-

taios (II) et Héloros (Philostr. *her.* 157 Lannoy). Pour d'autres références littéraires, → Danuvius.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Brandis, C. G., *RE* IV 2 (1909) 2132-2133 s. v. «Danuvius 2»; Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 248-249 s. v. «Istros»; Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 555-558 s. v. «Istros 1»; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 173-421; Kroll, W., *REIX* 2 (1916) 2269 s. v. «Istros 6»; Pick, B., *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands I 1. Dacien und Moesien* (1898) 139-179. 328-518.

## CATALOGUE

### Monnaie d'Istros (Moesia Inferior)

1.\* (= Acheloos 98) AE, IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Preda-Nubar), vers 200 av. J.-C. (Pick). - Pick 152. 167, 468 pl. 2, 26; Babelon, *Traité* II 4, n° 1673 pl. 352, 24; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 218, 110-111 pl. 4, 3-4; Preda, C./Nubar, H., *Histria* III (1973) 38-40. 110-119 n°s 333-474 pl. 5, 2. - Av. Tête de face du dieu-fleuve I. barbu, portant des cornes de taureau. Rv. Aigle sur dauphin (l'emblème de la cité) et ethnique.

### Monnaies impériales de Nicopolis ad Istrum (Moesia Inferior)

2.\* AE, Antonin (138-161). - Pick 348, 1220. - Rv. Dieu-fleuve jeune, imberbe, le torse nu, couché, tenant des roseaux dans la main dr., s'accoudant de la g. à un vase d'où jaillit de l'eau. Au-dessous trois poissons? Ethnique.

3. AE, Commode, Septime Sévère, Caracalla, entre 180 et 217. - Pick 352, 1238; 356, 1260; 360, 1278; 407, 1553. - Rv. Comme 2, mais barbu et sans poissons.

4.\* AE, Commode (180-192). - Pick 352, 1235 pl. 17, 31; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 232, 146 pl. 5, 3. - Rv. Comme 3, mais I. tient dans la dr. un bâton ou une rame (?).

5.\* AE, Septime Sévère, 193-211. - Pick 356, 1258-1259; 371, 1333. - Rv. Comme 3, mais il a dans la g. des roseaux.

6.\* AE, Septime Sévère. - Pick 366, 1310-1311 pl. 17, 34. - Rv. Comme 3, mais le bras dr. entoure un arbuste.

7. AE, Julia Domna. - Pick 391, 1459. - Rv. Comme 6, mais la tête est couronnée de roseaux.

8. AE, Septime Sévère. - Pick 358, 1266; 367, 1314; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 232, 147 pl. 5, 4. - Rv. Comme 2, sans poissons, mais la dr. (tenant un rameau ou un roseau) est appuyée sur le genou dr.

9. AE, Septime Sévère. - Pick 372, 1339; 381, 1391. - Rv. Comme 3, mais corne d'abondance dans la main dr. (1339) ou dans la g. (1391).

10. AE, Septime Sévère. - Pick 366, 1312. - Rv. Comme 3, mais dans le champ un navire.

11. AE, Septime Sévère, Caracalla et Géta, entre 193 et 212. - Pick 360, 1277; 420, 1623. - Rv. Comme 3, mais dans la dr. des épis.

12.\* AE, Caracalla. - Pick 411, 1575 pl. 17, 33; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 232, 148 pl. 5, 5. - Rv. Comme 3, mais dans la dr. un rameau.

13.\* AE, Macrin (217-218). - Pick 450, 1761 pl. 18, 1; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 234, 151 pl. 5, 8. - Rv. Dieu-fleuve jeune, imberbe, assis complètement nu;

il pose la main dr. sur la proue d'un navire, et du bras g. s'accoude à un vase d'où coule de l'eau.

14. AE, Macrin. - Pick 451, 1763. - Rv. Comme 6, mais imberbe et tenant dans la g. un rameau.

15.\* AE, Macrin, Diaduménien (217-218). - Pick 451, 1762; 460, 1807 pl. 18, 4; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 234, 153 pl. 5, 10. - Rv. Comme 13, mais le torse seul est nu, et I. tient dans la g. un rameau; au-dessous, hydrie ou urne.

16.\* AE, Macrin, Diaduménien. - Pick 437, 1697-1698 pl. 18, 3; 461, 1809. - Rv. Dieu-fleuve imberbe, assis, le torse nu; dans la main dr. il tient un roseau ou un rameau; dans le champ, proue de navire.

17. AE, Diaduménien, Élagabal, de 217 à 222. - Pick 460, 1806; 487, 1949-1950. - Rv. Dieu-fleuve imberbe, assis ou étendu, la main dr. (qui tient parfois un rameau) posée sur le genou, la g. (parfois avec un rameau) appuyée sur une urne d'où s'écoule de l'eau, ou bien sur un rocher.

18. AE, Élagabal (218-222). - Pick 488, 1951 pl. 17, 35. - Rv. Dieu-fleuve barbu, demi-nu, assis vers la dr., tenant dans la dr. un rameau, dans la g. une rame. Dans le champ une proue.

19. AE, Gordien III (238-244). - Pick 510, 2067 pl. 18, 2; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 235, 154 pl. 5, 11. - Rv. Comme 13, mais barbu, et le torse seul dénudé.

20. AE, Gordien III. - Pick 510, 2068-2069 pl. 17, 32. - Rv. Dieu-fleuve barbu, demi-nu, étendu vers la g.; il tient dans la main dr. un rameau, et du bras g. s'appuie sur une hydrie.

### Monnaies impériales d'Istros (= Histria, Moesia Inferior)

21. AE, Julia Domna. - Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 230, 141. - Rv. Comme 20, mais I. tient dans la dr. un dauphin et dans la g. un roseau.

22.\* (= Danuvius 7) AE, Élagabal. - Pick 176, 511; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 230, 142 pl. 5, 1. - Rv. Comme 20, mais I. est couronné de roseaux, et tient un poisson dans la dr. et un roseau dans la g.; dans le champ, un phare.

23.\* AE, Gordien III. - Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 231, 143 pl. 5, 2. - Rv. Comme 20 (dans la dr. un roseau).

24. (= Danuvius 8) AE, Tranquillina (241-244). - Pick 179, 530; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 231, 144. - Rv. Comme 20, mais I. est couronné de roseaux, la main dr. sur une proue de navire.

### DOCUMENT DOUTEUX

25. AE, I<sup>er</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Exemple unique (?), anc. Tulcea (Roumanie), coll. privée. - Ruzicka, L., *NumZ* 1917, 106, 483a. - Av. Tête barbe, la chevelure ondulée; lég. *ΙΕΤΡΟΣ*. - Rv. →Hermès debout; lég. *ΙΕΤΡΙ-ΗΝΩΝ* (légendes avec sigma lunaire).

### IDENTIFICATION INCERTAINE

26.\* AR, diverses dénominations, V<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Pick 149-150 («dieu ou dieux des vents», →Venti). 159-166 n°s 405-457 pl. 2, 20-23; Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 274 («le soleil levant et le soleil couchant»); Moisil, C., *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române* (Bu-

curești) 16/40, 1921, 110-112 (les dieux → Pontos et I.); Ruzicka, L., *Cronica numismatică și arheologică* (București) 4/1, 1923, 2-4 (les deux embouchures du fleuve); Babelon, J., dans *Mél. Ch. Picard* I (1949) 26 (comme Eckhel, les Dioscures [→ Dioskouroi]); Hommel, H., dans *Festschr. F. Altheim* I (1969) 271 (comme Vossius et Ruzicka, les deux embouchures du Danube, qui d'après les croyances antiques s'ouvraient dans l'Adriatique et la mer Noire); Hind, J. G. F., *NC* 1970, 7-17 (I.). *Av.* Deux têtes juvéniles, côte à côte et tête-bêche (habituellement, celle de dr. est renversée). De petites différences entre les émissions, surtout dans la chevelure. *Rv.* Aigle sur dauphin (emblème de la cité) et ethnique.

## COMMENTAIRE

En l'absence de l'indication du nom (c'est le cas le plus fréquent) il est presque impossible de distinguer les représentations du «Danuvius» de celles de «I». On peut tenter – sans beaucoup de succès – une répartition géographique ou chronologique. Si «I.» apparaît beaucoup plus tôt (Hes.) que «Danubius» (Caes. *Gall.* 6, 25), bien des auteurs antiques connaissent et emploient les deux noms. Toutefois, à l'époque impériale romaine, on préfère «Danuvius». Aussi en rassemblant les représentations d'I. faut-il toujours étudier celles de Danuvius. Par exemple la scène célèbre de la colonne Trajane, avec l'image du dieu-fleuve (→ Danuvius 2), se déploie en aval des Portes de Fer: faut-il nommer le dieu-fleuve I., en suivant Strabon, ou bien Danuvius, comme c'est l'habitude à l'époque de Trajan? Il nous semble que les représentations d'un dieu-fleuve sur les monnaies d'Istros (Histria) et de Nicopolis ad Istrum, en raison du nom même des deux cités, doivent être considérées comme des images d'I.

On voit qu'à une époque reculée (IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.) nous pouvons peut-être reconnaître I., représenté selon le schéma d'Achéloos, avec des cornes de taureau (1). Sur les monnaies impériales I. a une tout autre iconographie, conforme à un type très répandu dès l'époque hellénistique et qui connaît un grand succès à l'époque impériale aussi: il est représenté barbu, le torse nu, assis ou étendu, s'accoudant à un vase d'où jaillit de l'eau. Parfois sa tête est couronnée; dans les mains il tient des roseaux, un bâton ou une rame, des rameaux, des épis, la corne d'abondance et, seulement sur les monnaies d'Istros 21-22, un poisson. Dans le champ on peut aussi voir des poissons, un navire ou une proue de navire sur laquelle se pose une main du dieu et, une fois (22), un phare. Mais il existe aussi d'autres représentations du dieu-fleuve sous les traits d'un jeune homme imberbe, parfois complètement nu; la position et les attributs sont les mêmes. I. apparaît imberbe seulement sur les monnaies de Nicopolis ad Istrum, pendant les règnes de Macrin, Diaduménien et Élagabal (13-17), mais sous Élagabal on connaît aussi des émissions avec le type barbu (18). Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 233, est d'avis que les représentations imberbes doivent être considérées comme des personifications d'une rivière près de Nicopolis,

Iantra. Pick, 343, ne se prononce pas («daß der bärtige Flußgott den gewaltigen Istros, der unbärtige den Nebenfluß darstellen sollte, muß dahingestellt bleiben»).

Parmi toutes les monnaies énumérées, le nom du dieu-fleuve n'apparaît écrit que dans un seul cas (25). Sans l'inscription, la tête représentée sur 25 demeurerait impossible à identifier (elle n'a aucun attribut caractéristique d'une personification de fleuve). Le diamètre (env. 2,7 cm) et la légende de rv. de 25 (avec le sigma lunaire) invitent à la dater de l'époque impériale romaine et, en l'absence de l'effigie impériale, il convient de penser plutôt au I<sup>er</sup> s. ou à la 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. Mais le caractère unique de la monnaie 25, dont nous ignorons où elle se trouve aujourd'hui, soulève des soupçons quant à son authenticité: Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg*, en fait abstraction.

Les deux têtes masculines imberbes 26, représentation étrange et sans analogie dans le monnayage grec, ont suscité beaucoup d'identifications. Si l'attribution de ces têtes au Soleil-Apollon ou aux Dioscures est peu vraisemblable (→ Dioskouroi), les considérer comme des dieux des Vents ou la personification du Danube (même à deux embouchures) reste, tout au plus, une hypothèse. MIHAI BĂRBULESCU

## ITALIA

(*Italia*, Italia) Il nome era dapprima limitato all'estremità del Bruzio, l'odierna Calabria, a sud della linea che congiunge i golfi di E. Eufemia e di Squillace. Al tempo di Erodoto e di Tuciddide nel suo ambito rientravano anche località più settentrionali quali Metaponto e Taranto. Nel IV sec. a. C. per Aristoxenos di Taranto vi appartenevano anche i Romani. Nel trattato stipulato con Cartagine nel 306 a. C. Roma si riservava l'Italia (intendendo la parte meridionale) come sfera d'influenza (Cassola 87; Philinos di Agrigento, *FGrH* 174 F 1). Per Catone le Alpi sono le mura d'Italia. Nella seconda guerra punica, in quanto teatro di operazioni militari, essa è assegnata come provincia ai consoli. In un momento imprecisato del II sec. a. C. (dal 133, in coincidenza con le assegnazioni agrarie di Tiberio Gracco secondo Cuntz, O., *Polybius und sein Werk* [1902] 27-34) il suo confine nord-orientale è segnato dal fiume Rubicone, non ancora identificato con certezza; dal 41 a. C. – per la sua riorganizzazione ad opera di Ottaviano – dal Varo ad occidente e dall'Arsa ad oriente: viene ora finalmente raggiunta la coincidenza della realtà geografica con la sua unità giuridica.

Con la riforma di Diocleziano la *dioecesis Italiae* fu divisa in una *pars annonaria* (settentrionale) ed una *pars urbicaria* (centro-meridionale).

Il nome veniva variamente spiegato: secondo Antiocho di Siracusa derivava dal nome del re degli Enotri Italos, secondo Ellanico di Mitilene dalla parola «vitulus», vitello, termine che, nella lingua dei Siculi, desi-

gnava uno dei capi fuggiti dalla mandria di Gerione (→ Herakles sez. IV L; → Geryoneus), che Eracle stava portando dall'Occidente in Grecia (considerata etimologia popolare dal Radke 1483; cf. anche Fest. 94 Lindsay). Durante la guerra sociale gli alleati Italici elevano a loro capitale Corfinium, che chiamano Italica. Esso coniano pure monete, sulle quali appaiono le più antiche rappresentazioni dell'I. personificata.

Poiché nella mitica età dell'oro sul Lazio aveva regnato Saturno (→ Kronos/Saturnus), l'appellativo tratto dal nome del dio viene esteso dai poeti a tutta l'I., chiamata «*Saturnia tellus*» o «*Saturnia arva*» (Dion. Hal.: *Σατορμία*).

**FONTI LETTERARIE:** Hdt. I, 24; 3, 136; 4, 15; Hellan., *FGrH* 4 F 111; Thuk. 8, 91, 2; Antiochos di Siracusa, *FGrH* 555 F 5; Aristoxenos di Taranto *fig.* 17 Wehrli; Philinos di Agrigento, *FGrH* 174 F 1; Cato *orig.*, *HRR* 3 *fig.* 85; Dion. Hal. *ant.* I, 34, 5.

*Saturnia tellus:* Enn. *ann.* 21 Skutsch (*Saturnia terra*); Verg. *Aen.* 8, 329; *georg.* 2, 173. *Saturnia arva:* Verg. *Aen.* I, 569. *Σατορμία:* Dion. Hal. *ant.* I, 34, 5.

**BIBLIOGRAFIA:** Cassola, F., *I gruppi politici romani nel III sec. a. C.* (1962) 84-86; Catalano, P., «Appunti sopra il più antico concetto giuridico di Italia», *Atti Torino* 96, 1961/62, 198-228; Conticello, B., *EAA* IV (1961) 250-251 s. v. «Italia»; Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 558-563 s. v. «Italia»; Gabba, F., «Il problema dell'unità dell'Italia romana», in *La cultura italiana. Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia*, Pisa 1977 (1978) 11-28; Lepore, E., «L'*Italia* nella formazione della comunità romano-italica», *Klarchos* 5, 1963, 89-113; Letta, C., «L'*Italia* dei *mores romani* nelle *Origines* di Catone», *Athenaeum* 62, 1984, 3-30. 416-439; Mazzarino, S., *Il pensiero storico classico* II 1 (1973) 96-102. 212-232; Radke, G., *KIPauly* II (1967) 1482-1484 s. v. «Italia II»; Scherling, K., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) s. v. «Italia», con integrazioni di Philipp, H.

Sulle monete della Guerra Sociale: Belloni, G. G., *Le monete romane dell'età repubblicana* (1960) 101-107; Bleicken, J., «Coniuratio, die Schwurszene auf den Münzen und Gemmen der römischen Republik», *JNG* 13, 1963, 51-70; Campana, A., *La monetazione degli insorti italici durante la guerra sociale (91-87 a. C.)* (1987); Crous, J. W., in *Corolla Curtius* (1937) 217-224; Sydenham, *CRR* 89-95.

Sulle personificazioni (ma limitatamente all'arte greca): Hamdorf, *Kultpersonifikationen* 25-32; Shapiro, *Personification*. Etimologia: Walde/Hof. I (1938) 723 s. v. «Italia».

## CATALOGO

### A. Monete della Guerra Sociale

#### a) Con iscrizioni latine

1. AR, denario. – Sambon, A., *Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie* (1903) 228; Belloni 102, 579; Sydenham, *CRR* 90, 617; Campana 54, 6. – D.: testa femminile a d., con elmo alato, orecchini e collana; dietro di essa l'iscrizione *ITALIA*. R.: Dioscuri a cavallo in direzioni opposte; in esergo: *ITALIA*. – Altra simile, ma con iscrizione del monetiere C. Papius Mutilus, in alfabeto osco e suddivisa tra D. e R.: Sydenham, *CRR* 93, 635; Campana 53, 3-4; altra simile alla precedente, ma con iscrizione *ITALIA* in alfabeto latino al D.: Sambon 228, 216; Sydenham, *CRR* 93, 636 tav. 19; Belloni 106, 596; Campana 53, 5.

2. AR, denario. – Sambon, o. c. I, 229; Sydenham, *CRR* 90, 618; Belloni 102, 580; Campana 97, 116. –

D.: testa femminile a d., con diadema, orecchini e collana. R.: Victoria (→ Nike/Victoria) seduta a d. con ramo di palma in mano; in esergo l'iscrizione *ITALIA*.

3. AR, denario. – Sambon, o. c. I, 235; Sydenham, *CRR* 91, 620 tav. 19; Belloni 101, 981 tav. 31; Kent/Hirmer, *RömMünze* tav. 13, 45; Campana 62-64, 35-54. – D.: testa femminile a s., con corona d'alloro, orecchini e collana; iscrizione: *ITALIA*. R.: otto guerrieri, quattro per parte, prestano giuramento con la spada puntata verso un porcellino, tenuto al centro da un sacerdos fetialis inginocchiato. – Simile, ma con iscrizione in alfabeto osco *VITELIU*: Sydenham, *CRR* 626 (messo in dubbio da Campana 133, 5 E). – Simile, ma senza iscrizione: Sydenham, *CRR* 92, 629; Campana 56-60, 7-34. – Simile, con iscrizione *ITALIA* al D., e solo sei guerrieri al R.: Sydenham, *CRR* 91, 621a; Campana 73, 81.

4. AR, denario. – Sambon, o. c. I, 232; Sydenham, *CRR* 91, 622 tav. 19; Belloni 102, 988; Campana 94-95, 109-115. – D.: testa femminile a d., con corona d'alloro, orecchini e collana; dietro di essa l'iscrizione *ITALIA*. R.: figura femminile (I.?) seduta su scudi, rivolta a s., coronata da una Victoria. – Simile, ma senza iscrizione al D., e con iscrizione *ITALIA* in esergo al R.: Sydenham, *CRR* 91, 624 tav. 19; Campana 92-93, 106-108. Il tipo del R. riprende quello di denari romani di poco anteriori (Crawford, *RRC* n° 335/1a-c. 2), in cui la figura seduta sugli scudi è la personificazione di → Roma: Crous, J. W., in *Corolla L. Curtius* (1937) 217-224.

#### b) Con iscrizioni in alfabeto osco

5. AR, denario. – Sambon o. c. I, 227; Sydenham, *CRR* 92, 625; Belloni 104, 585; Campana 50, 1-2. – D.: testa femminile a d., con elmo alato e protomi di grifone, orecchini e collana. R.: Dioscuri a cavallo verso d.; in esergo l'iscrizione *VITELIU*.

6. AR, denario. – Sambon, o. c. I, 225; Sydenham, *CRR* 92, 627 tav. 19; Belloni 103, 969 tav. 31; Campana 99-106, 119-147. – D.: testa femminile a s., con corona d'alloro, orecchini e collana; dietro di essa l'iscrizione *VITELIU*. R.: soldato che calpesta un'insegna militare romana (o la lupa?).

#### c) Senza iscrizioni

7. AR, denario. – Sambon, o. c. I, 240; Sydenham, *CRR* 92, 630 tav. 19; Belloni 105, 588; Campana 120-121, 164-173. – D.: testa femminile a s. con elmo crestato ed egida, coronata da Victoria. R.: soldato che calpesta un'insegna militare romana, tro-paion (Scherling 1298; Campana: Minerva).

8. AR, denario. – Sambon o. c. I, 239; Sydenham, *CRR* 93, 632 tav. 19; Belloni 104, 1004 tav. 31; Kent/Hirmer, *RömMünze* tav. 13, 47; Campana 123-124, 174-182. – D.: testa femminile a d., con elmo ed egida, coronata da Victoria. R.: due personaggi in abito militare si stringono la mano; a d. l'akrostolion di una nave. Per le possibili esegesi del R.: Campana 125-126 (allusione all'alleanza tra la lega italica e Mitridate VI, oppure allo sbarco di C. Mario a

Talamone nell'87 a. C., oppure alla pace di Dardano, che nell'85 a. C. concluse la prima guerra mitridatica).

## B. Monete romane repubblicane

9.\* (= Homonoia/Concordia 134 con bibl.) AR denario, Q. Fufius Calenus e, possibilmente, P. Mucius Scaevola Cordus, ca. 70 a. C. - Belloni XXXVI. 175, 1650-1652 tav. 44; Crawford, *RRC* 413, 403 tav. 50, 7. - D.: teste di Honos (= Honos 8) e → Virtus a d. (identificate da iscrizioni). R.: → Roma, rivolta a s., il piede d. su un globo, in abito amazzonio, e l'I., in abito lungo e con una cornucopia in mano, si stringono la mano.

## C. Fertilità dell'Italia

10. (= Aurai 4\*) Roma, Ara Pacis, pannello orientale sinistro. - Momigliano, A., *JWarbInst* 5, 1942, 228-231 (= Quinto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico II, *Storia e Letteratura* [1975] 847-855); Moretti, G., *Ara Pacis Augustae* (1948) tavv. 23-24; Galinski, G. K., *AJA* 70, 1966, 223-243; Simon, E., *Ara Pacis Augustae* (1967) 27; eadem, in Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1937; Torelli, M., *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (1982) 39-42; La Rocca, E., *Ara Pacis Augustae* (1983) 43-48; Simon, E., *Augustus, Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitwende* (1986) 36-38 fig. 37; Zanker, P., *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (1987) 175-179 figg. 135-136; Settis, S., in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* (cat. mostra Berlino 1988) 413-414, 423, 425 Kat. 227. - 9 a. C. - Al centro una figura femminile di aspetto matronale, seduta verso d., con due bambini sulle braccia, il capo coperto dal mantello e cinto da una corona di fiori e frutti, e con altri frutti in grembo; ai suoi piedi una giovenca ed una pecora; ai lati, a s. piante palustri, a d. un cespoglio di spighe e papaveri. A s. una figura femminile seminuda seduta su di un cigno in volo, a d. un'altra figura femminile seminuda seduta su di una pistrice, entrambe *velificantes*, probabilmente due Aurai di terra e di mare. La figura centrale non corrisponde alla tipologia di → Ge, rappresenta di solito emergente con il busto dal suolo, ma ricorda piuttosto quella delle personificazioni locali. È possibile che, invece di → Tellus, essa rappresenti l'I. nello spirito dell'elogio virgiliano (Verg. *georg.* 2, 136-176): l'I. era stata oggetto di particolari cure da parte di Augusto ed appare un pendant appropriato alla personificazione di Roma sul pannello di destra. Il cigno dell'aura di s. ricorda quelli del fregio a girali del lato esterno dell'ara, che alludono al ritorno dell'età dell'oro e del regno di Saturno (→ Kronos/Saturnus), quali conseguenze della *pax Augusta*; caratteristico dell'abito di Saturno è il mantello che gli copre il capo. Se queste considerazioni sono fondate, l'I. appare allora come *Saturnia Tellus*, ed i due bimbi nelle sue braccia sono probabilmente → Karpoi, i frutti della terra; assieme agli animali ai suoi piedi, essi esaltano la

fertilità. Ciò potrebbe anche spiegare la ricorrente proposta di riconoscervi → Tellus (La Rocca) o Terra Mater (Momigliano, Settis). La contrapposizione Roma-I., entrambe al centro della politica augustea, sembra però preferibile a quella, troppo astratta, di Roma-Tellus (semmai → Oikoumene). L'identificazione con I. è stata proposta da van Buren, A. W., *JRS* 3, 1913, 134-141; ad una molteplicità di significati: Pax-Venus-Tellus, pensano Galinski e Torelli (contra: Settis, o. c. 413); Zanker vi riconosce invece → Pax, iconograficamente assimilata a Tellus e Venus nelle sue funzioni di dea della fecondità.

## D. Monumenti celebranti l'institutio alimentaria

11.\* AE asse, dupondio e sesterzio, Traiano, zecca di Roma, 104-111 d. C. - *BMC Emp* III 184, 870-872 tav. 33, 2; Fittschen, K., *AA* 1972, 749 fig. 6; 750 n. 25, b. - R.: Traiano, togato, seduto verso s. su una *sella curulis*, tende la d. ad una donna stante dinanzi a lui, che posa la d. sul capo di un bambino e porta un secondo bambino sulla spalla. Iscrizione: *ALIM ITAL*.

12. Uno dei due «anaglypha Traiani». Roma, Curia Senatus. Dal Foro Romano. - Hammond, M., *MAAR* 21, 1953, 129-180; Nash, *TopRom* II 176 fig. 202; Rüdiger, H., *APL* 12, 1973, 167-168 tav. 68b; Torelli, o. c. 10, 91 tav. 4, 7 (con datazione in età traiana; riconosce nella scena un *congiarium* ed interpreta il gruppo come un monumento rilevante nella topografia del Foro). - Prima età adrianea. - La scena è ambientata nel Foro Romano: a s. *adlocutio* dell'imperatore su *rostra* aziazi, a d. il Marsias e la *figus ruminialis*. Tra di essi, sullo sfondo della *Basilica Iulia*, un monumento cui fa probabilmente riferimento l'imperatore nel suo discorso: su di una base poggia un gruppo scultoreo, che dobbiamo raffigurarci a tutto tondo. A d. l'imperatore seduto, togato, rivolto verso una donna stante dinanzi a lui, vestita classicamente con peplo e himation, che tiene con il braccio s. un bambino, mentre un secondo bambino doveva essere al suo fianco d. Si tratta certamente della personificazione dell'I., ed il rilievo celebra l'istituzione degli *alimenta*.

13.\* Arco di Traiano, Benevento, rilievo interno destro (uscendo dalla città) del fornice. - Hassel, F. J., *Der Traiansbogen in Benevent* (1966) 9-10 tav. 1, 1; Fittschen, o. c. 11, 746 fig. 2; Rotili, M., *L'arco di Traiano a Benevento* (1972) 98 tav. 54, 65; Simon, E., «Die Götter am Traiansbogen zu Benevent» *TrierWPr* 1/2, 1979, 4 tav. 4, 1. - 114 d. C. - A s. l'imperatore con alcuni funzionari; il funzionario vicino al centro è in atto di distribuire il denaro ai beneficiari dell'*institutio*, rappresentati a d. Quattro figure femminili con corone turre, evidentemente personificazioni di città e regioni, appaiono sullo sfondo a d. Di esse quella più vicina al centro, in colloquio con il funzionario imperiale, è messa in risalto, oltre che dalla sua posizione, anche dal velo che le copre il capo; probabilmente si tratta della personificazione di I. (Hassel, Fittschen, Rotili: Beneventum).

## E. Monete con l'imperatore restitutor Italiae

14.\* AU aureo, Traiano, zecca di Roma, 106 d. C. - *BMC Emp* III 85, 404 tav. 15, 19; Fittschen, o. c. 11, 749 fig. 8; 750 n. 25; Simon, o. c. 13, 4 tav. 18, 5. 6. - R.: Traiano, togato, stante, con un rolo nella s., tende la mano d. all'I. inginocchiata, con corona turrata sul capo; tra di loro due bambini. Iscrizione: *RESTITUTOR ITALIAE* nell'esergo.

15. AR denario, Adriano, zecca di Roma. - *BMC Emp* III 352; stesso tipo anche sull'aureo *RIC* II 378, 328. Esso appartiene ad una serie dedicata alle province: v. Toynbee, J. M. C., *The Hadrianic School* (1934) 7-130. - R.: Adriano, togato, stante a d., rialza l'I. inginocchiata. Iscrizione: *RESTITUTORI ITALIAE*.

16.\* AE sesterzio, Marco Aurelio, zecca di Roma, 172-173 d. C. - *BMC Emp* IV 629-630, 1449-1452 tav. 83, 2. - R.: a d. l'imperatore loricato tende la mano d. per rialzare l'I. inginocchiata davanti a lui, con una corona turrata sul capo. Iscrizione: *RESTITUTORI ITALIAE*. Stesso tipo anche sul sesterzio coniato a Roma nel 173-174: *BMC Emp* IV 634, \*.

## F. Scene di adventus

17.\* AU aureo, Adriano, zecca di Roma, 134-138 d. C. - *BMC Emp* III 340, 788-792 tav. 62, 13-14; Toynbee, o. c. 15, 106-116 tav. 4, 26-31. - A d. I. stante con cornucopia, in atto di libare su un altare; a s. l'imperatore togato. Iscrizione: *ADVENTUS AVG ITALIAE*. Stesso tipo anche su asse, dupondio e sesterzio: *RIC* II 454, 888-889; Toynbee, o. c. 15, 106 n. 3, d. f tav. 4, 27, 29.

## G. Italia seduta

18.\* AR denario, Antonino Pio, zecca di Roma, 140-144 d. C. - *BMC Emp* IV 32, 214-215 tav. 5, 11; 36, 234-235 tav. 6, 7; 38, 246-250 tav. 6, 12; Conticello 250 fig. 295. - I. seduta su globo, rivolta a s., con corona turrata, cornucopia nella d. e scettro nella s. In alcune emissioni è esplicitamente identificata da un'iscrizione. Stesso tipo anche su dupondio e sesterzio: *BMC Emp* IV 190, \*; 264-265, 1641-1646 tav. 39, 11; 277, 1719 tav. 41, 12.

19.\* AE sesterzio, Commodo, zecca di Roma, 183-195 d. C. - *BMC Emp* IV 796, 549 tav. 105, 7; 799, 554-555 tav. 106, 2; 801, §. - Tipo simile al precedente; iscrizione *ITALIA*.

20. AR denario, Caracalla, zecca di Roma, 201-206 d. C. - *BMC Emp* V 209, \*. - Stesso tipo del precedente. Iscrizione: *INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN ITALIAM*. Stesso tipo anche su denari di Settimio Severo, 201-210 d. C.: *BMC Emp* V 218, 339 tav. 35, 15.

21.\* AE sesterzio, Geta, zecca di Roma, 211 d. C. - *BMC Emp* V 428, 45-46 tav. 66, 6. - R.: I. seduta a s., con scettro nella d. e cornucopia nella s. Ai suoi piedi, a s. una figura drappaggiata con cornucopia, seduta verso

s., a d. una figura seminuda recumbente verso d., con un vaso e delle canne(?).

## H. Italia stante, sola

22.\* AR denario, Adriano, zecca di Roma, 134-138 d. C. - *BMC Emp* III 347, 850-854 tav. 63, 14. - R.: I. stante a s., con scettro nella d. e cornucopia nella s. Iscrizione *ITALIA*. Il tipo appartiene ad una serie celebrante le province, per cui v. Toynbee, o. c. 15, 106-116 tav. 4, 24. Possibilmente già su denari e sesterzi di Traiano, zecca di Roma, 112-117 d. C.: *BMC Emp* III 96, 468-473 tav. 17, 6, 7; Fittschen, o. c. 11, 749 fig. 5; 750 n. 25, a: figura femminile stante di prospetto, con cornucopia nella s., corona di spighe sul capo, tiene con la d. un mazzo di spighe sopra la testa di un bambino togato.

23. *Notitia Dignitatum*. - Seeck, O., *Notitia Dignitatum* (1876) 108; *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani, reproduction réduite des 105 miniatures du manuscrit latin 9661 de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (s. d.) n° 63; Berger, P. C., *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum. A Contribution to the Study of Late Antique Illustrated Manuscripts* (1981) tav. 47. Per i manoscritti illustrati della *Notitia*: Alexander, J. J. G., in: Goodburn, R./Bartholomew, P. (ed.), *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum, Papers Presented to the Conference in Oxford, 1974* (BAR Suppl. Series 15, 1976) 11-50. - IV sec. d. C. - Figura femminile nimbat, stante, riccamente vestita, che tiene in mano una *lanx*(?).

## COMMENTO

Le raffigurazioni dell'I., relativamente scarse e tarde, sono di carattere diverso, a seconda del periodo storico cui appartengono. Le più antiche si trovano su monete di età tardo-repubblicana, ma coniate non a Roma, bensì dagli Italici ai tempi della guerra sociale (90-88 a. C., I-8). In accordo con la composizione etnico-linguistica della lega, ed a seconda pure della zecca, le monete portano l'iscrizione in alfabeto latino *ITALIA* oppure quella in alfabeto osco *VITELIU*, che consentono di identificare le teste femminili, dai tratti alquanto generici, ornate di collana e orecchini e talvolta di corona d'alloro (3, 4, 6), oppure, più marzialmente, coperta da un elmo (1, 5, 7, 8) con la personificazione dell'I. L'identificazione è possibile anche per alcune delle teste non accompagnate da iscrizione (7, 8), mentre in altri casi si tratta più probabilmente di altre divinità (→ Athena/Menerva 36). Queste prime raffigurazioni dell'I. presentano un aspetto nuovo: a differenza delle personificazioni di *poleis*, o entità geografiche (come → Hellas e → Salamis sul trono di Zeus ad Olimpia (Paus. 5, 11, 5; Hamdorf, *Kultpersonifikationen* 27), esse impersonano un concetto astratto quale può essere uno stato federale. Sulle monete che celebrano la riconciliazione tra Roma e gli alleati (9) l'I. ha invece il carattere di una normale personificazione geografica.



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## E. Monete con l'imperatore restitutor Italiae

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15. AR denario, Adriano, zecca di Roma. - BMC Emp III 352; stesso tipo anche sull'aureo *RIC* II 378, 328. Esso appartiene ad una serie dedicata alle province: v. Toynbee, J. M. C., *The Hadrianic School* (1934) 7-130. - R.: Adriano, togato, stante a d., rialza l'I. inginocchiata. Iscrizione: *RESTITVTORI ITALIAE*.

16.\* AE sesterzio, Marco Aurelio, zecca di Roma, 172-173 d. C. - BMC Emp IV 629-630, 1449-1452 tav. 83, 2. - R.: a d. l'imperatore loricato tende la mano d. per rialzare l'I. inginocchiata davanti a lui, con una corona turrita sul capo. Iscrizione: *RESTITVTORI ITALIAE*. Stesso tipo anche sul sesterzio coniato a Roma nel 173-174: BMC Emp IV 634, \*.

## F. Scene di adventus

17.\* AU aureo, Adriano, zecca di Roma, 134-138 d. C. - BMC Emp III 340, 788-792 tav. 62, 13-14; Toynbee, o. c. 15, 106-116 tav. 4, 26-31. - A d. I. stante con cornucopia, in atto di libare su un altare; a s. l'imperatore togato. Iscrizione: *ADVENTVI AVG ITALIAE*. Stesso tipo anche su asse, dupondio e sesterzio: *RIC* II 454, 888-889; Toynbee, o. c. 15, 106 n. 3, d. f tav. 4, 27. 29.

## G. Italia seduta

18.\* AR denario, Antonino Pio, zecca di Roma, 140-144 d. C. - BMC Emp IV 32, 214-215 tav. 5, 11; 36, 234-235 tav. 6, 7; 38, 246-250 tav. 6, 12; Conticello 250 fig. 295. - I. seduta su globo, rivolta a s., con corona turrita, cornucopia nella d. e scettro nella s. In alcune emissioni è esplicitamente identificata da un'iscrizione. Stesso tipo anche su dupondio e sesterzio: BMC Emp IV 190, \*; 264-265, 1641-1646 tav. 39, 11; 277, 1719 tav. 41, 12.

19.\* AE sesterzio, Commodo, zecca di Roma, 183-195 d. C. - BMC Emp IV 796, 549 tav. 105, 7; 799, 554-555 tav. 106, 2; 801, §. - Tipo simile al precedente; iscrizione *ITALIA*.

20. AR denario, Caracalla, zecca di Roma, 201-206 d. C. - BMC Emp V 209, \*. - Stesso tipo del precedente. Iscrizione: *INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN ITALIAM*. Stesso tipo anche su denari di Settimio Severo, 201-210 d. C.: BMC Emp V 218, 339 tav. 35, 15.

21.\* AE sesterzio, Geta, zecca di Roma, 211 d. C. - BMC Emp V 428, 45-46 tav. 66, 6. - R.: I. seduta a s., con scettro nella d. e cornucopia nella s. Ai suoi piedi, a s. una figura drappaggiata con cornucopia, seduta verso

s., a d. una figura seminuda recumbente verso d., con un vaso e delle canne(?).

## H. Italia stante, sola

22.\* AR denario, Adriano, zecca di Roma, 134-138 d. C. - BMC Emp III 347, 850-854 tav. 63, 14. - R.: I. stante a s., con scettro nella d. e cornucopia nella s. Iscrizione *ITALIA*. Il tipo appartiene ad una serie celebrante le province, per cui v. Toynbee, o. c. 15, 106-116 tav. 4, 24. Possibilmente già su denari e sesterzi di Traiano, zecca di Roma, 112-117 d. C.: BMC Emp III 96, 468-473 tav. 17, 6. 7; Fittschen, o. c. 11, 749 fig. 5; 750 n. 25, a: figura femminile stante di prospetto, con cornucopia nella s., corona di spighe sul capo, tiene con la d. un mazzo di spighe sopra la testa di un bambino togato.

23. *Notitia Dignitatum*. - Seeck, O., *Notitia Dignitatum* (1876) 108; *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani, reproduction réduite des 105 miniatures du manuscrit latin 9661 de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (s. d.) n° 63; Berger, P. C., *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum. A Contribution to the Study of Late Antique Illustrated Manuscripts* (1981) tav. 47. Per i manoscritti illustrati della *Notitia*: Alexander, J. J. G., in: Goodburn, R./Bartholomew, P. (ed.), *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum, Papers Presented to the Conference in Oxford, 1974* (BAR Suppl. Series 15, 1976) 11-50. - IV sec. d. C. - Figura femminile nimfata, stante, riccamente vestita, che tiene in mano una *lanx*(?).

## COMMENTO

Le raffigurazioni dell'I., relativamente scarse e tarde, sono di carattere diverso, a seconda del periodo storico cui appartengono. Le più antiche si trovano su monete di età tardo-repubblicana, ma coniate non a Roma, bensì dagli Italici ai tempi della guerra sociale (90-88 a. C., 1-8). In accordo con la composizione etnico-linguistica della lega, ed a seconda pure della zecca, le monete portano l'iscrizione in alfabeto latino *ITALIA* oppure quella in alfabeto osco *VITELIU*, che consentono di identificare le teste femminili, dai tratti alquanto generici, ornate di collana e orecchini e talvolta di corona d'alloro (3. 4. 6), oppure, più marzialmente, coperta da un elmo (1. 5. 7. 8) con la personificazione dell'I. L'identificazione è possibile anche per alcune delle teste non accompagnate da iscrizione (7. 8), mentre in altri casi si tratta più probabilmente di altre divinità (→ Athena/Menerva 36). Queste prime raffigurazioni dell'I. presentano un aspetto nuovo: a differenza delle personificazioni di *poleis*, o entità geografiche (come → Hellas e → Salamis sul trono di Zeus ad Olimpia (Paus. 5, 11, 5; Hamdorf, *Kultpersonifikationen* 27), esse impersonano un concetto astratto quale può essere uno stato federale. Sulle monete che celebrano la riconciliazione tra Roma e gli alleati (9) l'I. ha invece il carattere di una normale personificazione geografica.

Nella politica augustea l'I. riveste un'importanza centrale; appare perciò assai seducente la proposta di riconoscerla, quale *Saturnia Tellus*, nella figura femminile contrapposta a Roma nel pannello sinistro del lato orientale dell'Ara Pacis (10).

L'I. appare su documenti di età traiana celebranti gli *alimenta* (11-13), una provvidenza statale in favore delle famiglie bisognose introdotta da Nerva (Ps. Aur. Vict. epit. 12, 4), o, più probabilmente, da Traiano (Plin. paneg. 26-28; Plin. epist. 7, 18; CIL IX 1455; XI 1147). Essa vi appare come una figura matronale, accompagnata dalla prole, accanto all'imperatore. Di questi uno, non conservato, doveva essere un gruppo statuario collocato nel Foro Romano, secondo la documentazione degli *anaglyphi Traiani* (12). L'unico monumento riferibile ancora a Nerva, un sesterzio in cui l'imperatore, seduto sulla *sella curulis*, tenda la mano ad una figura femminile accompagnata da due bambini, è un falso secondo l'autorevole opinione di H. Mattingly (BMC Emp III XLIX, 21; RIC 229, 92).

Sui documenti celebranti l'imperatore quale *restitutor* di una particolare regione (14-16), che appartengono ad una serie dedicata alle province, l'I. è assimilata iconograficamente alle province, prefigurando quel livellamento che sarà sancito dalla *constitutio Antoniniana*. Essa vi appare come una figura femminile inginocchiata, che viene rialzata dall'imperatore: coerentemente con l'assunto, l'iconografia è costante in tutta la serie (sulle emissioni adriane dedicate alle province: Toynbee, o. c. 15, 24-130).

Eguale livellamento è la serie adrianea che mostra sul rovescio le personificazioni delle varie province sole e stanti (22).

La signoria sul mondo, espressa dal tipo dell'I. seduta su globo con scettro e cornucopia, in voga da Antonino Pio ai Severi (18-21) era chiaramente un'illusione. Con gli inizi del III sec. d. C. la nostra documentazione si interrompe. L'I. farà però ancora una sporadica apparizione, definitivamente assimilata alle province, nella *Notitia Dignitatum*, conservataci da copie di età più tarda.

(Ricerca condotta con contributo del  
Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Roma)  
FULVIO CANCIANI

## ITALOS

(*Ἰταλός*) Satyrname auf einem römischen Relief. Die Schreibung mit Eta auf I beruht auf Iotazismus.

I. (= Admete I\*\* mit Lit., = Bat[---]I mit Beschreibung, = Europe II 3, = Herakles 1516) Kleines Marmorrelief, «Tabula Albani» (alle vier Ecken ergänzt). Rom, Villa Albani 957. - *Forschungen zur Villa Albani. Kat. der Bildwerke I* (1989) 192 Nr. 60 Taf. 110 (H. U. Cain). - Spätantoinisch. - Heraklesrelief nach Art der *Tabulae Iliacae*. Unter den Satyrn und

Mänaden, die den ausruhenden Herakles umgeben und die nach Ländern benannt sind, welche Herakles bei seinen Taten bereiste, ist auch der Satyr I. (HTA-ΛΟΞ). Er beugt sich nach vorn und steckt seinen Kopf in einen Trinknapf, den Herakles in seiner Linken hält.

ANNELIESE KOSSÄTZ-DEISSMANN

ITAS, ITE (etr., Idas) → Apollon/Aplu 20\*, → Dioskouroi/Tinias cliniar 83\*, → Marpessa, → Palamedes

## ITHAIMENES

(*Ἰθαίμηνος*) Guerrier grec figurant dans l'*Ilioupersis* de Polygnote de Thasos dans la Leshé des Cnidiens à Delphes (Paus. 10, 25, 3).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., EAA IV (1961) 276 s. v. «Ithaimenes»; Stoll, H. W., ML II 1 (1890-94) 565 s. v. «Ithaimenes».

I. Peinture murale (disparue) représentant l'*Ilioupersis*. Delphes, Leshé des Cnidiens. Œuvre de Polygnote de Thasos. - Robert, C., *Die Ilioupersis des Polygnote*, 17. *HallwPr* (1893) 3. 20. 38-39; Weizsäcker, P., *Polygnots Gemälde in der Lesche der Knidier in Delphi* (1895) 19; Papachatzis, Paus. *Boiotika*, *Phokika* 397. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Pausanias mentionne dans sa description «un certain» I. parmi les Grecs qui s'affairent autour des bateaux. I. se trouvait en dessous de → Phrontis et il transportait un vêtement (*χομίζων ἐσθῆτα*).

Ce document est le seul témoignage connu sur cet I., qu'il convient de ne pas confondre avec le Troyen I., père de Sthénélaos (Hom. II. 16, 586).

JEAN-ROBERT GISLER

## ITOVIA

Unbekannte Frauengestalt, so benannt auf einer Münze eines unbekannten Prägeortes.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Conticello, B., EAA IV (1961) 276 s. v. «Itovia»; Drexler, W., ML II 1 (1890-94) 569 s. v. «Itovia».

I. AE, As oder Dupondius (nach RIC) oder Sesterz (nach BMC), barbarisch, Faustina I. († 141 n. Chr.). - RIC III 170, 1204; BMC Emp IV 257. - Rs.: Nach I. stehende Frau, Weintrauben und Knotenstock haltend. ITOVIA S. C.

Die Münze wurde wohl in Germanien oder Gallien geprägt. Die Legende ITOVIA dürfte sich auf die abgebildete Figur beziehen. Wenn die Beischrift auf diesem Unikum richtig wiedergegeben worden ist, läßt sie auf alle Fälle bisher keine genaue Deutung zu.

Da die Figur aber mit spezifischen Attributen ausgestattet wurde, ist es durchaus möglich, daß es sich hier um eine Gestalt der keltischen oder germanischen Mythologie handelt.

RAINER VOLKKOMMER

ITYLOS, ITYS → Prokne et Philomela

## IUCUNDITAS

Personifikation der freundlichen Gesinnung und der Liebenswürdigkeit. Das Bedeutungsfeld des Begriffes *iucunditas* umfaßt einerseits die geistige Haltung und innere Veranlagung eines Menschen, die sich in gutem und rechtem Benehmen äußert, andererseits den *terminus technicus* einer bestimmten Art und Weise des Sprechens und Schreibens. Auch zur Bestimmung äußerer Annehmlichkeiten wird der Begriff verwandt (z. B. *iucunditas urbis*).

Enge Beziehungen bestehen zu *gaudium*, *hilaritas* (→ Hilaritas), *laetitia* (→ Laetitia).

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Zum Begriff *iucunditas* s. ThLL VII 589-590 s. v. «iucunditas».

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Gnechi, F., *I tipi monetari di Roma imperiale* (1907) 71-72; Köhler, W., EAA IV (1961) 276-277 s. v. «iucunditas»; Steudinger, H., ML II 1 (1890-94) 573 s. v. «iucunditati Aug».

### Münzen

I. AR Denar, Antiochia(?), Severus Alexander (222-235 n. Chr.), Unikum. - RIC IV 2, 92, 280; BMC Emp VI 219, 1073 (dort mit falscher Vs.-Legende und Orientierung der Rs. nach l. statt richtig nach r.). - Rs.: Nach r. sitzende weibliche Gestalt mit Globus (Apfel?) und Szepter. Legende: IVCVNDITATI AVG.

## KOMMENTAR

In der Ikonographie der Münzprägung der römischen Kaiserzeit singuläre Darstellung einer sitzenden weiblichen Gestalt als Personifikation der I. Eine sinnvolle Verbindung zwischen Darstellung und Legende erscheint problematisch.

Die Beschreibung des von Gnechi 72 und BMC Emp VI 219 als irregulär angesehenen, offensichtlich uniken Stückes geht zurück auf eine bei Cohen, H., *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain* (1880-1892) IV 412 Nr. 105 aufgeführte Münze aus der heute nicht mehr existierenden Privatsammlung Dancoisne in St. Omer/Pas-de-Calais (Frankreich). Das Stück gehört mit Sicherheit nicht zu den offiziellen Produkten einer römischen Reichsmünzstätte, sondern scheint den Lokalprägungen des griechischen Ostens zuzuweisen zu sein. Zur Frage der in dieser Region tätigen Münzstätten in der ersten

Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. vgl. BMC Emp VI 83 ff. Im Rahmen der historischen Ereignisse könnte die Münze zu Ehren von Severus Alexander ausgebracht worden sein (Rs.-Legende im dedizierenden Dativ), der sich im Vorfeld seiner militärischen Operationen gegen die Perser im Winter 232 n. Chr. in Antiochia am Orontes aufhielt.

Die diesem Stück entsprechende ikonographische Darstellung einer nach rechts sitzenden weiblichen Gestalt mit Globus (Apfel?) und Szepter findet sich auf zwei Prägungen des Elagabal für Julia Paula (219-220 n. Chr.) vom Typ VENVS GENETRIX aus den Münzstätten Rom (BMC Emp V 555, 177 Taf. 88, 15) und Antiochia (BMC Emp V 583, 323-325 Taf. 92, 14). Die von Köhler 277 hergestellte Verbindung zwischen I. und kaiserlichen Munera ist denkbar, jedoch nicht zweifelsfrei zu beweisen. Unrichtig hingegen seine Aussage, daß LAETITIA PVBLICA auf Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit stets mit den gleichen Attributen abgebildet sei.

Eine Weihinschrift an die Musen, Flora und I., aufgrund welcher bei Forcellini VI 77 (s. v. «Laetitia») ein öffentlicher Kult in der Antike angenommen wird, ist modern (CIL V Falsae 415\*; Franzoni, L., «Le origini della raccolta epigrafica...», in *L'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona e il suo teatro* [1982] 68 und Anm. 36 Abb.).

Vollständig gesicherte bildliche Darstellungen der I. als Personifikation sind somit in der griechisch-römischen Antike nicht faßbar.

HEINZ-JOACHIM SCHULZKI

## IUDAEA

(*Ἰουδαία*, Iudaea) Personifikation des jüdischen Volkes und der röm. Provinz.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Barag, D., «The Palaestian (Judea Capta) Coins of Vespasian and Titus...», NC 1978, 14-23; Brin, H. B., *Cat. of Judaea Capta Coinage* (1986), unkritische Materialsammlung; Hart, H. St. J., «Judea and Rome, the Official Commentary», *Journal of Theological Studies* 1952, 172-198; Kraay, C. M., «The IVDAEA CAPTA Sestertii of Vespasian», *Israel Numismatic Journal* 1, 1963, 45-46; Lederer, Ph., «Über eine Judaea-Münze», ZfN 40, 42-57; Mattingly, H., BMC Emp II (1930) xxxiii. xxxv. xlv. lxxvi; BMC Emp III (1936) clxxix-clxxx; Mildenberg, L., *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War* (Typos VI, 1984) 92-93. 97-99; Strack, *Reichsprägung II* (1933) 162-163; Toynbee, J. M. C., *The Hadrianic School* (1934) 117-121.

## KATALOG

Münzen der späten Republik und der Kaiserzeit

### A. Trauernde Iudaea zu Füßen eines Tropaeums

I.\* AE, Zakyntos, C. Sosius Imperator, 36 v. Chr. - Bahrfeldt, M., *JArchNum* 11, 1908, 217 Taf. 13, 3. 4; BMC Rep II 508, 146 Taf. 114, 9. - Rs.: Tropaeum; l. kauende I., Kopf auf die l. Hand gestützt, r. gefesselt

ter gefangener Jude, zum Tropaeum aufblickend. Inschrift C. *SOSIVS IMP.* (Vs. Kopf des M. Antonius)

2.\* AU Aurei, AR Denare, Rom, Vespasian, Ende 70 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 5, 31 Taf. 1, 10–12; Mazzini, G., *Monete imperiali romane I* (1957) Taf. 71, 225; Robertson, *Hunter I* Taf. 31, 16; 32, 19. – Rs.: Unter einem Tropaeum I. nach r. kauern, Kopf verschleiert, Kinn auf die l. Hand gestützt. Im Segment *IVDAEA*.

3.\* AU Aurei, AR Denare, Rom, Vespasian, 79 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 44, 245–248 Taf. 7, 13–15. – Kleine I., Kopf aufgestützt, unter großem Tropaeum, an das Victoria einen Rundschild aufhängt.

4.\* AU und AR, Rom, Titus, 80 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 230, 36–41 Taf. 45, 4. – Tropaeum zwischen trauernder I. und gefesseltem Juden.

5.\* AE As, Tarraco(?), Titus Caesar, 71 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 192, 791 Taf. 36, 6. – Unter einem Tropaeum kauert die gefesselte I. Inschrift *IVDEA CAPTA, SC.*

6.\* AE, Lokalprägung in Judäa, Titus Caesar, um 72 n. Chr. – Barag Taf. 3, 5; BMC Palestine 276–277 Taf. 31, 2; Kindler, A., *Coins of the Land of Israel* (1974) 108, 164. – Tropaeum zwischen Schild und kniender gefesselter I. Inschrift *IOYΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ*.

#### B. Stehende Iudaea neben Palmbaum

7.\* AU Aurei, AR Denare, Lugdunum(?), Vespasian, 70–71 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 79, 388–391 Taf. 13, 8, 9; Auktion Glendining London 1951 Ryan Coll., 1684 (Aureus); Hart Taf. 1, 18. – Gefesselte I. steht nach l. neben Palmbaum. Inschrift *IVDAEA DEVICTA*.

#### C. Trauernde Iudaea zu Füßen eines Palmbaums

8. AU Aureus, Rom(?), Vespasian, 70–71 n. Chr. – Auktion Glendining Ryan, a. O. 7, 1685; Hart Taf. 1, 19. – I. von Waffen umgeben. *IVDAEA CAPTA*.

9.\* AE As, Rom, Vespasian, 70–71 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 131, 604–608 Taf. 23, 10, 11; Hart Taf. 3, 10–13. – Wie 8, mit verschiedenen Waffen, Inschrift *IVDAEA* (oder *IVDEA*) *CAPTA, SC.* – Varianten: AE As, Vespasian und Titus Caesar, Rom, 77–78 n. Chr. BMC Emp II 173 § Taf. 30, 4 (Vespasian); 213–214, 862–865 Taf. 42, 1 (Titus).

10.\* AE Semis, östliche Münzstätte(?), Titus, 79–81 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 279, 259 Taf. 53, 9; Sutherland, C. H. V., NC 1944 Taf. 1, 15. – Trauernde I. kauert nach l. unter Palmbaum, daneben Waffen. Inschrift *IVD CAP, (S)-C.*

#### D. Gefesselte Iudaea zu Füßen eines Palmbaums

11.\* AU Aurei, AR Denare, Rom, Vespasian, Ende 70 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 6, 43 Taf. 1, 13; MuM Auktion 28, 1964, 301 (Aureus); Robertson, *Hunter I* Taf. 32, 20; Sotheby Zürich Auktion Metropolitan Mus. 1972, 59 (Aureus). – Zu Füßen eines Palmbaums kauert I., die Hände am Rücken gefesselt, nach r. Im Segment *IVDAEA*.

11a) AE As, spanische Münzstätte(?), Vespasian, Ende 70–71 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 181 §, Taf. 32, 1 (Unikum, Wien). – Wie 11. Im Segment *IVD CAPT, S-C.*

#### E. Palmbaum zwischen trauernder Iudaea und gefesseltem gefangenen Juden

12.\* AE Sesterzen, Rom, Vespasian und Titus Caesar, Ende 70–72 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 115–116, 533–539 Taf. 20, 4–7; 117, 142 Taf. 20, 9; 185, 761–765 Taf. 33, 1–4; Hart Taf. 3, 2–6; Robertson, *Hunter I* Taf. 34, 90. – Zahlreiche Varianten: I. sitzt nach l. oder r., ihr Begleiter schaut sich manchmal um, viele Varianten auch in den umgebenden Waffen. Inschrift *IVDAEA* (oder *IVDEA*) *CAPTA, SC.*

13.\* AE Sesterzen, Rom, Titus, 80–81 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 256–257, 164–170 Taf. 48, 8–10; Hart Taf. 3, 7–9; Robertson, *Hunter I* Taf. 45, 40; Toynbee Taf. 17, 1–3. – Ähnlich 12, mit verschiedenen Stellungen von I. und dem Gefangenen. Inschrift *IVD-CAP, S-C.*

#### F. Palmbaum zwischen der trauernden Iudaea und dem Kaiser

14.\* AE Sesterzen, Rom, Vespasian, Ende 70–71 n. Chr. – BMC Emp. 117, 543–546, Taf. 20, 8, 10; Hart Taf. 3, 1; Mazzini, a. O. 2, Taf. 71, 239; Robertson, *Hunter I* Taf. 34, 91; Toynbee Taf. 17, 11. – Trauernde I. nach r. zu Füßen des Palmbaums, l. die große Gestalt des Kaisers, in Panzer, auf Lanze gestützt, in der Linken Parazonium, Fuß auf Helm. Inschrift *IVDAEA CAPTA, S-C.* – Varianten: BMC Emp II 140, 631 Taf. 25, 1 (Titus Caesar); 196, 796; 197, 806; 202, 812 Taf. 37, 1, 7; 39, 1, gallische Münzstätten, 71–72 n. Chr.; BMC Emp II 206, 826 Taf. 40, 1, Rom, 77–78 n. Chr.

15.\* AU Aurei, AR Denare, Rom, Vespasian und Titus Caesar, 70–71 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 14, 78–15, 85, Taf. 2, 10, 14; Hart Taf. 1, 20; Mazzini, a. O. 2, Taf. 78, 644; Robertson, *Hunter I* Taf. 32, 35, 36. – Ähnlich 14, ohne Inschrift. – Varianten östlicher Münzstätten: BMC Emp II 107, 511 Taf. 18, 20.

#### G. Victoria an Palmbaum, zu dessen Füßen trauernde Iudaea

16.\* AE Sesterz, Rom oder spanische Münzstätte, Vespasian, 70–71 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 126, 582–585; 191, 785 Taf. 36, 1; Hart Taf. 2, 4, 5; Mazzini, a. O. 2, Taf. 78, 725; Toynbee Taf. 17, 12. – Victoria halbnackt nach r.; sie schreibt auf einen Rundschild, der an Palmbaum befestigt ist; zu Füßen des Palmbaums die kleine Figur der trauernden I. nach r. Inschrift: *VICTORIA AVGVSTI, SC.* – Varianten: BMC Emp II 184 \* Taf. 32, 5; Toynbee Taf. 17, 13. Inschrift *DEVICTA IVDAEA, SC.*; Hart Taf. 2, 2; 4; I. sitzt unter dem Schild nach l. auf Waffen.

#### H. Iudaea und Jude als Schutzflehende vor dem Kaiser

17.\* AE Sesterz, Rom, Vespasian und Titus Caesar, 72–73 n. Chr. – BMC Emp II 147, 652 Taf. 26, 2; Hart Taf. 4, 1, 2; Lederer Taf. 2, 1, 2; Mildenberg 93 Abb. 15; Toynbee Taf. 16, 17, 18. – Der geharnischte Kaiser steht nach l., Fuß auf Prora, in der Rechten kleine Victoria, die Linke auf Lanze gestützt; vor ihm kniet ein Jude und steht I., beide mit bittflehender Gebärde. L. Palmbaum. Inschrift nur SC.

#### I. Iudaea opfert vor dem Kaiser, von Kindern umgeben

18.\* AE, Sesterzen und Asse, Rom, Hadrian, 130–132 n. Chr. – BMC Emp III 493, 1655–1661 Taf. 91, 14; 92, 8, 9; Hart Taf. 5, 1–4; Toynbee Taf. 5, 1–3. – I. als verschleierte Frau tritt nach l. vor einen Feueraltar, über den sie das Trankopfer ausgießt. Sie ist begleitet von zwei oder drei Knaben, die Zweige halten. Am Altar manchmal ein Opfertier. Von l. tritt der Kaiser in Toga heran, mit sprechender Gebärde. Inschrift *ADVENTVI AVGVSTAEAE, SC.* – Variante: Inschrift *IVDAEA* im Segment, S-C; BMC Emp III 512, 1757 Taf. 95, 3; Hart Taf. 5, 7.

#### J. Iudaea kniet vor dem Kaiser, von Kindern umgeben

19.\* AE Sesterz, Rom, Hadrian, 130–132 n. Chr. – Auktion Christie London 1949 Fitzwilliam-Wentworth 128; Hart Taf. 5; 6; Strack Taf. 14, 719; Toynbee Taf. 5, 7. – Der Kaiser als Restitutor hebt die nach l. kniende I. auf; sie ist von drei kleinen Knaben begleitet, die Zweige halten.

#### K. Fälschlich als Iudaea bezeichnet

20. Panzerstatue eines flavischen Kaisers, Sabratha, Mus. – Caputo, G., *QuadLibia I*, 1950, Taf. 4; Niemeyer, H. G., *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der röm. Kaiser* (1968) Taf. 14, 1; Stemmer, K., *Untersuchungen zur Typologie ... der Panzerstatuen* (1978) Taf. 38, 1, 2. – Auf dem Panzer drei Figuren: Victoria schreibt auf Rundschild, der an Palmbaum befestigt ist. Neben dem Palmbaum gefesselter Gefangener. Unten auf Waffen liegende Gestalt in Tunica und Hosen, mit langen Haaren, die Hand schutzflehend erheben. Sie ist männlich, kann also nicht I. darstellen.

#### KOMMENTAR

Trauernde weibliche Gestalten zu Füßen eines Tropaeum kennt schon die klassisch-griechische Kunst, so z. B. eine Basis von der Athener Akropolis, Akr. 4071, um 410/400, Dörig, J., in *Festschr. H. Bloesch, Antik Beih.* 9 (1973) Taf. 8, 1 (Hinweis T. Hölscher). Aus dieser Tradition heraus erwächst in der römischen Ikonographie die Allegorie der besiegten Völkerschaft oder Nation. Auf Münzen ist sie vorgebildet in der Triumphserie Julius Caesars, 47–45 v. Chr., Crawford, *RRC* 468.

Auf I. zu beziehen ist das frühe Beispiel 1. C. Sosius, Parteigänger Marc Antons, später Stifter des Tempels des Apollo Sosianus in Rom, hatte 37 v. Chr. im Konflikt des Herodes I. gegen Antigonus Mattathias Jerusalem erobert und einen Triumph erhalten. Offen muß bleiben, ob die weibliche Gestalt unter dem Tropaeum der Prägung von Zakynthos eine «gefangene Jüdin» oder die Personifikation I. meint. Auf dieses Problem, d. h. auf die verwischenden Grenzen zwischen Repräsentantin und Personifikation eines Volkes in der römischen Kunst hat E. Künzl s. v. → Germania, *LIMC* IV 184, hingewiesen.

Eine breit gefächerte Darstellung der I. bietet die

Münzprägung des Vespasian und des Titus. Die Besiegung Judaeas mit der Vernichtung des jüdischen Aufstandes und der Zerstörung des Tempels in Jerusalem bildet das Hauptthema im Bildprogramm der Reichsprägung der beiden Kaiser. Der Tempel fiel am 26. September 70 n. Chr. Unmittelbar danach setzt in Rom die Bildserie in allen drei Metallen ein, mit den Inschriften *IVDAEA CAPTA, IVDAEA DEVICTA* oder einfach *IVDAEA*. In dem vorstehenden Katalog konnten längst nicht alle Bildvarianten berücksichtigt werden, die für einen bemerkenswerten Bilderreichtum der frühflavischen Münzprägung sprechen. Auch konnten die im BMC Emp II vorgeschlagenen, z. T. nicht mehr aktuellen Lokalisierungen der einzelnen außerrömischen Gepräge nicht aufgeführt werden. Dieses Bildprogramm enthält nicht nur Darstellungen der I., sondern viele andere Bilder, die den Sieg über Judaea feiern: Victorien, Triumphwagen, Tropaea (z. T. mit Inschrift *DE IVDAEIS*), Palmen usw. Interessanterweise wird auch das Schema I. unter Tropaeum in die lokale Münzprägung in Palästina aufgenommen (6, mit der griechischen Übersetzung von *IVDAEA CAPTA*), wo man doch bislang Rücksicht auf die Bilderfeindschaft der Juden in der Münzprägung genommen hatte. Im übrigen hat der Vasall Roms Agrippa II. Siegesbilder in seine lokalen Münzmissionen aufgenommen (Barag Taf. 4, 13–15; Kindler, a. O. 6, 59. 60. 63), allerdings nicht Darstellungen der I.

Titus als Augustus läßt noch einmal auf seinen Sesterzen die Erinnerung an den Sieg über Judaea aufleben, 80–81 n. Chr. (13). Unter Domitian wird dieses Bildprogramm von Prägungen auf dessen Germanensiege abgelöst, die sich ikonographisch an das Modell der *IVDAEA CAPTA*-Prägungen halten. So halte ich es mit G. Ch. Picard, *Les trophées romains* (1957) 358, für wahrscheinlich, daß das Relief auf der Panzerstatue in Sabratha (20) auf die Germanensiege Domitians zu beziehen ist, und nicht auf die *IVDAEA CAPTA*, wie oft behauptet wird.

Mit den Prägungen Hadrians (18, 19) ändert sich die Tonart in der Darstellung der I. vollkommen. Sie erscheint nicht mehr als Gefesselte, Trauernde oder Schutzflehende, sondern als verschleierte Opfernde. Hadrian hatte um 130 n. Chr. anstelle von Jerusalem die Colonia Aelia Capitolina gegründet. Auf dieses Ereignis bezieht sich die Darstellung. Sie unterscheidet sich in wesentlichen Zügen von der großen Serie der Adventus-Prägungen Hadrians der anderen Provinzen. Hier treten die Knaben als «die junge Proles» auf, «die in dem Lande aufwächst, nicht aber die jüdische, sondern die der griechischen Kolonisten» (Strack 162). Strack hat allerdings verkannt, daß die Iudaea-Prägungen Hadrians vor und nicht nach dem Barkochba-Aufstand (132–135 n. Chr.) geprägt wurden. Nach der Vernichtung dieses Aufstandes wurde die Provinz Iudaea zur Provinz Syria-Palaestina geschlagen und seitdem nicht mehr erwähnt. So erscheint sie z. B. nicht mehr im Provinzenprogramm der Münzprägung des Antoninus Pius.

HERBERT A. CAHN



IULIUS → Menses

IULUS → Askanios

## IUNAM

Une des sept divinités figurées sur le relief des Dii Mauri de Vaga (→ Mauri dei).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: *AEpigr* 1948, 114 (inscr.); Ben Abdallah, Z., dans *De Carthage à Kairouan*, cat. exp. Paris, Petit Palais (1982-83) 113-114 fig. 161; Bénabou, M., *La résistance africaine à la romanisation* (1976) 296-301; Camps, G., «L'inscription de Béja et le problème des Dii Mauri», *RAfr* 98, 1954, 234-258; idem, *Berberes: aux marges de l'histoire* (1980) 212-215, 227-228 fig. 95; Decret, F./Fantar, M. H., *L'Afrique du Nord dans l'Antiquité* (1981) 263-264; Février, J. G., *BullArchCTH* 1949, 649-655; Lambert, N., «Cultes septénaires en Afrique du Nord», dans *Actes du 79<sup>e</sup> Congr. nat. des Soc. sav.*, Alger (1954) 207-236 fig. 3; Merlin, A., «Divinités indigènes sur un bas-relief romain de la Tunisie», *CRAI* 1947, 355-371; 357 fig. 1; Picard, G. Ch., *Les religions de l'Afrique romaine* (1954) 22-25 fig. 1; Salomonson, W., *Mosaïques romaines de Tunisie* n° 48 pl. 41.

I. (= Bonchor I\*) Bas-relief rectangulaire. - Tunis, Bardo 3195. De Béja (*Vaga*), Tunisie. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Les divinités sont juxtaposées, de face, sous une tenture qui paraît évoquer une tente et qui est suspendue en festons à trois palmiers. Ces arbres, ainsi que d'autres, émergent à l'arrière-plan, où ils font penser à un jardin ou une oasis. Devant la draperie de la tenture, derrière les personnages, sont fichées de hautes lances qui délimitent les sept compartiments occupés par les divinités. Quatre sont assises. La cinquième est debout. Aux extrémités les deux dernières sont des cavaliers figurés debout derrière leur monture tournée de profil vers le centre. Au-dessous sur un bandeau est gravée une inscription de deux lignes qui fournit les noms des sept divinités. *Iunam* désigne le dieu cavalier de l'extrême dr. Vêtu d'un manteau attaché par une fibule, il se dresse derrière un cheval harnaché avec muserolle et tête et couvert par une housse (*ephippium*) aux arçons bien marqués. Dans ce dieu cavalier comme dans celui qui lui fait pendant à l'extrême g. (sous le nom de → Macurtam), on peut sans doute reconnaître des dieux numides influencés par le groupe des Dioscures (→ Dioskouroi/Castores), voire assimilés à ceux-ci, et donc les interpréter comme l'expression romanisée de traditions religieuses indigènes.

MARCEL LE GLAY

IUNIUS → Menses

IUNO/UNI → Uni

## IUNO

Divinità forse di origine latino-faliska, e comunque originaria dell'Italia centrale. La testimonianza di Varrone accrediterebbe un'origine sabina del culto a Roma (*l.l.* 5, 74): Tito Tazio avrebbe votato un altare a Lucina (probabilmente Iuno Lucina). Allo stesso Tito Tazio era attribuita la dedica di mense a Iuno nelle *curiae* (Dion. Hal. *ant.* 2, 50, 3). Sempre Varrone (*l.l.* 5, 158) ricorda che sul Quirinale, sede dei Sabini, era il Capitolium Vetus dove era un sacello dedicato a Iuppiter, Iuno e Minerva, più antico del santuario Capitolino. Si potrebbe aggiungere a queste testimonianze la curiosa circostanza che il santuario di Iuno Moneta fu eretto sull'Arce, dove era il palazzo del re Tito Tazio (Plut. *Rom.* 20, 5; Solinus I, 21).

La vecchia ipotesi di una possibile origine etrusca secondo l'equazione *Uni-Iūnō*, è ormai superata in quanto, a livello linguistico, è stato ribadito con convincenti argomentazioni che il latino non aggiunge una *i-* ad una vocale iniziale. Al contrario, la perdita della *i-* iniziale nel passaggio alla lingua etrusca è più volte attestata.

Iuno deriva dalla parola proto-indoeuropea *h<sub>2</sub>ieuh<sub>2</sub>on-* che vuol dire «persona vitale; giovane», da cui il latino *iuvenis*. Dalla forma più antica del teonimo, *\*Iūnī*, caduta in disuso già all'epoca dei primi testi indigeni, deriva il nome del mese Iunius. È possibile che i due teonimi siano coesistiti per un certo periodo di tempo, e che uno di essi sia stato adoperato come pendant femminile di Genius.

In origine, quindi, il culto è indipendente da quello greco di Hera, e la divinità rappresenta la funzione femminile di contro a quella maschile espressa da Genius; anzi, per maggiore precisione, la dea in origine proteggerebbe la giovane donna in età di generare. Di qui una delle sue funzioni basilari, attestata da numerose epiclesi (Cinxia, Unxia, Pronuba, Iugalis nel campo del matrimonio; Fluona, in quello della sessualità; Lucina in quello del parto).

A Iuno erano dedicate a Roma le calende di ogni mese, così come a Iuppiter erano dedicate le idi. La dea presiede, quindi, agli inizi; memoria di una fase precalendariale (c. d. calendario numano), quando l'inizio del mese coincideva con la luna nuova e tutto il mese era collegato alle fasi lunari, cui erano a loro volta collegati i cicli femminili (altra epiclesi della dea era Covella, collegato talvolta a *cavus* (la luna cava è la luna nuova) o a *\*covere-cavere* «sviare», su una base *\*coven-dla*).

È ormai possibile ipotizzare che il trasferimento del culto in Etruria fosse già attestato nel VII sec. a. C., se la documentazione proveniente dai recenti scavi sull'acropoli di Tarquinia offre, come sembra, testimonianza del nome Uni (Chiaramonte Treré, C., *Gli Etruschi di Tarquinia* [cat. Milano 1986] 178 ss.; eadem, *Tarquinia: ricerche e prospettive*, a cura di Bonghi Jovino M./Chiaramonte Treré, C. [1987] 79 ss.; Torelli 1987).

L'ipotesi che a Tarquinia sia giunto il culto laurentino di Iuno Kalendaria (su cui Macr. *Sat.* I 15, 18-19), analogo forse a quello romano di Iuno Co-

vella, potrebbe aprire, se adeguatamente fondata, un campo nuovo alle indagini sulle origini latine della dea.

Sotto l'aspetto di divinità protettrice della fecondità muliebre il culto di Iuno è collegato molto spesso, nelle fasi più antiche, con quello di altre divinità con funzione salutare o afferenti alla sfera della procreazione. In un santuario recentemente indagato a Fontanile di Legnisina presso Vulci, è attestata la presenza del culto di Uni (Colonna, G., *BollArte* 48, 1988, 23 ss.), di Vei-Demetra, e anche di Apollo (statuetta in terracotta): vd. Massabò, B./Ricciardi, E., *BollArte* 48, 1988, 27 ss., spec. 32 ss. Il deposito votivo, riferibile ad un culto connesso con la sfera della riproduzione e delle nascite, è testimone esemplare di complessi raggruppamenti finora scarsamente analizzati nella loro polivalenza, dove l'aspetto salutare (Apollo medico, il cui culto ha ricevuto ampia diffusione nell'Italia centrale tirrenica [da ultimo Costantini, S., *La romanizzazione dell'Etruria: il territorio di Vulci*, a cura di Carandini, A., cat. Orbetello 1985, 74. Su tale valenza, e sul rapporto Apollo-Iuno, ha un certo interesse un rituale greco, forse di origine orientale, che collega Apollo con la luna nuova e con il settimo giorno del mese [ad es. a Sparta: Hdt. 6, 57, 2. Vd. Burkert, W., «Rešep-Figures, Apollon von Amyklai und die Erfindung des Opfers auf Cypern», *GrazBeitr* 4, 1977, 51 ss.]) è connesso a quello della fertilità e della iniziazione maschile e femminile. L'argomento, direttamente affiancato al complesso problema delle triadi, va comunque indagato più a fondo.

Ma le funzioni di Iuno vanno ben oltre la protezione delle donne in età mestruale. Come testimonia l'importante sacrificio di agnelle nella Regia ad opera della moglie del *rex sacrorum*, o la cerimonia religiosa offerta a Giunone dal *pontifex minor* nella curia Calabra (la correzione sul testo di Macrob. *Sat.* I, 15, 19 di *Iunoni* in *Iano* [Dury-Moyaers/Renard 183] non mi pare dimostrata), o ancora l'offerta di mense a Iuno Curitis nelle curie da parte di Tito Tazio, pare di intravedere fin dalle origini una valenza politica della dea, protettrice della gioventù atta alle armi, e quindi in possesso dei requisiti politici di accesso alle curie.

Di qui alcune epiclesi ben attestate in ambiente italico: Iuno Populona (da *populus* nell'accezione di gioventù atta alle armi) e, secondo una possibile interpretazione, Iuno Curitis (da *curiae* o forse da *\*co-uiria*, cioè «uomini raccolti in comunità»).

Di questo particolare aspetto di Iuno offre importantissima testimonianza la festa dei Lupercalia che avveniva il 15 febbraio. Il mese stesso era dedicato a Iuno (il 1 febbraio era, certo non casualmente, il *dies natalis* del tempio di Iuno Sospita nel Foro Olitorio); e secondo alcune fonti Iuno Februalis presiedeva alla festa nella quale i luperci, correndo seminudi, colpivano le donne con una frusta composta da strisce di pelle di capra («*amiculum Iunonis*») (Paul. *Festi* p. 75-76 L.). La cerimonia aveva la funzione di purificare («*februare*») il popolo e la cittadella del Palatino (Varro *l.l.* 6, 34). Si trattava, secondo la più comune opinione, di un rito d'adolescenza, destinato a quei giovani che, ormai acquisita la virilità e distaccati dall'infanzia, erano in

grado di assumere gli attributi civili per entrare in modo definitivo nell'età adulta. Ma il rito era destinato anche alle donne, pronte a farsi colpire dalla frusta dei luperci per fuggire la sterilità. Mi sembra che Sabatucci colga nel segno quando ricorda che le donne «non debbono sottrarsi alla sessualità naturale in nome di una civile ma sterile castità, e, d'altra parte, i luperci sono la sessualità naturale personificata». Qui il rapporto con Iuno è esplicito; come è evidente, allo stesso modo, il valore politico della festa che individua il passaggio da uno stadio in cui la collettività è priva di una struttura sociale ad un'associazione civile fondata su regole comuni.

Entra in tal modo nell'analisi una seconda funzione di Iuno, solo apparentemente diversificata dalla prima. Si tratta in realtà di due aspetti complementari, ambedue riportabili alla difesa delle strutture portanti di ogni società: la riproduzione e la nascita da un lato, la formazione militare e politica dei giovani dall'altra, ambedue strumenti per la sopravvivenza della comunità civile. Ma il tema andrebbe approfondito cercando di individuare, ove possibile, la valenza primitiva del culto, dalla quale potrebbero essere scaturite le due funzioni.

Sotto tale aspetto, la funzione poliadica originaria di Iuno Regina a Veio, poi trasferita a Roma sull'Aventino, di Iuno Sospita a Lanuvio e di Iuno Curitis a Falerii (ed a Tivoli) assume un valore particolare. Se della prima conosciamo figurativamente assai poco, della seconda gli attributi bellici, scudo di tipo minoico-miceneo «ad otto», lancia, una sorta di egida di pelle di capro che copre anche il capo, la collegano, in certo senso, con la greca *poliouchos*, epiclesi comune sia ad Hera che ad Athena. Sarà anche vero che in origine la pelle di capro potesse essere simbolo di fertilità ed andasse riferita ad una società contraddistinta da un'economia pastorale. Ma l'immagine che di questa Iuno ci viene offerta in età storica è simile a quella di una *promachos*, la dea che accompagna i giovani nelle attività belliche, e la *nebris* assume la stessa funzione dell'egida.

Qui il rapporto tra Hera, principalmente Hera Argiva, e Iuno diventa più stretto.

Le fonti letterarie testimoniano con grande frequenza una diffusione del culto di Hera Argiva in Italia, dal Sele fino alla regione dei Veneti. La Sospita di Lanuvio è chiamata «Hera Argolis» (Ail. *nat.* I 1, 16); la Curitis di Tivoli «Iuno Argeia» (CIL XIV 3556); la Curitis di Falerii è detta «Hera Argeia» oppure «Iuno Argiva» (Dion. Hal. *ant.* I, 21, 1-2; Ov. *am.* 3, 13, 31). Le testimonianze sono troppo ampie per essere casuali.

Il culto di Iuno Curitis a Falerii aveva fortissime affinità con quello di Hera ad Argo (Dion. Hal. *ant.* I, 21, 2); il fatto era interpretato da Dionigi di Alicarnasso come segno di una precisa matrice pelasgica della città (come nel caso di Agylla-Caere, Pisae, Saturnia ed Alsium: Dion. Hal. *ant.* I, 20, 5). Si spiegavano in tal modo l'uso di armi belliche di tipo «argolico», la particolare struttura dei templi falisci e le immagini dei loro dei. Nel caso di Iuno le assonanze tra la Hera di Argo e la Iuno di Falerii andavano oltre: dalle cerimonie del sacrificio, alla funzione di donne consa-

crate al culto, alla funzione della «canephoros», non sposata, destinata a dare l'avvio al sacrificio, ai cori delle vergini. La suggestione di tali informazioni, assai forte, può essere rivista alla luce di altri dati.

«Argivi» erano considerati alcuni santuari di Hera in Magna Grecia. Uno dei più importanti era alle foci del Sele, non lontano da Poseidonia-Paestum. Secondo la tradizione era stato fondato dagli Argonauti capeggiati da Giasone; probabile segno, in chiave mitologica, di una frequentazione dell'area in età micenea, quindi molto prima della fondazione della colonia achea di Poseidonia. La dea del santuario era venerata, secondo una suggestiva ipotesi (Coarelli, F., *Templi dell'Italia antica* [1980] 12 ss.), nel duplice aspetto di dea madre e dea verginale e guerriera (un'iscrizione su una placchetta d'argento rinvenuta nell'Heraion della città, la c.d. Basilica, definisce Hera «protettrice degli archi», quindi delle armi). Aveva un fondamento argivo anche il culto di Hera del santuario di capo Lacinio presso Crotone, fondato da Eracle: la dea era una «Hoplosmia» (Lykophron 856-858).

Alla dea poliadica e guerriera si affianca la dea *kourotrophos*, aspetto complementare che nella maggioranza dei casi testimoniati prende il sopravvento, mentre la funzione bellica è trasferita su altre divinità.

Ma non mancano, anche in madrepatria, testimonianze essenziali sulla molteplice valenza della dea. Ad Elis essa era *Hoplosmia*, come a Crotone. A Platea la dea aveva nel suo tempio due statue, una come *Nymphuomene*, «la giovane che sta per diventare sposa», l'altra come *Teleia*, «la perfetta», «l'onnipotente» nella specifica accezione di pronuba (Paus. 9, 2, 7). A Stymphalos, la città arcadica sede di miti eraclei, Hera aveva tre templi, come *Pais*, «la fanciulla», come *Teleia*, «la perfetta», e come *Chera*, «la vedova» (Pind. O. 6, 88; Paus. 8, 22, 2). Ad Hermione in Argolide la dea era *Parthenos*, «la vergine» (Aristocles [Aristoteles?], *FGH* 436 F 1; Steph. Byz. s. v. *Ἐρμιών*). Si mescolano funzioni differenti, e la dea armata trova posto a fianco alla dea che, forse per un traslato più tardo, protegge le tre età della donna.

Si potrebbe supporre, per chiarire i termini della polivalenza della divinità, che in origine Hera fosse una divinità generatrice, ma di una natura intatta e non ancora resa abitabile dall'intervento dell'uomo; una posizione sotto alcuni aspetti antitetica a quella di Demetra che invece è protettrice della fertilità e della terra coltivata e delle produzioni non spontanee ma dovute al lavoro umano (sarebbe in tal modo interpretabile la comune presenza di Uni e di Vei nel santuario di Fontanile di Legnisina presso Vulci). Da questa base primordiale, che identifica Hera ad una *potnia theron*, sarebbero scaturite le ulteriori valenze, a partire da quella guerriera e verginale (come Athena).

Ci si domanda, pertanto, se il culto di Iuno in Italia centrale non sia stato già in tempi remoti influenzato dal culto di Hera Argiva e dalla sua originaria duplice funzione (via santuari della Magna Grecia che sembrano proporre una fondazione precoloniale). Sarebbe più concepibile il significato dell'aspetto guerriero, che in fase più tarda sarà trasferito anche in Italia centrale ad altre divinità, a favore di una più specifica fun-

zione «materna». Si spiegherebbero anche gli attributi bellici, ed in particolare lo scudo «ad otto» di Iuno Sospita, che su suolo italico non ha lasciato altre tracce, ove si escludano gli *ancilia* dei Salii conservati nel *sacrum Martis* della Regia). Si potrebbe supporre un'analogia con quelle armi falische di tipo «argolico» ricordate da Dionigi, forse in ambedue i casi residui a carattere puramente rituale della panoplia micenea. Già la dea «palaziale» minoico-micenea della Media Età del Bronzo, la protettrice del sovrano, aveva uno scudo «ad otto» ed impugnava una lancia a guisa di una *promachos* (Nilsson, *GrRel* 1<sup>o</sup> 347 s.; Borchhardt, H., *ArchHom, Kriegswesen* I [1977] E 12 s.). Non necessariamente si deve riconoscere in essa Athena (o il Palladio) in base alla successiva fortunata trasformazione del modello. È probabile invece che una dea armata fosse venerata nei palazzi minoico-micenei con nomi differenti. In Omero, quando è ormai codificata la sua posizione privilegiata nel pantheon olimpico al fianco dello sposo Zeus, Hera è ancora una dea guerriera, con un ampio potere sulle forze cosmiche (Vermeule, E., *ArchHom, Götterkult* [1974] V 82 s.). La tradizione, che la considerava piuttosto *kourotrophos* ma non madre, le attribuiva talvolta, e forse non casualmente, Ares quale figlio.

Mancano, certo, ancora molti anelli alla catena dei rapporti tra Hera e Iuno; e probabilmente l'assimilazione dovette avvenire per gradi, se ancora nel santuario di Gravisca è testimoniato il culto di Hera, ma Uni viene alla ribalta su iscrizioni solo nel IV sec. a. C. (Torelli, M., «Il culto di Hera a Gravisca», *PP* 32, 1977, 435 ss.).

In compenso a Pyrgi le laminette auree di fondazione sono pertinenti al «luogo santo» di Astarte-Uni, con una assimilazione che accomuna la Iuno etrusca con Afrodite Urania (*Die Göttin von Pyrgi. Archäologische, linguistische und religionsgeschichtliche Aspekte*, Koll. Tübingen 1979 [1981]; Dury-Moyaers/Renard 196 ss.; Colonna, G., *Santuari d'Etruria*, cat. Arezzo [1985] 127 ss.). E tuttavia anche in questo caso le fonti greche riconoscono nel santuario una dea dal molteplice aspetto, assimilata talvolta a Leucotea, talaltra ad Ilizia. Mentre la seconda è epiclesi ben nota di Hera Argiva nella sua funzione di protettrice delle nascite, la prima può essere piuttosto collegata con un'iscrizione rinvenuta nei pressi del tempio A in cui si nomina «Thesan che è nel santuario di Uni». Thesan è l'etrusca Eos, imparentata con Mater Matuta che sappiamo essere assimilata a Leucotea. In ambedue i casi siamo in presenza di un tentativo di spiegazione delle complesse funzioni della Uni etrusca da parte greca. La dea sarebbe stata venerata nel tempio A nel suo aspetto matronale e ctonio, affine alla latina Iuno Lucina, mentre nel più antico tempio B avrebbe assunto l'aspetto di Astarte, più simile alla greca Afrodite Urania, dea della natura incontaminata e selvaggia, e contemporaneamente dea guerriera (vedi la presenza di prostitute sacre [scorta *Pyrgensia*: Lucil. frg. 1289 Krenkel], che sono un elemento caratteristico dei santuari di Astarte).

Nel tempo altri elementi più esterni collegarono la divinità greca e quella italica, ad esempio gli attributi, come la fiaccola di Iuno Lucina (identificata con Ilizia

o con Hera Phosphoros: Dion. Hal. 4, 15) ed un fiore simile ad un'iris o ad un giglio (Hera come dea che presiede ai cicli mestruali: Müller/Wieseler, *Denkmäler a. Kunst* 2, 64 c). Un interessante raffronto è offerto dalle antefisse con la testa di Iuno Sospita recentemente scoperte a Satricum; in una serie la dea, in luogo delle più comuni orecchie di capro, mostra orecchie di bue. Si può ricordare la celebre formulazione omerica *βοῶντις* dipendente forse dal modello egiziano di Mut o di Hathor raffigurata con il capo o con le corna di mucca. In età arcaica, su uno specchio egiziano rinvenuto nel santuario di Hera a Perachora, la dea è identificata con Hathor; e l'iscrizione la venera come dea del cielo, datrice di vita e di salute (Payne, H., *Perachora* I 142 tav. 46, 2).

Un ulteriore importante rapporto tra Hera e Iuno può essere dedotto dai più antichi documenti figurati di Iuno Sospita. La dea è raffigurata in combattimento con una divinità maschile che mostra una iconografia simile, con la differenza che la *nebris* è di leone. Si tratta probabilmente di Hercules in lotta con Iuno Sospita. Manca qualsiasi documentazione in merito; ma non si può fare a meno di ricordare il particolare rapporto intercorrente tra Hera ed Herakles (il cui nome, come è ben noto, significherebbe «gloria di Hera»), di cui è rimasta più che una traccia nel mito e nei rituali greci. Secondo la tradizione, il santuario di Hera Lacinia presso Crotone era stato fondato da Eracle; nelle metope del santuario alle foci del Sele le fatiche di Eracle assumono un rilievo specifico. Giustamente è stato osservato che le tappe del viaggio mitico di Eracle in Occidente seguono il percorso miceneo quale esso è testimoniato dalle fonti letterarie e dalla documentazione archeologica; e molto spesso nei siti è stato impiantato il culto di Hera Argiva (Pugliese Carratelli, G., «Culti e dottrine religiose in Magna Grecia», in *Santuari di Magna Grecia, IV ConvMGrecia 1964* [1965] 25 s.; Parisi Presicce). Evidentemente già nel VI sec. a. C. il calco tra Hera e Iuno aveva prodotto l'assimilazione del paretro di Iuno Sospita con Eracle. Va ricordato, a tal proposito, che il binomio Hera-Herakles è attestato anche nel complesso santuario di Pyrgi; e che a Tivoli, importante sede del culto di Iuno Curitis, la divinità poliadica era Hercules Victor (Hallam, *JRS* 21, 1931, 276 ss.; ma anche a Lavinio è attestata su un'iscrizione una dedica a Hercules Sanctus ed a Iuno Sospita: *EphEpigr* IX 605). *Curatores* del suo tempio erano i Salii che in particolari festività danzavano in suo onore (Latte 214 n. 3). Non è noto purtroppo se adoperavano anche in tale occasione gli *ancilia* che avevano la caratteristica forma «ad otto» testimoniata dallo scudo di Iuno Sospita (ma l'uso di tali scudi, per di più con decorazioni a spirali nella più pura tradizione micenea, è testimoniato anche da una pietra incisa fiorentina dove due personaggi — due Salii? — recano in processione, appesi ad una sbarra, un gruppo di *ancilia*: Alföldi, A., *Der frührömische Reiteradel und seine Ehrenabzeichen* [1952] 38 s. fig. 1).

Ancora un altro elemento è rilevante circa i rapporti tra Hera e Iuno. Il rito romano offerto alla dea era greco, *aperto capite*. Il culto alla maniera falisca, anch'esso considerato di derivazione greca, fu introdotto

a Roma forse all'epoca delle guerre puniche (Liv. 21, 62, 8; 22, 1, 17-18; 27, 37). Greco, probabilmente, era anche lo schema del *chorus* composto da 27 fanciulle, come del sacrificio di 27 giovenche bianche (per la nascita di un androgino nel 125 a. C.: Phlegon di Tralles, *FGH* 257, p. 1179-1180). Molte cerimonie del sacrificio per Iuno Regina erano *Graeco ritu* (Maddoli 158 s.).

Camillo, prima della presa di Veio, invocò Apollo Pizio e Iuno Regina (Liv. 5, 21, 2-3). Anche il rapporto tra queste due divinità (collegate anche nel santuario di Fontanile di Legnisina presso Vulci, insieme con Vei-Demetra) meriterebbe forse un'attenzione maggiore; ambedue i culti a Roma, oltre ad essere di rito greco, includono la consultazione dei libri Sibillini da parte dei *decemviri sacris faciundis*, e la rappresentazione di *ludi scaenici* e di gare circensi; inoltre la celebre processione del 27 in onore di Iuno Regina (Liv. 27, 37, 11) prendeva l'avvio dal tempio di Apollo Medico.

V'è forse anche in questo caso memoria di legami più stretti in una fase arcaica, poi ridimensionati in epoca storica, sulla base di una comune matrice purificatoria.

La posizione del santuario principale della dea sull'Aventino rende credibile l'ipotesi di una forte coloritura plebea del culto, almeno nella prima e media età repubblicana. Un'ulteriore prova dell'importante funzione «politica» di Iuno è offerta non solo dalle cerimonie che si svolgevano in suo onore in occasione di gravi calamità pubbliche (come quelle che si svolsero durante la II guerra Punica, forse per placare la dea poliadica di Cartagine assimilata a Iuno Regina e nota con il nome di Caelestis), ma anche dal fatto che il culto era talvolta officiato da sacerdoti maschi, ad esempio nel caso di Iuno Curitis a Faleris dove il sacerdote era detto *pontifex sacrorum* (*CIL* XI 3100. 3125) o in quello di Iuno Covella a Roma.

La tradizione prevalentemente centro-italica del culto è anch'essa ben testimoniata. In tutti i casi conosciuti le epiclesi corrispondono a quelle già attestate a Roma stessa. A Pisaurum è documentato il culto di Iuno Regina e Iuno Lucina (*CIL* I 171-173); ad Aesernia ed a Teanum Sidicinum Iuno Populona (*CIL* IX 2630; X 4789-4791); a Tusculum, Terventum, Capua e Cales Iuno Lucina (*CIL* I 1200 [l'iscrizione, capuana, ricorda un culto a Iuno Lucina secondo i *sacra Tuscolana*]; *CIL* X 4660).

Per informazioni più dettagliate sulle epiclesi Sospita, Caprotina, Regina, Regina Dolichena, Moneta, Lucina, Cur(r)itis, Gabina, Martialis, Caelestis, Pronuba, si rimanda alle introduzioni ai singoli capitoli.

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## I. Culti di Iuno noti da monumenti figurati

## A.1. Iuno Sospita, o Sispes Mater Regina

È così chiamata Iuno venerata principalmente a Lanuvio (*CIL* XIV 2090-2091), nota anche con le epiclesi Sispita, Sospes e, più comunemente, Sospita. Collegato, tramite la radice \*sep-, \*sop- al greco *σώζειν* («assistere», «soccorrere»), l'appellativo definisce la dea come «colei che soccorre», «colei che aiuta» (discussione dell'etimologia in Radke). L'aspetto della dea è perfettamente descritto da Cicerone (*nat.* 1, 29, 82: «... illam vestram Sospitam, quam tu numquam ne in somnis quidem vides nisi cum pelle caprina, cum hasta, cum scutulo, cum calceolis repandis»). Divinità prevalentemente guerriera, quindi, e poliade. Risulta testimoniata, a livello figurativo, a partire dal VI sec. a. C. in Etruria, dove è collegata con Hercules di cui sembra essere la paredra o l'antagonista. Le prime testimonianze in territorio latino risalgono agli inizi del V sec. a. C. (ante-fisse). A Lanuvio aveva un suo *flamen*. Dopo il 338 a. C., quando i Lanuvini ricevettero la *civitas Romana*, il culto divenne comune a Romani e Lanuvini (*Liv.* 8, 14, 2), ed i consoli sacrificavano nel santuario lanuvino della dea ogni anno (*Cic. Mur.* 90). L'importanza del culto è indirettamente testimoniata dai numerosi prodigi avvenuti nel tempio di Lanuvio, e fedelmente riportati dagli annalisti: la lancia della statua di culto che si muove (*Liv.* 21, 62, 4: 218 a. C.); corvi che entrano (*Liv. l.c.*) o nidificano nel tempio (*Liv.* 24, 10, 6: 214 a. C.); la statua che suda sangue (*Liv.* 23, 31, 15: 215 a. C.; *Obseq.* 46: 99 a. C.) o versa lacrime (*Liv.* 40, 19, 2; *Obseq.* 6: 181 a. C.); rumori agghiaccianti nella cella (*Liv.* 29, 14, 3: 204 a. C.; *Obseq.* 12, 6: 200 a. C.). Nel 197 a. C. il console C. Cornelio Cetego, durante i combattimenti contro le popolazioni galliche in Italia Settentrionale, votò un tempio a I. S. (*Liv.* 32, 30, 10), che fu dedicato il 194 a. C. a Iuno Matuta, «colei che porta a buon fine» (*Liv.* 34, 53, 3): non è dubbio che si tratti del tempio stesso di Iuno Sospita (*InscrIt* XIII 2, 405 s.), eretto nel Foro Olitorio, non lontano dalla porta Carmentale. Nel 90 a. C., a seguito di un sogno di una Caecilia Metella (la dea fuggiva dal suo tempio ridotto in condizioni deplorabili: *Cic. div.* 1, 4, 99; *Obseq.* 55), il console L. Iulius rinnovava il tempio. Un ulteriore restauro avvenne probabilmente durante il principato di Tiberio (*Jordan/Hülsem* I 3, 511 ss.; Delbrueck, R., *Die drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium*



[1903]; Hülsen, Ch., *RM* 1906, 169 ss.; Platner/Ashby 291).

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#### Ceramica

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Cf. anche → Herakles/Hercle 363.

#### Metallo

2. (= Herakles/Hercle 150 con bibl.) Anello in oro, etr. Londra, Victoria and Albert Mus. 445-1871. - Reifferscheid, A., *AdI* 1867, 356 s. tav. agg. H, 1; Douglas, E. M., *JRS* 3, 1913, 65 fig. 4. - Sulla fascetta d'oro, ai lati del castone, stanti, I. S. ed Hercules con le braccia sollevate, reggenti i loro rispettivi attributi, il coltello ricurvo(?) e la clava. Ambedue sono ricoperti con nebridi, la dea di capro, l'eroe di leone.

#### Rilievi

3. Rilievo in marmo. Chatsworth House. - Furtwängler, A., *JHS* 21, 1901, 227 n° 16 fig. 9; Reinach, *RépRel* II 445, 2. - Età giulio-claudia. - Testa di I. S. di profilo verso d. con una pelle di capro dalle lunghe corna arcuate sulla testa.

4.\* (= Ares/Mars 291, = Honos 23) Base rotonda in marmo. Roma, Mus. Nuovo del Pal. Cons. 3320. Dall'abbazia di Grottaferrata, poi a Villa Doria Pamphilj. - Köhler, U., *AdI* 1863, 195 ss.; EA 2361-2365; Hornbostel, W., *JdI* 87, 1972, 367 ss.; Calza, R., *Ant. Villa Doria Pamphilj* (1977) n° 138 (Pensabene, P.). - Età di Antonino Pio. - I. S. è a fianco di Antonino Pio, originario di Lanuvio. Seguono altre divinità, il Genio del Senato ed infine Marco Aurelio e Lucio Vero (mancano le figure di uno dei principi e di una divinità).

#### Antefisse in terracotta

5.\* Matrice. Roma, Villa Giulia 7246. Dal tempio di Vignale a Falerii Veteres. - Della Seta, A., *Mus. di Villa Giulia* (1918) 183 n° 7246; Andrén, A., *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (1940) 99 n° II: 11 c tav. 32, 113 c; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2825 (Dohrn, T.). - Primi decenni del V sec. a. C. - La dea ha i capelli sciolti a boccoli sulle spalle. Sul capo ha un elmo con

grande cresta semicircolare posta di traverso; sull'elmo sono, inoltre, due grandi corna curvate a lira e due lunghe orecchie di capro. Simile un esemplare da Antemnae, ora nel Mus. Naz. Rom. (Andrén, o. c. 502 n° I: 19 tav. 156, 524; Quilici, L./Quilici Gigli, S., *Antemnae* [1978] 48 ss. tavv. 12-14; Pensabene, P./Sanzi Di Mino, M. R., *MusNazRom* III 1. *Le terrecotte* [1983] 70 s. n° 34 tavv. E; 12).

6. Roma, Antiquarium del Foro. Dalla Basilica Julia nel Foro Romano. - Carettoni, G. F., *RendAccLinc* 8 ser. 16 (1961) 58 s. tav. 3, 2; Gjerstad, E., *Early Rome* IV 2 (1966) 466 s. - Rispetto agli ess. precedenti, qui la dea ha due corna poco curvate ed orecchie diritte. Simili gli esemplari del Palatino (a\*) (Pensabene, P., *ArchLaz* 3, 1980, 75 tav. 16, 1), di Fidene (Quilici, L./Quilici Gigli, S., *Fidene* [1986] 106 ss. tav. 32, 2-34, 2), di Berlino, Staatl. Mus. (Andrén, o. c. 5, 502, n° I: 17 tav. 156, 522), di Lavinio (*Enea nel Lazio*, Cat. Roma 1981, 196 s.) e di Satrico (Chiarucci, o. c. 1, 65 fig. 28; Knoop, R. R., *ArchLaz* 4, 1981, 319 s.).

7. Da Falerii Veteres, santuario Sassi Caduti. - Andrén, o. c. 5, 112 n° I: 9. - Conservati solo parte della base, il collo e quattro riccioli sul lato s. del collo.

8. Dal c. d. tempio di Diana a Norba. - *NotSc* 1901, 547 s. fig. 28; Andrén, o. c. 5, 387 n° 6. - Per quanto molto frammentario, questo esemplare sembra collegarsi con il tipo dalle corna più diritte.

9. Da Segni. - Andrén, o. c. 5, 398 s. n° I: 4. - Conservati solo parte della base, collo, ed estremità delle trecce e dell'elmo.

10. Da Cerveteri. - Mengarelli, R., *StEtr* 10, 1936, 76; Andrén, o. c. 5, 52 n° III: 15. - Conservati solo parte della base e collo. Non è certo che si tratti di una I. S.

11.\* Roma, Villa Giulia 10231. Da Satricum. - Andrén, o. c. 5, 469 n° II: 10 tav. 145, 508; *Area sacra di Satricum. Tra scavo e restituzione*, Cat. Albano 1985, 75 (Knoop, R.). - Inizi V sec. a. C. - Tipo di formato più grande rispetto agli esemplari precedenti. La dea ha corna lunghe ed incurvate (anche se non a lira), ma, in luogo delle consuete orecchie di capra, presenta orecchie di bue. Assimilazione con la Hera greca cui è sacro il bue?

12. Ubicazione ignota. Da Lavinio. - Thomas Ashby, *Un archeologo fotografa la campagna romana tra '800 e '900*. Cat. Roma 1986, 188 n° 151 fig. 8 (Turchetti, R.). - Fine V-prima metà IV sec. a. C. - Variante del tipo, di tradizione pienamente classica (finora esemplare unico). L'antefissa è documentata da una fotografia di Th. Ashby. Non si distingue il tipo d'elmo; ma sono chiarissime le corna e le orecchie di capro. La testa è adorna di due orecchini a bottone.

13. Perugia, Mus. Naz. Da Collemaiano (l'antica Urvinum Hortense?). - *AdI* 1941, 434. - III sec. a. C. (?) - L'antefissa proviene dallo scavo di un tempio di età repubblicana. Finora non documentata fotograficamente, sembra che non si tratti di una I. S.

#### Bronzo

14. (= Herakles/Hercle 151) Thymiaterion in bronzo, etr. München, Antikenslg. 720g WAF. Da Castel Mariano (Perugia). - Höckmann, o. c. 1, 64 ss.

n° 26 tavv. 35, 36, 1-2; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 36 s. n. 246. - VI sec. a. C. - Sui tre lati del thymiaterion sono I. S., Herakles ed una figura femminile velata (Aphrodite? Hebe?). I. S. veste un chitone su cui posa un'ampia pelle di capro che le copre la nuca. La dea regge con il braccio s. uno scudo «ad otto»; con la mano d. regge un lembo della pelle di capro. Secondo l'interpretazione di Th. Panofka (*AdI* 2, 1830, 335) sarebbe raffigurato il matrimonio di Herakles ed Hebe alla presenza di I. S. Ma potrebbe trattarsi anche, e solamente, di una teoria di divinità.

15. (= Herakles/Hercle 364\*) Applique di elmo in bronzo, etr. Parigi, Louvre 1681. - De Ridder, *BrLouvre* II 42 n° 1681 tav. 75; Zancani Montuoro, P., *ASAtene* 24-26, 1946-48, 93 fig. 12; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 36 s. n. 246; Höckmann, o. c. 1, 68. - Lotta tra Ercole e I. S. Ambedue hanno il braccio d. sollevato, l'uno con la clava, l'altra con la spada. Le figurine sono disposte sulle braccia di un Sileno.

16.\* Piccola maschera in bronzo. Londra, BM 673. - Walters, *BMBronzes* n° 673; Hafner, *JdI* 81, 1966, 196 fig. 10; Chiarucci, o. c. 1, 61 s. fig. 23. - Maschera di I. S. con le corna e le orecchie di capro.

#### Monete

17.\* AR denario, Roma, L. Thorius Balbus, 105 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 316/1 tav. 42, 4. - D.: testa di I. S. volta a d., con legg. *I(un)o S(ospita) M(ater) R(egina)*. R.: toro.

18.\* AR denario, Roma, L. Procilius, 80 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 379/2 tav. 48, 20; Chiarucci, o. c. 1, fig. 12B. - D.: testa di I. S. con pelle di capro con piccole corna, e legg. *S. C. R.: I. S.* su biga in corsa con scudo e lancia. Sotto i cavalli un serpente.

19. *Idem.* - Crawford, *RRC* n° 379/1 tav. 48, 19; Chiarucci, o. c. 1, figg. 12 C; 14. - R.: I. S. in piedi, in movimento verso d., con scudo «ad otto», lancia e pelle di capro su lungo chitone; davanti serpente. D.: testa di Giove.

20.\* AR denario, Roma, L. Papius, 79 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 384/1 tav. 49, 2. - D.: testa di I. S. con pelle di capro con piccole corna, volta a d. Sul fondo marchio di controllo. R.: grifo in corsa. Il grifo si riferisce al culto di I. S.? (Cavedoni, C., *AdI* 11, 1839, 308).

21. AR denario, Roma, L. Roscius Fabatus, 64 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 412/1 tav. 50, 24; Chiarucci, o. c. 1, figg. 12A; 15. - D.: testa di I. S. volta a d.; sul fondo marchio di controllo. R.: fanciulla di fronte alla quale è un serpente. Sul significato del serpente nel culto di I. S.: Prop. 4, 8, 3; Ail. nat. 11, 16.

22. AR denario, Roma, L. Papius Celsus, 45 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 472/1 tav. 55, 22. - D.: testa di I. S. volta a d. R.: lupa ed aquila.

23. AU aureo, Q. Cornuficius Augur, Africa 45 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 509/1-5 tav. 61, 20-22; Chiarucci, o. c. 1, fig. 17 a d. - R.: I. S. stante verso s., con un corvo sulla spalla, con scudo «ad otto» e lancia nella mano s., incorona l'augure Q. Cornuficius stante di fronte in toga, capite velato, con un lituo nella mano d. D.: testa di Juppiter Ammon (20), di Africa (21), di Pax (22). La stessa immagine compare su un denario di

restitutio in argento dell'epoca di Traiano, 107 d. C. (*BMC Emp* III 141, 40 tav. 23, 11).

24. AR denario, Roma, M. Mettius, 44 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 480/2 tav. 56, 19; Chiarucci, o. c. 1, fig. 17 a s. - R.: I. S. in corsa su biga con asta e scudo «ad otto».

25. AR quinario, Roma, M. Mettius, 44 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 480/23 tav. 57, 15. - D.: testa di I. S. volta a d. Alle spalle un serpente (vd. 21). R.: Vittoria in biga.

25a) AE, Nikomedeia (Bitinia), tempo di Augusto. - Imhoof-Blumer, *GyM* 604, 134 tav. 6, 12; *RecGén* I 3, 516, 11 tav. 88, 26-27. - D.: testa di I. S. con pelle di capro con corna, legg. *HPA AANOIA* (= Iuno Lanuvina). R.: cinghiale cornuto.

26.\* AE sesterzio, Roma, Antonino Pio, 140-143 d. C. - *BMC Emp* IV 201, 1248-1251 tav. 28, 4; Robertson, *Hunter* II 218, 123 tav. 56; Strack, *Reichsprägung* III 260, 837 tav. 10. - 140-43 d. C. - R.: I. S. avanzante verso d. con pelle di capro sul capo e sulla spalle, lancia brandita e scudo «ad otto»; chitone con lungo rimbocco con pieghe arcaizzanti. Ai suoi piedi un serpente. Legg. *IUNONI SISIPITAE* S. C. Analoghi esempl. *BMC Emp* IV 210, \*; 277 n. \*.

27. AR denario, Roma, Marco Aurelio, Commodo, 177 d. C. - *BMC Emp* IV 499, 760. - 177 d. C. - R.: I. S. avanzante con scudo oblungo e serpente arrotolato. Legg. *IUNONI SISIPITAE TR. P. II IMP. II COS. P. P. S. C.* Analogo esempl. in bronzo di Commodo *BMC Emp* IV 672, 1669-70 tav. 89, 1.

#### Scultura a tutto tondo

##### A figura intera in marmo

28. Statua colossale. Vaticano, Sala Rotonda 241. - Lippold, *SkulptVatMus* III 1, 142 n° 552. Marchetti Longhi, G., *RendPontAcc* 20, 1943-44, 393 s.; Hafner, G., *JdI* 81, 1966, 197 ss. fig. 14; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 48 (Simon, E.); Martin, H. G., *Römische Tempelkultbilder* (1987) 112 ss. fig. 28. - Età di Antonino Pio. - La dea veste un lungo chitone increspato ed un peplo su cui posa una grande pelle di capro stretta alla vita da una cintura. Il capo di I. S., decorato con una stephane, è coperto dalla pelle della testa del capro. Sono di restauro le braccia, i piedi con parte delle gambe, il serpente, parte del volto. Il restauro delle braccia con lancia e scudo ovale, e dei calcei con la punta sollevata (i calcei repandi) è assicurato dalle monete. Potrebbe trattarsi della statua di culto del tempio di I. S. nel Foro Olitorio, restaurato nel II. sec. d. C. (Martin).

##### A figura intera in bronzo

29.\* Statuetta in bronzo, etr. Firenze, Mus. Arch. 8. - Richardson, E., *Etruscan Votive Bronzes* (1983) 361 figg. 864-65; Cristofani, M., *I bronzi degli Etruschi* (1985) 281 n° 93. - Primi decenni del V sec. a. C. - La dea è gradiente verso d. con movimento impetuoso. Veste corto chitone, himation e pelle di animale (un ovino?; mancano le corna) posata sulla nuca e sulle spalle. La pelle è annodata sul petto. La capigliatura è disposta in una banda sulla fronte e due lunghe e sottili trecce ai lati. La s. avanzata doveva reggere lo

scudo; il braccio d. arretrato è mancante. I piedi sono scalzi.

**30.\*** Statuetta in bronzo. Stuttgart, Landesmus., Antikenslg. 3.249. - Hafner, G., *Die Bronzen der Sammlung Scheufelen* (1958) 31 n° 249 tav. 13; Chiarucci, o. c. I, 56 ss. fig. 20. - Età medio-repubblicana. - La dea, stante, ha la nebride di capro sulla testa e sul corpo. Nella s. avanzata, uno scudo a pelta; nella d. sollevata doveva avere una lancia.

**31.** Statuetta in bronzo(?). Ubicazione ignota. - Dalla collina di S. Basso a Cupra Marittima. - Fortini, P., *Cupra Marittima. Origini, storia, urbanistica* (1981) 16 e n. 90 n° 2 tav. 12a. - La statuetta, nota solo da un disegno, è in tutto simile alla statua 28. Ma è sicura la pertinenza al complesso di votivi rinvenuti nel santuario di Cupra? Manca, purtroppo, qualsiasi documentazione sull'argomento.

#### Teste in marmo

**32.\*** Testa femminile, già a Lanuvio. Età tardo-repubblicana. - Kaschnitz-Weinberg, G., in *Festschr. C. Weickert* (1955) 1 ss.; Hafner, G., *JdI* 81, 1966, 198 ss. figg. 16, 18; Chiarucci, o. c. I, 68 ss. figg. 32-33; Martin, o. c. 28, 112 ss. tavv. 15-16. - Età tardo-repubblicana (Coarelli); forse, più specificamente, verso la metà del I sec. a. C., quando Annio Milone era dictator di Lanuvio (Martin). - È il fr. superstite della statua acrolitica di culto(?). Sulla testa doveva poggiare l'elmo con la pelle di capro mediante grossi fori eseguiti a distanza regolare alle tempie.

**33.\*** Testa femminile da un acrolito. Vaticano. Provenienza ignota. - Lippold, *SkulptVatMus* III 2, 514 ss. tavv. 234-235; Hafner, G., *JdI* 81, 1966, 186 ss. - V sec. a. C. Produzione di una bottega italiota(?). - Hafner propone di completare la testa con una pelle di capro: si tratterebbe pertanto di una statua di culto di I. S. Cf. contra Höckmann, U., *Antikensammlungen München. Kat. der Bronzen I. Die Bronzen aus dem Fürstengrab von Castel Mariano* (1982) 171 n. 342; e Martin, o. c. 28, 114 s. La testa era sicuramente inserita su una statua di divinità seduta.

#### A.2. Iuno Caprotina(?)

Epiclesi della dea, con riferimento alla festa delle *Nonae Caprotinae* che si teneva a Roma e nel Lazio il 7 luglio (combattimenti fittizi di ancelle della dea con sferze e sassi durante i quali volavano feroci parole di scherno e di beffa: Macr. Sat. I, 11, 36 ss.; Plut. Rom. 29; Cam. 33; Varro l. l. 6, 18; Polyæn. 8, 30). Il sacrificio si svolgeva sotto un fico selvatico (caprificus), da cui forse il nome, collegato, secondo un'altra ipotesi, al capro, animale la cui pelle era indossata dalla Iuno Lanuvina e durante le feste della Iuno di Falerii. I Luperci sferzavano le donne vestiti appunto con pelli di capro. L'accezione relativa alla fecondità ed alla sfera sessuale è evidente. In base al presunto rapporto con i capri, si è proposto di riconoscere nella I. C. la stessa I. Sospita (Weinstock, S., *RE* XVII 1 [1936] 849). Secondo una recente ipotesi, vi sarebbe un collegamento tra il culto di I. Palostca (riferito a *polusca*, una specie di

fico?) a Preneste e quello di I. C. È proponibile anche un rapporto tra Mefitis e Caprotina, in base ad iscrizioni di età repubblicana rinvenute a Rossano di Vaglio (Lejeune, M., *MemLinc* ser. 8, 16, 1971, 47 ss.; idem, *Rend Linc* ser. 8, 26, 1971, 663 ss.).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Roscher, *ML* II 1 (1884-86) 598 ss.; Wissowa, *Religion* 184 s.; Pestalozza, U., *Religione mediterranea* (1951) 369 ss.; Radke, G., *Die Götter Altitaliens* (1966) 80-81; Palmer, R. E. A., *Roman Religion and Roman Empire* (1974) 7 ss.; Dumézil, G., *La religione romana arcaica* (1977) 263-264; Dury-Moyaers/Renard 157 ss.

#### Monete

**34.\*** AR Denario, Roma, C. Renius, 138 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 231/1 tav. 35, 17. - R.: I. con stephane, scettro e redini, guida un cocchio tirato da due capri. D.: testa di Roma. Il riconoscimento di I. C. è ipotetico. Il capro è animale sacro a I., così come ad Hera, ben prima dell'istituzione del culto capitolino (Koch, K., *Der römische Jupiter* (1937) 71. 105-107. 112-116).

#### B. Iuno Regina

Divinità poliade in alcune città del Lazio (da cui probabilmente l'epiclesi). È sicuramente testimoniata a Veio (Liv. 5, 21, 3; 22, 7; 23, 7; 31, 3; Plut. Cam. 6; Val. Max. 1, 8, 3; Dion. Hal. ant. 13, 3), ad Ardea (Plin. nat. 35, 115) e naturalmente a Roma, dove le erano dedicati due templi (sull'Aventino e in circo Flaminio: Platner/Ashby 290); ma era Regina anche la Iuno della Triade Capitolina venerata nel tempio di Iuppiter a triplice cella sul Campidoglio. Analoga epiclesi ha ricevuto Iuno Sispes (o Sospita) di Lanuvio (CIL XIV 2088-2091. 2121: Iuno Sispes Mater Regina), in quanto divinità principale della città.

#### 1. A Roma

##### 1.1. Sull'Aventino

Il culto fu trasferito mediante *evocatio* a Roma, in un tempio appositamente costruito sul colle «plebeo» dell'Aventino, ad opera di M. Furio Camillo dopo la distruzione di Veio; la stessa statua cultuale del tempio veiente, un *xoanon* di legno (cf. 35), fu trasportata con grande pompa nel nuovo edificio sacro che fu dedicato il 1 settembre 392 a. C. Oltre la statua di culto, il tempio conteneva altri *signa* della dea, dedicati in occasione di gravi calamità pubbliche (vd. 36-39). Molti riti di espiazione furono eseguiti durante la I guerra Punica a seguito dell'identificazione della Tanit cartaginese con Iuno (vd. Iuno Caelestis). Secondo un'ipotesi, in tale occasione fu coniato il tridente 233b con testa femminile, forse Iuno, in associazione con la *exoratio* della dea da Cartagine (Crawford, *RRC* p. 719 s.). Il tempio fu restaurato da Augusto (Mon. Anc. 4, 6).

**35.** La statua di culto del tempio sull'Aventino, trasferita da Veio a Roma nel 392 a. C., era un *xoanon* in legno, come riferisce Dion. Hal. ant. 13, 3. Inoltre:

Liv. 5, 22; Val. Max. 1, 8, 3; Plut. Cam. 6. È probabile che, come nel caso dei *signa* di cui ai n° 37-39, la statua fosse di legno di cipresso.

**36.** Nel 218 a. C. fu dedicata a Iuno una statua di bronzo (*signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt* [Liv. 21, 62, 8]).

**37.** Nel 207 a. C. furono dedicate alla dea due statue in legno di cipresso (*duo signa cupresseae Iunonis Reginae... in aedem inlata* [Liv. 27, 37, 12-15]).

**38.** Nel 99 a. C., durante il consolato di M. Antonio e A. Postumio, furono dedicate altre due statue di cipresso (*signa cupresseae duo Iunoni Reginae posita* [Obseq. 46]).

**39.** Nel 97 a. C., durante il consolato di Gn. Cornelio Lentulo e P. Licinio Crasso, furono poste nel tempio di I. R. ancora due statue di cipresso (*cupresseae simulacra Iunonis Reginae posita per virgines viginti septem* [Obseq. 48]).

#### 1.2. In circo Flaminio

Il secondo tempio dedicato a Iuno Regina fu votato dal console M. Emilio Lepido nel 187 a. C. durante l'ultima battaglia contro i Liguri (Liv. 39, 2, 11) e dedicato il 23 dicembre del 179 a. C., quando Lepido era censore con M. Fulvio Nobiliore (Liv. 40, 52, 1). Nel 149 a. C. Q. Cecilio Metello, a seguito del suo trionfo Macedonico, dedicava un tempio a Iuppiter Stator, e recingeva il tempio stesso e quello di Iuno Regina con una magnificente *porticus* nella quale trovava posto anche la celebre turba Alexandri di Lisippo (Vell. 1, 11, 3). Non è precisato, dalle fonti pervenute, se il tempio di Iuno Regina fosse stato restaurato o ricostruito per l'occasione. Secondo Vitruvio il tempio di Iuppiter Stator era opera di Hermodoros di Salamina (Vitr. 3, 2, 5); la statua di culto, in base ad un celebre brano di Plinio (nat. 36, 34-35), era stata eseguita da Polykles e Dionysios, figli di Timarchides (per la cronologia degli scultori: Habicht, Ch., *AM* 97, 1982, 178 ss.). Sempre secondo Plinio (l. c.) nel vicino tempio di Iuno i due scultori avrebbero realizzato una statua della dea (in base alla cronologia ed alla concomitanza con l'esecuzione della statua di Iuppiter potrebbe trattarsi della statua di culto). Probabilmente, secondo la lettura pliniana offerta da F. Coarelli (*DdA* 2, 1968, 334; *StudMisc* 15 [1970] 80) sulla quale tuttavia sono stati avanzati dubbi (Stewart, A. F., *Attika* [1979] 47; Martin, o. c. 28, 62), Timarchides stesso avrebbe precedentemente eseguito una statua di Iuno, in occasione della costruzione del tempio di Lepido. I due templi e la *porticus* che li circondava furono ricostruiti in età augustea e dedicati da Ottavia, l'amata sorella dell'imperatore (Vell. l. c.; Plin. nat. 34, 31; Paul. Festi p. 188 L.). Il programma statuario interno dovette restare più o meno inalterato, poiché Plinio ricorda solo opere riferibili all'epoca di Lepido e di Metello, ad esclusione di una statua eburnea di Iuppiter, opera di Pasiteles (Plin. nat. 36, 40), comunque inserita nel tempio di Iuppiter prima delle ricostruzioni augustee.

**40.** (= Aphrodite 1068\*) Testa colossale in marmo. Roma, Mus. Cap. 253. Dalla coll. Albani. - Stuart Jones, *SculptMusCap* 122 n° 49 tav. 31; BrBr 265; Krahmer, G., *NachGöttingen* N. F. 1, 1934-36,

248 s. fig. 28; Becatti, G., *RivIstArch* 7, 1940, 50 s. fig. 27; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1235 (v. Steuben, H.); Coarelli, F., *StudMisc* 15, 1969-70, 84 s.; idem, *DdA* 4-5, 1970-71, 257 fig. 6; Stewart, A. F., *Skopas of Paros* (1976) tav. 46a; idem, *Attika* (1979) 45 tav. 9d; Martin, o. c. 28, 88 ss. 209 s. Kat. 3 tavv. 6-7. - Metà circa del II sec. a. C. - Testa acrolitica, cava all'interno con occhi inseriti in altro materiale. Capelli con scriminatura centrale raccolti dietro la nuca. Stephane sul capo. Un velo doveva coprire la nuca fino all'altezza della stephane. In base al collegamento stilistico con la testa di Hercules dal Campidoglio, ora nel Museo Nuovo del Palazzo dei Conservatori, quasi sicuramente opera di Polykles (Cic. Att. 6, 1, 17), anche l'acrolito Albani è stato ascripto al maestro ateniese (Coarelli, Martin) che, secondo la testimonianza di Plinio, aveva eseguito una statua di I. Regina per il tempio in circo Flaminio (nat. 36, 35). Ma l'ipotesi andrebbe ulteriormente verificata perché, pur concordando con l'inevitabile rapporto stilistico con la testa di Hercules, l'acrolito Albani va collegato con una seconda testa acrolitica, anch'essa dalla coll. Albani, raffigurante un giovane dio (Apollo?) dai capelli più capricciosamente raccolti dietro la nuca, e con due lunghe ciocche annodate sul capo (Roma, Mus. Cap.: Stuart, Jones, *SculptMusCap* 95 n° 15 tav. 27), secondo l'iconografia già nota per l'Apollo attribuito a Timarchides. Sembra verosimile, anche se mancano notizie in merito, che le due teste acrolitiche siano state rinvenute insieme.

#### 1.3. Sul Campidoglio (Triade Capitolina), e diffusione nell'impero Romano

Anche Iuno pertinente alla Triade Capitolina era detta Regina. La costruzione del tempio di Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, nel quale era venerata la T. C., era stata avviata da Tarquinio Prisco, e completata da Tarquinio il Superbo, anche se l'edificio fu dedicato nel primo anno della Repubblica, il 13 settembre, da Orazio Pulvillo (Liv. 2, 8; 7, 3, 8; Polyb. 3, 22; Tac. hist. 3, 72; Plut. Popl. 14). Il tempio aveva tre celle parallele. Iuno era venerata nella cella di sinistra (a destra rispetto lo spettatore: Liv. 7, 3, 5). La statua di culto doveva essere in terracotta, in analogia con quella di Iuppiter, opera di Vulca di Veio (Ov. fast. 1, 201-202; Plin. nat. 33, 111-112; 35, 157), che realizzò anche la celebre quadriga di Iuppiter posta sul fastigio del tempio (Plin. nat. 28, 16; 35, 157; Paul. Festi p. 342 L.; Plut. Popl. 13). È verosimile, pertanto, che a Vulca si debbano ascrivere anche le statue di culto di Iuno e di Minerva, anche se di esse non abbiamo nessuna informazione. Bruciato il 6 luglio dell'83 a. C. insieme con la statua di culto del dio (e probabilmente, anche se le fonti non ci informano sull'argomento, degli altri due membri della Triade) e con i libri Sibillini, la ricostruzione fu iniziata da Sulla (Val. Max. 9, 3, 8; Tac. hist. 3, 72) che fece trasferire per l'occasione alcune colonne dell'Olympieion ateniese, rimasto incompiuto, a Roma (Plin. nat. 36, 45). Né i fusti né i capitelli dovettero essere adoperati perché il nuovo tempio, come documentano i conii del 43 a. C., era tuscanico (BMC Rep I 571 n° 4217-4225); esso fu completato da Q. Lutatius Catulo nel 69 a. C. (Liv. per. 98; Plut. Popl. 15. Cf.

Plin. nat. 7, 138; 19, 3; Suet. Aug. 94). Distrutto durante le lotte che condussero al trono Vitellio, fu ricostruito da Vespasiano (Tac. hist. 4, 4, 9, 53; Suet. Vesp. 8; Cass. Dio 65, 17; 66, 10; Plut. Popl. 15; Aur. Vict. Caes. 9, 7; ep. de Caes. 9, 8; Zon. 11, 17). Nuovamente distrutto da un incendio nell'80 d. C., ebbe la sua definitiva ricostruzione ad opera di Domiziano (Suet. Dom. 5; Plut. Popl. 15; Eutr. 7, 23; Chron. MGH I p. 146). L'edificio fu quindi dotato, nel suo lungo arco di vita, di almeno tre gruppi di statue di culto. Mentre per Iuppiter è possibile stabilire che la sua statua non subì modifiche iconografiche sostanziali da Catulo a Domiziano (Martin, o. c. 28, 131 ss.), non si può essere altrettanto precisi nel caso di Iuno e di Minerva. Una delle statue di culto di Iuppiter, in avorio, era opera di un Apollonios. Identificato, senza motivi cogenti, con l'Apollonios Nestoros autore del Torso del Belvedere (Vessberg, O., *Studien zur Kunstgesch. der röm. Republik* [1941] 66; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 176 [v. Steuben, H.]), in realtà dalla descrizione di Calcidio, fonte principale sull'argomento (Calcidius 337. Cf. Overbeck, *SQ* n° 2215; Waszink, J. H., *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, in *Plato Latinus*, ed. Klibansky, R. [1962] 330 par. 338), si può desumere solo una analogia con lo Zeus di Fidia; in nessun caso un indizio cronologico che ancori l'opera al tempio di Catulo, come per lo più è proposto (contra: Jucker, H., *Vom Verhältnis der Römer zur bildenden Kunst der Griechen* [1950] 137; Martin, o. c. 28, 134 s.). Iuno conservò la sua posizione nella cella a s. rispetto a Iuppiter (Liv. 7, 3, 5. Livio si riferisce al tempio arcaico; ma dalle monete imperiali si può stabilire che l'ordinamento fu rispettato anche in seguito); la statua tardo-repubblicana aveva uno scettro in oro (Ov. fast. 6, 38: *aurea cur dextrae sceptrum dedere meae*). Le restanti informazioni sono desumibili esclusivamente dalle emissioni monetali e dagli scarsi fr. di statue di culto rinvenute in Capitolia dell'impero Romano.

#### a) Iuno stante

##### Rilievi

41. (= Athena/Minerva 409 con bibl., = Demeter/Ceres 167\* con bibl., = Herakles 3400) Rilievo in marmo con raffigurazione della *Providentia deorum*, sull'attico dell'arco di Traiano a Benevento. - Petersen, E., *RM* 7, 1892, 251; Hassel, F. J., *Der Trajansbogen in Benevent* (1966) 20 tav. 14; Rotili, M., *L'arco di Traiano a Benevento* (1972) 107 s. tavv. 129, 135, 141; Fittschen, K., *AA* 1972, 778 ss. fig. 23. - In primo piano la Triade Capitolina con Iuppiter al centro. Alla sua s. è Iuno in chitone con lungo ribocco che giunge all'altezza delle cosce. Sul capo posa una stephane ed un mantello che si ripiega in avanti sostenuto dal braccio s.; con la mano s. la dea regge uno scettro.

42. (= 279, = Athena/Minerva 287 con bibl.) Rilievo in marmo dell'arco di Settimio Severo a Leptis Magna. Tripoli, Mus. - La Rocca, E., *La riva a mezzaluna* (1984) 79 s. tav. 16; Ghedini, F., *Giulia Domna tra Oriente e Occidente* (1984) 80 ss. fig. 11. - 205-209 d. C. (cf. Strocka, V. M., *AntAfr* 6, 1972, 169 s.). - Iuppiter in trono con i tratti fisionomici di Settimio Severo; alla sua d. è I. con i tratti fisionomici di Giulia

Domna. La dea è stante in chitone con lungo rimbocco e cintura alla vita; sulla nuca posa il mantello che, scendendo sulle spalle, si ripiega sulla gamba d.; un lembo ricade sul braccio s. poggiato ad uno scettro. Ai piedi è un pavone. Alla s. di Iuppiter è Minerva; alla d. di I. è Fortuna con cornucopia.

43.\* (= Athena/Minerva 290) Rilievo in calcare. Alise-Sainte-Reine, Mus. Alésia. Dal Mont Auxoi (Alesia), presso le rovine di un tempio. - Espérandieu, *Recueil III* n° 2346; Zadoks Jitta, A., *JRS* 28, 1938, 53 tav. 4. - Al centro è Iuppiter in trono; alla sua d. è Minerva; alla sua s. è I. ambedue stanti. I. è rivolta verso Iuppiter, e posa la mano d. sulla sua spalla. Veste un chitone cinto alla vita con mantello che poggia sulla nuca e ricade sulle gambe. Stephane sul capo.

44. (= Hera [in Thracia] 29\* con bibl.) Lastrina in pietra. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Naz. 3358. Dal dip.to di Targovište. - Reinach, *RépRel II* 156, 6. - II sec. d. C. - Triade Capitolina stante. I. è alla s. di Iuppiter; veste chitone con lungo rimbocco e mantello che copre il capo. Con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro.

##### Glittica

45. Calcedonio. Hannover, Kestner-Mus. K 1285. - *AGD IV* 66 n° 238 tav. 38. - Inizi del I sec. a. C. - Iuppiter stante al centro incoronato da Minerva alla sua s. (nell'impronta); I. alla sua d. veste un chitone su cui posa un ampio mantello che le copre anche le braccia e la nuca.

46. Pasta vitrea. Hannover, Kestner-Mus. K 1687. - *AGD IV* 154 n° 755 tav. 97; Zazoff, *AG* 336 n° 242 tav. 106, 1. - Età imperiale. - Iuppiter seduto al centro; alla sua s. (nell'impronta) I. stante con scettro e patera; la dea veste un chitone con apotygmata cinto sotto al seno; un velo le copre la nuca. Simile la pasta *AGD IV* 154 n° 756 tav. 98; ma Iuppiter è in piedi.

47. (= Athena/Minerva 291\*) Diaspro rosso. Monaco, Münzslg. - *AGD I* 3 n° 2459 tav. 223. - Fine del I sec. d. C. - Iuppiter è al centro, in trono. Alla sua s. è Iuno stante, con patera nella mano s. Veste un chitone con rimbocco. Alle spalle di Iuppiter è Minerva stante. La pietra è stata riadoperata nel 238 d. C.; sul lato posteriore sono stati incisi i busti di Pupieno, Balbino e Gordiano III.

##### Monete

48. (= Athena/Minerva 295\* con bibl.) AR Denario, Roma, Cn. Blasio Cn. f., 112 o 111 a. C. - Crawford *RRC* n° 296/1 tav. 40, 14, 15. - R.: Iuppiter al centro coronato da Minerva alla sua s. Alla sua d. è Iuno in chitone e mantello ripiegato ai fianchi e ricadente sulle gambe. La dea ha una stephane sui capelli raccolti alla nuca, ed uno scettro nella mano d. D.: testa di Marte.

49.\* AE asse, Roma, Vespasiano, 71 d. C. - *BMC Emp II* 133, 614 tav. 23, 14. - R.: veduta del tempio di Iuppiter Capitolinus, esastilo, corinzio, con podio di quattro scalini. Tra gli intercolumni sono visibili le tre celle. Iuppiter è al centro (stante secondo Mattingly, seduto secondo Sauer, B., *AA* 1950-51, 80); I. e Minerva sono rispettivamente alla sua s. ed alla sua d., stanti. Sul frontone Iuppiter stante tra due esseri angui-

formi. La qualità dei conf. impedisce una buona lettura iconografica delle figure. Analogo esemplare in bronzo del 72 d. C. con effigie di Domiziano sul D. (*BMC Emp II* 144, 647 tav. 25, 10). Cf. inoltre l'asse della zecca di Lugdunum del 77-78 d. C. dove Iuppiter è sicuramente stante (*BMC Emp II* 210, 850 tav. 41, 4).

50.\* AE asse, Roma, Vespasiano, 76 d. C. - *BMC Emp II* 168, 721-722 tav. 29, 6, 5. - R.: veduta del tempio di Iuppiter Capitolinus, esastilo, corinzio. Tra gli intercolumni sono visibili le tre celle. Iuppiter è al centro, seduto. Minerva è alla sua d., stante. I. è alla sua s., stante, con chitone cinto alla vita e mantello che ricade dal capo e dal braccio s. sollevato a coprire le gambe. La s. poggia allo scettro. Decorazione frontonale con complessa scena figurata di non chiara decifrazione. Iuppiter è al centro, seduto. Alla sua d. c'è una figura maschile (non Minerva). La figura femminile alla sua s. è I. o Fortuna?

51.\* (= Athena/Minerva 297) AR cistoforo, Efeso(?), Domiziano, 82 d. C. - *BMC Emp II* 351, 251 tav. 68, 3. - R.: tempio tetrastilo su breve podio composto da quattro gradini. Tra gli intercolumni sono visibili tre celle. Al centro è Iuppiter seduto in trono. Alla sua d. è Minerva stante. Alla sua s. è I. stante, in chitone e mantello che le copre il capo, appoggiata con la s. ad uno scettro. Nel frontone, trono (o clipeo?) tra due esseri anguiformi. Legg. *CAPIT. RESTIT.* È un riferimento al Capitolium di Roma o di Efeso?

52. (= Athena/Minerva 298\* con bibl.) AE medaglione, Traiano, 103-111 d. C. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni III* 14, 4 tav. 143, 10; Dressel, H., *Die römischen Medaillone* (1973) 14 s. n° 2 tav. 1, 7. - R.: Triade Capitolina stante frontale. I. è alla s. di Iuppiter. Veste chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto alla vita, e mantello posato sulla nuca e sulle spalle; stephane sul capo. Con la s. si poggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera.

53.\* AE medaglione, Adriano, 120 d. C. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni II* 6, 35 tav. 40, 2; Strack, *Reichsprägung II* 91 n° 432. - R.: Triade Capitolina stante. Iuppiter, al centro, è di tre quarti verso I. alla sua s. La dea veste chitone cinto alla vita, con lungo rimbocco, e mantello sulle spalle; sembra che sul capo la dea abbia un elmo (così anche Strack), come Iuppiter e Minerva. Con la s. si poggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera.

54. AE medaglione, Commodo, 183 d. C. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni II* 58, 63 tav. 82, 5. - R.: Triade Capitolina stante, Iuppiter frontale, I. e Minerva colte di tre quarti verso di lui. I. è in chitone cinto alla vita, con rimbocco lungo, e mantello che le copre la nuca. Con la s. si poggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera.

##### Scultura a tutto tondo

55. Statua di terracotta. Napoli, Mus. Naz. Da Pompei. - Clarac tav. 420A n° 727A; Levi, A., *Le terracotte figurate del Mus. Naz. di Napoli* (1926) n° 817 tav. 11. - Rinvenuta nel santuarietto di Iuppiter Melichius con una statua in terracotta, poco più piccola, di Iuppiter (Levi, o. c. n° 816 tav. 10), e con un busto, sempre in terracotta, di Minerva (Levi, o. c. n° 818 fig. 141). - II sec. a. C. - La dea con stephane sul capo veste un chi-

tone cinto sotto al seno ed un himation trasparente di cui un lembo è poggiato sul braccio s. Una certa affinità mostra una statuette in marmo a Parigi, Louvre, databile nel II sec. a. C. (Overbeck, *KM II* 118 n° E; Clarac tav. 311 n° 722), da Overbeck considerata verosimilmente una I. Purtroppo, come in moltissimi casi simili, non è possibile esprimere un giudizio per la mancanza di attributi specifici.

56. (= Athena/Minerva 303\* con bibl.) Bronzetto da Muri presso Berna. Berna, Hist. Mus. 16171. - Leibundgut, A., *Die römischen Bronzen der Schweiz III. Westschweiz, Bern und Wallis* (1980) n° 42 tavv. 54-56. - Età tardo-antonina. - La dea veste un chitone interamente ricoperto da un mantello che posa sulla nuca e lascia scoperti solo il seno sulla destra ed i piedi. Boccoli ricadono ai lati del collo. Nella mano d. doveva reggere una patera e nella s. un'acera oppure uno scettro. L'iconografia è insolita e ripete un tipo di Kore (Kabus Jahn, R., *APL* 11, 1972, 69 ss. tav. 43) del IV sec. a. C. avanzato. Ma il riconoscimento è sicuro perché la statuette è stata rinvenuta con altre due statuette raffiguranti Iuppiter e Minerva: si tratta, pertanto, di una Triade Capitolina (Leibundgut, o. c. n° 6, 43 tavv. 11-13, 57-59). Affine tipologicamente la bellissima statuette in bronzo al Petit Palais di Parigi, dalla coll. Dutuit (Petit, J., *Bronzes antiques de la coll. Dutuit* [1980] 100 s. n° 37), che ha una patera nella mano d. ed ha il braccio s. abbassato (manca l'attributo nella mano). I capelli sono, in questo caso, cinti con una benda.

#### b) Iuno seduta in trono

##### Rilievi

57. (= Athena/Minerva 281 con bibl.) Rilievo da un monumento onorario di Traiano raffigurante un *extispicium*. Il settore più ampio del rilievo è a Parigi, Louvre 1089. Un fr. è a Parigi, coll. Valentin de Courcel. Il fr. con il timpano del tempio è smarrito; noto solo da disegni rinascimentali. - Michon, E., *MonPiot* 17, 1909, 216 ss.; *idem*, *MonPiot* 31, 1932, 61 ss.; Zanker, P., *AA* 1970, 515; Koeppl, G. M., *BonnJbb* 185, 1985, 204 ss. - Traiano procede ad un *extispicium* ed alla *nuncupatio votorum* dinanzi al tempio di Giove Capitolino. Al centro della decorazione frontonale, sopra un'aquila ad ali spiegate, la Triade Capitolina seduta in trono. I. è alla d. di Iuppiter, velata, in chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che le copre le gambe.

58. (= Athena/Minerva 282 con bibl.) Pannello da un arco trionfale dedicato a Marco Aurelio. Roma, Pal. Cons. 807. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1444c (Simon, E.); Stuart Jones, *PalCons* 25 s. n° 7 tav. 12; Wegner, M., *AA* 1938, 160-171 fig. 1; Angelikoussis, E., *RM* 91, 1984, 154 tav. 67, 1; *I rilievi storici Capitolini*, a cura di La Rocca, E. (1986) 40 tavv. 37-40 (Cafiero, L.). - 176 d. C. circa. - Al centro della decorazione frontonale è la Triade Capitolina. I. velata è seduta alla d. di Iuppiter, e regge uno scettro nella mano s. Sul rilievo è raffigurata, in modo sintetico, la facciata del tempio di Iuppiter Capitolinus, evidentemente nella redazione domiziana.

59.\* (= Athena/Minerva 286) Rilievo in marmo. Kiel, Univ. B 282. - Sauer, B., *AA* 1950/51, 73 ss. fig.



Plin. nat. 7, 138; 19, 3; Suet. Aug. 94). Distrutto durante le lotte che condussero al trono Vitellio, fu ricostruito da Vespasiano (Tac. hist. 4, 4, 9, 53; Suet. Vesp. 8; Cass. Dio 65, 17; 66, 10; Plut. Popl. 15; Aur. Vict. Caes. 9, 7; ep. de Caes. 9, 8; Zon. 11, 17). Nuovamente distrutto da un incendio nell'80 d. C., ebbe la sua definitiva ricostruzione ad opera di Domiziano (Suet. Dom. 5; Plut. Popl. 15; Eutr. 7, 23; Chron. MGH I p. 146). L'edificio fu quindi dotato, nel suo lungo arco di vita, di almeno tre gruppi di statue di culto. Mentre per Iuppiter è possibile stabilire che la sua statua non subì modifiche iconografiche sostanziali da Catulo a Domiziano (Martin, o. c. 28, 131 ss.), non si può essere altrettanto precisi nel caso di Iuno e di Minerva. Una delle statue di culto di Iuppiter, in avorio, era opera di un Apollonios. Identificato, senza motivi cogenti, con l'Apollonios Nestoros autore del Torso del Belvedere (Vessberg, O., *Studien zur Kunstgesch. der röm. Republik* [1941] 66; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 176 [v. Steuben, H.]), in realtà dalla descrizione di Calcidio, fonte principale sull'argomento (Calcidius 337. Cf. Overbeck, *SQ* n° 2215; Waszink, J. H., *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, in *Plato Latinus*, ed. Klibansky, R. [1962] 330 par. 338), si può desumere solo una analogia con lo Zeus di Fidria; in nessun caso un indizio cronologico che ancori l'opera al tempio di Catulo, come per lo più è proposto (contra: Jucker, H., *Vom Verhältnis der Römer zur bildenden Kunst der Griechen* [1950] 137; Martin, o. c. 28, 134 s.). Iuno conservò la sua posizione nella cella a s. rispetto a Iuppiter (Liv. 7, 3, 5. Livio si riferisce al tempio arcaico; ma dalle monete imperiali si può stabilire che l'ordinamento fu rispettato anche in seguito); la statua tardo-repubblicana aveva uno scettro in oro (Ov. fast. 6, 38: *aurea cur dextrae sceptrum dedere meae*). Le restanti informazioni sono desumibili esclusivamente dalle emissioni monetali e dagli scarsi fr. di statue di culto rinvenute in Capitolia dell'impero Romano.

#### a) Iuno stante

##### Rilievi

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42. (= 279, = Athena/Minerva 287 con bibl.) Rilievo in marmo dell'arco di Settimio Severo a Leptis Magna. Tripoli, Mus. - La Rocca, E., *La riva a mezzaluna* (1984) 79 s. tav. 16; Ghedini, F., *Giulia Domna tra Oriente e Occidente* (1984) 80 ss. fig. 11. - 205-209 d. C. (cf. Strocka, V. M., *AntAfr* 6, 1972, 169 s.). - Iuppiter in trono con i tratti fisionomici di Settimio Severo; alla sua d. è I. con i tratti fisionomici di Giulia

Domna. La dea è stante in chitone con lungo rimbocco e cintura alla vita; sulla nuca posa il mantello che, scendendo sulle spalle, si ripiega sulla gamba d.; un lembo ricade sul braccio s. poggiato ad uno scettro. Ai piedi è un pavone. Alla s. di Iuppiter è Minerva; alla d. di I. è Fortuna con cornucopia.

43.\* (= Athena/Minerva 290) Rilievo in calcare. Alise-Sainte-Reine, Mus. Alésia. Dal Mont Auxoi (Alesia), presso le rovine di un tempio. - Espérandieu, *Recueil III* n° 2346; Zadoks Jitta, A., *JRS* 28, 1938, 53 tav. 4. - Al centro è Iuppiter in trono; alla sua d. è Minerva; alla sua s. è I. ambedue stanti. I. è rivolta verso Iuppiter, e posa la mano d. sulla sua spalla. Veste un chitone cinto alla vita con mantello che poggia sulla nuca e ricade sulle gambe. Stephane sul capo.

44. (= Hera [in Thracia] 29\* con bibl.) Lastrina in pietra. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Naz. 3358. Dal dip.to di Targoviste. - Reinach, *RépRel* II 156, 6. - II sec. d. C. - Triade Capitolina stante. I. è alla s. di Iuppiter; veste chitone con lungo rimbocco e mantello che copre il capo. Con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro.

##### Glittica

45. Calcedonio. Hannover, Kestner-Mus. K 1285. - *AGD* IV 66 n° 238 tav. 38. - Inizi del I sec. a. C. - Iuppiter stante al centro incoronato da Minerva alla sua s. (nell'impronta); I. alla sua d. veste un chitone su cui posa un ampio mantello che le copre anche le braccia e la nuca.

46. Pasta vitrea. Hannover, Kestner-Mus. K 1687. - *AGD* IV 154 n° 755 tav. 97; Zazoff, *AG* 336 n° 242 tav. 106, 1. - Età imperiale. - Iuppiter seduto al centro; alla sua s. (nell'impronta) I. stante con scettro e patera; la dea veste un chitone con apotypygmato cinto sotto al seno; un velo le copre la nuca. Simile la pasta *AGD* IV 154 n° 756 tav. 98; ma Iuppiter è in piedi.

47. (= Athena/Minerva 291\*) Diaspro rosso. Monaco, Münzslg. - *AGDI* 3 n° 2459 tav. 223. - Fine del I sec. d. C. - Iuppiter è al centro, in trono. Alla sua s. è Iuno stante, con patera nella mano s. Veste un chitone con rimbocco. Alle spalle di Iuppiter è Minerva stante. La pietra è stata riadoperata nel 238 d. C.; sul lato posteriore sono stati incisi i busti di Pupieno, Balbino e Gordiano III.

##### Monete

48. (= Athena/Minerva 295\* con bibl.) AR Denario, Roma, Cn. Blasio Cn. f., 112 o 111 a. C. - Crawford *RRC* n° 296/1 tav. 40, 14, 15. - R.: Iuppiter al centro coronato da Minerva alla sua s. Alla sua d. è Iuno in chitone e mantello ripiegato ai fianchi e ricadente sulle gambe. La dea ha una stephane sui capelli raccolti alla nuca, ed uno scettro nella mano d. D.: testa di Marte.

49.\* AE asse, Roma, Vespasiano, 71 d. C. - *BMC* Emp II 133, 614 tav. 23, 14. - R.: veduta del tempio di Iuppiter Capitolinus, esastilo, corinzio, con podio di quattro scalini. Tra gli intercolumni sono visibili le tre celle. Iuppiter è al centro (stante secondo Mattingly, seduto secondo Sauer, B., *AA* 1950-51, 80); I. e Minerva sono rispettivamente alla sua s. ed alla sua d., stanti. Sul frontone Iuppiter stante tra due esseri angui-

formi. La qualità dei con. impedisce una buona lettura iconografica delle figure. Analogo esemplare in bronzo del 72 d. C. con effigie di Domiziano sul D. (*BMC* Emp II 144, 647 tav. 25, 10). Cf. inoltre l'asse della zecca di Lugdunum del 77-78 d. C. dove Iuppiter è sicuramente stante (*BMC* Emp II 210, 850 tav. 41, 4).

50.\* AE asse, Roma, Vespasiano, 76 d. C. - *BMC* Emp II 168, 721-722 tav. 29, 6, 5. - R.: veduta del tempio di Iuppiter Capitolinus, esastilo, corinzio. Tra gli intercolumni sono visibili le tre celle. Iuppiter è al centro, seduto. Minerva è alla sua d., stante. I. è alla sua s., stante, con chitone cinto alla vita e mantello che ricade dal capo e dal braccio s. sollevato a coprire le gambe. La s. poggia allo scettro. Decorazione frontonale con complessa scena figurata di non chiara decifrazione. Iuppiter è al centro, seduto. Alla sua d. c'è una figura maschile (non Minerva). La figura femminile alla sua s. è I. o Fortuna?

51.\* (= Athena/Minerva 297) AR cistoforo, Efeso(?), Domiziano, 82 d. C. - *BMC* Emp II 351, 251 tav. 68, 3. - R.: tempio tetrastilo su breve podio composto da quattro gradini. Tra gli intercolumni sono visibili tre celle. Al centro è Iuppiter seduto in trono. Alla sua d. è Minerva stante. Alla sua s. è I. stante, in chitone e mantello che le copre il capo, appoggiata con la s. ad uno scettro. Nel frontone, trono (o clipeo?) tra due esseri anguiformi. Legg. *CAPIT. RESTIT.* È un riferimento al Capitolium di Roma o di Efeso?

52. (= Athena/Minerva 298\* con bibl.) AE medaglione, Traiano, 103-111 d. C. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni* III 14, 4 tav. 143, 10; Dressel, H., *Die römischen Medaillone* (1973) 14 s. n° 2 tav. 1, 7. - R.: Triade Capitolina stante frontale. I. è alla s. di Iuppiter. Veste chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto alla vita, e mantello posato sulla nuca e sulle spalle; stephane sul capo. Con la s. si poggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera.

53.\* AE medaglione, Adriano, 120 d. C. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 6, 35 tav. 40, 2; Strack, *Reichsprägung* II 91 n° 432. - R.: Triade Capitolina stante. Iuppiter, al centro, è di tre quarti verso I. alla sua s. La dea veste chitone cinto alla vita, con lungo rimbocco, e mantello sulle spalle; sembra che sul capo la dea abbia un elmo (così anche Strack), come Iuppiter e Minerva. Con la s. si poggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera.

54. AE medaglione, Commodo, 183 d. C. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 58, 63 tav. 82, 5. - R.: Triade Capitolina stante, Iuppiter frontale, I. e Minerva colte di tre quarti verso di lui. I. è in chitone cinto alla vita, con rimbocco lungo, e mantello che le copre la nuca. Con la s. si poggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera.

##### Scultura a tutto tondo

55. Statua di terracotta. Napoli, Mus. Naz. Da Pompei. - Clarac tav. 420A n° 727A; Levi, A., *Le terracotte figurate del Mus. Naz. di Napoli* (1926) n° 817 tav. 11. - Rinvenuta nel santuarietto di Iuppiter Melichius con una statua in terracotta, poco più piccola, di Iuppiter (Levi, o. c. n° 816 tav. 10), e con un busto, sempre in terracotta, di Minerva (Levi, o. c. n° 818 fig. 141). - II sec. a. C. - La dea con stephane sul capo veste un chi-

tone cinto sotto al seno ed un himation trasparente di cui un lembo è poggiato sul braccio s. Una certa affinità mostra una statuette in marmo a Parigi, Louvre, databile nel II sec. a. C. (Overbeck, *KM* II 118 n° E; Clarac tav. 311 n° 722), da Overbeck considerata verosimilmente una I. Purtroppo, come in moltissimi casi simili, non è possibile esprimere un giudizio per la mancanza di attributi specifici.

56. (= Athena/Minerva 303\* con bibl.) Bronzetto da Muri presso Berna. Berna, Hist. Mus. 16171. - Leibundgut, A., *Die römischen Bronzen der Schweiz III. Westschweiz, Bern und Wallis* (1980) n° 42 tavv. 54-56. - Età tardo-antonina. - La dea veste un chitone interamente ricoperto da un mantello che posa sulla nuca e lascia scoperti solo il seno sulla destra ed i piedi. Boccoli ricadono ai lati del collo. Nella mano d. doveva reggere una patera e nella s. un'acera oppure uno scettro. L'iconografia è insolita e ripete un tipo di Kore (Kabus Jahn, R., *APL* 11, 1972, 69 ss. tav. 43) del IV sec. a. C. avanzato. Ma il riconoscimento è sicuro perché la statuette è stata rinvenuta con altre due statuette raffiguranti Iuppiter e Minerva: si tratta, pertanto, di una Triade Capitolina (Leibundgut, o. c. n° 6, 43 tavv. 11-13, 57-59). Affine tipologicamente la bellissima statuette in bronzo al Petit Palais di Parigi, dalla coll. Dutuit (Petit, J., *Bronzes antiques de la coll. Dutuit* [1980] 100 s. n° 37), che ha una patera nella mano d. ed ha il braccio s. abbassato (manca l'attributo nella mano). I capelli sono, in questo caso, cinti con una benda.

#### b) Iuno seduta in trono

##### Rilievi

57. (= Athena/Minerva 281 con bibl.) Rilievo da un monumento onorario di Traiano raffigurante un *extispicium*. Il settore più ampio del rilievo è a Parigi, Louvre 1089. Un fr. è a Parigi, coll. Valentin de Courcel. Il fr. con il timpano del tempio è smarrito; noto solo da disegni rinascimentali. - Michon, E., *MonPiot* 17, 1909, 216 ss.; *idem*, *MonPiot* 31, 1932, 61 ss.; Zanker, P., *AA* 1970, 515; Koeppl, G. M., *BonnJbb* 185, 1985, 204 ss. - Traiano procede ad un *extispicium* ed alla *nuncupatio votorum* dinanzi al tempio di Giove Capitolino. Al centro della decorazione frontonale, sopra un'aquila ad ali spiegate, la Triade Capitolina seduta in trono. I. è alla d. di Iuppiter, velata, in chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che le copre le gambe.

58. (= Athena/Minerva 282 con bibl.) Pannello da un arco trionfale dedicato a Marco Aurelio. Roma, Pal. Cons. 807. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1444c (Simon, E.); Stuart Jones, *PalCons* 25 s. n° 7 tav. 12; Wegner, M., *AA* 1938, 160-171 fig. 1; Angelikoussis, E., *RM* 91, 1984, 154 tav. 67, 1; *I rilievi storici Capitolini*, a cura di La Rocca, E. (1986) 40 tavv. 37-40 (Cafiero, L.). - 176 d. C. circa. - Al centro della decorazione frontonale è la Triade Capitolina. I. velata è seduta alla d. di Iuppiter, e regge uno scettro nella mano s. Sul rilievo è raffigurata, in modo sintetico, la facciata del tempio di Iuppiter Capitolinus, evidentemente nella redazione domiziana.

59.\* (= Athena/Minerva 286) Rilievo in marmo. Kiel, Univ. B 282. - Sauer, B., *AA* 1950/51, 73 ss. fig.

1. - Metà del II sec. d. C. - Triade Capitolina frontale, seduta in trono. I. è alla s. di Iuppiter, e si appoggia con il braccio piegato a sostenere il mento sul braccio del trono di Iuppiter. La dea veste chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che copre il capo e ricade a coprire le gambe. La s. regge uno scettro.

60. (= Athena/Minerva 289\* con bibl.) Rilievo in marmo. Trier, Rhein. Landesmus. - Hettner, *Führer durch das Provinzialmus. Trier* 70 s. n° 159 con fig. - Metà del II sec. d. C. - Triade Capitolina frontale, seduta in trono. I. è alla s. di Iuppiter; veste chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che copre il capo e le gambe. Le braccia e la testa sono mutili.

61. Tavoleta votiva in marmo. Bucarest, Mus. d'Hist. - Bordenache, *ScultBucarest* 78 n° 152 tav. 65. - II sec. d. C. - Le tre divinità sono sedute. I. è alla s. di Iuppiter; veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno, ed ha un mantello posato sul capo. Con la mano s. si poggia ad uno scettro. Lo schema è diffuso nei paesi danubiani: cf. Ferri, S., *Arte romana sul Danubio* (1933) figg. 522. 567.

62. (= Athena/Minerva 288) Cippo in travertino con la T. C. e divinità salutarì. Roma, Mus. Naz. Rom. 534. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2411 (Simon, E.); Simon, E., *JdI* 75, 1960, 146 fig. 8; *MusNazRom* I 2, 208 ss. n° 16 (Rendini, P.). - Età di Settimio Severo. - Sul lato principale è la Triade Capitolina. I. è alla s. del dio, seduta; con la mano s. si appoggia ad uno scettro, con la d. regge una patera(?). La dea veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno ed un mantello che le copre le gambe; pare avere i capelli raccolti a crocchia sul capo.

#### Glittica

63.\* (= Athena/Minerva 292) Corniola. Monaco, Münzslg. A. 2039. - *AGDI* 3 n° 2458 tav. 223. - III sec. d. C. - Iuppiter, I. e Minerva in trono. I. è alla s. di Iuppiter; veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno; un mantello le copre il capo; nella s. ha uno scettro.

#### Terracotta

64. (= Athena/Minerva 294) Fr. di una lastra in terracotta. Vienna, Kunsth. Mus. V 1523. - v. Rohden/Winnefeld 154 s. fig. 285; Eichler, Fr., *AA* 1944, 31 s. tav. 21, 2. - Tre divinità sedute in trono entro riquadri delimitati da pilastri. Da s. Iuppiter, I. e Minerva. I. veste chitone e mantello ripiegato sulle gambe; con la s. reggeva uno scettro. Accanto alla spalla s. tracce di un uccello(?): un pavone? Pur non essendo nella disposizione canonica, deve trattarsi della Triade Capitolina in un tempio a tre celle.

65.\* Lucerna a disco in terracotta. Roma, Mus. Cap. Antiquarium Comunale. - Mercando, L., *Lucerne greche e romane dell'Antiquarium Comunale* (1962) 27 n° 19 tav. 7, 4. - II sec. d. C. - Nella parte sup. della composizione sono raffigurati, seduti in trono, Iuppiter e, ai suoi lati, I. (alla sua s.) e Minerva (alla sua d.). Sotto, due bucinatores, Sol su quadriga, Selene su biga e Oceanus semidisteso. Esempl. simile a Berlino (DDR), Staatl. Mus.: Heres, G., *Die römischen Bildlampen der Berliner Antikensammlung* (1972) 72 n° 440.

66.\* Lucerna a disco in terracotta. Londra, BM. - Bailey, *BMLamps* II 7 s. 309 n° Q 1238 tav. 62 figg. 1.

111. - Fine I sec. d. C. - Triade Capitolina seduta su troni. I. è alla s. di Iuppiter, forse velata, con una cornucopia retta dal braccio s. Molti ess. simili (elenco in Bailey, o. c. 7 s.) tra i quali ornamento di manico di lucerna a Berlino (DDR): Heres, o. c. 65, 82 n° 509.

67.\* Lucerna a disco in terracotta. Londra, BM. - Bailey, *BMLamps* II 7 s. 309 n° Q 1239 tavv. 34. 62 figg. 1. 107. - Fine del I sec. d. C. - Come il prec.; ma I. ha una patera nella mano s. e forse è svelata. Per altri ess. vd. elenco in Bailey, o. c. 8.

#### Monete

68.\* AE medaglione, Adriano (117-138 d. C.). - Gnechi, *Medaglioni* III 20, 98-99 tav. 146, 5-6. - R.: Triade Capitolina seduta in trono. Iuppiter è frontale; Iuno alla sua s. e Minerva alla sua d. sono disposte in diagonale. I. è in chitone e mantello, velata con stephane; nella s. regge uno scettro; nella d. una patera(?).

69.\* (= Athena/Minerva 299 con bibl.) AE medaglione, Antonino Pio, 140-143 d. C. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 16, 66 tav. 50, 5. - R.: Triade Capitolina seduta in trono frontale. I. è alla s. di Iuppiter; veste chitone e mantello, velata con stephane; nella s. regge lo scettro; nella d. la patera.

#### Scultura a tutto tondo

70. Fr. di statua colossale in marmo. Guelma (Algeria), Mus. Dal Capitulum di Khamissa (Cirenaica). - Joly, Ch.-A., *AA* 1903, 104 fig. 9; *idem*, *Rec. de Constantine* 39, 1905, 180 ss. figg. 23 ss.; *idem*, *BullArchCTH* 1905 tav. 8; Gsell, S./Joly, Ch.-A., *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa* (1914-22) 57 ss. figg. 11-12; De Pachtère, F. G., *Musée de Guelma* (1909) 27 tav. 4 figg. 1. 3. 4. - Il tempio fu dedicato nel 113 d. C.; il gruppo culturale dovrebbe essere contemporaneo. - Punta di un piede femminile s., un collo, una mano, più dita, fr. di panneggio: buona parte di questi fr. dovrebbe essere pertinente a I. Conservati, inoltre, il torso di Iuppiter, la testa ed il braccio d. di Minerva.

71. (= Athena/Minerva 302 con bibl.) Fr. di statua colossale in marmo. Sopron, Mus. Dal Capitulum di Scarbantia. - Lengyel, A./Radan, G. T. B., *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia* (1980) tav. 13. - Età adrianea. - La dea è seduta in trono senza spalliera. Veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che copre la nuca e le gambe. Stephane sul capo. Con la s. reggeva lo scettro; con la d. reggeva una patera(?). Sono conservati i fr. di Iuppiter e di Minerva (Praschniker, o. c. 72, 111 ss.).

72. Fr. di statua colossale in marmo. Già a Szombathely. Dal Capitulum di Savaria. - Schoenwisner, S., *Antiquitatum et historiae Savariensis libri IX* (1791) tav. 20; Praschniker, C., *Oefh* 30, 1936-37, 128; Mócsy, A./Szentlélek, T., *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria* (1971) 46 ss.; 124 s. Kat. 213-215 figg. 2. 3. 5, 1 (con falsa interpretazione come gruppo imperiale); Lengyel/Radan, o. c. 71, tav. 107. - Età antonina. - Erano noti solo due fr., del torso e di una coscia coperta dal mantello. La dea era seduta. Il gruppo, di cui sono tuttora conservati i fr. di Iuppiter e di Minerva (Praschniker, o. c. 128 ss. figg. 39-40), è simile,

tipologicamente e stilisticamente, al gruppo di Scarbantia. Opere della stessa bottega?

73.\* Statuetta in bronzo. Napoli, Mus. Naz. 133324. Da Pompei, Casa degli Amòrini Dorati. - Sogliano, A., *NotSc* 1907, 565 ss. n° 1-3 figg. 14-15; Della Corte, M., *Historia* 8, 1934, 305 fig. 5; Boyce, A., *MAAR* 14, 1937, 57 s. n° 221, 1; v. Heintze, H., *Jb. der Max Planck-Ges.* 1961 (1) 48 fig. 17; Menzel, H., in *Festoen opgedragen aan A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta bij haar zeventigste verjaardag* (1976) 431 ss. (solo Iuppiter); Adamo-Muscettola, S., in *Toreutik und figürliche Bronzen römischer Zeit, Kongressbericht Berlin 1980* (1984) 12 ss. figg. 3-4; Krause, B. H., *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Saturnus, TrierWPr* 5, 1983, 12, 15 tav. 9, 5. - I sec. d. C. - Sono conservate le tre divinità sedute su trono con alta spalliera. Al momento del rinvenimento I. era alla d. di Iuppiter. La dea veste un chitone con rimbocco sul petto e mantello ripiegato intorno alle gambe. Sul capo scoperto posa una stephane. Mancano gli attributi; ma la mano d. reggeva una patera e la s. lo scettro.

#### c) Teste e busti

##### Rilievi

74. Capitello figurato in marmo. Pisa, via Ulisse Dini. - v. Mercklin, E., *Antike Figuralkapitelle* (1962) 172 s. n° 413b fig. 805. - Età severiana. - Su tre lati del capitello, in luogo delle helices, le immagini della Triade Capitolina di prospetto. I. è in chitone cinto alla vita e mantello che le copre il capo. La testa non è conservata. Nella mano s. un lembo del mantello. In luogo delle volute laterali, Nikai in volo con corone.

##### Glittica

75. Diaspro rosso. Hannover, Kestner-Mus. K 1469. - *AGDIV* 290 n° 1579 tav. 210. - II sec. d. C. - Busto di Iuppiter frontale al centro; ai lati, uscenti da due cornucopie intrecciate i busti di Minerva alla sua d. e di I. alla sua s. (nell'originale). I. ha un diadema sul capo.

#### Scultura a tutto tondo

76. Testa colossale in marmo. Torino, Mus. Ant. Da Alba. - Dickins, G., *JHS* 34, 1914, 124 fig. 1; Marchetti Longhi, G., *MemPontAcc* 3, 1932/33, 151, figg. 13-14; Becatti, G., *RivIstArch* 7, 1940, 51 n. 186; Mansuelli, G., *RivIstArch* N. S. 7, 1958, 83 fig. 38; *Arte e civiltà romana nell'Italia Settentrionale*, Cat. Bologna (1965) I, Itin. 127 n° 429 tav. 145, 308 (Mansuelli, G.); II, Cat. 499 n° 720; Martin, o. c. 28, 191 ss.; 238 s. Kat. 16 tavv. 36-37. - 100-75 a. C. (Martin). - Testa acrolitica, cava all'interno, lavorata come una maschera. Volto patetico, capelli con scriminatura centrale tirati dietro la nuca. Piccola stephane sul capo. La dea doveva avere un velo in bronzo(?). Poiché la testa proviene dal Capitulum di Alba, è più che verosimile si tratti del fr. superstite della I. della Triade Capitolina.

77. Testa in marmo. Napoli, Mus. Naz. Da Pompei, tempio di Giove. - *Guida illustrata*, I. *Antichità* a

cura di Ruesch, A. (1911) n. 942; *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*. Kolloquium Göttingen 1974 (1976) 285 figg. 11-12 (Johannowski, W.); Martin, o. c. 28, 202. 245 s. Kat. A 3. - Prima metà del I sec. a. C. - Protome femminile rinvenuta insieme con il torso di Iuppiter nel Capitulum di Pompei. Il particolare taglio diagonale della parte sup. della testa dalla superficie completamente lisciata, ed una serie di fori sul bordo, suggeriscono una inserzione in una statua velata (forse con completamenti in stucco), oppure, come propone Martin, l'aggancio di una parrucca in marmo. Molto simile una maschera facciale femminile a Cirene, forse già di epoca imperiale (Martin, o. c. 28, 202 fig. 57).

78. Testa colossale in marmo. Napoli, Mus. Naz. Dal Capitulum di Cuma. - *AA* 1940, 499 s. - Età imperiale. - La testa è stata rinvenuta nell'angolo nord-occidentale della cella, ai piedi del podio. È sicuramente I., e va collegata con il torso colossale di Iuppiter ora ai piedi dello scalone del Mus. Naz. di Napoli (*Guida* Ruesch n° 1528; *BollArte* 1910, 112 s. con fig.).

79. Fr. di statua in terracotta. Roma, Villa Giulia. Dal santuario di Mater Matuta a Satrico. - Della Seta, A., *Cat. Villa Giulia* (1918) 276 n° 9983. - Età arcaica. - Fr. di un volto femminile con i capelli ondulati sulla fronte. Rinvenuta insieme con centinaia di fr. di sculture in terracotta a grandezza naturale pertinenti ad una decina di figure di divinità, ancora in corso di studio (Area sacra di Satricum; *Tra scavo e restituzione*, Cat. Albano [1985] 57). Si riconoscono, per il momento, la testa di Iuppiter(?) (Della Seta, o. c. 275 s. n° 9982. 10032; SBH, *Etrusker* 134-135) ed i fr. di una statua di Minerva (Della Seta, o. c. 276 n° 9984. 10020). Potrebbe pertanto trattarsi, secondo l'ipotesi di Rizzo (*BullCom* 1911, 54 s. n. 4) e di Della Seta, di una raffigurazione della Triade Capitolina. Ma, visto il numero delle figure conservate, sia pure in fr., è meglio astenersi dal giudizio in attesa della pubblicazione definitiva. Il programma decorativo templare sembrerebbe dipendere dalla Aithiopsis di Arctino di Mileto, il cui nucleo centrale era basato sul mito di Memnon (assimilazione tra Mater Matuta ed Eos/Leukothea: Colonna, G., in *Satricum, un progetto di valorizzazione per la cultura e il territorio di Latina*, Conv. Latina 1983 (1985) 19 ss.

#### d) La Triade Capitolina in composizioni cosmogoniche

##### Rilievi

80. (= Dioskuroi/Castores 79\*) Coperchio di sarcofago in marmo. Vaticano, Gabinetto delle Maschere 426. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II 677 ss., n° 426 tav. 78. - II sec. d. C. - Da s. a d.: Sol su quadriga; sotto i cavalli è Oceanus. Seguono un Dioscuro con cavallo, Iuppiter, I., Minerva e Fortuna. A d. di Fortuna dovevano esserci un altro Dioscuro e la quadriga di Luna. I. veste chitone con rimbocco cinto sotto al seno; un mantello le copre la nuca. Con la mano s. regge uno scettro. Presso di lei è un pavone.

81.\* Coperchio di sarcofago in marmo. Vaticano. Gabinetto delle Maschere. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II 688 ss. n° 430 tav. 78; Cumont, *Symb* 77 ss. tav. 3, 2. - Come il prec. Sono aggiunti un Erate presso Sol,

Caelus al centro. Inoltre Minerva precede Iuppiter e I. che veste un chitone senza rimbocco cinto sotto al seno e mantello sul capo. Con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro. Si tratta verosimilmente di fr. da una più ampia composizione cosmogonica con la Triade Capitolina e Fortuna (o Salus Populi Romani). Un sarcofago pertinente alla stessa serie che i n° precc. mostra sul coperchio, al centro, una triade divina (Iuppiter fra I. e Tellus?, Pluto tra Proserpina e Ceres?) di non chiara interpretazione (San Lorenzo fuori le Mura: Cumont, *Symb* 77 s. fig. 8 tav. 2, 2; Horster, M., *AA* 1975, 404 fig. 2; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 101 fig. 97).

82. (= Athena/Minerva 283\*, = Dioskouroi/Castores 78 con bibl., = Helios/Sol 350\*) Coperchio di sarcofago in marmo. Mantova, Pal. Ducale. - Levi, A., *Sculture greche e romane del pal. Ducale di Mantova* (1931) 86 ss. n° 186 tav. 100; Rodenwaldt, G., *AbhBerlin* (1935, 3) 3 ss.; Sichtermann, H., *AA* 1974, 316 s.; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 100. - Età antonina. - Come il prec. ma più completo. In ordine sono Iuppiter, I., Fortuna e Minerva. I. veste un peplo di tipo dorico, ha un mantello sulla nuca e si poggiava ad uno scettro.

83. Coperchio di sarcofago in marmo. Vaticano. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II 290 ss. n° 102n tav. 27; *Festschr. F. Matz* (1962) tav. 36, 2; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 100 s. - Come il prec. A fianco della Triade, le tre Parche. (Per il sarcofago → Homonoia/Concordia 78 con bibl.)

#### e) Presentazione di Apollo e Diana alla Triade Capitolina

##### Rilievi

84.\* Rilievo da un sarcofago in marmo. Roma, Mus. Cap., Sala dei Filosofi. - Stuart Jones, *SculptMusCap* 264 n° 109 tav. 62. - Seconda metà del II sec. d. C. - Il coperchio è probabilmente pertinente ad un sarcofago con strage dei Niobidi. Vi è raffigurata la presentazione del giovanissimo Apollo alla Triade Capitolina ed agli altri dei. Quasi al centro della lastra è la Triade Capitolina con Iuppiter seduto in trono, una Victoria(?) e Minerva alla sua d., e I., che posa la mano d. sulla spalla di Apollo, alla sua s. La dea veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno ed un mantello che poggia sul capo, ricade sulle spalle e sulle gambe, e copre interamente il braccio s. ad esclusione della mano. Sul capo è una stephane. Secondo Robert (*SarkRel* III 1, 42 s.) si tratta di un lavoro del Settecento.

85. (= Apollon/Apollo 436\* con bibl., = Artemis/Diana 290, = Demeter/Ceres 151\*, = Eileithyia 59 con bibl.) Coperchio di sarcofago in marmo. Roma, Villa Borghese. - *SarkRel* III 1, n° 33 tav. 7; Sichtermann, H., *Jdl* 83, 1968, 209 ss. fig. 16; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 141 fig. 144. - Seconda metà del II sec. d. C. - Come il prec. I. è in chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che le copre le gambe. Il capo è di restauro; doveva essere coperto dal mantello. Con la mano s. la dea regge uno scettro.

86. (= Apollon/Apollo 437\*) Fr. di coperchio di sarcofago in marmo. Roma, c.d. Studio Canova. - *SarkRel* III 1, n° 33' tav. 7; Sichtermann, o.c. 85, 209 n. 88; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 141; Micheli,

M. E., *RivIstArch* s. III, 8-9, 1985-86, 261 ss. n° 79 fig. 35. - Come i precc. Sono conservate solo le figg. di Iuppiter, I. ed Apollo. La dea veste chitone ed himation che le copre il capo e le gambe.

87.\* Coperchio di sarcofago in marmo. Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 21.076. - Sichtermann, o.c. 85, 182 ss. figg. 1-3; Sismondo Ridgway, B., *Classical Sculpture* (1972) 99 ss. n° 39; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 141 fig. 190. - Come i precc., ma non c'è I.(?).

#### 1.4. Raffigurazioni di Iuno Regina riferibili ad uno dei culti romani

##### Iuno Regina, stante con stephane, con o senza capo velato

##### Monete

##### a) Stante, con patera e cornucopie

88.\* AR quinario, Roma, Sabina († 137 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp III 355, 910 tav. 64, 20. - R.: I. R. stante verso s. con patera e cornucopie. La dea ha un chitone cinto alla vita, e un mantello che ricade ad arco sulle gambe. Il capo è svelato.

##### b) Stante, con patera e scettro

89.\* AU aureo, Roma, Sabina († 137 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp III 359, 936-939 tav. 65, 16. - R.: I. R. stante verso s. con patera e scettro. La dea veste chitone con rimbocco lungo, cinto alla vita, mantello che le copre la nuca e le spalle. Sul capo una stephane. Talvolta un pavone è ai suoi piedi. Legg. *IUNONI REGINAE*.

Stessa immagine su denarii (*BMC* Emp III 355, 908-909 tav. 64, 19 [I. velata]; 359, 940-943 tav. 65, 17-18 [I. con stephane]; 356, 1869 [I. velata]), e su AE (*BMC* Emp III 359, 1894-1895 tav. 99, 7). Su dupondii, invece, I. R. è rivolta a d.

90. AR denario (placcato), Roma, Adriano, 119-122 d. C.? - *BMC* Emp III 563; Reusch, W., *Der Kölner Münzschatzfund vom Jahre 1909* (1935) 19 tav. 4, 1. - R.: I. R. stante verso s. con patera e scettro. La dea veste chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto alla vita, e mantello che le copre la nuca e le spalle. Stephane sul capo. Legg. *IUNONI REGINAE*.

91. AE denario, Roma, Faustina Minore (161-176 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp IV 399, 104-111 tav. 55, 10; 401, 118-121 tav. 55, 13. - R.: I. R. come sopra, in chitone e mantello sul capo e le spalle, talvolta senza pavone. Legg. *IUNO* (n° 104-111) e *IUNONI REGINAE* (n° 118-21). Analoghi esemplari in bronzo *BMC* Emp IV 532, 914-917 tav. 73, 8; 541, 983-984 (con legg. *IUNO* S. C.); 533, 919-923 tav. 73, 4; 541, 985-986 (con legg. *IUNONI REGINAE* S. C.).

92.\* AR denario, Roma, Lucilla († 183 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp IV 431, 339-341 tav. 59, 5. - R.: I. R. come sopra, in chitone e velata con un pavone ai suoi piedi. Legg. *IUNO REGINA*. Analoghi i bronzi *BMC* Emp IV 570, 1152 tav. 76, 13; 577, 1207-1208; 579, 1218-1221 tav. 78, 5.

93. AE sesterzio, Roma, Lucio Vero (161-169 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp IV 610. - R.: I. R. con legg. *IUNO* S. C.

94.\* AU aureo, Roma, Faustina Maggiore, 139 d. C. - *BMC* Emp IV 9, 43 tav. 2, 3. - R.: I. R. in chitone con rimbocco, cinto alla vita, con mantello sulla nuca e sulle spalle, con patera e scettro; ai piedi un pavone. Legg. *IUNONI REGINAE*. Stessa immagine su denarii *BMC* Emp IV 23, 136-137 tav. 4, 3 e su bronzi *BMC* Emp IV 172, 1116-1117 (il primo senza pavone) tav. 24, 7; 174, 1128-1130 (il primo senza pavone) tav. 24, 9-10.

95. AU quinario, Roma, diva Faustina Maggiore (post 141 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp IV 66, 480 tav. 10, 14. - R.: I. R. come sopra, velata, con legg. *IUNO*. Analoghi esemplari in argento *BMC* Emp IV 66, 481-483 tav. 10, 15.

96.\* AR denario, Roma, diva Faustina Maggiore (post 141 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp IV 67, \*. - R.: I. in chitone cinto alla vita e mantello che copre la nuca e ricade ad arco sulle gambe. Stephane sul capo. Con la s. si poggia ad uno scettro; nella d. regge una patera. Legg. *IUNONI REGINA* (sic). Analoghi esemplari in bronzo *BMC* Emp IV 245, 1531-1535 tav. 36, 12; 255, 1596-1598 tav. 38, 2; 380, 2188 tav. 53, 6 (con legg. *IUNO* S. C.).

97. AR denario, Roma, Crispina (post 180 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp IV 695, 41-42 tav. 92, 2. - R.: I. R. in chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto alla vita, e mantello sulla nuca e le spalle; nelle mani scettro e patera. Al suo fianco, un pavone. Legg. *IUNO*. Analoghi sesterzi *BMC* Emp IV 768, 431-432 tav. 102, 11 (con legg. *IUNO* S. C.).

98.\* AU aureo, AR denario, AE sesterzio, Roma, Manlia Scantilla, 193 d. C. - *BMC* Emp V 13, 10-12 tav. 3, 13-15; 17, 32-37 tav. 4, 4, 5, 9. - R.: I. R. velata con chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto alla vita, e mantello sul capo e sulle spalle. Stephane sul capo. Patera nella mano destra protesa e scettro nella s.; un pavone è ai suoi piedi. Legg. *IUNO REGINA* S. C.

99.\* AU aureo, Roma, Giulia Domna, 198-209 d. C. - *BMC* Emp V 162, 37 tav. 27, 18. - R.: I. R. in chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto alla vita, e mantello sulla nuca e sulle spalle. Stephane sul capo, patera nella mano destra protesa e scettro nella s.; un pavone è ai suoi piedi. Legg. *IUNO*. Analoghi esempl. in argento *BMC* Emp V 162, 38-44 tavv. 27, 19, 20; 28, 1 (ma I. R. è diademata e velata con il mantello che le ricade sui fianchi), e in bronzo *BMC* Emp V 308, 769 tav. 46, 18. Legg. dei n° 42-44 *IUNO REGINA*; del n° 769 *IUNO REGINA* S. C. La serie è stata preceduta da emissioni in bronzo, 193-196 d. C.: *BMC* Emp V 122, 487 tav. 21, 1; 124, 496-497 tav. 21, 6 con il tipo di I. R. diademata e velata, ma con il mantello ricadente sulle spalle. Negli anni 196-202 (o anche più recentemente) la stessa tipologia si incontra su emissioni in argento orientali (Laodicea ad mare) *BMC* Emp V 277, 601-603 tav. 42, 20 e legg. *IUNO REGINA*, ma dove il mantello si piega, a mo' di sciarpa, intorno al collo (i n° 38-41 tav. 27, 19, 20 sono con il mantello sulle gambe).

100. AR quinario, Roma, Giulia Domna, 211-217 d. C. - *BMC* Emp V 431, 5-6 tav. 67, 7, 8. - R.: I. R. come sopra, con mantello sulla nuca e sulle spalle. Legg. *IUNO* o *IUNONEM* (in un es. a Vienna *IUNO CONSERVATRIX*: *BMC* Emp V 435). Analoghi esemplari in bronzo *BMC* Emp V 468, 206-210 tav. 73, 13-14; 471, 224 tav. 74, 8 con legg. *IUNO* o *IUNONEM* S. C.

101. AR denario, Roma, Giulia Soaemias (218-222 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp V 536, 38. - R.: I. R. come sopra, velata, ma con mantello che ricade sulle spalle e legg. *IUNO*.

102.\* AU aureo, Roma, Giulia Maesa (218-222 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp V 540, 66 tav. 86, 4. - R.: I. R. come sopra, in chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto alla vita, e mantello sulla nuca e sulle spalle; legg. *IUNO*. Analoghi esempl. in argento *BMC* Emp V 540, 67-68 tav. 86, 5. In emissioni orientali in argento compare una variante del tipo con mantello ricadente sul davanti con un lembo poggiato sul braccio sinistro e legg. *IUNO* (*BMC* Emp V 577, 295-296 tav. 91, 16-17); su un tipo canonico la legg. è invece *IUNO CONSERVATRIX* (*BMC* Emp V 577, 297 tav. 91, 18).

103. AR denario, Roma, Giulia Paula, 219-220 d. C. - *BMC* Emp V 555. - R.: come sopra e legg. *IUNO CONSERVATRIX*.

104.\* AU aureo, AR denario, AE sesterzio, Roma, Giulia Mamaea, 222 d. C. - *BMC* Emp VI 119, 42-54 tav. 2. - R.: I. velata, stante, come sopra. Legg. *IUNO CONSERVATRIX*.

##### c) Stante, con lancia(?) e patera

105. AR denario, Roma, Sabina († 137 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp III 355 n. a n° 909. - R.: Come *BMC* Emp III 355, 909 (v. 89) del quale parrebbe essere una variante (ma potrebbe trattarsi di un difetto di conio).

##### d) Stante, con mano destra protesa e scettro

106. AR denario, Roma, Adriano. - *BMC* Emp III 355 n. a n° 909. - Come sopra. Potrebbe essere un difetto di conio.

107. AU quinario, Roma, diva Faustina Maggiore (post 141 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp IV 53, 344 tav. 8, 16. - R.: I.(?) in chitone cinto alla vita e mantello sul capo ricadente sulle gambe e con un lembo riportato sul braccio s., con mano d. protesa e scettro nella s. Legg. *AE-TERNITAS*. Analoghi denarii in argento *BMC* Emp IV 53 s., 345-353 tav. 8, 15, 17.

#### 1.5. Possibili raffigurazioni di Iuno Regina

##### Monete

108. AR denario anonimo con testa di elefante, 128 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 262/1 tav. 38, 5. - R.: dea in chitone cinto sotto al seno su biga tirata da cavalli. La dea ha nelle mani uno scettro e un ramo di palma o di alloro. Se fosse alloro, si potrebbe pensare si tratti di I. R. Sotto la biga legg. *ROMA* e testa di elefante.



## 1.6. Iuno Regina come Aeternitas

## Monete

109. AR denario, Roma, diva Faustina Maggiore, 141 d. C. e dopo. - BMC Emp IV 42 s., 280-284 tav. 7, 6. - R.: I(?) in chitone cinto alla vita, velata, con il mantello ripiegato ai fianchi, con la d. regge il velo, e con la s. regge lo scettro pressoché in verticale. Legg. AETERNITAS. Simile il denario BMC Emp IV 67, 487.

## 2. Ad Ardea

Il tempio è localizzabile forse in prossimità del Foro in quanto i Romani, per propiziarsi la dea di Cartagine nel 217 a. C., celebrarono sacrifici in vari templi di I.; i decemviri furono inviati ad Ardea e celebrarono sacrifici nel Foro, evidentemente presso il tempio della dea (Liv. 22, 1, 17-19. Cf. Coarelli, F., *Lazio* [1982] 286). Culto verosimilmente oracolare, come si desume da Verg. *Aen.* 7, 419. Qui erano forse le pitture ricordate da Plin. *nat.* 35, 115 opera di un pittore greco dell'Asia Minore, Marcus Plautius (Wiken, E., *BollStMed* 5, 1934, 7-21; Stefani, E., *NotSc* 1954, 6-30; Morselli/Tortorici 71. 91 ss.). Tuttavia, è possibile anche pensare che il tempio della dea fosse sull'acropoli, in quanto protettrice della città (Colonna, G., *Arch. Laz* 6, 1984, 409), come d'altronde a Roma ed a Veio (Andrén, A., *Studi in onore di L. Banti* [1965] 15, n. 1). Si potrebbe allora suggerire che a I. R. dea poliade, siano stati aggregati Iuppiter e Minerva in sintonia con il culto della triade poliadica di Roma. Nel tempio è stato rinvenuto il frammento di una statua di terracotta con due piedi calzati su plinto trapezoidale, e resti di un mantello che giunge fino alle caviglie (Pasqui, A., *NotSc* 1900, 63 fig. 4; Andrén, o. c. 19 s. tav. 7b; Martin, o. c. 28, 26 fig. 2). Poiché i piedi sono colorati in rosso, si potrebbe supporre che si tratti di un fr. della statua di Iuppiter, a meno che non sia, più semplicemente, un offerente. Le fonti antiche sono, oltre Plinio, Liv. 22, 1, 19.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: *Enea nel Lazio*, Cat. Roma (1981) 10 ss.; Morselli, C./Tortorici, E., *Ardea. Forma Italiae* I 16 (1982) 29. 71. 91 ss.

## 3. A Sezze

Da un santuario ad Ovest della città, sono state rinvenute numerose terrecotte votive ed un cippo in tufo, del III sec. a. C., con la dedica a Iuno Regina. Cf. Zaccaro, L./Pasquali, F., *Sezze. Guida all'antiquario* (1970) 20; *idem*, *Sezze dalla preistoria all'età romana* (1972).

## C. Iuno Regina Dolichena

Quando lo Stato di Commagene entrò a far parte integrante dell'Impero Romano, all'epoca di Vespasiano, il culto principale della regione, attribuito ad una coppia divina simile a Baal ed Astarte (o Hadad ed Atargatis), si diffuse tramite l'esercito fino a Roma ed

al Nord d'Europa. Sede principale del culto era la città di Doliche (presso Gaziantep). A Roma sono stati rinvenuti due edifici sacri dedicati agli dei: uno sull'Esquilino, presso la chiesa di Sant'Eusebio, l'altro sull'Aventino, già noto dai Cataloghi Regionari («Dolocenum»), che ha restituito una notevole messe di reperti. L'iconografia della coppia divina, rapidamente assimilata a Zeus/Iuppiter ed Hera/Iuno, è strutturata basilariamente su modelli antichissimi, di tradizione hittito-hurrita (divinità in piedi su animali); ma le immagini di culto si piegano rapidamente alla tradizione greco-romana, ed assumono vesti e, parzialmente, attributi desunti dalle più comuni raffigurazioni di Zeus/Iuppiter ed Hera/Iuno. Ove si escluda lo specchio, non comune nell'iconografia di Iuno, la dea di Doliche non si differenzia, nei monumenti figurati pervenuti, dalla più comune iconografia di Iuno Regina.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Wissowa, *Religion* 361 ss.; v. Domaszewski, A., *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* (1895) 59 s.; Merlat, P., *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus* (1951) *passim* (= Merlat, *Rép.*); *idem*, *Jupiter Dolichenus. Essai d'interprétation et de synthèse* (1960); Speidel, M. P., *Jupiter Dolichenus. Der Himmelsgott auf dem Stier* (1980); Hörig, M./Schwertheim, E., *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni* (1987).

Rilievi  
Marmo

110. (= Dioskouroi/Castores 115\*, = Isis 206) Roma, Mus. Cap. 9747. Dal Dolocenum dell'Aventino. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1190c (Simon, E.); Colini, A. M., *BullCom* 63, 1935, 152 n° 16 tav. 4; *idem*, *Epigraphica* 1, 1939, 136 s. n° 11; Merlat, *Rép.* 166 ss. n° 185 tav. 19; Pietrangeli, C., *Musei Capitolini. I monumenti dei culti orientali* (1951) 40 n° 24 tav. 8; Hörig/Schwertheim 230 ss. n° 365 tav. 77. - Seconda metà del II sec. d. C. - Ai lati di un'ara su cui sono un'aquila con ali spiegate ed i busti di Serapide ed Iside, sono a s. Iuppiter Dolichenus su toro, ed a d. I. D. in piedi su una cerbiatta. La dea veste chitone cinto alla vita e mantello ricadente sui fianchi e sulle gambe; sul capo, un lembo del mantello e stephane. Con la d. la dea regge uno specchio; con la s. si poggia ad uno scettro. Agli angoli in alto i due busti dei Castori Dolicheni. Iscrizione sincretistica a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus Serapis e ad Iside Iuno.

111. Roma, Mus. Cap. Dal Dolocenum sull'Aventino. - Colini, *BullCom* 63, 1935, 152 n° 15; *idem*, *Epigraphica* 1, 1939, 126 n° 4; Merlat, *Rép.* 165 s. n° 184; Pietrangeli, o. c. 110, 41 n. 27 fig. in copertina; Hörig/Schwertheim 230 n° 364 tav. 76. - Seconda metà del II sec. d. C. - Sulla lastra è raffigurata la sola I. D. in piedi su una cerbiatta. La dea veste chitone con lungo rimbocco cinto alla vita; sul capo posa una stephane. Nella d. la dea regge uno specchio; con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro sul cui terminale è raffigurato un pavone. Dedicata di L. Apronius Helius e della famiglia per tramite del sacerdote Chaibio.

112.\* Roma, Mus. Cap. 9744. Dal Dolocenum sull'Aventino. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1190b (Simon, E.); Colini, *BullCom* 63, 1935, 153 n° 23 tav. 2; *idem*, *Epigraphica* 1, 1939 126 n° 5; Merlat, *Rép.* 170 ss. n° 190 tav. 20, 2; Pietrangeli, o. c. 110, 42 n° 33 tav. 7; Hörig/

Schwertheim 234 ss. n° 371 tav. 81. - Seconda metà del II sec. d. C. - A s. Iuppiter Dolichenus su toro. A d. in basso un sacerdote, in piccolo formato, conduce un toro verso il dio; in alto I. D. in piedi su cerbiatta, che regge con la d. lo specchio. La dea veste un chitone cinto ai fianchi; i capelli sono raccolti e stretti da un diadema dai lembi fluttuanti; una grossa treccia ricade sulle spalle. Dedicata, per ordine di Iuppiter Dolichenus, di P. Albius Euhelpastus, 'libertus Aniceti' e di Lucius.

113. (= Dioskouroi/Castores 84, = Helios/Sol 364, = Isis 207) Roma, Mus. Cap. 9750. Dal Dolocenum sull'Aventino. - Colini, *BullCom* 63, 1935, 152 n° 17 fig. 9; *idem*, *Epigraphica* 1, 1939, 138 n° 14; Merlat, *Rép.* 202 ss. n° 206 tav. 22, 1; Pietrangeli, o. c. 110, 43 n° 38; Hörig/Schwertheim 253 s. n° 386 tav. 87. - Inizi del III sec. d. C. - In basso, ai lati sono Iuppiter Dolichenus e I. D. nel consueto schema; al centro sono Osiride ed Iside. In alto, al centro i Castori Dolicheni reggenti per le briglie due cavalli; ai lati i busti di Sol e Luna. I. D., in piedi su una cerbiatta, veste chitone cinto alla vita e mantello che ricade sulle gambe. Sul capo posa la stephane. La dea regge con la d. uno specchio; con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro.

114. Già a Roma, Villa Ludovisi; ora disperso. Dal Dolocenum sull'Aventino (?). Seyrig, H., *Syria* 14, 1933, 372 n° 3; Merlat, *Rép.* 211 s. n° 222; *MusNaz-Rom* I 6 (1986) 15 ss. n° II 1 (Micheli, M. E.); Hörig/Schwertheim 262 s. n° 405 tav. 93. - Fine del II sec. d. C. - Al centro di un'edicola ornata di foglie di quercia è I. D. in piedi su un cervide (daino?). La dea veste chitone con lungo rimbocco cinto alla vita e mantello che le copre la nuca. Sul capo posa un'alta stephane. La d., ora mutila, reggeva forse lo specchio; la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro sormontato da una Vittoria che regge una palma ed una corona.

115.\* Berlino (DDR), Staatl. Mus. SK 1778. Da Roma. - Seyrig, H., *Syria* 14, 1933, 370 n° 2 fig. 1 tav. 38, 2; Merlat, *Rép.* 236 ss. n° 242 tav. 23, 2; 24; Hörig/Schwertheim 278 ss. n° 428 fig. in frontespizio. - Seconda metà del II sec. d. C. - Il pannello conservato a Berlino è mutilo. Probabilmente (Seyrig, Merlat) è identico con il rilievo raffigurato in un disegno di Dupérac (da Pirro Ligorio) che mostra, tuttavia, forti varianti iconografiche. La coppia divina è nel consueto schema; ma, a giudicare anche dal disegno, I. D., in piedi su daino, è raffigurata su una base con iscrizione greca. La dea veste chitone con lungo rimbocco cinto sotto al seno, e velo che le copre la nuca. Stephane sul capo, specchio nella mano d. e scettro nella s. Di particolare importanza la raffigurazione di Iuppiter, con tiara, capelli lunghi sciolti sulle spalle e barba, secondo la tradizione orientale, non greca.

## Basalto

116. Stele. Aleppo, Mus. Da Khaltan. - Will, E., *Syria* 29, 1952, 60 ss. tav. 5; Hörig/Schwertheim 30 n° 27 tav. 9. - I-II sec. d. C. - La stele, che è pendant di un'altra con raffigurazione di Iuppiter Dolichenus, mostra Iuno Dolichena stante, con la testa di profilo, vestita con chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che ricade sui fianchi; un lembo del mantello posa sull'avambraccio s. I capelli sono legati a treccia sul collo.

Nella mano d. la dea regge un papavero. Simili due stele in basalto da Zeytintepe (Hörig/Schwertheim 27 s. n° 23 tav. 7), e da Kurcuoglu (Hörig/Schwertheim, 29 n° 25 tav. 8), nel Mus. Hatay ad Antakya.

## Calcere

117. Dillingen, Mus. Da Faimingen. - Merlat, *Rép.* 147 s. n° 167 tav. 16; Hörig/Schwertheim 304 s. n° 477. - Fine del II sec. d. C. - Il rilievo è scolpito sulle due facce. Sulla faccia anteriore è Iuppiter Dolichenus; su quella posteriore I. D. in piedi, su una giovinca accosciata. La dea veste un chitone e regge nella d. un oggetto a forma di patera.

118. Klagenfurt, Mus. Da Lamprechtskogel. - Merlat, *Rép.* 12 s. n° 143 tav. 11, 3; Hörig/Schwertheim 218 n° 347 tav. 66. - La coppia divina è nello schema canonico inquadrata entro la facciata di un piccolo santuario a pilastri di ordine corinzio, con un frontone decorato con un'aquila e le teste di Sol e Luna a guisa di acroteri. I. è su una cerbiatta, ed è vestita di chitone e mantello che le cinge il corpo; un lembo le copre la nuca. La mano sin. è sollevata come a reggere un oggetto.

## Glittica

119. Impronta di sigillo. Den Haag, Cabinet Royal des Médailles. Da Doliche? - Ronzevalle, S., *MélBeyrouth* 23, 1940, 1 ss. n° 7 tav. 4; Seyrig, H., *MélBeyrouth* 23, 1940, 87 n° 3; 91. 105 tav. 5, 3; Merlat, *Rép.* 379 n. 372; Hörig/Schwertheim 19 n° 14A. - Raffigurazione di I. D. secondo il tipo canonico. Simili le impronte Seyrig, o. c. 87 n. 4; 91. 105.

120. Impronta di sigillo. Den Haag, Cabinet Royal des Médailles. Da Doliche? - Seyrig, o. c. 119, 87 n° 5; 91. 105 tav. 5, 5; Merlat, *Rép.* 379 n. 374; Hörig/Schwertheim 20 n° 14B. - Teste affrontate di Zeus ed Hera. La dea non ha alcun ornamento. Dato il luogo di provenienza, è probabile il riconoscimento della coppia Dolichena.

## Metallo

121. Placca triangolare in bronzo. Widin, Mus. Da Jassen (Romulanium?). - Merlat, *Rép.* 45 ss. n° 50 tav. 3, 2; Speidel, M. P., *The Religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army* (1978) 16. 55 s. fig. 8; Hörig/Schwertheim 80 ss. n° 103 tav. 26. - Età severiana. - In alto, a s. Iuppiter Dolichenus armato in piedi su un toro; a d. I. R. in piedi su una cerva, vestita di chitone con lungo rimbocco cinto alla vita. Con la s. si poggia ad uno scettro; nella mano d. regge uno specchio. Tra le due divinità una corona.

122. Placca triangolare in bronzo. Da Kömlöd (Lussonium). Budapest, Mus. Nat. Hongrois. - Merlat, *Rép.* 64 ss. n° 66 tav. 4; Speidel, o. c. 121, 25. 43. 56 n° 30; Hörig/Schwertheim, 133 ss. n° 202 tav. 39. - Età severiana. - La placca è divisa in cinque registri. Nel quarto sono Iuppiter Dolichenus e I. R. nello schema canonico; ma I. è su un capro(?) e con la mano d. si appoggia ad un corno dell'animale, mentre con la

s. si appoggia ad uno scettro. La dea è vestita di chitone cinto alla vita e mantello che copre la nuca e ricade in diagonale sul corpo poggiando sul braccio s. sollevato.

**123.\*** (= Dioskouroi/Castores 52). Placca triangolare in bronzo. Vienna, Kunsth. Mus. M 4. Da Mauer an der Url. - Merlat, *Rép.* 131 ss. n° 152 tav. 13; Speidel, *o. c.* 121, 25. 57. 60 s. fig. 12; Hörig/Schwertheim 189 ss. n° 294 tav. 57. - La placca è divisa in tre registri. Nel registro centrale la coppia divina nella posizione canonica. I. R. è su una cerbiatta; veste chitone e mantello che le copre la nuca e ricade sui fianchi. La mano s. è poggiata sul fianco; la d. regge una patera.

**124.** Placca triangolare in bronzo. Vienna, Kunsth. Mus. M5. Da Mauer an der Url. - Merlat, *Rép.* 134 ss. n° 153 tav. 14; Speidel, 25. 56. 60 fig. 11; Hörig/Schwertheim 191 ss. n° 295 tav. 58. - La placca è divisa in cinque registri di differente misura. Nel registro inferiore, il più grande, la coppia divina nella disposizione canonica. I. R. è su un toro; veste tunica cinto alla vita e mantello ripiegato ai fianchi. Con la mano d. regge una bipenne, con la s. un ramo di palma.

**125.** Tavoleta votiva in argento. Londra, BM. Da Hedderheim. - Merlat, *Rép.* 308 ss. n° 316 tav. 34; Schwertheim, E., *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland* (1974) 98 s. n° 80 tav. 106; Speidel, *o. c.* 121, 41, 63 fig. 14; Hörig/Schwertheim 325 s. n° 518 tav. 111. - Entro un'edicola a colonne corinzie e frontone ad arcata serliana decorato con una falce di luna e stelle, la coppia divina nella disposizione canonica. I. R. in piedi su un animale (non conservato) veste un chitone cinto alla vita e mantello che le copre la nuca e ricade sui fianchi. Nella s. regge uno scettro; nella d. regge una patera. Victoria incorona Iuppiter. In basso, piccolo altare.

**126.** Placca triangolare in bronzo. Da Hedderheim. Wiesbaden, Mus. Wiesbaden. - Merlat, *Rép.* 314 ss. n° 322 tav. 35, 3; Schwertheim, *o. c.* 125, 93 s. n° 73a tav. 100, Hörig/Schwertheim 320 n° 512 tav. 108. - 175 d. C. ca. - Divisa in due registri. Nel sup. è Iuppiter Dolichenus coronato da una Vittoria, e la testa di Sol. Nel reg. inf. I. R. stante frontale su una cerbiatta tra due Castori Dolicheni sul cui capo sono i busti di Sol e Luna. La dea, in chitone e mantello che le copre la nuca e ricade sulle gambe, regge con la d. un sistro e con la s. lo scettro. Sul capo ha un attributo non identificato (di Iside?).

**127.** Placca triangolare in bronzo dorato. Stuttgart, Landesmus., Prov.-röm. Slg. R 1, 29. Da Aalen (Aquila in Raetia). - Merlat, *Rép.* 148 ss. n° 168 fig. 33; Hörig/Schwertheim 302 s. n° 475 tav. 106. - Scena divisa in due registri. Nel reg. sup. a s. Iuppiter Dolichenus; a d. I. D., frammentaria, in piedi su una giovenca; al centro un albero sacro. Nel registro inf. sono ancora visibili un Castor Dolichenus e, a s. Minerva e Mars(?).

**128.** Placca triangolare in bronzo. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. - Merlat, *Rép.* 340 n° 346 tav. 36, 3; Hörig/Schwertheim 68 s. n° 80 tav. 22. - Nel registro sup. i busti di Sol e Luna. Nel registro centrale la coppia Iuppiter-I. nello schema canonico. Nel registro inf. i Castori Dolicheni. I. D. è su un daino; veste un chitone e

regge nella d. uno specchio; nella s. abbassata regge un oggetto indistinto.

#### Sculpture a tutto tondo

**129.** Statua in pietra. Chesters, Mus. The Clayton Collection of Roman Antiquities. Da Cilurnum (Valium Hadriani). Cumont, F., *Syria* 1, 1920, 187 s. fig. 2; Merlat, *Rép.* 269 s. n° 276 tav. 25, 3; Hörig/Schwertheim 350 s. n° 563 tavv. 123. - I. D. (mutila degli avambracci e della testa) è in piedi su un cervide (mutilo). Veste una tunica pieghettata cinto alla vita con una cintura terminante in elementi a foglia d'edera. Sulle gambe ricade un mantello decorato ai bordi con un motivo ad onda.

**130.\*** Statuetta in bronzo. Vienna, Kunsth. Mus. M2. Da Mauer an der Url. - Fleischer, R., *Die römischen Bronzen aus Österreich* (1967) n° 19 tav. 15; Hörig/Schwertheim 187 n° 292 tav. 55. - III sec. d. C. - I. R. è in piedi su una cerva. Veste un chitone con rimbocco, cinto sotto al seno, ed un mantello che posa sulla nuca ricadendo sulle spalle; sul capo ha una stephane. Con la mano d. protesa la dea regge una patera; con la s. si appoggia ad un lungo scettro. La statuetta è stata rinvenuta con un'altra raffigurante Juppiter Dolichenus in piedi su un toro, rivestito con una corazza anatomica (Fleischer, *o. c.* tav. 14).

**131.** Mano votiva in bronzo. Adana, Mus. Da Şar-Comana Cappadociae. - Wagner, J., in *Homm. à M. J. Vermaseren III*, *EPRO* 68 (1978) 1290 ss. tavv. 260-263; Speidel, M. P., *Iuppiter Dolichenus. Der Himmels-gott auf dem Stier* (1980) fig. 28; Hörig/Schwertheim 47 s. n° 43 tav. 14. - I sec. d. C. - Sul palmo della mano, a rilievo, è la coppia divina. I. D. è su una cerva; veste un lungo chitone; sul capo ha un polos; nella mano d. regge un papavero(?), nella s. un attributo irrinconoscibile. Tra le divinità, in alto, un'aquila con le ali spiegate, posata su una testa di cervo dalle lunghe corna.

#### D. Iuno Moneta

Secondo Cicerone (*div.* 2, 69) l'epiclesi deriverebbe da *monere*, «avvertire». Iuno sarebbe, perciò, la vigile guardiana della città e delle fortificazioni, come presuppone il suo culto situato, nei casi documentati (Roma, Mons Albanus, Segni, Cori), sulle acropoli. Non sono mancate altre ipotesi, forse meno fondate: *monere* nel senso di «ricordare» (Iuno Moneta come Mnemosyne), oppure nel senso di «consigliare» (come Egeria).

**BIBLIOGRAFIA:** Wissowa, *Religion* 190; Rose, H. J., *Ancient Roman Religion* (1948) 71; van den Bruwaene, M., in *Homm. M. Niedermann, Coll. Latomus* 23 (1956) 329 ss.; Palmer, R. E. A., *Roman Religion and Roman Empire* (1974) 29 s.; Radke, G., *Die Götter Altitaliens* (1966) 221 ss.; Guarducci, M., *BullCom* 72, 1946-48, 129 ss.; Dury-Moyaers/Renard 165 ss.

#### 1. A Roma

Il tempio fu votato da M. Furio Camillo durante la guerra contro gli Aurunci nel 345 a. C. e dedicato sul-

l'Arx nel 344 a. C. (Liv. 7, 28, 4-6), sul luogo già occupato dalla casa di M. Manlio Capitolino distrutta nel 384 a. C. Qui viveva, secondo la tradizione, anche Tito Tazio (Plut. *Rom.* 20; Solinus 1, 21). Dedicato il 1 giugno, nel tempio erano conservati i libri lintei (Liv. 4, 7, 12; 20, 8). È probabile che il culto fosse anteriore al votum del tempio da parte di Camillo, perché ad esso si riferisce Plutarco (*Cam.* 27) quando narra la celebre vicenda delle oche sacre a Iuno che avrebbero salvato con i loro schiamazzi il Campidoglio dall'occupazione gallica. D'altronde, il tempio di Segni (*cf. infra*) fu eretto da coloni romani all'epoca di Tarquinio il Superbo, o forse nel 394 a. C.: probabile segno della preesistenza del culto, o di un culto analogo, a Roma; a meno che i coloni non abbiano recepito un culto già attestato nel territorio. Il tempio romano è localizzato nell'area ora occupata da un giardinetto presso il portico del Vignola, alle spalle della chiesa dell'Ara Coeli; sembra verosimile, in base alle strutture, una cronologia alta, tra la fine del VI e gli inizi del V sec. a. C. (Giannelli, G., *BullCom* 87, 1980/81, 7 ss.); rafforzata dal rinvenimento di fittili databili allo stesso periodo (De Lucia, M. A., *BullCom* 86, 1978-79, 7 ss.). Resta aperto, naturalmente, il problema se la divinità venerata in questo edificio fosse Iuno con l'epiclesi di Moneta. Dinanzi al tempio era l'*auguraculum* dell'Arce; la *specio* degli *augures* avveniva in direzione sud-est, sulla linea della via Sacra. In asse con la linea della *specio* era il mons Albanus (Richardson jr., L., *AJA* 82, 1978, 240 ss.; Coarelli, F., in *Gli Etruschi e Roma. Incontro di studio in onore di M. Pallottino* [1981] 178 ss.), sede del santuario federale dei Latini, dedicato a Iuppiter Latialis. Qui nel 168 a. C. il pretore C. Cicereius dedicò un tempio a Iuno Moneta a seguito di un voto durante i combattimenti contro i Corsi (Liv. 42, 7, 1; 45, 15, 10). La scelta del sito fu certamente imposta, o perlomeno suggerita, dalla specifica posizione del santuario romano sull'Arce.

**BIBLIOGRAFIA:** Jordan/Hülse 1, 2, 108 ss.; Platner/Ashby 289 s.; *InscrIt* XIII 2, 463; Giannelli, G., *StRom* 1978, 60 ss.; *idem*, *BullCom* 87, 1980/81, 7 ss.

#### Monete

**132.\*** AR denario, L. Plaetorius L. f., 74 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 396/1 tav. 49, 23. - D.: testa di I. M. rivolta a d. con stephane e capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca. Legg. *MONETA* e S. C. R.: atleta vincitore.

**133.\*** AR denario, T. Carisius, 46 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 464/2 tav. 54, 26. - D.: testa di I. M. con capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca e riccioli ricadenti sulle spalle. Legg. *MONETA*. Analoga immagine su un denario di *restitutio* in argento dell'epoca di Traiano (*BMC Emp III* 136, 688 tav. 23, 5).

**134.** AR denario, Spagna, 68-69 d. C. - Martin, P.-H., *Die anonymen Münzen des Jahres 68 nach Chr.* (1974) n° 55 tav. 4. - D.: busto di I. M. rivolta a d. I capelli sono legati a crocchia dietro la nuca. Legg. *MONETA*. R.: attributi di Vulcanus in una corona e legg. *SALUTARIS*.

#### 2. A Segni

Si è supposto che il tempio, situato sull'acropoli della città, sia stato eretto nel 494 a. C. (Liv. 2, 21) dai coloni romani inviati a rinforzo della deduzione di Tarquinio il Superbo (Liv. 1, 56; Dion. Hal. *ant.* 4, 63). Considerato da Delbrueck come tempio della Triade Capitolina, è stato ormai rivendicato a I. M. (Coarelli, *Lazio* [1982] 177 s.). Materiali della stipe votiva, ancora inediti, nel Museo di Villa Giulia.

**BIBLIOGRAFIA:** Delbrueck, R., *Das Capitolum von Signia* (1903); *Roma medio-republicana* (1973) 337 s. n° 488 (Coarelli, F.); Coarelli, F., *Lazio* (1982) 177 s.; Colonna, G., *ArchLaz* 6, 1984, 408.

#### 3. A Cori (?)

Secondo un'ipotesi di F. Coarelli (*Lazio* [1982] 262 ss.), il c. d. tempio di Hercules posto sull'acropoli di Cori potrebbe essere stato dedicato, in realtà, a I. M. in analogia alla situazione di Segni. La stipe votiva del tempio, anteriore alla sua ricostruzione della fine del II sec. a. C., sembra rimandare ad una divinità salutare, forse femminile.

#### E. Iuno Lucina

Sembra essere, sotto vari aspetti, il culto più decisamente legato alla funzione di Iuno come dea della fecondità e delle donne, anche se alcuni autori latini derivavano l'epiclesi da *lucus* (Ov. *fast.* 2, 435-436. 449; Plin. *nat.* 16, 235), accettata da Palmer (19 ss.) nel tentativo di minimizzare la funzione femminile di Iuno a favore di quella guerriera e militare. Si suppone ormai che l'epiteto derivi da *lux*, la luce della luna che presiede alle nascite. Era identificata con la greca Eileithyia. Il culto è documentato a Roma, a Norba (*cf. infra*) ed a Tuscolo (iscrizione da Capua, ora a Napoli *CIL X* 3807: *Iunone Loucina Tuscolana sacra*).

**BIBLIOGRAFIA:** Wissowa, *Religion* 185. 187; Roscher, W. H., *ML II* 1 (1890-94) 602; *InscrIt* XIII 2, 418; Dumézil 3, 263 ss.; Palmer, R. E. A., *Roman Religion and Roman Empire* (1974) 19 ss.; Dury-Moyaers/Renard 149 ss.

#### 1. A Roma

Un tempio a Iuno Lucina fu dedicato dalle matrone nel 375 a. C. sull'Esquilino in un *lucus* già precedentemente dedicato alla dea (Varro *l. l.* 5, 49. 74; Dion. Hal. *ant.* 4, 15), secondo la tradizione da Tito Tazio. Poiché, sempre secondo la tradizione, Servio Tullio aveva ordinato che le offerte votive per la buona riuscita dei parti fossero collocate nel tesoro del tempio (Dion. Hal. *ant.* 4, 15), si dovrà supporre la preesistenza nel *lucus* di un edificio sacro anteriore a quello del 375. Qui si celebravano il 1 marzo le importantissime feste dei Matronalia, come dice Ovidio (*fast.* 3, 233) per ricordare la nascita di Romolo, o il risveglio della primavera (*fast.* 3, 235-244). Il culto è particolar-

mente legato alle leggende della presenza sabina a Roma (il primo difficile parto delle Sabine dopo il ratto [fast. 2, 425-452]; la rappacificazione tra Sabini e Romani per l'intercessione delle Sabine [fast. 3, 179-252]). Il tempio era non lontano dalla chiesa di Santa Prassede, dove sono state rinvenute numerose iscrizioni che ricordano la dea (Jordan/Hülse I 3, 333 s.; Platner/Ashby 288 s.).

#### a) Stante

##### Rilievo

**135.\*** Altare funerario. Vaticano, Gall. Chiaramonti. - Reinach, *RépRel* III 372, 5; Amelung, *Skulpt-VatMus* I 809 s. n° 731A tav. 86. - Altare funerario di C. Poppaeus Ianuarius. Su un lato è un orante; su un altro è I. Lucina con un bambino in braccio e fiaccola nella mano d. La dea veste chitone con rimbocco e mantello che le copre le gambe e il braccio s. Il capo è scoperto(?). Il rilievo è consunto.

##### Monete

**136.\*** AR denario, Roma, diva Faustina Maggiore (post. 141 d. C.). *BMC* Emp IV 67, 484 tav. 10, 16. - R.: I. L. stante, in chitone con lungo rimbocco cinto alla vita, svelata, con breve torcia nella mano d. e scettro nella s.

**137.** AU aureo, Roma, Faustina Minore (161-176 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp IV 401, 116-117 tav. 55, 12. - R.: I. L. in piedi, in chitone cinto alla vita, con i capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca; regge in braccio un bambino; altri due bambini sono ai suoi piedi. Legg. *IUNONI LUCINAE*. Analoghi esempl. in bronzo, *BMC* Emp IV 532, 918 tav. 73, 3.

**138.\*** AR denario, Roma, Lucilla, 164-169 d. C.(?). - *BMC* Emp IV 428, 313-315 tav. 58, 14. - R.: I. L. in chitone cinto alla vita, velata con il mantello ricadente sui fianchi e sollevato sul braccio s. Il braccio d. è proteso; con il braccio s. regge un bambino. Legg. *IUNONI LUCINAE*. Analoghi esempl. in bronzo *BMC* Emp IV 573 con legg. *IUNONI LUCINAE* S. C.

**139.** AE sesterzio, Roma, Lucilla, post 164 d. C. - *BMC* Emp IV 570, 1153. - R.: I. L. con braccio d. proteso; con il braccio s. regge un bambino. Legg. *IUNONI LUCINAE* S. C.

**140.** AE dupondio, Roma, Faustina Minore (161-176 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp IV 541, \*. - R.: I. L. con due bambini tra le braccia; altri due bambini sono ai suoi piedi. Legg. *IUNONI LUCINAE* S. C.

#### b) Seduta

##### Monete

**141.\*** AU aureo, Roma, Faustina Minore (età di Antonino Pio). - *BMC* Emp IV 159, 1043-1044 tav. 22, 13. - R.: I. L. in chitone cinto alla vita e mantello intorno alle gambe, seduta, con stephane sul capo, regge un bambino sulle sue ginocchia con la mano d.; con la s. regge uno scettro; un altro bambino le è di fronte. Legg. *IUNO*.

**142.\*** AR denario, Roma, Lucilla, 164-169 d. C.(?). - *BMC* Emp IV 431, 342-345 tav. 59, 6. - R.: I. L. in chitone cinto alla vita e mantello intorno alle

gambe, seduta, con un fiore nella mano d. protesa ed un bambino retto con la s. Legg. *IUNONI LUCINAE*. Simile esempl. in bronzo *BMC* Emp IV 570, 1154.

**143.** AE sesterzio, Roma, Settimio Severo, 196-209 d. C. - *BMC* Emp V 308, 770-771 tav. 47, 1. - R.: I. L. con stephane e capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca siede su un trono dalla spalliera alta; veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno ed un mantello un cui lembo è riportato sul braccio s. La dea regge un infante fasciato con il braccio s. ed un fiore nella d. protesa. Legg. *IUNONI LUCINAE* S. C. Del tutto simile il dupondio *BMC* Emp V 312, \*. La stessa tipologia si incontra in sesterzi dell'età di Caracalla, sempre con effigie di Giulia Domna sul diritto (*BMC* Emp V 469, 211-212 tav. 74, 1).

##### Scultura a tutto tondo

**144.\*** C. d. Kourotrophos Chiaramonti. Vaticano, Gall. Chiaramonti 1847. - Amelung, *Skulpt-VatMus* I 471 n° 241; II 749; Borda, M., *La scuola di Pasiteles* (1953) 126 ss. 140 s. fig. 33; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 364 (Fuchs, W.). - Età augustea. - Figura femminile seduta, in chitone ed himation ripiegato intorno alle gambe. Il chitone ricade dalla spalla s. e lascia scoperto il seno, con cui la dea allatta un infante retto con il braccio d., mentre con la mano s. ne regge il capo. Acconciatura ad ampi boccoli che ricadono sulle spalle; sul capo posa un alto diadema, dietro il quale è un foro per l'inserimento di un attributo in metallo. È verosimile che si tratti di una interpretazione romana di Iside, forse assimilata a I. Lucina (così riferisce già Ov. *am.* 2, 13). Improbabile il rapporto con la statua di culto di I. Regina trasferita da Camillo a Roma nel 396 a. C. nel nuovo tempio sull'Aventino: essa era sicuramente un *xoanon* arcaico di legno (Dion. Hal. *ant.* 13, 3, 2. Cf. Martin, *o. c.* 28, 23 s.).

#### 2. A Norba

La città fu totalmente distrutta nell'82 a. C. dai Silani. Il tempio era all'estremità sud-occidentale dell'abitato, su un podio in opera poligonale. Prima costruzione del IV sec. a. C.; ricostruzione verso la fine del II sec. a. C. (Savignoni, L./Mengarelli, R., *NotSc* 1903, 229-262; Moretti, G., *NotSc* 1904, 446-457; Schmiedt, G./Castagnoli, F., *L'Universo* 1957, 125-148). Nella stipe votiva, pertinente alla prima fase templare, ricorrono dediche a I. L. (ad esempio: *Roma medio-repubblicana* [1973] 338 s. n° 489-490) e terrecotte con una donna (verosimilmente la dea) che allatta. Il tempio può essere contemporaneo con la fondazione del tempio di I. L. a Roma, del 375 a. C. Frammenti di terrecotte frontonali parrebbero potersi riferire alla decorazione dell'edificio sacro (Moretti, *o. c.* 446 ss. figg. 4-6). Importante anche un piede femminile con sandalo in bronzo pertinente forse ad una statua della dea (Moretti, *o. c.* 448 n° 5 fig. 8).

##### Rilievo

**145.** Figurina ritagliata in lamina di rame. Roma, Mus. Naz. Rom. - Savignoni/Mengarelli, *o. c.* 251 fig.

20. - Immagine femminile sommariamente descritta, con decorazione, a mezzo di punti a sbalzo, del capo, del collo, e del corpo (gioielli?). Analoghe figurine dal tempio di Diana. Si tratta della divinità o di offerenti?

##### Sculture a tutto tondo

**146.** Statuina in terracotta. Roma, Mus. Naz. Rom. - Savignoni/Mengarelli, *o. c.* 248 s. fig. 18b. - III sec. a. C. - Figura femminile seduta su trono con alta spalliera curva, ammantata, che allatta un infante nudo disteso sulle sue gambe. È un'immagine di I. L. in qualità di kourotrophos?

**147.** Statuetta in bronzo. Roma, Mus. Naz. Rom. - Savignoni/Mengarelli, *o. c.* 255 n° 2 fig. 23. - III sec. a. C. - La dea (o un'offerente?) veste chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello girato intorno alla vita e ricadente sulle cosce. Capo scoperto con capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca. Armilla al collo. Nella mano d. protesa, patera; nella s., anch'essa protesa, I. L. stringeva una face(?) o fiori(?). Cf. Ov. *fast.* 3, 253.

#### F. Iuno Cur(r)itis (o Quiritis)

##### 1. A Falerii

Dea protettrice di Falerii (Taylor, L. R., *Local Cults in Etruria* [1923] 64 ss.) la cui epiclesi non è di facile interpretazione (analisi delle ipotesi in Radke 102; Torelli 35 ss.). Era venerata nel santuario in località Celle (Kieseritzky, G., *BullInst* 1880, 108 ss.; Gamurrini, G. F., *NotSc* 1887, 101 ss.; Andrén, *o. c.* 5, 81 ss.; Ricci, G., *Le Arti* 3, 1940/41, 140; Stefani, E., *NotSc* 1947, 69 ss.; *Santuari d'Etruria*, Cat. Arezzo [1985] 110 ss.; Comella, A. M., *I materiali votivi di Falerii* [1986] 185 ss.). Mancano documenti figurati sull'immagine della dea: aveva certamente una lancia (Paul. *Festi* p. 43 Lind.: *Curitim Iunonem appellabant, quia eandem ferre hastam putabant*; Paul. *Festi* p. 55 Lind.: *I. C.... quae ita appellabatur a ferenda hasta, quae lingua Sabinorum curis dicitur*. Cf. Plut. *Rom.* 29; *quaest. rom.* 285b-d), e, se può essere postulata un'identità con la I. Curitis di Tivoli, anche uno scudo ed un carro (cf. *infra*). Era quindi una dea guerriera (in quanto divinità poliade difendeva il suo popolo in guerra), ma anche protettrice del matrimonio e delle nascite, come si desume da Paul. *Festi* p. 55 Lind. s. v. *caelibari hasta* (vd. Radke 154; Torelli 35 ss.). Probabile un rapporto con Hera di Argo (i Falisci provenivano da Argo, la sede privilegiata del culto di Hera, secondo Ov. *am.* 3, 13, 31 ss.; Cato *orig.*, *HRR* fig. 47. Cf. Torelli, M., *PP* 32, 1977, 435 s.), già proposto da Dion. Hal. *ant.* (1, 21, 2), ed ulteriormente convalidato, secondo una recente ipotesi, dalla scoperta che il tempio falisco era orientato verso Sud-Est, esattamente come l'Heraion di Argo (*Santuari d'Etruria*, Cat. Arezzo [1985] 112). Il culto fu trasferito a Roma dopo il 241 a. C. (Thulin, C., *RE* X 1 (1918) 1123 s. v. «Juno»; *InscrIt* XIII 2, 518). Alla dea fu dedicato un tempio nel Campo Marzio (Platner/Ashby 288), talvolta identificato con il tempio A nell'area sacra di Largo Argentina (ma l'ipotesi è controverosa): Castagnoli, F., *MemLinc* 8, 1 (1948) 172; Coarelli, F.,

*L'area sacra di Largo Argentina* (1981) 42 ss. 46 (il tempio A sarebbe dedicato a Giuturna; ma cf. Castagnoli, F., *BullCom* 91, 1986, 209 ss.). I. C. era venerata anche a Tibur (cf. *infra*) ed a Benevento (Roscher, W. H., *ML* II 1, 597 s.).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Roscher, W. H., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 596-597; Taylor, L. R., *Local Cults of Etruria* (1923) 68 ss.; Dury-Moyaers/Renard 161 ss.; Evans, E. C., *The Cults of the Sabine Territory* (1939) 138 s. 214 ss.; *InscrIt* XIII 2, 518; Palmer, R. E. A., *Roman Religion and Roman Empire* (1974) 14. 41 ss. 219 ss.; Radke, G., *Die Götter Altitaliens* (1966) 102; Torelli, M., *Lavinio e Roma* (1984) 35 ss. 52 s. 185 ss.

##### Rilievo

**148.\*** Statua ad altorilievo in terracotta, dal *column* del tempio di Celle a Falerii Veteres. Roma, Villa Giulia 2495. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2808 (Dohrn, T.); Andrén, *o. c.* 5, tav. 26, 93; Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *Recherches sur l'art et l'artisanat étrusco-italiques à l'époque hellénistique* (1985) 153 fig. 95. - Fine del IV sec. a. C. - Figura femminile acefala stante con le gambe incrociate. Doveva essere appoggiata ad un sostegno. Veste chitone a larghe e fluide pieghe, ed himation che ricade sulle gambe con rimbocco ai fianchi. Sul chitone, una collana. Data la scarsa quantità di fr. superstiti, non è possibile precisare se il personaggio raffiguri realmente I. C.

##### Monete

Un denario di C. Curatius Trigemini mostra I. su quadriga. Dato il nome del *monetalis*, si potrebbe supporre che sia raffigurata I. C., in base al collegamento etimologico tra l'epiclesi Curitis e le Curiae romane (tuttavia respinto da Wissowa, *Religion* 2 189 n. 3 e Bickel, *Altröm. Gottesbegr.* 67; cf. Radke 102); ma pare che la dea avesse lancia e scudo (Serv. *Aen.* 1, 17: *Iuno Curitis, tuo curru clipeoque tuere meos curiae vernulas*; *o. c.* 1, 8: *est Curitis, quae utitur curru et hasta*) non raffigurati sulla moneta.

**149.** AR denario, C. Curatius Trigemini, 142 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 223/1 tav. 35, 4. - R.: I. su quadriga coronata da una Vittoria. La dea ha una stephane sul capo, capelli raccolti alla nuca, scettro e redini nelle mani. Legg. C. *CUR.* e *ROMA*. D.: testa di Roma. Lo stesso *monetalis* conia un denario analogo nel 135 a. C.: Crawford, *RRC* n° 240/1 tav. 36, 11-12.

##### Scultura a tutto tondo

**150.\*** Fr. di testa in tufo e attributi in bronzo, dal tempio di Celle a Falerii Veteres. Roma, Villa Giulia 2498. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2836 (Dohrn, T.); Della Seta, *o. c.* 5, 201 n° 2498; Andrén, *o. c.* 5, 85; Hus, A., *Recherches sur la statuaire en pierre étrusque archaïque* (1961) 91. 322-323 n° 1 tav. 40. - Inizi del VI sec. a. C. - Testa arcaica in peperino con stephane in rame decorata con foglie di lauro anch'esse in rame. Rinvenuta sul basamento di altare del tempio di Celle. Nei pressi fu rinvenuta anche una cuspide di lancia in bronzo. Si tratta forse dei resti della statua di culto.



## 2. A Tivoli

È più che verosimile un'identità con la I. Curritis di Falerii (cf.). Tivoli vantava origini argive, da un figlio o nipote di Amphiarus di nome Tiburnus che aveva cacciato i Sicani dall'oppidum di nome Sicilia, e lo aveva rifondato dandogli il suo nome (sulle numerose varianti del mito, cf. Giuliani, C. F., *Forma Italiae. Tibur* I [1970] 8 ss.; Torelli, M., *Lavinio e Roma* [1984] 184 ss.). Vale, della leggenda, il riferimento ad un capostipite argivo, ed alle imprese tirreniche degli Argonauti, che permette di spiegare il culto di I. C., identificato, come nel caso di Falerii, con quello di Hera Argiva (cf. l'iscrizione già a Tivoli *CIL XIV 3556* = *InscrIt I 1, 61: Iunoni Argeiae C. Blandus procos.*), in esatta consonanza con la fondazione del culto della dea da parte di Giasone alla foce del Sele (Pugliese Carratelli, G., *PP* 17, 1962, 24; *idem*, *PP* 22, 1968, 331; Torelli, o. c.).

Nello «spazio precedente il ponte Gregoriano» alle falde del monte Catillo, dove sono i due templi ora attribuiti alla Sibilla Albunea ed a Catillus, padre (o fratello) di Tiburnus e sotto vari aspetti il personaggio principale della leggenda tiburtina (Coarelli, F., «Les «bourgeoisies» municipales italiennes aux II<sup>e</sup> et I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.», in *Conv. Napoli* [1983] 221 ss.), furono rinvenuti nel 1835 i frammenti di terrecotte frontonali pertinenti forse al tempio di I. C. (Giuliani, C. F., *Forma Italiae. Tibur* I [1970] 267 n° 194). Restaurate recentemente, secondo l'ipotesi di F. Roncalli esse sarebbero databili nella seconda metà del IV sec. a. C. e rappresenterebbero la conquista del vello d'oro da parte di Iason e del suo compagno, l'eroe veggente Amphiarus (Roncalli, F., *Boll. Mon., Mus. e Gall. Pont.* 4, 1983, 18). Una diversa interpretazione è offerta da F.-H. Massa-Pairault, che data il complesso, in maniera meno convincente, tra la fine del III e la metà del II sec. a. C., e riconosce nelle figure superstiti del frontone la hierogamia di Catillus, fondatore di Tibur secondo Catone (*orig.*, *HRR fig.* 56), e della ninfa Albunea, alla presenza dei fratelli di Catillus, Tiburnus e Coras, della madre di Albunea, Carmenta/Tiburs e, forse, di I. C., protettrice dei tre fratelli e quindi delle curie e delle tribu tiburtine che dai tre fratelli avrebbero avuto la loro origine (Massa-Pairault, o. c. 148, 152 ss.). Potrebbe supporre, perciò, che in ambedue i casi I. stessa fosse raffigurata presso l'eroe, o gli eroi protagonisti della vicenda.

151.\* Fr. di statua ad altorilievo in terracotta. Vaticano. - Roncalli, F., *Boll. Mon., Mus. e Gall. Pont.* 4, 1983, 28 ss. figg. 9-11; Massa-Pairault, o. c. 148, 155 s. figg. 90. 92. 94. - Seconda metà del IV sec. a. C. (Roncalli); fine III-metà II sec. a. C. (Massa-Pairault). - Il personaggio femminile, di cui sono conservate le gambe e una porzione limitata del torso, si appoggia, con le gambe incrociate, ad un'erma maschile itfallica con polos sul capo (Hermes?). Veste un chitone fittamente increspato ed un mantello ripiegato intorno alla vita che ricade fino a mezzo polpaccio. La posizione centrale della figura (secondo la ricostruzione di Roncalli) potrebbe suggerire di riconoscerla I. La Massa-

Pairault vi riconosce Carmenta/Tiburs, divinità oracolare, che si appoggia all'Hermes dei kleroi, delle *sortes*. I. C. sarebbe, secondo la Massa-Pairault, da identificare con il fr. femminile posto su un plinto insieme con i piedi di un personaggio maschile (Roncalli, o. c. 20 s. n° 1 fig. 1; Massa-Pairault, o. c. 148, figg. 100. 102). Resta la parte inferiore di un chitone increspato e di un himation.

## G. Iuno Gabina

Il santuario è ricordato da Virgilio (*Aen.* 7, 682-683), e Silio Italico (12, 537). Posto in una ristretta area tra la via Prenestina e la via Gabina, il tempio, che era circondato da porticati e da un boschetto artificiale a memoria di un originario *nemus*, e preceduto da una gradinata teatroide d'ingresso al *temenos*, è stato accuratamente indagato da membri della Scuola Spagnola di Roma. Il riconoscimento è ormai assicurato dal rinvenimento di antefisse con raffigurazione di una *potnia theon* ed iscrizione *IW* (= *IUN*) (Dupré, X., in *Almagro-Gorbea* 176).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Almagro-Gorbea, M. (ed.), *El Santuario de Iuno en Gabii. Excavaciones 1956-1969* (1982); *Enea nel Lazio*, Cat. Roma (1981) 43 ss.

## a) Iuno da sola seduta su trono

152. Statuetta in terracotta dalla stipe votiva del santuario di I. Gabina. - *Enea nel Lazio* 46 A 97; *El Santuario de Iuno* n° 1 tav. 2 (Elvira, M. A.). - IV-III sec. a. C. - Figura femminile seduta su trono con ampio schienale a campana; è interamente coperta da un mantello. Collana sul collo. Tipologia comune nel Lazio (Gatti Lo Guzzo, L., *Il deposito votivo dell'Esquilino detto di Minerva Medica* [1978] tavv. 23. 76; AA. VV., *Lavinium II. Le tredici are* [1975] 380 n° 8, 14). Come negli ess. che seguono, trovare queste statuette in santuari dedicati a differenti divinità femminili - pur se con le medesime funzioni - rende problematico un sicuro riconoscimento.

## b) Iuno in coppia seduta su trono

153. Statuetta in terracotta dalla stipe votiva del santuario di I. Gabina. - *Enea nel Lazio* 46 A 99; *El Santuario de Iuno* n° 9 tav. 2 (Elvira, M. A.). - III-II sec. a. C. - Figura femminile seduta su trono con un paredro, ambedue con la nuca coperta da un velo. La figura femminile regge in grembo un bambino; la figura maschile, seminuda, regge una patera con la mano d. Dipendenti tipologicamente da ess. greci, specie in area ionica, simili statuette sono frequenti nel Lazio.

## H. Iuno Martialis

È nota solo in base ad emissioni monetali degli imperatori del III sec. d. C. di origine etrusco-umbra (Treboniano Gallo, Volusiano, Ostiliano); si è perciò supposta un'ascendenza umbra del culto, rivitalizzato artificialmente dopo secoli di oblio. La stessa epiclesi sembra implicare un rapporto tra Iuno e Mars, d'al-

tronde desumibile anche dalla coincidenza della festività delle due divinità a Roma, il 1 marzo ed il 1 giugno. Si sono visti tratti guerrieri nella dea; ma se nelle monete Iuno ha nelle mani, come sembra, spighe di grano, si dovrà pensare a funzioni differenziate.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Heurgon, J., *StEt* 24, 1955/56, 91 ss.; Marchetti-Longhi, G., *AnnIsItNum* 3, 1956, 65 ss.; Gagé, J., *Matronalia* (1963) 55. 273 ss.; Dumézil 3, 267; Dury-Moyaers/ Renard 167 s.

## Monete

154.\* AR antoniniano, Roma, Ostiliano, 251 d. C. - Robertson, *Hunter* III 254, 1 tav. 81. - R.: I. M. seduta, di fronte, entro un tempietto rotondo con tetto a cupola. La dea è in chitone e mantello; nelle mani regge patera e scettro. Ai suoi piedi è un pavone. Leggenda *IUNONI MARTIALI*.

155. AR medaglione, Treboniano Gallo. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni* I 50, 1 tav. 25, 1. - R.: Come sopra. Simile il medaglione in bronzo Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 102, 4 tav. 111, 5; Marchetti Longhi tav. 4, 3.

156. AE sesterzio, Roma, Treboniano Gallo, 253 d. C. - Robertson, *Hunter* III 262, 25-26 tav. 83. - R.: Come sopra. Legg. *IUNONI MARTIALI* S. C.

157.\* AR antoniniano, Roma o Milano, Treboniano Gallo. - Robertson, *Hunter* III 264, 49. - R.: I. M. seduta, in profilo, in chitone e mantello, regge spighe di grano e uno scettro posto di traverso. Legg. *IUNO MARTIALIS*.

158. AR antoniniano, Antiochia, Treboniano Gallo. - Robertson, *Hunter* III 266, 58 tav. 85. - R.: I. M. seduta, di profilo, con chitone e mantello, regge nelle mani spighe di grano e scettro. Leggenda *IUNO MARTIALIS*.

159.\* AR antoniniano, Roma, Volusiano, 251 d. C. - Robertson, *Hunter* III 267, 8-9 tav. 85. - R.: I. M. seduta, di fronte, in un tempietto circolare con tetto a cupola. La dea veste chitone e mantello, e regge patera e scettro. Legg. *IUNONI MARTIALI*. Poche varianti (del tempietto si vedono quattro e non due colonne; pavone ai piedi della dea) presenta l'antoniniano Robertson, *Hunter* III 267, 10 tav. 85, e l'asse (del 253 d. C.) Robertson, *Hunter* III 270, 31 tav. 86.

160. AR antoniniano, Antiochia, Volusiano. - Robertson, *Hunter* III 272, 50 tav. 87. - R.: I. M. seduta, di profilo, in chitone e mantello, regge spighe di grano e scettro.

161. AE medaglione, Treboniano Gallo e Volusiano, 252 d. C. - Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 103, tav. 112, 1; Marchetti Longhi tav. 4, 4. - R.: I. M. seduta in trono, di fronte, in un tempietto circolare con cupola, vestita di chitone e mantello, regge una patera ed uno scettro. Ai suoi piedi un pavone. Legg. *IUNONI MARTIALI*.

## I. Iuno Caelestis

Dea tutelare di Cartagine, con il nome di Tanit, conosciuta a Roma come Dea Caelestis. A Roma il suo culto fu ampiamente favorito da Settimio Severo (Wissowa); ma è verosimile, in base alle documenta-

zione disponibile, una *evocatio* della dea dopo la distruzione di Cartagine da parte di Scipione Emiliano (Serv. *Aen.* 12, 841: *constat bello Punico secundo exoratum Iunonem, tertio vero bello a Scipione sacris quibusdam etiam Romam esse translatam*). Inoltre: Hor. c. 2, 1, 25; Plin. nat. 6, 200; Minuc. Fel. 25, 9; Tertull. *ad nat.* 2, 17 = *apol.* 25; Apul. met. 6, 4; Firm. Mat. *err. prof. rel.* 4, 1. Così anche su iscrizioni che ricordano Iuno Caelestis: *CIL III Suppl.* 10407; VIII 1424). Risale comunque al periodo di massimo pericolo della guerra annibalica la sicura identificazione della Tanit cartaginese con Iuno, come inducono a ritenere i grandi riti espiatori dedicati a Iuno Regina (vd.) e destinati a placare la dea protettrice della città punica. In questa fase comincia a codificarsi, con grande probabilità, il mito di Iuno avversa ad Enea durante le peregrinazioni che condurranno l'eroe a Cartagine appena fondata. I primi documenti sicuri della presenza del culto di I. C. a Roma (iscrizioni e rilievi) sono comunque del I sec. d. C. Il suo santuario, situato presso quello di Sabazio, era probabilmente sulle pendici del colle Capitolino verso il Foro Boario (cf. le iscrizioni Guarducci 13 ss. figg. 1-4), entro il pomerio, segno di una completa identificazione della dea con la romana Iuno. La statua di culto cartaginese fu trasportata a Roma da Eliogabalo; sul Palatino fu celebrato il matrimonio mistico della dea con il dio solare siriano protettore dell'imperatore (Cass. Dio 80, 12; Herodianos 5, 6, 4).

Per la Caelestis africana v. anche → Virgo Caelestis.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: v. Domaszewski, A., *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* (1895) 73 s.; Wissowa, *Religion* 373 ss.; RE III 1 (1897) s. v. «Caelestis» (Cumont, F.); Antonelli, U., *Notiziario Archeologico* 3, 1922, 41 ss.; Dölger, *AntChr* I, 1929, 92 ss.; Audollent, A. M. H., *Le culte de Caelestis à Rome* (1901); Guarducci, M., *BullCom* 72, 1946-48, 11 ss.; Halsberge, G. H., in *ANRW* II 17, 4 (1984) 2203 ss.; Coarelli, F., *Il Foro Boario* (1988) 405 ss.; Cordischi, L., *BullCom* 93, 1989 (in corso di stampa).

## Rilievi

162.\* Fr. di timpano in marmo. Roma, Mus. Cap. - Guarducci 21 ss.; Pietrangeli, C., *Musei Capitolini. I monumenti dei culti orientali* (1951) 28 s. n° 9 tav. 14. - Metà circa del I sec. d. C. - La dea è al centro del frontone, seduta su un leone in corsa. Ha nella mano s. uno scettro; nella d., ora mutila, doveva reggere un fascio di fulmini. Veste un chitone fittamente increspato cinto alla vita ed un mantello che ricade sulle gambe. Il seno s. è scoperto. Sul capo è una corona con due urei. Una stella ad otto raggi è presso il capo. Sulla s. del timpano è Sol che ascende al cielo su una quadriga. A d. doveva comparire Luna.

163. Capitello d'anta figurato. Roma, Antiquarium del Foro. Dalle vicinanze del tempio dei Castori nel Foro Romano. - Studniczka, F., *RM* 16, 1901, 273 ss. tav. 12; Strong, E., *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* (1907) 307 ss. tav. 94; L'Orange, H. P., *OeJh* 39, 1952, 80 fig. 30; Picard, Ch., *Karthago* 4, 1953, 107 fig. 7; Bartoli, A., *RendPontAcc* 29, 1956/57, 29 ss. fig. 10; v. Mercklin, o. c. 74, 154 s. n° 383a fig. 730. - Età di Eliogabalo. - Nell'angolo s. del capitello, la pietra di Iuppiter, o Sol, di Emesa, e un'aquila che regge una corona nel becco. Ai lati, come statue su basi, Minerva (riconoscibile dall'elmo e dal-

l'egida) e I. (quasi sicuramente I. Caelestis, di cui Eliogabalo aveva celebrato il matrimonio mistico con Sol) in piedi, vestita con chitone (la superficie è quasi interamente abrasa). Sulla faccia principale del capitello, tra le foglie di acanto, una Nike tauroctona.

**164.** Stele in pietra. Da Setif. - *Recherches des Antiquités* (1890) 112 fig. 90; Antonielli 52 fig. 25. - In basso in una edicola, i due defunti. In alto, nel timpano I. C., in chitone e velata, seduta sul dorso di un leone in corsa. La dea regge uno scettro.

**165.** Frontoncino in calcare. Tunisi, Bardo. - *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* (Suppl. 1910) 69 n° 1136. - La dea è seduta su un leone e regge una corona. Ai lati del leone, due pavoni.

**166.\*** Stele funeraria. Tunisi, Bardo C. 1098. - *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* (Suppl. 1910) 64 n° 1098 tav. 51, 1; Antonielli 56 fig. 40. - Al di sopra dell'edicola sono cinque divinità: Saturnus al centro, seduto; alla sua d. I. C. su leone in corsa, con kalathos sul capo. Seguono, poi, da un lato e dall'altro, Mars, Ceres e Neptunus.

**167.** Lucerna in terracotta. Tunisi, Bardo. - *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* (Suppl. 1910) 185 n° 775; Antonielli 53 fig. 28. - La dea è seduta su un leone in corsa. Veste chitone e mantello, ed ha nella mano d. un fascio di fulmini. Tipi analoghi nello stesso Museo (*Cat. Musée Alaoui* [1897] 160 n° 113-114) ed a Cartagine (*Mus. Lavigerie de Saint-Louis de Carthage II* [1899] 60 tav. 15, 7).

#### Glittica

**168.** Nicolo. Già Marlborough. - Furtwängler, *AG* tav. 65, 54; Antonielli 52 fig. 27. - I. C. (nell'iscrizione greca apposta sulla pietra detta Hera Ourania) è seduta sul dorso di un leone in corsa. Veste chitone e mantello. Sul capo scoperto posa una stephane. Con la d. regge uno scettro. Ai suoi lati sono i Dioscuri, stanti.

#### Monete

**169.** AE medaglione, Marco Aurelio, 153 d. C. - Gneccchi, *Medaglioni II* 31, 37 tav. 62, 1. - R.: Divinità seminuda, seduta su un leone. Alle spalle, edificio rotondo ed erma. Si tratta di I. C.?

**170.\*** AR denario, Settimio Severo, 201-210 d. C. - *BMC Emp V* 218, 334-338 tav. 35, 11, 13-14. - R.: la Dea Caelestis su leone in corsa. Indossa chitone e mantello; ha sul capo una corona molto elaborata; regge uno scettro e, talvolta, un fascio di fulmini. Il leone è in corsa su una fonte d'acqua che scaturisce da una roccia. La stessa raffigurazione su aurei e bronzi di Settimio Severo (*BMC Emp V* 218, 248, 334, 342) e su argenti e bronzi di Caracalla (*BMC Emp V* 208 s., 332, 334 s., 343).

#### Statuina in terracotta

**171.** Tunisi, Bardo. Dal santuario di Baal e Tanit presso Siagu. - Merlin, A., *Le sanctuaire de Baal et de Tanit près de Siagu* (1910) 10 tav. 6 fig. 2. - La dea, mutila del torso con testa e braccia, è sdraiata su un leone. Sulla spalla superstite è un'iscrizione latina così integrata da Merlin: *C(aelesti) A(ugustae?) s(acrum) F. Saturninus, P(ubli) fil(ius) Phae... tanus, m(emor) an(imo) v(otum) s(olvit)*.

#### Seduta in trono

##### Rilievi

**172.** Stele in pietra. Thebessa, Mus. Da Guinifida. - Gsell, St., *Mus. de Tébessa* (1902) 14 ss. tav. 1, 4; Antonielli 56 fig. 41. - In altro, entro un riquadro, Baal/Saturnus e Tanit/I. C. seduti in trono. Ambedue gli dei hanno il capo velato. Un leone è accucciato tra di loro. Nel registro sottostante i Dioscuri a cavallo e cinque pigne. Nel registro inf., infine, sacrificio a Baal/Saturnus.

**173.** (= Helios/Sol 324\*) Stele in pietra. Thebessa, Mus. Da Guinifida. - Gsell, o. c. 172, 16 s. tav. 1, 2; Antonielli 56 fig. 42. - La stele, con bordo circolare in alto, è divisa in tre registri. Nel registro sup. Baal/Saturnus e Tanit/I. C. seduti in trono, velati. I montanti del trono sono decorati con teste di capro. La dea regge una patera ed un fiore(?). Nel registro mediano sono i busti di Sol e Luna, separati da una protome leonina. Nel registro inf. iscrizione di dedica a Saturnus.

##### Scultura a tutto tondo

##### Statuette in terracotta

**174.** Tripoli, Mus. Arch. Da Sciara Sciat. - Antonielli 41 s. figg. 1, 2. - Il sec. d. C. - La dea è seduta su trono con cuscino, frontale, con le mani posate sulle cosce. Vesta una tunica lunga ed un velo fermato sulle spalle con due fibule a forma di rosette; il velo scende sulle spalle, ai fianchi, e pare fermato dalle mani all'altezza delle ginocchia. Sul capo scoperto posa un kalathos decorato con rosette.

**175.** Tunisi, Bardo. Dal santuario di Baal e Tanit presso Siagu. - Merlin, o. c. 171, 18 tav. 5 = *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* (Suppl. 1910) 160 n° 246 tav. 82; Antonielli 53 fig. 31. - La dea è seduta in trono, frontale, con le mani protese ieraticamente in avanti. Veste chitone fittamente pieghettato cinto sotto al seno e mantello che le copre la nuca, le spalle e le gambe. Sul capo posa un kalathos.

**176.** Tunisi, Bardo. - *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* (Suppl. 1910) 162 n° 266 tav. 85, 1. - La dea è seduta in trono, frontale. Veste chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che le copre la nuca e le gambe.

**177.** Tunisi, Bardo. - *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* (Suppl. 1910) 167 n° 299 tav. 93, 1; Antonielli 53 fig. 32. - La dea è seduta su trono, frontale, con le mani ieraticamente protese. Veste chitone cinto alla vita e mantello che copre la nuca formando una specie di nimbo dietro la testa. Sul capo posa un kalathos. Simili le statuine in terracotta nello stesso museo (*Cat. Mus. Alaoui* [Suppl. 1910] 168 n° 300-303).

#### Busti

##### Rilievi

**178.** (= Helios/Sol 357\*) Rilievo funerario in pietra. Lambesi, Mus. 09. - Cagnat, R., *Musée de Lambèse* (1895) 53 tav. 4, 7. - Età imperiale. - Sul timpano dell'edicola funeraria sono raffigurati i busti della Triade caraginese, Baal-Haman/Saturnus, Baal/Sol e Tanit/Luna (o Caelestis). Il busto della dea posa su un crescente lunare. Simili altre due edicole funerarie a Lambesi (Cagnat, o. c. 53 tav. 4, 8, 9) ed in un'edicola

nel Museo del Bardo (*Cat. Mus. Alaoui* [Suppl. 1910] 62 n° 1074 tav. 50, 2).

**179.\*** Bulla in metallo. Sousse, Mus. - Gaukler, P./Gouvet, E., *Cat. Musées de Sousse* (1902) 87 n° 22 tav. 17, 21. - Età bizantina. - La bulla mostra da un lato il busto di I. C. come dea lunare su una falce di luna, e con un crescente lunare più piccolo sul capo. Dall'altro lato è il busto di Sol.



Iuno 179

**180.** Diadema in argento. Perduto. Da A.n-Ksar. - Berger, Ph., *GazArch* 1879, 133 ss. 222 ss.; 1880, 18 ss. 164 ss.; Antonielli 54 fig. 36. - Fila di simboli ed immagini divine (serpente, capro, Venus Anadiomene, colomba, simbolo di Tanit, caduceo etc.). Al centro, busti di Baal/Iuppiter e Tanit/Iuno Caelestis. La dea ha i capelli a trecce; sul capo posa un kalathos.

**181.** Lucerna in terracotta. Tunisi, Bardo. - *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* (1897) 252 n° 393. - Il busto della dea con velo e falce lunare sulla fronte, tra due stelle laterali.

**182.\*** Lucerne in terracotta. Tunisi, Bardo. - *RA* 1898, 234 fig. 35; *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* (1897) 159 s. n° 107-109 tav. 46, 107; Suppl. (1910) 185 n° 769-772, 773; Gaukler, P./Gouvet, E., *Musées de Sousse* (1902) 58 n° 8-9; Doublet, G./Gaukler, P., *Mus. de Constantine* (1892) 58; Gaukler, P., *Mus. de Cherchel* (1895) 71. - Il busto della dea poggia su una falce lunare.



Iuno 182

**183.** Lucerna in terracotta. Tripoli, Mus. Arch. Da una tomba di Gargaresc. - Antonielli 54 s. fig. 37. - Il busto della dea è di profilo, mentre il capo, svelato e sormontato da una stella, è di prospetto. Il busto posa su una falce di luna.

##### Scultura a tutto tondo

**184.** Busto in marmo. Cartagine, Mus. - *Mus. Lavigerie de Saint-Louis de Carthage II* (1899) 15 tav. 3, 5; Antonielli 54 fig. 35. - Sul capo svelato posa un kalathos. Il busto è stato collegato con due iscrizioni latine (*CIL VIII* 993 = 12454, 12501) che ricordano strumenti appartenenti al culto di Caelestis, tra i quali un thorax.

**185.\*** Testa in marmo. Tunisi, Bardo. Da Bisica. - *Cat. Mus. Alaoui* (1897) 56 n° 65 tav. 14; Antonielli 55 fig. 38. - Il capo è velato; alla sommità posa un crescente lunare. Il velo si gonfia dietro la testa. È I. C. come Selene?



Iuno 185

#### K. Iuno Pronuba(?)

In una serie di sarcofagi con scena di matrimonio (*dextrarum iunctio*), alle spalle degli sposi è una figura femminile talvolta considerata I. P. (Rossbach, A., *Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmal* [1871]; Overbeck, *KM II* 131 ss.; Brunn, H., *Kleine Schriften I* 4 ss.). Secondo Rodenwaldt, potrebbe essere piuttosto Concordia (→ Homonoia/Concordia), personificazione del legame familiare (Rodenwaldt, G. *AbhBerlin* [1935, 3] 14 ss.). St. Weinstock ha tuttavia osservato che Concordia si incontra sulle monete solo a partire del III sec. d. C. (*RE XXIII* 1 [1957] 751 ss. s. v. «Pronuba»). L'osservazione di Weinstock è solo parzialmente esatta: Concordia esiste come divinità autonoma nel pantheon romano a partire dal IV sec. a. C. (tempio di Concordia fondato nel 367 a. C. da M. Furio Camillo: Platner/Ashby 138; → Homonoia/Concordia), assumendo, a partire dai Claudii, un più specifico riferimento alla famiglia imperiale. Originariamente distinte (I. P. e Concordia insieme durante le cerimonie del matrimonio: Stat. *silv.* 1, 2, 239-240), è verosimile che nel tempo Concordia adegui la propria immagine, a livello iconografico, su quella di I. Con identica iconografia l'immagine di Concordia (o meglio Homonoia) ritorna sull'arco di Galerio a Salonicco, e appoggia la mano d. sulla spalla di Oikoumene (Laubscher, H. P., *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* [1975] 56 tavv. 40, 2; 41, 2). Per altre raffigurazioni simili cf. Scott Ryberg, I., *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (1955) 163 ss. figg. 90-95; Fittschen, K., *AA* 1969, 303 ss.; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 97 ss.

##### Sarcofagi in marmo

**186.** (= Homonoia/Concordia 76 con bibl.) Sarcofago con processione matrimoniale. Vaticano, Sala delle Muse inv. 268. - Horster, M., *AA* 1975, 409 s. figg. 8b, 9b; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 72 (Andreae, B.). - Terzo quarto del II sec. d. C. - La sposa velata è accompagnata da Venus al suo sposo togato. I. P. (o Concordia) è dietro di loro e posa le mani sulle loro spalle. Veste un chitone con rimbocco cinto alla vita. Il capo è scoperto.

**187.\*** Fr. con sacrificio e *dextrarum iunctio*. Roma, Mus. Nuovo del Pal. dei Cons. 2785. - Pietrangeli, C., *Capitolium* 18, 1943, 15 s. fig. 8; *idem*, *BullCom* 72, 1946-48, 227 fig. 24; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1797 (Andreae, B.). - Seconda metà del II sec. d. C. - I. P. (o Concordia) è dietro gli sposi.

**188.** (= Homonoia/Concordia **74c\***) Mantova, Pal. Ducale (cf. **82** [coperchio]). Età antonina. - Sulla cassa, complessa raffigurazione ove sono riuniti in una sola fascia narrativa, da s. a d., una scena di *supplicatio* di barbari vinti verso il generale su podio; una scena di sacrificio di un toro; una scena di *dextrarum iunctio*. Qui, alle spalle degli sposi, I. P. (o Concordia) in chitone cinto alla vita e stephane sul capo svelato.

**189.\*** (= Homonoia/Concordia **74b**) Frascati, Villa Taverna. - Rodenwaldt, G., *AbhBerlin* (1935, 3) 3 ss. tav. 1; Himmelmänn, N., *Typologische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs des 3. und 4. Jh. n. Chr.* (1973) 8 tav. 6; Hölscher, T., *JdI* 95, 1980, 288 fig. 21; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 99 s. fig. 94. - Età antonina. - Come **188**. Ma I. P. (o Concordia) ha sul capo stephane e velo.

**190.** (= Abundantia **5\***, = Homonoia/Concordia **79\*** con bibl., = Honos **29**) Roma, San Lorenzo fuori le Mura. - Rodenwaldt, G., *Die Kunst der Antike* (1927) tav. 613; Himmelmänn, N., *Festschr. F. Matz* (1962) 120 n. 54; Fittschen, K., *AA* 1971, 117 ss.; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 101 fig. 97. - Fine del II sec. d. C. - Al centro, preparazione per il sacrificio rituale da parte dello sposo; a s., Venere, la Hore della Primavera, un Genio e Fortuna giungono per partecipare alle nozze; a d. *dextrarum iunctio*. Dietro gli sposi I. P. (o Concordia) in chitone ed a capo velato.

**191.** (= Abundantia **8\*** con bibl., = Homonoia/Concordia **84** con bibl. e rinvi) Sarcofago detto dell'Annona. Roma, Mus. Naz. Rom. 40799. - Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2122 (Andreae, B.); Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 102 fig. 102; *MusNazRom* I 8, 46 ss. n° II 1 (Musso, L.). - 270-280 d. C. - Matrimonio di un alto funzionario dell'Annona (il praefectus Flavius Arabianus?). La dea - I. P. o Concordia - è alle spalle degli sposi, con stephane gemmata sul capo.

## II. Raffigurazioni di Iuno da sola

### A. Iuno stante

#### a) Iuno senza velo sul capo

*Statue in marmo*

**192.\*** (= Demeter **60** con bibl.) C. d. Demetra del Vaticano. Vaticano, Sala Rotonda inv. 254. - Lippold, *SkulptVatMus* III 1, 117 ss. n° 542 tavv. 37-38 Nachtrag III 2, 563; Dohrn, T., *Attische Plastik vom Tode des Phidias bis zum Wirken der großen Meister des 4. Jh. v. Chr.* (1957) 72 ss.; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 36 (Fuchs, W.); Despinis, G., *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Αγοραπλήτου* (1971) 4 ss. 184. - Copia colossale da una statua di culto greca del 430-20 a. C. - La dea veste un peplo di tipo attico cinto alla vita ed himation sulle spalle. Capelli stretti da una benda con scriminatura centrale e crocchia dietro la nuca. Con la mano s. si poggiava ad uno scettro; la d. protesa reggeva un attributo. Demetra o Hera?

**193.\*** C. d. Hera Barberini. Vaticano. Sala Rotonda inv. 249. - Lippold, *SkulptVatMus* III 1, 126 n° 546 tav. 37 ss.; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 40 (v. Steuben, H.); Despinis, o. c. **192**, 221 n. 253; Landwehr, Ch., *Die antiken*

*Gipsabgüsse aus Baiiae* (1985) 89 s. - Età imperiale. - Variante del tipo Hera Borghese in formato colossale (m. 2,835). Differenze nella disposizione del mantello e nella presenza della stephane sul capo; i capelli restano comunque raccolti in una sphendone. Probabile l'interpretazione come I. Una replica del tipo a Canosa (dalla Cattedrale): *AA* 1956, 262 fig. 49.

**194.\*** Statua colossale. Vaticano, Gall. Statue inv. 745. Da Otricoli. Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II 464 n° 268 tav. 50; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 127 (Fuchs, W.); Manderscheid, H., *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen* (1981) 72 n° 42 tav. 16. - II sec. d. C. - Di restauro sono la testa (copia della Cnidia) e le braccia. È una variante della c. d. Hera Borghese. La dea veste un doppio chitone trasparente ed un himation che ricade sulle gambe. Il riconoscimento di I. si basa su scarsi argomenti, primo fra tutti il rapporto con la c. d. Hera Borghese (che, tuttavia, difficilmente può essere Hera. Cf. Landwehr, o. c. **193**, 88 ss. 90 con bibl. prec.).

**195.\*** Giunone Farnese. Napoli, Mus. Naz. 247. - Overbeck, *KM* II 112 ss. n° 2 Atlas tav. 10, 31; Guida Ruesch 74 n° 247. - Età imperiale, da originale dei primi decenni del IV secolo a. C. - È una variante del tipo Vienna-Efeso (Kabus-Jahn, R., *Studien zu Frauenfiguren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* [1963] 60 ss.). La testa è con i capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca e stephane molto alta sul capo. Analogo esemplare (testa di restauro) a Petworth House (Wyndham, M., *Cat. of the Coll. of Greek and Roman Antiq. in the possession of Lord Leconfield* [1915] 6 n° 4 tav. 4).

**196.** Madrid, Prado. - Hübner, E., *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid und Spanien* (1862) 37 n° 7; Clarac tav. 410 G n° 749 D. - Da originale del IV sec. a. C. (?) - La dea veste un chitone con lungo rimbocco cinto alla vita. Non è sicuro che si tratti di I.

*Statuette in bronzo*

**197.** Parigi, Cab. Méd. - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 40. - Età imperiale. - La dea veste un chitone con rimbocco che giunge al seno, e mantello ricadente sui fianchi e sulle gambe. Sul capo, con i capelli a crocchia dietro la nuca, posa una grande stephane. Nella d. protesa reggeva forse una patera; nella s. anch'essa protesa, reggeva forse un'acerra o una pside (come nei più mediocri bronzetti Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 41, 42).

**198.\*** New York, MMA 96.9.390. - Richter, *MetMusBronzes* n° 205. - La dea veste un chitone ed un himation ripiegato intorno al petto e ricadente sulla spalla s. La dea reggeva con la mano d. una patera, e con la s. si poggiava ad un lungo scettro.

#### b) Iuno in chitone e mantello sulla nuca e sulle spalle

*Rilievi*

**199.** Rilievo in calcare. Chieti, Mus. Naz. Da San Vittorino dell'Aquila (Amiternum). - La Regina, A., *StudMisc* 10, 1966, 40 ss. tavv. 19, 47; 21, 51; 25, 59; Cianfarani, V., *Schede del Mus. Naz. di Antichità degli Abruzzi*, 4a serie (1973); Felletti Maj, B. M., *La tradizione italica nell'arte romana* (1977) 356 ss. fig. 185c. -

Età claudia. - Pompa precedente i ludi gladiatorii. Portatori recano sulle spalle due *fercula* sui quali sono le statue di I. e di Iuppiter stanti, appoggiati allo scettro con la mano s. La dea veste chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che copre il capo e le gambe passando sul braccio s. Dinanzi ai due *fercula* due bighe sulle quali sono Mars e Victoria.

**200.** Altare funerario in marmo. Velletri, Mus. Civ. - Nardini, O., *NotSc* 1924, 506 ss. fig. 1 ss.; Wrede, *Consecratio* 256 ss. n° 167 tav. 31, 4. - 70-90 d. C. - L'altare funerario è dedicato a L. Marcus Anicetus, a Marcia Helpis ed a T. Flavius Hermes. Sui lati brevi sono raffigurati, come statue su base, Iuppiter e I. La dea veste chitone con rimbocco cinto alla vita, e mantello che le copre la nuca; sul capo posa una stephane. Nella mano destra I. regge una patera; con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro. Al suo fianco è un pavone. Sulla fronte della base l'iscrizione *IUNO*.

*Statuette di marmo*

**201.** (= Hera **133a\*** con bibl.) Vaticano, Magazzino. - Età imperiale. - È una variante del tipo canonico di I., quale si incontra sulle emissioni monetali. La dea veste un peplo di tipo dorico, ma cinto alla vita, e, al disotto, un chitone. Sulla nuca posa il mantello che ricade sulle spalle; un lembo poggia sul braccio s. sollevato. Sul capo una stephane. Con la s. la dea si poggiava ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera.

*Statuette in bronzo*

**202.\*** Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. VI 338. - v. Sacken, E., *Die Bronzen des k. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes in Wien* (1871) 17 tav. 5, 1; Gschwantler, K., *Guss + Form* (1986) n° 110 fig. 176. - Età imperiale. - La dea veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno, ed un ampio mantello poggiato sulla nuca e ricadente sulle spalle; sul capo posa una stephane decorata con rosette. Il braccio destro è proteso in avanti; il s. poggiava su un alto scettro. Simile il bronzetto da Wagna, ora a Graz, Steiermärkisches Landesmus. Joanneum (Fleischer, R., *Die Römischen Bronzen aus Österreich* [1967] n° 20 tav. 16).

**203.\*** Parigi, Cab. Méd. - Overbeck, *KM* II 120 n° 10 tav. 1, 2; Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 49. - Età imperiale. - La dea veste un chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto sotto al seno. Sulla nuca e sulle spalle posa un mantello. Sul capo posa un'alta stephane.

**204.\*** Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (formerly Fogg). 1942.233. - Vermeule, C., *The Cult Images of Imperial Rome* (1987) tav. 18 fig. 28 B. - I sec. d. C. - La dea veste chitone con lungo rimbocco cinto alla vita, e mantello che le copre la nuca e le spalle. Stephane sul capo. Mani mancanti; ma la s. si poggiava allo scettro e la d. reggeva una patera(?).

**205.\*** Parigi, Louvre. - De Ridder, *BrLouvre* I (1913) 102 n° 747 tav. 51. - Come il prec.

**206.\*** Parigi, Louvre. - De Ridder, *BrLouvre* 102 n° 746 tav. 51. - Età imperiale. - La dea veste un chitone con cintura alla vita e doppio rimbocco. Mantello sul capo e sulle spalle; stephane sul capo. Mutila delle braccia.

**207.** Parigi, Louvre. - De Ridder, *BrLouvre* 103 n° 749 tav. 51. - Età imperiale. - La dea veste chitone con rimbocco senza cintura. Velo sul capo e sulle spalle. Acerra nella mano s.

**208.\*** Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. VI 274. - v. Sacken, o. c. **202**, 18 tav. 6 n° 10; Overbeck, *KM* II 120 n° 11 tav. 1, 4. - La dea veste un chitone con doppio rimbocco, cinto sotto al seno, e mantello che le copre la nuca e le spalle. Sottili trecce scendono sul torso. Una stephane posa sul capo. I. si appoggia con la s. ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera.

#### c) Iuno in chitone e mantello posato sulla nuca e ripiegato intorno al corpo

*Glittica*

**209.\*** Corniola. Monaco, Münzslg. - *AGDI* 3 n° 2466 tav. 224. - II sec. d. C. - I. stante con chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello ripiegato sui fianchi. Sul capo ha una stephane; con la mano d. si poggia ad uno scettro; la s. regge una mela(?). Analoghe gemme: corniola, Copenhagen, Mus. Thorv. (Fossing, *ThorvGems* [1929] n° 596) ma con patera; pasta di vetro violetta, *ibid.* (Fossing, o. c. n° 1691); impronta a Cirene (Maddoli, G., *ASAtene* 41/42, 1963/64, 69 n° 65-67 fig. 10); plasma a Monaco, Münzslg. (*AGDI* 3 n° 2467 tav. 224).

*Statue in marmo*

**210.\*** Vaticano, Giardino. Da Castel Guido. - Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clementino* I tav. 3; Clarac tav. 417 n° 728; Overbeck, *KM* II 121 s. n° 12 Atlas tav. 10, 35. - Età imperiale. - La dea veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno ed un mantello che copre la nuca e ricade sulle gambe ripiegandosi intorno alla vita con un rimbocco. Stephane sul capo. Ambedue le mani sono protese, la d. con una patera, la s., ora mutila, forse con un'acerra.

**211.** Holkham Hall. - Clarac tav. 438 n° 754 B.; Michaelis, A., *AntM* 313 n° 34. - Restaurata come Cere. Testa non pertinente, ma in origine doveva presentare analoghe caratteristiche. La dea veste chitone con breve rimbocco e mantello che copre la nuca e il corpo dalla vita in giù. Stephane sul capo.

*Statuette in bronzo*

**212.\*** Avenches, Mus. Romain. Da Aventicum. - Leibundgut, A., *Die Römischen Bronzen der Schweiz II. Avenches* (1976) n° 28 tavv. 30-32. - Età traianea. - La statuette è stata rinvenuta in un larario insieme con una Minerva, una Victoria ed un Lar. La dea veste un chitone trasparente cinto sotto al seno, ed un mantello che le copre la nuca e ricade sulle gambe; un lembo è riportato sul braccio s. che si poggiava ad uno scettro. La mano d. regge una patera. Sul capo posa una stephane; boccoli ricadono sul collo. Non è del tutto sicuro che si tratti di I., come nel caso analogo della c. d. Hera Borghese cui il bronzetto si apparenta. Non sembrerebbe consona alla dea il chitone trasparente con la spallina allentata sul seno. Cf. Landwehr, o. c. **193**.

**213.\*** Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. VI 271. - v. Sacken, o. c. **202**, 18 tav. 18, 10; Gschwantler, o. c. **202**, n° 111 fig. 177. - Età imperiale. - La dea veste un chitone ed un mantello agganciato sulla spalla destra che le co-



pre la nuca, le spalle ed il torso poco più giù delle ginocchia. Sul capo posa una stephane. La mano d. doveva poggiare ad uno scettro; la s. protesa regge un uccello, probabilmente un pavone. Tipologicamente affine alla c.d. Aspasia.

**214.\*** Parigi, Cab. Méd. - Overbeck, *KM II* 121 s. n° 13 tav. 1, 3; Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 50. - Età imperiale. - La dea veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno ed un mantello posato sulla nuca che copre le spalle e le gambe; un lembo è retto dal braccio sin. La mano d. protesa regge una patera. Sul capo posa una stephane. Boccoli scendono lungo il collo.

**215.** Firenze, Uff. - Overbeck, *KM II* 121 s. n° 14 tav. 1, 5. - La dea veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno, ed un mantello che posa sulla nuca e ricade sui fianchi. Ciocche di capelli ricadono sul collo. Sul capo, una stephane. Con la s. la dea regge un vasetto(?); la d. è protesa.

### B. Iuno seduta

#### Affreschi parietali

**216.\*** Napoli, Mus. Naz. Da Pompei, Casa dei Dioscuri. - *Real Museo Borbonico* IX tav. 21; Reinach, *RépPeint* 102, 1; Schefold, *WP* 116. - Età neroniana. - La dea è maestosamente seduta, di fronte, vestita di un chitone cinto alla vita ed un ampio mantello ricadente da una corona gemmata simile ad un polos che è sul suo capo. Il mantello ricade sulle spalle coprendo il trono e le gambe della dea. Nella mano d. I. regge una patera, nella s. un lungo scettro posto in diagonale.

**217.** Pompei, Casa del Naviglio, distrutto. - Schefold, *WP* 124. - Gli affreschi della stanza prevedevano quattro divinità in trono. Sono conservati Iuppiter, Ceres e Bacchus.

#### Rilievi

**218.\*** Frontone di edicola in marmo. Roma, Mus. Cap., Antiquarium. - Gatti, G., *BullCom* 62, 1934, 162 n° 13 fig. 3. - I. seduta su trono con alta spalliera, frontale, velata, in chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello ripiegato sulle gambe. Ai lati, in posizione araldica, due pavoni.

#### Monete

**219.** AR denario, Roma, diva Faustina Maggiore, post 141 d. C. - *BMC* Emp IV 44, 297. - R.: I(?) in chitone cinto alla vita e mantello sulla nuca ricadente sulle gambe, con stephane, seduta, che regge un lungo scettro posto di traverso nella mano sin. Legg. *AUGUSTA*. Analoghi esempl. in argento *BMC* Emp IV 61, 428-430 tav. 9, 16, ma I. poggia il braccio d. sulla spalliera del trono.

**220.** AE asse, Roma, Antonino Pio, 104-143 d. C. - *BMC* Emp IV 221; Strack, *Reichsprägung* III n° 890 tav. 11. - R.: I. seduta con le tre Grazie nella mano d. e scettro nella s. Analogo rovescio nei bronzi *BMC* Emp IV 380, 382.

**221.** AE dupondio, Roma, Faustina Minore (sotto Antonino Pio). - *BMC* Emp IV 380, 2188 A. - R.: I. velata, seduta, con patera nella mano d. e scettro nella s.; ai piedi un pavone. Legg. *IUNO S. C.*

**222.\*** AR denario. Roma, Faustina Minore (161-176 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp IV 400, 112-115 tav. 55, 11. - R.: I. in chitone cinto alla vita e mantello sulla nuca e sulle gambe, con stephane, seduta, regge una patera nella mano destra e si poggia ad uno scettro con la s.; ai suoi piedi un pavone. Legg. *IUNO*. Analoghi esempl. in argento *BMC* Emp IV 401, 12-124, ma con legg. *IUNONI REGINAE*.

**223.\*** AE sesterzio, Roma, Lucilla, post 164 d. C. - *BMC* Emp IV 577, 1204-1206 tav. 77, 15. - R.: I. velata, seduta, con chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello sulle gambe, regge una patera nella mano destra e si poggia ad uno scettro con la s. Legg. *[IUNO] S. C.*

**224.** AR denario, Roma(?), Settimio Severo (193-211 d. C.). - *BMC* Emp V 226, 7. - R.: I. seduta, che regge un bambino ed un fiore. Analogo esemplare *BMC* Emp V 380, 128. Legg. *IUNO AUGUSTAE*.

**225.\*** AR denario, Roma, Giulia Mamaea, 231 d. C. - *BMC* Emp VI 190, 755-758. - R.: I. come sopra e legg. *IUNO AUGUSTAE*. Analoghi esempl. in bronzo *BMC* Emp VI 190, 759-761 tav. 26 e legg. *IUNO AUGUSTAE S. C.*

### C. Iuno in volo trasportata da un genio alato

**226.** Decorazine ad affresco e stucco su soffitto, dallo «Studiolo» di Augusto. Roma, Palatino. - Carettoni, G., *RM* 90, 1983, 409; *idem*, *Restauri a Palazzo Altamps. Gli affreschi della Casa di Augusto sul Palatino* (1985). - Fine del I. sec. a. C. - Al centro della decorazione del soffitto, in un tondo dipinto a fresco, una figura femminile è sollevata in volo da un genio femminile alato. Per quanto in pessimo stato di conservazione, si riconosce in mano alla figura femminile un ventaglio di piume di pavone. Dovrebbe trattarsi di I.

**227.** (= Horai/Horae 183) Mosaico pavimentale. Palermo, Mus. Reg. 2286. Da Palermo, piazza della Vittoria. - Levi, D., *Berytus* 7, 1942, 19 ss. 45 s. tav. 5; v. Boeselager, D., *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien* (1983) 180 tav. 61, 123. - Prima metà del III sec. d. C. - Il mosaico, più volte restaurato già in antico, ha una complessa decorazione figurata entro riquadri delimitati da motivi a treccia. In alcuni riquadri sono divinità e nereidi su animali. Si riconosce a malapena I. velata trasportata in volo da un pavone.

### D. Iuno bambina, su un pavone

**228.\*** AE medaglione, Roma, Faustina Minore (161-176 d. C.). - Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II 39, 9 tav. 67, 7; *EAA* III (1960) 930 fig. 1166; Banti, A., *I grandi bronzi imperiali* III 2 (1985) 90, 150. - R.: I. bambina su pavone tra due coribanti che danzano imbracciando gli scudi.

### E. Busti e teste

#### a) Possibili raffigurazioni di Iuno con stephane senza velo sul capo

**229.** Affresco parietale, Pompei IX 3, 5 (Casa di M. Lucrezio). - *BdI* 1847, 131; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n°

159; Schefold, *WP* 247. - Busto di I. con stephane sul capo.

**230.\*** Vetro. New York, MMA 59.11.8. - *JGIsI* 3, 1961, 135 n° 6; Megow, *Kameen* 267/B42 tav. 44, 9. - Prima metà del II sec. d. C. - Busto di I.(?) con diadema e velo sul capo.

**231.\*** Rilievo in bronzo: falera con protome di I., dal gruppo equestre di Cartoceto, bronzo. Ancona, Mus. Naz. - Stucchi, S., *BollArte* 1960, 10 fig. 6. - Età claudia. - Protome di fronte con stephane sul capo svelato.

**232.\*** (= 276) Sardonica. Firenze, Mus. Arch. - Megow, *Kameen* 290 D9 tav. 18, 8. - Età di Caligola o di Claudio. - Busto di I. con corona di gemme, capelli sciolti sulle spalle e legati all'estremità; boccoli ricadono sul collo. La dea veste chitone(?) e mantello. Come nel caso della Iuno Ludovisi (cf. 243), è stata proposta un'assimilazione con Antonia Minor, che va tuttavia respinta per le forti varianti iconografiche tra l'effigie sulla gemma ed i ritratti documentati, specie in base alle emissioni monetali, di Antonia Minor. Analoghi esemplari uno a Praga, Tesoro del Duomo, due a Parigi, Cab. Méd. (Megow, *Kameen* 290s. D10-12 tavv. 18, 9-10; 19, 1).

#### Monete

**233.** AE, Capua, III sec. a. C. - Sambon, A., *Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie I* (1906) n° 1038-1039. - D.: testa di I.(?) con piccola stephane e capelli raccolti a crocchia sulla nuca. Uno scettro posa sulla spalla. R.: n° 1038: due idoli affiancati, completamente velati, con un velo posato su ambedue le teste; n° 1039: spiga di grano con due foglie.

**233a)** AE, Capua, III sec. a. C. - Sambon, o. c. 233, n° 1048. - D.: Come 233. R.: fulmine alato.

**233b)** AE triente, Roma 217-215 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 39/1 tav. 7, 5. - D.: testa femminile di profilo con stephane e riccioli di tipo calamistrato ricadenti sulle spalle. R.: Ercole che combatte contro un centauro e legg. *ROMA*.

#### Sculpture a tutto tondo, marmo

**234.** Testa colossale. Chertel, Mus. Dal porto di Chertel. - Fittschen, K., in *Die Numider*, Kat. Bonn (1979) 240s., 538 tav. 87. - Età augustea. - La testa, con altre simili, era probabilmente destinata alla decorazione di un edificio (entro un clipeo? sulla chiave d'arco di una porta?).

**234a)** (= Hera 127\*) Testa colossale. Roma, Mus. Naz. Rom. 8600. Dalla coll. Ludovisi. - Amelung, W., *RM* 18, 1903, 11; Becatti, G., *RivIstArch* 7, 1940, 78 fig. 53; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2349 (Fuchs, W.); *MusNazRom* I 5, 97 n° 41 (Palma, B.). - II sec. a. C. (Becatti); Età antonina (Fuchs). - La testa, diademat, mostra il caratteristico taglio semicircolare al collo per l'inserimento su una statua. I capelli sono raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca.

**235.\*** Busto colossale. Napoli, Mus. Naz. 6268. Dalla coll. Farnese. - Overbeck, *KM II* 98 s. n° 18 Atlas tav. 9, 14; Guida Ruesch 160 n° 506; Lippold, *HbArch* 312 n. 19. - Età antonina. - Stephane sul capo e capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca.

**236.\*** Busto colossale. Vaticano, Gall. Chiaramonti. Da Ostia. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* I 663 n° 534 tav. 70. - II sec. d. C. - Capelli con scriminatura centrale, raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca. Alta stephane sul capo. Grosse ciocche ricadenti sul collo.

**237.** Testa. Ubicazione ignota. Dalla coll. Ludovisi. - *MusNazRom* I 6, 127 n° V, 3 (Palma, B.). - La testa era stata inserita su una statua di grandi dimensioni affine alle Cariatidi del teatro di Mileto. Scriminatura centrale, capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca, alta stephane sul capo.

**238.** Busto colossale in marmo grigio. Firenze, Uff. - Mansuelli, *ScultUff* I 157 s. n° 130 fig. 131a. b. - II sec. d. C. (cf. Lippold, *Kopien* 95 n. 71). - La testa è forse pertinente ad un acrolito. La dea ha i capelli con scriminatura centrale raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca. Sul capo posa una stephane con orlo ad archetti decorata con rosette.

**239.\*** Testa. Vaticano, Gall. Chiaramonti. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* I 647 s. n° 511 A tav. 69. - Età imperiale. - Variante del tipo Hera Barberini, ma con stephane ad orlo ondulato.

**240.\*** Testa in marmo da Akragas. Londra, BM 504. Dalla coll. Castellani. - *AdI* 1869, 144 ss. (Helbig, W.); *MonInst* IX tav. 1; Furtwängler, A., *AZ* 1885, 275 ss. fig. A; Smith, *BMSculpture* I 270 n° 504. - Talvolta considerata un falso (Furtwängler) dipende da modelli dei primi decenni del IV sec. a. C. I capelli erano raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca; sul capo una piccola stephane.

**241.** Testa. Leeds, Mus. - Savile Lumley, J., *Archaeologia* 49, 1888, 376 tav. 4, 2; Woodward, A. M., *BSR* 11, 1929, 77 n° 83 fig. 7. - Età imperiale. - La testa, in povero stato di conservazione, proviene dal santuario di I. S. di Lanuvio. Verosimile, ma non certo, che si tratti di una statua di I. La dea ha i capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca. Sul capo, una stephane. Analogo l'es. Woodward, o. c. 78 n° 90 fig. 5, considerato Persefone, ma più verosimilmente raffigurante I. Resecato da una doppia erma(?).

**242.** Testa. Dal santuario di I. S. a Lanuvio. - Galletti, A., *BullCom* 56, 1928, 243 n. 2 fig. 33; Chiarucci, P., *Lanuvium* (1983) fig. 94. - I sec. a. C.(?). - Capelli con scriminatura centrale, raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca. La frattura superiore non permette di riconoscere l'attributo che la dea aveva sul capo.

**243.** (= 278, = Hera 131\*) Testa colossale, c. d. I. Ludovisi. Roma, Mus. Naz. Rom. 8631. - Furtwängler, A., *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* (1893) 557; BrBr 389; Rumpf, A., *AbhBerlin* (1941, 5) 3 ss. tavv. 1-4; v. Heintze, H., *Iuno Ludovisi. Opus nobile* 4 (1957) 4 ss. figg. 1. 2. 5; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2341 (v. Heintze, H.); Tölle-Kastenbein, R., *AM* 89, 1974, 241 ss., tavv. 91. 95, 2; 96, 2; Ehrhart, K. P., *AJA* 82, 1978, 193 ss.; *MusNazRom* I 5 n° 58 (de Lachenal, L.). - Età di Claudio. - Volto dai tratti idealizzati. Acconciatura con scriminatura centrale, crocchia allungata dietro la nuca. Dalla massa dei capelli, dietro le orecchie, ricadono lunghe ciocche sul collo. Sul capo alta stephane decorata con palmette e fiori di loto, e benda sacrificale di lana. È stato proposto che sia raffigurata Antonia Minor assimilata ad una dea, con la benda di lana

simbolo della sua funzione di flaminica Augustalis (Rumpf). Un confronto diretto con le monete dedicate alla diva Antonia Minor rendono poco persuasiva tale interpretazione (Tölle-Kastenbein), anche se non è possibile, al momento, stabilire se si tratti effettivamente del fr. di una statua di culto di I. (o di una divinità matronale affine).

**244.** Testa. Ubicazione ignota. Da Palestrina. - Guattani, G., A., *Monumenti ant. inediti* (1787) XXXIII; Müller, C. O./Wieseler, F., *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* II (1856) tav. 4 n° 55; Overbeck, KM II 88 s. n° 5. - Secondo Overbeck, affine alla I. Ludovisi.

**245.\*** Busto colossale. Venezia, Mus. Arch. Dalla coll. Molin. - EA 2659-2660 (Lippold, G.); Traversari, G., *Sculture del V-IV sec. a. C. del Mus. Arch. di Venezia* (1973) 132 s. n° 56. - Età claudia(?). - Scriminatura centrale e crocchia dietro la nuca. Alta stephane decorata con grifi e palmette, e bordo superiore a kyma ionico. Come nel caso della c. d. Iuno Ludovisi, non è possibile determinare se si tratti di una I. Non sembra verosimile che si tratti di una principessa d'età claudia assimilata ad una dea (Lippold).

**246.\*** Testa. Venezia, Mus. Arch. 230. - Anti, C., *Il Regio Mus. Arch. nel Pal. Reale di Venezia* (1930) 61 n° 18. - Età antonina. - Capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca. Stephane sul capo. Due boccoli ai lati del collo.

**247.** Testa. Copenhagen, Glypt. 1742. - EA 4155-4156; Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 184 s. n° 243; *Billedatavler* tav. 17. - I sec. d. C. - Collegabile tipologicamente alla Iuno Ludovisi, ma la stephane non è decorata. Simile la testa da Sant'Angelo d'Alife (ora nel Mus. di Piedimonte d'Alife) che O. Brendel pensa raffiguri una principessa claudia (AA 1935, 560 fig. 11).

**248.** Testa. Berlino (DDR), Staatl. Mus. SK 180. Dalla coll. Vescovoli. - *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen* (1891) 79 n° 180. - II sec. d. C. - Come la Iuno Ludovisi, ma senza decorazione sulla stephane.

**249.\*** Testa minore del vero. Vaticano, Gall. Chiaramonti. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* I 442 s. n° 190 tav. 46. - Età imperiale. - Scriminatura centrale, capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca, riccioli alle tempie, ciocche ricadenti sulle spalle, alta stephane sul capo.

**250.\*** Testa. Stoccolma, Mus. Naz. - EA 4965-4966. - Scriminatura centrale, capelli raccolti dietro la nuca da dove due grosse ciocche ricadono sul collo, due riccioli alle tempie, alta stephane.

**251.\*** Testa. Mariemont, Mus. B 377. Dall'Alto Egitto. - *Les Antiquités du Mus. de Mariemont* (1952) 79 G. 35 tav. 28 (Lévêque, P.). - Seconda metà del II sec. d. C. - Capelli con scriminatura centrale e crocchia dietro la nuca. Sul capo stephane decorata con fiori stilizzati e bordo ad archetti, e kalathos (di cui è conservata la base). Potrebbe trattarsi di una Tyche dipendente dal tipo Iuno Ludovisi.

**252.\*** Busto. Londra, BM 1536. - Smith, *BMSculpture* III n° 1536. - Affine tipologicamente alla Iuno Ludovisi. La stephane ha un bordo a dentelli.

**253.** Testa in marmo. Già a Smirne, Scuola Evangelica. Da Afrodizia. - EA 3208. - IV sec. d. C. - Si

tratta certamente di una Tyche (di Afrodizia?) in quanto sul capo, oltre un'alta stephane, posa una corona turrita. Ma il tipo, con i capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca, dipende forse da una I.

**254.\*** Testa in marmo su busto in porfido. Bologna, Mus. Civ. Dalla coll. Marsili. - Brizzolara, A. M., *Le sculture del Mus. Civ. Arch. di Bologna. La coll. Marsili* (1986) 112 n° 53 tavv. 107-109. - Età antonina. - Capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca. Stephane sul capo.

**255.\*** Testa Pentini. Vaticano, Braccio Nuovo 2224. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* I 136; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 448 (Fuchs, W.); Coarelli, F./Sauron, G., *MEFRA* 90, 1978, 705 ss. figg. 1-6. - 75-50 a. C. ca. - La dea ha un diadema largo, decorato con girali di acanto. Capelli con scriminatura centrale raccolti dietro la nuca; due trecce ricadono sulle spalle. L'iconografia è rara; non è affatto certo che si tratti di I.

#### DOCUMENTO DEL SEC. XVII

**256.** Testa in rosso antico. Roma, Mus. Borghese. - Faldi, I., *Galleria Borghese. Le sculture dal sec. XVI al XIX* (1954) 17 s. n° 12. - Lavoro tardo-settecentesco basato sul tipo I. Ludovisi.

#### b) Possibili raffigurazioni di Iuno con stephane e velo sul capo

**257.\*** (= Ares/Mars 269, = Athena/Minerva 2 con bibl.) Affresco parietale. Pompei V 1, 18 (Casa degli Epigrammi). Noto ormai solo tramite disegni. - Schefold, *WP* 63; *idem*, *Vergessenes Pompeji* (1962) 138 tav. 179. - Età flavia. - Sei busti di divinità. I. è raffigurata di tre quarti. Sul capo ha una stephane ed un velo; inoltre porta due orecchini a pendente.



Iuno 257

#### Rilievi

**258.** Altorelievo in pietra su una chiave d'arco dell'anfiteatro di Capua. - Pesce, G., *I rilievi dell'anfiteatro*

*campano* (1941) 12 n° 2 tav. 4b. - Età di Adriano. - La protome, di faccia, ha un mantello e stephane sul capo. Impossibile precisare se sia realmente I.

**259.** Falera in bronzo. Baltimora, Walters Art Gall. - Kent Hill, D., *Cat. of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (1949) n° 10 tav. 4. - Età giulio-claudia. - La protome è interamente avvolta in un mantello che lascia liberi il volto e la mano destra. È incerto se si tratti di I.

#### Monete

**260.** AE, Capua. III sec. a. C. - Sambon, *o. c.* 233, n° 1040. - D.: testa di Iuno velata e con stephane. Scettro posato sulla spalla. R.: spiga di grano con due foglie.

**261.\*** AR Denario, Roma, L. Rubrius Dossenus, 87 a. C. - Crawford, *RRC* n° 348/2 tav. 45, 19. - D.: testa di I. velata; la dea ha una stephane sul capo. Alle spalle uno scettro e la legg. DOS. R.: quadriga trionfale. Stessa immagine su un denario di restituito in argento dell'epoca di Traiano (*BMC Emp* III 133, 677 tav. 22, 10).

#### Sculture a tutto tondo, marmo

**262.\*** Testa, variante della Kore tipo Candia. Vaticano, Gall. Chiaramonti. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* I 660 s. n° 530 A tav. 70; Tölle-Kastenbein, R., *APL* 20 (1986) 18 ss. n° 50v tavv. 35-36. - Età augustea. - Sulla testa della Kore tipo Candia sono stati aggiunti dal copista romano una stephane decorata con motivi floreali (cf. il cratere del tesoro di Hildesheim: Gehrig, H., *Hildesheimer Silberfund* [1967] 20 tavv. 2-5), ed un velo.

**263.** (= Demeter/Ceres 34\*, = Hera 126) Busto. Roma, Mus. Naz. Rom. 8596. Dalla coll. Ludovisi. - EA 264; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2346 (v. Steuben, H.); Giuliano, *MusNazRom* I 5 n° 50 (Palma, B.). - Età antonina. - Il busto sembra antico. La dea veste chitone e mantello che posa sulla nuca ricadendo morbidamente sulle spalle. Capelli con scriminatura centrale, certo raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca. Alta stephane rigonfia con bordo sul capo. La tipologia è egualmente valida per I., per Cerere e per Vesta (nonché, naturalmente, per personificazioni femminili che dalle tre dee hanno recepito forme iconografiche).

**264.** Busto. Berlino (DDR), Staatl. Mus. SK 181. Dalla coll. Sermoneta. - *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen* (1891) 79 n° 181. - Età imperiale. - Sul capo alta stephane e velo.

**265.** Busto. Roma. Mus. Torlonia. - Visconti, C. L., *Les monuments de sculpture antique du Musée Torlonia* (1884) 392 n° 514 tav. 132. - Età claudia? - Scriminatura centrale, capelli raccolti dietro la nuca, alta stephane e mantello sul capo. Livia idealizzata?

**266.** Busto. Roma, Ambasciata U.S.A. Dalla coll. Ludovisi. - *MusNazRom* I 6, 148 s. n° VII, 1 (de Lachenal, L.). - I sec. d. C. - La testa, inserita su un busto moderno, mostra un'acconciatura con scriminatura centrale e velo sul capo. È dubbio se si tratti di I. o di Cerere.

**267.** Testa inserita su una statua di Fortuna. Vaticano, Braccio Nuovo. - Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* I

101 ss. n° 86 tav. 13; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 437 (Fuchs, W.). - II sec. d. C. - Scriminatura centrale e capelli raccolti dietro la nuca. Alta stephane con bordo traforato e mantello sul capo. Due grosse ciocche di capelli ricadono sul collo. Affine tipologicamente alla I. Ludovisi.

**268.** Busto. Verona, Mus. Arch. - Marconi, P., *Verona romana* (1937) 139 fig. 92. - II sec. d. C. - Busto a taglio triangolare. La dea veste un chitone e mantello sulla nuca. Riccioli scendono ai lati del collo. Stephane sul capo.

#### Bronzetti

**269.\*** Parigi, Cab. Méd. - Babelon/Blanchet, *Bibl-NatBronzes* n° 51. - Età imperiale. - La dea ha sul capo mantello e stephane. Boccoli le ricadono lungo il collo. Simili Babelon/Blanchet, *o. c.* n° 52-53 (quest'ultimo terminale di una cornucopia), un esempl. a Lione (Boucher, St., *Bronzes romains figurés du Musée des Beaux Arts de Lyon* [1973] n° 65: anch'esso terminale di cornucopia o decorazione di mobile).

**270.\*** Trieste, Mus. Civ. 2459. - *Arte e Civiltà romana nell'Italia Settentrionale*, Cat. Bologna (1964) 292 n° 406 tav. 82, 170; Cassola Guida, P., *Bronzetti a figura umana dalle collezioni dei Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte di Trieste* (1978) 114 s. n° 92. - I sec. d. C. - La dea veste un chitone leggero che le scende sulla spalla d., e un mantello che le copre la nuca. Sul capo posa un'alta stephane; i capelli, con scriminatura centrale, si dispongono ad onde ai lati del volto, sopra la stephane. La spalla scoperta rende incerta l'attribuzione.

**271.\*** Piccolo busto. Parigi, Louvre Br 745. - De Ridder, *BrLouvre* I 102 n° 745 tav. 51. - Età imperiale. - La dea veste un chitone. Sul capo, dai capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca, posa una stephane decorata al bordo con sferette.

**272.\*** Testina. Lyon, Mus. gallo-rom. Da Villette-Serpaize. Espérandieu, *Recueil* III n° 2593. - I sec. d. C. - La dea ha un'acconciatura con scriminatura centrale e capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca. Due riccioli si dispongono a forcipe sulla fronte. Sul capo posa una corona con orlo ad archetti.

#### c) Maschera di Iuno

**273.** Affresco parietale. Napoli, Mus. Naz. Dalla Casa di M. Lucrezio a Pompei. - *Museo Borbonico* XIV tav. 44; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 167. - A s., su una pietra, poggia una maschera di I. con diadema a dentelli. A d. è un pavone.

### III. Assimilazioni con Iuno

#### A. Busti e teste

##### Glittica

**274.\*** Sardonica(?). Ubicazione ignota (nota da un calco). - Megow, *Kameen* 187 A65 tav. 14, 10. - Età di Caligola. - Busti di Caligola e di Antonia Minor di faccia. Antonia ha un diadema sul capo ed è velata. Possibile un'assimilazione a I.

**275.\*** Sardonica. Londra, BM 3584. - Megow, *Kameen* 260 B 27 tav. 29, 3. - Età di Claudio. - Busti

jugati di Agrippina Minor come Minerva in primo piano, e di Agrippina Maior come I. sul fondo. Quest'ultima ha una benda tra i capelli.

**276.** (= 232\*) Sardonica. Firenze, Mus. Arch. - Megow, *Kameen* 290 D9 tav. 18, 8. - Età di Caligola o di Claudio. - È stato supposto che l'effigie raffigurasse Antonia Minor come I.; ma l'ipotesi non è suffragata da un confronto iconografico con i ritratti sicuri di Antonia Minor.

**277.\*** Sardonica. Bonn, coll. privata. - Megow, *Kameen* 260 s. B28 tav. 34, 14-16. - Età di Nerone. - Poppea(?) come Isis-I. (?) con egida sul capo.

#### Scultura a tutto tondo

**278.** (= 243) Testa colossale in marmo, c. d. I. Ludovisi. Roma, Mus. Naz. Rom. - Età di Claudio. - Dopo il fondamentale saggio di Rumpf è stato comunemente accettato il riconoscimento di Antonia Minor assimilata ad una dea. In realtà, l'accostamento iconografico tra la I. Ludovisi e le emissioni monetali non è affatto cogente; al contrario, l'analisi delle monete raffiguranti Antonia Minor parrebbe suggerire che l'ipotesi vada respinta (le acconciature dei capelli sono differenti).

#### B. Intera stante

##### Rilievi

**279.** (= 42) Rilievo in marmo. Tripoli, Mus. Dal-l'arco di Settimio Severo a Leptis Magna. - Sia Iuppiter che Iuno sono raffigurati secondo un'iconografia desunta da ritratti di Settimio Severo (tipo del Decennale: McCann, A. M., *The Portraits of Septimius Severus* [1968] 119 ss.; Soechting, D., *Die Portraits des Septimius Severus* [1972] 59 ss. 221 ss. n° 130-142; Fittschen, K., *Indiana Univ. Art Mus. Bull.* 1, 2, 1978, 32 n. 27) e di Giulia Domna (tipo Leptis Magna: Meischner, J., *Das Frauenporträt der Severerzeit* [1964] 46 ss. n° 30-37; 50 ss. n° 38-44; Schlüter, R., *Die Bildnisse der Kaiserin Julia Domna* [1977] 62 ss.; Fittschen, o. c. 37 ss. n. 55). L'assimilazione è insolita, perché il rilievo va probabilmente datato ante 209 d. C., quando sia Settimio Severo che Giulia Domna erano ancora vivi.

**280.\*** Rilievo funerario di Aelia Leporina. Tebessa, cortile del Mus. - Leglay, M., *Lybica* 4, 1956, 33 ss.; Wrede, H., *RM* 85, 1978, 418 tav. 135, 2. 3; *idem*, *Consecratio* 258 n° 168. - 160-180 d. C. - Rilievo a tre lati, ognuno dei quali con raffigurazione della defunta come I. Sui lati brevi ha nella mano d. una face e nella s. un'acerra. Sul lato principale è velata, nella s. ha uno scettro e nella d. una patera; ai suoi piedi è un pavone. Acconciatura dei capelli secondo la moda dell'epoca di Faustina Minore.

##### Glittica

**281.\*** Sardonica. Stuttgart, Landesmus. - Megow, *Kameen* 233 ss. A132 tav. 47, 1. - Età di Marco Aurelio. - Iuppiter è seduto sul trono. Al suo fianco, in piedi, è I. in chitone e con ampio velo che le copre la nuca ed il torso; sul capo ha una stephane; con la mano

d. regge un oggetto indefinibile, forse un ventaglio di piume. È supposta un'assimilazione con Marco Aurelio e Faustina Minore, sebbene la somiglianza iconografica sia piuttosto generica.

#### C. Librata in aria su un pavone o su Genio alato

Il motivo iconografico, diffuso in età ellenistica e noto in base ad affreschi pompeiani, è documentato anche per I. (studiolo di Augusto [226]; mosaico di Palermo [227]). Da questi modelli dipende l'iconografia, ampiamente diffusa da Sabina in poi, dell'imperatrice divinizzata, assimilata a I., che ascende all'Olimpo su un pavone, su un'aquila o su un Genio alato. Tra i numerosi esempi si citano:

**282.** (= Aeternitas 71\*) Rilievo in marmo. Roma, Pal. Cons. 1213. Dall'arco del Portogallo. - Brendel, O., *The Visible Idea* (1980) 48 ss.; Stucchi, S., *BullCom* 73, 1949 50, 101 ss.; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1800 (Simon, E.); La Rocca, E., *La riva a mezzaluna* (1984) 103 ss. 114; Oppermann, M., *Römische Kaiserreliefs* (1985) 141 ss. fig. 29; Koepfel, G., *BonnJbb* 186, 1986, 39 ss.; *Rilievi storici Capitolini*, a cura di La Rocca, E., Cat. Roma (1986) 24 ss. tavv. 7-14. - Età adrianea. - Consecratio della diva Sabina. L'imperatrice si solleva in volo dal recinto del suo altare di consecratio - dal quale si alzano fiamme - su un Genio alato simboleggiante Aeternitas. Adriano, seduto, assiste al prodigio. Come I. Sabina veste chitone e mantello che le copre la nuca. Sul capo una stephane. Con la mano s. regge un lembo del mantello.

##### Monete

**283.** AE sesterzio, Roma, diva Sabina († 137 d. C.). - BMC Emp III 362, 955-956 tav. 66, 6-7; *Rilievi storici Capitolini*, o. c. 282, 25 fig. 3. - R: la diva Sabina librata in volo su un'aquila. La nuova dea ha in mano uno scettro. Analoga raffigurazione su aurei, dove, tuttavia, la diva Sabina è in gesto di velificatio.

**284.** AE, sesterzio, Roma, diva Faustina Maggiore († 141 d. C.). - BMC Emp IV 230, 1422 tav. 34, 8; *Rilievi storici Capitolini*, o. c. 282, 25 fig. 4. - R: la diva Faustina Maggiore velata, con scettro, si libra in volo su un Genio alato che regge una face. Stessa tipologia in conî dedicati alla diva Faustina Minore: BMC Emp IV 652, 1567 tav. 86, 7.

**285.** AE sesterzio, Roma, diva Faustina Maggiore († 141 d. C.). - Strack, *Reichsprägung* III tav. 18, 1237. - R: la diva Faustina Maggiore, velata, con scettro in mano, è librata in aria su un pavone. Stessa tipologia in conî dedicati a Faustina Minore (BMC Emp IV 653, 1570; Robertson, *Hunter* II 364 s. tav. 101, 23; *Rilievi storici Capitolini*, o. c. 282, 28 fig. 7), su un medaglione dedicato a Giulia Domna (Bernhart, o. c. 283, tav. 52, 6; *Rilievi*, cit., 28 fig. 8), su conî dedicati a Paulina, sposa di Massimino Trace (BMC Emp VI 233, 126-134 tav. 37; *Rilievi*, cit. 28 fig. 6), ed ancora su conî dedicati a Mariniana, sposa di Valeriano (Robertson, *Hunter* II tav. 4, 3-9; *Rilievi*, cit. 29 fig. 11).

#### IV. Raffigurazioni di Hera/Iuno con altre divinità

##### A. Con Zeus/Iuppiter

###### a) A figura intera

###### Arti grafiche

**286.** (= Hera 210\* con bibl., = Hypnos/Somnus 157 con bibl., = Iris I 75\* con bibl.) Affresco parietale. Pompei VI 8, 3 (Casa del Poeta Tragico). Napoli, Mus. Naz. 9559 - HBr tav. 11; Rizzo, *PER* tav. 64; Schefold, *WP* 103. - Età di Vespasiano. - Incontro di Zeus ed Hera sul monte Ida. Zeus è sdraiato, seminudo, con il capo velato; con la mano s. regge uno scettro; con la d. regge il braccio s. di Hera stante, con lo sguardo rivolto verso lo spettatore. La dea veste un chitone che scende con pieghe pesanti e regolari; un velo le copre la nuca ed il torso. Sul capo, che pare presentare un'acconciatura d'epoca (ma si potrebbe trattare di un'interpretazione della «Melonenfrisur»), posa un diadema gemmato. Hera regge con la d. un piccolo velo spiegato per un lembo; l'altro lembo è retto dalla mano di Zeus. Dietro la dea è Iris (o, forse, Hypnos) che la spinge delicatamente verso lo sposo. La scena si svolge, secondo il racconto in Hom. *Il.* 14, 153-345, sul monte Ida dedicato a Kybele. Per tale motivo, sul fondo, presso una colonna, sono i simboli del culto ideo, il timpano, i cembali e le tibie.

**287.** Cista prenestina in bronzo. Leningrado, Ermitage B 619. Da Palestrina. - CPI I, 101 ss. n° 24 tavv. 121-124. - IV-III sec. a. C. - Partenza di guerrieri alla presenza di una coppia divina(?). Il personaggio maschile è seduto, seminudo, poggiato ad uno scettro(?) con la mano s. Il personaggio femminile è alla sua d., poggiato alla spalliera del trono(?). Veste chitone con rimborcio, cinto alla vita. Il capo scoperto è adornato di una corona(?); una treccia ricade sulle spalle. La mano d. è sollevata. Orecchini e collana adornano il volto. È solo un'ipotesi che si tratti di Zeus/Iuppiter ed Hera/Iuno.

##### Rilievi

**288.\*** Placchetta in bronzo. Vienna, Kunsthinst. Mus. VI 317. - v. Sacken, o. c. 202, 18 tav. 48, 7. - Età imperiale. - Iuppiter a s. e Iuno a d. stanti. Iuno veste chitone cinto alla vita e mantello che ricade sui fianchi. Larghe ciocche di capelli ricadono sulle spalle. Sul capo scoperto posa una corona. Con la s. la dea si appoggia ad uno scettro; la d. è invece poggiata al fianco.

**289.** Tavoleta votiva in marmo. Da Arcar. - Kazanow, G., *AnzWien* 1947, n° 25, 300; Detschew, D., *BullInstArchBulg* 18, 1952, 24 s. 52 s. fig. 8. - Iuppiter su quadriga lanciata in corsa, con fulmine ed aquila. Dietro di lui I. stante in chitone cinto alla vita e mantello che le copre il capo e le gambe. Con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro; la d. è in riposo. Simile schema su altre tavolette votive; cf. Detschew, o. c. figg. 6, 7; Bor-denache, *SculptBucarest* 78 s. n° 153 tav. 65.

**290.** Rilievo in marmo. Gigondas, coll. Raspail. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* I 226. - I. e Iuppiter armato, stanti. I. veste chitone con cintura alla vita e mantello che lascia scoperto il capo. I capelli legati scendono

sulle spalle. La mano d. regge una patera. Ai piedi degli dei due uccelli.

###### b) Busti

**291.** Capitello di semicolonna in calcare. Douai, Mus. de la Chartreuse. Da Bavai. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IX n° 7216; v. Mercklin, o. c. 74, 107° 289b fig. 521. - Il sec. d. C. - Al centro del capitello, tra le foglie di acanto, in luogo delle helices, busto di I. in chitone, velata. I capelli sono con scriminatura centrale. Dinanzi al busto è lo scettro. Il capitello era collegato con un altro capitello di semicolonna, ora distrutto (v. Mercklin, o. c. 107 n° 289a fig. 519), sul quale era raffigurato il busto di Iuppiter.

**292.** C.d. sardonica Orghidan. Bucarest, Gabinetto Numismatico. Dalla Siria. - Banko, J., *Oefh* 31, 1939, 155 ss. fig. 39 tav. 1; Gramatopol, M., *Les pierres gravées du Cabinet numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine* (1974) 89 n° 668 tav. 32; Megow, *Kameen* 231 tav. 43, 3. - Il sec. d. C. - Busti di Iuppiter e I. affrontati sopra due aquile. Al centro, il Palladio. I. ha una corona di foglie sul capo ed è velata.

##### B. Con Iuppiter Ammon

###### Glittica

**293.\*** (= Ammon 174\* con bibl.) Sardonica. Londra, BM 3619 (già Marlborough). - Megow, *Kameen* 276 s. C13 tavv. 16, 7-8; 17. - Età claudia. - Busti affrontati di Iuppiter Ammon e di I. Iside. La dea ha i capelli sciolti sulle spalle ed annodati all'estremità; sul capo ha una stephane ed una corona composita (grano, melagrane, quercia *et al.*); sul torso un mantello a frange.

**294.** (= Ammon 138\*) Cammeo. Firenze, Uff. - Overbeck, *KMI* 301 tav. 4, 11; Cook, *Zeus* I 370 n. 4 fig. 279. - Età imperiale. - Teste jugate di Iuppiter Ammon e Iuno. La dea ha i capelli mossi.

**295.\*** (= Ammon 138a\* con bibl.) Gemma. Berlino (Ovest), Staatl. Mus. FG 1121. - AGD II 93 n° 214 tav. 45. - Come sopra. La dea ha una stephane sul capo.

###### Scultura a tutto tondo

**296.\*** Busti jugati in bronzo di Iuppiter Ammon e di I. Londra, BM 938. - Walters, *BMBronzes* n° 938. - I capelli di I. sono con scriminatura centrale e partiti ad onde; dietro le orecchie sono trecce.

**297.** (= Ammon 139\*) Erma doppia in marmo. Brooklyn, Brooklyn Mus. 13.1070. - La testa femminile opposta a quella di Iuppiter Ammon presenta i capelli a boccoli sulle spalle. Probabile che si tratti di una Iside Iuno.

##### C. Con Iuppiter ed Hebe

**298.\*** Rilievo in marmo. Bologna, Mus. Civ. Dalla coll. Palagi. - Kekule, R., *AZ* 28, 1871, 4 s. tav. 27; Forster, R., *AZ* 1872, 123 ss.; Paul, E., *Die falsche Göttin* (1962) 77 ss. fig. 29; EAA VI (1965) s. v. «Sal-



pion» (Moreno, P.); *Pelagio Palagi* artista e collezionista, Cat. Bologna (1976) 250 s. n° 186 (Bizzarri Mandrioli, A. R.). – Probabilmente lavoro dall'antico dello scultore Monti. – Rilievo firmato da Salpion Ateniese. Zeus/Iuppiter è seduto in trono sulla d. A s. sono Hera/Iuno ed Hebe. I. veste chitone cinto alla vita e mantello che posa sulla nuca e ricade sulle spalle e sulle gambe. La dea regge con la mano d. un lembo del mantello. Sul capo della dea è una stephane.

#### D. Con Iuppiter, Apollo e le Muse

299. Sarcofago in marmo. Napoli, Mus. Naz. – Wegner, M., *SarkRel* V 3, 29 s. n° 59 tav. 149. – Prima metà del II sec. d. C. – La fronte del sarcofago è suddivisa in cinque pannelli per mezzo di pilastri decorati dai quali pendono ghirlande. Al centro è Iuppiter seduto; alla sua s. è Iuno seduta in trono, velata, in chitone ed himation, poggiata ad uno scettro. Seguono nei pannelli Apollo citaredo, stante in riposo, e due Muse.

#### E. Con Minerva, Venus, Apollo, Diana

300. (= Apollon/Apollo 405\* = Artemis/Diana 295 = Athena/Minerva 336 = Delos I 6) Vassoio in argento, c. d. «Corbridge Lanx». Londra, BM. – Drexel, F., *JdI* 30, 1915, 192 ss.; Brendel, O., *JRS* 31, 1941, 100 ss.; Simon, E., *JdI* 93, 1978, 227 s.; Musso, L., *Manifattura suntuaria e committenza pagana nella Roma del IV secolo. Indagine sulla «lanx» di Parabiago* (1983) 72 ss. n. 208 fig. 20. – Fine del IV sec. d. C. – Minerva, Venus e I. tra Diana ed Apollo. I. è la sola seduta; veste chitone cinto sotto al seno, e mantello che copre la nuca e le gambe. Sul capo è inoltre un diadema. L'oggetto presso la mano d. della dea, talvolta considerato un fuso, sembra essere piuttosto il bracciolo del trono non bene inteso.

#### F. Con i Dodici Dei

##### Affreschi parietali

301. (= Dodekathēoi/Dei consentes 2\*, = Hestia/Vesta I con bibl.) Pompei VIII 3, 9-10 (casa delle Grazie), sulla facciata esterna. – *AdI* 1850 tav. agg. K; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 7; Scheffold, *WP* 220. – Età di Vespasiano. – Teoria dei dodici dei. I. è al settimo posto, tra Iuppiter e Vulcanus. Veste un chitone senza cintura, e un mantello posto sul braccio s. ed intorno ai fianchi; nella s. ha uno scettro.

302. (Dodekathēoi/Dei consentes 1\* con bibl. = Herakles 3397) Pompei IX 11, 1 sul muro dietro il pozzo del compitum. – Della Corte, M., *NotSc* 1911, 418 fig. 2; 420 fig. 2a; Saxl, F., *Mithras* (1931) 75, 4 tav. 30 fig. 165; Spinazzola, *Pompei* tav. 1, 18 fig. 215 e tav. agg. I; Scheffold, *WP* 288. – Età di Augusto. – Sei coppie di divinità partendo da Iuppiter e I. La dea è in chitone, velata con mantello piegato intorno alle gambe; sul capo ha una stephane. Con il braccio s. si appoggia ad uno scettro.

##### Rilievi

303. (= Dodekathēoi 30\* con bibl. e rinvii, = Hera 353 con bibl. e rinvii) Base in marmo di stile arcaistico. Parigi, Louvre MA 672. Dalla coll. Borghese. – Sono raffigurate due coppie di divinità sul registro sup. di ognuno dei tre lati della base. Su uno dei lati sono Zeus/Iuppiter ed Hera/Iuno, Poseidon/Neptunus e Demeter/Ceres. Hera/Iuno è in chitone e peplo dorico, capelli sciolti sulle spalle, stephane e velo sul capo retto per un lembo dalla mano s.; con la d. la dea si poggia ad uno scettro e si volge verso Zeus/Iuppiter.

304. (= Dodekathēoi 25\* con bibl. e rinvii, = Hera 365 con bibl.) Puteale in marmo di stile arcaistico. Roma, Mus. Cap. 1019. – Stuart Jones, *Sculpt-MusCap* 106 n° 31b tav. 29; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1244 (Fuchs, W.). – Età di Adriano(?). – Processione dei dodici dei. Hera/Iuno con chitone fittamente increspato e mantello che le copre la nuca con lembi terminanti a coda di rondine, avanza verso destra; con la mano s. regge un orlo del mantello; sul capo ha una stephane.

305. (= Dodekathēoi 20\* con bibl. e rinvii, = Hera 359 con bibl. e rinvii) Rilievo in marmo. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 23.40. – Lavoro moderno (Brommer); 460 a. C. ca. (Willers); fine del II sec. a. C. (Havelock); età tardo-repubblicana. – Sono raffigurati in fila le 12 divinità. Hera/Iuno è in chitone con pieghe regolari tra le gambe, e velo sul capo, ricadente sul corpo. Stephane sul capo. Con la s. regge un lungo scettro; con la d. pare reggere un lembo del chitone. Mi pare convincente l'ipotesi di Brommer che si tratti di un lavoro moderno.

#### Raffigurazioni ridotte o frammentarie dei Dodici Dei

##### Rilievi

306. (= Dodekathēoi 21\* con bibl., = Hera 360 con bibl.) Rilievo in marmo di stile arcaistico. New Haven, Yale Univ. 1965.132. – Età tardo-repubblicana. – In ordine, da s. a d., sono Apollo, Aphrodite/Venus, Athena/Minerva, Hera/Iuno e Zeus/Iuppiter. Hera/Iuno veste chitone con himation che le copre la nuca. Con la mano s. regge un lembo dell'himation, con la d. regge un lungo scettro.

307. (= Aphrodite 138 = Ares/Mars 340 = Athena/Minerva 100) Candelabro in marmo di stile arcaistico. Vaticano, Gall. Statue inv. 551. – Da Villa Adriana a Tivoli. Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II 631 ss. n° 413; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 143 (Fuchs, W.); Cain, H. U., *Römische Marmorkandelaber* (1985) 190 n° 107 tavv. 44, 1, 73, 4. – Età di Adriano. – Il candelabro era in coppia con un altro candelabro (inv. 547, Cain, o. c. 189 n° 106); vi sono raffigurate in tutto sei divinità. Hera/Iuno è in chitone e mantello; sul capo ha una stephane; i capelli sono raccolti in una sphendone. La dea si appoggia ad uno scettro.

308. (= Dodekathēoi 28\* con bibl., = Hera 368 con bibl. e rinvii) Base in marmo di stile arcaistico. Roma, Villa Albani 685. – Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV n° 3356 (Fuchs, W.). – Età antonina. – Tre divinità per ogni lato. Su un pannello Demeter/Ceres con scettro e mezzo di spighe e papaveri, Poseidon/Neptunus con tridente ed Hera/Iuno in peplo dorico, mantello che copre la nuca, ter-

minante in lembi a coda di rondine, e lungo scettro nella mano d.; con la s. la dea regge un lembo del mantello.

309. Rilievo architettonico in marmo. Berlino, Staatl. Mus. SK 913. Da Ostia. – Reinach, *RépRel* II 31, 5; *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen* (1891) 370 n° 913; Scheffold, *SB* III 126 fig. 160. – Dopo 150 d. C. – Teoria di divinità. Da s. Hera/Iuno, Zeus/Iuppiter, Athena/Minerva, Apollo, Hermes/Mercurius. Hera/Iuno è stante in chitone e mantello che le copre la nuca e le gambe ripiegandosi sui fianchi con un rimbocco. Nella mano d. la dea ha una patera, con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro. La testa è di restauro.

310. Rilievo in pietra. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. Da Nikopolis ad Istrum. – Ferri, S., *Arte romana sul Danubio* (1933) 378 s. fig. 522. – Età imperiale. – Da s. a d. sono rappresentati, in posizione stante e frontale, Hermes/Mercurius, Hera/Iuno, Zeus/Iuppiter, Athena/Minerva, Herakles/Hercules. Hera/Iuno veste un chitone con lungo rimbocco cinto alla vita, e un mantello sul capo e sulle spalle. Con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro; con la d. regge una patera su un piccolo altare.

#### G. Sulle c. d. «Iuppitersäulen»

311. Viergötterstein. Bad Kreuznach, Karl-Geib-Mus. – Bauchhenß, G./Noelke, P., *Die Jupitersäulen in den germanischen Provinzen* (1981) 96 s. n° 39 tav. 3, 1. – Età flavia. – Sui quattro lati I., Mercurius, Hercules e Fortuna. I. è velata, in chitone e mantello che le ricade sui fianchi, scettro nella mano s., patera nella mano d. Al suo lato un altare.

312. Viergötterstein. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. Da Au-am-Rhein. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. 311, 93 n° 26 tav. 5, 1. – Sui quattro lati I., Apollo, Hercules, Minerva. I. è in chitone e mantello ripiegato sui fianchi e sulle gambe, velata. Un diadema è sopra il velo. Nella mano s. regge un'acerra, nella d. una patera. Sul lato d. in basso è un serpente barbuto, in alto un pavone su pilastro.

313. Viergötterstein. Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmus. A 1924:24. Da Dieburg. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. 311, 114 n° 110-111 tav. 12, 1. – 225-250 d. C. – Sui quattro lati I., Ceres, Hercules, Vulcanus. I. è in chitone cinto sotto al seno, e mantello ripiegato sui fianchi; è velata, con diadema. Nella s. regge un'acerra, nella d. abbassata un grano d'incenso(?). Al suo lato un pavone.

314.\* Viergötterstein. Mannheim, Reiss-Mus. Haug 83. Da Godramstein. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. 311, 135 n° 186-187 tav. 20, 1. – Sui quattro lati I., Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva. I. è in chitone e mantello ripiegato in diagonale sul torso; il capo è velato. Nella s. ha un'acerra, nella d. una patera. Di lato, in basso un altare, in alto un pavone su pilastro.

315. Viergötterstein. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. Da Großschloßheim. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. 311, 140 n° 202 tav. 22, 1. – Sui quattro lati I., Victoria, Apollo, Neptunus. I. (mancano gli attributi) è in chitone cinto sotto al seno, e mantello ripiegato sulle

gambe, un cui lembo posa sulla spalla s. ricadendo in verticale.

316.\* Viergötterstein. Mannheim, Reiss-Mus. Baumann 62 u. 62a. Da Iggelheim. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. 311, 148 n° 225-27 tav. 27, 1. – Sui quattro lati I., Mars, Vulcanus, Victoria. I. in chitone e mantello che l'avvolge tutta e le copre la nuca; la d. è davanti al petto; la s. regge lo scettro. Di lato, in basso, un pavone. In alto, sul postamento della colonna, dedica a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus e Iuno Regina.

317. (= Helios/Sol 363\*, = Herakles/Hercules [in peripheria occ.] 70 con bibl. e rinvii) «Jupitersäule» di Mainz. Mainz, Mittelrhein. Landesmus. S 137. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. 311, 162 s. n° 272-275 (con bibl.); Bauchhenß, G., *CSIR Deutschland II 2* (1984) 8 s. tav. 25. – 59-66 d. C. – Sul roccchio sup. della colonna I. stante, Sol e Luna su quadriga. I. è in chitone con lungo rimbocco che giunge ai fianchi, e mantello ricadente sulle spalle. Sul capo scoperto è una stephane decorata con strigilature. Con la d. si appoggia ad uno scettro; la s. è appoggiata al fianco con l'indice ed il medio allungati.

318.\* Viergötterstein. Mainz, Mittelrhein. Landesmus. S 982. Da Mainz. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. 311, 169 n° 296 tav. 33, 3; Bauchhenß, G., *CSIR Deutschland II 3* (1984) 38 s. n° 29 tav. 47. – 206 d. C. – Sui quattro lati I., Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva. I. è in chitone e mantello ripiegato in diagonale sul torso e ricadente sulle gambe. Il capo è velato e coronato con una stephane. Nella mano s. regge un'acerra; con la d. versa incenso(?) su un altare. Di lato un pavone su pilastro.

319.\* Viergötterstein. Mainz, Mittelrhein. Landesmus. S 657. Da Mainz-Kastel. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. 311, 182 s. n° 355-356 tav. 34, 1; Bauchhenß, o. c. 318, 48 s. tav. 70. – 240 d. C. ca. – Sui quattro lati I., Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva. I. in chitone cinto alla vita, e mantello, velata, si poggia con la s. ad uno scettro; nella d. regge una patera su un altare. Sul postamento della colonna dedica alla domus divina.

320.\* Viergötterstein. Mainz, Mittelrhein. Landesmus. S 978. Da Mainz-Kastel. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. 311, 183 n° 357-358 tav. 34, 3; Bauchhenß, o. c. 318, 53 n° 47 tav. 85. – 23 dicembre 246 d. C. – Sui quattro lati iscrizione di Sertinius Cupitus e Cupitius Providens a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus e I. Regina, Minerva, Hercules e I. La dea veste chitone cinto alla vita e mantello ricadente sulle gambe; il capo è velato. Nella d. regge una patera, nella s. uno scettro.

321. Viergötterstein. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. Da Mörsch. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. 311, 192 s. n° 388 tav. 38, 1. – Sui quattro lati I., Apollo, Hercules, Minerva. I. veste un chitone ed un mantello posato sul capo come un cappuccio, probabilmente per la presenza di una stephane. Il mantello è ripiegato in diagonale sul torso. Con la s. la dea si appoggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera sopra un altare.

322.\* Pilastro in calcare. Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. LXXVII. Da Bonn. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. 311, 413 s. n° 2 tav. 55, 1. – Età severiana. – Sul regi-

stro superiore I. in chitone con rimbocco e mantello posato sulla nuca e ricadente sulle spalle. Con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro, la d. regge una patera.

**323.\*** Colonna in calcare. Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. 17928. Da Kleinbouslar. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. **311**, 416 s. n° 6 tav. 55, 2. – Età severiana. – La colonna è decorata con foglie d'acqua. In verticale, su tre registri, dal basso, divinità maschile nuda (Mercurius?), Minerva e I. La dea veste un chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto alla vita. Il capo è svelato. Con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera.

**324.\*** Colonna in calcare. Mönchengladbach, Städt. Mus. Schloß Rheydt R 1. Da Rheydt-Mülfort. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. **311**, 420 s. n° 11 tav. 65, 1. – Età severiana. – La colonna è decorata con foglie d'acqua. In verticale, su tre registri, dal basso, Hercules, Minerva e I. La dea veste un chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto alla vita; un mantello posa sulla nuca e sulle spalle; sul capo, una stephane. Con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera.

**325.** Colonna in calcare friabile. Jülich, Röm.-Germ. Mus. XI/1. Da Jülich. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. **311**, 452 s. n° 106 tav. 84, 2. – Età severiana. – Colonna decorata con foglie d'acqua. Dea frontale, stante, in chitone ed interamente avvolta nel mantello. Capo scoperto. La mano d. dinanzi alla vita; la s. regge una fiaccola(?). È Iuno(?).

**326.\*** Colonna in calcare. Jülich, Röm.-Germ. Mus. 155 D I. Da Jülich. Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. **311**, 453 n° 107 tav. 84, 3. – Età di Settimio Severo. – Colonna decorata con foglie d'acqua. I. stante, frontale, in chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello posato sulla nuca. Con la s. si poggiava allo scettro; la d. regge una patera.

**327.\*** Pilastro in calcare friabile. Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. D 326. Da Bonn. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. **311**, 471 n° 169 tav. 89. – Età di Settimio Severo. – Su tre lati I., Minerva(?) e una dea non identificabile. I. veste chitone e mantello ripiegato in alto in diagonale sul torso. Sul capo velato è un'alta stephane. Con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge la patera.

**328.\*** Pilastro in calcare. Köln, Röm.-Germ. Mus. 442. Da Colonia. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. **311**, 472 s. n° 172 tav. 90, 2. – Età tardo-antonina. – Pilastro con tre lati figurati a tre registri; il quarto lato è decorato con foglie d'acqua. In ciascun registro è una divinità. Sul registro sup. sono I., Ceres e Minerva. I. è in chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto alla vita, e mantello posato sul capo e sulle spalle. Con la mano s. si appoggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una patera.

**329.\*** Pilastro in calcare. Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. D 1004-1005. Da Rommerskirchen. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. **311**, 475 s. n° 175 tav. 92, 1. – 225-250 d. C. – Come il prec. Sul registro sup. sono I., Luna, Hercules, e Sol. I. veste chitone e mantello ripiegato in diagonale sul torso e ricadente sulle gambe. Sul capo velato posa una stephane. Con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una fiaccola rovesciata.

**330.\*** Pilastro in calcare. Leiden, Rijksmus. F 11 Da Kessel. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. **311**, 481 s. n° 187 tav. 96, 3. – Età tardo-antonina. – Su tre lati Hercules, Minerva e I. La dea, a capo svelato, veste chitone e

mantello abbottonato sulle spalle e ricadente sul corpo. La s. regge uno scettro; la d. una patera su un piccolo altare. Di lato, un pavone su un pilastro.

**331.\*** Base in calcare. Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. 38.435. Da Nierendorf. – Bauchhenß/Noelke, o. c. **311**, 483 s. n° 191 tav. 98, 4. – Età antonina. – Su tre lati Minerva, Hercules e I.; sul quarto lato dedica di L. Pisinius Celsus a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. I. veste un chitone con lungo rimbocco, cinto alla vita, e mantello che posa sulla nuca e sulle spalle. Sul capo è una stephane. Con la s. si appoggia ad uno scettro; la d. regge una fiaccola.

## H. Con Mitra ed altre divinità

**332.** (= Dodekathēoi 47\* con bibl., = Herakles/Hercules [in periphēria occ.] 51\*) Rilievo in arenaria. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. Da Osterburken. – *CIMRM* II 117-119 n° 1292; Schwertheim, E., *Die Denkmäler oriental. Gottheiten im röm. Deutschland*, *EPRO* 40 (1974) 192 ss. tav. 44. – Al centro del rilievo, entro una grotta, Mitra uccide il toro; sono presenti Cautēs e Cautopates. Il bordo esterno della grotta è riccamente decorato come un arco trionfale con scene figurate. In basso compaiono le imprese di Iuppiter e Mitra. In alto, tra Sol e Luna su carro, al centro, è un consesso di divinità alla presenza di Iuppiter seduto in trono. Alla sua d. sono, in primo piano, Iuno, Minerva e Venus; alla sua s., in primo piano, sono Apollo, Mars ed Hercules. Alle spalle di Iuppiter è Victoria che regge una corona. Sono presenti, inoltre, in secondo piano, Neptunus, Proserpina, Pluto, Diana. Iuno, in lungo chitone e velata, regge un'acerra nella s.

## V. Iuno in raffigurazioni mitologiche

### A. Hera/Iuno ed Ares/Mars

**333.\*** (= Ares/Mars 11 con bibl., = Herakles/Hercle 126\* con rinvii) Cista prenestina in bronzo. Berlino (Ovest), Staatl. Mus. Misc. 6239. – Scholz, U. W., *Studien zum altitalischen und altröm. Marskult und Marsmythos* (1970) 141 ss.; Simon, E., *StEtr* 46, 1978, 138 ss.; *CPI* I, 50 ss. n° 5 tavv. 60-63. – Fine del IV sec. a. C. – Scena di complessa interpretazione (→ Ares/Mars 11). Al centro, Athena/Minerva, depositati elmo e scudo, tocca con uno stilo la guancia (o le labbra?) di Ares/Mars, raffigurato nudo, in ginocchio, con elmo, lancia e scudo, al di sopra di un pithos ricolmo di un liquido. Assistono alla scena Hera/Iuno, Zeus/Iuppiter, Hermes/Mercurius, Herakles/Hercules, Apollo, Dionysos/Liber, Nike/Victoria, Artemis/Diana e Tyche/Fortuna. Tra le numerose esegesi, può essere menzionata l'ipotesi della Simon che, in base ad *Hom. Il.* 5, 385-391, ha ricordato un mito di cui ci sono scarse testimonianze dirette, secondo il quale Ares fu tenuto rinchiuso dagli Aloadi Oto ed Efialte per tredici mesi entro un pithos. Athena/Minerva starebbe per ungere Ares/Mars con ambrosia dopo i lun-

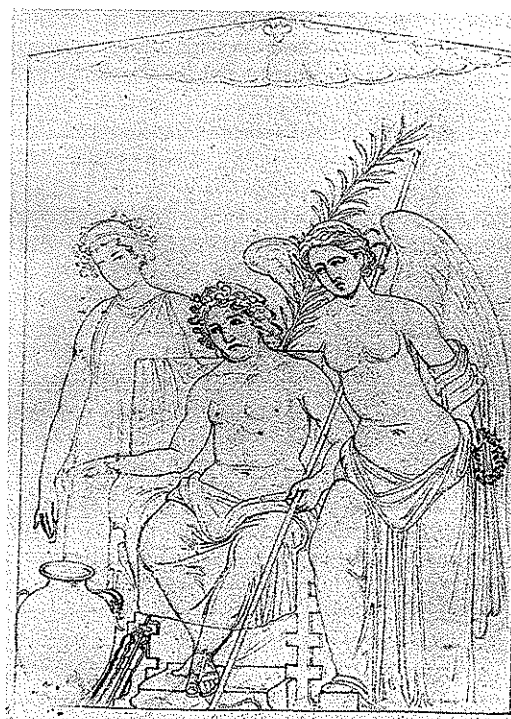
ghi mesi di prigionia; nel pithos gorgoglierebbe vino, fatto scaturire da Dionysos/Liber. Scholz ha invece collegato la scena con il rito dell'Equus October: Minerva, protettrice dei fanciulli, bagna ritualmente Mars fanciullo rigenerato dopo la morte del vecchio Mars. Hera/Iuno è stante, appoggiata con le gambe incrociate a Iuppiter seduto su una roccia. La dea veste chitone trasparente ed himation che le copre la spalla s. e le gambe. I capelli sono raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca; è adorna di orecchini e collana. Tutte le figure della cista hanno il nome inciso in lingua latina.

### B. Hera/Iuno ed Hephaistos/Vulcanus

**334.\*** (= Hera 305 con bibl.) Rilievo architettonico in marmo. Berlino (DDR), Staatl. Mus. SK 912. Da Ostia. – Dopo 150 d. C. – Al centro, caduta di Hephaistos/Vulcanus dall'Olimpo sull'isola di Lemno, alla presenza di Athena/Minerva (simbolo del possesso ateniese dell'isola) e di Thalassa. In alto, Zeus/Iuppiter ed Hera/Iuno a mezzo busto tra nubi, assistono alla scena. Hera/Iuno veste chitone e mantello sul capo; con la s. regge uno scettro.

### C. Hera/Iuno ed Herakles/Hercules

**335.\*** Affresco parietale. Pompei VII 3, 10-12. – Heydemann, H., *AZ* 26, 1868, 33 ss. tav. 4; Schefold, *WP* 176. – Età di Vespasiano. – Lettura della sorte di Herakles/Hercules(?). Zeus/Iuppiter al centro, seduto in trono, seminudo, sta per gettare – oppure ha raccolto – gli astragali (o i dadi) in un vaso posto dinanzi a



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lui. Ai suoi fianchi, in piedi, sono alla sua s. Nike/Victoria seminuda, con una palma in mano, alla sua d. Hera/Iuno(?) in chitone con rimbocco, a capo scoperto ma con diadema ed un oggetto nella mano d. L'interpretazione si basa sulla presenza, sulla stessa parete, di un affresco raffigurante Herakles/Hercules che strozza i serpenti.

**336.** (= Herakles/Hercle 395\* con bibl.) Specchio prenestino di bronzo. New York, MMA 96.18.16. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II tav. 147; Richter, *MetrMusBronzes* n° 827. – IV-III sec. a. C. – Al centro della composizione è Iuppiter. Alla sua destra è I. in chitone con rimbocco cinto alla vita. Alla sua s. è Hercules nudo, con clava. Tra Iuppiter e I. è un'erma femminile; tra Iuppiter ed Hercules è un fallo. Le divinità hanno i nomi incisi in latino. Hercules e I. come divinità che proteggono i matrimoni? (*ML* I 2 [1886-90] 2258-2265 s. v. «Hercules» [Peter, R.]).

**337.** Rilievo in marmo. Vaticano, Gabinetto delle Maschere inv. 796. Dalla Tenuta di Corallo presso Palestrina. – Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* II 715 n° 442 tav. 80; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 209 (v. Steuben, H.). – Età adrianea. – La lastra, con rilievo molto alto, mostra una membratura architettonica composta da tre arcate che delimitano due pannelli. Sia le arcate che i pannelli sono figurati. Nelle arcate, simili a statue in nicchie, sono Dionysos/Liber, Hera/Iuno al centro ed Athena/Minerva. Nei pannelli scene della vita di Herakles/Hercules fanciullo. Hera/Iuno veste un chitone con himation che le ricade sulle gambe. La dea si poggiava ad uno scettro. Il rilievo è molto restaurato.

### D. Hera/Iuno ed Io (?)

**338.** (= Io I 109 con bibl.) Pavimento a mosaico. Antakya, Mus. Hatay. Dalla Casa del Pavimento Rosso ad Antiochia. – Levi, *Antioch* 75 ss. tav. 12a. – Età antonina. – Hera(?) al centro, tra Argo(?) e Io(?). Argo è raffigurato come un pastore frigio; Io si poggia pensosa ad un pilastro. Hera veste chitone ed himation; sul capo ha una stephane. Per altre interpretazioni → Io I 109.

### E. Hera/Iuno e Ixion

**339.** (= Hera 479 con bibl., = Iris I 157 con bibl., = Ixion 5\* con bibl.) Affresco parietale. Pompei VI 15, 1 (Casa dei Vettii). – Età flavia. – Hera sdraiata, Iris(?) al suo fianco, assiste al supplizio di Ixion. La dea veste chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che copre le gambe e parte del trono. Sul capo posa una stephane orlata di sferette e un velo trasparente. Con la d. regge un lembo del mantello; con la s. regge lo scettro. È adorna, inoltre, di orecchini, collana e due armille.

### F. Hera/Iuno e Marsyas

Overbeck, *KM* II 130 M, riconosceva Hera/Iuno nella figura seduta con scettro, stephane e mela nella

mano d. sul sarcofago con il mito di Apollo e Marsyas a Palazzo Doria (Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* n° 36 tav. 88). Si tratta in realtà di Leto.

### G. Hera/Iuno e Prometheus

**340.\*** (= Dioskouroi/Castores 61, = Hades/Pluto 5, = Helios/Sol 347 con bibl.) Sarcofago in marmo. Napoli, Mus. Naz. 6705. Da Pozzuoli. - Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* n° 67 tavv. 162, 163, 2; 164. - 300 d. C. ca. - Al centro Prometheus con a fianco il corpo del primo uomo ancora privo dello spirito vitale. Alle spalle, in primo piano una Moira con il fuso; in secondo piano, I. porge a Mercurius un sacchetto di danaro. Dietro I. sono Oikoumene e Iuppiter; dietro Mercurius sono Neptunus e Pluto che protende il braccio d. verso il sacchetto di danaro. Secondo la più convincente interpretazione, gli dei dell'oltretomba stanno conducendo una transazione commerciale con gli dei dell'Olimpo per l'acquisto dell'anima del defunto. I veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno ed ha un velo sul capo; con la s. regge uno scettro.

### H. Hera/Iuno e Phaethon

**341.** Sarcofago in marmo. Verona, Mus. Maffei-ano. - *SarkRel* III n° 345 tav. 113; Jucker, I., *Der Gestus des Aposkopein* (1956) 60 figg. 19-20; Himmelman, N., in *Festschr. F. Brommer* (1977) 180 tav. 50, 2; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 182. - Secondo quarto del III sec. d. C. - Alla d. del carro di Phaeton sono in alto le personificazioni dei Venti, in basso il fiume Eridano e le Eliadi, al centro sono I. e Iuppiter preceduti da Dysis. I. veste chitone cinto sotto al seno ed ha velo e stephane sul capo; con la s. regge uno scettro.

### I. Hera/Iuno nelle nozze di Peleus e Thetis

**342.** Fr. di rilievo in marmo. Vaticano. Gall. Chiamonti inv. 1280. Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* I 745 s. n° 641 tav. 81; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I n° 305 (Fuchs, W.). - Arte neoa-antica, I. sec. a. C., da originale greco del V sec. a. C. (?) - Thetis(?) seduta, si copre il capo con un mantello. Hera in piedi la conforta. Si tratta forse dei preparativi delle nozze tra Peleus e Thetis. Hera è in peplo dorico ed himation di cui un lembo ricade sulle gambe. Testa e parte del busto sono di restauro.

### K. Hera/Iuno in raffigurazioni riferibili all'Iliade

#### Miniature

**343.** Miniatura IX sul fol. 8b dell'Iliade Ambrosiana. Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Cod. 1019 (Ambros. F 205). - Bianchi Bandinelli, R., *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad* (1955) 57 figg. 110, 113. - Fine V-inizi VI sec. d. C.: «Gruppo B, o maniera del quadro e del fregio dipinto di età ellenistica» (Bianchi Bandinelli). - Sulla s. Thetis in ginocchio dinanzi a Zeus se-

duto in trono. Sulla d. consesso di divinità sedute su un *sigma*: da s. Hermes, Apollo, Ares, Zeus, Hera, Athena, Aphrodite. H. è in chitone e mantello che le copre il capo. La pittura è molto rovinata.

**344.\*** Miniatura X sul fol. 9a dell'Iliade Ambrosiana. Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Cod. 1019 (Ambros. F 205). - Bianchi Bandinelli, o. c. 343, 57 figg. 114, 115. - Cronol. e gruppo come il prec. - Banchetto degli dei. Ares, Zeus, Hera, Athena ed Aphrodite seduti dinanzi allo «stibadion», ascoltano i canti di Apollo e delle Muse in piedi; alla s. Hephaistos, in piedi dinanzi ad Hera, le porge una coppa. La dea è in chitone cinto alla vita e mantello sul capo.

**345.** Miniatura XIX sul fol. 17b dell'Iliade Ambrosiana. Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Cod. 1019 (Ambros. F 205). - Bianchi Bandinelli, o. c. 343, 62 fig. 36. - Cronol. come sopra: «Gruppo A, o maniera del rotulo» (Bianchi Bandinelli). - Hera ed Athena, in piedi sulla d., deridono Aphrodite che si lamenta, dinanzi a Zeus seduto in trono, per la ferita infertile da Diomedes. Hera è in chitone e mantello che l'avvolge tutta lasciando scoperto solo parte del torso. Nella s. regge uno scettro.

**346.** Miniatura XXI sul fol. 18b dell'Iliade Ambrosiana. Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Cod. 1019 (Ambros. F 205). - Bianchi Bandinelli, o. c. 343, 63 figg. 157, 160, 163. - Cronol. come sopra: «Gruppo C, o maniera della pittura di tradizione ellenistica in rielaborazione del sec. III d. C. in centro del Mediterraneo orientale» (Bianchi Bandinelli). - Fra due scene di battaglia il miniaturista ha inserito i busti di Athena, Zeus ed Hera sporgenti tra nuvole. La figura di Hera è fortemente ritoccata. Probabilmente aveva il mantello sul capo.

**347.\*** Miniatura XXII sul fol. 19b dell'Iliade Ambrosiana. Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Cod. 1019 (Ambros. F 205). - Bianchi Bandinelli, o. c. 343, 63 s. fig. 161. - Cronol. e gruppo come il prec. - Athena ed Hera perorano la causa dei Greci di fronte a Zeus. In basso è il campo di battaglia. In alto, tra le nuvole, i busti delle tre divinità. Hera, sulla d., veste chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello sul capo.

**348.\*** Miniatura XXIII sul fol. 20b dell'Iliade Ambrosiana. Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Cod. 1019 (Ambros. F 205). - Bianchi Bandinelli, o. c. 343, 64 fig. 95. - Cronol. come sopra: Gruppo A. - Ares ferito si lamenta per il comportamento di Athena dinanzi ad un consesso di divinità. Ares è in piedi. Seduti sul *sigma* sono Hera, Zeus, Athena ed Apollo. Hera è in chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che le copre il capo e le gambe.

**349.** Miniatura XXIX sul fol. 26 dell'Iliade Ambrosiana. Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Cod. 1019 (Ambros. F 205). - Bianchi Bandinelli, o. c. 343, 68 fig. 193. - Cronol. come sopra: Gruppo C. - Al disopra di una scena di battaglia, tra nuvole, Hera al centro tra Athena ed Iris. Le figure sono fortemente ritoccate.

**350.** Miniatura LIII sul fol. 47a dell'Iliade Ambrosiana. Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Cod. 1019 (Ambros. F 205). - Bianchi Bandinelli, o. c. 343, 81 figg. 89, 148. - Cronol. come sopra: Gruppo B. - Hera ferma Hephaistos che sta bruciando le rive dello Scamandro.

La dea è al centro, stante, in chitone cinto sotto al seno e mantello che le copre il capo e le ricade in diagonale dalla vita sulle gambe. Nella s. regge lo scettro; con la d. frena Hephaistos.

#### Rilievi in marmo

**351.** Parigi, Louvre MA 486. - Clarac, tav. 200, 26; Brunn, H., *Gesch. der griech. Künstler* I (1889) 612; Overbeck, *KMI* 171 R; *REV* I (1903) 307 s. v. «Diadoumenos» (Robert, C.); *EAA* III (1960) 89 (Guerini, L.). - Zeus è seduto su una roccia(?) tra Hera alla sua d. e Thetis alla sua s. Si è proposto un rapporto con Hom. *Il.* 1, 494-496. Hera è in peplo e regge con la d. il mantello; con la s. regge un lungo scettro. I capelli ricadono a boccoli sulle spalle; diadema intorno al capo. Sul sedile di Zeus, iscrizione *DIADUMENI*: firma dell'artista?

**352.** (= Athena/Minerva 358\*) Roma, Pal. Cons., Gall. Cini. - Stuart Jones, *SculptPalCons* 281 n° 3 tav. 112; Hauser, F., *Die Neu-attischen Reliefs* (1889) 34; Reinach, *RépRel* III 189, 1; Paribeni, E., *Scritti* (1985) 87 ss. fig. 143. - Hephaistos forgia le armi di Achille con i Ciclopi, alla presenza di Athena a s. ed Hera a d. La dea veste chitone e mantello che le copre a cappuccio la testa e ricade sulle spalle e sul torso. Con la mano d. si appoggia ad uno scettro. Buona parte della figura è di restauro. Non si tratta, piuttosto, di Thetis?

### L. Hera/Iuno in raffigurazioni riferibili all'Eneide

**353.** Miniatura sul fol. 64v del Vergilius Vaticanus (pittura 43). Bibl. Vaticana. - De Wit, J., *Die Miniaturen des Vergilius Vaticanus* (1959) 133 s. tavv. 24, 2; 37, 3, 4; Wright, D. H., *Vergilius Vaticanus, Commentarium* (1984) 91. - Inizi del V sec. d. C. - I. si rivolge ad una Furia per impedire il matrimonio tra Enea e Lavinia. I.

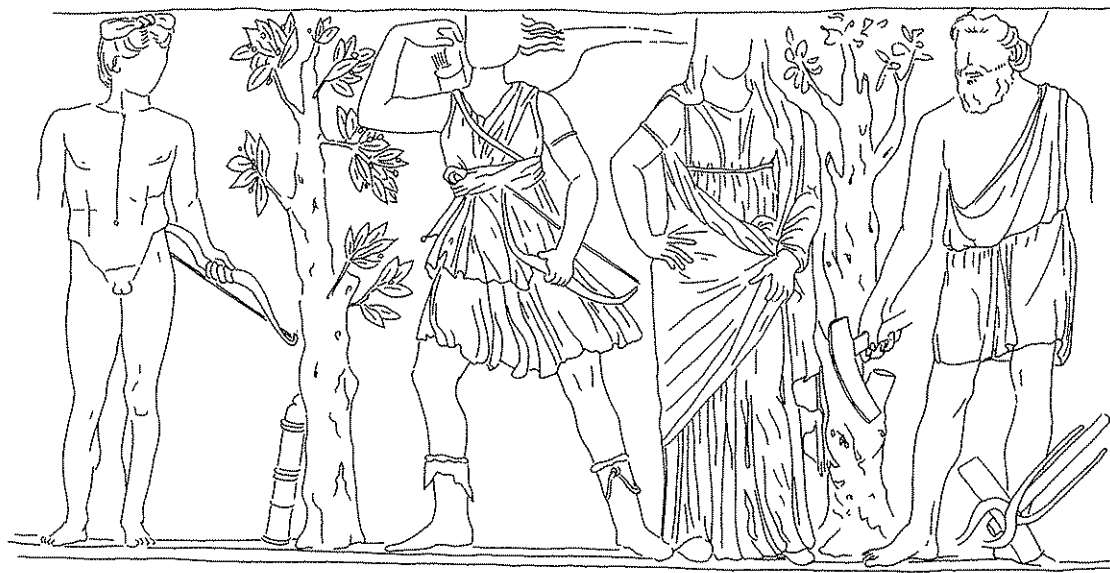
sulla s. protende la mano d. verso la Furia che è dinanzi ad una grotta. La dea è completamente ammantata, e si appoggia con la s. ad uno scettro avvicinato al corpo.

**354.** Miniatura sul fol. 67v del Vergilius Vaticanus (pittura 45). Bibl. Vaticana. - De Wit, o. c. 353, 137 s. tav. 25, 2; Wright, o. c. 353, 93 s. - I. scende rapidamente dall'Olimpo ed impedisce che vengano chiuse le porte del tempio di Giano nella città di Laurento. I. veste un chitone leggero, mosso dal vento, ed un mantello stretto sul fianco s., gonfiato alle sue spalle. Gioielli in oro sul capo, e sulle braccia. Con la s. regge anche lo scettro.

**355.\*** Miniatura sul fol. 234v del Vergilius Romanus. Bibl. Vaticana. - Rosenthal, E., *The Illuminations of the Vergilius Romanus* (1972) 47 ss. tav. 6. - Primi decenni del VI sec. d. C. - Consesso di divinità sedute tra gli astri. Al centro è Iuppiter. Alla sua s. sono una divinità maschile non identificata e I.; alla sua d. sono Mercurius e Minerva. I. è rivolta verso Iuppiter con il braccio d. sollevato in gesto oratorio. Veste un chitone cinto sotto al seno ed un mantello che le copre la nuca e le gambe avvolgendosi con larghi sbuffi intorno al braccio s. Una sottile tenia intorno al capo. Dietro la testa è un'aureola. La s. regge lo scettro.

### M. Hera/Iuno con Zeus/Iuppiter ed Athena/Minerva nella gara musicale tra Muse e Sirene

**356.\*** Sarcofago in marmo. New York, MMA 10.104. Dal Giardino Torrigiani a Firenze. - Overbeck, *KMI* 130c Atlas tav. 3, 19; Wegner, M., *Sark-Rel* V 3, 31 s. n° 61 tav. 32. - Secondo quarto del III sec. d. C. - Gara musicale tra Muse e Sirene alla presenza di Zeus/Iuppiter, Hera/Iuno e Athena/Minerva. Zeus/Iuppiter è seduto; Hera/Iuno è alla sua s.; veste chitone e mantello che le copre la nuca; con la mano s. regge lo scettro.





## N. Hera/Iuno nella Gigantomachia (?)

357. (= Artemis/Diana 324\* con bibl., = Gigantes 484, V) Rilievo in marmo. Roma, Mus. Nuovo del Pal. dei Cons. 2817. - Mustilli 62 ss. n° 3 tav. 40, 165; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II n° 1703; Fuchs, M., *Jdl* 99, 1984, 240 ss. figg. 14-15. - Seconda metà del I sec. d. C. - La lastra è pertinente ad un fregio continuo in cui fr. sono in vari musei romani (per un'analisi complessiva cf. Fuchs, o.c. 215 ss.). Al centro è Hera/Iuno (così Vian, F., *Répertoire des Gigantomachies* [1951] 26 n° 45 e Mustilli, o.c.) stante in chitone cinto sotto al seno ed ampio mantello che posa sulla nuca e scende sulle spalle coprendo parzialmente i fianchi ed il braccio s.; la dea con la mano s. ne stringe un lembo. I capelli sembrano essere sciolti sulle spalle. La dea ha un'armilla sul braccio d. Ai suoi lati sono Artemis/Diana(?) alata ed Hephaistos/Vulcanus. Secondo l'interpretazione di G. Kleiner (*Das Nachleben des pergamenischen Gigantenkampfes*, 105. *BerlWPr* [1949] 15) e di M. Fuchs (o.c. 240), dovrebbe tuttavia trattarsi non di Hera/Iuno, bensì di Leto. Il rilievo, pur pertinente al fregio con gigantomachia, ne è separato tematicamente: dovrebbe raffigurare Hephaistos/Vulcanus che consegna le frecce forgiate nella sua fucina ad Apollo ed Artemis/Diana.

## O. Iuno nel mito di Mars e Rhea Silvia (?)

358. (= Ares/Mars 401\* con bibl.) Sarcofago in marmo. Roma, Pal. Mattei. - Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* n° 71 tavv. 172, 2; 173-175; Guerrini, L., *Pal. Mattei di Giove. Le antichità* (1982) n° 61 tav. 63 (Bonanno, M.). - Inizio del III sec. d. C. - Mars si avvicina a Rhea Silvia addormentata; ai lati, divinità. Sulla d. è una dea seduta, vestita con un chitone trasparente cinto sotto al seno e con un velo che le copre la nuca. Sul capo posa un'alta stephane. La dea si poggia con la d. ad uno scettro. Talvolta considerata I. Pronuba, si tratta in realtà di Venus, come indica, tra l'altro, la presenza di un erote al suo fianco. Analogo un altro sarcofago nel Pal. Mattei (→ Ares/Mars 401a, Guerrini, o.c. n° 60 tav. 63; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 184 s.).

## P. Hera/Iuno nel mito della nascita di Dionysos (?)

H. Heydemann (10. *HallWPr* [1885] 10) riconosceva Hera nella figura femminile che si allontana rapidamente dalla stanza dove Semele giace morta su una kline dopo aver generato Dionysos. Il personaggio è riconoscibile su un rilievo a Liverpool (→ Dionysos/Bacchus 129 = Eileithyia 65, Greifenhagen, A., *RM* 46, 1931, 28 n° 4) e su tre coperchi di sarcofago (→ Dionysos/Bacchus 128. 132 [= Eileithyia 66 e 67\*/74], Greifenhagen, o.c. 27 s. n° 1-3; Matz F., *SarkRel* IV 3, n° 196. 197. 199). L'ipotesi è stata respinta da Greifenhagen (o.c. 29) che pensa, con maggiore verosimiglianza, ad Eileithyia.

## Q. Iuno (?) in un mito non ancora identificato

359. Fr. di statua in terracotta. Roma, Mus. Cap., Antiquarium Comunale. Dal frontone di un tempio sulla via Latina. - Andrén, o.c. 5, 360 ss. tav. 109 n° 391-392; Coarelli, F., in *Hellenismus*, o.c. 77, 26 fig. 10. - II sec. a. C. - Si tratta verosimilmente di una decorazione frontonale con un consesso di divinità alla presenza di Iuppiter (mano con un fulmine). Un fr. di testa con stephane, senza velo, potrebbe raffigurare I. Una seconda testa dalle forme piene (purtroppo non è conservata la capigliatura) potrebbe essere presa in considerazione in alternativa.

## COMMENTO

Comporre in una sintesi i dati iconografici riguardanti Iuno è di particolare complessità. Come nel caso di Hera, tranne rarissimi casi, la dea non possiede attributi specifici tali da individuarne con precisione l'immagine. La difficoltà è in parte dovuta al culto stesso della dea che risponde a funzioni differenziate e non sempre coincidenti. Roma ha assorbito culti di Iuno testimoniati in città latine ed etrusche; ma è naturalmente difficile stabilire la funzione primigenia della dea, se divinità poliadica, protettrice della fecondità, delle donne e dei nascituri, o ancora protettrice della gioventù atta alle armi e, per traslato, delle attività politiche cittadine incentrate sulle curie.

Ad ognuno di questi aspetti della dea corrisponde una specifica epiclesi che esplicita la variazione di funzione e, in un certo senso, la differenza del culto e forse dell'immagine.

Di gran lunga la meglio caratterizzata è Iuno Sospita, con la pelle di capro sul chitone, elmo (o la pelle stessa) con le corna di capro, ed il tipico scudo «ad otto». L'iconografia della dea non sembra subire trasformazioni sostanziali dalla seconda metà del VI sec. a. C. (I. 14) fino alla base di Grottaferrata, della metà circa del II sec. d. C. (4); segno di una codificazione normalmente accettata - tramite la statua di culto della dea a Lanuvio? - senza tentativi di ammodernamento (che toccano solo dettagli secondari). La variazione più significativa è offerta dalle antefisse satiriche (6. 11), le prime secondo la più comune iconografia, le seconde con le curiose orecchie di bue, in luogo delle più consuete orecchie di capra; è certamente un richiamo specifico alla mucca sacra ad Hera. Unica anche la presenza di uno scudo a pelta nella statuette 30, desunto forse dal costume «barbarico» delle Amazzoni.

Se Iuno Caprotina fosse una variante romana della Sospita non è possibile stabilire con certezza. L'unica documento figurato, un denario (34), mostra la dea in un'iconografia indifferenziata e generica.

Iuno Regina è certamente l'immagine più attestata figurativamente e, tramite il culto della Triade Capitolina, la più diffusa nell'impero romano. Anche in questo caso l'iconografia è tra le più generiche: un chitone con rimbocco cinto alla vita, l'immane stephane sul capo, lo scettro, molto spesso il mantello posato sul

capo. Sono attributi specifici della dea in quanto sposa di Iuppiter; ma essi sono comuni anche per altre divinità matronali - Venere e Cerere, ad esempio -, tanto che il riconoscimento sicuro di Iuno è possibile solo: tramite le iscrizioni, come nel caso delle legende monetali; attraverso il collegamento con le immagini assai più differenziate di Iuppiter e Minerva, come sulle «Iuppitersäulen» e nei fr. di statue di culto della Triade Capitolina; oppure per la presenza di un ulteriore e più specifico attributo, il pavone.

Né è possibile stabilire quando si sia precisata in tal senso l'iconografia della dea. Abbiamo informazioni circa un *xoanon* ligneo (35), la vera statua di culto di Iuno Regina sull'Aventino; ma nessuna precisazione circa l'immagine. Altrettanto oscure le documentazioni letterarie su un *signum aeneum* (36) e su sei *signa cupressae* (37-39), un importantissimo richiamo al costume di dedicare statue di legno ben oltre l'età medio-repubblicana, fino al I sec. a. C. È verosimile che si trattasse di una consuetudine codificata nel tempo (si tratta sempre di legno di cipresso), forse una replica dell'originaria statua di culto veiente traslata nel tempio sull'Aventino (i testi parlano di *signa* o di *simulacra*).

Altrettanto scarse le informazioni riguardanti la statua di culto del tempio in *circo Flaminio*. La testa Albani (40) è stata collegata, giustamente, all'attività della famiglia di scultori attici che fa capo a Timarchides e Polykles; ma, si tratti o meno di un fr. della statua di culto del tempio di Giunone in *circo Flaminio*, è solo una ipotesi, per quanto suggestiva. Eventuali perplessità non sorgono tanto dalla segnata drammaticità dei tratti facciali, poco comprensibili per Iuno, quanto dagli scarsi elementi concreti a disposizione. Il possibile collegamento con una seconda testa dalla collezione Albani raffigurante quasi sicuramente Apollo con un'acconciatura tipo Cirene, farebbe propendere per un'altra interpretazione (Latona?).

Siamo meglio informati circa la Iuno della Triade Capitolina, la cui iconografia è nota in base a numerose raffigurazioni. Ma anche in questo caso le differenze tra i vari tipi sono sconcertanti. La dea doveva essere alla s. di Iuppiter, come documenta Livio già per la base arcaica (Liv. 7, 3, 5); invece l'unico documento figurato di una certa importanza, il denario di Cn. Blaesus (48), la rappresenta alla d. del dio. I documenti concordano in molti dettagli: il chitone cinto alla vita con rimbocco, il mantello che scivola sulle gambe, lo scettro nella mano destra. Tuttavia le varianti tipologiche nel panneggio sono fortissime; il capo talvolta è coperto dal mantello, talaltra è scoperto; in alcuni casi la dea regge una patera; in altri casi è seduta invece di essere stante. Purtroppo il grado di fedeltà delle numerose immagini della Triade rispetto al gruppo Capitolino è assai relativa, e le monete stesse, che dovrebbero offrire ragionevolmente la documentazione più corretta, mostrano analoghe varianti tipologiche, persino in conii dello stesso periodo (ad es. i medaglioni 53. 68). La statua di terracotta di Pompei (n° 55) è un caso a parte; pur essendo probabile la sua pertinenza alla Triade Capitolina, mostra un'autonomia iconografica (il tipo è desunto da modelli asiatici del II sec. a. C.)

dovuta forse al carattere provvisorio della sistemazione nel santuarietto di Iuppiter Meilichius, in attesa del completamento del restauro del Capitolium. Una interessante variazione tipologica mostra anche il bronzo di Muri (56), nel quale il mantello ricopre totalmente il chitone lasciando scoperto solo il seno; la dipendenza dallo schema iconografico delle c.d. «oranti» di età ellenistica è verosimile.

Estremamente ricca è la produzione di opere raffiguranti genericamente Iuno Regina, senza un più esplicito riferimento ad uno dei culti romani. Vale per queste immagini quanto già detto a proposito della Iuno raffigurata nella Triade Capitolina. Se nelle monete la legenda permette un esplicito riconoscimento, in altri casi assume un'importanza estrema la presenza caratterizzante del pavone. Nessun documento figurato mostra Iuno Regina venerata ad Ardea ed a Sezze.

Maggior fortuna, a livello iconografico, presenta il culto commagenico di due divinità orientali assimilate a Iuno Regina ed a Iuppiter. L'iconografia è strutturata su modelli di tradizione hittito-hurrita (gli dei in piedi su animali); ma l'immagine divina ripete fedelmente il più comune schema di Iuno Regina, chitone cinto alla vita, molto spesso con rimbocco, mantello ricadente sulle gambe, talvolta coprente il capo, attributi dello scettro e della patera, in alcuni casi dello specchio (elemento caratteristico di questo culto) e, assai raramente, del papavero (116). Particolare anche l'acconciatura dei capelli, in alcuni esemplari ricadenti a grossa treccia sulle spalle (112. 116). In luogo della più comune *stephane*, in un particolare caso Iuno ha sul capo il *polos* (131).

Nonostante l'alta antichità del culto, anche Iuno Moneta e Iuno Lucina non presentano, nelle documentazioni superstiti, caratteristiche iconografiche specifiche. Nelle effigie su denarii Iuno Moneta ha i capelli raccolti a crocchia dietro la nuca (132-134); nulla di concreto è dato sapere sull'aspetto della figura intera. Nel caso di Iuno Lucina prevale l'aspetto di *kourotrophos*; ma la tipologia del panneggio e, direi, tutto l'aspetto dell'immagine non si discosta da quello di Iuno Regina. Nuova è semmai la presenza dell'attributo della fiaccola (135. 136) e del fiore (142. 143), non consueti nell'iconografia della dea, ma certamente consoni ad una divinità che presiede alle nascite, e desunti dal culto di Hera in Grecia. Le statuine in terracotta dal santuario di Norba (146) rientrano in schemi largamente attestati nel mondo italico per divinità *kourotrophoi*, con il corpo ed il capo ricoperti da un ampio mantello: la tradizione non sembra valicare i limiti dell'età medio-repubblicana, lasciando posto alla più diffusa immagine di Iuno desunta da modelli greci tardo-classici.

Analogo silenzio, a livello figurativo, ricopre l'immagine di Iuno Curitis, che pure ebbe l'onore di un culto di ampia diffusione. Attributi della dea erano una lancia, uno scudo ed un carro. Parrebbe potersi dedurre un'iconografia che non si discosta da quella di Iuno Sospita, anche se le fonti non parlano di *nebris* di pelle di capro. Una testimonianza in tal senso potrebbe provenire dalla presenza di antefisse con il capo di Iuno Sospita da Falerii (5. 7), anche se le terrecotte non

provengono dal santuario in località Celle. Il denario di C. Curatius Trigeminus (149), se raffigura realmente Iuno Curitis, trasmette un'immagine non caratterizzata. Né molto può aggiungere il fr. di testa in peperino da Falerii (150) a causa del suo cattivo stato di conservazione. Qualora si tratti di una testa di Iuno, mi sembra interessante la presenza della corona d'alloro, la cui valenza profilattica e trionfale è ben nota.

Di Iuno Gabina sono note esclusivamente le terrecotte votive rinvenute nel suo santuario. Gli schemi sono largamente attestati per divinità femminili sposi e *kourotrophoi* (152. 153) al punto che è impossibile collegare, almeno per il momento, il tipo iconografico alla sola Iuno. Una sorta di verifica a quanto detto viene dalle antefisse con raffigurazione di una *potnia theon* ed iscrizione IUN; vuol dire che il tipo può verosimilmente riferirsi a più divinità femminili affini funzionalmente.

Iuno Martialis, nota solo tramite monete di imperatori del III sec. d. C., potrebbe avere avuto un culto limitato nel tempo, dietro influenza di un antico culto di origine etrusco-umbra. Unica variante del tipo iconografico è la presenza talvolta di spighe di grano nelle mani (157-158. 160), richiamo ad una funzione agraria della dea non altrimenti attestata per Iuno nel mondo romano.

Iuno Caelestis è molto meglio caratterizzata; merito certo dell'origine orientale del culto. Si possono distinguere tre modelli base. Nel primo caso la dea siede su un leone in corsa (162. 164-171) e regge talvolta nella mano destra un fascio di fulmini (162. 167. 170). Nel sec. caso la dea è seduta su un trono (172-177). Nel terzo caso, infine, è raffigurata sotto forma di busto talvolta posato su un crescente lunare (178-185). La tipologia dei panneggi mostra le consuete variazioni sul modello base del chitone cinto alla vita e mantello sulle gambe. Caratteristico l'uso del *kalathos* e del crescente lunare sul capo.

A livello iconografico, l'ulteriore documentazione su Iuno non aggiunge nulla a quanto già detto. Se Iuno Pronuba può essere riconosciuta sui sarcofagi con *dextrarum iunctio* (186-191) (ma è più probabile che si tratti di Concordia), l'immagine si adegua alla più comune iconografia di Iuno Regina, come sulla documentazione monetale.

Nei casi in cui Iuno è raffigurata da sola, oppure in compagnia di altre divinità (ad esclusione della Triade), come sempre il riconoscimento non è immediato, ma desunto da elementi esterni (luogo di trovamento: ad es. 241. 242) o dagli attributi. Esempio è il caso della c. d. Hera Barberini (193) e delle statue che possono essere considerate varianti della c. d. Hera Borghese: l'attribuzione è basata esclusivamente sul collegamento del prototipo con Hera (con buone argomentazioni ora respinto a favore di Afrodite o di Tyche). Non altrimenti avviene con le varianti della c. d. Hera tipo Vienna-Efeso (195) dove, analogamente, l'uso del chitone trasparente non sembra consona ad una divinità matronale quale Hera-Iuno.

L'elenco è stato pertanto redatto in base ai possibili rapporti con le monete, oppure per la presenza dei pavoni (218). Ritorna naturalmente lo stesso schema del

chitone cinto sotto al seno, e del mantello che ricopre i fianchi e talora il capo.

Va infine ribadita la scarsa probabilità che la testa colossale della c. d. Iuno Ludovisi (243) raffiguri Antonia Minore assimilata ad una dea (come al solito non è possibile definire se si tratti di Iuno, in quanto sia la *stephane* che la benda di lana non sono probanti). Il confronto con le monete sicure di Antonia Minore rendono improponibile l'ipotesi.

EUGENIO LA ROCCA

**IUNO CAELESTIS** → Iuno 162-185, → Virgo Caelestis

**IUPPITER** → Zeus/Iuppiter

**IUPPITER DOLICHENUS** → Zeus/Iuppiter Dolichenus

**IUPPITER HELIOPOLITANUS** → Helio-politani Dei

**IUSTITIA** → LIMC Suppl.

## IUTURNA

Ninfa di una fonte presso Lavinio, vicino al fiume Numico, il cui nome passò poi (per *evocatio*?) ad una fonte ai margini del Foro Romano, il *Lacus Iuturnae*, presso il tempio dei Castori (rinvenuto l'epistilio del sacello con iscrizione: Boni, G., *NSc* 1900, 291-293), alle cui acque i divini gemelli avrebbero abbeverato i cavalli dopo la battaglia del lago Regillo (Plut. *Coriolanus* 3, 5; Ov. *fast.* 1, 706; Dion. Hal. *ant.* 6, 13). Dalla fonte veniva attinta l'acqua necessaria per i sacrifici di stato. I. soccorreva particolarmente in caso di mancanza d'acqua ed era considerata divinità salutare, tanto che Varrone (Varro *l.l.* 5, 71) ne fa derivare il nome dal verbo *iuvare*, etimologia recentemente riproposta dal Radke.

Un Lutazio Catulo (non è tramandato il prenome: il console del 242 o del 102 a. C.?) le dedicò un tempio nel Campo Marzio, il cui *dies natalis*, la festa degli *Iuturnalia*, cadeva il giorno 11 gennaio (Ov. *fast.* 1, 463-464). Secondo Ziolkowski si tratterebbe di C. Lutazio Catulo, console nel 242 a. C., ed il tempio andrebbe identificato con il tempio C del complesso di Largo di Torre Argentina.

Virgilio la dice figlia di Dauno, re di Ardea, e sorella di Turno; assieme ad Ovidio, egli ricorda anche l'amore che Giove aveva nutrito per lei. Arnobio la menziona invece come figlia di Volturino, sposa di Giano (→ Ianus) e madre di Fontus.

Il suo legame con i Dioscuri, documentato dal rinvenimento nel *lacus* di un'ara con i due gemelli

(→ Dioskouroi/Castores 1\*) e delle statue loro e dei loro cavalli (→ Dioskouroi/Castores 56\*; Martin, H. G., *Römische Tempelkultbilder. Eine archäologische Untersuchung zur späten Republik* [1987] 241-243 Kat A 1) risale probabilmente già al culto presso Lavinio, come sembra suggerire la dedica arcaica ai Dioscuri lì rinvenuta (cf. Castagnoli, F., in Enea nel Lazio, archeologia e mito [1981] 179-180 D 18). La lezione Diuturna, sostenuta da alcuni studiosi come la più antica (Wissowa) non è documentata con certezza e sembra comunque essere tarda.

**FONTI LETTERARIE:** Varro *l.l.* 5, 71; Verg. *Aen.* 12, 138-141; Ovid. *fast.* 2, 583-615; Arnob. *nat.* 3, 29; Serv. auct. *Aen.* 12, 139.

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Sul tempio in campo: Castagnoli, F., *MemLinc* serie VIII 1, 1947, 160; Degrassi, A., *InscrIt* XIII 2, 395. 501; Platner-Ashby 308; Ziolkowski, A., *MEFRA* 98, 1986, 623-641.

## CATALOGO

1. Altare. Roma, Foro Romano, *Lacus Iuturnae*. - In età tardo-antica collocato dinanzi ad un sacello contenente la statua di culto (2). - Boni 1901, 78-81 fig. 36; Nash 17 fig. 688; Kajava, M., in *Lacus Iuturnae* I 270-273. - Età severiana. - Sul lato anteriore, a s. Turno (→ Turnus), con lorica, paludamentum, lancia e scudo; a d. I., con peplo, himation, scettro nella mano s., in atto di tendere la d. al fratello.

2. Statua di culto nel sacello del *Lacus*. Ad essa appartiene probabilmente la parte inferiore (dalle ginocchia in giù) di una figura femminile panneggiata rinvenuta nel corso degli scavi del *Lacus Iuturnae*: Boni 1901, 112-144 fig. 73; Harri, L., in *Lacus Iuturnae* I 212-214 (replica dell'Atena tipo Vescovale). - Roma, Antiquarium del Foro.

## COMMENTO

La figura di I. ha lasciato solo scarse tracce nella documentazione figurata, ed anche queste alquanto banali. La proposta di Altheim (17 n. 3), di riconoscere I. anche nella figura femminile panneggiata rinvenuta nell'altare dei Dioscuri trovato nel *Lacus* (→ Dioskouroi/Castores 1 = Helene 19\*; Nash, *TopRom* II 11 fig. 677) non appare sufficientemente fondata.

(Ricerca condotta con contributo del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Roma)

FULVIO CANCIANI

**IUVENTUS** → Hebe I/Iuventus

## IXION

(Ἰξίων, étr. *Ichsiun*, Ixion) Héros thessalien, roi des Lapithes. Il est fils de Phlégyas, petit-fils d'→ Ares et père de → Peirithoos. Après avoir tué son beau-père Déionée, I. est purifié par → Zeus. Il tente alors de violer → Hera: en fait il ne s'unit qu'à une Nuée (→ Nephelē) qui donne naissance aux Centaures (→ Kentauroi). Zeus le châtie en le liant sur une roue tournant éternellement, soit dans les airs, soit dans les Enfers.

**SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES:** Suivant la tradition la plus répandue I. est le fils de Phlégyas, comme le mentionne entre autres Euripide (*TGF<sup>2</sup> fig.* 424); plus rarement il en est le frère (Strabon 9, 5, 21 p. 442); ils sont alors tous deux fils d'Arès (Schol. Pind. P. 2, 40b). Suivant Eschyle (*TrGFIII* F 89) et Diodore (4, 69, 3) il est le fils d'Antion ou de Peision (Pherekyd., *FGrH* 3 F 51a), de Léonteus (Hyg. *fab.* 62) ou même de Zeus (Schol. Hom. Od. 21, 303). Sa mère est Périmélé (Diod. 4, 69, 3).

La légende d'I. est principalement constituée par le récit de ses deux crimes et de leur châtiment; elle nous est transmise dans son ensemble par Pherekyd. (*FGrH* 3 F 51) et Diodore (4, 69, 3-5). I. assassine son beau-père Déionée (ou Éionée suivant Diod. et Pherekyd.) en le précipitant dans le feu pour ne pas lui remettre les cadeaux dus pour son mariage avec Dia. Il commet ainsi le premier homicide (Aischyl. *Eum.* 717-718), et - circonstance aggravante - sur un parent (Pind. P. 2, 32; *FGrH* 3 F 51b). D'après Pherekyd. (*FGrH* 3 F 51) il est, à la suite de cet acte, frappé de folie. Seul Zeus accepte de le purifier (*FGrH* 3 F 51b; Aischyl. *Eum.* 441. 717-718 et peut-être *TrGFIII* F 92-93): I. est le premier à bénéficier d'une telle faveur.

Il commet alors son second crime qui lui vaudra son châtiment éternel: il tente de violer Héra (Soph. *Phil.* 678), mais il ne s'unit qu'à une Nuée (Pind. P. 2, 35-40); les conditions, alors imprécises, de la substitution d'un fantôme à la déesse sont expliquées plus tard (Apollod. *epitome* 1, 20; Lukianos, *d.deor.* 6), par la volonté de Zeus de vérifier les dires d'Héra après une première tentative d'I. Tardivement, la tentative de viol est parfois ignorée: Lucien (Lukianos, *Sacr.* 9) et le Mythographe du Vatican (Myth. Vat. II 106) font de l'indiscrétion et de l'abus des privilèges acquis les véritables causes du châtiment d'I. qui se vante auprès des mortels d'avoir obtenu les faveurs d'Héra.

Pour châtiments, I. d'une part engendre une race monstrueuse, les Centaures (Diod. 4, 69-70), ou Centaures (Pind. P. 42-48; Apollod. *epitome* 1, 20), d'autre part est immobilisé sur une roue tournant sans cesse (Eur. *Herc.* 1297-1298; *Phoen.* 1185-1186; Soph. *Phil.* 678). Les descriptions de l'instrument du supplice sont rares: la roue est faite de flammes (Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185), I. est maintenu par des liens de bronze (Apoll. Rhod. 3, 62) ou par des serpents (Verg. *georg.* 3, 38; Myth. Vat. I 14; II 106). Dans les récits les

plus anciens, ce supplice se déroule en plein ciel, puis il est situé dans les Enfers où le mentionne pour la première fois Apollonios de Rhodes (3, 62). Le Myth. Vat. I 14 décrit, bien plus tard, la roue roulant sur le flanc d'une colline.

Philost. (VA 6, 40) voit en I. l'illustration du malheur de ceux qui aiment quelqu'un d'une autre race que la leur et sont justement châtiés pour cela. Macrobe (*somn.* 1, 10, 14) le donne comme exemple de ceux qui s'abandonnent aux caprices du destin pour blâmer leur fatalisme, et Plutarque (*Agis* 1, 1-2 [795b-c]) fait de lui l'image des hommes que leurs ambitions entraînent à commettre des actions hybrides.

Les différents épisodes de la légende d'I. ont fourni des arguments aux auteurs de théâtre. Aischyl., dans une tragédie en grande partie perdue, *Les Perrhaïdes* (*TrGF* III F 184-186a), traitait du mariage d'I. et du meurtre de Déionée, et dans *Ixion* (*TrGF* III F 89-93) des derniers épisodes. Euripide (*TGF* frg. 424-427) avait aussi traité ce thème, et particulièrement la fin à propos de laquelle il se défendait de l'impiété et de la scélératesse de son héros en indiquant qu'il en avait montré le châtement (Plut. *de aud. poet.* 4, 19 E *TGF* p. 490); cette réflexion permet de penser qu'I. attaché à la roue apparaissait sur scène alors que d'ordinaire les pièces s'achevaient sur le jugement ou le récit du supplice. D'autres auteurs ont été aussi inspirés par ce sujet: Kallistratos (*TrGF* I 38) et Timésithéos (*TrGF* I 214) mais rien n'a été conservé de leurs œuvres.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Aelion, R., *Euripide, héritier d'Eschyle* (1983) 274-275, 285; Boyce, J. L., *Ixion. Origins and Meaning of a Myth* (1974); Caprino, C., *EAA* IV (1961) 243-245 s.v. «Ixione»; Chamay, J., «Le châtement d'Ixion», *AntK* 27, 1984, 146-150 pl. 20; Cook, Zeus I 198-211; Dimitrov, D. P., «Römisches Relief im Museum zu Stara-Zagora (Bulgarie) mit Darstellung des Ixion und Tantalos», *AA* 1937, 69-75; Helbig, W., *RE* X (1919) 1373-1381 s.v. «Ixion»; Séchan, *Études* 389-395; Simon, E., «Ixion und die Schlangen», *ÖJh* 42, 1955, 5-16; Weizsäcker, P., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 766-772 s.v. «Ixion».

## CATALOGUE

### A. Jugement d'Ixion et exécution de la sentence

#### DOCUMENTS GRECS

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

1.\* (= 27, = Ares 86\*, = Hermes 732) Canthare. Londres, BM E 155. De Nola. - *ARV* 832, 37; P. d'Amphitrite; *Add* 295; *CVA* 4, pl. 33, 2; 35, 2; Simon 5-16 fig. 1-2. - Vers 460 av. J.-C. - B: I. barbu, nu, debout, les bras écartés du corps, est tenu par Arès et Hermès devant Héra trônante, en présence d'Athéna qui tient une roue ailée.

2. (= Bia et Kratos 1\*, = Hera 478, = Hephaistos 227 - avec bibl.) Fr. de cratère-skyphos. Bâle, coll. Cahn HC 541. - Schefold, *SB* III 155 fig. 206. - Vers 400 av. J.-C., cercle de Meidias. - Devant Zeus et Héra trônante, Héphaïstos brandit un marteau; derrière lui on peut distinguer une roue ailée sur laquelle Bia pose la main. Au registre inférieur, I. (*IXION*) et Kratos en compagnie d'un autre personnage dont le nom

n'a pas été conservé; sur un second fr., → Artemis et la main d'une autre figure.

#### DOCUMENTS ITALIOTES

3.\* (= Bia et Kratos 2, = Erinys 20, = Iris 156\*) Cratère à volutes apulien à f. r. Leningrad, Ermitage 1717 (St 424). De Ruvo. - *RVAp* II 930, 117; P. du Louvre K 67; Simon 18-19 fig. 8-9; Pensa, M., *Rappresentazioni dell'oltretomba nella ceramica apula* (1977) 26, 36 fig. 3 pl. 8. - Vers 310 av. J.-C. - Sur le col, au centre, I., vêtu d'un pagne maintenu par deux bretelles croisées et d'une chlamyde, est attaché à une roue enflammée tenue à g. par une Érinie ou Bia et à dr. par Héphaïstos drapé dans un himation, s'appuyant sur un arbre et brandissant un marteau; à g. de ce groupe → Hades trônant, à dr. → Iris.

4.\* Métope de calcaire campanienne. Pompéi, Antiquarium (réserves). Du temple du Forum triangulaire. - Maiuri, A., *PP* 1955, 50-54; Caprino 244 fig. 290; Bianchi-Bandinelli, *ElaR* 247 fig. 284; Brommer, F., *Hephaistos* (1978) 46, 106 pl. 56, 2; Fuchs, W., dans *Kanon*, *AntK* 15, Beih. (1988) 156-158 pl. 45, 1. - III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - I. est fixé à une roue dont les rayons sont remplacés par deux barres horizontales; ses bras (disparus) étaient tendus. Ag. Athéna (bouclier, lance, tunique longue, égide, casque à triple cimier) tient dans chaque main un rivet; Héphaïstos, la main g. sur la roue, tenait probablement des tenailles dans la dr.

#### DOCUMENTS ROMAINS

5.\* (= Iuno 339) Peinture murale. Pompéi VI, 15, 1, Maison des Vettii, *triclinium* P. - Sogliano, A., *Mon Ant* 8, 1898, 232-387 pl. 8-11; HBr pl. 35; Rizzo, *PER* pl. 35; Schefold, *WP* 145; *idem*, *La peinture pompéienne* (1972) 130-132, 208 pl. 45; Peters, W. J. Th., *MededRome* 39, 1977, 95-128 pl. 59-95; Wirth, Th., *RM* 90, 1983, 449-455 pl. 122-124; Schefold, *SB* III 155-156. - 75 ap. J.-C. - Devant Junon (→ Iuno) trônante sont figurés au premier plan une femme (Néphélée?), Mercure (→ Mercurius) et Vulcain (→ Vulcanus), vêtu de l'exomis et du pilos, qui tient de la main g. la roue où I. est attaché; seul le torse du supplicié, représenté de dos, est visible; le bas du corps est hors du champ.

6. Relief, autel circulaire en marbre. Rome, villa Montemaggiore (Via Salaria). De la Via Salaria. - Persichetti, N., *RM* 24, 1909, 130-131 fig. 14; Gasparri, C., *RendLinc* 27, 1972, 111-112 pl. 10-11 d. - Fin du 3<sup>e</sup> quart du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Parmi d'autres damnés dans les Enfers, Sisyphe (→ Sisyphe I), → Tityos (?) et Tantalé (→ Tantalos), I. nu est lié, bras et jambes écartés, à une roue à huit rayons sur laquelle Vulcain pose les mains.

#### DOCUMENT D'INTERPRÉTATION INCERTAINE

7. Fr. de cratère en cloche apulien à f. r. Princeton, coll. Clairmont. - *RVAp* I 107, 34 pl. 36, 1-2; P. de Hoppin; Schefold, *SB* III 352 n. 310. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Sur un autel, un objet circulaire à bord dentelé qui pourrait être la roue d'I.; à dr. un personnage masculin qui s'appuie sur un bâton et une femme pensive; à g. un autre personnage.

### B. Le supplice dans le ciel

#### DOCUMENTS GRECS

##### Vases attiques à f. r.

8. Fr. de médaillon de coupe. Athènes, Agora P 26228. D'une maison au nord de l'Aréopage. - *ARV* 110, 7; P. d'Hermaios; Thompson, H. A., *Hesperia* 28, 1959, 105-106 pl. 22b; Schefold, *SB* III 154 fig. 203. - 510-500 av. J.-C. - I. nu, en position de course agenouillée, lié à une roue dont les rayons forment une croix de Saint André.

9.\* Médaillon de coupe. Genève, Mus. HR 28. - Chamay 146-150 pl. 20. - 500-490 av. J.-C. - I. nu, couronné de feuillage, en position de course agenouillée vers la g., lié par le cou, la taille, les genoux et les avant-bras à une roue à quatre rayons inclinée vers la dr.

10. Fr. de médaillon de coupe. New York, coll. v. Bothmer. - Inédit (ment. par Chamay 147 n° 3). - I., roue à six rayons.

11.\* Fr. de médaillon de coupe. Rome, Antiquarium Forense. Du Forum, Area di Vesta. - *ARV* 178, 1631: proche du Salting P.; Simon 16 fig. 6; Paribeni, E., *BullCom* 76, 1956-58, n° 187 pl. 14; Schefold, *SB* III 154 n. 307. - Vers 500 av. J.-C. - I. barbu, nu, lié à une roue dont les rayons forment une croix de Saint André; il est attaché aux rayons par les coudes et au moyeu par la taille.

##### Vases lucaniens à f. r.

12.\* Médaillon de coupe. Tübingen, Univ. 67.6202. - *LCS Suppl.* 3, 26 n° 351a: gr. du P. de Schwerin; *Italische Antiken* (vente Tübingen 1971) 25 n° 51, ill. en couverture; Chamay 148-149 n° 6 pl. 20, 3. - 410-440 av. J.-C. - I. barbu, les cheveux longs, vêtu d'une tunique courte ceinturée; bras et jambes écartés, il est debout devant la roue sur laquelle aucun lien visible ne le retient.

13.\* Fr. de skyphos phlyaque. Métaponte, Antiquarium 29340. De Métaponte, atelier du peintre. - *LCS Suppl.* 3, 64 n° D 64: atelier du P. de Dolon; *Metaponto I* (NotSc 29, 1975, Suppl.) 402 fig. 51a; Chamay 148 n° 7. - 370-360 av. J.-C. - Seul un fr. de la roue avec le bras d'I. est conservé ainsi qu'une femme debout derrière un support avec un bol.

##### Vases campaniens à f. r.

14.\* (= Bia et Kratos 3\*, = Hephaistos 229\* - avec bibl.) Amphore à col. Capoue, Mus. Camp. 7336. De Capoue. - *LCS* 338, 788: gr. d'Ixion; Simon 17 n. 48; *CVA* 1, pl. 18, 1; 19. - 330-310 av. J.-C. - I. barbu, nu, est étendu sur une roue enflammée: son corps forme un angle de 45° avec le sol; de chaque côté se tient une femme: Bia ou Néphélée et une Érinie. Au registre inférieur, deux humains observent la scène.

15.\* (= Erinys 19, = Hephaistos 228 - avec bibl.) Amphore à col. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. F 3023. De Cumes. - *LCS* 338, 787: gr. d'Ixion; Simon 16-17 fig. 7; Trendall/Webster, *Illustrations* 95, III 3, 33. - 330-310 av. J.-C. - Au registre supérieur, I. lié par des serpents est étendu sur une roue formée de

deux cercles concentriques, tenue de chaque côté par une Érinie ou les vents (→ Aurai); au registre inférieur une Érinie surgit du sol; à sa dr. Hermès, à sa g. Héphaïstos.

#### DOCUMENTS ÉTRUSQUES

16.\* Miroir de bronze gravé. Londres, BM 1900-6.113. - Dimitrov 71-72 fig. 3; Simon 19; Pfister-Roesgen, G., *Die etr. Spiegel des 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (1975) 31-32, 106-107 S 11 pl. 12. - 460-450 av. J.-C. - I. nu, barbu, est lié par les poignets, la taille et le cou à une roue ailée à huit rayons. Le paysage est représenté par un arbre.

17.\* Scarabée de calcédoine brune. Londres, BM 72.6-4. 1144. De Lentinello (Sicile). - Deecke, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 92 s.v. «Ichsiun»; Furtwängler, *AG* II, 87; III, 177 pl. 18, 10; Walters, *BMGems* 75 n° 619 pl. 11; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* 209 n° 853 fig.; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 95 n° 182 pl. 136; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* 185. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - I. (inscr. *Ichsiun*) est attaché à une roue à huit rayons, ovale pour s'adapter au cadre et dont les rayons supérieurs ne rejoignent pas le moyeu mais forment une barre horizontale.

### C. Ixion dans les Enfers

#### DOCUMENTS ROMAINS

##### Reliefs

18.\* Bloc architectural de calcaire. Isernia, Antiquario Comunale 23. De la région d'Isernia. - Caprino 244 fig. 290; Diebner, S., *Aesernia-Venafrum* (1979) 129-131 n° 1s 22 pl. 16. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. est lié à une roue à huit rayons par un mince serpent qui lui passe autour du poignet, du pied dr. et du bras g.

19.\* (= Charon I 53, = Hektor 49 - avec bibl.) Sarcophage de marbre dit «de Protésilas». Vatican, Gall. dei Candelabri 2465. De Rome, près de la via Appia Nuova. - Cumont, *Symb* 30 n. 3; 134 n. 1; Simon 22-23 fig. 11; Helbig 417-419 n° 527; Andrae, B., *Studien zur röm. Grabkunst*, *RM* 9, Ergh. (1963) 39, 58 B 3; 59 C 5 pl. 36, 3; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* 64-65 n° 69 pl. 169; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 188. - Vers 170 ap. J.-C. - Sur le petit côté dr., entre Sisyphe et Tantalé, I., tourné vers la g., le corps incliné vers l'arrière, est pris dans une roue dont six rayons sont visibles; le bas des jambes est invisible.

20. Fr. d'angle de sarcophage de marbre. Vatican, Magazzini. - Lippold, *SkulptVat* III 2, 209; Andrae, o.c. 19, 58 n. 292. - Vers 170 ap. J.-C. - Sur le petit côté, un fr. de la roue d'I. et Tantalé.

21.\* Plaque de marbre d'un parapet. Sidé, Mus. 545. Du Nymphée. - Müfid-Mansel, A., «Ein Ixion-Relief aus dem Nymphaeum von Side», *Anatolia* 2, 1957, 79-88; *idem*, *Die Ruinen von Side* (1963) 62 fig. 46. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - I. lié à une roue, le corps incliné vers la dr., survole un paysage symbolisé par un dieu fleuve (→ Fluvii), le → Styx ou l'→ Acheron.

22. Fr. de sarcophage en marbre. Stara-Zagora (Bulgarie), Mus. D'Augusta Traiana. - Dimitrov 69-75 fig. 1; Andrae, o.c. 19, 59 B 4. - Fin du II<sup>e</sup>-dé-



but du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Sur le petit côté conservé, près de Tantale, I. nu chevauche une roue.

23. (= Danaïdes 28) Sarcophage (?) perdu. Anc. Rome. – Codex Pighianus F<sup>o</sup> 47; Jahn, O., «Darstellungen der Unterwelt auf röm. Sarkophagen», *SbLeipzig* 1856, 267–284; Andraea, o. c. 19, 59 C 3; 61 D 5. – Début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (?). – I., entre un dieu fleuve et Mercure, est attaché à la roue.

24. \* Fr. de haut-relief en marbre. Pouzzoles, amphithéâtre. De Pouzzoles. – Maiuri, A., *Die Altertümer der Phlegräischen Felder* (1935) 35; Zancani-Montuoro, P., *AttiMGrecia* 5, 1964, 86 n. 84. – Ép. hellénistique (Maiuri) ou romaine (Zancani Montuoro). – I. barbu, le buste légèrement incliné vers la g., lié à la roue dont il ne reste que le moyeu et le départ des rayons.

25. (= Alkestis 48) Relief de pierre. Tatahouïne (El-Amrouni, Tunisie), mausolée d'Apuleius Maximus Rideuni et de sa femme Thanubra. – Berger, Ph., *RA* 1895, 71–83; Andraea, o. c. 19, 59 B 5; 59 C 2; Troussat, P., *Recherches sur le Limes Tripolitanus* (1974) 110–113 fig. 33a. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – I., lié sur une roue portant deux barres horizontales, survole plusieurs scènes infernales.

#### DOCUMENT IMAGINAIRE

26. Statue érigée devant le temple du Mincio. – Verg. *georg.* 3, 38–39. – I. enchaîné à la roue par des serpents près du rocher de Tantale.

#### D. La folie d'Ixion

##### IDENTIFICATIONS INCERTAINES OU ERRONÉES

27. (= 1) Canthare attique à f. r. Londres, BM E 155. – Fink, J., «Seele, Tod, Rachegeist», *ÖJh* 44, 1959, 100–111; Simon 5–16 fig. 1–2; Schefold, *SB III* 155 fig. 205. – Vers 460 av. J.-C. – A. → Thanatos soulève le cadavre d'un homme (Deionée?); I. nu, brandissant une épée, s'agenouille sur un autel; un serpent représentant une Érinys s'enroule autour de lui et lui mord l'épaule. Un personnage masculin (Zeus?) brandit une pierre.

28. Métope à relief en marbre. Métope sud n° 16 du Parthénon (perdue). – Simon, *Jdl* 90, 1975, 107–113, 117–118 fig. 1; Fehr, B., *Hephaistos* 4, 1982, 39–49 pl. 1; Robertson, M., «The South Metopes: Theseus und Daïdalos», dans *PartheKonBa* 206–208 pl. 16, 1; Schefold, *SBIV* 71 n. 161 fig. 13. – 448–442 av. J.-C. – I. (?) nu, debout, le bras dr. levé, s'apprête à frapper un homme à terre, Deionée? (interprétation d'E. Simon).

29. Métope à relief en calcaire. Paestum, Mus. Du 1<sup>er</sup> trésor de l'Héraion du Silaris, métope 26. – Simon 25–26 fig. 14; Zancani Montuoro, o. c. 24, 85–86; Simon, E., *Jdl* 82, 1967, 280 fig. 4; Schefold, *SB III* 261–262 fig. 350. – Milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – I. (?) debout brandit un objet; autour de lui s'enroule un serpent gigantesque (identification d'E. Simon; on s'accorde généralement à voir dans cette scène Oreste [→ Orestes] et une Érinys).

#### E. Ixion vengeant sa mère

30. Peinture ou relief. Cyzique, temple d'Apollonius. – *Anth. Pal.* 3, 12; van der Meer, L. B., *BullAnt-Besch* 52–53, 1977–78, 67–68; Brilliant, R., *Visual Narratives* (1984) 35. – 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – I. tue Phorbas et Polymélus pour venger le meurtre de sa mère Mégara qu'ils avaient tuée après son refus d'épouser l'un ou l'autre.

#### COMMENTAIRE

##### A. Iconographie

*L'apparence d'I.* L'ensemble des représentations donne d'I. une image cohérente, il est représenté comme un homme d'âge mûr, barbu. En tant que condamné, il est nu, sauf sur des vases d'Italie du Sud (3. 12) où sont figurés des costumes de scène. Un troisième document, 13, indique l'existence d'une comédie sur ce thème.

*Les châtiments d'I.* Tout comme les fautes d'I. sont multiples, ses châtiments le sont aussi. Au premier crime correspond la folie, peut-être illustrée sur le canthare de Londres 27 (il s'agirait plus précisément de la demande de purification présentée à Zeus). Au second crime, le viol d'Héra, correspond le supplice de la roue, et à l'union monstrueuse avec la Nuée la naissance des Centaures.

*Le jugement d'I.* L'illustration de ce thème, rare pour d'autres damnés, est pour I. particulièrement diversifiée, inspirée par le théâtre. La première représentation, 1, va à l'encontre de la tradition littéraire: I. est jugé par Héra, particularité reprise sur une peinture de Pompéi (5), seule image romaine de cette scène. Mais une autre image (2) rend à Zeus son rôle de juge, et à Héra celui d'accusatrice. L'exécution de la sentence est, dans le cas général, en Grèce (2–4. 15) et à Rome (5–6), confiée à Héphaïstos, parfois aidé par Bia et Kratos (2–3. 15?), personnages introduits par le théâtre (cf. Aischyl. *Prom.*); mais il est parfois remplacé (1) ou aidé (4) par Athéna. Le jugement peut être combiné avec l'exécution de la sentence (3. 5) ou même le début du supplice (6. 15).

*Le supplice dans le ciel.* Les premières représentations attiques de la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. se rencontrent uniquement sur des médaillons de coupe: la roue occupe tout le champ (8–11); l'adaptation du support au sujet se retrouve sur un miroir étrusque (16) et sur une intaille (17) où la roue devient ovale pour coïncider avec la forme de la pierre. Le schéma ancien de la «course agenouillée» permet d'inclure I. dans le cadre en pliant ses membres fixés aux rayons et de le faire participer au mouvement de la roue indiqué par son inclinaison par rapport à l'axe de la coupe (9, et probablement aussi sur les autres exemplaires de cette série: 10–11).

Au début du IV<sup>e</sup> s., sur une coupe lucanienne 12, I. est allongé sur la roue: ce schéma se perpétuera jusqu'à l'époque romaine; c'est aussi la seule image où I. n'est pas attaché. Son irréalisme, plus qu'I. lui-même, évo-

que la représentation d'un acteur, impression renforcée par le costume.

Dans un cadre élargi, sur l'amphore de Capoue 14, illustration de la pièce d'Euripide (?), les témoins anonymes permettent d'évoquer aussi le texte de Pindare (P. 2, 23–24), exhortation d'I. aux hommes à ne pas suivre son exemple. Sur l'amphore de Cumes 15, la roue d'I. est dans le ciel mais l'Erinye qui émerge du sol modifie le sens de la représentation: elle ne poursuit pas le criminel pour le châtier mais assiste au supplice, le mettant ainsi déjà en relation avec le monde souterrain.

La première image d'I. dans le monde infernal est probablement un peu antérieure au texte d'Apollonios de Rhodes (3, 62). Sur le col d'un cratère apulien (3) est figurée une scène proche des jugements mais elle a lieu en présence d'un messager et d'un dieu qui assiste à l'action sans rien faire, et en l'absence d'Héra; celle-ci est toujours présente quand cet épisode se déroule sur terre, et les peintres lui accordent alors un rôle très important. Ces éléments donnent à penser que le dieu est Hadès et que la scène a pour cadre les Enfers.

À l'époque romaine, I. est totalement intégré au monde infernal. La roue, sur la plupart des images, repose sur le sol: 5–6. 18–20. 22–23; cette disposition donne à la représentation un aspect statique incompatible avec le mythe, lui enlevant une partie de sa signification; aussi, pour y remédier, apparaît sur deux images un nouveau schéma: I. n'est plus fixé sur la roue mais immobilisé dans les rayons, sur le sarcophage «de Protésilas» (19) où il est tordu dans la roue, et sur un fr. de sarcophage (22) où il la chevauche. Mais ces tentatives isolées ne supplanteront pas l'image traditionnelle. Pour traduire le tournoiement les sculpteurs utilisent à nouveau l'inclinaison de l'axe de la roue (21. 25).

*Les instruments du supplice: la roue.* En Attique (1–2. 8. 11) et en Lucanie (12–13), seules apparaissent des roues de char. À l'époque romaine, une seule roue conserve cette apparence (21); les autres documents montrent I. sur une roue de charrette, figurée avec un réalisme particulier à Pompéi (5).

En Apulie (3) et en Campanie (14–15) le prisonnier est immobilisé sur un véritable instrument de torture en usage à ce moment, constitué d'un large cercle où sont fixées les entraves, d'une tige concentrique qui permet de le faire tourner (3), et de minces rayons (14–15) servant parfois de supports aux liens et au corps du supplicié.

Des flammes entourent parfois la roue (3. 7[?]. 14–15), donnant une note surnaturelle à la scène, écho de la littérature (*Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1185).

La roue est ailée à deux reprises en Attique: peu avant le milieu et à la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. (1–2). Ces ailes annoncent, pendant le jugement, le vol futur de la roue suivant une convention en usage à cette époque (cf. le char de Triptolème [→ Triptolemos], plus rarement celui de Dionysos [→ Dionysos 463–464] et d'Héphaïstos [→ Hephaistos 43–44]). En Étrurie (16) la roue est ailée pendant le vol: c'est une particularité locale.

*Les liens.* En Attique, les liens d'I. sont de simples cordes (8–11) sur les premières représentations. Plus tard, ce sont des attaches métalliques (2), comme le montre le geste d'Héphaïstos; en Apulie (3) et en Campanie (14–15) ces entraves sont semblables à celles qui, à la même époque, immobilisent Andromède (→ Andromeda I 13. 18) et Prométhée (→ Erinyes 21), illustrant le système utilisé au théâtre; ce dispositif est repris en Campanie (4), en Étrurie (16–17) et à Rome (5–6. 21. 25). Des serpents, animaux voués aux Érinys qu'ils symbolisent et au nom desquelles ils entravent le prisonnier, peuvent, comme dans la littérature, remplacer ou renforcer ces liens.

#### B. Mythe et interprétations

De nombreuses interprétations ont été données du mythe d'Ixion. On a vu dans I. fixé sur sa roue le souvenir de roues rituelles utilisées en relation avec un mythe solaire indo-européen (Dumézil, G., *Le problème des Centaures* [1929]), ou l'influence de la représentation du dieu mésopotamien Ashur sous la forme d'un buste humain émergeant d'un disque ailé (Cook, *Zeus* I 205–211). C'est aussi l'image de l'*ixynx*, roue magique servant à des rites de séduction (Detienne, M., *Les jardins d'Adonis* [1972] 165–166), le crime d'I. expliquant ses rapports avec cet objet. Mais I. sur la roue évoquait aussi un supplice auquel plusieurs auteurs se réfèrent dès la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.: Anakr. (Page *PMG* fig. 388), Antiphon (1, 20), Aristoph. (*Pax* 452), Ach. Tat. (6, 21; 7, 12), Chariton (*Chairéas et Kallirhoé* 3, 4, 7); c'est une pratique exclusivement grecque (Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 24; Apul. *met.* 3, 9; 10, 10).

L'iconographie d'I., principalement funéraire, se trouve aussi hors de ce contexte (5–21). I. apparaît en effet, surtout au travers des textes, comme le parangon de ceux qui en troublant l'ordre social créent le désordre, tendance soulignée par sa parenté avec Arès et Phlégyas. Il refuse tout d'abord de payer la dot de Dia, contrevenant aux lois fondamentales de la société humaine au travers du mariage, une des pièces essentielles du système social dans l'antiquité; puis il assassine son beau-père, commettant un meurtre au sein d'une famille, donc d'une communauté religieuse: cet acte entraîne sa folie, donc sa mise à l'écart des humains.

Les fautes suivantes touchent au niveau divin. L'étreinte contre nature avec la Nuée, union sans les Charites (Pind. P. 2, 42), ne peut produire qu'une race monstrueuse. Cet épisode était peut-être à l'origine indépendant du second acte de démesure d'I., l'attentat contre Héra; celui-ci entraîne son principal châtiment puisqu'il s'attaque à une divinité qui représente, par son union avec Zeus, l'ordre dans tous les domaines.

#### C. Ixion figuré en dehors de son châtiment

I. n'est représenté de manière certaine que pendant le jugement de son second crime et son supplice.

Seules quelques images d'interprétation incertaine peuvent être rattachées à d'autres événements de sa vie: sa folie occasionnée par son premier crime (27-29) et la vengeance du meurtre de sa mère (30). Ce dernier épisode n'est connu par aucune autre source littéraire ou iconographique. L'œuvre mentionnée (30) se trouvait dans le temple érigé par Attale II et Eumène II en l'honneur de leur mère, dans un cy-

cle dédié à la piété filiale. Cette action n'est absolument pas dans la logique de la légende du personnage et l'on est amené à se demander si l'on ne se trouve pas, en fait, en présence d'un homonyme; la comparaison des généalogies ne permet pas, elle non plus, d'établir une liaison entre les deux légendes.

CATHERINE LOCHIN

**KABEIROS, KABEIROI** → Megaloi Theoi

**KADMILOS** → Megaloi Theoi

# KADMOS I

(*Kādmos, Kásmos, Kādmon, Kadmalon*, Cadmus). Der vorherrschenden Ansicht nach Sohn von → Agenor (I) und Telephassa (Telephae, Telephe). Gemahl der → Harmonia und Vater von Agaue (→ Pentheus), → Autonoe, → Ino, → Semele und Polydoros.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: K. wird in zahlreichen, oft jedoch einander widersprechenden Quellen verschiedener Epochen erwähnt, was eine einheitliche, zusammenhängende und logisch konsequente Darstellung erschwert. Die ältesten Quellen, in denen K. genannt wird, sind Hom. *Od.* 5, 333 und Hes. *theog.* 937, die jedoch keine geographischen Angaben zu seinem Leben machen. Immerhin werden die Kadmeier sowohl in der *theog.* 326 als auch in der *Il.* 4, 385 ff.; 5, 804; 10, 288; 23, 680 mit Theben in Beziehung gebracht.

Es gab jedoch bereits spätestens seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. eine Überlieferung, der zufolge K. Phoiniker aus Tyros oder Sidon (*Hdt.* 2, 49, 3; 4, 147, 4; 5, 58 und Eur. *Phrixos TGF<sup>2</sup> frg.* 819; *Phoen.* 638-639), und zwar ein Nachkomme der → Io (I) (*Bakchyl.* 19, 41 ff.) war. Es ist deshalb schwierig, mit Sicherheit zu erklären, ob K. ursprünglich Grieche war oder nicht.

In den älteren Quellen wird als sein Vater Agenor (*Hdt.* 4, 147; *Soph. Oid. T.* 268) genannt. Es gibt jedoch auch Quellen, die → Phoinix (I) (Konon, *FGrH* 26 F 1, XXXII. XXXVII) oder Ogygos (*Phot. s. v. Ὀγύγιοι καὶ*) als Vater des K. angeben. Die Mutter ist in den meisten Quellen Telephassa, in den älteren jedoch Argiope (Pherekydes, *FGrH* 3 F 21) und in einigen sehr späten Tyro (Eust. *ad Dion. Per.* 899, 912). Als Geschwister gelten der vorherrschenden, auf alten Zeugnissen basierenden Ansicht nach Kilix und Phoinix (*Hdt.* 7, 91), während → Europe (I) meist als Tochter des Phoinix (*Il.* 14, 321) vorkommt. Das früheste schriftliche Zeugnis für Europe als Tochter des Agenor und folglich als Schwester des K. stammt aus dem 1. Jh. v. Chr. (s. Bühler, W., *Europa* [1968] 8, 30; implizit jedoch schon *Hdt.* 4, 147, 4). Als Geschwister des K. werden außerdem erwähnt Thasos (Eur. *Phrixos, TGF<sup>2</sup> frg.* 819; *Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 6), → Kepheus und → Phineus (I) (Nonn. *Dion.* 2, 679 ff. und 3, 266 ff.), Syros (Eust. *ad Dion. Per.* 899, 912), Elektra (Paus. 9, 8, 4), Eidothea (*Schol. Soph. Ant.* 918) und Isaie mit Melia (Pherekydes, *FGrH* 3 F 21).

Als Europe von → Zeus geraubt worden war – der Mythos war sowohl Hom. (*Il.* 14, 321-322) als auch Hes. (*frg.* 141 Merkelbach/West) bekannt – wurde K. von seinem Vater Agenor zusammen mit seinen Brüdern Kilix und Phoinix ausgesandt, um sie zu suchen (*Hdt.* 2, 49, 3; 4, 147, 4). (In einer späteren Quelle ist der Streit des K. mit Phoinix um die Herrschaft des Königreiches der Grund für die Flucht des K. aus Phoinikien, s. Edwards 40.)

Auf der Suche nach Europe wurde K. von mehreren Gefährten begleitet (*Hdt.* 2, 44, 49; 4, 147). Bevor er das griechische Festland erreichte, kam er durch viele Gebiete wie Thera (*Hdt.* 4, 147), Rhodos (Diod. 5, 58 = Zenon von Rhodos, *FGrH* 523 F 1 [58]; *FGrH* 532 F 1 B-C), Samothrake (Diod. 5, 48 u. a., s. unten), Thrakien, wo er eine andere, nicht die von ihm gesuchte Europe, «*γυνὴ ἐπυχόπια*», fand (Hegesippos, *FGrH* 391 F 3), Thasos (*Hdt.* 2, 44; 6, 47), die Goldminen im Pangaion (Clem. *Al. Strom.* 1, 75, 8), Pallene auf der Chalkidike, wohin er mit → Proteus aus Ägypten gelangte, allerdings nicht, um Europe dort zu finden, sondern um den gleichnamigen Erdteil zu erobern (Konon, *FGrH* 26 F 1, XXXVII), und vielleicht auch Euböa (Strabon 10, 1, 8). Sicher sind viele Teile seiner Wanderschaft spätere Erfindungen, wovon einige sich auf die Verbreitung der «phoinikischen und kadmeischen» Buchstabenschrift beziehen (*Hdt.* 5, 58-59), die K. der Überlieferung nach als Erster aus Phoinikien nach Griechenland eingeführt hat (s. Edwards 22-23 und Anm. 32). (Über die mit K. und seinen Gefährten in Beziehung gebrachten Orte s. Crusius 858 ff.). Ein Ereignis, das wir aus jüngeren Quellen kennen, hat sich vielleicht auch auf diesen Wanderungen zugetragen: K. tötete → Linos, weil K. das Recht beanspruchte, als einziger die erste Buchstabenschrift zu verbreiten (Zenob. 4, 45, *CPG* I 97). Ebenfalls auf der Suche nach Europe hat sich die Episode mit Typhoeus (oder → Typhon) ereignet. Typhon hatte Zeus die Sehnen herausgeschnitten und in Kilikien in einer Höhle versteckt. K. wurde von → Pan in einen Hirten verwandelt und konnte Typhon mit seinem Flötenspiel bezaubern und ihn überreden, die Sehnen des Zeus herauszugeben, indem er vorgab, daraus ein schöneres Instrument, die Lyra, bauen zu wollen (Nonn. *Dion.* 1, 360 ff.).

Die Quellen, die von der Ankunft des K. in Samothrake berichten, stammen aus späterer Zeit. Allerdings ist bereits bei Hellan. (*FGrH* 4 F 23) → Harmonia, die Frau des K., die Tochter der → Elektra (III) (oder Elektryone) und Schwester von → Dardanos und Eëtion (→ Iasion, → Aëtion). Daraus schließen wir, daß die Erzählung von der Reise des K. nach Samothrake spätestens im 5. Jh. v. Chr. entstanden ist. Nach Demagoras von Samos (*FGH* IV 378 *frg.* 1) lernte K. Harmonia bei einer Weihehandlung der Mysterien auf Samothrake kennen, wohin er mit seiner Mutter Telephassa auf der Suche nach Europe gekommen war. Die Hochzeit von K. und Harmonia kam, Demagoras zufolge, mit Hilfe der Athena zustande und fand in Samothrake statt. Am Hochzeitsmahl waren die Götter zu Gast und brachten Geschenke mit, → Demeter Weizenkörner, → Hermes eine Leier, → Athena die berühmte Halskette, einen Peplos und Flöten, und Elektra, die Mutter der Braut, Kymbala, Tympana und sonstige Geräte für die orgiastischen Weihehandlungen an den Mysterien der Großen Mutter (→ Kybele). → Apollon spielte Kithara und die Musen (→ Mousa, Mousai) Flöte, und alle Götter segneten diese Ehe (s. Diod. 5, 49). Ephoros (*FGrH* 70 F 120) spricht von Zeremonien, die in Erin-

nerung an den Raub der Harmonia durch K. auf Samothrake durchgeführt wurden.

Auf der Suche nach Europa gelangt K. schließlich nach Delphi, um das Orakel zu befragen. Der Orakelspruch, den er dort erhielt und der besagt, daß er aufhören soll, nach Europa zu suchen, ist sicher eine spätere Erfindung. Außerdem gibt das Orakel K. den Rat, einer Kuh aus der Herde eines Pelagon zu folgen und an der Stelle, an der sie sich zum erstenmal niederläßt, um auszuruhen, eine Stadt zu bauen. Als Kennzeichen trage die Kuh auf jeder Seite einen weißen Kreis von der Gestalt des Vollmondes (Schol. Eur. Phoen. 638). Tatsächlich fand K. die Kuh in der Herde des Pelagon, kaufte sie und kam, von ihr geführt, nach Boiotien. Über den Weg des K. dahin s. Ov. met. 3, 19; Nonn. Dion. 4, 319 ff.; Paus. 9, 19, 4. An der ersten Stelle, an der sich die Kuh vor Erschöpfung hinlegte, errichtete K. Theben. Weil er das Tier, jüngeren Quellen zufolge, Athena (oder Zeus, Ov. met. 3, 26) opfern wollte, schickte er seine Gefährten aus, um an einer nahegelegenen Quelle Wasser zu holen. Diese Quelle war von einem Drachen, einem Sohn des → Ares, bewacht (nach Palaiph. 3 Festa war der Drache König der Thebaner). Die Gefährten wurden von dem Untier getötet, so daß der Heros selbst mit ihm kämpfen mußte (s. Apollod. bibl. 3, 4). Die älteren Quellen erwähnen jedoch die Gefährten überhaupt nicht: s. Eur. Phoen. 658 ff. K. tötete den Drachen mit seinem Schwert (Pherekyd., FGrH 3 F 88) oder mit einem Stein (Hellan., FGrH 4 F 96 und Eur. Phoen. 663), während ihm Athena beistand (Eur. Phoen. 1062–1063). In jüngeren Quellen benutzt er dazu einen Dolch und einen Stein zusammen (Nonn. Dion. 4, 408 ff.), einen Pfeil (Fontenrose 312–313) oder Stein, Speer und Lanze (Ov. met. 3, 52 ff.). Dem Rat des Ares (Hellan., FGrH 4 F 1a und Pherekyd., FGrH 3 F 22) oder der Athena folgend (Eur. Phoen. 667 ff.), säte K. die Drachenzähne, nachdem er, wie jüngere Quellen berichten, die Erde gepflügt hatte (Ov. met. 3, 104–105; Nonn. Dion. 4, 424 ff.; Stat. Theb. 4, 434 ff.). Nach Pherekydes (FGrH 3 F 22) gaben Athena und Ares K. nur die Hälfte der Drachenzähne zum Aussäen, die übrigen → Aietes. Stesichoros zufolge (Page PMG frg. 195) säte Athena die Drachenzähne, s. Vian 26.

Aus dieser Saat wuchsen viele bewaffnete Männer, die «Σπαρτοί». Sie fingen an, sich gegenseitig zu bekämpfen und zu töten, weil K. Steine zwischen sie geworfen hatte, und sie glaubten, daß das einer von ihnen getan hätte. Nur fünf blieben am Leben: Udaïos, Chthonios, Echion, Pelor und Hyperenor (Pherekyd., FGrH 3 F 22). Hellan. (FGrH 4 F 1a) berichtet dagegen, daß aus der Drachenzahnsaat nur diese fünf Spartoi entsprossen sind. Aus jüngeren Quellen erfahren wir, daß K. wegen des Mordes an dem Drachen von dessen Vater Ares beinahe selber getötet worden wäre und durch Zeus' Hilfe gerettet wurde (s. Crusius 829). K. wurde aber dazu verpflichtet, Ares acht Jahre zu dienen (Apollod. bibl. 3, 4, 2). Danach erhielt er durch den Beistand von Athena die Königsherrschaft über Theben (Apollod. a. O.).

In Theben heiratete K. anschließend Harmonia,

die Tochter von Ares (in jüngeren Quellen ist sie Tochter oder Schwester des Drachen: Derkylos, FGrH 305 F 6; Palaiph. 4 Festa) und Aphrodite (Hes. theog. 933 ff. und 975 ff.). (Späte Quellen nennen als Gattin des K. auch Europe [Schol. Eur. Rhesus 29], Elektra [Schol. Eur. Phoen. 5], die Sphinx [Palaiph. 4 Festa] oder Hermione [Myth. Vat. II 78].) Einige Quellen berichten auch, daß K. mit Hilfe des Zeus Harmonia zur Frau bekommen habe (s. Apollod. bibl. 3, 4, 2). Zur Hochzeit kamen die Musen (Pind. P. 3, 88 ff.), die Chariten (→ Charis, Charites), die auch vorsangen (Thgn. 15 ff.), und die Götter (Apollod. bibl. 3, 4). K. selbst schenkte seiner Braut einen Peplos und eine Halskette, die von → Hephaistos gefertigt worden war (Apollod. l. c.). Pherekyd. zufolge (FGrH 3 F 89) hatte K. die Kette von Europe erhalten. Hellan. (FGrH 4 F 98) erwähnt, daß die Kette der Harmonia von Aphrodite und der Chiton (Peplos) von Athena überreicht worden ist. (Hyg. fab. 148 nennt neben Athena auch Hephaistos.) Vgl. Nonn. Dion. 5, 91 ff. und 125 ff. (dazu hier Kommentar).

Harmonia gebar K. fünf Kinder, Ino, Semele, Agaue, Autonoe und Polydoros (Hes. theog. 975 ff.). Merkwürdigerweise behauptet Euripides (Bacchae 1305), daß K. keine männlichen Kinder gehabt habe, während er in den Phoen. 7–8 Kenntnis davon hat, daß Polydoros dessen Sohn war. Als K. entdeckte, daß Semele Dionysos geboren hatte, schloß er, späteren Quellen zufolge, Mutter und Kind in eine Kiste ein und warf sie ins Meer. Die Kiste wurde in Lakonien ans Ufer gespült und von den Einwohnern der Stadt Brasiai (Paus. 3, 24, 3) geborgen. Nur der kleine Dionysos lebte noch, Semele war schon tot.

In späten Quellen finden wir viele Informationen über das Schicksal von K. und Harmonia nach ihrer Flucht aus Theben und ihrer Wanderung in einem von Kühen gezogenen Karren nach Illyrien. Diese Begebenheit war bereits im 5. Jh. v. Chr. bekannt (Eur. Bacchae 1333). Parthenios 32 berichtet, daß sie auf ihrer Flucht aus Theben von Epeiros, der Tochter τῷ Σπαρτοῦ Echion, begleitet wurden, die die zerstückelten Glieder von Pentheus mit sich genommen hatte. Apollod. bibl. 3, 5, 4 und Apoll. Rhod. 4, 516 ff. zufolge wurde K. König der Encheleer und unterstützte sie in ihrem siegreichen Kampf gegen die Illyrer. K. und Harmonia bekamen in Illyrien einen Sohn, den sie Illyrios nannten (Apollod. bibl. 3, 5, 4). (Über einen anderen Sohn des K. mit Namen Rhizon s. Edwards 33 Anm. 40.) Hier soll er Städte wie Lychnis und Buthoes (Edwards 33) gegründet haben. Bereits im 5. Jh. v. Chr. wurde erzählt, daß K. als Anführer von Barbaren siegreich bis nach Delphi vordrang und dort schließlich geschlagen wurde und daß K. und Harmonia in Schlangen verwandelt wurden (Eur. Bacchae 1330 ff. Vgl. Crusius 850). Vermutlich hat die Verwandlung in Schlangen nicht bei ihrer Flucht aus Theben stattgefunden, sondern nach ihrem Tod in Illyrien (vgl. Kall. frg. 11, 4 Pf.; Apollod. bibl. 3, 5, 4; Nonn. Dion. 4, 418 ff.; 44, 115 ff.; 46, 364 ff.). Ihre Gräber wurden in Epidamnus gezeigt (Eratosth. ap. Steph. Byz. s. v. «Dyrrhachion»; Apoll. Rhod. 4, 516 ff.). Nach ihrem Tod wurden K. und Harmonia

mit Hilfe von Ares (oder Zeus, Apollod. bibl. 3, 5, 4) «ἐπὶ δρακόντων ἄρματος» (?) (Schol. Pind. P. 3, 153) in die Elysischen Gefilde gebracht. Diese Überlieferung war bereits im 5. Jh. v. Chr. bekannt (Eur. Bacchae 1338–1339 und Pind. O. 2, 78 ff.).

In meist jüngeren Quellen wird K. nicht nur die Einführung der Buchstabenschrift in den griechischen Raum zugeschrieben, sondern auch die Kenntnis der Metallförderung, der Verarbeitung von Gold (Plin. nat. 7, 197) und Bronze (Hyg. fab. 274, 4) sowie des Steinbrechens (Plin. nat. 7, 195) auf ihn zurückgeführt. Auch der Bau von Bewässerungsanlagen, die Erfindung der Lyra (Edwards 32–33) und die Einführung des ersten Helmes und Schildes in Theben (Konon, FGrH 26 F 1, XXXVII) werden mit K. in Beziehung gebracht.

Über Fragen zur Herkunft des K., d. h. ob er Phoiniker, Boiotier, Ägypter oder Illyrer war, ob er eine historische Persönlichkeit war oder nicht, über geschichtliche, mit ihm zusammenhängende Ereignisse, chronologische Probleme und die Beziehung des K. zu Kadmilos (→ Megaloi Theoi) etc. s. Edwards; Vian; Symeonoglou, bes. 68 ff. Zur Etymologie des Namens Kadmos s. Frisk I 811 s. v. κέκασμαι, mit Lit. zu unterschiedlichen Ansichten; Chantraine 478 s. v. Κάδμος; 511 s. v. κέκασμαι. Vgl. Vian 156–157; Edwards, bes. 144 ff.; Brillante 322 mit Lit.; Vermeule 184.

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## KATALOG

### A. Kadmos und Europe

#### Unteritalische Vase

1. (= Europe I 75\* mit Lit.) Glockenkrater, campan. rf. Paris, Louvre K 239. – LCS 250, 150 Taf. 100, 1–2; Parrish-Maler; Zahn, E., Europa und der Stier

(1983) 51–52. 122–123 Nr. 69 mit Lit. Taf. 14, 2. – 350–340 v. Chr. – A: Europe auf dem Stier, umgeben von drei jungen Männern, vermutlich ihre drei Brüder. Der Jüngling r. mit Chlamys und Pilos, der einen Kranz und eine Lanze hält, wird mit K. identifiziert.

#### Monumentalmalerei

2. (= Europe I 223) Gemälde des Antiphilos, das sich zur Zeit des Plinius in der Pompeius-Stoa in Rom befand. – Plin. nat. 35, 114; Vian 41, 23. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – K. mit Europe.

### B. Kadmos und Phoinix

#### Münzen

3. AE, Sidon, Elagabal (218–222 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia CXIII–CXIV Taf. 43, 4; Vian 44, 46. – Rs.: L. K. (Leg. CAD) mit kurzem Chiton und Lanze in der l. Hand; die r. Hand gibt er Phoinix (Leg. POE). Oben im Bildfeld zwischen den beiden Figuren der Wagen der Astarte.

### C. Kadmos (?) auf einem Schiff

#### Münzen

4.\* Eine beträchtliche Anzahl kaiserzeitlicher Münzen aus Sidon, Tyros und Samos tragen auf der Rs. die Darstellung einer männlichen Gestalt mit Chlamys, Himation oder kurzem Chiton (manchmal auch unbekleidet), nach r. oder l. gewandt, oft kräftig ausschreitend auf einem Schiffsbug, auf einigen Münzen scheint sie das Schiff zu besteigen. Diese Gestalt, die oft ein Schwert mit Scheide, manchmal Panzer und Schild, Lanze oder Schwert trägt, gewöhnlich den r. Arm nach vorn oder hinten ausgestreckt hält und den Kopf meistens zurückgewendet hat, wird für K. gehalten. Diese Identifikation ist zwar nicht unwahrscheinlich, kann jedoch bis heute nicht bewiesen werden. Handelt es sich wirklich um K., können die Szenen mit seinem Aufbruch zur Suche nach Europa erklärt werden (vgl. Zenon v. Rhodos, FGrH 523 F 1 [58]). Auf samischen Münzen befindet sich die mit kurzem Chiton und Chlamys bekleidete Gestalt vor dem Schiff und hält in der l. Hand eine Lanze und in der ausgestreckten Rechten eine Phiale. Die Münzen dieses Typus wurden von Traian bis Gallienus geprägt, die Mehrzahl ist im 3. Jh. n. Chr. entstanden. Beispiele: a)\* AE, Sidon, Traian, 116–117 n. Chr. – BMC Phoenicia CXLII und Anm. 1; 180, 218–223 Taf. 23, 15; Vian 44, 44. – b) AE, Sidon, Elagabal (218–222 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 183, 236–241 Taf. 24, 2; Vian 44, 45. – c) AE, Sidon, Julia Paula (218–221 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 192, 287 Taf. 25, 1; Vian 44, 45. – d) AE, Sidon, Julia Maesa (218–222 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 194, 296–297; Vian 44, 44. – e) AE, Sidon, Annia Faustina, 221 n. Chr. – Grose, McClean III 351, 12. – f) AE, Sidon, Severus Alexander (222–235 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 197, 313–315; Vian 44, 44. – g) AE, Tyros, Elagabal (218–222 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 277, 411; Vian



43, 34. – L. Muschel. – **h**) AE, Tyros, Volusianus (251–253 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 285, 446; Vian 43, 35. – Unten Muschel. – **i**) AE, Tyros, Valerianus Senior (253–259 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 290, 496; Vian 43, 36. – L. Muschel. **j**) AE, Tyros, Gallienus (253–268 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 294, 489 Taf. 35, 2; Vian 43, 37. – Mit Muschel. – **k**) AE, Samos, Julia Mamaea (222–235 n. Chr.) bis Gallienus (253–268 n. Chr.). – BMC Ionia 381–395 Nr. 286. 301–302. 313–315. 325. 348. 363. 384 Taf. 37, 9; Vian 44, 48; SNG Copenhagen 1757. 1764. 1769. 1770. 1782. 1794. 1804. 1816.

#### D. Kadmos bringt den Griechen die Buchstaben-schrift

##### Münzen

**5.\*** AE, Tyros, Gallienus (253–268 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 293, 488 Taf. 35, 1; Vian 43, 43 Taf. 10, 2; Crusius 871 Abb. 8. – Rs.: K. (Leg. KAA/MOY) nach l. mit Himation, das den Oberkörper frei läßt. In der l. Hand hält er eine Lanze, während er mit der r. dem ersten der drei Griechen (Leg. darunter EAAH/NEE), die vor ihm stehen, einen Papyrus überreicht. Zwischen K. und den Griechen eine Muschel.

#### E. Kadmos gründet Theben

##### Münzen

**6. a)\*** AE, Tyros, Gallienus (253–268 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 293, 487 Taf. 34, 18; Babelon, *Aché-ménides* 346, 2341 Taf. 38, 19; Vian 43, 42 Taf. 10, 2; Crusius 870 Abb. 6. – Rs.: K. nach l., unbekleidet, mit einem kurzen Himation über dem l. Unterarm. In der Linken hält er eine Lanze (?), in der ausgestreckten Rechten eine Phiale. Vor ihm liegt eine Kuh, darüber sind die Mauern Thebens dargestellt (Leg. ΘΗ/ΒΕ). Hinter K. eine Muschel. – **b**) AE, Aigai (Aigai, Kilikien), Aemilianus (253 n. Chr.). – BMC Lycaonia, etc. CXVI, 7; *InvWadd* 4087 Taf. 9, 22; Vian 44, 47. – Rs.: wie a, ohne Lanze.

#### F. Athena berät und unterstützt Kadmos vor dem Drachenkampf

##### Attische Vasen

**7.\*** (= Athena 546\* mit Querverweisen) Schale, att. rf. London, BM 67.5–8.1066 (E 81). Aus Vulci. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1024, 150; 1678: Phiale-Maler; Vian 36, 5; Beckel 142, 77 Taf. 4; Oakley, J., *The Phiale Painter* (1980) 120 ff. 284–285, 174. – Um 430 v. Chr. – I: Athena gibt K. (KAA/MOY) einen Stein, den er mit der Rechten entgegennimmt, während er in der Linken eine Hydria hält. Der Heros ist kräftig ausschreitend nach r. gerichtet, während er den Kopf zur Göttin gewendet hält. Bekleidet ist er mit einem kurzen Himation, das jedoch den Körper größtenteils frei läßt. In den Haaren trägt er ein Band und über der r. Schulter ein Wehrgehänge.

**8.\*** Nolanische Amphora, att. rf. Amsterdam, Alard Pierson Mus. 1611. Aus Nola. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1161, 2: Maler von München 2335; Vian 39, 14 Taf. 2, 2; Beckel 142, 78; CVA Scheurleer 1 Taf. 1, 5. – 440–430 v. Chr. – A: Athena gibt K. einen Stein, den er mit der Rechten annimmt, während er in der Linken eine Hydria hält. K. trägt ein Himation, Wanderschuhe und auf dem stark geneigten Kopf ein Band. An seiner r. Schulter hängt sein Schwert und im Nacken sein Petasos.

**9.\*** (= Aphrodite 1414 mit Lit., = Harmonia 3\* mit Lit., = Ismene II 2) Hydria, att. rf. Leningrad, Ermitage T 1859.2 (St 2189). Aus Taman. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1187, 2: Art des Kadmosmalers; Vian 38–39, 12 Taf. 6–7; Beckel 143, 89; Trendall, *PP* 24 Anm. 14. – Um 400 v. Chr. – Athena berät K., der nach r. gewandt ist. Er trägt eine Chlamys und vielleicht einen kurzen Chiton und hält in der Linken zwei Lanzen. Vor ihm steht eine Hydria. Auf dem Kopf trägt er einen Lorbeerkranz, im Nacken den Petasos. Über ihm fliegt eine Nike auf Athena zu. Die sitzende Gestalt hinter K. ist sicher Harmonia, und die Figur mit dem Diadem auf dem Kopf hinter Athena und neben dem Drachen stellt wohl → Thebe dar. In der Gestalt daneben ist vielleicht die Personifikation der Quelle zu erkennen (vgl. 23), über der Aphrodite sitzt. R. Hermes. Die Frauen über Harmonia sind Gottheiten, vielleicht Demeter und Kore oder die ismenischen Nymphen (vgl. Paus. 9, 25, 4 und 24). Unter dem einen Horizontalhenkel ein Luterion und unter dem anderen eine Palme; beide Gegenstände bezeichnen sicher die Heiligkeit des Ortes.

**10.** Amphora, att. rf. Verschollen. – Reinach, *Rép-Vases* II 296, 4. 5; Trendall, *PP* 23–24 Anm. 14; Vian 37–38, 10; Beckel 142, 79. – 3. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – A: Athena mit einer Nike (?). B: Krieger in kurzem Chiton, mit Panzer, Lanze, Schild und Helm, kräftig nach l. ausschreitend. In der r. Hand hält er einen Stein. Vor ihm steht ein Baum, hinter ihm eine Frau, die ihn anzuleiten scheint. Wenn auch keine Schlange oder wenigstens eine Hydria zu sehen ist, ist es doch nicht auszuschließen, daß hier K. dargestellt ist, dem Harmonia (?) Mut zuspricht. (Vgl. auch eine verschollene Oinochoe, Greifenhagen, A., *AA* 1977, 219–220 Nr. 32 Abb. 32.) In diesem Fall haben die beiden Seiten des Gefäßes Beziehung zueinander.

#### G. Kadmos gegen den Drachen kämpfend

##### GRIECHISCHE UND RÖMISCHE DARSTELLUNG Lakonisch schwarzfigurige Vasen

**11.** (= Achilleus 257 mit Lit., = Gorgo, Gorgones 167\* mit Lit.) Schale, Paris, Louvre E 669. Aus Caere. – Stibbe, *LakVas* 286, 303 mit Lit. Taf. 107: Reitermaler; Beckel 142, 80; Trendall, *PP* 23, 1; Pipili, *LacLe* 50–51 Abb. 77; 99 Anm. 500 mit Lit. – Um 550 v. Chr. – Krieger nach l. mit Schild, Lanze und Helm. Er greift einen Drachen an, der sich um eine Säule windet. Die Säule gehört zu einem Gebäude, das wahrscheinlich als Brunnenanlage zu erklären ist. Vögel fliegen um den Krieger, und auch auf dem Giebel des Gebäudes befinden sich Vögel. Hinter dem

Brunnenhaus sieht man eine Schlange. Die Identifizierung des Kriegers mit K. ist nicht von allen Forschern anerkannt worden. Der Vergleich mit einigen lakonischen Darstellungen (z. B. → Achilleus 261\*, 264\*) läßt den Schluß zu, daß es sich hier um Achilleus handelt.

**12.** Schale, Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. II 7762. Aus Gravisa. – Pipili, *LacLe* 50. 116 Nr. 142 mit Lit.: Reitermaler. – Um 550 v. Chr. – Wie 11.

##### Attische Vasen

**13.** (= Archemoros 11 mit Lit., = Eurydike I 7 mit Lit., = Hesperie 1\* mit Lit.) Schale, wgr. London, BM D 7. Aus Athen. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 763, 3: Sotadesmaler; *Add* 286; Collinge, A., *AntK* 31, 1988, 9 ff. Taf. 3, 1. – 470–460 v. Chr. – I.: Mann mit kurzem Bart nach l., den Kopf rückwärts gewandt. Er trägt eine «Chlamys» aus Tierfell und auf dem Kopf einen Bauern- oder Hirtenhut. In seiner l. Hand hält er eine dünne Keule und in der erhobenen r. wahrscheinlich einen Stein, zum Wurf bereit auf eine Schlange, die r. zwischen Schilfrohr auftaucht. Zu Füßen des Mannes kniet eine weibliche Gestalt. Die Deutung auf K., der den Drachen tötet, war bereits von Furtwängler, *DLZ* 12, 1891, 471 vorgeschlagen worden und wurde neuerdings von Collinge vertreten. Sie kann allerdings beim jetzigen Stand der Forschung nicht alle Fragen beantworten. Für andere Deutungen s. die Lit.

**14.\*** Lekythos, wgr. Bologna, Mus. Civ. Pa 1159 (PU 356). Aus Athen. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 760, 38: Werkstatt und Art des Tymbos-Malers; *Add* 286; Vian 36, 4 Taf. 2, 1; Beckel 143, 87; Trendall, *PP* 23 Anm. 14. – 450–440 v. Chr. – Jüngling, den Petasos im Nacken, mit Chlamys und Wanderschuhen, kräftig nach r. ausschreitend, greift mit dem Schwert in der Rechten eine Schlange an, die zwischen Felsen mit Sumpfpflanzen auftaucht. Die Identifizierung mit K. ist wahrscheinlich, aber nicht gesichert.

**15.** (= Ares 88, = Athena 545 mit Lit., = Harmonia 1\* mit Lit.) Kelchkrater, rf. New York, MMA 1907.286.66. Aus Agrigent. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 617, 2: Spreckels-Maler; *Para* 398; *Add* 269; Vian 37, 7 Taf. 3; Beckel 75, 84; Trendall, *PP* 23, 2. – 450–440 v. Chr. – A: K., bartlos, mit kurzem Chiton, Chlamys, Wanderschuhen und im Nacken den Petasos, kräftig nach r. ausschreitend, den Kopf jedoch zurückgewandt. In der l. Hand hält er eine Oinochoe (Hydria), in der erhobenen r. einen Stein, bereit, ihn gegen einen Drachen zu schleudern, der hinter einem Fels mit Schilf und einer Quelle (?) erscheint. Vor der Schlange sitzt auf dem Felsen eine weibliche Gestalt, die Thebe sein muß (oder die Personifikation der Quelle) und nicht Harmonia. Hinter ihr Ares; vor K. Athena.

**16.** (= Ismenos 1\*) Kolonettenkrater, rf. Rom, Villa Giulia. Aus Gualdo Tadino (Umbrien). – Stefani, E., *NotSc* 1935, 170 ff. Abb. 22; Vian 36, 6; Beckel 142, 82. – 440–435 v. Chr. – A: K. nach r., ohne Bart, ein Himation um die Linke geschlungen, in der er eine Hydria hält. In der r., nach hinten erhobenen Hand hält er einen Stein, zum Wurf bereit gegen den Drachen, der vor ihm hinter einem Felsen zu sehen ist. Die weibliche Gestalt, die auf dem Felsen sitzt, ist

wahrscheinlich Thebe (oder die Personifikation der Quelle) und nicht Harmonia. Hinter K. sind Athena und ein Greis, vielleicht Agenor, Ogygos oder, am wahrscheinlichsten, Ismenos dargestellt.

**17.** (= Harmonia 4\* mit Lit., = Hermes 673 [B]) Glockenkrater, rf. New York, MMA 1922.139.11. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1083, 5: Kassel-Maler; Vian 37, 8; Beckel 142, 85; Trendall, *PP* 23, 3. – Um 435 v. Chr. – A: K., bartlos, kräftig nach r. ausschreitend, eine Hydria und zwei Lanzen in der l. Hand. In der Rechten hält er einen Stein, um ihn gegen den Drachen zu schleudern, der hinter einem Felsen gegenüber von K. auftaucht. Die weibliche Figur, die auf dem Felsen sitzt, ist höchstwahrscheinlich Thebe (oder die Personifikation der Quelle) und nicht Harmonia. K. ist unbekleidet, sein Himation bedeckt nur den l. Oberarm, der Petasos liegt im Nacken, sein Schwert hängt von der r. Schulter herab, und um den Kopf ist ein Band geschlungen. Am Felsen wächst Schilf, die Quelle ist angedeutet. B: Hermes überreicht Athena einen Kranz. Wir können nicht mit Sicherheit sagen, ob die beiden Szenen eine Beziehung zueinander haben und ob K. den Kranz, den Hermes Athena gibt, für die Tötung des Drachens bekommen soll.

**18.\*** Hydria, rf. Paris, Louvre M 12 (N 3325, MN 714). – CVA 9 Taf. 54, 1. 2; Vian 39, 13; Beckel 142, 83. – Um 420–410 v. Chr. – K., bartlos, nackt, kräftig nach r. ausschreitend, einen Stein in der r. und eine Hydria in der l. Hand. Über seinem l. Arm liegt ein kurzes Himation. Gegenüber von K. ein Felsen, hinter dem der Drache auftaucht. Die weibliche Gestalt auf dem Felsen muß Thebe (oder die Personifikation der Quelle) und nicht Harmonia sein.

**19.\*** (= Demeter 464 mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Harmonia 2\*, = Ismene II 1, = Ismenos 2\*) Hydria, rf. Ehem. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2634. Aus Vulci. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1187, 33: Kadmosmaler; *Add* 341; Vian 38, 11 Taf. 5; Beckel 143, 88; Trendall, *PP* 23, 4; Froning 49–51 mit Lit.; Real, W., *Studien zur Entwicklung der Vasenmalerei im ausgehenden 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (1973) 75 ff. Taf. 10; McPhee, J. D., *Attic Vase-Painters of the Late 5th Cent. B. C.* (1973) 56, 29; 99 ff. Taf. 26, 1. – 420–415 v. Chr. – In der Mitte K. (KAA/MOY), bärtig, mit einem Kranz im Haar, einem Petasos im Nacken, kurzem Chiton, kleinem Himation und Wanderschuhen. An der r. Schulter hängt das Wehrgehänge. Mit dem Schwert in der Rechten schreitet er ausholend nach r. auf den Drachen zu, der sich eingekollt hat. Zwischen dem Drachen und K. steht Athena (AΘHNA) auf etwas höherem Niveau und bekränzt den Heroen; eine kleine Nike (NIKH) kommt von oben und bekränzt K. ebenfalls. In der Nähe des Drachens sitzt Thebe (ΘHBA) auf einem Felsen, ihr zu Füßen ein Eros, der ihr einen Kranz überreicht. Hinter K. sitzt Harmonia (APMONIA). Ferner Demeter (ΔA-MATHP), Kore (KOPA), Apollon (ΑΠΕΛΛΩΝ), Artemis (ΑΡΤΑΜΙΣ), Poseidon (ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝ), Hermes (ΕΡ-ΜΑΣ). Leider haben die einzigen, nicht mit charakteristischen Symbolen versehenen Figuren keine Beischriften: eine nackte männliche unterhalb von Poseidon und eine weibliche neben Hermes. Möglicherweise handelt es sich um die Eltern der Harmonia,

Ares (vielleicht ist der «Gegenstand» in seiner Nähe ein Schild) und Aphrodite. Andere Forscher identifizieren sie jedoch mit Ismenos und Ismene. Die Gesamtkomposition entfaltet sich auf verschiedenen Ebenen mit Bäumen und Büschen. Das Reh in der Nähe von K. und Harmonia ist ein erotisches Symbol. Auf einem dorischen Säulenkapitell zwischen den Figuren steht ein Dreifuß.

**19a)** (= Ismene II 3) Hydria, rf. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. A 61, T 3387. Aus Ierisso (Akanthos). – Unveröffentlicht. – Anfang 4. Jh. v. Chr. – K., unbärtig, nach l., den Kopf rückwärts zum Drachen gewendet. Er trägt ein kurzes Himation, Wanderschuhe und einen Kranz im Haar. In der l. Hand hält er zwei Lanzen und in der r. einen Stein, um ihn gegen die Schlange zu schleudern, die hinter einem Felsen hervorkommt. Auf dem Felsen sitzt Thebe. Im Nacken trägt K. seinen Petasos und an der r. Schulter die Schwertscheide. Über der Hydria hinter seinem l. Fuß ist Athena dargestellt. Zwischen der Göttin und Thebe ein Altar. Die Komposition ist l. und r. von je zwei weiblichen Figuren gerahmt; die Frau direkt hinter K. muß Harmonia und die anschließende Figur Aphrodite (oder Ismene) sein, während auf der anderen Seite der Darstellung wahrscheinlich die Ismeniden (Nymphen) oder sonstige lokale Personifikationen, z. B. der Quelle, abgebildet sind.

#### Böotische Vase

**20.\*** Skyphos (Kabirenvasse), sf. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. 3284. – Wolters, P./Bruhns G., *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (1940) 100 K 22 Taf. 27, 1; Braun, K./Haevernick, Th. E., *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* 4, (1981) 13. 64, 356 mit Lit.: Kabirosmler; Vian 37, 9 Taf. 4; Beckel 143, 90; Trendall, *PP* 23 Anm. 14; Lapalus, E., *RA* 32, 1930, 75 ff. Abb. 4; Bieber, *Theaterwesen* Taf. 87, 2. – 420–400 v. Chr. – K. nach r., bärtig und ithyphallisch, mit Pilos und Exomis (?). In der Rechten hält er einen Stab (oder eine Peitsche?) mit spiralförmigem Ende. K. wird vom Drachen, der zwischen Schilfrohr auftaucht, überrascht. Hinter dem Heros schwebt eine umgedrehte Situla, darunter befinden sich eine Hirtentasche und ein Stab und darüber eine Weinrebe mit Trauben.

#### Unteritalische Vasen

**21.** (= Athena 548 mit Lit.) Kelchkrater, apul. rf. Leningrad, Ermitage St 847. – Vian 39–40, 16; Beckel 143, 92 Taf. 5; Trendall, *PP* 23, 5. – Um 375 v. Chr. – A: K., bartlos, mit Chlamys, Petasos (?) im Nacken und Wanderschuhen. In der l. Hand trägt er eine Hydria, während er in der nach hinten erhobenen r. einen Stein hält, den er im Begriff ist, gegen den Drachen zu schleudern. Das Untier liegt zusammengerollt in einer Höhle, über der Pan mit seiner Syrinx sitzt. Hinter der Höhle Athena, die K. beisteht. Vor der Göttin fliegt eine Eule. Zwischen den Füßen des K. liegen ein oder zwei Steine.

**22.** Skyphos, apul. rf., «provinziell». Bologna, Mus. Civ. Pa 712. – Vian 40, 17; Beckel 143, 91; Trendall, *PP* 24 Anm. 14; CVA 3 Taf. 3, 12; Schauenburg 2, 176 Abb. 22; 177 und Anm. 84. – 2.

Vierteil 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Bartloser Mann mit Pilos und über dem l. Arm Himation. Er schreitet kräftig ausholend nach r. und ist im Begriff, mit einem Knüttel in der Rechten die Schlange anzugreifen, die eingerollt vor ihm liegt. Die Identifizierung mit K. ist keineswegs gesichert.

**23.\*** (= Fluvii 30 mit Lit., = Harmonia 6, = Ismene II 4, = Ismenos 3 mit Lit.) Glockenkrater, paestan. rf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 82258 (H 3226). Aus S. Agata. – *RVP* 85, 132; 95–96 Taf. 52: Asteas (sign.); Trendall, *PP* 23 ff. Taf. 5a; Vian 40, 19 Taf. 8; Beckel 143, 93. – 360–350 v. Chr. – A: K. (KADMOΣ), unbärtig, mit Pilos, Chlamys und Wanderschuhen, schreitet nach r. und hält zwei Lanzen in der Linken. Die Rechte ist nach hinten erhoben, um einen Stein gegen den Drachen zu schleudern, der sich K. gegenüber zwischen Gebüsch unter einem Felsen befindet. Neben dem Felsen sitzt Thebe (ΘΗΒΗ). Hinter dem Heros Athena (ΑΘΗΝΗ), die ihm Beistand leistet. Über diesen Figuren der alte König Ismenos (ΙΜΗΝΟΣ [sic!]) und die Quellnymphe (ΚΡΗΝΑΙΗ), die beide hinter einem Hügel auftauchen. Zwischen ihnen die Sonne als Strahlenbogen. Zu Füßen des K. eine Amphora.

**24.** (= Ananke 1\*, = Harmonia 7\*, = Ismene II 5 mit Lit.) Lekanisdeckel, paestan. rf. Basel, Antikenmus. BS 1421. – *RVP* 108, 141 Taf. 61: Asteas; *MuM* Auktion 60, 1982, Nr. 45 Taf. 22. – 340–335 v. Chr. – K. (KADMOΣ), unbärtig, mit Pilos, Chlamys und Wanderschuhen, schreitet nach l., den Kopf rückwärts gewandt. In der l. Hand hält er eine Lanze und sein Schwert und ist im Begriff, mit der erhobenen Rechten einen Stein gegen den Drachen zu schleudern, der aus einer Höhle hervorkommt. Vor K. Ananke (ΑΝΑΚ[ΚΗ]), die aus dem Erdboden auftaucht, Athena, die K. Beistand leistet, eine sitzende Figur, wahrscheinlich Harmonia, Ismene (ΙΣΜΗΝ[Η]) und Thebe (ΘΗΒΗ), die hinter der Höhle auf einem Felsen sitzt. Zwischen den Figuren und der Grotte stehen Büsche und Bäume. Eine Spitzamphora hinter dem l. Fuß des K.

**25.\*** (= Aphrodite 1415, = Harmonia 5\*, = Ismene II 6) Kelchkrater, paestan. rf. Paris, Louvre N 3157. Aus S. Agata. – *RVP* 143, 241 Taf. 90: Python; Trendall, *PP* 23, 6; 64. 121, 152 Taf. 16c; Vian 40–41, 20 Taf. 9; Beckel 143, 94; *RM* 40, 1925, 221–222 Abb. 3. – Um 330 v. Chr. – K., unbärtig, mit Pilos, Chlamys, Wanderschuhen und Schwert, das an der r. Schulter hängt, schreitet nach r., in der l. Hand eine Spitzamphora und in der erhobenen r. einen Stein, bereit, ihn auf den Drachen zu werfen, der sich ihm gegenüber vor Felsen befindet. Die Gestalt hinter dem Heros ist wahrscheinlich Harmonia und die hinter dem Felsen entweder Thebe oder die Personifikation der Quelle. Im oberen Bereich des Bildfeldes tauchen von l. nach r. hinter mehreren Hügeln auf: Hermes, vielleicht Aphrodite, Pan und ein kleiner Satyr; der Strahlenbogen vor Hermes soll offensichtlich die Sonne darstellen.

**26.\*** (= Ismene II 7) Hydria, campan. rf. Boston, MFA 1969.1142. – *LCS Suppl.* 1, 69, 139a Taf. 16, 4; *LCS Suppl.* 3, 185, 139a: Whiteface P.; Schauenburg

2, 177 Abb. 23; Vermeule, E., in *Studies G. M. A. Hanfmann* 177 ff. Taf. 46. – 340–330 v. Chr. – Unten l. der unbärtige K. nach r., in der l. Hand eine Lanze und eine Spitzamphora. Er ist im Begriff, mit der erhobenen Rechten einen Stein gegen den Drachen vor ihm zu schleudern, der eingerollt neben blumenbestandenen Felsen liegt. K. trägt ein Band um seinen Kopf, an der r. Schulter hängt sein Schwert, und über dem l. Arm ein kurzes Himation. Hinter der Schlange ein Gefährte des K. mit Pilos, kurzem Himation, Schwert und zwei Lanzen. Das Gebäude im oberen Bereich des Bildfeldes ist vielleicht ein Tempel oder die Stadt Theben. R. und l. davon sitzen zwei Frauenfiguren; die in der Nähe von K. kann Harmonia, die andere entweder Thebe oder die Personifikation der Quelle sein. Diese Identifizierungen sind jedoch keineswegs die einzig möglichen.

**26a)** Hydria, campan. rf. Neapel, Privatslg. – Trendall, *QuadTic* 12, 1983; 94 ff. Taf. 4–6, 8, 9: Whiteface-Frignano Group. – 340–330 v. Chr. – K. in der Bildmitte auf einer Bodenwelle vor einem Baumstamm. Er schreitet nach l., den Kopf rückwärts gewandt. In der Linken hält er eine kleine Hydria (?) und in der erhobenen Rechten einen Stein, bereit, ihn gegen den Drachen unten r. zu schleudern. Die Quelle hinter dem Drachen ist sehr schematisch wiedergegeben. Der Heros ist nackt, nur ein kurzes Himation hängt über seiner l. Schulter, an seiner r. trägt er das Wehrgehänge. L. Athena, die ihm beisteht, und r. oben eine Nike, die ihn bekrönt.

**27.** Hydria, campan. rf. Leipzig, Univ. T 84. – *LCS* 244, 133: Aigisthosgruppe. – 335–325 v. Chr. – Unbärtiger Jüngling mit Panzer nach r. trägt eine Hydria; zu seinen Füßen eine Schlange. Außerdem sind eine Frauenfigur und ein zweiter Jüngling dargestellt, der sein Schwert zieht. Trendall vermutet mit Vorbehalt, daß es sich um K. mit einem Gefährten handelt, der sein Schwert gegen den Drachen zieht. Ist diese Deutung richtig, kann die weibliche Gestalt Harmonia, Thebe oder die Personifikation der Quelle sein.

#### Tonmatrize

**28.\*** Tonmatrize für Helmwangen-Dekor. Athen, Agora T 930. Aus Athen. – Thompson, D. B., *Hesperia* 8, 1939, 293 ff. Abb. 7. – Letzte Jahrzehnte des 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. mit Chlamys auf felsigem Boden nach r., den jetzt fehlenden Kopf wahrscheinlich zurückgewandt. In der erhaltenen Hand eine Hydria. Thompson a. O. 295 nimmt an, daß auf der anderen Helmwange die sitzende Harmonia und hinter ihr der Drache dargestellt waren. In diesem Fall ist die Frauenfigur wahrscheinlich Thebe oder die Personifikation der Quelle. S. Kommentar.

#### Gemmen

**29.\*** Eine Anzahl von Gemmenbildern mit einer männlichen Gestalt, die, meist mit dem Schwert, eine Schlange tötet (Ausnahmen s. z. B. 29c), werden als Darstellungen des K., der den Drachen erlegt, gedeutet. Diese Erklärung ist jedoch nicht die einzig mögliche. Nur bei den Darstellungen mit einer Quelle und vor allem einem Gefäß können wir mit Sicherheit sa-

gen, daß dieses Thema gemeint ist. Auf anderen Gemmen wird die männliche Gestalt hart vom Drachen bedrängt (s. z. B. Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* III 189, 17; 188, 9. 10; s. auch Servais-Soyez 738 ff.). Die Forscher nehmen an, daß es sich hier nicht um K., sondern um einen der Gefährten handelt, die vom Drachen getötet wurden. Es gibt allerdings auch schriftliche Zeugnisse, die berichten, daß K. im Verlauf des Kampfes in Bedrängnis geriet: s. Nonn. *Dion.* 4, 365 ff. Im folgenden stellen wir eine Auswahl von Gemmen zusammen, deren Darstellungen z. T. mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit, z. T. jedoch mit Ungewißheit als Drachenkampf des K. gedeutet werden:

**a)\*** Skarabäus, Karneol, großgriech. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 300. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 300 Taf. 6; *idem*, *AG* Taf. 10, 13; *AGD* II 212 Taf. 44; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* Taf. 19, 5; Vian 41, 21; Servais-Soyez 737 Taf. 2, 3. – 350–325 v. Chr. – K. mit einem Himation über dem Arm, einem Schwert in der einen und der Schwertscheide in der anderen Hand. Er wendet den Kopf zur Schlange zurück, die hinter ihm zwischen Felsen nahe einer Quelle erscheint. Zwischen seinen Füßen ein Gefäß.

**b)** Karneol, großgriech. (?) Florenz, Mus. Arch. – Reinach, S., *Pierres gravées* (1895) 58 Taf. 56; Vian 41, 22 mit Lit. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. (?) – K. mit kurzem Himation über dem einen Arm, in der einen Hand das Schwert, in der anderen die Schwertscheide. Er wendet den Kopf nach hinten, wo zwischen Felsen mit Quelle die Schlange auftaucht. Zwischen seinen Füßen eine Oinochoe. Zu **a** und **b** s. Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 88 Anm. 322.

**c)** Ringstein, Glaspaste, ital. München, Münzslg. A 140. – *AGD* I 2, 1405 Taf. 139. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. – 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Nackte bärtige Gestalt, Chlamys über dem Rücken, in der einen Hand ein Gefäß, das sie mit Wasser füllt, während sie mit der anderen eine Schlange packt. Wenn es sich wirklich um K. handelt, ist die Darstellung eine seltene Variante, da er hier den Drachen mit den Händen tötet.

**d)** Nicolo, italoetrusk. (?) Aquileia, Mus. Naz. 26606. – Sena Chiesa, *GA* 729 Taf. 37. – Späthellenistisch (?). – Unbärtige männliche Figur, höchstwahrscheinlich K., den Kopf rückwärts zu einer Schlange gewandt, einen Schild und ein Gefäß haltend. Die Schlange ist hinter einem schematisch wiedergegebenen Felsen.

**e)** Achat, ital. (?) Aquileia, Mus. Naz. 26180. – Sena Chiesa, *GA* 728 Taf. 37, 6; *eadem*, *Aquileia Nostra* 35, 1964 Taf. 1, 25; Richter, *EnglGemsRom* 328 Abb. 328. – Späthellenistisch. – Männliche Figur (K.), den Kopf rückwärts gewandt, mit Schild und Schwert. Seitlich unten eine Schlange.

**f)\*** Sard, ital. (?) London, BM 1917. – Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 1917 Taf. 24; Vian 42, 32. – Kaiserzeit. – Schreitender Mann (K.) mit Helm und Chlamys, Schild und Schwert haltend. Er versucht eine Schlange zu töten, die zwischen Felsen auftaucht.

**g)** Nicolo, ital. München, Münzslg. – *AGD* I 3, Nr. 3230 Taf. 310. – Kaiserzeit. – Schreitender Mann (K.), ein Gefäß und eine Schlange haltend. Vgl. auch drei Gemmen in Berlin, FG 7609–7611, Vian 42, 31.

Auch hier ist die Identifizierung des Kriegers, der kniend versucht, eine Schlange zu töten, mit K. nur wenig wahrscheinlich.

30.\* Gemmen (Auswahl), auf denen ein Krieger an einer Quelle ein Gefäß mit Wasser füllt. Die Deutung auf K. ist unsicher.

a) Achat, ital. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College. – Middleton, J.-H., *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings in the Possession of Corpus Christi College* (1892) 71, 133; Henig, *LewisColl* 52, 208 Taf. 13. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Nackter Mann mit Helm und mit Chlamys über dem Rücken füllt Wasser aus einer Quelle, die oben an Felsen entspringt, in eine Oinochoe. Neben dem vorgestellten Fuß ist vielleicht eine Schlange dargestellt. Wahrscheinlich K. an der Quelle des Ares.

b) Glaspaste, ital. Hannover, Kestner-Mus. K 687. – AGD IV 82 Taf. 21. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Nackter Mann, ein Gefäß und einen Schild haltend, Chlamys über dem Rücken. Vielleicht K. oder einer seiner Gefährten, der zur Quelle geht.

c) Glaspaste, ital. Wien, Kunsthinst. Mus. XI B 319. – AGOe II Nr. 689 Taf. 19. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. (?) – Schreitender nackter Mann, den Kopf zurückgewandt, mit Schild und Oinochoe. Vielleicht K., der zur Quelle geht.

d)\* Ringstein, Glaspaste, ital. München, Münzslg. A 886. – AGD I 2, Nr. 1570 Taf. 150. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. – 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Schreitender nackter Mann, den Kopf rückwärts gewandt, ein Gefäß und vielleicht einen Schild haltend. Aus dem Felsen neben ihm taucht ein Schlangenkopf auf. Wahrscheinlich K. an der Quelle des Ares. – Vgl. auch fünf Gemmen der ehem. Slg. B. Hertz, Vian 42, 30.

#### Münzen

31.\* a)\* (= Herakles 2833 mit Lit.) AE, Tyros, Gordian III. (238–243 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 280–281, 425. 426 Taf. 33, 12; Vian 43, 38 Taf. 10, 2. – Rs.: K., nackt, nach r., in der erhobenen Rechten einen Stein, bereit, ihn gegen den Drachen zu schleudern, der sich drohend vor ihm aufrichtet. Über dem l. Unterarm kurzes Himation. Hinter K. eine Muschel.

b) AE, Tyros, Gallienus (253–268 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 293, 486 Taf. 34, 17; Vian 43, 39. – Rs.: K., nackt, nach r., einen Stein in der erhobenen Rechten, um ihn auf den Drachen zu werfen, der sich drohend vor ihm aufrichtet. Über dem l. ausgestreckten Arm ein kurzes Himation; hinter K. eine Muschel.

c) AE, Tyros, Salonina (253–268 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 295, 496; Vian 43, 40. – Rs.: K., nackt, mit kurzem flatterndem Himation über dem l. Arm, die Rechte mit einem Stein zum Wurf auf den Drachen vor ihm erhoben. L. eine Muschel.

d)\* AE, Samos, 3. Jh. n. Chr. (Zeit des Gallienus). – Vian 44, 49 mit Lit. S. auch Servais-Soyez 738 Taf. 2, 4. – Rs.: K., nackt, nach r., die Rechte mit einem Stein zum Wurf gegen einen Drachen erhoben, der sich drohend vor ihm aufrichtet.

#### Mosaiken

32. Fußboden. Aus Pitney (Somerset), England, verschollen. – *The Victoria History of the Counties of Eng-*

*land, Somerset I* (1906) Abb. 86; Smith, D. J., in *Roman Life and Art in Britain* (Festschr. J. Toynbee, 1977) 151–152, 145 Taf. 26b. – 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Nackter Knabe mit Schlange und ein umgedrehtes Gefäß. Die Deutung auf K. (vgl. Rainey, A., *Mosaics in Roman Britain* [1973] 129) ist unsicher. S. Stupperich, R., *Britannia XI*, 1980, 300 Anm. 61. Vgl. auch ein Mosaik in Rudge Farm (Froxfield), Wilts, England, Rainey a. O. 131.

33. Fußboden. Gefunden in der Nähe von Frampton/Dorsetshire (Nunnery Meadow Site), England. Es befindet sich vielleicht bedeckt *in situ*. – Hening, M., *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* 106, 1984, 143 ff. Taf. 8–9. – 4. Jh. n. Chr. – In einem der Bildfelder unbärtige männliche Gestalt nach r. Sie trug ein wehendes Himation und Wanderschuhe und griff mit einer Lanze eine Schlange an, die sich um einen Baum ringelte. Die Deutung auf K. ist unsicher. Vgl. Rainey, a. O. 32, 77–78.

#### ETRUSKISCHE UND PRÄNESTINISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

##### Vase

34. Stamnos, falisk. rf. Wien, Kunsthinst. Mus. IV 3960. Aus Caere. – EVP 8, 152 Taf. 11, 5; Maler von Villa Giulia 1660; Bernhard-Walcher, A., et al., *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern Etruriens und Unteritaliens. Ausgewählte Kunstwerke aus der Antikenslg. des Kunsthinst. Mus.* (1985) 33, 45 Taf. 13. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – B: Drache, der r. und l. von je einer Figur mit breitkrepigem Pilos (Helm) bedroht wird. Diejenige l. hält in der l. Hand ihr Himation und in der r. eine Doppelaxt, während die r. Figur einen langen, in der Taille gegürteten Chiton trägt; sie steht auf einer felsigen Bodenwelle, in der r. Hand eine Lanze, über dem l. Arm ein Himation. Die Deutung auf K. (l.) mit einem Gefährten (r.) bei der Tötung des Drachens ist unsicher. Es könnte sich z. B. auch um Herakles handeln, der den Drachen im Garten der Hesperiden tötet.

##### Pränestinischer Bronzespiegel

35.\* Brüssel, Mus. Roy. R 1279. Aus Etrurien. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV Taf. 358; Matthies, G., *Die pränestinischen Spiegel* (1912) Abb. 26; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 93, 12 Taf. 21, 2; Vian 41, 24; Trendall, *PP* 24 Anm. 14; Lambrechts, R., *Les miroirs étrusques ... à Bruxelles* (1978) 181–189 Nr. 29 Abb. – Ende 4./Anfang 3. Jh. v. Chr. – R. K., nackt, bartlos, das r. Bein angewinkelt, mit Chlamys als einziger Bekleidung. L. der Drache, den K. mit dem Schwert in der erhobenen Rechten angreift, während er l. die Schwertscheide hält. Die Schlange hat bereits einen behelmten Gefährten des K. getötet. Von l. versucht ein zweiter Gefährte des K., den Drachen zu erwürgen; hinter ihm liegt ein kraterförmiges Gefäß. Oben Athena, die K. beisteht, hinter ihr eine weitere, wahrscheinlich ebenfalls göttliche Figur, die anscheinend den Gefährten des K. unterstützt. Vor den Köpfen der beiden göttlichen Gestalten je ein Stern.

#### Urnen

36.\* (= Archemoros 12) Volterranner Tuffurne. Volterra, Mus. Guarnacci 353. Aus Volterra. – Brunn Körte, *Rilievi* II 1, 10 Taf. 7, 2; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 93, 13. – 3. Jh. v. Chr. (?) – Auf der einen Seite ein geflügelter Drache und die Gestalt eines von ihm bereits Getöteten. Von r. und l. versucht je ein Krieger, den Drachen zu erlegen. Wenn diese Darstellung auch auf Opheltos gedeutet wurde, spricht ihre Ähnlichkeit mit 35 doch dafür, daß hier der Kampf des K. mit der Schlange gemeint ist. In diesem Fall müssen wir K. in dem Krieger r. mit Helm, Brustpanzer und Wanderschuhen erkennen, der in der erhobenen Rechten das Schwert und in der Linken die Scheide hält. Diskussion s. Krauskopf a. O. 50–51.

37.\* Alabasterurne. Wien, Kunsthinst. Mus. I 1045 a, b. – Bernhard-Walcher et al., a. O. 34, 46, 74 Taf. 19; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 93, 14 mit Lit. – 3.–2. Jh. v. Chr. – Fast gleich wie 36; hinter dem l. Krieger eine vierte Figur mit Brustpanzer und Chlamys.

38.\* Alabasterurne, chiusinisch. Chiusi, Mus. Civ. 303. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1, 6 ff. Taf. 2, 1; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 50–51. 93, 15 Taf. 20, 5. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Auf der einen Seite eine männliche Gestalt, um die sich eine Schlange ringelt. Eine zweite Figur liegt zu ihren Füßen. Von beiden Seiten eilt je ein nackter, nur mit einem kurzen Himation bekleideter Krieger auf den bedrohten Mann zu. Derjenige r. hält in der erhobenen r. Hand ein Schwert und in der l. eine Scheide. Der andere ist behelmt und trägt in der erhobenen Rechten eine Lanze, in der Linken einen Schild. Hinter ihm die fünfte Figur mit Chiton (?), Chlamys und Pilos, die in beiden Händen eine Lanze hält. Wegen der Ähnlichkeit mit 35 handelt es sich hier wahrscheinlich ebenfalls um K. und seine Gefährten. In diesem Fall ist der r. Krieger auf K. zu deuten, wenn auch die Figur mit dem Schild hervorgehoben ist. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß die Gestalt hinter dem Krieger mit dem Schild ebenso wie vermutlich die entsprechende Figur auf 35 sein Schutzgott ist.

39. Tonurne. London, BM D 787. – Walters, *BM Terracottas* 429–430; Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1, 8 ff. Taf. 2, 3; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 93, 16. – 3. oder 2. Jh. v. Chr. – In der Mitte der einen Seite eine Schlange, die sich um zwei Kinder ringelt, während von r. und l. je ein Krieger herbeieilt. Der linke, nur mit Chlamys bekleidete und mit einem Band um den Kopf, hält in der ausgestreckten Rechten ein Schwert, in der Linken die Scheide. Der r. Krieger mit kurzem Himation, Helm und Brustpanzer hält mit beiden Händen eine Lanze; seinen Schild hat er hinter sich gelassen. Die Deutung der Darstellung auf K. und Gefährten im Kampf gegen den Drachen ist wegen der beiden Kinder sehr zweifelhaft. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß hier verschiedene Motive mit K. und Opheltos als Hauptfiguren zusammengestellt sind. Vgl. Krauskopf a. O. 51.

#### Gemmen

40.\* Eine Reihe etruskischer Siegelsteine zeigt eine männliche Gestalt, die entweder an einer oft von einem Drachen bewachten Quelle Wasser holt oder

mit einer Schlange kämpft. Vermutlich handelt es sich hier um die K.-Drachen-Szene. Diese Deutung ist jedoch nicht die einzige mögliche und erhält Wahrscheinlichkeit nur durch die zusätzliche Angabe eines Gefäßes.

a) Skarabäus, Karneol. Wien, Kunsthinst. Mus. IX B 173. – AGOe Nr. 63 Taf. 13; Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 19, 22; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 562. – 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Bärtiger Mann hält Amphora und füllt sie an Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier mit Wasser. In der Rechten ein Schwert. Zazoff deutet ihn auf Herakles (vgl. Hermann, W., *AA* 1966, 286 Abb. 36, 292).

b) Ringstein, Sardonyx. Ehem. Rom, Slg. Martini. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 21, 14; Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* 132, 7 Taf. 3, 2; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 92, 2 mit Lit.; Vian 42, 28; Servais-Soyez 736 Taf. 1, 1. – Ende 4. Jh.–Anfang 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Jüngling, nackt bis auf Chlamys und Helm, mit Schild und Oinochoe. Vor ihm Schlange am Fuß eines Felsens mit Quelle.

c) Glaspaste. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. FG 503. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 503 Taf. 8; Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* 148, 193; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 92, 3 mit Lit.; Vian 42, 26. Ende 4.–Anfang 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Jüngling mit Schwert und Schild füllt Wasser aus einer Quelle in eine Oinochoe.

d)\* Skarabäus, Karneol. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 205. Aus Etrurien. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 18, 54; AGD II Nr. 295 Taf. 58; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 92, 1 mit Lit.; Vian 41, 25. – Anfang 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Nackter Jüngling mit Schwert und Schild. Zwischen seinen Füßen eine Oinochoe, vor ihm Felsen mit Andeutung von Quellwasser.

e) Ringstein, Sardonyx. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 599. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 23, 15; Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* 284; AGD II Nr. 309 Taf. 59; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 92–93, 4; Vian 42, 29. – 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Nackter Jüngling mit Helm, Schwert und Schild ist im Begriff, eine Schlange vor ihm zu töten. Der eine Fuß steht auf einem Felsen.

f) Glaspaste. München, Münzslg. A 137. – AGD I 2, Nr. 1528 Taf. 147; Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* 252; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 93, 5. – 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Jüngling mit Chlamys, sonst nackt, mit Schild und Schwert, füllt aus einer Quelle Wasser in eine Oinochoe. Den einen Fuß stellt er auf eine felsige Erhebung.

g) Glaspaste. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. FG 504. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 504 Taf. 8; Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* 281; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 93, 7; Vian 42, 27. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Nackter, bärtiger Mann mit Helm, Schild und Oinochoe, die er an einer Quelle mit Wasser füllt. Unterhalb der Quelle eine Schlange.

h) Glaspaste. Kopenhagen, Thorv.-Mus. I 845. – Fossing, *ThorvGems* 44, 101 Taf. 2; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 93, 8. – 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – Mann mit Helm, Schild und Schwert kämpft mit einer Schlange, die sich um seinen Hals windet. Daneben Felsen; zwischen den Füßen des Mannes liegt eine Oinochoe. Weil der Krieger hier so hart bedrängt wird, ist vielleicht nicht K., sondern einer seiner Gefährten gemeint. Über die etruskischen Darstellungen, die wahrscheinlich eher



einen Gefährten des K. als ihn selbst darstellen, s. z. B. Krauskopf a. O. 93 ff., 1–20.

i) Ringstein, Jaspis. Kopenhagen, Thorv.-Mus. I 844. – Fossing, *ThorvGems* 141, 883 Taf. 11; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 93, 9. – 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – Nackter Jüngling mit Helm, Schild und Oinochoe, die er an einer Quelle mit Wasser füllt. Auf dem Felsen mit der Quelle erhebt sich eine Schlange.

ETRUSKISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN MIT KADMOS UND DEM DRACHEN, DEUTUNG WENIGER SICHER (AUSWAHL)

#### Gemmen

41. a) Skarabäus, Karneol. München, Münzslg. 19795. – AGDI 2, Nr. 634 Taf. 69; Furtwängler, AG Taf. 63, 18; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 98, 190 Taf. 38; Lippold, *Gemmen* Taf. 50, 3. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Unbärtige, nackte kniende Gestalt, im Begriff, mit einer Lanze oder einem Stock eine Schlange zu töten (?).

b) Skarabäus, Karneol. Kopenhagen, Thorv.-Mus. I 19. – Fossing, *ThorvGems* 37, 54 Taf. 1; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 79, 128 Taf. 28; Furtwängler, AG Taf. 17, 9. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. (?). – Männliche Gestalt nur mit Chlamys, sonst nackt, versucht, mit Schwert oder Dolch eine Schlange zu töten (?), die sich um eine Weinrebe (?) ringelt. Die Deutung auf K. ist sehr unwahrscheinlich (vgl. Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 87–88 Anm. 321). Vgl. auch die Gemmen Zazoff a. O. 826, 827.

c) Skarabäus, Karneol. Den Haag, Royal Cabinet of Coins and Gems 1989. – Furtwängler, AG Taf. 17, 18; Lippold, *Gemmen* Taf. 50, 1; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 87, 150 Taf. 131; Maaskant-Kleibrink, *CatGemsTheHague* 38 mit Lit. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Bartloser Jüngling nur mit Chlamys, sonst nackt, tötet mit Lanze oder Stock eine Schlange.

d) Skarabäus, Achat. London, BM 972. – Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 972 Taf. 14; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 79, 130 Taf. 28; Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* Taf. 3, 1. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. (?). – Nackter Jüngling, der aus einer Quelle Wasser in eine Hydria füllt. Mit der einen Hand stützt er sich auf einen Felsen. Da hier weder Waffen noch eine Schlange angegeben sind, ist die Deutung auf K. sehr unwahrscheinlich (vgl. Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 87–88 Anm. 321). Vgl. auch Martini a. O. 152, 246.

e) Ringstein, Sard. Wien, Kunsthst. Mus. IX B 231. Aus Italien. – AGOE I Nr. 102 Taf. 19; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 93, 6; Servais-Soyez 737 Taf. 1, 2. – Ende 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Nackter Jüngling mit Schild wendet sich rückwärts und packt eine Schlange, die sich hinter ihm erhebt. Keine Angabe von Felsen mit Quelle oder Gefäß.

f) Ringstein, Sardonyx. Wien, Kunsthst. Mus. IX B 719. – AGOE I Nr. 282 Taf. 49; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 93, 10. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. – Jüngling mit Chlamys und Helm, in der erhobenen Hand Schwert, im Begriff, eine Schlange zu töten, die sich vor ihm aufrichtet. Nur schwerlich kann man annehmen, daß der Schild zwischen dem Mann und der Schlange vom Krieger gehalten wird. Keine Darstellung von Felsen mit Quelle oder Gefäß. Vgl. Krauskopf a. O. 93, 11.

## H. Kadmos und Spartoi

### Unteritalische Vase

42. Krater, Fragmente, sizil. rf. Lipari, Mus. Arch. Eoliano 11359–61. Aus Lipari. – LCS Suppl. 3, 275: Beziehung zum Adrastomaler; Bernabò Brea, L., *Menandro e il teatro Greco nelle terracotte Liparesi* (1981) 276 Abb. 453. – 340–330 v. Chr. – Erhalten sind ein Kopf, höchstwahrscheinlich der des K. (ΚΑΔΜΟΣ), Fragmente der Spartoi (...PTOI), Felsen mit einer Quelle mit Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier. Auch Götter waren anwesend, wovon Fragmente von der Ägis der Athena zeugen. Das Himation vor der Quelle gehörte vielleicht zu einer Personifikation der Quelle oder der Thebe. K. und die Spartoi sind nackt und behelmt und tragen Lanzen und Schilde.

## I. Hochzeit von Kadmos und Harmonia

### Relief

43. (= Harmonia 8) Relief, wahrscheinlich Bronze, am Thron des Apollon von Amyklai, Werk des Bathykles aus Magnesia. Nicht erhalten. – Paus. 3, 18, 12 (= Overbeck, SQ 360, 24); Vian 35, 1; Pipili, *LacIc* 81–82. – 530–510 v. Chr. – Hier waren die Götter dargestellt, die dem Brautpaar K. und Harmonia Geschenke brachten.

### Attisch schwarzfigurige Vasen

44. (= Admetos I 16, = Harmonia 10\*) Oinochoe. Göttingen, Univ. R 23. Aus Orvieto. – Para 185, 237: Guide-Line Class (Class of Vatican G 47); Beckel 142, 76. Schauenburg 1, 210 ff. Taf. 1. – 510–500 v. Chr. – Auf einem nach r. fahrenden Wagen ein Mann und eine Frau. Der Mann hält die Zügel, die Frau einen Efeuweig. Hinter dem Wagen eine weibliche Gestalt mit einem Korb auf dem Kopf und weiter l. Spuren einer vierten Figur (Apollon?). Der Wagen wird von einem Eber, einem Wolf und zwei Löwen gezogen. Hermes und Dionysos empfangen den Zug. Wie Schauenburg a. O. darlegt, ist in der Darstellung die Hochzeit von K. und Harmonia zu sehen, und wie auf 45 steht das Brautpaar auf dem Wagen.

45. (= Apollon 851, = Athena 544, = Harmonia 9\*) Amphora. Paris, Louvre CA 1961 (F 384<sup>bis</sup>). Aus Reggio. – Para 248, 135; Diosphosmaler; Hapsels, *ABL* 239, 135; Schauenburg 1, 211, 2 Taf. 2; Vian 36, 2 Taf. 1; Beckel 142, 75. – Um 490 v. Chr. – A: Wagen nach r., von einem Eber und einem Löwen gezogen. Darauf stehen K. (ΚΑΔΜΟΣ) mit Himation bekleidet, ein Band um den Kopf, in der Hand die Zügel, und Harmonia (HAPMONIA). Im Hintergrund, vom Wagen teilweise verdeckt, Apollon mit Kithara (ΑΙΘΙΑΟΝ). B: Hermes, Herakles und Athena. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß sich die Darstellungen beider Seiten aufeinander beziehen, was beim Diosphos-Maler oft der Fall ist.

## K. Kadmos und Harmonia

### Münzen

46. (= Harmonia 11) AE, Tyros, Philippus Arabs (244–249 n. Chr.). – BMC Phoenicia 283, 434 Taf. 34, 2; Vian 43, 41. – Rs.: Links K. nach r., nackt, nur mit Chlamys bekleidet, in der Linken eine Lanze. K. und Harmonia geben sich die Hand (*dextrarum iunctio inter coniuges*). Zwischen den Füßen der beiden Figuren eine Muschel. Hinter Harmonia liegt eine Kuh, gewiß eine Anspielung auf Böotien und die Gründung Thebens.

## L. Kadmos und Harmonia in Schlangengestalt

### Monumentalmalerei (?)

47. Es ist nicht sicher, ob das von Philostr. *im.* 1, 18 beschriebene Gemälde, auf dem K. und Harmonia mit schlangengestaltigen Unterleibern dargestellt gewesen sein sollen, wirklich existierte oder ausgedacht war. Allgemein über die Bilder bei Philostratos s. Solmsen, F., *RE XX* 1 (1941) 168; Lesky, A., *Hermes* 75, 1940, 38. Über die Darstellungen von K. und Harmonia in Schlangengestalt s. auch den Kommentar.

## M. Kadmos und Klio

### Mosaik

48. Mosaikfußboden. Trier, gefunden im Bereich des Landesmuseums, wo es aufbewahrt ist, Inv. Mos. I 1231. Signatur: *Monnus fecit*. – Parlasca, K., *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (1959) 41 Anm. 3 mit Lit.; 42 Taf. 45, 1; Theophilidou, E., *TrierZ* 47, 1984, 280 ff. Abb. 22. Vgl. Schindler, R., *Führer durch das Landesmuseum Trier* (1977) 54–55 Abb. 159. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf einem der achteckigen Bildfelder des Mosaiks K. (CADMUS) mit Klio, der Muse der Geschichte. Von der sitzenden, nach r. gerichteten Figur des K. haben sich nur spärliche Reste erhalten; davon ist der obere Teil des Kopfes am charakteristischsten. Zwischen K. und Klio ein Pfeiler, darauf eine «Strahlenkugel». Sicher handelt es sich um den milesischen Historiker K., den jüngere Quellen einen der ältesten, wenn nicht den ältesten Geschichtsschreiber der Antike nennen. Dessen historische Existenz ist allerdings nicht zweifelsfrei bewiesen, und folglich kann man die Deutung auf den mythischen K. nicht ausschließen. S. Crusius 873 ff.; Münzer, F., *RE X* 2, 1473–1476; Vian 55 ff.; Edwards 75, 83 ff. und Anm. 77, 78; *FGrH* 489.

## N. Sonstige Kadmosdarstellungen

### Monumentalmalerei

49. Gemälde auf Kleon. Hellenistische Zeit. – Plin. *nat.* 35, 140; Overbeck, SQ 2152 (Nachträge).

### Statuen

50. (= Dionysos 74 mit Lit.) Ein vom Himmel gefallenes Holzstück, das der Überlieferung nach in Theben im Gemach der Semele aufbewahrt wurde. Polydoros verzierte es mit Bronzeblechen und nannte es Dionysos Kadmos, s. Paus. 9, 12, 4. Manche Forscher lesen jedoch diese Stelle bei Pausanias anders: «... Διόνυσον καλέσαι. Κάδμον δὲ πηλοῖον ἐστί καὶ Διονύσου ἄγαλμα.» Zu Dionysos Kadmos s. Schauenburg 1, 215 Anm. 26. Vgl. auch Symeonoglou 56–57, 127–128, 186; Vian 152.

51. Darstellungen des Kadmos, worüber allerdings nichts überliefert ist, befanden sich vermutlich in seinem Heroon in Sparta (Paus. 3, 15, 8) und in seinen übrigen Heiligtümern (s. z. B. Latte 1471; Crusius 851).

## O. Deutung auf Kadmos unsicher

### a) Kadmos (?) in Delphi (?)

52. Jaspis, Paris, Cab. Méd. – Richter, *EngrGems-Rom* 329 Abb. 329; Servais-Soyez 741 Taf. 3, 6. – Kaiserzeit. – Krieger vor einem Altar, um den sich eine Schlange ringelt. Die vorgeschlagene Deutung auf K. in Delphi ist willkürlich.

### b) Kadmos opfernd (?)

53. Pelike, att. (?) rf. Athen, Nat. Mus. 1683 (CC 1858). Aus Megara. – Picard, G. Ch., *Les trophées Romains* (1957), 23, 6; Metzger, *Recherches* 115, 34 Taf. 48 (links). – Erste Jahrzehnte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Auf der einen Gefäßseite zwei Figuren, die zwei Tiere (eines davon ein Rind) zum Opfer führen. Davor ein Tropaion, das eine Nike unter Anwesenheit einer dritten Gestalt bekränzt. Der Mann mit dem Rind wurde willkürlich mit K. identifiziert und die ganze Szene als Opfer des K. an Athena Onka erklärt (Crusius 845). S. auch Vian 110. – Beazley in Caskey/Beazley III 66 bezweifelt, daß die Pelike attisch ist.

### c) Kadmos gegen den Drachen kämpfend (?)

54. Amphora, ital. (?) sf. Paris, Louvre E 707. Aus Italien. – Schauenburg 2, 172 ff. Abb. 20, 21; *idem*, in *Στήλη, Festschr. N. Kontoleon* (1980) 100–101; Brommer, F., *MarWPr* 1949, 8 mit Lit.; Amandry, P., *Bull. Fac. Lettres de Strasbourg* 30, 1952, 304–305. – 560–550 v. Chr. – Bärtiger Krieger nach r. mit kurzem Chiton, Tierfell, in der Taille gegürtet, Helm, im Begriff, mit einem Knüppel in der erhobenen Rechten eine Schlange zu töten, die er mit der l. Hand packt. Zu beiden Seiten je eine bärtige Gestalt; die rechte mit Helm und kurzem Himation beteiligt sich am Kampf. Die Deutung auf K. und seine Gefährten ist unsicher.

### Attische Vasen

55. Augenschale, bilingual. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. GR 14.1937. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 161, 1; 41, 40; 1629–1630: P. of the Cambridge Hischylos; Add<sup>2</sup> 182; CVA 2, Taf. 8, 3; Cohen, B., *Attic Bilingual Vases* (1978) 354 B 55 Taf. 76, 1. – 520–510 v. Chr. – I (sf.): Krieger mit kurzem Chiton, Brustpanzer, Tierfell, Helm, achtförmig-

gem Schild und Beinschienen, nach r. Er wendet den Kopf rückwärts, um mit seinem Schwert eine Schlange zu töten. Obwohl der achtförmige Schild dafür spricht, daß es sich wahrscheinlich um eine mythologische Szene handelt, gibt es keine Anzeichen, die uns erlauben, die Figur mit K. zu identifizieren.

56. Schale, rf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 1123. Aus Tarquinia. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 120, 8: Apollodoros; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 175; *CVA* I Taf. 10, 1; Vian 36, 3; Beckel 142, 81. – Um 500 v. Chr. – I: Bartloser Mann nach l. mit Helm und Himation zieht das Schwert aus der Scheide, um die Schlange vor seinen Füßen zu töten. Für eine sichere Deutung auf K. gibt es keine Anzeichen.

57. Einige sf. Darstellungen, besonders des P. of Half-Palmettes und seiner Werkstatt, wurden hin und wieder auf den Drachenkampf des K. bezogen. Diese Deutung ist jedoch keineswegs gesichert, und es ist im Gegenteil nicht auszuschließen, daß es sich hier um Szenen aus dem täglichen Leben handelt (vgl. auch das spätkorinthische Alabastron Athen, Nat. Mus. 295 [CC 502], aus Theben, Payne, NC 319 Nr. 1213; z. B.

a) Olpe. sf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 159 (T. 851). Aus Spina. – *Para* 288; *CVA* 2 Taf. 41, 2. – 490–470 v. Chr. – Nackter, bärtiger Mann nach r., den Kopf rückwärts gewandt, hat in der Rechten einen Stock, um den Kopf ein Band, über dem ausgestreckten l. Arm ein kurzes Himation. Links unten eine Schlange. Die «Flecken» im Bild sollen vielleicht Felsen andeuten.

b) Oinochoe, sf. London, BM B 505. – *ABV* 573, 6; Walters, *BMVases* II B 505; Haspels, *ABL* 248, 14. – 490–470 v. Chr. – Nackter bärtiger Mann nach r., mit Band im Haar, zwei Stäben (?) in der Rechten und einem kurzen Himation über dem ausgestreckten l. Arm. Hinter ihm eine Hydria auf einem Sockel und vor ihm wahrscheinlich ein Felsen.

c) Oinochoe, sf. London, BM B 506. Aus Nola. – *ABV* 573, 5; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 137; Walters, *BMVases* II B 506. – 490–470 v. Chr. – Nackter bärtiger Mann nach r., den Kopf zurückgewandt. Er hat ein Band im Haar, einen Stab in der Rechten und über dem l. Arm ein kurzes Himation. Hinter ihm ein jonisches Gebäude, vielleicht ein Brunnen. Auf dem Boden verschiedene Erhebungen (Felsen?).

d) Hydria, sf. London, BM B 351. Aus Kameiros. – *Para* 287; Walters, *BMVases* II B 351; *CVA* 6 Taf. 98, 9. – 490–470 v. Chr. – Nackter, bärtiger Mann nach r., den Kopf rückwärts gewandt. Er hat ein Band im Haar, in der r. Hand eine Lanze und über dem l. Arm ein kurzes Himation. Hinter ihm eine dorische Halbsäule, vor ihm Teil eines Altares.

#### Relief

58. Relief, Marmor. Sparta, Mus. 565. – Tod, M. N./Wace, A. J. B., *A Cat. of the Sparta Mus.* (1906) 189, 565 Abb. 64; Mitropoulou, E., *Deities and Heroes in the Form of Snakes* (1977) 208–209 Abb. 112. – 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Mann nach l., kurzes Himation über der l. Schulter. In der erhobenen Rechten hält er einen Stein oder Stock und versucht, eine Schlange vor ihm zu töten. In Anbetracht von Spartas Eigenart und der Eigentümlichkeit vieler lakonischer Reliefs halten wir die

Deutung dieser Figur auf K. für völlig hypothetisch, auch wenn wir die Nachricht des Paus. 3, 15, 8 über den K.-Kult in Lakonien in Erwägung ziehen.

#### d) Darstellungen, die sich auf die Hochzeit des Kadmos beziehen (?)

##### Lakonische schwarzfigurige Vase

59. (= Admetos I 17 mit Lit.) Schale. Rhodos, Arch. Mus. 10711 (K 1189). Aus Ialysos. – Stibbe, *LakVas* 105, 279, 190: Art des Boreadenmalers; Beckel 142, 74; Pipili, *Lact* 24–25, 113, 77 Abb. 35. – Um 560 v. Chr. – I: Die eine der beiden Darstellungen zeigt einen bärtigen Mann in kurzem Chiton, der einen gezähmten Löwen am Zügel hält. Eine Eule und ein Wasservogel in den Zwischenräumen. Die Deutung der Figur auf K. (s. z. B. Mayer, E., *Philolog. Wochenschrift* 52, 1932, 126–127) ist wenig wahrscheinlich, auch wenn wir die Nachricht des Ptolemaios Chennos in Erwägung ziehen, daß K. sich in einen Löwen verwandelte (s. Vian 121–122 Anm. 9). Vgl. auch 44 und 45, wo sich unter den Zugtieren des K.-Wagens auch Löwen befinden.

##### Ring

60. (= Admetos I 2 mit Lit.) Goldring, etruskisch-ionisch. Ehem. Slg. Ramsay. – 2. Hälfte 6. Jh. v. Chr. – Mann auf Wagen nach r., von einem Löwen und einem Eber gezogen. Vor dem Wagen zieht eine geflügelte Gestalt her, die in der Linken einen Zweig hält. Wahrscheinlich ist auf dem Wagen Admetos und nicht K. (→ Admetos I 2 und Schauenburg I, 214).

##### Bronzespiegel

60a. (= Athena/Menerva 181\* mit Lit., = Iason 83 mit Lit.) Spiegel, graviert, pränestin. Rom, Villa Giulia 15697. Schauenburg I, 212–213 Nr. 8; Beckel 127 Anm. 658. – Ende 4. Jh.–Anfang 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Jüngling (*Hiaco*) mit einem Gespann von Panther, Hirsch, Greif und Luchs (?). Vorn Athena (*Menerva*) und Fortuna (*Fortuna*), im unteren Segment Drachenkampf. Die Deutung auf K. (Beckel) ist unmöglich (Schauenburg, *Colonna s. v. Athena/Menerva* 181).

##### Wandgemälde

61. (= Akamas et Demophon 19 mit Lit., = Athena/Minerva 440 mit Lit.) Pompeji VI 14, 20 q (Casa del Orfeo, Haus des Vesonius Primus). – Thompson, M. L., in *Essays in Memory of K. Lehmann* (1964) 329 ff. Abb. 1 mit Lit. – 3. Stil. – Im Vordergrund in der Mitte ein Mann und eine Frau, die sich umarmen. L. ein Krieger, r. eine Frau, im Begriff wegzugehen. Hinter ihnen in der Mitte ein Gebäude mit vier Säulen und dahinter ein runder Altar, über dem eine weibliche Figur schwebt. Im Hintergrund Hügel mit Bäumen und Statuen. Im Himmel schwebt die Göttin Athena. In der Darstellung sieht Thompson (ebenso K. Lehmann) a. O. 330 und Anm. 2 K. und Harmonia, die sich in Samothrake treffen. Diese Deutung, die nicht die einzig mögliche ist, kann nicht bewiesen werden. S. Thompson a. O. 330.

#### e) Kadmos (?) mit einem Löwen

##### Münzen

62. AE, Sidon, Elagabal (218–222 n. Chr.). – *BMC Phoenicia* CXIII–CXIV. 188, 262 Taf. 24, 12; Vian 121–122 Anm. 9. – Rs.: Männliche (?) Gestalt, leicht nach r. gewandt, mit kurzem Chiton, Wanderschuhen und einem kleinen Himation über dem l. Arm, hält in der erhobenen Rechten eine Lanze, die Spitze gesenkt. Vor dem Mann ein Löwe nach l. Oben r. der Wagen der Astarte. Die Deutung auf K. ist nur wenig wahrscheinlich. Vgl. *BMC* und Vian. Über die Beziehung des K. zu Löwen s. 59.

#### KOMMENTAR

Die frühesten sicheren K.-Darstellungen der griechischen Kunst gehören in die letzten Jahrzehnte des 6. Jh. v. Chr. Sie beziehen sich auf seine Hochzeit (43. 44). Falls jedoch auf 11, 12, und 54 K., den Drachen tödend, abgebildet ist, rühren die frühesten Darstellungen des Heroen in der griechischen Kunst bereits aus dem 2. Viertel des 6. Jh. v. Chr. Bemerkenswerterweise sind weder diese Denkmäler, noch 43 in einer attischen Werkstatt entstanden; das trifft auch für 50 zu, vielleicht die älteste Darstellung des K. überhaupt.

Leider helfen die bisher bekannten K.-Bilder nicht weiter, die Frage seiner Herkunft zu lösen. Wie von den Forschern bereits festgestellt worden ist, erscheint K. auf keiner dieser Darstellungen als Orientale, wie z. B. Paris, die Amazonen, Pelops, Tantalos, Medea und Andromeda. (Crusius 841 stellt die Überlegung an, ob die Darstellung der Palme unter dem einen Horizontalhenkel der Hydria 9 vielleicht auf die Herkunft des K. aus Phoinikien anspielt. Diese Vermutung ist jedoch nicht zu belegen). Trotzdem begründen wir diese Feststellung nicht mit der Annahme, daß die Herkunft des K. aus dem Osten eine später entstandene Tradition ist, da bereits in literarischen Zeugnissen des 5. Jh. v. Chr. davon die Rede ist. Vielleicht war K. für die Griechen schon sehr früh ein «hellenisierter» Heros, dem sie bekanntlich einen großen Teil ihrer Kultur verdankten, und auf dessen fremdländische Herkunft sie deshalb nicht hinweisen wollten. Sie beschränkten sich darauf, ihn mit Endromides, Chlamys und Petasos als Reisenden (z. B. 15. 21) zu kennzeichnen, ohne seinen Herkunftsort anzugeben. Obwohl die literarischen Quellen darin übereinstimmen, daß K. im griechischen Raum vorwiegend in Boiotien und dort hauptsächlich in Theben wirkte, wo die Burg Kadmeia hieß, stammt merkwürdigerweise aus diesem Gebiet nur eine sehr kleine Anzahl von Denkmälern (20. 50). Bemerkenswert ist auch, daß wir im Gegensatz zu Lakonien, Illyrien, Phoinikien und anderen Gebieten keine Kenntnis von einem K.-Heiligtum in Boiotien haben (s. dazu weiter unten). Bedeutend ist dagegen die Menge der K.-Bilder aus Phoinikien, das viele literarische Quellen, die frühesten aus dem 5. Jh. v. Chr., als Herkunftsland des K. nennen. Diese auf Münzen geprägten Darstellungen (3. 4. 5. 6a. 31a–c. 46. 62?) sind jedoch alle spä-

ter, hauptsächlich im 3. Jh. v. Chr., entstanden. Viele stammen aus der Epoche, als nach dem Tod von Caracalla die syrischen Verwandten der Gemahlin des Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, in Rom herrschten (3. 4b–g. 62?). Gewiß nicht zufällig war die Zunahme der K.-Darstellungen in dieser Zeit in Phoinikien und besonders in Tyros und Sidon, den beiden Städten, die seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. als Herkunftsorte des Heroen angegeben wurden. Vielleicht sollte mit den K.-Darstellungen die Bedeutung dieses Teiles des römischen Kaiserreiches herausgestellt werden, indem daran erinnert wurde, daß diesem Gebiet Mitglieder des Herrscherhauses und berühmte Heroen wie K. entstammten.

Von den übrigen Kunstzentren der antiken griechischen Welt, in denen K.-Darstellungen entstanden, seien genannt Attika für das 5. Jh. v. Chr. (7–10. 13–19a. 28. 45) und verschiedene Gebiete Großgriechenlands (1. 21–27. 42) für das 4. Jh. v. Chr. Seit der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh. v. Chr. kommt K. auch auf Gemmen italischer (29. 30) und etruskischer Werkstätten vor. In der etruskischen Kunst sind außer den Gemmen (40. 41) auch Urnen (36–38) und Bronzespiegel (35) mit K.-Darstellungen versehen, wogegen die Deutung von Vasenbildern auf K. völlig unsicher ist (34). In all diesen Werkstätten war die Drachentötung die Episode aus dem Leben des K., die am häufigsten, manchmal sogar ausschließlich dargestellt wurde, und die ja auch ein Markstein in seinem Leben war.

In der attischen Vasenmalerei ist in der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jh. v. Chr. ein Aufschwung der K.-Darstellungen zu verzeichnen. Das erklären verschiedene Forscher mit dem Einfluß dichterischer Werke (z. B. dem von Euripides verfaßten, uns jedoch völlig unbekannten *Kadmos*, s. *TGF*<sup>2</sup> fig. 448) und der Monumentalmalerei. Vgl. Vermeule 177. Auf den meisten attischen K.-Bildern ist allerdings Athena als Beschützerin des Heros die Hauptfigur (s. z. B. 7–9. 10[?]. 15–17. 19–19a). Man kann daher hinter diesen Bildern das Bemühen der Athener sehen, K. einheimischen Charakter zu geben mit der Begründung, daß K. zwar Boiote, aber Schützling der großen Göttin der Stadt war, die oft zum Gelingen seiner schwierigen Aufgabe beigetragen hatte. Unter anderem half sie ihm, Harmonia zu heiraten, brachte ihm Hochzeitsgeschenke, unterstützte ihn bei der Tötung des Drachen, riet ihm, die Drachenzähne zu säen oder säte sie selbst und stand ihm bei, die Königsherrschaft über Theben zu erwerben. (Vgl. auch Crusius 845.) Diese Absicht der Athener entspricht ihren feindschaftlichen Beziehungen zu den Thebanern in dieser Zeit. In anderen Gebieten waren dramatische Werke (z. B. Eur. *Phoen.* und *Bacchae*) möglicherweise der Anlaß, K. darzustellen, so in Apulien (21. 22?), Campanien (1. 26. 26a. 27?), Paestum (23–25) und Sizilien (22). Die häufige Darstellung des K. oder eines seiner Gefährten auf italischen und etruskischen Denkmälern, vor allem auf Gemmen, ist vielleicht darauf zurückzuführen, daß er selbst oder, wahrscheinlicher, einer seiner Gefährten, in Poleis der italischen Halbinsel als mythischer Stadtgründer verehrt wurde (vgl. Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 51–52).

Die schriftlichen Quellen, die K. und Europe als Geschwister erwähnen, stammen aus einer späteren Epoche. So ist der campanische Glockenkrater aus dem Anfang der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh. im Louvre (1), falls er wirklich K., Phoinix und Kilix zusammen mit Europe zeigt, ein bedeutendes Zeugnis für das Verhältnis von K. und Europe als Geschwister; denn er beweist, wie ich annehme, daß die Tradition, die K. und Europe als Geschwister betrachtet, mindestens bis ins 4. Jh. v. Chr., wenn nicht in noch frühere Zeiten, zurückreicht. Auf den unteritalischen Vasenbildern wird K. bemerkenswerterweise wie auf dem Krater im Louvre mit einem Pilos (22–25) dargestellt. E. Zahn, *Europa und der Stier* (1983) 45–46 nimmt an, daß auf dem «Jo-Jo» des Sotheby-Malers (Athen, Nat. Mus. 2350, → Europe I 45, Wehgartner, I., *Attisch weißgründige Keramik* [1983] Taf. 52, 1) eine entsprechende Szene zu sehen ist. Trotzdem ist diese Deutung unbegründet. Etwa gleichzeitig mit dem campanischen Krater im Louvre muß das Bild des Antiphilos (2) entstanden sein, das, wie Plinius schreibt, ebenfalls K. mit Europe darstellte. Unwahrscheinlich ist die Hypothese, daß es sich um zwei Gemälde handelte, eines mit K. und eines mit Europe (s. Pape, M., *Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom* [1975] 189).

K. wurde auf Münzen von Sidon aus der Zeit Elagabals auch zusammen mit einem anderen Bruder, Phoinix, abgebildet (3). Es ist natürlich schwierig, diese Darstellungen mit Nachrichten in Verbindung zu bringen, die ebenfalls aus späterer Zeit stammen und die berichten, daß K. Phoinix verließ, weil er sich mit Phoinix um die Thronfolge gestritten hatte. Über K. mit Phoinix s. auch 1.

Eine Reihe von kaiserzeitlichen Münzen (4) aus Tyros, Sidon und Samos zeigen auf der Rückseite eine männliche Gestalt und ein Schiff. Wenn es sich hier wirklich um K. handelt (s. MacDonald, *Hunter III* 254, 35–36 und Anm.), beziehen sich diese Darstellungen wahrscheinlich auf die Reise, auf der er Europe suchte. (Über andere Deutungen s. Vian 44 Anm. 1.) Das Erscheinen von K.-Bildern auf samischen Münzen (vgl. auch 31d) ist vielleicht mit der Hypothese zu erklären, daß es eine Überlieferung gab, derzufolge der Heros auf seiner bekannten Fahrt auch auf diese Insel gekommen war. (Über die Beziehung des K. zu Schiffen vgl. auch Eur. *Iph. A.* 253 ff.; Paus. 9, 16, 3; Nonn. *Dion.* 3, 19 ff.)

Sehr bedeutend ist die Darstellung auf der Rückseite einer Münze von Tyros aus der Zeit des Gallienus (5), denn es ist die einzige, die sich direkt auf die Verbreitung der «kadmeischen Buchstabenschrift» (Hdt. 5, 58) im griechischen Raum bezieht. Bemerkenswert ist, daß die in Tyros geprägten Münzen mit K.-Darstellungen eine größere Themenvielfalt aufweisen als die sidonischen. Wenn das auch nicht bedeutet, daß die spätestens aus der Kaiserzeit stammende Überlieferung, K. komme aus Tyros, stärker war als die, die Sidon als Herkunftsort bezeichnete, können wir doch zumindest annehmen, daß K. enger mit Tyros verbunden war. Das wird außerdem durch die Tatsache bestätigt, daß der Heros hier als Gott ver-

ehrt wurde (s. Latte 1471; K. wurde auch in anderen Gebieten wie Lakonien [Paus. 3, 15, 8] und Illyrien [Crusius 851] verehrt).

Auf Münzen von Tyros und Aigai in Kilikien aus der Zeit des Gallienus wird K. gezeigt, wie er vor den Mauern Thebens spendet und neben ihm eine Kuh liegt, offensichtlich die, die ihn an diesen Ort gebracht hat (6). Dies ist eine der beiden gesicherten Darstellungen dieser Kuh (die andere: 46). K.-Bilder mit Theben sind schon seit dem 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. bekannt (z. B. 19), wo jedoch Theben als Personifikation wiedergegeben wird (eine allerdings unsichere Ausnahme s. 26), während sie auf diesen Münzen mit den Mauern dargestellt ist. Das Bild des K. auf Münzen aus Aigai ist ein Zeugnis für die auch aus den lit. Quellen bekannten Beziehungen des K. oder seiner Gefährten zu Kilikien (vgl. auch Crusius 845 zum Sparten Aigeus). In Kilikien trug sich auch die Episode mit K. und Typhon zu, und hier machte Kilix, der Bruder des K. und namensgebende Heros des Gebietes, der Suche nach Europe ein Ende. Über Beziehungen des K. zu Kleinasien, vor allem zu Milet und Priene, s. Edwards, bes. 83 ff. und Anm. 77, 78; Vian 57 ff.

Wir kommen nun zu Vasenbildern, die einen Augenblick vor der Tötung des Drachen darstellen. Gewiß zeigen diese (7–10[?]) dasselbe Ereignis. Weil jedoch nicht die Kampfhandlung wiedergegeben ist (die Schlange kommt überhaupt nur auf 9 vor), wurden diese Darstellungen als Sondergruppe behandelt und den Kampfschilderungen vorangestellt. Wichtig ist, daß diese vier Bilder attisch sind, aus der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jh. stammen und alle Athena zeigen, die K. beisteht. Auf 7 und 8 gibt ihm die Göttin selbst den Stein, womit er das Untier tötet, während sie auf 9 K. berät. Falls auf dem vierten Bild (10) wirklich K. wiedergegeben ist, zeigt die heftige Bewegung der Göttin, daß sie aktiv in den Kampf eingreift. Diese vier Darstellungen, vor allem 7 und 8, bestätigen, daß es spätestens seit der Mitte des 5. Jh. v. Chr. die Überlieferung gab, daß Athena K. half, den Drachen zu töten (vgl. z. B. Eur. *Phoen.* 1062–1063). 7 und 8, die zeigen, wie Athena selbst K. den Stein gibt, sind vor der Uraufführung der *Phoinissen* des Euripides entstanden. Das heißt, daß der Dichter in dieser Einzelheit auf ältere Quellen zurückgegriffen hatte. 9 ist vielleicht von einem Werk der Dichtung oder, wahrscheinlicher, der Monumentalmalerei beeinflusst. Da die Figuren nicht mit Beischriften versehen sind, werden sie unterschiedlich gedeutet. Schwerlich kann man, wie einige das tun (→ Harmonia 3), die sitzende Gestalt vor der Schlange mit Harmonia identifizieren. Am wahrscheinlichsten handelt es sich um die Personifikation von Theben (vielleicht auch der Quelle, vgl. Rumpf 41 ff., bes. 43), wie wir aus den Darstellungen mit Beischriften schließen können (19, 23, 24; 19 stammt sogar aus derselben Töpferwerkstatt wie 9). Auf allen wird die in der Nähe der Schlange sitzende Figur als Theben bezeichnet, dazu auf 19 diejenige hinter K. als Harmonia. Dasselbe muß man auch annehmen für alle Drachenkampfdarstellungen mit einer sitzenden Frauenfigur neben K. und einer zweiten, meist ebenfalls sitzenden hinter ihm (10? 15–18, 19a, 25, 26.

28?). Von besonderer Bedeutung wäre der Beweis, daß die beiden Bilder auf der Amphora 10 zusammenhängen und zeigen, wie K. sich aufmacht, um den Drachen zu töten, weil dies dann eine völlig untypische Darstellung eines solchen Themas wäre. Vor allem wäre K. hier als vollgerüsteter Krieger abgebildet, was für die klassische Kunst ungewöhnlich ist (vgl. auch die zu 10 genannte verschollene Oinochoe). Auch die Wiedergabe des Baumes (vgl. allerdings die campanische Hydria 26a), das Fehlen der Hydria, der Schlange und anderer Elemente sind Merkmale, die diese von entsprechenden attischen K.-Darstellungen unterscheiden, und die Möglichkeit, daß es sich um dasselbe Thema handelt, verringern. Nehmen wir an, daß hier tatsächlich K. dargestellt ist, müssen wir akzeptieren, daß in der attischen Vasenmalerei später nicht mehr auf diesen Bildtypus zurückgegriffen wird. Daß K. den Drachen mit einem Stein und einer Lanze tötete, den auf dieser Amphora wiedergegebenen Waffen, wird zwar erst in späteren literarischen Quellen erwähnt (Ov. *met.* 3, 50 ff.), kommt aber auf Bildern bereits seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. vor (s. z. B. 17).

Bekanntlich ist die Drachentötung das am meisten dargestellte Ereignis aus dem Leben des Heroen. Das früheste gesicherte Bild dieses Themas befindet sich auf einem attischen Kelchkrater um die Mitte des 5. Jh. v. Chr. (15). Einige weitere, sogar ältere Darstellungen auf attischen Vasen oder Vasen anderer Werkstätten wurden hin und wieder mit dem drachentötenden K. in Verbindung gebracht, jedoch ohne schlüssige Begründung. Wenn also auf der sf. Amphora 54 dieses Thema wiedergegeben ist, stammt die älteste Darstellung dieser Episode in der griechischen Kunst bereits aus dem 2. Viertel des 6. Jh. v. Chr., unabhängig davon, daß der Herstellungsort des Gefäßes nicht mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen ist. Zugleich hätten wir dann auf dieser Vase die erste Abbildung der Gefährten des K., die auf gesicherten Darstellungen erst im 4. Jh. v. Chr., aber auch nicht oft, erscheinen (26, 27?). Häufiger kommen sie in der etruskischen Kunst vor (34–38, 39?), vielleicht aus dem oben genannten Grund, daß einer der Gefährten möglicherweise in Etrurien als mythischer Städtegründer verehrt wurde. Aber auch wenn wir annehmen, daß auf 54 nicht K. abgebildet ist (die Angabe des Helmes, vor allem des Knüppels und des Tierfells bei der mittleren Figur spricht dagegen; zum Tierfell vgl. jedoch Ov. *met.* 3, 52–53), haben wir schon in Darstellungen des 4. Jh. v. Chr. (s. 26) Zeugnisse dafür, daß die sich auf die Gefährten des K. beziehende Überlieferung älter ist als die frühesten entsprechenden schriftlichen Quellen, die alle aus späterer Zeit stammen (vgl. Vermeule 180). Etwas jünger als 54 sind zwei lakonische Schalen (11, 12). Auch wenn uns die Anwesenheit des K. in der lakonischen Kunst nicht überrascht, da seine Beziehung zu Lakonien bekannt ist (s. Paus. 3, 15, 8), kann man doch schwerlich annehmen, daß auf diesen beiden lakonischen Werken der drachentötende K. dargestellt ist. Als Argument dagegen könnte man anführen, daß auf diesen Schalen die männliche Gestalt Helm und Schild trägt und die Schlange mit einer

Lanze tötet, obwohl diese Abweichungen auch mit der frühen Entstehung der Gefäße um die Mitte des 6. Jh. v. Chr. und der Eigenart der lakonischen Keramik erklärt werden könnten. Geschwächt wird die Hypothese, daß es sich hier um K. handelt, aber vor allem durch den Vergleich mit ähnlichen lakonischen Vasenbildern, die mit Sicherheit Achilleus, und zwar die Episode mit Troilos, darstellen (vgl. → Achilleus 261\*, 264\*). Auch die architektonische Ausgestaltung des Brunnens steht hier im Gegensatz zu sicheren K.-Darstellungen (vgl. nur 26).

Älter als die früheste sichere attische Wiedergabe dieses Themas (15) sind auch die zwei attischen Darstellungen 13 und 14 (2. Viertel bzw. etwa Mitte 5. Jh. v. Chr.). Wenn auf der Schale des Sotadesmalers (13) tatsächlich K. mit der Schlange abgebildet ist, dann ist dies die älteste attische Darstellung dieses Themas. In diesem Fall könnte die sitzende Frauenfigur zu Füßen des Heroen als Personifikation gedeutet werden (wie z. B. auf 24), obwohl die Wiedergabe von Personifikationen in der 1. Hälfte des 5. Jh. v. Chr. in der attischen und allgemein in der griechischen Kunst selten vorkommt. Die größte Schwierigkeit bereitet jedoch der Knüppel in der Hand des mutmaßlichen K. Für den Knüppel als Waffe des K. gibt es keine literarischen Quellen und keines der ähnlichen Bilder mit dieser Waffe ist eine gesicherte K.-Darstellung (s. z. B. 22, 54). Außerdem war der Knüppel die übliche Waffe, um gegen Schlangen vorzugehen (s. Schauenburg 2, 177). Auch der Bauernhut, den der mutmaßliche K. auf dieser Kylix trägt, ist in der attischen Ikonographie des Heroen im Gegensatz zum Petasos, dem Reisehut, unüblich (8, 9, 14? 15, 17, 19, 19a), während K. in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei gewöhnlich einen Pilos aufhat (22, 23, 24, 25 und vielleicht als Ausnahme 21). Vielleicht beharrten die unteritalischen Vasenmaler auf dieser *βοιωτική κονίη*, um auf die boiotische Herkunft von K. hinzuweisen. Einen Pilos trägt der Heros auch auf seiner einzigen uns bekannten boiotischen Abbildung (20). Wenn die Lekythos in Bologna (14) tatsächlich K. darstellt, ist dies die älteste Wiedergabe des Heroen, die ihn mit Petasos, Endromides und Chlamys stark als Reisenden charakterisiert. Außerdem wäre dies die früheste Darstellung, auf der K. die Schlange mit einem Schwert tötet, was auch von Pherekydes, *FGrH* 3 F 88 erwähnt wird. Aber auch, wenn auf der Lekythos in Bologna K. nicht dargestellt ist, können wir mit Sicherheit sagen, daß das Schwert in diesem Zusammenhang schon seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. ikonographisch überliefert ist (19). Bemerkenswerterweise trägt K. bereits seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. auch auf Bildern, auf denen er die Schlange mit einem Stein tötet, ein Schwert (17, 19a, 23–26a, vgl. auch 7). Auf dem New Yorker Krater (15), der, wie wir gesehen haben, ältesten gesicherten Darstellung des drachentötenden K., benutzt K. entsprechend Hellan., *FGrH* 4 F 96 und Eur. *Phoen.* 663 kein Schwert, sondern einen Stein. Auch auf der noch älteren Kylix des Sotades-Malers (13) ist vielleicht K. mit einem Stein dargestellt, aber, wie bereits erwähnt, ist die Deutung unsicher. Auf jeden Fall wird in der Ikonographie des Drachenkampfes meist der Stein als



Waffe angegeben (16. 17. 18. 19a. 21. 23. 24. 25. 26. 26a, vgl. auch 7. 8. 10(?) und zu jüngeren Darstellungen s. 31).

Auf 15 haben wir zugleich die früheste Abbildung des K. mit Hydria. Die manchmal neben dem Heros abgebildete Hydria (19a, vgl. auch 9) ist für die sichere Deutung des Themas eines der wichtigsten Merkmale, wenn keine Beischriften vorhanden sind (16. 17. 18. 21. 27. 28. 26a? 41d. Vgl. auch 7. 8). Auf manchen Darstellungen, vor allem in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei, ist anstelle einer Hydria eine Amphora, meist eine Spitzamphora (23. 24. 25. 26. 40a) gemalt; in den Fällen, in denen das Gefäß die Form einer Oinochoë hat, können wir vielleicht, wenn auch nicht immer, so doch oft annehmen, daß der Maler eine Hydria gemeint hat und nur unterlassen hat, die beiden waagrecht Henkel anzugeben (s. z. B. 29b. 30a. c. 40b-d. f-i). Schließlich kommen auch noch weitere Gefäßformen vor (20. 32. 35).

Auf 15 haben wir die früheste Darstellung, in der K. zusammen mit Athena und Ares abgebildet ist. Daß diese beiden Gottheiten beim Drachenkampf des K. eine Rolle spielen, ist schon seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. in den literarischen Quellen bekannt. Wie diese berichten, hat Ares als Vater sowohl der Harmonia, als auch des Drachen besondere Beziehung zu K. Zur Sühne für den Drachenvörmord mußte K. dem Gott acht Jahre lang dienen (Apollod. bibl. 3, 4, 2). Obwohl den schriftlichen Quellen zufolge die Beziehung des K. zu Ares bedeutender ist, als die zu Athena, erscheint die Göttin auf den bildlichen Darstellungen des Drachenkampfes häufiger als Ares. Auf den Monumenten des 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. ist sie sogar die ständige Gefährtin des K. (7-9. 10? 15. 16. 17? 19. 19a. 21. 23. 24. 26a. 42). Höchstwahrscheinlich wurde Athena zusammen mit K. schon seit dem Beginn des 5. Jh. v. Chr. abgebildet, da die Darstellung von K.'s Hochzeit auf der Vorderseite der Amphora im Louvre CA 1961 (45) mit dem Bild der Athena auf der Rückseite zusammenhängen muß. Das ist für uns ein starker Hinweis darauf, daß die Sympathie der Göttin zu K., von der wir im allgemeinen erst aus späteren Quellen erfahren, schon in früheren Zeiten bekannt gewesen sein muß. (Vgl. auch unten zu 53, die Weihgeschenke des K. im Athenaheiligtum von Lindos, *FGrH* 532 B-C und das Heiligtum, das er zu Ehren der Göttin in Thera gründete, *Schol. Pind. P.* 4, 10b. f.)

Allgemein wird K. in der griechischen Ikonographie mit friedlichem Wesen dargestellt. Selbst in den Drachenkampfbildern ist er nur leicht mit Schwert, ein oder zwei Lanzen, manchmal sogar überhaupt nicht bewaffnet (s. z. B. 16. 18). Mit einer Ausnahme (42) haben wir in der griechischen Kunst keine sichere Darstellung des K. mit Helm, Schild und Panzer (über ungesicherte Bilder s. 4. 10-12. 27). Nur auf einigen Gemmen aus italischen Werkstätten (29d. e? f?) und auf Werken der etruskischen Kunst (z. B. 36. 37) erscheint K. mit dieser Rüstung; das ist vielleicht darauf zurückzuführen, daß K. oder einer seiner Gefährten auf der italischen Halbinsel als mythischer Städtegründer verehrt wurde. Wenn also K. in der griechischen Kunst nicht als Krieger, sondern als Reisender

charakterisiert wird, soll höchstwahrscheinlich sein friedliches Wirken auf kulturellem Gebiet hervorgehoben werden, die Verbreitung der Buchstabenschrift und der Kenntnis, wie Metall gewonnen, Gold und Bronze verarbeitet und Steine gebrochen werden, die Erfindung der Lyra, der Bau von Wasserversorgungsanlagen u. a. m. K. hat im griechischen Raum wesentlich beigetragen zur Entwicklung einer kultivierten Lebensform und zur Bewahrung des «Kosmos» (vgl. seinen Namen *Κάσμος* auf 45) und der «Harmonie» darin. Auf der anderen Seite geht aus einigen schriftlichen Zeugnissen hervor, daß K. in Theben den ersten Helm und Schild eingeführt hat (*FGrH* 26 F 1, XXXVII - vgl. Hesych. s. v. *Κάδμος*).

Bemerkenswert ist ein Kolonettenkrater in Rom (16), weil in der Drachenkampfszene hinter Athena ein Greis dargestellt ist. Da in dem entsprechenden Bild auf dem Glockenkrater des Asteas in Neapel (23) eine gleiche Figur mit der Beischrift Ismenos (*ΙΜΗΝΟΣ*) benannt ist, vermuten wir, daß es sich auch hier um Ismenos handelt. Charakteristisch ist auch, daß Ismenos «*Κάδμου ποῦς*» (Crusius 844-845) genannt wurde. Auf den Vasen 17 und 18 ist die Darstellung auf die wichtigsten Personen beschränkt. Es ist allerdings nicht ausgeschlossen, daß Athena und Hermes auf der Rückseite von 17 mit der Drachenkampfszene auf der Vorderseite zusammenhängen. Hermes kommt auch auf anderen K.-Darstellungen vor (9. 19. 25), wovon die ältesten Ende des 6. und Anfang des 5. Jh. v. Chr. entstanden sind (44. 45). Außerdem ist Hermes einer der Götter, die K. Hochzeitgeschenke brachten (Diod. 5, 49), während K. bei Ps.-Lukian, *Χαρίδημος ἢ περὶ κάλλους* 9 als Geliebter des Hermes beschrieben wird. (Über die Beziehungen des K. zu Hermes s. auch Vian 153-154).

Die Hydria des Kadmosmalers (19) trägt die figurenreichste bis heute bekannte Darstellung des Themas. Aus der Art der Figurenanordnung geht hervor, daß das Bild wahrscheinlich von der Monumentalmalerei beeinflusst ist. K. wird hier von Athena (auf der Rückseite des Kraters 17 gibt Hermes Athena einen Kranz) und von einer Nike (vgl. auch die campan. Hydria 26a) bekränzt. Daß der Heros wie hier einen Bart trägt, ist äußerst selten (griech.: 20; unter den unsicheren: 54. 57. 13; etr.: 40a. g, beide nur mutmaßlich K.). Es ist also schwierig festzustellen, warum der Vasenmaler K. auf 19 ausnahmsweise mit Bart versehen hat. Von den weiteren auf der Hydria wiedergegebenen Figuren kommen auch auf anderen entsprechenden Darstellungen vor Harmonia, Thebe, Athena, Ares (?), Aphrodite (?), Hermes und Nike im Gegensatz zu Poseidon, Demeter, Kore, Apollon, Artemis und Eros; Apollon ist allerdings auf den Bildern von K.'s Hochzeit mit dabei (s. z. B. 45). Von allen diesen Göttern, die sonst nicht zusammen mit K. dargestellt werden, ist jedoch aus den literarischen Quellen bekannt, daß sie in Beziehung mit K. standen, ausgenommen Kore und Artemis, die hier wohl als Begleitung von Demeter bzw. Apollon auftreten. Die beiden letztgenannten Gottheiten waren auch auf der Hochzeit von K. und Harmonia anwesend (Diod. 5, 49), während sich der Tempel der Demeter in der

Kadmeia im Haus von K. befand (Paus. 9, 16, 5; über die Beziehungen des K. zu Demeter s. Vian 135 ff.); für Poseidon gründete K. ein Heiligtum auf Thera (*Schol. Pind. P.* 4, 10b. f) und eins auf Rhodos (*FGrH* 523 F 1 [58]) und, wie wir wissen, war der Gott sein Großvater. Von Nonnos (*Dion.* 5, 107 ff.) erfahren wir außerdem, daß auf der Hochzeit des K. Nike mit den Eroten den Tanz anführte und daß Poseidon dem Brautpaar Geschenke aus dem Meere, Hermes ein Szepter, Ares eine Lanze, Apollon einen Bogen, Hera einen Thron, Hephaistos ein Diadem und Aphrodite eine goldene Halskette brachte (*Dion.* 5, 125-139).

Die boiotische Kabirenvasse (20) trägt, wie bereits erwähnt, die einzige bisher bekannte K.-Darstellung aus dem geographischen Raum, in dem K. hauptsächlich wirkte, und ist deshalb von besonderer Bedeutung. Daß K. hier ithyphallisch, bärtig und mit einem Arbeitskittel, Exomis, gezeigt wird, ist sicher auf den humoristischen Charakter der Bilder dieser Vasengattung zurückzuführen (vgl. auch K. in der Komödie, Crusius 880). Diese Erklärung gilt vielleicht auch für den eigentümlichen Stab (oder Peitsche), den er in seiner Rechten hält, um sich gegen den Drachen zu wehren, und die umgekehrte «Situla» hinter ihm, offensichtlich anstelle der Hydria. Einige Darstellungen, die eine männliche Gestalt mit einem Stab in der Hand und eine Schlange zeigen, sind keineswegs sicher mit K. in Beziehung zu bringen (s. z. B. 57a).

Auf dem apulischen Kelchkrater 21 aus der Zeit um 375 v. Chr. befindet sich die früheste K.-Darstellung der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei. Aber weder die Hydria in der linken Hand des K., noch der Petasos im Nacken (wenn es sich nicht um eine ungenaue Wiedergabe eines Pilos handelt) sind in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei üblich. Hier wird K. gewöhnlich mit einem Pilos und das Gefäß in Form einer Amphora dargestellt (23. 24. 25. 26). Nur auf der campanischen Hydria 27 ist eine Hydria wiedergegeben, aber die Darstellung ist nicht sicher als Drachenkampf des K. zu deuten. Auch auf der campanischen Hydria 26a ist die Form des Gefäßes in der Hand des K. nicht genau zu bestimmen. Auf 21 ist die Wiedergabe der Drachenhöhle, über der Pan sitzt, erstaunlich naturalistisch. Nur selten ist der bocksbeinige Gott zusammen mit K. dargestellt (s. auch 25) obwohl einige allerdings jüngere Quellen eine Episode überliefern, in der K., Pan und Typhon die Hauptrolle spielen. Ungewöhnlich ist hier auch die Eule, die vor Athena fliegt.

Von Bedeutung wäre, wenn bewiesen werden könnte, daß der Skyphos 22 tatsächlich K. darstellt, denn hier ist als Waffe gegen die Schlange nicht der für K. in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei übliche Stein wiedergegeben, sondern ein Knüppel. Für K. mit Knüppel gibt es bis heute kein einziges gesichertes Beispiel in der antiken griechischen Kunst (Deutung auf K. unsicher beim etr. Siegelstein London, Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 808, Vian 40, 18).

Der paestanische Glockenkrater des Asteas in Neapel (23) ist uns von großem Nutzen, da die Namensbeischriften bestätigen, daß beim Drachenkampf außer Athena und Thebe auch Ismenos und die Quell-

nymphen anwesend waren. Nicht auszuschließen ist, daß es sich bei der Krenaie um die Personifikation der *Κρηναία πόλις* von Theben handelt (Paus. 9, 8, 5). Da Asteas aber neben dieser Figur den lokalen Flußgott Ismenos abgebildet hat, halten wir die Erklärung als Quellnymphen für wahrscheinlicher. Auf jeden Fall müssen wir bei der Deutung von unbeschrifteten Figuren unbedingt dieses Gefäß (ebenso wie die übrigen Bilder mit Beischriften, z. B. 19 und 24) zum Vergleich heranziehen. Wahrscheinlich ist die Wiedergabe des Sonnenzeichens (s. auch 25) eine Erfindung der Asteas-Werkstatt, obwohl nicht auszuschließen ist, daß Asteas hier auf einen literarischen Text zurückgegriffen hat, da Ovid (*met.* 3, 50) vom Erscheinen der Sonne während des Drachenkampfes spricht. Auf die bemerkenswerte Ähnlichkeit des Drachens auf dem Gefäß aus Neapel mit der Beschreibung von Ovid (*met.* 3, 31 ff.) ist man schon früher aufmerksam geworden.

Auf dem Lekanisdeckel 24, einem unsignierten Werk des Asteas, sind die meisten Figuren mit Namensbeischriften versehen. Außer K., Athena, Thebe und wahrscheinlich Harmonia sind die Personifikation der Notwendigkeit (Ananke), die aus dem Boden auftaucht, sowie Ismene zugegen. Die Gewohnheit, die Figuren mit Beischriften zu benennen, hat der Asteas-Schüler Python anscheinend nicht übernommen (25). So sind wir nicht sicher, ob die Gestalt hinter K. Aphrodite oder die Quellnymphen dargestellt. Der Spiegel in ihrer Hand macht allerdings die Deutung als Aphrodite wahrscheinlicher. Ebenso können wir nicht mit Sicherheit sagen, ob die Frauengestalt hinter K. und die beim Drachen Harmonia bzw. Thebe, andere lokale Gottheiten oder Personifikationen sind. Falls es sich wirklich um Thebe handelt, ist dies das erste Mal, daß Thebe auf einer Darstellung dieses Themas nicht sitzend, sondern stehend wiedergegeben ist. Bemerkenswert ist hier auch die Anwesenheit eines Satyrknaben neben Pan; er ist wohl eher als dessen Begleiter zu erklären, und nicht als Zeugnis für den Einfluß eines Satyrspiels auf den Inhalt dieser Darstellung.

Wie bereits erwähnt, werden die Gefährten des K. in den literarischen Quellen erst in späterer Zeit erwähnt. Deshalb hat die campanische Hydria 26 mit der frühesten gesicherten Darstellung eines Gefährten des K. besondere Bedeutung (älter, aber unsicher in der Deutung ist 54, s. o. dazu; vgl. auch 27). Erstaunlich sind auf 26 außerdem die blühende Landschaft mit dem eigentümlich eingerollten Drachen und das Gebäude mit der halboffenen Tür in der Mitte oben. Damit ist vielleicht die Stadt Theben gemeint (vgl. auch die jüngere Darstellung auf 6), während die Frauengestalten rechts und links davon vermutlich einheimische Göttinnen oder Harmonia links und Thebe (oder die Personifikation der Quelle) rechts wiedergeben. Auf der campanischen Hydria 26a sind bemerkenswert der große Baumstamm hinter K. (vgl. 10) und die große Nike, die über K. fliegt und ihn bekränzt. Dieses Detail ist in der Ikonographie dieses Themas nicht unbekannt, kommt jedoch nur selten vor (vgl. 19). Zu erwähnen ist noch die kleine, unbe-

stimmte Form des Gefäßes in K.' linker Hand, das aus Bronze sein soll.

Die Matrize 28 bestätigt uns, daß in der klassischen Zeit der Mythos von der Drachentötung außer auf Vasen und wahrscheinlich in der Monumentalmalerei auch auf Werken aus Bronze dargestellt wurde, während er von der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jh. v. Chr. bis in die römische Zeit auf Bildern der Kleinkunst, auf einer Reihe von Gemmen, vorkommt. Zur Kenntnis der Ikonographie tragen diese Darstellungen nicht viel Neues bei, und oft wird mit geringen Abweichungen dieselbe Komposition wiederholt. Auf all diesen Gemmen ist nur eine einzige Figur wiedergegeben, die nicht immer sicher mit K. identifiziert werden kann (s. 29). In ikonographischer Hinsicht interessant ist die Gemme 29c, deren Bild, falls tatsächlich K. wiedergegeben ist, eine seltene Variante ist, da K. hier den Drachen mit der Hand tötet (vgl. 29g. 41e). Zur Herausstellung der kriegerischen Eigenschaften des K., indem er außer den üblichen Waffen auch einen Schild und einen Helm trägt, s. o. Auf den Gemmen 30 ist ein Krieger dargestellt, der an einer Quelle ein Gefäß mit Wasser füllt. Aber auch hier kann die Deutung der Figur als K. nicht bewiesen werden, und auf einigen Bildern ist nicht einmal der Drache wiedergegeben (s. z. B. 30b. c). Die Drachenkampf-Episode mit K. ist auch auf Münzen des 3. Jh. n. Chr. aus Tyros und Samos dargestellt (31). Auf allen ist der Heros nackt (manchmal hält er in der Hand ein kurzes Himation) und geht mit einem Stein gegen die Schlange vor. Falls auf den Mosaiken 32 und 33 tatsächlich K. gemeint ist, sind dies die spätesten Darstellungen (4. Jh. n. Chr.). Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß auf 32, auf dem auch ein umgekehrtes Gefäß zu sehen ist, K. dargestellt ist, während diese Deutung für 33 sehr zweifelhaft ist, da das Gefäß fehlt und sich die Schlange um einen Baum ringelt.

Wie bereits erwähnt, ist der Drachenkampf die einzige Episode, die in der etruskischen Kunst dargestellt wurde. Die Anzahl der Monumente ist jedoch beschränkt, wenn wir eine Reihe Gemmen aus der hellenistischen Zeit (40. 41) nicht einbeziehen, auf der die einzige dargestellte Figur nicht zweifelsfrei mit K. identifiziert werden kann. Außerdem müssen wir feststellen, daß außer auf den Gemmen K. von seinen Gefährten begleitet ist. Aber auch unter den Gemmen gibt es eine beträchtliche Anzahl, die eher einen seiner Gefährten als K. selbst darstellen. Sehr verlockend ist die bereits erwähnte Hypothese, daß in Etrurien K. oder, mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit, einer seiner Gefährten als mythischer Städtegründer verehrt wurde. Damit würde auch übereinstimmen, daß in der etruskischen Kunst im Gegensatz zur griechischen K. und seine Gefährten kriegerischen Charakter haben (s. z. B. 36. 37. 40b-g. i). Die Darstellung auf dem pränestinischen Spiegel 35, auf dem K. und sein Gefährte, wie wir annehmen, von ihren Schutzgöttinnen unterstützt werden, macht diese These noch wahrscheinlicher (vgl. auch 38). Das Bild auf dem faliskischen Stamnos (34) könnte als älteste bisher bekannte K.-Darstellung in der etruskischen Kunst gelten, wenn die Deutung der Figuren mit den eigentümli-

chen Helmen nicht fraglich wäre. Merkwürdig ist, daß die linke, mit K. identifizierte Gestalt den Drachen mit einer Doppelaxt angreift, einer Waffe, die in diesem Zusammenhang weder auf den bisher bekannten Bildern noch in der literarischen Überlieferung vorkommt. Der pränestinische Spiegel 35 zeigt die vollständigste Darstellung des Themas im gesamten Bereich der etruskischen und griechischen Kunst. Auch auf diesem Werk, das allerdings starken griechischen Einfluß erkennen läßt, ist es Athena, die K. beisteht und ihm Mut macht. Das dargestellte Gefäß, auf griechischen Werken eine Hydria oder Amphora, hat hier die Form eines Kraters und befindet sich umgekehrt hinter einem der Gefährten. Die Ansicht, daß auf drei etruskischen Urnen aus hellenistischer Zeit (36-38) dasselbe Thema zu sehen ist, stützt sich darauf, daß hier viele Details mit der Darstellung auf dem um 300 v. Chr. entstandenen pränestinischen Spiegel übereinstimmen, deren Deutung verhältnismäßig sicher ist. Merkwürdig ist, daß der Drache auf 36 und 37 Flügel hat. Die Darstellung auf der tönernen Urne 39 kann nur schwerlich mit derselben Episode in Beziehung gebracht werden, da der Drache sich um zwei Kinder ringelt. Einige Forscher vermuten mit Recht, daß hier Motive zweier verschiedener Themen mit K. und Opheltas als Hauptfiguren vereinigt wurden (s. Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 51). Das Gemmenbild 40a zeigt vielleicht die älteste Darstellung des K. in der etruskischen Kunst, wurde aber auch anders gedeutet. Wie oft in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei hält der Heros hier statt einer Hydria eine Amphora. Meist kommt auf den etruskischen Gemmen jedoch eine Oinochoe vor (s. 40b-d. f. g. i), wenn auch nicht ausgeschlossen ist, daß es sich zumindest in einigen Fällen um eine Hydria handelt, bei der der Maler die horizontalen Henkel nicht mit angegeben hat. Festzustellen ist auch folgendes: Im Gegensatz z. B. zum Spiegel 35 und den Urnen 36-38 kommt auf den Gemmen nicht nur die Kampfhandlung selbst (40e), sondern oft ein Augenblick davor zur Darstellung, in dem der Heros an einer Quelle ein Gefäß mit Wasser füllt (40a-c. f. g. i). Auf allen Gemmen 40 und besonders 41 kann allerdings die dargestellte Figur keineswegs sicher mit K., einem seiner Gefährten oder einer nicht mit dem Heros verbundenen Figur identifiziert werden. Wenn der Kämpfende in Bedrängnis ist, wird er als Gefährte des K. gedeutet (40h. 41a). Es gibt jedoch auch schriftliche Zeugnisse, die berichten, daß K. im Kampf auch hart angegriffen wurde (s. Nonn. *Dion.* 4, 365 ff.).

Leider ist ein sizilischer rotfiguriger Krater des 3. Viertels des 4. Jh. v. Chr. aus Lipari (42) nur sehr fragmentarisch erhalten. Bedauerlich ist das nicht so sehr, weil wir hier das einzige K.-Bild auf einer sizilischen Vase haben, sondern weil darauf die Figuren beschriftet sind und es deshalb die einzige bisher bekannte sichere Darstellung von K. mit den Spartoi ist (über die Spartoi s. Vian 158 ff.). Von den Göttern auf 42 ist noch Athena zu erkennen. Durch den schlechten Erhaltungszustand sind jedoch vielleicht viele, für unsere Kenntnisse wichtige Anhaltspunkte verlorengegangen, wie die Anzahl der Spartoi, auf welche Weise

sie sich gegenseitig umbrachten, die Namen der Figuren u. a. m.

Die Bilder der Hochzeit von K. und Harmonia (43-45) sind bekanntlich die ältesten sicheren Darstellungen des Heroen. Besondere Bedeutung haben sie, weil sie älter sind als die frühesten schriftlichen Zeugnisse, die sich auf diese Hochzeit beziehen. Die älteste Darstellung, von der wir wissen, am Thron des Apollon von Amyklai (530-510 v. Chr.), hat sich nicht erhalten (43). Auf einem Relief, wahrscheinlich aus Bronze, waren K. und Harmonia mit den Göttern dargestellt, die ihnen Geschenke brachten. Von diesen Geschenken berichten die literarischen Quellen seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. Über den Ort, an dem die Hochzeit stattgefunden hatte, stimmen die schriftlichen Zeugnisse jedoch nicht überein. Manche nennen Theben, andere Samothrake (vgl. auch die später überlieferte Hochzeitszeremonie in Libyen, Crusius 858. 891). Weder die Darstellung am Thron des Apollon von Amyklai, noch die sonstigen Hochzeitsbilder (44. 45) liefern uns einen Hinweis auf den einen oder anderen Ort. Am wahrscheinlichsten ist jedoch die Annahme, daß auf den genannten drei Darstellungen die Hochzeit in Theben stattfindet. Ein pompejanisches Wandgemälde des 1. Jh. n. Chr. (61) wurde, allerdings ohne schlüssige Begründung, auf das Treffen von K. und Harmonia in Samothrake bezogen. Aber die Anwesenheit der Athena und die Gebäude auf diesem Bild sind weder Zeugnisse für den Ort des Geschehens, noch eine Hilfe für die Deutung des sich umarmenden Paares. 43 ist bisher das einzige sichere Bild des K. aus Lakonien. Bei allen übrigen lakonischen Darstellungen, die hin und wieder auf K. bezogen wurden, ist die Deutung sehr zweifelhaft (11. 12. 58. 59). Auf jeden Fall wußten wir gern mehr Einzelheiten über die Hochzeitsdarstellung auf dem Thron von Amyklai (43), vor allem über die Tiere, die dort den Wagen mit dem Brautpaar zogen. Auf der att. sf. Amphora 45 vom Anfang des 5. Jh. v. Chr. mit Beischriften wird der Hochzeitswagen überraschenderweise von einem Löwen und einem Eber gezogen. Der Wagen wird also mit Admetos und nicht mit K. in Beziehung gebracht. Ohne die Beischriften wäre niemand auf den Gedanken gekommen, die Darstellung mit K. zu verbinden, da die Quellen keinen Anlaß dazu geben. Schauenburg 1, 215 Anm. 27 äußert den Gedanken, daß vielleicht eine viel spätere Nachricht des Nonnos, *Dion.* 1, 494, K. habe als zweiter Orpheus mit der Musik die Tiere zähmen können, auf diese Darstellung bezogen werden kann. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß K. nach der Tötung des göttlichen Abkömmlings, des Drachen, sich verpflichten mußte, die wilden Tiere anzuspannen, als Voraussetzung für die Heirat mit Harmonia. Apollon, der in der Bildtiefe hinter dem Wagen des Brautpaares als Kitharoide erscheint, kommt auch auf anderen Darstellungen von Hochzeitszügen vor. Seine Anwesenheit auf der Hochzeit des K. wird jedoch, wie wir gesehen haben, in den antiken Quellen beredt geschildert. Aber auch Athena, Hermes und Herakles auf der Rückseite von 45 sind als Teilnehmer dieses Hochzeitszuges zu verstehen. Während uns die Anwesenheit von Athena und Her-

mes bei diesem Ereignis sowohl aus den ikonographischen, als auch aus den literarischen Quellen bekannt ist, (s. Diod. 5, 49; *FGH* 4 F98), bereitet uns die Darstellung von Herakles hier einige Schwierigkeiten. Zum Verständnis tragen jedoch einige archaische Vasenbilder bei, auf denen Herakles z. B. bei der Geburt der Athena anwesend ist (s. Knell, H., *Die Darstellung der Götterversammlung in der attischen Kunst des VI. und V. Jh. v. Chr.* [1965] 47). Auf all diesen Darstellungen ist Herakles als einer der Olympier zu verstehen und kann in dieser Eigenschaft, unabhängig von Zeit und Raum, zusammen mit den olympischen Göttern an allen Geschehnissen teilnehmen. Analog zu 45 deutete Schauenburg 1, 210 ff. auch die etwas ältere, aber nicht beschriftete Darstellung 44, auf welcher der Wagen ebenfalls von wilden Tieren gezogen wird. Diese Darstellung ist zwar nicht gut erhalten, aber die Teilnahme von Dionysos und Hermes am Hochzeitszug ist mit Sicherheit zu erkennen. Möglicherweise ist auch Apollon anwesend, aber für die Deutung der weiblichen Gestalt, die in der Bildtiefe hinter dem Wagen einen Korb auf dem Kopf trägt, haben wir keine Anhaltspunkte. Daß auch Dionysos, der Enkel des Bräutigams, mit dabei ist, sollte uns keine Probleme bereiten. Als Gott kann Dionysos überall in der Göttergemeinschaft anwesend sein. Außerdem ist seine Beziehung zu K. bekannt (s. 50). Gerade die Gegenwart dieses Gottes führte Schauenburg 1, 215-216 zu dem Schluß, daß auf der Oinochoe von Göttingen die K.-Hochzeit dargestellt ist. (Über eine weitere, allerdings nur mit geringer Wahrscheinlichkeit auf K. zu beziehende Gestalt auf einem Wagen, der von einem Löwen und einem Eber gezogen wird, s. 60, und über Darstellungen eines Mannes mit einem Löwen, die von einigen Forschern ohne überzeugende Argumente mit K. identifiziert wurden, s. 59 und 62). Schließlich werden K. und Harmonia auch auf Münzen des 3. Jh. n. Chr. aus Tyros dargestellt (46), und zwar im Bildtypus der *dextrarum iunctio inter coniuges*; die liegende Kuh hinter ihr ist offensichtlich eine Anspielung auf die Gründung von Theben (vgl. auch 6).

Bekanntlich verwandelten sich K. und Harmonia, nachdem sie Theben verlassen hatten, in Schlangen. Es gibt jedoch keine Bilder, die mit Sicherheit dieses Thema darstellen (s. 47). Wahrscheinlich hatten ihre Grabdenkmäler in Illyrien Schlangenform (s. Crusius 850-851; Edwards 34 und über K. in Illyrien und seine Verwandlung in eine Schlange Vian, bes. 124 ff.). Vgl. auch die Form des Felsens, auf dem Thebe sitzt, auf 16.

Sehr bedeutend ist auch ein Mosaik des 3. Jh. n. Chr. in Trier (48), worauf der inschriftlich benannte K. mit Klio, der Muse der Geschichte, dargestellt ist. Sicher handelt es sich um den milesischen Historiker K. Da dessen historische Existenz jedoch angezweifelt wird, ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß seine Person mit dem mythischen K. identifiziert wurde (s. 48). Auf dem Mosaik sind auch noch andere geistige Persönlichkeiten der Antike wie Homer, Hesiod und Menander wiedergegeben. Zu ihnen würde also ein Mann passen, der viel zur Kultur beigetragen hat, natürlich

unter der Voraussetzung, daß Kadmos, dem die literarischen Quellen viele «geistige» Entdeckungen zuschreiben, und der mythische K. dieselbe Person sind. Zumindest für die Spätantike scheint das sehr gut möglich zu sein.

Von den meisten übrigen im Katalog angeführten Vasen sind die Darstellungen nur mit geringer Wahrscheinlichkeit auf K. zu beziehen, wie z. B. das Bild auf der rotfigurigen Pelike 53, das, einigen Forschern zufolge, K. wiedergibt, wie er Athena die Kuh, die ihn nach Theben geleitet hat, opfert. Nach jüngeren Quellen errichtete K. an der Stelle, an der die Kuh sich nach einer langen, anstrengenden Wanderung ausruhte, Athena Onka einen Tempel mit Altar und Kultbild (s. Vian 139 ff.; Fontenrose 317 mit Anm. 81; Symeonoglou 130, 185). Auch auf 52 gibt es keine Merkmale, die auf K. beim Orakel von Delphi bezogen werden können (über die Beziehungen von K. zu Delphi s. Vian, bes. 82 ff.).

Zusammenfassend können wir sagen, daß die ältesten sicheren K.-Darstellungen in der griechischen Kunst seine Hochzeit wiedergeben (Ende des 6. und Anfang des 5. Jh. v. Chr.). Merkwürdigerweise wurde dieses Thema später nicht mehr dargestellt. (Über jüngere Bilder, die ab und zu völlig willkürlich als Hochzeit des K. gedeutet werden, s. z. B. Schmidt, R., *De Hymenaeo et Talasio dis veterum nuptialibus* [1886] 65-66. - Vgl. 60a.)

Von der Mitte des 5. Jh. an entstanden vor allem in Attika Darstellungen des Drachenkampfs, der bis zum Ende der Antike am häufigsten dargestellten Episode. Wir müssen jedoch einräumen, daß der Drachenkampf des K. möglicherweise bereits seit der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jh. auf Denkmälern von verschiedenen Herstellungsorten abgebildet wurde. Es ist allerdings bis heute nicht möglich, die Deutung dieser Darstellungen beweiskräftig zu begründen, da sie Merkmale aufweisen, die die gesicherten Bilder dieses Themas nicht haben (s. 54. 55. 56. 57). Es ist nicht einfach, diese ikonographischen Abweichungen darauf zurückzuführen, daß in ihrer Entstehungszeit der Bildtypus dieses Themas noch nicht vollständig ausgeprägt war. Im 4. Jh. v. Chr. wird der Drachenkampf des K. ein beliebtes Thema in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei, zugleich aber erscheinen hier noch andere, bisher nicht dargestellte Episoden aus dem Leben des Heroen, wie die mit den Spartoi oder seinen Brüdern. Für die Spartoi gibt es bisher nur ein Beispiel. Seit der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh. werden z. B. der Gang des K. zur Quelle und die Tötung des Drachen in der italischen wie in der etruskischen Kunst dargestellt. Diese Episode ist die einzige, die auf etruskischen Denkmälern vorkommt. Viel später, im 3. Jh. n. Chr., werden, vor allem auf phoinikischen Münzen, völlig neuartige Themen wie K. mit seinem Bruder Phoinix, die Einführung der Buchstabenschrift bei den Griechen und die Gründung Thebens dargestellt. Auf einem Mosaik aus derselben Epoche in Trier ist offensichtlich der Historiker K. mit der Muse Klio abgebildet, der wahrscheinlich jedoch mit dem mythischen K. identisch ist. Wir sehen also, daß K., obwohl er in der griechischen Kunst nicht häufig vorkommt, zu allen Zeiten

Künstler verschiedener (lakonischer, attischer, großgriechischer, italischer, etruskischer u. a.) Werkstätten beschäftigt hat. Im 3. Jh. n. Chr. erscheinen auf den Monumenten neben den alten sogar neue Themen. Deren Vorkommen auf Münzen von Tyros und Sidon ist nicht allein darauf zurückzuführen, daß Phoinikien K. bis zur Spätantike als seinen eigenen Heros betrachtete. Die Zunahme der K.-Darstellungen im 3. Jh. n. Chr. muß damit zusammenhängen, daß der Osten seit dieser Zeit im Römischen Reich wiederum eine bedeutende Rolle spielt. Und diese Darstellungen sollen daran erinnern, welchen Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Kultur dieses Gebiet geleistet hat.

MICHAELIS A. TIVERIOS

## KADMOS II

(*Kάδμος*) Gott des gleichnamigen Berges, der an den Grenzen Phrygiens, Pisidiens und Kariens bei Laodikeia gelegen ist.

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## KAIKIAS → Venti

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CARINA WEISS

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(*Καίκος*) Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses im Mysien, dem heutigen Bakır Çay. Nach Hes. theog. 343 Sohn des Okeanos und der Tethys.

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## KATALOG

### Münzen

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3.\* AE, Stratonikeia Hadrianopolis (Lydien) des Gordian III. (244-249 n. Chr.) bis Gallien (253-268 n. Chr.). - *BMC Lydia* 285, 4 Taf. 28. Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 306 Nr. 332 Taf. 11, 3; S. v. Aulock 3184. - Rs.: Die Rechte am Knie, zu Füßen in der Linken Schilfrohr. *ΚΑΙΚΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΕΙΑ*. Vs.: Büste der → Stratonikeia.

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Kaikos 6

### DEUTUNG AUF KAIKOS OFFEN

#### Münzen

7. AE, Attia, Sabina († 137 n. Chr.) und Commodus (177-192 n. Chr.). - v. Fritze, H., *Die antiken Münzen Mysiens I* (1913) 127 Nr. 380 Taf. 6, 16; B.



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### Münzen von Laodikeia in Phrygien

I. (= Adrasteia II 8\*) AE, Caracalla (198–217 n. Chr.). – Imhoof-Blumer 289–290 Nr. 1 Taf. 9, 18; *idem*, *Nymphen und Chariten auf griechischen Münzen* (1908) 141 Nr. 411 Taf. 9, 6. – Rs.: → Rhea nach l. kniend hält das Zeuskind dem jugendlichen K. entgegen, der nach l. auf einer Anhöhe sitzt und den Kopf mit langem Haar nach r. zu Rhea gewandt hat, den r. Arm um den Kopf geschlagen und mit der Linken einen Baum umfassend; zu seinen Füßen entspringt ein Fluß, vielleicht der gleichnamige Kadmos. Hinter Rhea eilt Adrasteia herbei, um das Kind in Empfang zu nehmen.

In Laodikeia wurde Zeus besonders verehrt. Die Szene auf den Münzen mag auf eine Lokalversion hinweisen, in welcher Zeus auf dem bei Laodikeia gelegenen Berg Kadmos geboren und aufgezogen worden ist, was die Anwesenheit des K. erklären könnte. K. ist deutlich durch das erhöhte Sitzen, die Gebärde des Ausruhens und das Erfassen eines Baumes als Berggott charakterisiert. RAINER VOLLKOMMER

## KAIKIAS → Venti

## KAIKINOS

(Καϊκίνος) Grenzfluß zwischen Lokroi und Rhegion (Bruttium). Der Flußgott K. tritt als Persönlichkeit nur in einer Lokalsage hervor, die ihn zum Vater

des lokrischen Olympioniken und Heros Euthymos macht (Paus. 6, 6, 4–10), da dieser am Ende seines Lebens im Kaikinos verschwand (Ail. *var.* 8, 18). Diese enge Beziehung zwischen dem Flußgott und Euthymos hat sich vielleicht auf einer Serie lokrischer Tonreliefs niedergeschlagen:

I. (= Acheloos 208\* mit Lit.) Tonrelief. Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz. 110 und Locri, Antiquarium. Aus Locri, Contrada Caruso. – Weiß, *Flußg 67–69* Taf. 16, 3 mit Lit. und Diskussion zur Datierung und Deutung. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Unter drei Nymphenköpfen unbärtiger Mannstier nach l. auf einer Basis vor einem Altar stehend. Auf der Basis ΕΥΘΥΜΙΕ. Die so als Kultstatue gekennzeichnete Darstellung könnte aus der Verschmelzung zweier Bildtypen entstanden sein: Der bärtige Mannstier, eine der charakteristischen Bildformen für die Darstellung eines Flußgottes (→ Fluvii), wird durch Angleichung an das Bild eines jugendlichen Athleten verändert und drückt vielleicht dergestalt die gegenseitige Assimilation von K. und Euthymos aus. Nicht ausschließen läßt sich allerdings auch die Hypothese, daß die Jugendlichkeit des Mannstieres als Angleichung an die im 5. Jh. aufgekommene Jünglingsgestalt der lokalen Flußgötter zu verstehen ist.

CARINA WEISS

## KAIKOS

(Καϊκος) Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses im Mysien, dem heutigen Bakır Çay. Nach Hes. *theog.* 343 Sohn des Okeanos und der Tethys.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Siehe Büchner 1501–1502. In Aischyl. *Myser*, *TrGF III F* 143 wird ein Priester des K. angeredet, was auf einen für ihn vorhandenen Kult schließen läßt.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Büchner, L., *RE X 2* (1919) 1501–1502 s. v. »Kaikos I«; Drexler, W., *ML II 1* (1890–94) 894 s. v. »Kaikos I«; v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly III* (1967) 46 s. v. »Kaikos I«; Joly, E., *EAAIV* (1961) 287 s. v. »Kaikos«; Treidler, H., *KIPauly III* (1967) 46 s. v. »Kaikos 2«; Waser, O., *RE VI 2* (1909) 2801 s. v. »Flußgötter«; *idem*, *RE X 2* (1919) 1502 s. v. »Kaikos 3«.

## KATALOG

### Münzen

### DEUTUNG AUF KAIKOS DURCH INSCHRIFT GESICHERT

a) Nach r. gelagerter, nur bis zu den Hüften mit einem Himation bekleideter, bärtiger K., die Rechte auf Quellgefäß stützend.

I.\* AE, Elaia (Aeolis), kaiserzeitlich. – Unpubliziert (?). – Rs.: In der Mitte auf Pfeiler Statue der Ceres mit langer Fackel in der Rechten und Ähren in der Linken; l. K. (KAIKOS), in der Rechten Füllhorn und in der Linken kleinen Baum haltend, r. → Keteios (KETEOΣ), in der Linken Füllhorn und in der Rechten

kleinen Baum haltend; darunter Ähren und Mohnkapseln.

b) Wie a, K. aber nach l. gelagert und die Linke auf Quellgefäß stützend.

2.\* AE, Pergamon (Mysien), Trajan (98–117 n. Chr.). – *BMC Mysia* 143, 268 Taf. 28, 13; *InvWadd* 959; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg 272–273* Nr. 246 Taf. 8, 17. – Rs.: In der vorgestreckten Rechten Füllhorn, dahinter Schilfrohr. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΥΚΟΥ ΑΠΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΚΟΣ.

3.\* AE, Stratonikeia Hadrianopolis (Lydien), Zeit des Gordian III. (244–249 n. Chr.) bis Gallienus (253–268 n. Chr.). – *BMC Lydia* 285, 4 Taf. 28, 8; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg 306* Nr. 332 Taf. 11, 3; *SNG v. Aulock* 3184. – Rs.: Die Rechte am Knie, zu Füßen und in der Linken Schilfrohr. ΚΑΙΚΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ. Vs.: Büste der → Stratonikeia.

4.\* AE, Akros (Lydien), Commodus (177–192 n. Chr.). – Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg 293* Nr. 297; Forrer, *Weber III 1* Nr. 6776 Taf. 239. – Rs.: In der Rechten und zu seinen Füßen Schilfrohr. ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑΒΑΣΟΥ ΑΚΡΑΣΙΩΤΩΝ ΚΑΙΚΟΣ.

### DEUTUNG AUF KAIKOS WAHRSCHEINLICH

5.\* AE, Germe (Mysien), Caracalla (218–222 n. Chr.). – *BMCLydia* 84, 25 Taf. 9, 6 = *BMC Mysia* 68, 21 Taf. 16, 8. – Rs.: Apollo nach r. auf Felsen sitzend, in der Linken Lyra und in der Rechten Plektron haltend; vor ihm Marsyas, frontal stehend, Kopf nach l., in beiden Händen Flöte; zu seinen Füßen r. K. mit einem Schilfrohr in der Linken.

### Vase

6.\* Glasierter, reliefierter pergamenischer Kantharos. Mainz, RGZM 0.39286. Angeblich aus Pergamon. – Koepfel, G. M., *AJA* 77, 1973, 217; *idem*, *JbRGZM* 19, 1972, 188 ff. Taf. 22–25; Heimberg, U., *JdI* 91, 1976, 289 Nr. H 1; Mandel, U., *Kleinasiatische Reliefkeramik der mittleren Kaiserzeit*, *PergForsch* 5 (1988) 39–40. 226 Nr. P 149. – Flavis (nach Mandel) oder Ende 2./Anfang 3. Jh. n. Chr. (nach Koepfel). – Auf beiden Seiten Gallierschlacht, am l. Ende jeweils K. mit der Linken ein Schilfrohr schulternd, die Rechte auf Felsen gestützt.



Kaikos 6

### DEUTUNG AUF KAIKOS OFFEN

#### Münzen

7. AE, Attalia, Sabina († 137 n. Chr.) und Commodus (177–192 n. Chr.). – v. Fritze, H., *Die antiken Münzen Mysiens I* (1913) 127 Nr. 380 Taf. 6, 16; *BMC*

Mysia 16, 8. 10 Taf. 3, 5; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 293-294 Nr. 298 Taf. 10, 5; SNG v. Aulock 1074. - Rs.: In der Rechten nach unten gekehrtes Schilfrohr und in der Linken Schilfrohr haltend; l. Baum.

8. AE, Attia, Faustina II. († 176 n. Chr.). - Imhoof-Blumer, *KIM I* 18 Nr. 6; v. Fritze, a. O. 7, 128 Nr. 386; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 294 Nr. 299 Taf. 10, 6; SNG v. Aulock 1076. - Rs.: In der Rechten Zweig und in der Linken Schilfrohr; unten Fisch nach l.

9. AE, Attia, Geta (211-212 n. Chr.). - v. Fritze, a. O. 7, 136-137 Nr. 413-416; Forrer, *Weber III* 1 Nr. 4963 Taf. 181; Grose, *McClean III* Nr. 7551 Taf. 259, 7; SNG v. Aulock 7210. - Rs.: Wie 8, ohne Fisch.

10. AE, Attia, Crispina (nach 180 n. Chr.). - v. Fritze, a. O. 7, 132 Nr. 396-397 Taf. 6, 26; Imhoof-Blumer, *KIM I* 18 Nr. 7; *idem*, *Fluß* 294 Nr. 300-301 Taf. 10, 7. - Rs.: Mit der Rechten eine Eiche umfassend, mit der Linken ein Füllhorn haltend, zu Füßen ein oder zwei Schilfrohre.

11. AE, Attia, Commodus (180-192 n. Chr.). - Price M. J., *NC* 1971, 128 Nr. 12 Taf. 25. - Rs.: In der Linken ein Füllhorn und in der Rechten eine Statuette des Zeus haltend, l. Schilfrohr und Eiche mit Adler.

## KOMMENTAR

Die Darstellungen des K. (1-5) entsprechen dem geläufigen Typus des auf einem Quellgefäß gelagerten menschengestaltigen Flußgottes (→ Fluvii). Während uns die Wiedergaben auf Münzen von Elaia (1), Pergamon (2), Stratonikeia Hadrianopolis (3) und Akrasos (4) inschriftlich die Identifikation des K. geben, können die weiteren Bilder eines Flußgottes auf Münzen von Germe (5) und Attia (7-11) nur durch die Lage dieser Städte am Kaikos ihn als solchen erkennen lassen. Während sich Germe im Gebiet des Kaikos befand (→ Germe), ist die Lage Attias noch sehr unsicher. Durch Stempelkoppelungen von Münzen Attias mit denen von Germe, Hadrianoutherai und Hadrianeia scheint es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Attia auch in der Umgebung der drei anderen Städte zu suchen ist (s. Robert, L., *Villes d'Asie Mineure*² [1962] 411-413). In diesem Fall würden nur zwei Flüsse in Frage kommen, der Kaikos und der Makistos. Welcher von beiden nun aber der Zutreffende ist, muß noch bis auf bessere Erkenntnisse offen bleiben.

Auf einem pergamenischen Reliefkantharos (6) ist auf beiden Seiten eine Schlacht dargestellt, an deren linkem unteren Ende jeweils ein gelagerter Flußgott, der ein Schilfrohr mit der L. schultert, zu sehen ist. Wie Koeppel ausführlich gezeigt hat, handelt es sich bei dieser Schlacht eindeutig um eine Auseinandersetzung zwischen Pergamenern und Galliern, die durch ihre Bewaffnung als solche gekennzeichnet sind. Die Darstellung kann hiermit auf die wichtige Schlacht zwischen diesen beiden Parteien am Kaikos um 233 v. Chr. anspielen, die Attalos I. für sich entschied und daraufhin als wichtiges Propagandamittel eingesetzt hat. Damit kann auch dieser Flußgott mit dem K.

identifiziert werden, an dem dieses entscheidende Ereignis stattfand.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

## KAIKEUS

(*Καιεύς*, Caeneus) Unverwundbarer Lapithe, Sohn des → Elatos, aus Gyrtion/Thessalien, der auf Geheiß des → Zeus von den Kentauren (→ Kentauroi) als Strafe für seine Hybris mit Fichtenstämmen und Steinen lebendig in den Erdboden gestampft wird. Nach späterer(?) Erfindung war K. eine Tochter des Elatos, mit Namen Kainis (*Καίνις*), die von → Poseidon geliebt wird und sich dafür die Verwandlung in einen unverwundbaren Mann ausbedingt. Nach seinem Tod erlangt K. in der Unterwelt sein früheres, weibliches Geschlecht wieder.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: K. wird bei Hom. *Il.* 1, 264 und Hes. *sc.* 179 (vgl. *frg.* 87 Merkelbach/West; hier vielleicht schon Motiv der ursprünglichen Weiblichkeit) unter den gegen die Kentauren kämpfenden Lapithen erwähnt. Großen Einfluß auf die Bildkunst hatte offenbar Pind. *frg.* 128 f. Snell/Maehler. Die älteste Schilderung der Hybris und des Untergangs sowie des Geschlechtswandels findet sich in einem Fragment des Akusilaos von Argos (5. Jh. v. Chr.), *FGH* 2 F 22 (mit weiteren Quellen). Die verbreitetste Form der Sage mit Geschlechtswechsel überliefert Nik. *frg.* 45 Schneider; Apoll. Rhod. 1, 59-64; Kall. *frg.* 577 Pf.; Verg. *Aen.* 6, 448 (Rückverwandlung in der Unterwelt); Ov. *met.* 12, 203-205 (524-525: nach Untergang Verwandlung in gelben Vogel); Apollod. *epitome* 1, 22; Hyg. *fab.* 14, 4; in der bildenden Kunst findet diese Version keinen Niederschlag (fraglich 79; im 4. Jh. v. Chr. Komödie *Kaineus* des Antiphanes, *CAF II frg.* 112). K. ist Sohn des → Elatos (*Schol.* Hom. *Il.* 1, 264 Dindorf; Ov. *met.* 12, 189; Hyg. *fab.* 14, 4) und stammt aus Gyrtion/Thessalien (Hom. *Il.* 2, 746; Apoll. Rhod. 1, 57-58) oder Magnesia (Hyg. *fab.* 14, 4). Als Teilnehmer der Kalydonischen Eberjagd (→ Meleagros) bei Ov. *met.* 8, 305; Hyg. *fab.* 173, 3. Sohn des K. ist Koronos (Hom. *Il.* 2, 746; Diod. 4, 37). Ein weiterer K., Sohn des Koronos, wird unter den Argonauten (→ Argonautai) aufgeführt (Hyg. *fab.* 14, 23). Letzter Nachklang der K.sage in der von Val. Max. 9, 10 ext. 1 überlieferten Rachetat der Gemahlin Antiochos' II. von Syrien, Berenike, an dem Mörder ihres Sohnes (246 v. Chr.).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Adamow, W. F., *Zapiski klassičeskago Otdelenija Russkago archeologičeskago obščestva* 1, 1904 1-16 (russ.); Berthold, O., *Die Unverwundbarkeit in Sage und Aberglauben der Griechen* (1911) 17-21; Böhr, E., in *Praestant interna, Festschr. U. Hausmann* (1982) 218-219; Brisson, L., *Le mythe de Tiresias* (1976) 74-77; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*³ 499-501; *idem*, *Denkmälerlisten III* 189-190; Delcourt, M., *RHR* 144, 1953, 129-150; *eadem*, *Hermaphrodite* (1958) 51-64; Heckenbach, J., *RE X* 2 (1919) 1504-1505 s. v. «Kaineus»; Isard, A., *Le Centaure dans la légende et dans l'art* (Diss. Lyon 1939); Kern, O., *Die Religion der*

*Griechen* (1926) 207; Laufer, E., *Kaineus. Studien zur Ikonographie*, *RdA Suppl.* 1 (1985); Robert, *Heldensage*⁴ 10-12; Rohde, E., *Psyche*¹⁰ 1 (1925) 179-181; Roßbach, O., *Neue Jbb* (7) 4, 1901, 410-411; Scheffold, *SB III* 205; Seeliger, K., *ML II* 1 (1890-94) 894-897 s. v. «Kaineus».

## KATALOG

In der Bildkunst spielt nur der Kampf des K. mit den Kentauren eine Rolle. Das Motiv der ursprünglichen Weiblichkeit wird in der bildenden Kunst nicht behandelt. Als einfachste Darstellungsform tritt der Lapithe mit einem Gegner auf (1-8). Die heraldische Dreifigurengruppe, bei der K. von zwei Kentauren flankiert wird, ist zahlenmäßig am stärksten vertreten (9-66). Bereits früh sind Darstellungen nachweisbar, in denen drei und mehr Kentauren gegen K. kämpfen (67-76). Auf einigen Vasenbildern ist die Hauptfigur durch Namensbeischrift gesichert (2. 33. 44. 67). Außer den angeführten sind noch weitere Darstellungen bekannt, doch sind diese ikonographisch zweifelhaft oder nicht mehr auffindbar (77-79. 80-83). Der Katalog erstrebt Vollständigkeit für die sicheren Darstellungen.

### A. Kaineus und ein Kentaur

#### GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

##### Attische Vasen (außer 3)

1.\* Tyrren. Amphora, sf. Gotha, Schloßmus. Ahv. 12. Aus Cerveteri. - *ABV* 98, 43; Goltz-Maler; Thiersch 158 Nr. 35; v. Bothmer, D., *AJA* 48, 1944, 168 Nr. 10; Rohde, E., *Staatl. Museen zu Berlin*² (1955) 85 Abb. 46; *CVA* 1 Taf. 25, 1. - Um 570/560 v. Chr. - Zusammen mit 67 älteste Darstellung innerhalb der sf. Belege. K. steckt bis Beinansatz im Boden, l. Kentaur mit Fellkappe, ohne Bewaffnung, von Lanze durchbohrt, bricht in den Hinterbeinen zusammen.

2.\* Tyrren. Amphora, sf. Rom, Mus. Cap. 39 (69). - *ABV* 98, 44: Timiadesmaler; *CVA* 1 Taf. 12, 1. - 2. Viertel 6. Jh. v. Chr. - Namensbeischr. *KAINEYΣ*. Kentaur von l. mit Stein. Vgl. 13.

3.\* Bauchamphora, sf., wohl apulisch (Paribeni). Tarent, Mus. Naz. 52158. Aus Tarent. - Neutsch, B., *AA* 1956, 221 Abb. 16; Steuben 116 (f); Paribeni, E., *Immagini di vasi apuli* (1964) 8-9 Taf. 2-3. - Mitte 6. Jh. v. Chr. - K. mit Lanze, bis Unterschenkel eingesunken, Kentaur mit Ast von r.

4.\* Halsamphora, sf. München, Antikenslg. 1619 (J 86). Aus Vulci. - *ABV* 483, 1: Nähe Edinburgh-Maler; v. Bothmer, D., *BullMMA* 11, 1952/53, 134; Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 76, 1969, Taf. 4. - Spätes 6. Jh. v. Chr. - K. mit gesenkter Lanze, bis zum Knie versunken, ähnlich 26-28. Kentaur von l. mit Felsblock.

5. Oinochoe, sf. Frankfurt, Mus. f. Vor- und Frühgeschichte VF β 307. - *ABV* 528, 46: Athenamaler-Werkstatt; *Add*² 132; Haspels, *ABL* 260, 3; *CVA* 1 Taf. 39, 4. - Anfang 5. Jh. v. Chr. - K. mit gesenkter Lanze, versunken, Kentaur von l. mit Ast.

6. Lekythos, sf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. (?). - Haspels, *ABL* 258, 99. - Frühes 5. Jh. v. Chr. - K. und ein Kentaur (genaues Schema unbekannt).

7.\* Volutenkrater, rf. Bologna, Mus. Civ. Pell. 268. Aus Bologna. - *ARV*² 598, 1: Niobidenmaler; *Add*² 265; *CVA* 5 Taf. 98, 3. - Um 460 v. Chr. - Hals, A. K. bis zur Hüfte versunken, Rückenansicht, in der Rechten gezücktes Schwert, fr. Kentaur von l., schwingt in beiden Händen Aststücke.

#### RÖMISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

##### Terrakotta

8.\* Arula, Rom, Mus. Cap. A 9143 (Antiquarium Comunale 6812). Aus Rom. - Scott Ryberg, L., *An Archaeological Record of Rome* (1940) 161 Taf. 38, 157; Ricciotti, D., *Terrecotte votive I* (1978) 74 Nr. 3 Taf. 2, 3. - 2. Jh. v. Chr. (?) - K. mit Schwert gegen einen Kentauren (von l.) mit Felsblock.

### B. Kaineus, von zwei Kentauren flankiert

#### GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

##### Vasen

9. Aryballos, kor. Samos, Mus. Aus Samos. - Walter, H., *AM* 74, 1959, 67. Beil. 114, 3 (Umzeichnung); Steuben 116 (10). - Anfang 6. Jh. v. Chr. - K. bärtig, langes Haupthaar, fr. Oberkörper, aufrechtstehend kämpfend nach l. (vgl. 2. 13), unbewaffnet?, gegen zwei Kentauren mit Ästen, altertümliche Form, Beine im Knielaufscheitel. Früheste Darstellung in der Vasenmalerei. Deutung auf K. schon bei Walter a. O. 67.

10.\* Siana-Schale, sf. Malibu, Paul Getty-Mus. 86.AE.154 (ehem. Slg. Bareiss). - Schauenburg, K., *AA* 1962, 745-776; Steuben 116 (d); Scheffold, *SB II* 154. - Um 550 v. Chr. - Ähnlich wie 67, jedoch höher aus dem Boden ragend. Rechter Kentaur mit zwei Steinen, linker waffenlos gestikulierend. Neben 1. 9. 67 ältester Bildzeuge für den Mythos innerhalb der Vasenmalerei.

11.\* Hydria, sf. Rom, Villa Giulia, Castellani 432 (50706). - Mingazzini, *CollCastellani* 197 Nr. 432. Taf. 45, 4. - Um 550 v. Chr. - K. bis zum Knie versunken, abgewinkelte Rechte hält Lanze, ähnlich 13. Beide Kentauren waffenlos?, der linke zurückgewandt, faßt sich an den Hinterkopf.

12. Oinochoe, sf. München, Antikenslg. 1755 (J 1258). Zerstört. - Jahn, O., *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung*... (1854) 352 Nr. 1258. - 4. Viertel 6. Jh. v. Chr. - K. mit Oberkörper aus dem Boden ragend, Schwert, boiotischer Schild, Schildzeichen: Roß, Linke mit Lanze(?) erhoben, zwischen zwei Kentauren mit Steinen. Keine älteren Aufnahmen, Reste des Bildfeldes nachgewiesen.

13. Halsamphora, sf. Ehem. London, Kunsthandel. - Sotheby, 11.-12. 7. 1983, Nr. 344; Böhr 218-219 Taf. 46, 3; Schaukelmaler. - Um 540 v. Chr. - Älteste K.darstellung des Schaukelmalers (insgesamt vier, vgl. 14. 68. 69). K. aufrechtstehend (wie 2), weiter Schrittstand, Lanze, Kopf zurückgewandt. Beide Kentauren mit Steinen (ähnlich 18. 23. 67). Symmetrische Anordnung ungewöhnlich.



14. Bauchamphora, sf. Verschollen. Zeichnung im DAI Rom. – Greifenhagen, A., *AA* 1978, 515 Abb. 23; Schaukelmaler; Böhr, E., *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) Nr. 70 Taf. 72. – Um 540/30 v. Chr. – K. ähnlich wie 11, im Knielauf nach r., r. Arm abgewinkelt (vgl. 11, 13), ohne Waffe (Lanze?), boiotischer Schild, Oberkörper nach vorne gebeugt. Beide Kentauren mit kleinen Steinen, rechter wild gestikulierend.

15. Halsamphora, sf. München, Antikenslg. 1657 (J 527). Zerstört. – Jahn, a. O. 12, 177 Nr. 527. – 4. Viertel 6. Jh. v. Chr. – K. voll gerüstet, zwischen zwei Kentauren mit Steinen auf ein Knie gestürzt. Keine älteren Aufnahmen. Teile des Bildfeldes aus dem Scherbenbestand wiedergewonnen. Ähnlich(?) wie 14.

16. Oinochoe, sf. Basel, Slg. Kambli. Aus Tarquinia. – *ABV* 422, 6: Class of Vatican 440; *Para* 181; Schefold, *Meisterwerke* 161 Abb. 145. – Um 530 v. Chr. – K. voll gerüstet, im Knielauf nach l., Rückwendung mit gezückter Lanze zum r. Kentauren, der (wie l. Pendant) Felsblock schwingt.

17. Halsamphora, sf. London, Kunsthandel (Sotheby) (ehem. Basel, Slg. Bloch). – *Para* 120, 54 bis: Antimenesmaler; *Add* 70; Mertens, J. R., *Attic White-Ground* (1977) 40 Nr. 5. – Um 520 v. Chr. – Bildaufbau ähnlich wie 16, jedoch seitenverkehrt: K. im Knielauf nach r., Rückwendung mit Lanze zum l. Kentauren, beide tragen Äste.

18. Halsamphora, sf. Vatikan 388 (16588). – *ABV* 283, 9: Antimenesmaler-Umkreis; *Add* 74; Albizzati 172, 388 Taf. 55, 388. – Um 520 v. Chr. – K. im Knielauf nach r., boiotischer Schild, über Brustpanzer Fellschurz, Abwehraktion mit Lanze und Rückwendung zum l. Gegner (wie 13, 16, 17, 19, 20). Beide Kentauren mit Felsblöcken.

19. Lekythos, sf. Halle, Univ. 141. Aus Athen. – Bielefeld, E., *Wiss. Zeitschr. Halle* 11, 1952/53, 95 Nr. 56. – Um 510 v. Chr. – K. mit Lanze, Knielauf mit Rückwendung, Mäntelchen. Beide Kentauren mit kleinen Steinen.

20. Unbekannte Form (Lekythos?), sf. Verschollen. Aus Acre/Sizilien. – Judica, G., *Antichità di Acre* (1819) Taf. 29 (Umzeichnung). – Frühes 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. voll gerüstet, Rundschild in Vorderansicht, Schildzeichen: Krabbe?, in weitem Ausfall (Knielauf) nach r., Rückwendung mit gezückter Lanze. Beide Kentauren bedrohen K. mit Fäusten (kleine Steine?).

21. Halsamphora, sf. Montauban, Mus. Ingres. Aus Vulci. – *ARV* 194, 4: Kleophradesmaler-Umkreis; Cassou, J., *GBA* 11, 1934, 148 Abb. 6. – 1. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. voll gerüstet, Schildzeichen: Dreifuß (vgl. 37), in weitem Schrittstand nach r., Rückwendung mit Lanze zum l. Kentauren (mit Felsblock), rechter hält Baumast erhoben.

22. Halsamphora, sf. Leningrad, Ermitage II. 1913.1. Aus Pantikapaion/Kertsch. – *ABV* 284, 5: Antimenesmaler-Umkreis; Pharmakowsky, B., *AA* 1914, 207 Abb. 5; Schauenburg, a. O. 10, 756. – Um 520 v. Chr. – Gleiches Bildschema wie 23, in der Bewegung verhaltener.

23. Halsamphora, sf. Leiden, Rijksmus. PC 40. Aus Vulci. – *CVA* 1 Taf. 27, 1: nahe der Gruppe von

Toronto 305. – Um 520 v. Chr. – K. im Knielauf nach r. versinkend, Rückwendung mit gefällter Lanze. Beide Kentauren mit großen weißen Felsblöcken.

24. Halsamphora, sf. New York, MMA 69.233.1 (ehem. Slg. Bastis). Aus Vulci. – *ABV* 1271, 75: Antimenesmaler; *Add* 71; *CVA* 4 Taf. 25, 1. – Um 520 v. Chr. – K. voll gerüstet, Schildzeichen: Stierkopf (vgl. 5), in weitem Schrittstand bis zu Knien eingesunken, stößt rechtem Kentauren (mit Ast) Lanze in die Brust. Linker mit Steinblock.

25. Oinochoe, sf. Jena, Univ. 175. – *ABV* 436, 1: Maler des Kaieneus von Jena; *Para* 188. – Um 510 v. Chr. – Ähnlich wie 24, beide Kentauren mit Steinen, im Hintergrund zwei dünne Bäumchen.

26. Kelchpyxis, sf. Rom, Pal. Cons. 1531. – v. Mercklin, E., *RM* 38/39, 1923/24, 80. Abb. 6; Sichertmann, H., *Helbig* II 345 Nr. 1531 (deutet auf K.). – Um 520 v. Chr. – Anordnung der Kentauren (zwei von r.) und Verdoppelung des Vorgangs singulär.

27. Lekythos, sf. Athen, Nat. Mus. Aus Athen. – Haspels, *ABL* 268, 45 Taf. 53, 6: Beldam-Maler; Laufer Taf. 8 Abb. 23, 2 (Umzeichnung). – Frühes 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. bis zum Chitonsaum versunken, gesenkte Lanze. Zwei Kentauren mit geraden Stöcken, im Hintergrund belaubte Äste.

28. Lekythos, sf. Zürich, Univ. 2493. – *CVA* 1 Taf. 19, 22–25: Hexenmaler. – Frühes 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Möglicherweise identisch mit sf. Lekythos Haspels, *ABL* 268, 44 (ehem. Slg. Pfuhl, Basel). Gleicher Typus wie 27. Im Hintergrund belaubte Äste.

29. Lekythos, sf. Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Mus. (ehem. Fogg) 1960. 329. Aus Athen. – *ABV* 572, 4: Pholosmaler-Umkreis; *CVA* Baltimore 1 Taf. 37, 2a–c. – Um 480 v. Chr. – Ähnlich wie 27, Schild mit Schutzdecke (vgl. 38, 43), Kentauren mit Fellen, rechter hält Stein.

30. Lekythos, sf. Athen, Nat. Mus.? Aus Athen. – Haspels, *ABL* 258, 92: Athenamaler. – Um 490 v. Chr. – K. zwischen zwei Kentauren, genaues Schema unbekannt.

31. Lekythos, sf. Palermo, Mus. Reg.? Aus Gela. – Heydemann, H., *AZ* 28, 1871, 12 Nr. 6; Schauenburg, a. O. 10, 752. – Frühes 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Zwischen zwei Kentauren mit Ästen ist unbärtiger Krieger (K.) zu Boden gesunken. Aufnahmen existieren nicht.

32. Halsamphora, sf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 217. Aus Vulci. – *ABV* 694, zu S. 341: London B 272-Umkreis; Langlotz, *Kat. Würzb.* Taf. 48. 60. – Um 460 v. Chr. – K. zwischen zwei Kentauren, geduckte Körperhaltung singulär.

33. Schale, rf. Kopenhagen, Nat. Mus. 13.407. Aus Etrurien. – *ARV* 59, 57: Oltos (Sign.); *Add* 164; *CVA* 8 Taf. 335, 1b. – Um 520 v. Chr. – Erste inschriftlich gesicherte rf. Darstellung (*KAIENEUS*) ohne Versinkmotiv. Beide Kentauren mit Felsblöcken.

34. Schale, rf. London, Kunsthandel. – Sotheby, 11.–12. 7. 1983, Nr. 343. – Spätes 6. Jh. v. Chr. – Delos-Maler. K. bis Körpermitte versunken, linker Kentauren mit Felsblock, rechter fr., beiderseits Palmetten.

35. Stamnos, rf. Paris, Louvre G 55 (N 3166). – Aus Vulci. – *ARV* 187, 58: Kleophradesmaler; *CVA*

1 Taf. 6, 5; Cohen, in Moon (ed.), *AGAI* 171 ff.; Boardman, J., *OJA* 3, 1984, 123 ff. – 1. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. versinkend, r. Bein angewinkelt (aufwärts kämpfend), holt zum Schwerthieb aus, ein Stein über K. schwebend.

36. Kolonettenkrater, rf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 81399 (H 2410). Aus Ruvo. – *ARV* 239, 18: Myson; *Add* 201; Schauenburg, a. O. 10, 763 Abb. 13. – 1. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. mit Schwert (vgl. 35), sterbend zurücksinkend, von zwei Kentauren (Ast, Stein) flankiert, r. Repoussoir-Figur: Lapith gegen rechten Bildrand anstürmend (vgl. 37, seitenverkehrt).

37. Kolonettenkrater, rf. London, BM E 473. Aus Etrurien. – *ARV* 551, 13: Panmaler; Laufer Taf. 12 Abb. 36. – Um 475 v. Chr. – Ähnlich wie 36, mit Schwert, Schildzeichen: Dreifuß (vgl. 21). Repoussoir-Figur nach l. stürmend. Beide Kentauren mit Felsblöcken, im Hintergrund verzweigtes Bäumchen.

38. Schale, rf. Orvieto, Mus. Faina 44. Aus Orvieto. – *ARV* 417, 2: Maler der Pariser Gigantomachie; Laufer Taf. 11 Abb. 32. – Um 475 v. Chr. – K. versinkend, Schwertstichmotiv (wie auf 39, 40, 42). Rechter Kentauren mit Felsblock, fr. linker mit Pantherfell (Waffe?).

39. Psykter, rf. Rom, Villa Giulia 3577. Aus Falerii (Civita Castellana). – *ARV* 471: Harrow-Maler? (nicht in *ARV*); Zanker, P., *Helbig* III 688 Nr. 2772; FR Taf. 15. – Um 475 v. Chr. – Wie 38, Schwertstich hier durch Hals des r. Kentauren (mit Ast), linker (Kopf in Dreiviertelansicht) mit Felsblock.

40. Kolonettenkrater, rf. Bellinzona, Privatslg. – *ARV* 563, 7: Schweinemaler; Schauenburg, K., *Ars Antiqua* (Luzern) Auktion 3, 1961, Nr. 106. Taf. 45. – Um 475 v. Chr. – K. ähnlich wie 38, beide Kentauren (rechter mit Stein, linker mit Ast) tragen Pantherfelle, im Hintergrund ein Bäumchen.

41. Kolonettenkrater, rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 2793. Aus Spina. – *ARV* 517, 6: Cleveland-Maler; *CVA* 1 Taf. 37, 1; Alfieri, *Spina* 20 Abb. 52. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Ähnlich wie 40, 72, Lanze, Schildzeichen: Dreifuß (vgl. 21, 37). Rechter Kentauren mit Felsblock und Ast, linker ähnlich 37, 40, beide mit Pantherfellen. Im Hintergrund Felsblock und verzweigtes Bäumchen.

42. Schale, rf. Paris, Louvre Cp 10955. – *ARV* 492, 159: Hermonax; *Add* 249; Laufer Taf. 14 Abb. 45. – Um 470/60 v. Chr. – K. wie auf 38, rechter Kentauren als Schildreißer, ohne Bewaffnung, der linke mit Felsblock(?), im Hintergrund verzweigte Bäumchen.

43. Hydria, rf. London, BM 1920.3–15.3. Aus Capua. – *ARV* 571, 79: Leningrad-Maler; *Add* 261; *CVA* 5 Taf. 79, 2. – Um 460 v. Chr. – K. gerüstet, ohne Helm, bis zur Körpermitte versunken, hält Schwert gesenkt.

44. Stamnos, rf. Brüssel, Mus. Roy. A 134. Aus Vulci. – *ARV* 1027, 1: Polygnotos (Sign.); *Add* 317; *CVA* 1 Taf. 7, 2b. – Um 440 v. Chr. – K. (*KAIENEUS*) halb versunken, aufwärts kämpfend (vgl. 35, 49). Linker Kentauren mit Pantherfell und Felsbrocken, rechter mit Ast.

45. Volutenkrater, rf. Bologna, Mus. Civ. Pell. 275. Aus Bologna. – *ARV* 1029, 18: Polygnotos;

*Add* 317; *CVA* 4 Taf. 67, 3. – Um 440 v. Chr. – K. nackt, sticht Kentauren (von r., mit Felsblock) mit Lanze in den Pferdeleib. Lapithe im Hintergrund wehrt linken Kentauren (Ast, Pantherfell) mit Schwerthieb ab (vgl. 76).

46. Kelchkrater, fr., rf. Chicago, Univ., Smart Gallery 1967.115.390. – *ARV* 1057, 107: Polygnotos-Umkreis; Korshak, Y., in *Midwestern Colls* 211 Nr. 118; Laufer Taf. 15 Abb. 50. – Um 440/30 v. Chr. – K. wie auf 45, wahrscheinlich mit zwei Kentauren (linker mit Ast) verbunden; der auf 45 den l. Gegner abwehrende Lapithe fehlt hier.

47. Krater, fr., rf. Moskau, Puschkin-Mus. M-641. Aus Pantikapaion/Kertsch. – Losewa, N. M., *MatSSR* 103, 1962, 177 Taf. 5, 6; Polygnotos-Umkreis; Laufer Taf. 15 Abb. 51. – Um 440/30 v. Chr. – Beine und Unterkörper einer nackten männlichen Figur (ähnlich 45, 46) im Ausfall nach l., Unterschenkel von Bodenlinie überschritten. Vom r. Kentauren zwei Hinterbeine sowie Vorderhuf erhalten, entsprechender Gegner l. wahrscheinlich.

48. Kolonettenkrater, rf. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 2792. Aus Spina, T. 77 VT. – *ARV* 1114, 14: Hephaistosmaler; Alfieri/Arias, *Spina Guida* 124; Laufer Taf. 16 Abb. 53; Alfieri, *Spina* 74 Abb. 169. – Um 440/30 v. Chr. – K. mit Rundschild (frontal, wie 2, 20, 33, 35), Schwertstich. Linker Kentauren (Ast) ähnlich 40, der rechte (Stein, Pantherfell) wie auf 44 (links).

49. Kelchkrater, rf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H 4919. Aus Spina. – *ARV* 1064, 8: Komarismaler; *Para* 446; *CVA* 2 Taf. 21. – Um 440/30 v. Chr. – K. mit Lanze, Beinstellung ähnlich 35, 44 (aufwärts kämpfend), beide Kentauren mit geraden Stöcken, rechter mit Pantherfell.

#### Unteritalische Vasen

50. Reliëfvase, fr., sizil. Palermo, Mus. Reg. Aus Agrigento. – Marconi, P., *Agrigento* (1929) 205 Abb. 144. – 6. Jh. v. Chr. – K. versunken, Arme erhoben (Bewaffnung?), linker Kentauren in altertümlicher Form (mit Aststück, rechter mit Stein?). Figureschema und Körperhaltung machen Deutung auf K. wahrscheinlich.

51. Amphora, rf. München, Antikenslg. 3161 (J 846). – Jahn 272 Nr. 846; Schauenburg, a. O. 10, 751 Abb. 3. – Frühes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – K. versunken, Schwertstich, beide Kentauren mit Ästen.

52. Skyphos, rf. Ehem. Rom, Slg. Pollak, verschollen. – Schauenburg, a. O. 10, 752 Abb. 4; Laufer Taf. 18 Abb. 61. – 2. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – K. unbärtig, nackt, androgyne Körperformen, kniend (vgl. 63), hält Rundschild schützend über Kopf (ähnlich 56), Schwert. Beide Kentauren mit Ästen.

53. Dinos, apul. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta J 1497. – Sichertmann, *Slg. Jatta* Nr. 45 Taf. 77 (deutet auf K.); Laufer Taf. 18 Abb. 62. – 3. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – K. nackt, auf Bodenkuppe kniend, wehrt sich mit kleinem Stein und Schild (Schwert in Scheide) gegen Kentauren von r. (Stein), linker mit Bäumchen, beide tragen Pantherfelle. Schildhaltung ähnlich 42.

## Reliefs

54. Friesplatte. Marmor. Athen, Hephaisteion (Opisthodom 2). – Sauer, B., *Das Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck* (1899) 202–204 Taf. IV (Rekonstruktion); Koch, H., *Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen* (1955) 140. Taf. 37; Ridgway, B. S., *Fifth Cent. Styles in Greek Sculpture* (1981) 87. – Um 440 v. Chr. – K. nackt, versunken (vgl. 45–47), Linke mit Schild erhoben, fr. r. Arm aufgestützt, Schwert? Gegner pyramidal aufsteigend, halten gemeinsam großen Felsblock.

55. Friesplatte, fr. Marmor. Sunion, Poseidontempel (Pronaos 2). – Fabricius, E., *AM* 9, 1884, 338–353 Taf. 17, 2; Herbig, R., *AM* 66, 1941, 87–89 Taf. 46; Delivourias, A., *AM* 84, 1969, 127–142 Beil. 1 (Rekonstruktion); Laufer Taf. 16 Abb. 55, 1–2. – Nach 440 v. Chr. – K. fr., nackt, halb versunken zu denken (kniend bei Delivourias a. O. Beil. 1), beide Arme weiträumig bewegt. Linker Kentaur mit Felsstück vor Brust? (Fabricius a. O. 347), rechter hat beide Hände über Kopf erhoben (mit Stein?).

56. Friesplatte. Marmor. London, BM 530. Aus Bassai-Phigaleia, Apollontempel (Stüd H 6–530). – Kenner, H., *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassai-Phigaleia* (1946) 44 Taf. 11; Hofkes-Brukker, C., *Der Bassai-Fries* (1975) 58. 94. – Um 420 v. Chr. – K. nackt, steckt bis zur Hüfte im hügelartig ansteigenden Erdboden, stemmt Schild gegen auflastenden Felsblock, wehrt sich mit Schwert (Kenner a. O. 44) oder Speer (Hofkes-Brukker a. O. 59). Lapithe von r. reißt Kentauren vor ihm am Ohr. Schildhaltung ähnlich 42. 53.

57. Friesplatte. Kalkstein. Wien, Kunsthist. Mus. Aus Gölbaşı-Trysa, Heroon (Platte B 3). – Benndorf, O./Niemann, G., *Das Heroon von Gölbaşı-Trysa* (1889) Taf. 23; Eichler, F., *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gölbaşı-Trysa* (1950) 55 (B 3) Taf. 4/5; Lippold, *Plastik* 209. – Um 400 v. Chr. – K. bekleidet, frontal (vgl. 60), Schwertstich gegen l. Kentauren, der gebauchtes Gefäß am Henkel schwingt. Rechter mit Ast, beide tragen Pantherfelle. Komposition ähnlich 55, Amphora als Waffe vgl. 59.

58. Friesplatte, fr. Marmor. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. 286 (1605 K 186). Aus Mylasa/Milas. – Mendel, *Sculpt* II 44 Nr. 286; Lippold, *Plastik* 375; Schauenburg, a. O. 10, 753 Abb. 5; Laufer Taf. 19 Abb. 64. – Um 100 v. Chr. – K. fr., versinkend?, zwei Kentauren mit über Kopf geschwungenen Steinen.



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59. Lykischer Sarkophag (Schmalseite), Marmor. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. 369 (M 63). Aus Sidon. – Mendel, *Sculpt* I 166 Nr. 63; Lippold, *Plastik* 210; Lullies/Hirmer, *Plastik* 189; Borchhardt, J., *Die Bau- und Skulptur des Heroons von Limyra* (1976) 138 Taf. 56, 2. – Um 400/390 v. Chr. – K. nackt (ähnlich 54–56), Rechte gesenkt (Schwert? Mendel a. O. 166; Neutsch, a. O. 79, 15), Körperhaltung vgl. 45–47. Linker Kentaur mit Amphora (wie 57), fr. rechter (mit Rehfell) hielt Ast?, Gefäß?, Felsblock (Mendel a. O. 166).

60. Sarkophagrelief, fr. Marmor. Antalya, Mus. A 3770, A 3378. Aus Limyra. – Laufer 32. 37 (R 6). Taf. 18 Abb. 59. – Mitte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Typus und Bekleidung wie 57. Beide Kentauren tragen Tierfelle, linker mit Stein, rechter hält Ast.

## Metall

61. Blech, Bronze. Olympia, Mus. BE 11a. Aus Olympia. – Hampe/Jantzen, *OlympBer* 1, 1937, 85 ff. Taf. 28; Schefold, *Sagenbilder* 38; Hampe/Simon, *FGK* 111 Abb. 115. 171. – Mitte 7. Jh. v. Chr. – Älteste bisher bekannte K.darstellung. Zur Doppelbewaffnung (wie 63. 70) vgl. Hampe/Simon a. O. 112; Laufer, E., *KhristJbGraz* 21, 1985, 173–177.

62. Votivschild(?), Bronze. Athen, Nat. Mus., Stath. 387. Aus Dodona. – Rolley, C., *Collection Hélène Stathatos III* (1963) 103 Nr. 49 Taf. 15, 49. – 1. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. versinkend, Schwert. Rechter Kentaur mit Stein(?), linker mit Ast. Echtheit angezweifelt (Hampe, R., *AJA* 70, 1966, 86).

## ETRUSKISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

## Vasen

63. Stamnos, sf. Wien, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 1477. Aus Cerveteri. – *EVP* 16, 3; Kaineusmaler; Dohrn, T., *StEtr* 12, 1938, Taf. 52, 1; Laufer Taf. 8 Abb. 22; Spivey, N. J., *The Micali Painter and His Followers* (1987) 44 Nr. 5; Maler von Vatikan 238 (Kaineusmaler); *CerEtr* 175 Abb. 129; 310–311. – Um 500 v. Chr. – K. kniend, mit zwei Schwertern (vgl. 61. 70), beide Kentauren mit langen geraden Ästen. Einziges Beispiel frontaler Darstellungsweise (mit Einschränkungen vgl. 57).

64. Hydria, sf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 81095 (H 2781). Herkunft unbekannt. – *EVP* 18; Klein, W., *ÖJh* 13, 1910, 158 Abb. 85 (Umzeichnung); Bronson,

R., *ArchCl* 18, 1966, Taf. 14, 2. – 1. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. stößt Schwert linkem Kentauren in den Arm, während Linke nach Bart des rechten Gegners greift, ein niedergestürzter Lapithe reißt K. einen Pfeil zu.

## Metall

65. (= Hippalektryon 20 mit Lit.) Helmattasche, Bronze. Kopenhagen, Glypt. H 229. Aus Orvieto. – Poulsen, F., *Das Helbig Museum* (1927) 112 (H 229); *idem*, *Aus einer alten Etruskerstadt* (1927) 29. Taf. 33, 55; Laufer Taf. 14 Abb. 44. – Um 450 v. Chr. – K. versinkend, Schwertstich (vgl. 42), Kentauren mit Steinen (rechter trägt Tierfell). Gruppe von zwei Hippalektryonen getragen.

66. Blattkranz (Endplatten), Gold. London, BM 2298. Aus Tarquinia. – Marshall, *BMJewellery* Nr. 2298 Abb. 79 Taf. 49; Laufer Taf. 19 Abb. 63; Cristofani, M./Cristofani Martelli, M., *L'oro degli Etruschi* (1983) 65 Abb. A; 310 Nr. 32 Taf. 218. – 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Eingestempelte Dreifigureszene, K. bis Hüfte versunken, Schwertstich, beide Kentauren tragen Felsblöcke geschultert.

## C. Kaineus, von drei (oder mehr) Kentauren umgeben

## GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

## Schwarzfigurige Vasen

67. (= Hasbolos 1\* mit Lit., = Hylaios 1) Volutenkrater, att., sog. François-Vase. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 4209. Aus Chiusi. – *ABV* 76, 1; 682: Kleitias und Ergotimos; *Para* 29; *Add* 21; *FR* I Taf. 11–12; Minto, A., *Il vaso François* (1960) 59 Taf. 26 (mit neuen Fr.); Schefold, *Sagenbilder* 58; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* 74; Cristofani, M., *BollArte* Ser. spec. 1 (1981) 185 Abb. 186 (Inchrift Nr. 57). – Um 570/60 v. Chr. – K. (KAI-NEYΣ) voll gerüstet, bis Körpermitte versunken, Haltung und Aktion ähnlich wie 1, jedoch seitenverkehrt. R. der Schimmelkentaur Hasbolos, daneben Akrios, beide mit Steinen, l. Hylaios mit Ast.

68. Hydria, att. Christchurch (N. Z.), Univ. of Canterbury 41/57. – *Para* 134, 31bis: Schaukelmaler; *Add* 81; Schauenburg, a. O. 10, 756 Ab. 8; *CVA* 1 Taf. 8, 1–2; Böhr, a. O. 13, Nr. 53 Taf. 56. – Um 540/30 v. Chr. – K. nach rückwärts niedergestürzt, r. Hand zur Faust geballt (Bewaffnung?). Zwei Kentauren von r., beide waffenlos gestikulierend, linker Angreifer schwingt weißen Steinblock. Weitere Arbeiten 13. 14. 69 mit ikonographischen Besonderheiten und leicht humorvollen Zügen.

69. Bauchamphora, att. Paris, Inst. d'Art et d'Arch. – *Para* 134, 27bis: Schaukelmaler; Böhr a. O. 13, Nr. 69 Taf. 70–71. – Um 540/30 v. Chr. – K. ähnlich wie 68, Knielauf. Helmverzierung federartige Büsche. Rechter Kentaur mit großem Stein, linker gestikulierend. Der zuäusserst vom linken Bildrand überschrittene dritte Kentaur wendet sich imaginärem Gegner zu.

70. Northampton-Hydria. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmus. V 2674. Aus Italien. – Cook, R. M./Hemelrijk, J.

M., *JbBerlMus* 5, 1963, 107–120; Langlotz, E., in *Antiken aus dem Akad. Kunstmus.* (1971) 145 Nr. 167 Abb. 86; Schefold, *SB* II 155 Abb. 206; Martelli, M., *Prospettiva* 27, Okt. 1981, 8 Abb. 33–34 (Ribbons Painter). – Um 530 v. Chr. – Vier Kentauren in altertümlicher Form (zwei mit Ästen, einer mit Stein) zu zwei sich überschneidenden Paaren zusammengedrängt. K. mit zwei Schwertern (vgl. 61. 63). Hinter 67. 70 gemeinsames attisches Vorbild? (Schefold a. O. 155).

## Attisch rotfigurige Vasen

71. Spitzamphora. Brüssel, Mus. Roy. R 303. Aus Vulci. – *ARV* 249, 6: Syleusmaler; *Add* 203; *CVA* 1 Taf. 8c. – 1. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. auf das r. Knie niedergesunken (vgl. 33), l. Bein abgewinkelt vorgestreckt, Lanze. Zwei Kentauren von l., einer r., der mittlere mit Ast, die äußeren tragen Felsbrocken geschultert.

72. Kolonettenkrater, Palermo, Mus. Naz. V 787 (2556). Aus Agrigent. – *ARV* 511, 1: Kaineusmaler; Pace, B., *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica* I (1958) 49 Abb. 25 (Umzeichnung), *CVA* 1 Taf. 45, 1–2. – Um 475 v. Chr. – Gleiches Figureschema wie 71. 74. 75. K. versinkend, sticht mit Lanze gegen rechten Kentauren.

73. Kolonettenkrater, fr. Athen, Agora P 7243a. b. Aus Athen. – *ARV* 566, 1: Schweinemaler-Umkreis; Laufer Taf. 12 Abb. 35. – Um 475 v. Chr. – Reste von drei Kentauren, K. untergang wahrscheinlich.

74. Kolonettenkrater. Harrow, School Mus. 50. Aus Vitorchiano. – *ARV* 516, 5: Cleveland-Maler; *Add* 253; Gardner, E., *JHS* 17, 1897, Taf. 6 (Umzeichnung). – Um 470 v. Chr. – Figurenanordnung ähnlich 71. 72. 75. K. schräg versinkend, Schwertstich. Äußere Kentauren mit Ästen (der rechte in stark verkürzter Rückenansicht), mittlerer trägt Felsblock geschultert.

75. Kolonettenkrater. Mariemont, Mus. Roy. B 84 (G 130). Aus Neapel. – *ARV* 523, 5: Obstgartenmaler; Laufer Taf. 13 Abb. 38. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Ähnlich wie 74, K. mit Schwert, Schildzeichen: Oktopus, gegen mittleren Kentauren (mit Ast und Felsblock), beiderseits liegen Steine, der äußerste linke Kentaur mit Pantherfell (vgl. 39–41. 44. 48. 53. 76).

76. Kolonettenkrater. Ehem. Uriage, Slg. Saint-Ferriol 190, verschollen. – Boucher, H., *RA* 16, 1922, 112 Abb. 1; Laufer Taf. 13 Abb. 40. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Gleiches Schema wie 74. 75, mit Zusatzfigur: Lapith mit Chlamys, Petasos und Schwert als Helfer (vgl. 45). K. versinkend, Schwert, Schildzeichen: Löwe. Kentaurenschema ähnlich 71. 72. 74. 75, der äußerste links mit Pantherfell.

## D. Anhang: Deutung auf Kaineus unsicher (77–79) bzw. ausgeschlossen (80–83)

77. Amphora, sf. Heidelberg? (nicht Univ.). – Baur, P. V. C., *Centaurs in Ancient Art* (1912) 39 Nr. 119; Laufer 38 (K 63). – 6. Jh. v. Chr. – K. voll gerüstet, von zwei Kentauren angegriffen.

78. Kolonettenkrater, att. rf. Palermo, Kunsthandel(?). – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1681 zu 1069: Maler des Louvre-Symposion. – Um 470 v. Chr. – A: Kentaumachie mit K. untergang (nach Beazley).

79. Torso. Terrakotta. Heidelberg, Univ. Tk 96. Aus Tanagra. – Neutsch, B., 17. Erg.-H. *Jdl* (1952) 11–17. – 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Ähnlich travestierende Züge wie 52. 53, zwitterhafte Bildung der Genitalien. Deutung auf K. nicht ausgeschlossen.

80. Halsamphora, att. sf. London, BM B 176. Aus Vulci. – Baur, o. c. 77 34 Nr. 97; *CVA* 3 Taf. 35, 5b. – 6. Jh. v. Chr. – Lapith niedergestürzt, böotischer Schild, l. Hand hält kleinen Stein erhoben, bärtiger Kentaure mit Felsblock.

81. Tyrrhen. Amphora, att. sf. Paris, Louvre E 849. Aus Italien. – *ABV* 98, 41; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 26; Baur, o. c. 77, 20 Nr. 40; *CVA* 1 Taf. 4 (34) 8.16 – 6. Jh. v. Chr. – Deutung auf K. unwahrscheinlich.

82. Reliefvase, fr. Palermo, Mus. Reg. (?). Aus Agrigent. – Kekulé, R., *Die Terrakotten von Sizilien* (1884) Taf. 56, 3; Baur, o. c. 77, 77 Nr. 198. – 4. Jh. v. Chr. (?) – Kentaumachie, drei Kämpferpaare, K. (?) kniend, Schwertstich gegen Kentauren von l. Deutung auf K. unwahrscheinlich.

83. Kassettrelief, Marmor. Izmir, Arch. Mus. 1079. Aus Belevi, Mausoleum (W 4). – Keil, J., *ÖJh* 30, 1937, Beibl. 183 Abb. 59; Praschniker, C./Theuer, M., *Das Mausoleum von Belevi* (1979) 77 Abb. 60. 132–133. – Um 250 v. Chr. – Beim schlechten Erhaltungszustand der Lapithenfigur Deutung auf K. problematisch.

## KOMMENTAR

Die frühesten Darstellungen zeigen K. als gerüsteten Hopliten in den Erdboden versinkend (2–5. 10. 12), wobei er von einem (1–3) oder zwei (10. 11) Kentauren mit Ästen und Steinen angegriffen wird. Kanonisch wird die heraldische Dreifigurengruppe, die erstmals auf dem Bronzeblech (61) nachweisbar ist und zugleich die älteste Darstellung der K.geschichte bildet. Der toreutische Prototyp entspricht im wesentlichen dem vom frühesten literarisch vorgegebenen Mythos (Pind. *frg.* 128f Snell/Maehler) geforderten Bildschema. Auffällig erscheint die Doppelbewaffnung mit Schwertern, die allgemein ionischen Kunsteinflüssen zugeschrieben wird (vgl. 70). Von Kleitias stammt die beste der frühen sf. Vasendarstellungen (67), in der K. zum erstenmal inschriftlich bezeichnet ist. Das Revolutionäre dieser Auffassung liegt in der Sprengung des heraldischen Schemas durch die Einführung eines weiteren Kentauren (auch diese mit Namensbeischrift). Diesem K.typus bleibt die Mehrzahl der älteren Fassungen verpflichtet (vor allem 1. 10). Die des Timiadesmalers (2) ist künstlerisch unbedeutend, aber inschriftlich gesichert (wie 33. 44. 67) und durch die Nacktheit(?) des K. interessant. Einige Beispiele (9. 50. 61. 70) zeigen die Kentauren noch in der altertümlichen Form. Nach 550 v. Chr. zählen die Darstellungen des Schaukelmalers, der den Lapithen in ungewöhnlichen Bewegungsformen vorführt, zu

den originellsten Varianten (besonders 14. 68). Das von diesem Künstler eingeführte Knielaufschema der Mittelfigur (13) findet sich ebenso bei 14–19 und wird auch bei 21. 22 in abgewandelter Form wirksam. Im letzten Viertel des 6. Jh. v. Chr. kehrt das Motiv der Doppelbewaffnung auf 70 wieder, wo K. von vier Kentauren umringt ist. Die Auseinandersetzung ist hier zu einem dramatisch bewegten Kampfgetümmel verdichtet. Figurenaufteilung und Bildkonzeption erinnern an 67, doch spricht aus der Formung der Kentauren wie der Sonderbewaffnung ionisches Bilddenken. Die große Zahl der sf. Vasenbilder (14–19. 21. 22) aus dieser Periode zeugt von der Beliebtheit des K.sujets in der attischen Kunst der Spätarchaik. Nur hier findet sich als Bewegungsform des K. das Knielaufschema mit zurückgewandtem Kopf (die besten Beispiele 15–17; 17 vom Antimenemaler). Die beiden Kentauren mit wechselnder Bewaffnung (Ast, Stein) bleiben weiterhin antithetisch flankierend angeordnet. Einige K.gruppen der Zeit um 500 v. Chr. zeigen eine Sonderform des Knielaufs, bei der die Beine des K. von der Grundlinie teilweise überschritten werden, um so den Eindruck des Versinkens in den Boden zu vermitteln (21–23). Daneben ist weiterhin das Versinken im Schrittstand aktuell (die beste Variante 23 des Antimenemalers sowie 24. 25). Die sf. Darstellungen hören zwischen 500 und 480 v. Chr. allmählich auf (4. 5), die letzten Beispiele finden sich auf Lekythen (6. 19? 26–30). Die Amphora 31 ist ein Nachzügler aus der Zeit um 460 v. Chr. und wegen der geduckten Körperhaltung des K. von Interesse.

Die rf. Vasenmalerei bringt gewisse Veränderungen und Neuerungen in der Bildtypik (Rüstung und Bewaffnung, Anatomie, Individualisierung der Kentauren); der wichtigste der frühen Belege ist von Oltos signiert (33), ohne Versinkmotiv. In der Zeit um 480 v. Chr. nehmen sich bedeutende Großgefäßmaler der Gestaltung des K.stoffes an, wodurch es zu originellen Bilderfindungen und immer reicheren Abwandlungen des Grundschemas kommt. Die besten Fassungen dieser Epoche stammen vom Kleophradesmaler (35), dessen Schöpfung sich durch besondere Dynamik auszeichnet, eine weitere von Myson (36), die einer größeren Komposition entnommen zu sein scheint, wofür die Ausschnitthaftigkeit der Szenerie spricht (vgl. auch 37 des Panmalers; ein ähnlicher Bildgedanke schon auf 69 des Schaukelmalers) sowie die Version des Syleusmalers (71) mit drei Kentauren als Gegner. Die eleganteste Fassung (72) mit derselben Figurenanordnung stammt vom Kaineusmaler und scheint, wie die bereits angeführten, von zeitgenössischen Werken der Wandmalerei inspiriert worden zu sein. Die individuelle Gestaltung der Kentauren wird dabei immer differenzierter. Das Schwertstichmotiv tritt, abgesehen von den frühesten Darstellungen (61. 70), in der rf. Malerei erstmals bei 38 auf und wird in der Folge auch auf 37. 39. 40. 74–76 zur Darstellung gebracht. Bei 39 zeigt das Pathos der Gesten sowie das Sichtbarmachen emotionaler Gefühlsabläufe bereits Merkmale des Strengen Stils. Dreiviertelansichten bei den Kentauren sind für das Ringen mit Problemen perspektivischer und plastischer Darstellungsweise

bezeichnend. Die intensive Wiedergabe des Schmerzes wie die Brutalität in der Schilderung des Kampfgeschehens sind Indizien einer neuen Ausdruckssprache und eines veränderten Kunstwillens dieser Zeit. Die Schülergeneration des Myson ist durch ein ausgezeichnetes Werk (40) des Schweinemalers vertreten (auch die Fragmente 73 entsprechen dem Stil dieses Künstlers). Bezüglich der Komposition steht das K.bild des Panmalers (37), der offenbar eine Vorliebe für transitorische Motive besitzt, noch unter dem Einfluß seines Lehrers Myson (vgl. 36); wie bei diesem ist es anscheinend als Ausschnitt aus einem größeren Zusammenhang genommen und als Vasenbild verarbeitet worden. Mehrere Fassungen aus der Zeit um 470 v. Chr. liegen vom Cleveland-Maler vor (41. 75), die bedeutendste wohl 74 mit kühner Verkürzung des in Rückenansicht in den Hintergrund sprengend vorgeführten rechten Kentauren. Mit dieser Schöpfung ist hinsichtlich der Möglichkeiten der malerischen Darstellungsweise ein Höhepunkt erreicht. Die Verwendung des unkonventionellen verkürzten Seitengliedes der Komposition findet keine Nachfolge. Gleichzeitig dürfte 75 anzusetzen sein, das in Einzelmotiven abweicht. Ältere Züge weist 41 auf, in der auf das Dreifigurenschema zurückgegriffen wird (vgl. 43. 72). Eine der schönsten Darstellungen des K. in der Vasenmalerei zeigt der verschollene Krater 76, gleichzeitig die erste Szene, in der K. ein Lapith als Mitkämpfer zur Seite steht (vgl. 45. 56). Das Schwertstichmotiv rezipiert auch Hermonax auf 42 und bildet den linken Kentauren als Schildreißer ohne Bewaffnung. Eher kraftlos wirkt die Untergangsszene des Leningrad-Malers (43), in der K. vergleichsweise riesenhafte Proportionen aufweist. Bisweilen kämpft in dieser Zeit noch ein Kentaure mit K., nachweisbar auf 7 des Niobidenmalers, obwohl diese Version neben den wuchtigen Bildern seiner unmittelbaren Vorgänger verblaßt. Von Polygnot sind zwei grundverschiedene K.varianten erhalten, die eine (44), aus der frühen Schaffenszeit stammend, signiert und mit Namensbeischrift für die Hauptfigur versehen. Trotz aller zeichnerischen Errungenschaften klingt hier noch Altertümliches an. In der anderen Version (45) bildet Polygnot den Lapithen nackt. Gleichsam wie Gegenstücke dazu wirken 46 sowie 47, das aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ebenso einen K. untergang zeigt. Die nächsten Vergleiche finden sich in Architektureliefen nach der Mitte des 5. Jh. v. Chr., als der Mythos in der Vasenmalerei schon außer Mode gekommen war. Die Nacktheit des K. ist später nur noch auf Gefäßen des 4. Jh. v. Chr. zu belegen (52. 53). Daneben tritt immer noch die Darstellungsweise mit Hoplitenrüstung auf, so bei 48 des Hephaistosmalers, wobei die Rezeption des Schwertstichmotivs das Zurückgreifen dieses späten Manieristen auf Schemata der frühen Klassik beweist. Auch in 49 des Komarismalers leben Vorbilder aus der ersten Jahrhunderthälfte wieder auf. Nach dem archaischen Kabinettstück aus Olympia (61) taucht der Mythos in der Toreutik nur noch in zwei Belegen auf (62. 65), für die attische Vasenbilder der Zeit um 470 v. Chr. die geeignetsten Vergleichsbeispiele darstellen. Auch 66 bewahrt das

antithetische Dreifigurenschema mit dem Schwertstichmotiv.

Auffallend häufig gelangt das Thema in der Bauplastik zur Darstellung: der «Kaineus» am Westgiebel des Zeustempels von Olympia (Paus. 5, 10, 8) beruht dagegen auf irrümlicher Erklärung. Das entscheidend Neue bei 54 ist die Verschmelzung der getrennten Kräfte zu gemeinsam vorgetragener Aktion der Kentauren. Eleganz der Linienführung wie Harmonie der Massenverteilung machen die Hephaisteion-Platte zum lange angestrebten Ideal. Das Sunion-Relief (55) unterscheidet sich durch das Fehlen der gemeinsamen Aktion der Gegner. Von der traditionellen Auffassung abweichend, zeigt die Bassai-Platte (56) die wohl eigenwilligste Schilderung des K. untergangs mit dem Motiv des großen, den Druck übertragenden Schildes, das keine Vorstufen hat. Die Verwendung des Themas in der Sepulkralplastik, vornehmlich im kleinasiatischen Kunstbereich, ist durch 57. 59. 60 belegt, wobei unklar bleibt, ob der Mythos in funebralem Kontext zum Medium der Vermittlung bestimmter eschatologischer Inhalte wird. Mit 59 verbindet 57 die Besonderheit, daß in beiden Fällen der linke Kentaure eine Amphora als Waffe einsetzt. Weitgehende Affinität zu 57 weist 60 auf, wo K. einen langen, gegürteten Ärmelchiton trägt. Mit 60 endet die Reihe der großplastischen Fassungen der K.sage; einen letzten Nachläufer bildet 58 aus dem 2. Jh. v. Chr. Nur noch vereinzelt kommt der K.mythos in der Keramik des 4. Jh. v. Chr. vor, insbesondere auf unteritalischen Vasen (51–53). Alle Belege aus dieser Zeit bewahren das antithetisch-symmetrische Dreifigurenschema. Auffällig erscheint der Gestaltswandel des Protagonisten: Auf keinem dieser Bilder ist K. bärtig, und auf 52. 53 gänzlich nackt gebildet. Nur auf 51 trägt K. eine Rüstung und versinkt im Boden. Bei 52. 53 hält man sich an bewährte Bewegungsmotive aus Kampfszenen, ohne den Untergang als Versinkvorgang zu charakterisieren. Bei 52 muß überdies die androgyne Körpergestaltung des K. hervorgehoben werden, die keine Vorstufen oder Parallelen hat (vgl. 79). Die Ausrüstung der Kentauren folgt attischen Vorbildern und besteht weiterhin aus Ast und Stein in beliebigem Wechsel. Auf 53 kommen belaubte Bäumchen als Naturkulisse hinzu. Als späteste Bildzeugnisse sind 66 aus dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. und etruskischer Provenienz sowie die römische Koroplastik 8 des 2. Jh. v. Chr. (?) anzusehen, in denen das dekorativ aufgefaßte Thema nur noch schematisch wiedergegeben wird.

ERICH LAUFER

## KAIROI / TEMPORA ANNI

(*Kairoi*) Männliche Version der lateinischen Horae (Jahrszeiten, → Horai/Horae), neben denen sie in der Kaiserzeit stehen; unter den Dichtern und Schriftstellern der Antike genossen sie geringeres Ansehen, mit Ausnahme der kaiserzeitlichen Literatur, wo die



*felicia tempora* häufige Erwähnung finden. In der östlichen Welt werden sie als Kairoi oder Kaloi Kairoi bezeichnet.

Neben den Personifikationen zählen zu den Darstellungen der *Tempora anni* auch zahlreiche Tiere, Pflanzen oder unterschiedliche Aktivitäten, welche, vor allem in der spätrömischen Zeit, die verschiedenen Jahreszeiten symbolisieren. Sie sind hier ebenfalls behandelt.

**LITERARISCHE QUELLEN:** Für die Verwendung des Wortes *καρπός* im Sinne von «Jahreszeit» (erst nachklassisch) s. Liddell/Scott s. v. – Es sind nur sehr wenige literarische Quellen vorhanden, die zur Ikonographie der *Tempora anni* herangezogen werden können. Einige Dichter bringen die vier Jahreszeiten mit den vier Zonen des Circus in Verbindung. Tert. spect. 9 bezieht sich darauf, daß es anfangs nur zwei Farben gegeben habe: weiß, dem Winter gewidmet, und rot für den Sommer; später seien grün für den Frühling und blau für den Herbst hinzugekommen. Cor. iust. 1, 314–329 (6. Jh. n. Chr.) gibt an, daß jedes der vier Pferde der Sonnenquadriga die Darstellung einer Jahreszeit ist, es deshalb vier Zonen und vier Wagen im Circus gibt, und die Farbe jeder Zone eine Jahreszeit symbolisiert: grün für den Frühling, rot für den Sommer, blau für den Herbst und weiß für den Winter.

In der späten Kaiserzeit setzt sich der Kaiser in enge Beziehung zu den Jahreszeiten, als Folge seiner Gleichsetzung mit den Göttern, die ihren Einfluß auf diese ausüben. Bereits Vergil (*georg.* 1, 24–28) weist für Augustus darauf hin, aber mit großer Häufigkeit finden wir dies erst in der späten Kaiserzeit (*paneg.* 3, 14; 5, 10). Die Thronbesteigung eines neuen Kaisers wird wie ein neues Jahr gefeiert, das die *felicitas temporum* (Sen. apocol. 1, 1; Cor. iust. 1, 80) vermehrt, wie eine Erneuerung der Zeit, was, unter anderen Symbolen, durch den Ablauf der Jahreszeiten einen treffenden Ausdruck findet.

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## KATALOG

### A. Ungeflügelte Putti

#### 1. Tanzend oder in schneller Bewegung

##### Mosaik

1. Polychromes Mosaik. Verschollen. Aus Itálica. – Blanco, *MosEsp I* Nr. 43 Taf. 61–75; Hanfmann II Nr. 347. – Ende 3. oder Anfang 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Darstellung eines Circus, umgeben von Medaillons mit Büsten der Musen, Tieren und Eroten ohne Flügel,

welche die Jahreszeiten darstellen könnten: der Frühling oder der Sommer: kurzer Chiton, Hut, vor sich in einem Korb oder in einer Falte des Mantels dreieckige, nicht bestimmbare Gegenstände. Der Herbst: ebenfalls jung und mit kurzer Tunika, trägt auf der Schulter einen Hasen. Der Winter: tanzender Jüngling mit kurzem Chiton und Mantel vor einer Landschaft mit Schilfrohr, trägt in seiner l. Hand einen Vogel. Nur der Winter tanzt.

##### Reliefs

2. \* Attischer Sarkophag, Marmor. Athen, Nat. Mus. 4008. – Matz, *SarkRel IV 1*, Beilage 1. – 3. Viertel 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Frontseite: angeführt von der Gruppe des Dionysos und Ampelos, Eroten mit jahreszeitlichen Attributen. L. der Herbst, ein Eros, der von einem anderen gestützt wird; er ist nackt bis auf eine Chlamys und hält in seiner l. Hand eine Traube. Der Frühling: ebenfalls nackt, ein Teller Früchte in der r. und Zicklein in der l. Hand.

3. \* Attischer Sarkophag, Marmor. Athen, Nat. Mus. 1187. Aus Patras. – Toynbee, J. M. C., *The Hadrianic School* (1934) 224 Taf. 52, 1–2; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 427, 429, 1. – Von l. nach r.: Eros mit Pedum in der r. Hand und einem Teller Früchte; ein anderer tanzend, mit Mantel, der ihm nach hinten fällt; zwei weitere, eng umschlungen in bacchischer Haltung, der eine mit Fackel, der andere mit Kranz in der Hand; ein weiterer wie der zweite von l.; ein anderer ist nackt, mit Pedum über der Schulter und einem toten Hasen, den er an den Hinterläufen hält. Auf den Schmalseiten je ein Eros mit flatternder Chlamys über der l. Schulter, ein Tier (Eber bzw. Hirschkalb) in der einen, ein Pedum in der anderen Hand haltend.

4. (= Adonis 39a\*) Adonissarkophag, Marmor. Mantua, Pal. Ducale. – *SarkRel III 1*, Nr. 20; Sichtermann/Koch, *MythSark* Nr. 6 Taf. 10, 1; 11. – Ende 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf dem Pfeiler, der mit einem Bogen in Verbindung steht und die beiden Szenen trennt, befinden sich vier ungeflügelte Eroten, eine Hand vor der Hüfte haltend, die andere Hand auf dem Kopf. Die drei unteren sind nackt, der oberste trägt einen kurzen Chiton. Von unten nach oben: der Frühling (Blumenkorb auf der l. Schulter); der Sommer (Stab, vielleicht der Stiel einer Sichel, in der l. Hand, in der r. Ährenbündel); der Herbst (Nebris, Früchtekorb in der l. Hand); der Winter (kurze Tunika).

5. \* Relief, Marmor. Grabmal der Haterii. Rom, Vatikan (ehem. Lateran 9998). – Helbig<sup>4</sup> I Nr. 1075; Hanfmann II Nr. 303. – Um 120 n. Chr. – «Kranrelief». Es stellt einen kleinen Grabtempel dar. Im Fries der Hauptfassade drei Jahreszeiten: der Sommer, nackt, mit Sichel in der r. und Ährenbündel in der l. Hand; der Herbst (oder der Frühling?), Blumenstrauß und Teller mit Früchten haltend, den Kopf zurückgewendet; der Winter, in Mantel gehüllt, der den Kopf freiläßt und nur bis zu den Knien reicht, mit Blumenstrauß in der l. Hand, den Kopf ebenfalls nach hinten gewendet. Eine Figur fehlt, entweder der Frühling oder der Herbst; es sind hier sehr wenig typische Merkmale vorhanden.

6. Marmorsarkophag. Rom, Pal. Mattei. – Kranz Nr. 52 Taf. 26, 1. – Um 250 n. Chr. – Clipeus mit dem Porträt der Verstorbenen, darunter vier Eroten als Weinleser, die Trauben treten. Der Frühling: Tierfell über r. Schulter und Brust, in der r. Hand Füllhorn mit Blumen, in der l. und im Haar Blumenkranz; zu seinen Füßen Widder und Stier, obwohl letzterer der folgenden Personifikation entspricht. Der Sommer: vor der Brust geknotete, im Rücken flatternde Chlamys, Ähren im Haar und Ährenbündel in der r. Hand. Der Herbst: flatternde Chlamys über den Schultern, Trauben und Rebenblätter im Haar, eine Traube in der l. Hand und eine Girlande über der Brust. Der Winter: phrygische Mütze und Bekleidung des Attis, ein Füllhorn in der l. Hand und zwei Enten in der r.; zu seinen Füßen Panther, der dem Herbst entspricht, und Eber.

##### Einzelfiguren

7. Relief, Kalkstein: Salona, Mus. Aus Salona. – Klement, K., *ArchEpigrMitt* 13, 1891, 3; Cambi, N., *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 62, 1960, 57 Nr. 3 Taf. 9, 1. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf der einen Seite der Herbst: auf einem Sockel geflügelter, nackter Eros, tanzend, mit Rebe in der r. Hand und Früchtekorb auf der l. Schulter, den er mit der l. Hand stützt.

8. Relief, Kalkstein. Salona, Mus. Aus Salona. – Klement, a. O. 7, 4; Cambi, a. O. 7, Nr. 3 Taf. 9, 2. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Herbst, ähnlich 7.

9. Relief, Stein. Spalato, Arch. Mus. D 482. Aus Salona. – Cambi, a. O. 7, 58 Nr. 7 Taf. 11, 1. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Sommer, nackt, geflügelt, mit Ähren in der l. und Sichel in der r. Hand, auf einem Sockel.

10. Relief, Stein. Aus Trogir. – Schneider, B., *ArchEpigrMitt* 9, 1885, 57; Cambi, a. O. 7, 59 Nr. 8 Taf. 12, 1–2. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Viereckiger Cippus mit Inschrift des T. Statilius Maximus auf der Vorderseite: auf den Seiten jeweils Darstellungen des Herbstes: geflügelter Putto, der mit der einen Hand einen Korb auf dem Kopf hält, in der anderen Hand einen Hasen; nackt, auf Sockeln.

##### Medaillons und Münzen

11. \* (= 22) AE Medaillon, Hadrian. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni III* 19, 91 Taf. 146, 1; Toynbee, a. O. 3, 217 Anm. 3; Hanfmann II Nr. 318 Abb. 127; Clay, C. L., «Nilus and the four Seasons on an New As of Septimius Severus», *NC* 1970, 76–77. – Rs.: vier männliche, tanzende Putti, in Zweiergruppierung: der Frühling, nackt, einen Blumenkorb mit beiden Händen auf dem Kopf haltend; der Sommer, ebenfalls nackt, eine Sichel über den Kopf schwingend, mit Ähren; der Herbst, nackt, wendet den Kopf und trägt einen Früchtekorb in der einen Hand, mit der anderen hält er die Vorderbeine eines Hasen oder eines Zickleins; der Winter, mit kurzem Chiton, der den Kopf bedeckt, hält einen Hasen an den Vorderläufen und einen trockenen Zweig, an dem ein Hase und ein Vogel herabhängen. Legende *TEMPORVM FELICITAS*.

12. \* AE Medaillon, Faustina I. († 141 n. Chr.). – Gnechi, *Medaglioni II* 41, 28 Taf. 69, 3; III 27, 138 Taf. 148, 18; Clay, a. O. 11, 76; Toynbee, a. O. 3, 217 Anm. 3. – Rs.: wie 11, ohne Legende.

13. \* AE Medaillon, Commodus Caesar. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni II* 44, Taf. 72, 1. – Rs.: wie 11. Legende *TEMPORVM FELICITAS*.

14. (= 23) AE Medaillon, Commodus, 191–192 n. Chr. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni II* 66, 135 Taf. 87, 3–5; III 38, 204–205 Taf. 152, 5; Hanfmann II Nr. 328 Abb. 128. – Rs.: wie 11.

15. AE Sesterz, Rom, Commodus. – *BMC Emp IV* 787, \*†; 792, \*; 844. – Rs.: wie 11.

16. AU Aureus, AR Denar, Rom, Caracalla und Geta. – *BMC Emp V* 207, \*; 245, 452; 256, 505 Taf. 40, 13; Clay, a. O. 11, 77 Taf. 8, 8. – Rs.: wie 11; *FELICIA TEMPORA*. – Vgl. 245.

17. AE Medaillon, Trebonianus Gallus. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni II* 102, 5 Taf. 111, 6; Alföldi 51 Taf. 24, 287. – Rs.: wie 11; *SAECVLI FELICITAS*.

18. AE Medaillon, Probus. – Gnechi, *Medaglioni II* 119, 37 Taf. 121, 6; Alföldi 51 Taf. 24, 288. – Rs.: wie 11; *SAECVLI FELICITAS*. Der Winter trägt einen geraden Stab.

19. AU Solidi, Konstantin. – Alföldi 49–51 Nr. 107 Taf. 5, 68; Nr. 108 Taf. 6, 91. – Rs.: wie 11; *FELICIA TEMPORA*.

### 2. In langsamer Bewegung

##### Reliefs

20. Marmor. Rom, Pal. Rondinini. – Salerno, L./Paribeni, E., *Palazzo Rondinini* (1965) Nr. 33–34 Abb. 122–124; Lorenz, Th., «Römische Prinzen als Allegorien der Jahreszeiten», in *Thiasos* (1978) 113–127 Abb. 28–29. – Nach Lorenz handelt es sich um Porträts von Nero und Britannicus, um das Jahr 48 n. Chr.; auf jeden Fall julisch-claudisch. – Zwei Knaben in frontaler Position, den Kopf zur Seite gewendet, nackt bis auf eine Chlamys; der eine hält eine Kugel und eine Weinrebe mit zwei Trauben, der andere einen Vogel und einen Hasen an den Hinterläufen. Nach Lorenz könnte der Vogel als Symbol für den Frühling, die Kugel für den Sommer stehen, womit der Zyklus der vier Jahreszeiten vollständig wäre: der Frühling (Vogel), der Sommer (Kugel), der Herbst (Traube), der Winter (Hase). Die Kugel wäre allerdings singular als Attribut des Sommers.

21. Reliefs, Marmor. Rom, Konsolen der «Casa di Rienzo». Vielleicht aus dem Gebiet des Forum Boarium. – Kähler, H., *JdI* 51, 1936, 192–201 Abb. 15–29. – Zeit des Konstantin. – Auf der Vorderseite Viktorien und Eroten, mit und ohne Flügel und mit verschiedenen Symbolen; einige scheinen Jahreszeiten zu repräsentieren: drei Figuren, geflügelt und mit einem Mantel über den Schultern und um den Hals, der am Rücken herabhängt, tragen Girlanden (Abb. 12, 17, 28); zwei andere, ebenfalls geflügelt, halten Hasen in den Händen (Abb. 12); der letzte, auf gleiche Art gekleidet und mit Flügeln, hält in der Rechten einen Hasen, nach dem ein Hund schnappt, und in der l. Hand einen Früchtekorb, vielleicht mit Trauben (Abb. 27). Die ungeflügelten Eroten hielten auch Objekte, die aber verloren sind.

## Medaillons und Münzen

22. (= 11\*) AE Medaillon, Hadrian. – Rs.: Von den vier Putti (Beschreibung s. 11) sind der Frühling und der Herbst weniger stark bewegt als der Sommer und der Winter.

23. (= 14) AE, Medaillon, Commodus, 191–192 n. Chr. – Rs.: wie 22.

24. AE, Nikaia, Julia Domna. – Robinson, E. S. G., NC 1937, 240–242 Taf. 31, 10; Hanfmann II Nr. 330. – Rs.: wie 22, aber der Winter ist bekleidet mit kurzem Ärmelchiton und Hosen, trägt Stiefel und hat den Kopf bedeckt. Hier sind die Merkmale am besten zu erkennen.

## Freiplastik

25. (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 507\*) Statuette, Stein. Köln, Slg. Niessen. Aus Köln, Aachenerstraße. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* VIII Nr. 6427. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Nackter Eros mit einer Phalera auf der Brust; auf der l. Schulter trägt er einen mit Früchten gefüllten Korb.

26. Statuette, Kalkstein. Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. Vom gleichen Fundort wie 25. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* VIII Nr. 6428. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Wie 25, aber ohne Phalera; der r. Arm ist in einer Chlamys verborgen und an der Seite hängt eine Rebe. Beide waren Teil eines Grabmals und könnten möglicherweise Frühling und Herbst darstellen.

27. Skulptur, Marmor. Belgrad, Nat. Mus. Aus Servia. – Grbić, M., *Choix des plastiques grecques et romaines au Mus. Nat. de Beograd* (1958) Nr. 39; 129 Taf. 50. – Nackt, mit Chlamys über Schultern und Rücken; er trägt einen Kranz und hält in der l. Hand einen Korb mit Früchten. Sehr ähnlich wie 26.

28.\* Statuette, Marmor. Bonn, Privatslg. – EA 3922–3923. – Claudisch-neronisch. – Nackt, mit einer Chlamys über der l. Schulter, die l. Hand hält einige Früchte; eine Girlande läuft quer über die Brust.

29.\* Statuette, Marmor. Ostia, Mus. Von Ostia. – Calza, G., *La necropoli del porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (1940) 229 Abb. 126–127. – Nackter Jüngling mit Chlamys über Schultern, Brust und Rücken; er trägt einen Blumenkranz, das Gesicht ist erhoben, und in der r. Hand hält er einen jungen Hirsch. Nach Calza muß es der Frühling sein.

## 3. Bewegungslos

## Reliefs

30.\* Trajansbogen in Benevent, Marmor. – Rotili, M., *L'arco di Traiano a Benevento* (1973) 76 Taf. 36. 37. 41. 43. 44. 49–52. – 114 n. Chr. – In den Bogenzwickeln Personifikationen von Flüssen, Viktorien und die Jahreszeiten. Der Frühling: unterhalb einer Viktoria; nackt, Chlamys über der r. Schulter; tritt auf Schlange und hält Korb mit Blumen. Der Sommer: unter einer weiteren Viktoria, auf Ährenfeld; hält Korb mit Ähren. Auf der anderen Seite der Herbst, unter einer zurückgelehnten weiblichen Figur, die Rotili als die Quelle des Tisia (→ Euphrates 27) identifiziert; nackt, Chlamys über Schultern, Brust und Rücken; mit seiner l. Hand hält er sie fest und formt eine breite Falte, die mit Trauben gefüllt ist. Der Winter: unterhalb der Personifikation der Donau (→ Danu-

vius, Kommentar), in einen Mantel gehüllt, Kopf bedeckt, in der l. Hand zwei Enten.

31.\* Marmoraltäre. London, BM N 2494 (= Apis 12) und 2495. Ehem. Rom, Pal. Odescalchi. – Smith, *BMSculpt* III Nr. 2494–2495; Ashmole, B., *A Cat. of Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (1929) 108 Nr. 295 Taf. 45; Hanfmann II Nr. 309 Taf. 125–126. – Hadrianisch (Ashmole); Ende 2. oder 3. Jh. (Hanfmann). – Quadratische Altäre mit ägyptischen Gottheiten auf drei Seiten; auf der vierten Seite eine Jahreszeit. Auf Nr. 2494 der Sommer zusammen mit Apis, Harpokrates und einer ägyptisierenden Figur; er ist nackt bis auf eine Chlamys und hält Ähren in der r. und eine Sichel in der l. Hand; neben ihm Korb mit Ähren. Auf Nr. 2495 sind Apis, eine kniende Figur, zwei Priester und der Frühling abgebildet; dieser ist dem Sommer auf Nr. 2494 sehr ähnlich, erscheint aber mit einem Blumenkranz auf dem Haupt; an seiner Seite ein Rosenstrauch und ein Korb mit Rosen. Beide Personifikationen in Vorderansicht.

32. Sarkophagdeckel, Marmor. Cagliari, Mus. Naz. 5896. – Kranz Nr. 328 Taf. 93, 5. – In der Mitte Inschrift der Ruffia Marcella; beidseits zwei Erosen, welche die Enden einer üppigen Girlande halten. Der Frühling: Chlamys über Schultern und Teil der Brust; in der einen Hand hält er einen Blumenkorb, mit der anderen das Ende einer Girlande aus Blättern und Blüten. Das andere Ende, aus Zweigen des Ölbaums bestehend, hält der Winter, bekleidet mit kurzem Ärmelchiton, einem Mantel, der sein Haupt bedeckt, und Stiefeln; seine andere Hand hält eine große Binse. Der Herbst, gekleidet wie der Frühling, hält einen Früchtekorb und das Ende einer ebenfalls aus Früchten zusammengesetzten Girlande. Das andere Ende, aus Ähren bestehend, hält der Sommer, mit Chlamys und einem Ährenbündel in der Hand.

33. Marmorsarkophag. Cagliari, Mus. Naz. 5936. – Kranz Nr. 63 Taf. 44, 4. – Anfang 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Zwei Viktorien halten einen Clipeus mit dem Porträt der Verstorbenen; darunter Erosen, die Trauben treten. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton, Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, Stiefel, in den Händen Lagobolon und Ente. Der Frühling: Chlamys; Girlande und Blütenkorb in den Händen. Der Herbst: gekleidet wie der Frühling, einen Korb mit Trauben und eine große Rebe haltend. Der Sommer: Nebris über der Brust, in den Händen Ährenbündel und wahrscheinlich Sichel (verloren); zu seinen Füßen ein weiteres Ährenbündel.

## DEUTUNG UNSICHER

34. Marmorstatuette. Pompei, Haus der Vettier. – Sogliano, A., *MonAnt* 8, 1898, 282 Abb. 19. – Mitte 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Nackt, mit einer Gans unter dem l. Arm und einer Rebe in der r. Hand.

## B. Ungeflügelte Putti mit anderen Gottheiten

## 1. Mit Tellus oder Ge

## Polychrome Mosaiken

35. (= Aion 13\* mit Lit.) München, Glypt. GL 504. Aus Sentinum (Italien). – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Aus ei-

nem Nebenraum eines Mithräums. Aion mit den Tierkreiszeichen; im Vordergrund gelagerte Tellus mit Kranz aus Blättern und Früchten. Um sie herum vier Putti, die Jahreszeiten. Der Frühling, am weitesten entfernt: sitzend, nackt, Kranz aus Blättern und Blüten, von der l. Schulter aus läuft eine Girlande quer über seine Brust. Der Sommer: nackt, Ährenkranz, streckt seine Hände Tellus entgegen. Der Herbst: nackt, Kranz aus Früchten und Trauben, die von einem Band gehalten werden. Der Winter: auf dem Boden sitzend, in Mantel gehüllt, der seinen Kopf bedeckt; Binse in der r. Hand.

36. (= Aion 3\* mit Lit., = Karpoi 1\* mit Querverweisen) Damaskus, Nat. Mus. Aus Chahba-Philippopolis. – Im Vordergrund Ge umgeben von vier ungeflügelten Putti mit Beischrift *KAPPIOI* (über dem zweiten von l.). Sie trägt einen Blumenkranz und ein Füllhorn voll Früchte. Ein Eros nähert sich ihr von l., mit Mantel über der l. Schulter, der den Körper freiläßt; er trägt einen großen Napf vollgefüllt mit runden und kegelförmigen Objekten, die schwer zu deuten sind. Der zweite lehnt sich an die r. Schulter von Tellus; er ist ebenfalls nackt bis auf einen Mantel, der seine Beine verhüllt, und trägt einen Kranz aus Blättern und Ähren; seine r. Hand hält er auf dem Kopf, während die l. hinter Tellus verborgen ist. Der dritte, halb verdeckt hinter der Göttin, trägt einen Kranz aus Blüten oder Früchten und hält in einem Tuch Blumen oder Früchte. Der letzte, mit Chlamys über Rücken und Brust, welche die l. Schulter unverhüllt läßt, trägt in seinen Händen einen Behälter mit vier runden Früchten. Eine genaue Zuweisung ist sehr schwierig, da die Attribute, die die Putti zeigen, nicht eindeutig jahreszeitlich sind.

## Reliefs

37. (= Endymion 77\* mit Lit.) Endymionsarkophag, Marmor. Woburn Abbey (Bedfordshire). – Robert, *SarkRel* III 1 Nr. 79 Taf. 22. – Tellus liegt, mit nackter Brust, unterhalb der Pferde; sie ist umgeben von vier ungeflügelten Erosen: der Herbst mit Rebe, zu seinen Füßen ein Widder. Die Identifikation der anderen drei Erosen ist schwierig: einer berührt das Füllhorn von Tellus; ein anderer hält sich teilweise verborgen hinter dem Hinterlauf des Pferdes; ein dritter spielt mit einem Widder. Die von Robert vorgeschlagene Identifikation mit Herbst, Sommer, Winter und Frühling scheint nicht gesichert.

38.\* Kameo, Gemma Augustea, Onyx. Wien, Kunsthist. Mus. IX A 79. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 56; Hanfmann, G. M. H., *Römische Kunst* (1964) 249 Farbt. 17; Megow, *Kameen* 8–11. 155–163 A 10 Taf. 3–4. – 10–20 n. Chr. – Tellus sitzt, neben der Gruppe von Augustus und Roma, zusammen mit Oceanus; sie trägt einen Kranz aus Efeublättern und Trauben und das Füllhorn. Vor und hinter ihr je ein nackter, ungeflügelter Putto, der vordere mit Ähren in der Hand. Tellus scheint Frühling, Herbst und Winter zu personifizieren, einer ihrer Putti den Sommer.

39.\* (= Attis 422 mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Silberlanx. Mailand, Mus. Arch. Aus Parabiago. – 2. oder 4. Jh. n. Chr. (Musso: um 350). – Kybele, Attis

und Aion mit dem Tierkreis. Im unteren Teil liegende Tellus, neben ihr ein Eros, vier weitere nähern sich ihr. Der Sommer: nackt, tanzend, dickes Ährenbündel über der l. Schulter, Sichel in der r. Hand. Vor ihm der Herbst: nackt, eine Traube in der r. Hand; mit der l. faßt er seinen Mantel. Der Frühling: fast frontal, kurzer Chiton, trägt ein Zicklein auf den Schultern. Der Winter: Mantel, der seinen Kopf bedeckt, Zweig in der r. Hand.

40. AE Medaillon, Antoninus Pius, 145–147 n. Chr. – Toynbee, *a. O.* 3, 141 Anm. 4 Taf. 19, 6; Clay, *a. O.* 11, 82 Taf. 8, 4; Gnechi, *Medaglioni* II Taf. 54, 7. – Tellus, an eine Kuh gelehnt, mit dem Füllhorn in der l. Hand und umgeben von vier Putti: der Frühling hinter ihr greift nach den letzten Schleifen der Himmelskrone, die am oberen Rand der Münze entlangläuft (auch als Zodiacus interpretiert [Strong] oder als oberer Teil einer Höhle [Toynbee]); der Sommer sitzt in ihrem Schoß und streckt die r. Hand nach ihrer Brust; in seiner l. Hand hält er eine Sichel, im Haar hat er Getreideähren; der Winter, zu ihren Füßen, trägt einen Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, in seiner Hand eine Binse und ein Tier.

## 2. Mit Nilus (→ Neilos)

41. Polychromes Mosaik. Aus Karthago. – Foucher, L., in *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* I (1965) 138 Abb. 2; Parrish 263 Nr. 2 betrachtet die Putti nicht als jahreszeitlich; Clay, *a. O.* 11, 81 Taf. 10, 1. – Nilus, an ein Krokodil gelehnt; um ihn sind drei Putti erhalten: der Sommer, mit Sichel und Ährengarbe, und der Herbst, der zum Füllhorn des Nilus blickt, befinden sich hinter dem Fluß; der Winter, hinter dem Kopf des Nilus, hält in seiner l. Hand einen gabelförmigen Stab. Es fehlt der Frühling, der zu seinen Füßen sein müßte.

## Münzen

42.\* AE Sesterz, Hadrian. BMC Emp 178, 1773 Taf. 95, 12; Clay, *a. O.* 11, 78–79 Taf. 8, 9–10; 9, 1–3. – Nilus umgeben von vier Putti, welche die Jahreszeiten symbolisieren: der Winter, hinter Nilus, im Mantel, der den Kopf verhüllt; hinter ihm Binsen; der Sommer, nackt auf den Knien des Nilus, mit Sichel und manchmal einer Ähre (Taf. 9, 1. 3). Die anderen zwei Putti sind schwieriger zu identifizieren. Derjenige zwischen Winter und Sommer, welcher das Füllhorn des Nilus ansieht, um das er seinen Arm gelegt hat, muß der Herbst sein, wegen seiner Verbindung mit dem mit Früchten und Trauben gefüllten Füllhorn. Der vierte reitet entweder auf einem Nilpferd (Taf. 8, 9–11) oder blickt auf Nilus und greift mit der r. Hand an seinem Kopf (Tf. 9, 1–3), ähnlich einigen Darstellungen des Frühlings.

43. AE As, Septimius Severus, 200 n. Chr. – Clay, *a. O.* 11, 71–73 Taf. 8, 1. 3. – 200 n. Chr. – Geprägt zur Erinnerung an den Besuch von Septimius Severus in Ägypten im Jahr 200 n. Chr. – Nilus, liegend, in der l. Hand ein Füllhorn, in der r. eine Ähre; unter ihm ein Nilpferd. Zu seinen Füßen befindet sich der Winter, mit Mantel und bedecktem Kopf; in der r. Hand hält er ein totes Tier an den Vorderbeinen, in

der l. einen Stab; hinter ihm ist eine Binse. Hinter dem Arm des Nilus ist der Frühling, nackt, mit einem Korb auf den Schultern, und der Sommer, mit Sichel in der r. Hand. Der Herbst kniet über einem Füllhorn, er ist nackt und hat die Arme ausgebreitet. Unterhalb einer breiten Linie sind die Wellen des Nils, in welchen, zwischen Binsen, ein Krokodil, eine Ente und ein Vogel schwimmen. Nach Clay wurde die Münze nach dem Modell des Nilus mit den vier Jahreszeiten von Hadrian sowie nach dem Vorbild der Tellus mit den vier Jahreszeiten (35–40) geprägt.

### 3. Mit Tyche

#### Relief

44. Gürtelbrosche, Gold. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1976–123. – Baratte, F., *Mon Piot* 62, 1979, 60–70 Abb. 1. 2. 8. – Ende 4. Jh. oder Anfang 5. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf einer der Seiten eine sitzende Figur, die als Tyche interpretiert wurde, mit einem Früchtekorb in einer Hand und einem Korb in der anderen, auf einem Sockel, der von einer männlichen Büste gehalten wird. Sie empfängt die Gaben von vier Knaben, die einen Korb Blumen (Frühling), Ährenbündel (Sommer), einen Korb Früchte (Herbst), und eine Garbe Binsen (Winter) in Händen tragen. Alle sind nackt.

### 4. Mit Horae, als Karpoi

45. (= Horai/Horae 71) Wandmalerei. Stabiae. – Gruppen von Horae und Karpoi durchschreiten die Himmelssphäre und tragen Attribute der Jahreszeiten mit sich.

#### Mosaiken

46. (= Horai/Horae 73\*) Mérida. – Horae, die Karpoi an den Händen führen, mit jahreszeitlichen Attributen.

47. (= Horai/Horae 74) Silin. – Wie 46.

### 5. In Verbindung mit dem Jahreskreis

48. (= Annus 9 mit Lit.) Relief, Stein. Reims, «Tor des Mars», Zentralgewölbe des Bogens. – Stern, H., «Les calendriers romains illustrés», in *ANRW* II 12, 2, 449–450 Taf. 22–23. – Ende 2. Jh. oder 1. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Im Zentralgewölbe der Zyklus der zwölf Monate; im Inneren verschiedene, sich einschließende Kreise, mit geometrischer und pflanzlicher Dekoration; im letzten, in einem Quadrat, sitzender → Annus mit Füllhorn; um ihn vier Jünglinge, welche die vier Jahreszeiten repräsentieren. Der Herbst: gebückt, nackt, Chlamys, die einen Teil der r. Schulter bedeckt, Früchtekorb in den Händen. Unten r. der Frühling: nackt, mit Blumenkorb. Oben r. der Winter: stehend, Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, Zweig in der r. Hand. Es fehlt der Sommer, der symmetrisch zum Winter angeordnet sein müßte.

49.\* AE Medaillon, Alexander Severus und Iulia Mamaea (vor 235 n. Chr.). – Gnechi, *Medagliani* II 85, 12 Taf. 101, 10. – Der Kaiser hält den Zodiacus: l. → Felicitas und r. Victoria. Durch den Kreis laufen die vier Jahreszeiten, mit Attributen, die schwer zu identifizieren sind. *TEMPORVM FELICITAS*.

50. AE Medaillon, Gordian III. – Gnechi, *Medagliani* II 91, 38 Taf. 105, 7; Hanfmann II Nr. 438. – 238–244. – Wie 49.

51. (= Aeternitas 53\*) AE Medaillon, Tacitus (275–276 n. Chr.). – Gnechi, *Medagliani* III 66, 12 Taf. 156, 14; Hanfmann II Nr. 439. – Wie 49. *AETERNITAS AVG.*

52. *Vacat.*

### 6. Kaiserliche Geschenke empfangend

53. AE Medaillon, Iulia Mamaea (vor 235 n. Chr.). – Gnechi, *Medagliani* III 43, 1 Taf. 153, 1; Hanfmann II Nr. 441; Toynbee, J. M. C., *Roman Medallions* (1944) 92–93. – Nach Hanfmann gießt der Kaiser, in sitzender Haltung, sein Füllhorn in Richtung der vier Jahreszeiten aus; zu seinen Seiten Iulia Mamaea mit Patera und Minerva mit Lanze. Toynbee hält die Figuren für → Abundantia, → Liberalitas und → Felicitas. Legende *ABVNDANTIA TEMPORVM*.

54.\* AE Medaillon, Iulia Mamaea. – Gnechi, *Medagliani* II 83, 1 Taf. 100, 7. – Hanfmann II Nr. 442. – Wie 53.

55. AE Medaillon, Salonina (253–268 n. Chr.). – Gnechi, *Medagliani* II 110, 1–2 Taf. 115, 8; Hanfmann II Nr. 443. – Wie 53.

### C. Ungeflügelte Eroten, reitend oder einen Wagen lenkend

56. (Zweifelhaft) (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 388\* mit Lit.) Wandmalerei. Vatikan, Saal der Nozze Aldobrandine. Aus Rom, Grab in der Vigna dei Pupazzi, in der Nähe der Porta San Sebastiano. – Nogara, B., *Le Nozze Aldobrandine* (1907) 87–88 Taf. 53. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – In einer Arena vier Bigen, die von vier flügellosen Amoretten gelenkt werden; die beiden oberen scheinen von Gazellen und Wildeseln gezogen zu werden, die unteren von Tigern und Pantheren. Jahreszeitliche Attribute fehlen.

57.\* (= 193, = Horai/Horae 80) Polychromes Mosaik. St-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. Aus Saint-Romain-en-Gal. – Frühling, Sommer und Herbst sind männlich, der Winter weiblich. Die drei ersten sind nackt; der Frühling reitet einen Stier, er trägt einen Kranz aus Blumen, Chlamys über l. Schulter und Teil der l. Brust; in der l. Hand ein Gefäß mit Blumen und in der r. einen Stab. Der Sommer reitet einen Löwen, er hält Ähren in der r. Hand und Sichel in der l. Der Herbst, mit Chlamys über dem Rücken, reitet einen Panther und trägt einen Kranz aus Weinlaub; über der Schulter hält er einen Korb mit Weinlaub und Trauben.

58. Polychromes Mosaik. Trier. – Parlasca, K., *Die röm. Mosaiken Deutschlands* 41–42 Taf. 42, 47. – 1. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Signiert von Monnus. Darstellung von Dichtern, Musen und einem Kalender in Form männlicher Büsten; in den Winkeln die Jahreszeiten, den entsprechenden Monaten zugeordnet. Erhalten ist nur der Herbst, in Form eines ungeflügelten Eros, der einen Panther reitet, mit der Beischrift

*AVTVMNVS* vor dem Tier; er trug einen Kranz aus Weinlaub und eine Nebris über der Brust. Erhalten war auch ein Teil des Sommers.

59. Sarkophagdeckel, Marmor. Treviso, Mus. Civ. – Kranz Nr. 322 Taf. 93, 1–2. – Um 275 n. Chr. – Tafel ohne Inschrift im Zentrum. Auf beiden Seiten drei Bigen, die von nackten Erosen gelenkt werden, eine Chlamys über der Schulter oder vor der Brust geknotet. Die erste auf der l. Seite ist verloren. Der 2. Wagen wird von Hirschen gezogen, über einem mit Blumen gefüllten Korb; der Wagenlenker hält einen Korb mit Blumen und einen Zweig in den Händen. Der 3. Wagen wird von Ziegenböcken gezogen, über einem Korb; der Wagenlenker trägt ein Lagobolon und einen Korb. Der 4. Wagen wird von Pantheren gezogen, über einem Korb mit Ähren; der Wagenlenker trägt einen Korb mit Ähren und wahrscheinlich eine Sichel. Der 5. Wagen wird von Löwen gezogen, über einem Korb mit Früchten; der Wagenlenker mit einem Früchtekorb und Lagobolon. Der 6. Wagen wird von Pantheren gezogen, mit einem Blumenkorb und einem Zweig. Die Identifikation jedes einzelnen ist schwierig; der vierte zumindest entspricht mit Sicherheit dem Sommer.

60. Fr. eines Sarkophagdeckels, Marmor. Vatikan, Mus. Chiaramonti 2139. – Kranz Nr. 326 Taf. 91, 5. – Um 340 n. Chr. – Reste von zwei gegenüberstehenden Bigen. Der Winter in einem von Ebern gezogenen Wagen; der Wagenlenker trägt einen kurzen, ärmeligen Chiton und phrygische Mütze, in seiner Hand eine große Binse; darunter ein Korb.

### D. Geflügelte Putti

#### 1. Tanzend (in schneller Bewegung)

##### Wandmalerei

61. Gewölbe. Ostia, Mus. Ostiense 47 (10113). Aus Ostia, Nekropole der Isola Sacra, Grab Nr. 143. – Calza, a. O. 29, 376–377 Taf. 7. – Trajanisch-hadrianisch. – Im mittleren Medaillon Merkur. Der Sommer fehlt. Der Frühling, als nackter Jüngling, mit einem flatternden Tuch über dem r. Arm, hält in der r. Hand ein Tablett mit einem Napf, in der l. ein Pedum; auf dem Kopf einen Kranz aus Blättern. Der Winter mit Chiton, der den Kopf bedeckt; die Hände sind verborgen. Der Herbst, nackt mit Tuch wie der Frühling, trägt einen Kranz aus Weinblättern und in der Hand ein Gefäß mit Trauben.

##### Polychrome Mosaiken

62.\* Antakya, Mus. Hatay 1018. Aus Antiochia, Haus des roten Pflasters, Raum 1. – Levi, *Antioch* 85–87 Taf. 13. – Antoninisch. – In den Winkeln eines Mosaiks mit mythologischen Szenen (Meleagros und Atalante [= Atalante 37\*], Phaidra und Hippolytos [= Hippolytos I 48], Io und Argos [= Io I 109], Adonis [= Adonis 31\*], Andromache und Astyanax [= ?]); der Frühling, nackt bis auf einen Mantel um seine l. Schulter; in seiner l. Hand ein Gefäß mit Milch oder Ricotta; die r. Hand hält ein Zicklein; auf dem Haupt ein Kranz aus Blättern und Früchten; eine ähn-

liche Girlande über der Brust. Der Sommer: Mantel über l. Schulter und l. Arm; Ährenkranz, Ähren in der l. Hand und kleine Sichel in der r.; Stiefel. Der Herbst: kurzer Chiton, der die r. Schulter freiläßt, und flatternder Mantel über der l. Schulter; Kranz aus Blättern und Blüten auf dem Haupt, ein Messer mit gekrümmter Klinge in der r., ein Korb voller Trauben und Weinlaub in der l. Hand. Der Winter: Chiton und Mantel, der seinen Kopf bedeckt, ein Kantharos in der l. und ein nicht identifizierbares Objekt in der r. Hand; Stiefel.

63. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. Aus Antiochia, House of the Drinking Contest, Gang 2b. – Levi, *Antioch* 161–163 Taf. 32. – Severisch. – Der Frühling: nackt bis auf Mantel über der r. Schulter, hält mit beiden Händen einen Teller mit Blumen; Blumenkranz. Der Sommer: Bauch und Teil des l. Beins von einem Mantel bedeckt; Sichel und Ährenbündel in den Händen. Der Herbst: kurzer Chiton mit Clavus, Mantel über der l. Schulter, über der Taille geknotet; auf der l. Schulter trägt er einen Korb mit Früchten, in der r. Hand ein kleines Messer mit krummer Klinge. Der Winter: Chiton und Mantel, der ihn verhüllt und den Kopf bedeckt und dessen Rand er mit der l. Hand festhält; Stiefel; vor ihm ein großer Napf mit runden Objekten, vielleicht Oliven.

64. (= Dionysos/Bacchus [in peripheria occ.] 68 mit Lit.) Paris, Louvre MA 4128. Aus Saint-Romain-en-Gal. – Lancha, *RecMusGaule* III 2, Nr. 367 Taf. 105–107. – 1. Viertel 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Im zentralen Medaillon Bacchus; um ihn herum Bilder mit stilisierten Blumen, Pantheren und vier Putti. Der Frühling: nackt, flatternder Mantel, Pedum in der r. und unbestimmtes Objekt in der l. Hand. Der Sommer: Mantel über der Taille, Korb in der l. und Pedum in der r. Hand. Der Herbst: flatternder Mantel, Gefäß mit Früchten in der l. Hand. Der Winter: ungeflügelt, kurzer Ärmelchiton, Mütze; er trägt eine Hacke auf der r. Schulter und ein nicht identifizierbares Objekt, vielleicht eine Ente, in der Hand. Ausgenommen für den Winter sind die Zuweisungen unsicher.

65. Pitney (Somerset), zerstört. – Smith 131 Nr. 91 Taf. 6, 27; Ling 13–14 pl. 2A. – 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Der Frühling: nackt bis auf ein flatterndes Tuch über der Taille; Schwalbe auf der r. Hand; auf der l. Schulter trägt er ein Pedum, von dem ein Eimer Milch herabhängt. Der Sommer: gleiche Kleidung, Sense oder Baumschere auf der Schulter; um ihn herum fünf Rosen. Der Herbst fehlt. Der Winter: zwei Stäbe in der r. und eine Hacke in der l. Hand. Ling interpretiert diese Figur, wenn auch mit Zweifeln, als Herbst.

66. Chedworth (Gloucestershire), *in situ*. – Smith 130 Nr. 85 Taf. 6, 8. 9; Toynbee J. M. C., *Art in Roman Britain* (1962) Nr. 187 Taf. 214–217. – 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Oktogon mit acht Feldern mit Satyrn und Mänaden; unter ihnen die Jahreszeiten. Der Frühling: nackt bis auf ein flatterndes Tuch um die Taille; ungeflügelt, in tanzendem Schritt; eine Schwalbe sitzt auf seiner r. Hand und mit der l. hält er einen Korb mit Blumen. Der Sommer: nackt, geflügelt, Blumenkranz in der r. und Blumenkorb in der l. Hand. Der Herbst: stark beschädigt, nackt, mit Ausnahme des gleichen



Tuchs wie die anderen, Korb in der l. Hand. Der Winter: Chiton und Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, Hosen; in der r. Hand hält er einen Hasen an den Hinterläufen, in der l. einen getrockneten Zweig.

67. (Zweifelhaft) (= Dionysos/Bacchus [in peripheria occ.] 131) Trier, Rhein. Landesmus. Aus Trier, Fausenbourg. – Binsfeld, W., *TrierZ* 31, 1968, 240 Taf. 2–4; Hellenkemper Salies, G., in *III Coll. int. sul mosaico antico, Ravenna 1980* (1983) II 338. – 3. Viertel 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Bacchus und Ariadne im Zentraltondo; sie sind umgeben von geflügelten Erosen, einer mit einer Zimbel aus Bronze, ein anderer mit Thyrsos. Die übrigen sind stark beschädigt; einer scheint eine Rebe zu tragen.

#### Reliefs

68. (= 112 [Deckel], = 233, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 389\* mit Lit.) Girlandensarkophag. New York, MMA 90. 12a, b. Von einem Grab der Straße von Vetralla nach Capranica. – Kranz Nr. 1 Taf. 1, 1; 2. – 120–130 n. Chr. – Auf der Hauptseite vier nackte Erosen, die eine üppige Girlande halten; die Erosen sind identifizierbar durch die Kränze, die sie auf dem Haupt tragen; von l. nach r.: der Frühling (Blumen), der Sommer (Ähren), der Herbst (Trauben), der Winter (Ölzweige); außerdem durch die Komponenten der Girlanden, die identisch mit den Kränzen der Erosen sind.

69. Girlandensarkophag. Rom, Pal. Barberini. – Kranz Nr. 2 Taf. 1, 2; 3. – Um 140 n. Chr. – Wie 68, aber die Erosen (die äußeren geflügelt) stellen einen Fuß auf ein jahreszeitliches Attribut: der Winter auf einen Hasen; er hält einen Kranz aus Olivenblättern und Oliven, einen Pinienzweig und Pinienzapfen; der Herbst auf einen Korb mit Trauben; sein Kranz besteht aus Efeublättern, Granatäpfeln, Weinlaub und Trauben; der Sommer auf einen Korb mit Ähren; in seinem Kranz sind Blüten und Ähren; der Frühling auf Blumen; sein Kranz besteht aus Blüten.

70.\* Marmorsarkophag. Pisa, Camposanto monumentale. – Kranz Nr. 43 Taf. 24, 4; 25. – Um 200 n. Chr. – Ehepaar in Clipeus, darunter Masken. L. und r. vier Erosen; die zwei mittleren halten den Clipeus, die beiden anderen laufen nach außen. Der Frühling: Blumengirlande auf dem Kopf und eine weitere quer über der Brust, in der r. Hand Blumenkorb und in der l. wahrscheinlich eine andere Girlande; Chlamys über r. Schulter und Rücken; zu seinen Füßen Hase, der Trauben frisst. Der Sommer: Ähren auf dem Kopf; zwischen den Beinen ein Kalb. Der Herbst: Kranz aus Trauben und Weinlaub; zwischen den Beinen Panther. Beide sind mit einer Chlamys bekleidet, die über der r. Schulter geknotet ist und über den Rücken fällt. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton und Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, Hosen, Schuhe; Korb mit Zweigen, vielleicht des Ölbaums, in der l. Hand; zu seinen Füßen ein Eber. Das Attribut der r. Hand ist verloren.

71.\* Marmorsarkophag. Ostia, Mus. Ostiense 126. Von der Isola Sacra. – Kranz Nr. 41 Taf. 26, 2. – Um 260 n. Chr. – Ehepaar in Clipeus, darunter Tellus. L. und r. vier Erosen; die beiden mittleren halten den Clipeus; die anderen bewegen sich nach außen. Der

Frühling: Blumengirlande auf dem Kopf, über der Brust und in der l. Hand; in der r. Korb mit Blumen; Chlamys über r. Schulter und Rücken; zu seinen Füßen Blumenkorb und Vogel, zwischen den Beinen Zicklein. Der Sommer: Ährenbündel in der Hand, zu seinen Füßen Pfau und Ähren; Chlamys, die über der r. Schulter geknotet ist und über den Rücken fällt. Der Herbst: Korb voll Trauben und Weinlaub in der l. Hand, zu seinen Füßen ein Korb und ein Widder; Nebris quer über der Brust und Chlamys über der l. Schulter. Der Winter, sehr stark beschädigt: kurzer Ärmelchiton und Hosen; zwei Enten in der r. Hand, Binse und Eber zu seinen Füßen.

72.\* (= 240) Marmorsarkophag. Buffalo (New York), Albright-Knox Art Gall. 38. 1. – Kranz Nr. 31 Taf. 22, 1; 23. – Um 180 n. Chr. – Clipeus mit dem Porträt der Verstorbenen; darunter Ge und vier Putti. Vier geflügelte Putti (alle mit Nebris über der Brust) mit je vier Kratern als Symbol für die Jahreszeiten alternierend. Der Winter: phrygische Mütze, Chiton; in seinen Händen Binse und zwei Enten, zu seinen Füßen große Binse. Der Frühling: Blumen im Haar und Blütenzweig in der r. Hand. Der Sommer: Ähren im Haar, Sichel in der Hand. Der Herbst: Trauben und Weinblätter im Haar, auf der r. Schulter trägt er einen Korb, in der l. Hand eine Traube. Am Fuß des entsprechenden Kraters sind Trauben.

73.\* Marmorsarkophag. Agrigent, Mus. der Kathedrale. – Kranz Nr. 27 Taf. 39, 2. – Löwensarkophag. Der zentrale Clipeus über einer Szene, in der Girlanden bereitet werden. Die beiden äußeren Erosen tragen einen mit Früchten gefüllten Korb und einen Thyrsos in Händen, zwischen ihren Beinen ein kleiner Eros; sie könnten den Herbst bezeichnen. Diejenigen, welche den Clipeus halten, sind hier der Frühling (mit Blumenkorb) und der Sommer (mit Korb voll Ähren). Alle vier tragen Chlamys, die einen Teil der Brust bedeckt und über den Rücken fällt.

74. Marmorsarkophag. Leningrad, Ermitage A 1126. – Kranz Nr. 38 Taf. 38, 4. – Ende 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Clipeus mit der Verstorbenen über gekreuzten Füllhörnern, gehalten von zwei geflügelten Erosen. Der Herbst: Chiton und Mantel, Thyrsos und Hase in den Händen; zu seinen Füßen ein Widder. Am anderen Ende der Winter: Chiton und Mantel, in den Händen Lagobolon und zwei Enten, zu seinen Füßen ein Eber, als Zicklein restauriert. Die zwei Erosen dazwischen, die den Clipeus halten, ohne besondere Attribute; zu ihren Füßen Panther und Widder.

75.\* (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 214 mit Lit.) Marmorsarkophag. Rom, Mus. Naz. Rom. 128086. Aus Ostia. – Kranz Nr. 46 Taf. 38, 2. – Anfang 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Clipeus über Vögeln, gehalten von zwei geflügelten Erosen. Der Winter: Chlamys, die einen Teil der Brust bedeckt und über den Rücken fällt; in einer Hand Binse, in der anderen zwei Enten. Der Herbst: mit Pedum und einem Hasen, den er an den Hinterläufen hält. Vor ihnen Körbe mit Früchten.

76. Steinrelief. Narbonne, Mus. Lapidaire. Aus Narbonne. – Espérandieu, *Recueil I* Nr. 639. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. (?) – Die Reliefs stammen wahrscheinlich aus einem Grab; die geflügelten Erosen tragen Girlanden,

Pflanzen und Tiere; das Übermaß an Ornamenten und Pflanzen ermöglicht jedoch keine genaue Identifikation der Jahreszeiten. Einer trägt einen Kranz aus Efeublättern, Halskette aus Akanthusblättern und in den Händen Pinienzapfen, Trauben und Blumengirlande; vor ihm ein riesiger Hase; er könnte als Symbol für den Winter oder den Herbst stehen. Ein anderer, ebenfalls bekleidet, trägt einen Ährenkranz und Objekte, die schwierig zu identifizieren sind, in Händen; es könnte sich um den Sommer handeln. Ein dritter, mit Kranz aus Blumen und Akanthusblättern, Blumen vor der Brust und, vor sich, eine Rebe und einen Vogel, ist vielleicht der Frühling. Ein vierter, nackt, scheint einen Pinienzweig zu tragen; hinter ihm ein Hund.

77. Riefelsarkophag. Marmor. Ehem. Rom, Kunsthandel. – Kranz Nr. 142 Taf. 66, 1. – Um 160 n. Chr. – In den Seitenfeldern je ein Eros in Chlamys, den Fuß auf einen Felsen gestützt, unter dem ein Hase hockt. In einer Falte der Chlamys halten sie Ähren (Sommer) und Trauben (Herbst) vor der Brust.

78. Marmorsarkophag. S. Stefano, Pieve (bei Lucca). – Kranz Nr. 145 Taf. 66, 3. – Um 250 n. Chr. – Wie 77. Die Erosen haben entweder Früchte (Herbst) oder Ähren (Sommer).

79.\* Marmorsarkophag. Amalfi, Kathedrale. – Kranz Nr. 141 Taf. 66, 2. – 1. Viertel 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Wie 77, aber beide Erosen tragen Früchte in der Falte ihrer Chlamys und eine Rebe in der Hand. Beide sind deshalb Darstellungen des Herbstes.

80. (= Charis, Charites/Gratae 26\* mit Lit.) Riefelsarkophag. Marmor. Ehem. Haver Castle. – Kranz Nr. 146 Taf. 67, 2. – Im Mittelfeld die drei Grazien; in den Seitenfeldern jeweils Erosen mit Chlamys und einem Früchtekorb auf der Schulter.

81. (= 214, = Horai/Horae 86\*) Silbersitula. London. Aus Vienne. – Geflügelte Putti mit Attributen der Jahreszeiten, die mit sitzenden Horae abwechseln.

#### 2. Erosen und Psychen

82. (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 568\* mit Lit.) Marmorsarkophag. Rom, Pal. Cons. 1212. – Kranz Nr. 128 Taf. 64. – Zwei Erosen und zwei Psychen symbolisieren die Jahreszeiten; die Erosen sind nackt (der Frühling mit Chlamys über l. Schulter und Arm), die Psychen in einem langen Chiton, der die r. Schulter freiläßt. Der Winter: Psyche mit Kranz aus Ölzweigen, in einer Hand Zweig, in der anderen zwei Enten; zu ihren Füßen Rebe, der nach Trauben pickt. Der Frühling: ein Eros mit Blütenkranz, Korb mit Blumen in einer Hand und zwei Girlanden in der anderen; zu seinen Füßen Hase und Hahn, Blumen fressend. Der Sommer: Psyche mit Ährenkranz, Ährenbündel und Sichel; zu ihren Füßen Ziege. Der Herbst: ein Eros mit Kranz aus Trauben und Weinblättern, in der Hand Rebranke; zu seinen Füßen ein Trauben fressender Hase und ein Korb mit Trauben.

#### 3. In Bewegung, aber nicht tanzend

83. (= 172) Deckengemälde eines Grabes. Anamur (Türkei), Grab BI 16. – Rosenbaum, E., *Belleten*

29, 1965, 42–44 Taf. 18–20; Alföldi-Rosenbaum, E., *Anamur Nekropolü* (1971) 112 Taf. 27 Farbtaf. 4. – Severisch. – Im Hauptgewölbe sind zwei Zyklen abgebildet: männliche Büsten, eingerahmt von Lorbeerkränzen, von welchen nur der Winter erhalten ist (Bart, Kopf bedeckt, Beischrift *XEIMON*), und Kästchen mit geflügelten Putti; von diesen ist nur der Herbst erhalten (kurzer Chiton, in der Hand Baummesser, an seiner Seite hoher Korb).

84. Wandmalerei. Herculaneum, Casa del Gran Portale. – Stuveras, R., *Le putto dans l'art romain* (1969) 219 Abb. 41. – 3. Viertel 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Der Frühling: zwei nackte Putti sammeln Rosen; einer trägt einen Köcher, der andere ein Gefäß; zwischen beiden großes Gefäß mit Rosen.

85. (= 205, = 225, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 564 mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Polychromes Mosaik. New York, UN Secretariat Building. Aus Ammaedara (Haidra, Tunesien). – Parrish Nr. 44 Taf. 59b–61a. – Ende 3. oder Anfang 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Aion im Zodiacus; um ihn herum Ranken, die von den Winkeln ausgehen und sich über die gesamte Oberfläche verbreiten; in jeder Ecke ein Eros; die Ranken um ihn entsprechen den Pflanzen der Jahreszeiten. Der Herbst: nackt, Nebris, über der l. Schulter geknotet und die r. Brust bedeckend; hält eine Rebe und klammert sich an den Stiel der Pflanze; um ihn Reben und zwei Wasservögel. Der Sommer: nackt, Halskette und Armband, in den Händen Sichel und Ähren; um ihn Ähren und Fasane. Der Frühling: nackt, mit Halskette und Armband aus Rosen; in den Händen Rosenkorb und Rose; um ihn Rosen und Truthähne. Der Winter: Chiton mit Clavis und Mantel, der das Haupt bedeckt; Stiefel; hält zwei Enten und Hacke; um ihn Ölzweige und Enten. Es handelt sich hier also um einen dreifachen Zyklus: Erosen, Tiere und Pflanzen.

86. (= Horai/Horae 182) Polychromes Mosaik. – Doppelter Zyklus: Putti und weibliche Büsten.

#### Reliefs

87.\* Marmoraltar. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H. 5056. – Aus Rom, Piazza Sallustia. – Simon, *Führer-Würzb* 251–252; *eadem*, *Der Vier-Jahreszeiten-Altar in Würzburg* (1967); Toynbee, *a. O.* 3, 217 Taf. 50; Lorenz, Th., *API XIX* (1988) 49–57 Taf. 34–43. – Zeit des Claudius (Simon). – Vier Relieffiguren um den Altar, getrennt durch Kandelaber. Der Frühling: nackt, Mantel über l. Unterarm, in der l. Hand Teller mit Blumen, in der anderen Girlande. Der Sommer: wie der Frühling, aber etwas stärker im Profil, in einer Hand einen Zweig Schlafmohn, in der anderen Sichel. Der Herbst: Tierfell über l. Schulter, Teil der Brust und des Bauches; seine l. Hand ist auf einen großen Korb mit Trauben gestützt, mit der r. hält er ein Pedum in der Art eines Stockes. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton, der die l. Schulter freiläßt; hält über der r. Schulter eine Amphore; im l. Arm eine Ente (?).

88. Viereckiger Block, allgemein als Altar identifiziert. Parma, Mus. Naz. Aus Parma. – Lorenz, T., *Thiasos* (1978) 113–134 Taf. 35–37; Frova, A./Scarani, R., *Parma. Mus. Naz. di Antichità* (1965) 154, 5 Taf. 92, 2. – Severisch. – Lorenz nimmt an, es handle sich um die

Basis einer Säule von einem Bogen des Typs der Argentarii, und, daß sie mit einer zweiten korrespondierenden würde. Der Winter: auf einem Sockel beträchtlicher Höhe, kurzer Chiton, der die l. Schulter feiläßt; in der l. Hand Ferkel, Objekt in der r. abgebrochen (wahrscheinlich Amphore oder ähnliches Gefäß); er ist dem Winter auf 87 sehr ähnlich. Der Frühling: auf einem niedrigeren Sockel, scheint nackt zu sein; in der l. Hand lebendes Zicklein. Lorenz vermutet, daß der Winter ein Porträt des Caracalla ist und daß auf der verlorenen anderen Basis das entsprechende Porträt des Geta war.

89. (= 189, = 200, = Horai/Horae 92\*) Sarkophagdeckel. Vatikan, Cortile Ottogono des Belvedere Inv. 941. – 140–150 n. Chr. – Sieben Erosen zwischen gelagerten Horae, mit einigen besonderen Zügen. Der Herbst: mit Trauben. Der Sommer: einer mit Ähren, ein anderer Ähren schneidend. Der Frühling: einer hält einen Korb mit Blumen, ein anderer schickt sich an, einen weiteren Korb zu bringen. Der Winter: zwei Putti mit kurzem Chiton und Hosen; einer trägt ein Zicklein auf den Schultern, der andere packt einen Hasen an den Ohren.

90.\* (= Horai/Horae 88) Sarkophagdeckel. Rom, Mus. Naz. Rom. 121657. – Um 160 n. Chr. – Erosen im Profil zwischen zurückgelehnten Horae. Nackt, mit Ausnahme des Winters. Der Frühling: mit Blumenkorb. Der Sommer: mit Korb voll Ähren und großer Ähre in der anderen Hand. Der Herbst: mit Korb voller Trauben und Rebe in der Hand. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton; in den Händen Ente und Hase.

91. (= Horai/Horae 93\*) Sarkophagdeckel. – Um 160 n. Chr. – Ähnlich 90, aber in weniger starker Bewegung, alle nackt. Der Winter: mit Binsen. Der Frühling: mit einem Blumenkorb. Der Herbst: mit Trauben. Der Sommer: mit Ähren.

92. (= Horai/Horae 90\*) Sarkophagdeckel. – Um 175 n. Chr. – Wie 91, aber die Erosen fliegen; alle sind nackt. Sie bieten Körbe mit Trauben (Herbst), Ähren (Sommer), Blumengirlanden (Frühling) und Ölzeige (Winter) an.

93. (= Horai/Horae 89\*) Sarkophagdeckel. – 190–200 n. Chr. – Erosen zwischen gelagerten Horae, die Erosen frontal. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton, Hosen und Stiefel; in den Händen Hase und Ente. Der Herbst oder der Frühling: Mantel, der über den Rücken fällt, eine Hand auf dem Kopf, in der anderen Korb, dessen Inhalt nicht genau zu erkennen ist, es muß sich aber um Blumen oder Früchte handeln. Der Frühling oder der Herbst: ähnlich, aber vollkommen nackt, mit Blumen im Korb. Der Sommer mit Ähren.

94.\* Marmorsarkophag. Rom, Pal. Alttemp. – Kranz Nr. 49 Taf. 24, 1–3. – Um 150 n. Chr. – Zwei geflügelte Erosen halten einen Clipeus mit Inschrift; beidseits die vier Jahreszeiten. Der Frühling: Chlamys, die über der r. Schulter geknotet ist, den l. Teil der Brust bedeckt und über den Rücken fällt; Blumen in einer Falte der Chlamys und ein weiteres Attribut, das fehlt. Der Sommer: ähnlich gekleidet, Sichel in der r. Hand, in der l. ein Attribut, vielleicht Ähren. Der Herbst: ähnliche Gewandung, Trauben in der r. Hand. Der Winter: Chiton, Mantel, Hosen, Attribut

verloren. Es scheint, daß Herbst und Winter ebenfalls Attribute in den Falten ihrer Kleidung trugen.

95.\* (= Gorgones Romanae 65, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 567 mit Lit.) Marmorsarkophag. Rom, S. Lorenzo in Panisperna. – Kranz Nr. 19 Taf. 4, 1; 6, 1–2. – Um 170 n. Chr. – Säulensarkophag. In der Zentralnische die Grabtüre, in den Interkolumnien die Jahreszeiten. Frühling, Sommer und Herbst tragen Chlamys in ähnlicher Weise wie auf 94. Der Frühling: Blumen im Haar und in einer Falte des Gewandes. Der Sommer: Ährenkranz, in einer Hand ein Ährenbündel, in der anderen Reste eines Attributs, möglicherweise Sichel. Der Herbst: Kranz aus Trauben, Trauben in der einen Hand; das andere Attribut fehlt. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton, Mantel, Hosen, Stiefel, Kranz aus Binsen, Binse in der einen Hand; vor der Brust, in einer Falte der Chlamys, hält er einen Hasen.

96. Marmorsarkophag. Zürich, Rehalp-Friedhof. – Kranz Nr. 26 Taf. 4, 2; 7. – Um 170 n. Chr. – Säulensarkophag, Porträt der Verstorbenen in der Zentralnische. In den übrigen Interkolumnien die Jahreszeiten, in sehr ruhiger Bewegung und in Frontansicht. Der Frühling: in der r. Hand Girlande und mit Früchten gefüllter Korb. Der Sommer: Ähren und Sichel. Der Herbst: Chlamys um den Hals, die über den Rücken fällt; trägt Rebe und Baummesser. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton und Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, Hosen, Stiefel; in den Händen Binse und tote Ente.

97. (= Charis, Charites/Gratae 38\* mit Lit.) Marmorsarkophag. Tivoli, Casale Marco Simone. – Kranz Nr. 4 Taf. 4, 3; 8. – Anfang 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Säulensarkophag, ähnlich 96. In der Zentralnische die drei Grazien. Der Frühling: mit Korb gefüllt mit Blumengirlanden. Der Sommer: mit Ähren. Der Herbst: Chlamys, die über den Rücken fällt; mit der l. Hand hält er in einer Falte eine Reihe von Früchten. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton, Hosen und Stiefel; auf den Schultern Zicklein, in der l. Hand Ente; zu seinen Füßen Pedum.

98. Marmorsarkophag. Pisa, S. Pierino. – Kranz Nr. 12 Taf. 5, 3; 12. – Ende 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Säulensarkophag, ähnlich 97. In der Zentralnische *dextrarum iunctio*. Der Frühling: mit Blume und Korb mit Blüten. Der Sommer: mit Sichel und Ähren. Der Herbst: mit Trauben und Korb mit Trauben. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton, Kopf bedeckt, l. Arm gebeugt, in der l. Hand, die aus dem Überschlager des Umhangs herausragt, Ente. Die ersten drei Jahreszeiten tragen Chlamys, die über der r. Schulter geknotet ist und über den Rücken fällt.

99. Silberteller. Paris, Louvre. Von Notre-Dame-d'Alençon (bei Brissac, Maine-et-Loire). – Reinach, *RépRel* I 197, 4–5; Hanfmann II Nr. 322. – Wahrscheinlich neben einer Abbildung des Caracalla gefunden. – Eros, nackt, Pedum in der r. Hand, an seinen Seiten Korb mit Blumen und ein weiterer Korb, aus dem eine Schlange kriecht. Ein anderer Teller zeigt einen nackten Eros mit Gefäß in der r. und Pflanzen in der l. Hand. Möglicherweise sind es Darstellungen von Frühling und Herbst.

100.\* Grabtür aus Marmor. Ostia, Mus. Ostiense – Calza, *NotSc* 1916, 141 Abb. 1; Toynbee, a. O. 3, 218. – Ende 2. oder Anfang 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Vier Felder

mit Darstellung der Jahreszeiten, zu je zweien angeordnet. Der Winter: Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, Stab über der l. Schulter, an welchem die Beute hängt. Der Frühling: nackt bis auf einen kleinen Umhang mit einer Ausbuchtung vor der Brust, um Blumen zu halten. Der Sommer: nackt, kleiner Mantel, der um die Hüften geknotet ist, Hut, in der r. Hand Sichel und in der l. Ährenbündel; an seiner Seite Korb mit Ähren. Der Herbst: nackt, Früchtekorb in der r. und Zicklein in der l. Hand, das er an den Vorderbeinen hält.

101. (= 161) Marmorsarkophag. Rom, Pal. Cons. 1185. – Stuart Jones, *SculptPalCons* 49 Nr. 4 Taf. 17; Kranz Nr. 16 Taf. 15, 1. – Um 250 n. Chr. – Jahreszeite nsarkophag, im Zentrum die halboffene Tür des Grabs. Jeder Flügel unterteilt in zwei große und drei kleinere Felder. In den großen je ein Jahreszeiten-Genius, geflügelt wie Eros. Der Sommer: Mantel über der l. Schulter; in der l. Hand Ährenbündel, in der r. ehemals Sichel. Der Herbst: hinter dem Rücken flatternder Mantel, sammelt Trauben in einen Korb. Der Frühling: zwei Blumenkörbe über der r. Schulter. Der Winter: frontal, Kopf nach hinten gewendet, in der l. Hand Bündel aus Binsen, in der r. zwei Enten mit hängenden Köpfen.

102. Marmorsarkophag. Vatikan, Cortile del Belvedere 60. – Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* 153 Nr. 60 Taf. 17. – Ähnlich 101.

103. Marmorrelief, fr. Maria Saal (BH Klagenfurt), eingelassen in der Südfassade der Kirche. Aus Zollfeld-Virunum. – Piccottini, G., *CSIR Österr.* II 4, Nr. 355 Taf. 23. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Erhalten der obere Teil des Winters: geflügelter Eros, in Mantel gehüllt, der den Kopf bedeckt und dessen Saum er mit der l. Hand festhält.

#### Freiplastik

104.\* Marmorstatuette. Ostia, Mus. Ostiense. Aus Ostia. – Calza, a. O. 29, 229 Abb. 128. – Der Winter: ein Eros, in Mantel gehüllt, der Flügel und Kopf bedeckt. Die r. Hand vor der Brust ist unter dem Mantel verborgen; in der l. Hand Ente.

105. Bronzestatue. Ehem. Kunsthandel. – *Vente Sarti*, 5. Mai 1906; Reinach, *RépStat* IV 264, 6; Hanfmann II Nr. 286. – Der Herbst: ein Eros mit Früchtekorb im r. Arm.

106. Bronzestatue. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 6536. Aus Herculaneum. – Reinach, *RépStat* II 2, 463, 4; Hanfmann II Nr. 273. – Vielleicht der Herbst: nackter Eros mit Rebe in der r. und einem Hasen unter dem l. Arm.

107. Bronzestatue. La Chausse. – Reinach, *RépStat* II 2, 463, 5 («suspect»). – Nackter Eros, der mit der r. Hand einen Hasen an den Hinterläufen hält.

#### 4. Bewegungslos

108. Marmorrelief. Rom, Bogen des Septimius Severus. – Hanfmann II Nr. 311 Taf. 21–24. – Anfang 3. Jh. n. Chr. – In den Bogenwickeln: Der Winter, stark beschädigt: in Chiton und Mantel gehüllt, Schuhe. Der Herbst: nackt, mit Fibel über der r. Schulter befestigte Chlamys, die über den Rücken fällt und die l. Brust bedeckt; im r. Arm Rebe, im l. Gefäß, viel-

leicht mit Trauben. Der Frühling: nackt, Chlamys, die über den Rücken fällt und die Oberschenkel bedeckt; in der l. Hand Blumenkörbchen und Blumenkranz. Der Sommer: nackt, Mantel über der l. Schulter und um die Taille geknotet; Ährenkranz; in der r. Hand Sichel, in der l. Korb mit Blumen und Ähren.

109. Bronzestatue. Verona, Mus. Arch. A4, 887. Aus dem Adige. – Franzoni, L., *Bronzetti romani del Mus. Arch. di Verona* (1973) Nr. 94 (Attis-Eros). – Ende 2. Jh. n. Chr.? (Franzoni) – Nackt, phrygische Mütze, Gurt quer über der Brust, in der r. Hand Hase, in der l. Pedum.

#### ZWEIFELHAFT

110. Marmorskulptur. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 6338. – Reinach, *RépStat* I 379, 2; Hanfmann II Nr. 284. – Der Herbst: nackt, Füllhorn mit Früchten in der l., Rebe in der r. Hand.

#### 5. Geflügelte Putti, reitend oder Wagen lenkend

111.\* Polychromes Mosaik. Sfax, Mus. M 16. Von Thana. – Parrish Nr. 61 Taf. 83–84a. – 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr. – In den Ecken vier Medaillons, die von üppigen Girlanden geformt werden. In jedem geflügelte Erosen, die auf Pferden reiten und die Jahreszeiten repräsentieren. Der Herbst: nackt, Halskette und Armband, hält Korb mit Trauben. Der Winter: Chiton und Mantel über dem Kopf, auf der Schulter Hacke. Der Sommer: erhalten nur Teil eines Flügels und das Ende der Ähren, die er in seiner Hand trug. Der Frühling: trägt Blumen in einem Korb; Halskette.

#### Reliefs

112. (= 68, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 389\* mit Lit.) Deckel eines Girlandensarkophags, Vorderseite. – 120–130 n. Chr. – Geflügelte Erosen in Wagen, die von verschiedenen Tieren, der Jahreszeit entsprechend, gezogen werden. Alle Erosen nackt, in der l. Hand halten sie die Zügel, in der r. eine kleine Peitsche. Die Tiere von l. nach r.: Bären (Frühling), Löwen (Sommer), Stiere (Herbst) und Eber (Winter); zwischen ihnen Pflanzen. Über den Löwen eine Bananestaude, über den Bären ein Birnbaum, über den Stieren ein Apfelbaum, über den Ebern ein Olivenbaum. Vor den Löwen, Stieren und Ebern befinden sich Pflanzen, vor den Bären Ähren. An jedem Ende, in Erinnerung an die Circusarena, eine *meta*.

113. Deckel eines Marmorsarkophags. Verloren, ehem. Pal. Corsini. – *Codex Coburgensis*, Blatt 198; Kranz Nr. 321 Taf. 91, 1. – Um 180 n. Chr. – Der Frühling (verloren), in einem Wagen, der von Stieren gezogen wird; darunter Blumen. Der Sommer: nackt, Tierfell um den l. Arm gewickelt, Ährenkranz (?) und in der Hand zwei Ähren; unter den Löwen Ähren. Der Herbst: Nebris über Brust und Bauch und über der l. Schulter befestigt; trägt Rebe und Weinranke in Händen; sein Wagen wird von Pantheren gezogen; unter diesen Krug mit Trauben. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton, Kopf bedeckt, hält zwei Enten in der r. und Binse in der l. Hand; sein Wagen von Ebern gezogen, hinter denen sich weitere Binsen befinden.

114.\* Deckel eines Marmorsarkophags. Vatikan, Mus. Chiaramonti 1607. – Kranz Nr. 324 Taf. 92, 1–2. – Um 270 n. Chr. – Putti in Wagen; der Frühling: in einem von Stieren gezogenen Wagen; nackt, Chlamys um den Hals und über dem l. Arm; mit der r. Hand hält er die Zügel, mit der l. einen Blumenkorb. Der Sommer: symmetrisch dem Vorhergehenden und identisch, in einem von Ziegenböcken gezogenen Wagen und mit einem Korb mit Ähren. Der Herbst: in einem von Pantheren gezogenen Wagen, mit Früchten in einem Korb. Der Winter: in einem von Ebern gezogenen Wagen, mit einem Korb, der ebenfalls Früchte zu enthalten scheint.

115. Deckel eines Marmorsarkophags. Rom, Katakombe von S. Croce. – Kranz Nr. 319 Taf. 91, 2. – Gallienisch. – Beidseits einer Tafel je ein Paar sich gegenüberstehender Bigen, die erste auf der l. Seite (Winter) ist verloren; von der zweiten ist nur der hintere Teil der Löwen und der Wagenlenker erhalten, der quer über der Brust einen kurzen Chiton trägt, Zweig in der Hand. Darunter Korb mit Blumen (Frühling). Auf der anderen Seite, über einer Ährengarbe, eine Löwenbiga; der geflügelte Wagenlenker trägt eine Sichel (Sommer). Der letzte Wagen wird von zwei Ziegenböcken gezogen, darunter Korb mit Früchten und Lagobolon; der Wagenlenker trägt einen Korb mit Blumen (Herbst). Die letzten beiden Wagenlenker sind nackt bis auf eine Chlamys über dem Rücken.

## E. Ungeflügelte Genien

### 1. Tanzend oder in schneller Bewegung

#### Wandmalerei

116. Ostia, Caupona del Pavone. Ambiente IX, Wand c. – Gasparri, C., *Le pitture della Caupona del Pavone* (1971) 25 Taf. 10, 1. – Anfang 3. Jh. n. Chr. – In einem der Seitenfelder der Wand tanzende nackte männliche Figur, die mit der l. Hand den Mantel und mit der r. einen Hasen oder ein Zicklein an den Hinterläufen hält: wahrscheinlich der Frühling. Die Figuren der restlichen Felder scheinen den Zyklus der Jahreszeiten nicht fortzusetzen.

117. Zerstört. Ostia, Mus. Ostiense 28 (10041). Aus Ostia, Nekropole der Isola Sacra, Grab 55. – Calza, a. O. 29, 137. 335 Abb. 65. – Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr. – In dem Gewölbe waren Büsten der vier Jahreszeiten. Auf der einen Wand tanzende männliche Figur, Chlamys über der l. Schulter, Pedom in der l. und Teller mit Früchten in der r. Hand. Sie könnte dem Herbst entsprechen, wenn auch hier dem gesamten Zyklus nicht gefolgt wird.

#### Polychrome Mosaiken

118. Tivoli, Villa des Hadrian. – Ashby, BSR 7, 1914, Nr. 2 Taf. 15, 2. – 118–138 n. Chr. – In den Winkeln eines Gewölbes, den Diagonalen folgend, vier männliche Figuren auf Medaillons. Der Winter: Chiton mit Gürtel, hält mit der l. Hand einen Kranz über den Kopf, in der r. einen Teller. Der Herbst: nackt, Chlamys über der l. Schulter, Pedom in der l.

Hand, mit der r. hebt er einen Teller mit Früchten über den Kopf. Der Frühling: wie der Herbst, aber mit Kranz in der l. und leerem Napf in der r. Hand. Der Sommer: nackt, Tuch um die Taille, pflanzliche Objekte in der l. Hand.

119. (= Horai/Horae 184) Volubilis, Haus des Dionysos und der Vier Jahreszeiten, *in situ*. – Parrish Nr. 66 Taf. 87–90. – 217–235 n. Chr. – Zyklus weiblicher Büsten abwechselnd mit ganzen männlichen Figuren. Letztere sind nackt, tragen lediglich hinter den Köpfen aufgeblähte Umhänge. Der Winter: frontal, mit langsamerem Schritt als die übrigen, hält den Mantel in Händen, in der r. Hand zwei Enten. Der Frühling hält eine Rose, der Sommer Ähren, der Herbst Reben, jeweils in der r. Hand.

#### Reliefs

120. Aschenurne des Vindonius, Stein. Sempeter, Mus. 33 und 52. – Klemenč, J./Kolsec, V./Petru, P., *Anticne Grobnice v Šempetru* (1972) 37–39 Taf. 78a. – 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Zwei Relieffelder mit je einer Figur; im einen ein Jüngling im kurzen Chiton mit Gürtel, einen großen Hasen über dem Kopf tragend. Im anderen ein nackter Jüngling, der auf einen Schemel steigt, das l. Bein bereits darauf gestützt; er trägt ein Pedom auf der r. Schulter, an dem ein Korb mit Früchten (?) hängt; in der anderen Hand zwei tote Tiere, möglicherweise Vögel.

121. (= Horai/Horae 51) Relief aus Rom, Palatin. – Überreste eines Genius.

### 2. In Bewegung, aber nicht tanzend

122. (= Horai/Horae 49) Bichromes Mosaik mit polychromem Emblem. Sagunto, Arch. Mus. Aus Sagunto. – Männliche Darstellungen des Frühlings, Sommers und Herbstes; alle sind nackt, tragen ein Pedom in der r. Hand und um den l. Arm ist eine Chlamys gewickelt; in der l. Hand trägt der erste ein unbestimmbares Objekt, der zweite ein Tablett, der dritte einen Früchtekorb. Der erste trägt auch einen Kranz aus Blättern und scheint daher dem Frühling zu entsprechen, während der letzte der Herbst wäre; dagegen weist der zweite kein Attribut auf, das eine Identifizierung mit dem Sommer zuläßt.

123.\* Polychromes Mosaik. Sousse, Arch. Mus. Aus Thysdrus. – Parrish Nr. 29 Taf. 42. – Um 225 n. Chr. – Darstellung der Jahreszeiten, Monate und stilisierter Pflanzenmotive. Der Frühling: Jüngling mit kurzem Ärmelchiton und Blumenkranz; Zicklein über den Schultern. Der Sommer: kurzer Ärmelchiton, der die r. Schulter freiläßt; Ährenbündel in der l. und erhobene Sichel in der r. Hand; Kranz aus Ähren. Der Herbst: Ärmelchiton, aber mit Clavus geschmückt, Kranz aus Trauben, Pedom in der l. Hand, in der r. ein Rhyton. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton und Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, in der r. Hand Hase, in der l. Schilfrohr, an dem zwei Enten hängen.

124. Marmorrelief. St. Veil an der Glan. Eingelassen in der Kirche. – Piccottini, G., CSIR Österr. II 4 Nr. 329 Taf. 16. – Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Verkleidungsplatte vom Sockel einer Grabaedicula, l. und r. Eckpilaster mit Reliefs: l. nackter Jüngling, mit gewende-

tem Kopf, Weinranke in der l. Hand, über der r. Schulter Pedom, an dem ein Korb hängt. R. ein ähnlicher Jüngling, mit gewendetem Kopf, in der r. Hand Sichel, über der l. Schulter Pedom. Es sind Frühling und Sommer, oder Herbst und Sommer. Zwei weitere ähnliche Figuren können auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite angenommen werden.

125. Relief des Grabmonuments der Prisciani, Sempeter, *in situ*. – Klemenč et al., a. O. 120, 78–81 Abb. S. 35. 50. 55. 67; Kranz, *BonnJb* 186, 1986, 232–235 Abb. 6–9. – 170–180 n. Chr. – Grabmonument in Form einer Aedicula; die seitlichen Wandpfeiler sind auf den Schmalseiten mit Figuren der Jahreszeiten verziert, die nur einen Teil der verschwenderischen Reliefdekoration des Monuments darstellen. Der Frühling: fast frontal, nackt, Chlamys über den Schultern, die über der Brust geknotet ist und über den Rücken fällt; in der r. Hand ein Objekt, in der l. Hand hält er ein Zicklein an den Vorderbeinen. Der Sommer: im Tanzschritt, um die Taille geknotetes Pantherfell, Ährenkranz, über der r. Schulter Korb mit Ähren, in der r. Hand Sichel. Der Herbst: ähnlich dem Sommer, aber nackt, um den l. Arm ein Pantherfell gewickelt; in den Händen ein kleines Baummesser und Korb mit Früchten, auf dem Kopf Kranz aus Weinlaub. Der Winter: vor der Brust geknotetes Tierfell, Kopf bedeckt und gewendet; in der l. Hand Stab, an dem zwei Enten hängen, in der r. Hand Hase.

126. (= Hades/Pluto 16 mit Lit., = Demeter/Ceres 133 mit Lit., = Horai/Horae 69b) Marmorsarkophag. Aachen, Münster G3. – *SarkRel* III 3, Nr. 378 Taf. 122 Abb. 378b. – Um 225 n. Chr. – Raub der Prosperina. Auf der einen Schmalseite drei männliche Jahreszeiten. Der Frühling: in der Mitte, Kopf gewendet, nackt bis auf eine mit Fibel befestigte Chlamys über Brust und über l. Arm; in einem Bausch der Chlamys Blumen; in der r. Hand Blume. Der Sommer: Ährenkranz, ähnliche Chlamys wie der Frühling, an seiner Seite Ähren. Der Herbst: Chlamys oder Nebris quer über der Brust, Thyrsos in der l. Hand.

127.\* Marmorsarkophag. Frascati, Pal. Vescovile. – Kranz Nr. 76 Taf. 50, 1; 50A. – Ende der Tetrarchie. – Löwensarkophag. Die zentrale Gruppe besteht aus dem Verstorbenen vor einem *Parapetasma*, das von zwei Genien gehalten wird; zwischen diesen und den Löwen in den Ecken befinden sich die Genien der vier Jahreszeiten. Der Winter: Hosen und Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt; in den Händen zwei Enten und Zweig, der verloren ist; zwischen seinen Beinen ein Eros, der einen Vogel hält. Der Frühling: kurzer leichter Chiton; hält Zicklein an den Vorderbeinen und ein weiteres, verlorenes Attribut. Der Herbst: in der einen Hand Hase, den ein Hund zu schnappen versucht, in der anderen Korb mit Früchten. Der Sommer: in der einen Hand Ährenbündel, in der anderen Sichel; zu seinen Füßen zwei Erosen, einer mit einem Löwen, der andere hält einen Hasen in den Armen.

128. Steinaltar. Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Mus. Carnuntinum. Aus einem Mithräum von Carnuntum. – *CIMRM* II Nr. 1685 Abb. 431–434. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf den vier Seiten des Altars befinden sich neun Fi-

guren: Caelus (→ Ouranos), die Winde und die Jahreszeiten. Der Frühling: neben Caelus, mit Blumenkranz. Der Sommer: auf der anderen Seite, mit Ährenkranz. Der Winter: alter Mann, der sein Haupt mit dem Mantel bedeckt. Der Herbst: mit zwei Reben auf dem Kopf. Alle stehen und sind nackt, mit Ausnahme des Winters.

129. Marmorstatuette. Neapel, Mus. Naz. Aus Formia. – Spinazzola, *Arti* Taf. 61; Hanfmann II Nr. 264. – 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Nackter Jüngling mit Chlamys über der l. Schulter, in der er Früchte hält; schräg über dem Körper eine Girlande aus Blättern und Früchten. Möglicherweise der Herbst.

### 3. Bewegungslos

#### Polychrome Mosaiken

130. (= Horai/Horae 54 mit Lit. und Querverweisen) El Djem, Arch. Mus. A 53. Aus Thysdrus. – In unmittelbarer Nähe des zentralen Medaillons jeweils männliche, nackte Figuren in mehr oder weniger frontaler Position: der Frühling mit Kranz aus Rosen; der Sommer mit Ährenkranz; der Herbst mit Kranz aus Trauben; der Winter mit Kranz aus Ölzweigen.

131. Aquileia, Casa delle Bestie Ferite. – Bertacchi, L., *Aquileia Nostra* 34, 1963, 34–36 Abb. 10–11; eadem, *«Architettura e mosaico»*. Da *Aquileia a Venezia* (1980) 170–172 Abb. 139. – 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Jagdszenen und Tiere; in den Ecken Reste von zwei Jahreszeiten. Der Sommer: Exomis und Sandalen; in Händen Sichel und Ährenbündel; auf dem Kopf Kranz aus Ähren und Blüten. Der Herbst: nur Gesicht und Teil der Büste erhalten; Chiton; trug Korb mit Früchten, die Bertacchi als Trauben identifiziert; Kranz von Blumen und Blättern. Beide trugen eine Kette um den Hals.

132. Tunis, Bardo A 187. Aus Karthago. – Parrish Nr. 14 Taf. 24a. – 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Fr. mit dem Winter: kurzer Chiton, Schuhe, Mütze und Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt; in der r. Hand zwei stark beschädigte Enten, in der l. eine Hacke.

133. (= Carthago 7 mit Lit.) Mosaik. Paris, Louvre MA 1788, 1789 und 2999. Aus Karthago. – Parrish Nr. 16 Taf. 25–26. – Ende 5. oder Anfang 6. Jh. n. Chr. – Dreißig kreisförmige Medaillons mit Jagdszenen, Kämpfen, Landschaften, Quadrigen usw. In der Mitte der oberen Reihe befindet sich die Personifikation von Karthago, an ihrer Seite die vier Jahreszeiten. Der Frühling: kurzer Chiton, Mantel, Schuhe; neben ihm hoher Behälter und Korb l., Blumenstrauß r. Der Sommer: kurzer Chiton; r. Krug und Blumen, l. Blumen und eine Art Standarte. Der Herbst: Chiton, Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, Blume in der r., Zweig mit Früchten in der l. Hand; unbestimmbare Objekte neben ihm. Der Winter (nur zum Teil erhalten): Chiton, Mantel, Hacke (?) in der Hand, neben ihm große Binse. Alle Figuren frontal.

134. (= 194) Karthago, Mus. Aus Karthago. – Parrish Nr. 13 Taf. 22–23. – 1. Hälfte 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Medaillon mit Tellus innerhalb eines Quadrates; dieses wird von vier Pflanzen gehalten, die Darstellungen der Jahreszeiten, Putti und Vögel aufweisen; zwischen diesen befinden sich Felder mit Szenen, die, wie



auch die Pflanzen, einen Bezug zu den Jahreszeiten haben. Von den Jahreszeiten sind nur Fragmente erhalten. Der Winter: Chiton, Gürtel mit Clavus, Braccae ebenfalls mit Clavus, Mantel, der vor der Brust geknotet ist, Stiefel; in der nächstgelegenen Volute sitzt eine Ente, in den anderen befinden sich Putti, die Oliven sammeln oder mit einem Stock Enten jagen. Frühling: nur drei ungeflügelte Knaben erhalten, die Blumen sammeln, und ein Korb mit Blumen, aufgehängt über der verlorengegangenen Figur des Frühlings. Sommer: nur ein Knabe erhalten, der Getreide erntet, und zwei Rebhühner. In den Feldern: Opfergabe an Attis (Frühling), Fest der Ceres (Sommer), dionysische Prozession (Herbst); der Winter fehlt.

**135.\*** Tunis, Bardo A 339. Aus Sufetula. – Parrish Nr. 56 Taf. 74b–76. – Ende 4. oder Anfang 5. Jh. n. Chr. – In der Apsis sechs Felder (im äußersten r. Porträt mit Inschrift *AVTOR XENOFONT*), in den mittleren, sehr beschädigt, die Jahreszeiten. Der Frühling: Teil des l. Arms erhalten, der einen Mantel trug und einen Blumenkorb hochhielt; darunter Reste eines Vogels. Der Sommer: nackt, Mantel, der über den Rücken fällt; in der l. Hand Ährenbündel, in der r. möglicherweise Sichel; l. und r. zwei kleine Amphoren. Der Herbst: Nebris; mit der r. Hand ergreift er eine getüpfelte Schlange, mit der l. eine Traube. Der Winter: nur beschuhter l. Fuß und Korb mit Oliven erhalten. Beischriften: *ESTAS* bzw. *AVTVMNVS*.

#### 136.–137. Vacant.

**138.** Algier, Mus. Nat. Aus Aumale (Auzia). – Parrish Nr. 5 Taf. 8. – Ende 3. oder Anfang 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Erhalten nur der Winter: nackter Jüngling mit Nebris, die einen Teil der Brust und den Kopf bedeckt; in der l. Hand zwei Enten, in der r. Hacke. Vielleicht handelt es sich um einen Satyr. Um ihn herum große Binseln.

**139.** Cordoba, Arch. Mus. Aus Cordoba. – Blázquez, *MosEsp* III Nr. 19 Taf. 22 Farbtaf. 84; Nicolini, M. N., *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 19, 1, 1983, 78–89. – Mitte 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Vier männliche Figuren, fast frontal, in vier Feldern, zu je zwei angeordnet. Der Frühling: stark beschädigt, Chiton bis zur Hälfte der Waden, *orbiculi* und *paragaudae*; Stiefel und in der r. Hand Objekt, das ein Spiegel sein könnte; um ihn Pflanzen und Blumen. Der Sommer: mit *orbiculi*, *paragaudae* und Schulterbändern, Stiefel; in der r. Hand Sichel, in der l. Ährenbündel; l. und r. ein Ölbaum. Der Herbst: gekleidet wie die Vorhergehenden, Sichel in der r. und Rebe in der l. Hand; l. und r. Reben. Der Winter: bekleidet wie die Vorhergehenden, Stiefel; was er hält, ist nach Nicolini ein Vogelkäfig oder ein Fanginstrument.

**140.** Antiochia, Säulengang des Theaters in Daphne. – Levi, *Antioch* 223 Taf. 50d. – 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Chiton, mit Clavus, bis zur Hälfte der Wade, und Mantel; in der r. Hand Gefäß mit Pflanze, in der l. Blume. Es scheint der Frühling zu sein.

**141.** Mausoleum von Centcelles (Tarragona), Gewölbe, *in situ*. – Schlunk, H./Hauschild, Th., *Hispania Antiqua. Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit* (1978) 124–127 Taf. 19, 1 Farbtaf. 3; Schlunk, H./Arbeiter, A., *Die Mosaikkuppel von Cent-*

*celles, Madrider Beitr.* 13 (1988). – Mitte 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Drei konzentrische Streifen. Im obersten Streifen sind große Palastfeste abgebildet, getrennt durch die vier Jahreszeiten, die in Form von nackten Jünglingen, fast frontal, auftreten; sehr stark beschädigt. Der Herbst ist fast ganz erhalten: nackt, Chlamys, die über den Rücken fällt, in der r. Hand drei Reben, die an einem Stab befestigt sind. Der Frühling, ihm gegenüber: ähnlich, nur Kopf und Teil der Brust erhalten; an seiner Seite große Lilien. Sommer: nur Teil der Ähren übriggeblieben.

#### Reliefs

**142.\*** Säulensarkophag, Marmor. Vatikan, Mus. Pio Cristiano 110. – Kranz Nr. 24 Taf. 5, 4; 13. – Anfang 4. Jh. n. Chr. – In der Zentralnische der »Gute Hirt«. Alle Jahreszeiten tragen kurzen Chiton, einen Mantel, der über der Schulter mit Fibel befestigt ist, quer über der Brust, und Stiefel. Der Herbst: Früchtekorb in der Hand (die übrigen Attribute sind nach Kranz modern ergänzt). Der Frühling: Blumenkorb und Girlande in den Händen, zu seinen Füßen Korb mit Blumen, darüber Girlande. Der Sommer: in den Händen Sichel und Korb mit Ähren, ein weiterer Korb mit Ähren auf dem Boden, im Hintergrund Girlande aus Ähren. Der Winter: Hase und Binse in den Händen, auf dem Boden Korb mit Oliven und Girlande aus Olivenblättern.

**143.\*** Säulensarkophag, Marmor. New York, MMA 18.145.51. – Kranz Nr. 9 Taf. 15, 2. – Um 275 n. Chr. – In der Mitte die Vorderseite des Grabes. Die Jahreszeiten stehen auf Sockeln. Alle tragen Chlamys quer über der Brust. Der Frühling: in den Händen Lagobolon und Hase, den ein Hund zu fassen versucht. Der Sommer: trägt Sichel und Korb mit Ähren; zu seinen Füßen Bär. Der Herbst: Rebe und Korb mit Trauben; zu seinen Füßen Zicklein. Der Winter: zwei Enten und Binse in den Händen; zu seinen Füßen Eber.

**144.** (= Dionysos/Bacchus 119\*, = Eros/Amor, Cupido 206/528 mit Lit.) Marmorsarkophag. Rom, Mus. Naz. Rom. 407. – Kranz Nr. 133 Taf. 57, 5; 58, 1; 59, 1. – Konstantinisch. – Im Zentrum Dionysos und Satyr. An ihren Seiten acht Genien; alle, mit Ausnahme des Winters, tragen quer über der Brust eine Chlamys. Der Frühling: zwei Girlanden und Blütenzweig in den Händen; zu seinen Füßen Eros mit Vogel. Der Sommer: Sichel und Früchtekorb in den Händen. Der Herbst: in der Hand Korb, neben ihm Rebe. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton, Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, Stiefel; in seinen Händen Binse und zwei Enten, auf dem Boden Ente. Zwischen diesen vier befinden sich andere Genien mit nicht streng jahreszeitlichen Attributen: einer, der einen Napf zum Munde führt; ein anderer, der den Frühling repräsentieren könnte, hält Lagobolon und Hasen, den ein Hund zu fassen versucht, der aber von einem kleineren Genius zurückgehalten wird. Ein dritter Genius mit Zweig und Korb, zu seinen Füßen Lamm; ein vierter mit Ziege auf dem Rücken.

**145.\*** Bronzerelief auf dem Aufsatz einer Holzschatulle. Budapest, Nat. Mus. 31.1885.34. Aus Fénepusztá, Ungarn. – Hampel, J., *Altentümer des frühen*

*Mittelalters in Ungarn* (1905) II 227–230 Taf. 181; Hanfmann II Nr. 362 Taf. 145. – 4.–5. Jh. n. Chr. – Die vier Jahreszeiten, Orpheus und dionysische Szenen. Der Frühling: kurzer Chiton, über der r. Schulter befestigter Mantel, der einen Teil der l. Brust bedeckt und über den Rücken fällt, Stiefel; in der r. Hand Blume, in der l. Blumenkorb; neben ihm vereinzelte Blumen und Korb mit Blumen. Der Sommer: kurzer Rock, in der r. Hand Sichel, in der l. Ährenbündel; neben ihm Ähren und Korb mit Früchten. Der Herbst: bekleidet wie der Frühling, aber mit leichteren Gewändern; Kranz aus Weinlaub, schneidet Trauben; neben ihm große Weinreben mit Trauben und Korb mit Trauben. Der Winter: ähnlich gekleidet, dazu Stiefel und Mütze; in den Händen hält er einen Hasen an den Hinterläufen und einen trockenen Zweig über der Schulter, an dem zwei Enten hängen.

#### Freiplastik

**146.** Marmorstatue, fr. Rom, Mus. Naz. Rom. – *MusNazRom* I 3 149–150 Nr. VI, 14 Abb. – 2.–3. Jh. n. Chr. – Der Frühling: nackt, ohne Kopf und in Höhe der Oberschenkel gebrochen; Chlamys, die den l. Teil der Brust bedeckt und über der r. Schulter von einer großen Fibel gehalten wird; mit dem l. Arm formt er eine große Falte, in welcher er Blumen hält.

**147.\*** Marmorstatue. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 6347. – Reinach, *RépStat* I 406, 1; Hanfmann II Nr. 269. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. (?) – Möglicherweise der Herbst: nackt, hält vor seiner Brust in einer Falte der Nebris eine Reihe von Früchten, zwischen denen Trauben zu erkennen sind.

**148.** Marmorstatue. Rom, Villa Albani. – Reinach, *RépStat* II 120, 6; Hanfmann II Nr. 270. – Möglicherweise der Herbst: nackt, trägt auf der l. Schulter Korb mit Trauben, in der r. Hand Zweig, mit Trauben.

**149.\*** Marmorstatue. Aus Pompei, Haus der Vettier. – Reinach, *RépStat* III 135, 3; Hanfmann II Nr. 285; Sogliano, A., *MonAnt* 8, 1898, 283 Abb. 21. – Möglicherweise der Winter: nackt, Kopf mit phrygischer Mütze bedeckt, hält mit der r. Hand ein Lamm an den Hinterbeinen und mit der l. einen Stab, an dem zwei tote Vögel herabhängen.

## F. Geflügelte Genien

### 1. In Bewegung

**150.\*** Marmorsarkophag. Rom, Villa Albani. – Kranz Nr. 54 Taf. 32, 3. – Um 250 n. Chr. – Sechs Genien. Die mittleren beiden halten einen Clipeus mit den Porträts eines Paares; darunter Szene des Traubentretens. Alle Genien, mit Ausnahme des Winters, tragen quer über der Brust eine Chlamys. Von l. nach r.: Genius mit Korb in Händen. Der Frühling: zwei Girlanden in den Händen, zwischen den Beinen Korb mit Blumen, dabei ein Eros. Einer der Genien, die den Clipeus halten, trägt einen Korb mit Ähren, zu seinen Füßen ein Eros, der Ähren schneidet. Der andere trägt einen Korb mit Trauben, zu seinen Füßen ein Weinlesender Eros. Der Herbst: in den Händen Pedum und Hase; zwischen den Beinen Korb mit Früchten und

Maske. Der Winter: kurzer Chiton, Mantel oder Chlamys, in den Händen Korb und Schilfstengel, zu seinen Füßen Schilfstau.

**151.\*** Marmorsarkophag. Vatikan, Ottogono del Belvedere 1081. – Kranz Nr. 61 Taf. 33, 1. – Um 265 n. Chr. – Sechs Genien, die zwei mittleren halten einen Clipeus mit Porträt des Verstorbenen, darunter Ochsengepann. Hinter den Genien, in der zweiten Ebene, Tellus und Oceanus, beide mit Füllhörnern. Alle tragen Chlamys quer über der Brust. Von l. nach r.: Der Sommer: Kranz aus Blüten und Ähren, in den Händen Korb mit Ähren und vielleicht Sichel; zu seinen Füßen Löwe. Der Frühling: Blumenkorb und Zweig; zu seinen Füßen Ziege. Der dritte Genius: Korb mit Trauben und Kranz aus Ähren. Der vierte: Korb mit Ähren und Blütenkranz. Der Herbst: Lagobolon, Korb mit Früchten und Kranz aus Weinlaub; zu seinen Füßen Panther. Der Winter: Kranz aus Binsen, in den Händen Binse und Korb; zu seinen Füßen Eber.

**152.\*** Marmorsarkophag. Gubbio, Pal. dei Consoli. – Kranz Nr. 36 Taf. 33, 4. – Um 280. – Ähnlich wie 151. Der Winter: Kranz aus Binsen, in den Händen Korb mit Oliven; zu seinen Füßen Eber. Der Sommer: Ährenkranz, Korb mit Ähren, Sichel; zu seinen Füßen Kalb. Der eine der Clipeusträger: Korb und Kranz aus Blüten; der andere: Korb und Ährenkranz; sie entsprechen somit dem Frühling und dem Sommer. Der Frühling: Blütenkranz, Blumenkorb und Zweig; zu seinen Füßen Hirschkuh. Der Herbst: Kranz aus Weinlaub, Früchtekorb und Thyrsos; zu seinen Füßen Panther.

### 2. Bewegungslos

**153.** (= Dionysos/Bacchus 118\* mit Lit.) Marmorsarkophag. Paris, Louvre Ma 1046. – Kranz Nr. 132 Taf. 54, 2; Baratte/Metzger, *SarcLouvre* Nr. 70. – Um 240 n. Chr. – Im Zentrum Dionysos; l. und r., in der zweiten Ebene, Oceanus und Tellus; vor ihnen die Jahreszeiten, alle mit Chlamys quer über der Brust. Der Winter: zwei Enten und verlorenes Attribut in den Händen, möglicherweise eine Binse; zu seinen Füßen kleiner Eber. Der Frühling: mit Blumenkorb, darüber Eros, und mit Zweig. Der Herbst: Trauben, die ein kleiner Eros gebracht hat; zwischen den Beinen ein Eros mit Trauben im Mantel; vielleicht trug er auch Lagobolon oder Thyrsos (verloren). Der Sommer: Attribute nicht erhalten; zu seinen Füßen Kalb.

**154.\*** Marmorsarkophag. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Mus. S 235. Aus einem Grab in Tourmou'saya. – Kranz Nr. 129 Taf. 54, 3. – Um 260 n. Chr. – Im Zentrum Dionysos; daneben in zweiter Ebene, Ge und Oceanus; vor ihnen die Jahreszeiten, alle mit Chlamys quer über der Brust. Der Winter: Attribute verloren. Der Frühling: Blütenkranz und Blumenkorb. Der Sommer: Kranz und Korb mit Ähren. Der Herbst: Kranz und Korb mit Trauben. Die anderen jahreszeitlichen Attribute sind nicht erhalten.

**155.\*** Marmorsarkophag. Kassel, Staatl. Mus. Sk. 46. – Kranz Nr. 130 Taf. 56, 1. – Um 250 n. Chr. – Im Zentrum Dionysos auf Tiger, umringt von Erosen und Tieren. Die vier Jahreszeiten mit Chlamys quer über

der Brust. Der Winter: Binsenkranz, in den Händen mit Früchten gefülltes Füllhorn und zwei Enten; zu seinen Füßen Eber. Der Frühling: Zweige im Haar, in den Händen Korb mit Girlanden und eine Girlande; zu seinen Füßen Eros und Pfau. – Der Sommer: in den Händen Sichel und Korb mit Ähren. Der Herbst: Kranz aus Weinlaub, in den Händen Füllhorn und Hase; zu seinen Füßen Eros mit Hund und Lagobolon, ein anderer auf Panther, der eine Pfote auf einen Korb mit Früchten oder Trauben stellt.

**156.** (= Dionysos/Bacchus **117\*** mit Lit.) Marmorsarkophag. New York, MMA 55.11.5. – Kranz Nr. 131 Taf. 56, 2. – Um 260 n. Chr. – Im Zentrum Dionysos auf Tiger. Die vier Jahreszeiten mit Chlamys quer über der Brust. Der Winter: Binsenkranz, in den Händen Binse und zwei Enten; zu seinen Füßen Eber. Der Frühling: Blütenkranz, in den Händen Korb mit Blumen und Girlanden, und ein Zweig; zu seinen Füßen Eros mit Flöte und ein anderer, der eine Pflanze pflegt. Der Sommer: Ährenkranz, Sichel und Korb mit Ähren; zu seinen Füßen Hirsch; auf seinem Arm ein Eros mit Ährenkranz. Der Herbst: Kranz aus Weinlaub, Hase und Füllhorn; unter ihnen ein Eros mit Korb, Trauben und Hund.

**157.\*** Marmorsarkophag. Vatikan, Cortile Ottaviano del Belvedere 879. Aus Rom, Porta Maggiore. – Kranz Nr. 90 Taf. 48, 4; 49. – Um 270 n. Chr. – Löwensarkophag. Im Zentrum der Verstorbene vor einem *Parapetasma*. L. der Winter: kurzer Chiton, Mantel quer über der Brust, Stiefel; in der einen Hand Binse, in der anderen zwei Enten; neben ihm Korb und Eber. Frühling und Herbst halten das *Parapetasma* und tragen Chlamys quer über der Brust; der Frühling hält Zweig und Girlande in der Hand, der Herbst ein Pedum; zu ihren Füßen Korb mit Früchten und Ziegenbock. Der Sommer: hält Korb mit Ähren und Hase; zu seinen Füßen Korb mit Blumen.

**158.\*** Marmorsarkophag. Pisa, Camposanto Monumentale 31. – Kranz Nr. 44 Taf. 32, 2. – Um 230 n. Chr. – In der Mitte halten zwei Jahreszeiten einen Clipeus mit den Porträts eines Paares, darunter eine Pflugszene. Zwischen den Jahreszeiten Tellus und Oceanus. Alle vier Genien tragen Kränze aus Blumen und Ähren im Haar, sowie ein kleines Füllhorn mit Trauben, Ähren und Äpfeln, als Symbole für die verschiedenen Jahreszeiten; zu Füßen des ersten Korb mit Früchten und Löwe oder Panther; zu Füßen des letzten ein nicht erkennbares Tier.

**159.** (= Attis **146\*** mit Lit., = Eros/Amor, Cupido **569** mit Lit.) Marmorsarkophag. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks College 36.65. – Kranz Nr. 34 Taf. 39, 3. – Spätkonstantinisch. – Clipeus mit den Porträts eines Paares, der von zwei Jahreszeiten gehalten wird; darunter Weinlese. Alle tragen eine Chlamys, die über den Rücken fällt, der Winter außerdem Hosen wie die des Attis. Der Winter: Binsenkranz, zu seinen Füßen Eber. Der Frühling (hält l. den Clipeus): Blütenkranz; darunter Hirt, der eine Ziege melkt. Der Sommer (hält den Clipeus r.): Ährenkranz; darunter Bauer, der Ähren schneidet. Der Herbst: Kranz aus Weinlaub, zu seinen Füßen Reste von zwei Panther. Die übrigen Attribute nicht erhalten.

**160.\*** Marmorsarkophag. Paris, Louvre Ma 348. – Kranz Nr. 67 Taf. 43, 1; Baratte/Metzger, *SarcLouvre* Nr. 111. – Um 275 n. Chr. – Viktorien halten einen Clipeus (modern ergänzt mit Dionysos als Kind, einer Frau sowie einem Kind in *velificatio*). Der Winter: Binsenkranz im Haar und in der einen Hand, in der anderen zwei Enten; zu seinen Füßen Reste eines Ebers. Der Frühling: Blütenkranz, in den Händen Blumenkorb und Zweig; zu seinen Füßen Antilope. Der Sommer: Ährenkranz, in den Händen Korb mit Ähren und Ährenbündel (?); zu seinen Füßen Kalb. Der Herbst: Trauben und Weinblätter im Haar, Thyrsos und vielleicht Trauben in den Händen; zu seinen Füßen Reste eines Panthers.

**161.** (= **101**) Sarkophag. Rom, Pal. Cons. 1185. – In der Mitte Grabtür in Form einer distylen Porticus, gekrönt mit Giebel (zu den Reliefs der Türflügel s. **101**); beidseits je ein Säulenpaar, das je einen Arkadenbogen stützt; darunter die Jahreszeiten. Der Frühling: Blütenkranz im Haar, in den Händen Blumenkorb und möglicherweise Girlande; zu seinen Füßen Widder. Der Winter: Binsenkranz, Binse und zwei Enten in den Händen; zu seinen Füßen Eber; zwischen diesen beiden Jahreszeiten befindet sich eine Maske des Pan auf einem Pfeiler. Der Herbst: Kranz aus Weinlaub und Trauben; in den Händen Thyrsos und verlorenes Objekt; zu seinen Füßen Panther. Der Sommer: Ährenkranz und Korb mit Ähren in der Hand; zu seinen Füßen Löwe. Zwischen beiden hängt an einem Pfeiler die Maske des Silen.

**162.\*** Marmorsarkophag. Vatikan, Mus. Greg. Prof. 10411, 10411A. Von der Via Latina. – Kranz Nr. 62 Taf. 34, 3. – Um 280 n. Chr. – Clipeus mit Porträt der Verstorbenen, gehalten von zwei Genien; darunter Putti, die mit Masken spielen. Insgesamt acht Figuren; die äussersten sind Victorien mit Girlanden, die übrigen Genien. Die erste Victoria hält eine Girlande aus Olivenblättern (?), zu ihren Füßen Pfau. Der Winter: Hase in der Hand, den ein Hund zu fassen versucht; Korb mit Oliven. Der Herbst: Früchtekorb und Lagobolon in den Händen; zu seinen Füßen Korb mit Früchten. Die beiden Genien, die den Clipeus halten: Kranz aus Binsen; Körbe mit Oliven in den Händen; zu ihren Füßen jeweils Eros auf Früchtekörben. Der Sommer: Ährenkranz, in den Händen Korb mit Ähren und Sichel, zu seinen Füßen Korb mit Ähren. Der Frühling: in den Händen Zweig und Girlande; Blütenkranz; Blumenkorb zu seinen Füßen. Die andere Victoria hält eine Blumengirlande.

**163.\*** Marmorsarkophag. San Francisco, Fine Arts Mus. 54662. – Kranz Nr. 58 Taf. 34, 4. – Um 270 n. Chr. – Hauptseite: sechs Genien, die zwei mittleren halten einen Clipeus mit Porträt der Verstorbenen; darunter Putti, die mit Tieren spielen. Alle Genien sind nackt bis auf eine Chlamys, die vor der Brust geknotet ist und über den Rücken fällt. Der Herbst: in den Händen Korb und Thyrsos, eine Gruppe Erosen, die auf Panther reiten, folgen ihm. Der Winter: Korb und Binse; zu seinen Füßen Eros mit Girlande. Diejenigen, welche den Clipeus halten, tragen je einen Korb mit Blumen bzw. mit Früchten. Der Sommer: Ähren und Korb mit Ähren; zu seinen Füßen Eros mit

Korb mit Ähren und Sichel. Der Frühling: Blumenkorb und Zweig, zu seinen Füßen Eros mit Girlande. Linke Schmalseite: der Herbst mit Trauben und Pedum und der Frühling in kurzem Chiton und Stiefeln, mit Korb und Zweig. Rechte Schmalseite: der Winter, mit zwei Enten, und der Sommer, mit Sichel und Korb.

**164.\*** Marmorsarkophag. Rom, Villa Doria Pamphilj. – Kranz Nr. 55 Taf. 40, 1. – Um 280 n. Chr. – Clipeus mit Porträt, gehalten von zwei Genien, darunter zwei Füllhörner. Der Winter: Binse und Korb in den Händen. Der Frühling: Blumengirlande und Korb; zwischen beiden Pfau auf Blumenkorb. Die Genien, welche den Clipeus halten, haben keine Attribute. Der Sommer hält eine Sichel, der Herbst einen Thyrsos; zwischen beiden Pfau auf Korb mit Trauben.

**165.** Marmorrelief. Konstantinsbogen. – L'Orange, H. P./v. Gerkan, A., *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens* (1939) 153–155 Taf. 35. – 2. Viertel 4. Jh. n. Chr. – In den Bogenzwickeln Viktorien mit Trophäen; darunter die vier Jahreszeiten als Jünglinge. Der Sommer: nackt, Sichel in der r. Hand, Früchtekorb vor der Brust, Mantel um den Bauch und Trauben auf dem Kopf. Der Herbst: große Rebe in der r. Hand, vor dem Bauch hält er ein rundes Gefäß mit breiter Öffnung; quer über die Brust Mantel, der von einer Fibel auf der r. Schulter gehalten wird. Der Winter: Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt; in der r. Hand zwei Gänse, in der l. Lamm. Der Frühling: Mantel um den Bauch, dessen eines Ende über die l. Schulter läuft; in der r. Hand Kranz, in der l. Blumenkorb.

## G. Sitzende Genien

**166.** (= Horai/Horae 77) Bemaltes Gewölbe der Villa Hadriana, Tivoli. – Der Winter, einzige männliche Figur, in Form eines bekleideten Alten mit Bart, der seine Hände an einem Feuer wärmt.

**167.\*** Miniatur des Codex Chronikon Zwiefaltense Mus. Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek 415. – Parrish, D., *La mosaïque romaine tardive* (1982) 18 Taf. 7, 1. – Romanisch. – Aion, Zodiacus und Monate in konzentrischen Kreisen; in den Winkeln die vier Jahreszeiten. Der Herbst: Ärmelchiton und Hut; die r. Hand hält Trauben vor der Brust; Korb mit Trauben; Beischr. *Autunus*. Der Winter: alter Mann vor dem Feuer sitzend, in Chiton und Mantel und mit mitraartiger Kopfbedeckung; Beischr. *Hiemps*. Der Sommer: nackt, Sichel in der r. Hand und Ährenbündel in der l.; Beischr. *Estat*. Der Frühling: Ärmelchiton, Blumensträuße in den Händen; Beischr. *Ver*.

**168.** Polychromes Mosaik. Verloren. Aus Karthago. – Parrish Nr. 11 Taf. 19. – Ende 4. oder Anfang 5. Jh. n. Chr. – Die mittlere Figur, die als Tellus oder besser Aion identifiziert wurde, und die Monate in konzentrischen Kreisen; in den äußeren Winkeln die vier Jahreszeiten. Der Winter, (*H*)*IE*MNS: Chiton und Mantel, der den Kopf nicht bedeckt, Stiefel; mit beiden Händen hält er einen Früchtekorb; zwischen ihm und dem Frühling ein Entenpaar. Der Frühling,

*VERNVS*: Chiton und Mantel; hält Früchtekorb; l. Vogel und Strauch mit Blumen und Früchten. Der Sommer, [*AE*]STAS: gekleidet wie der Frühling; hält Tablett mit Früchten; r. Ähren. Der Herbst, *AVTVMNVS*: gleiche Kleidung; hält Früchtekorb; l. Tablett auf hohem Ständer, r. Vögel.

## H. Köpfe

**169.** Gewölbmalerei. Rom, Grab 29 an der Via Ostiense nach S. Paolo. – Lugli, *NotSc* 1919, 345 Abb. 30. – 1. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf einem der Wandpfeiler Kinderkopf mit Nimbus, der aus einem Akanthuskelch ragt; zu seinen Seiten zwei Greifenköpfe und zwei Akanthusvoluten, auf jedem eine Taube; vielleicht der Frühling.

## ZWEIFELHAFT

**169a)** Gewölbmalerei. Hypogäum von Grotta Rossa an der Via Flaminia. – Bendinelli, *NotSc* 1927, 304 Abb. 6. – Gewölbe mit den vier Jahreszeiten; darunter Köpfe, die aus Akanthuskelchen ragen, mit Blumen an den Seiten; es sind keine spezifischen Attribute zu sehen.

**170.** Wandmalerei. Rom, Haus an der Via de' Cerchi. – Strong, A., *BSR* 8, 1916, 97–98 Taf. 3–4. – Severisch. – In den Feldern zwischen den Säulen sind Büsten mit Nimbus erhalten, die aus Akanthuskelchen auf sehr feinen Pflanzenstengeln ragen; Attribute sind nicht zu erkennen.

## I. Büsten

### Wandmalerei

**171.** (= Horai/Horae **174\***) Gewölbmalerei. Ostia, Mus. Ostiense 41 (10043) und 42 (10042). Aus Ostia, Isola Sacra, Grab 57. – Um 200 n. Chr. – Von den drei erhaltenen Büsten ist der Winter vielleicht männlich (Calza: dal viso maschio).

**172.** (= **83**) Nekropole von Anamur. – Männliche Büsten, gerahmt von Lorbeerkränzen. Nur der Winter erhalten: Bart, Kopf bedeckt, Inschrift *XEIMON*.

### Polychrome Mosaiken

**173.** Carmona, Rathaus. – Blázquez, *MosEsp* IV Nr. 16 Taf. 13. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Alter Mann mit Bart, Chiton und Mantel; Binsenkranz, von einem breiten Band gehalten; Zweig über der l. Schulter, an dem zwei tote Enten hängen.

**174.** (= Horai/Horae **211**) Mosaik der Siegreichen Athleten. – Der Herbst mit dionysischen Zügen (männlich?).

**175.** Tourmont, *in situ* (zugedeckt). – Stern, H., *RecMosGaule* I 3 Nr. 346 Taf. 43. – Um 220 n. Chr. – Im Zentrum Löwe, die vier Winde, Kentaur und Greifen; in den Diagonalen vier Medaillons mit Büsten, die männlich zu sein scheinen. Der Frühling: Jüngling mit Blütenkranz und Strauß vor der Brust. Der Sommer: mit Ährenbündel. Der Herbst: mit



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Zweig, behängt mit Reben. Der Winter: Frau mit bedecktem Kopf; daneben trockener Zweig und Gabel.

176. Aus Spoonley Wood, Sudly (Glos.), verloren. – Smith 132 Nr. 93; Ling, R., *Britannia* 14, 1983, 17 Taf. 2b. – 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Nur eine Büste von vier erhalten, möglicherweise der Winter (Smith) oder der Herbst (Ling): männlich, Rechen hinter der r. Schulter.

177. Kalamata, Mus. Aus Andania. – Waywell, S. E., *AJA* 83, 1979, 294 Nr. 2 Taf. 45. – Ende 5. Jh. n. Chr. – *Venatio* und Circus-Szenen, in den Winkeln die Büsten der vier Jahreszeiten. Der Frühling: Chiton, Mantel, Blumengirlande auf dem Kopf. Der Winter: Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt.

178. Argos, Museum. Aus Argos, Hagios Taxiarchis. – Åkerström-Hougen, G., *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos* (1974) 127–129 Nr. 11 Taf. 10–11. – Ende 5. oder Anfang 6. Jh. n. Chr. – Vier Felder mit Büsten, diejenige des Winters zumindest ist mit Sicherheit männlich; die anderen möglicherweise auch. Der Winter: Bart, Chiton, Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt; vor seiner l. Schulter Binse, auf der ein Blatt und ein Kürbis (?) aufgesetzt sind; darunter zwei Enten und drei Fische; Beischrift *XIMQN*. Der Frühling, stark beschädigt: Jüngling ohne Bart, Blumengirlande auf dem Kopf, ärmel loser Chiton und Mantel, der auf der r. Schulter mit Fibel befestigt ist; in der r. Hand müßte er eine zweite Blumengirlande tragen; Beischr. *AIAP*. Der Sommer: nur Kopf erhalten; gekrönt mit Blüten und Ähren; Beischr. *ΘΕΡΟΣ*. Der Herbst: erhalten der obere Teil des Kopfes, gekrönt mit Trauben und anderen Früchten; Beischr. *ΜΕΘΟΠΩΡΟ*.

179. \* Nea Paphos (Zypern), Haus des Dionysos. – Michaelidis, D., *Cypriot Mosaics* (1987) Nr. 8 Taf. 3. – Ende 2. oder Anfang 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Neun Bilder mit Büsten der vier Jahreszeiten in den Ecken, eines in der Mitte ohne Attribute, die eine Identifikation ermöglichen würden (Dionysos oder Aion), und vier *Xenia* oder kleine Bilder, mit Motiven, die mit den vier Jahreszeiten in Verbindung stehen. Der Winter: Alter mit Bart, Chiton, Mantel über der l. Schulter; über dem Kopf eine umgedrehte Amphore, aus der Wasser fließt; im Bild neben ihm Wasservogel. Der Herbst: Nebris, Blätterkranz und Baummesser; über ihm, im entsprechenden Bild, Körbe mit Trauben und anderen Früchten. Der Frühling: ähnlich wie der Herbst, Nebris, welche die Arme freiläßt, Blütenkranz und, nach Michaelidis, Pedum, das auf jeden Fall dem Messer des Herbstes sehr ähnelt. An seiner Seite Ziege neben Baum, mit Vogel und Panflöte. Der Sommer: stark zerstört, scheint ebenfalls eine Nebris zu tragen, mit Ährenkranz und Sichel; im nächstliegenden kleinen Bild Reihe von frischen Gemüsen, ebenfalls stark zerstört.

#### Reliefs

180. Grabrelief, fr., Stein. Graz, Landesmus. Joanneum 202. Aus Gröbming (Österreich). – Diez, E., *Oefh* 42, 1955, 74–84 Abb. 44. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Fünf Medaillons, von denen nur das große mittlere und ein Teil des oberen r. erhalten sind; im ersten ein Jüng-

ling mit Biga, wahrscheinlich der Verstorbene, mit einem kleinen fliegenden Kopf über den Pferden, der dem Mond entsprechen müßte; im anderen Medaillon Büste eines bärtigen Alten, in Mantel, welcher auch den Kopf bedeckt. Unter dem Medaillon Korb mit Früchten.

181. Grabmonument. London, BM 1948.4.231. Ehem. Rom, Slg. Stephano del Busto. – Wrede, H., *RM* 1978, 412–415 Taf. 133. – 130–140 n. Chr. – Monument in Form von zwei nebeneinander liegenden Grabnischen, mit je einer weiblichen Statue; im Zentrum des Schlußsteins des Bogens je eine weibliche Büste; über den Kapitellen der seitlichen Wandpfeiler weitere Büsten, die nach Wrede die Genien der Jahreszeiten darstellen.

182. Marmorrelief. Paris, Louvre. Aus einem Mi-thräum in Sidon. – *CIMRM* Nr. 75 Abb. 26. – Um 188 n. Chr. – Mithasrelief. In den Winkeln Büsten der vier Jahreszeiten. L. unten der Winter: Mütze, l. Ente. R. unten der Herbst: Mantel über den Schultern, Kranz auf dem Kopf; neben ihm Früchtekorb. Oben l. der Frühling: quer getragener Mantel, Blätterkranz; r. Korb mit Früchten. Oben r. der Sommer: Maisähren auf dem Haupt, große Ähre an seiner Seite. Zwischen den letzten beiden Büste der Selene.

#### J. Hermen

183. Marmorsarkophag. Ioannina, Mus. 412. Aus Lambovithra (Paramythia, Epiros). – Matz, F., *SarkRel* IV 1 Nr. 8; 104 Taf. 10–11. – Ende 1. oder Anfang 2. Jh. n. Chr. – An den Ecken der Vorderseite Hüfthermen mit kurzem Chiton und Mantel, der über der r. Schulter geknotet ist. Der Herbst: in der einen Hand (verloren) eine Taube, in der anderen Trauben. Der Sommer: Sichel und Ähren.

184. Marmorsarkophag. Subiaco, Santa Scolastica. – Matz, F., *SarkRel* IV 2, Nr. 78; 194, Taf. 94–95; Wiegartz, *KISäulensark* 178, 15. – 160–170 n. Chr. – Triumph des Dionysos. L. und r. Hüfthermen: l. der Herbst: ärmel loser Chiton; vor dem Bauch hält er mit beiden Händen einen Korb mit Früchten. Die Herme r. ist in sehr schlechtem Zustand.

#### K. Masken

185. Polychromes Mosaik. El Djem. Aus Thysdrus. – Foucher, L., *Latomus* 20, 1961, 291–297 Taf. 11. 13. – 1. Drittel 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Mosaik eines Triklinium mit *asarotos oikos* und dionysischen Elementen; dazwischen vier Masken, die, nach Foucher, jahreszeitliche Attribute aufweisen. Der Frühling: Kranz aus Blüten; der Sommer: aus Ähren; der Herbst: bacchische Maske; der Winter: stark beschädigt.

#### Reliefs

186. Sarkophagdeckel, fr. Vatikan, Mus. Chiaramonti 406b. – Spätromisch. – Brennecke, T., *Kopf und Maske. Untersuchungen zu den Akroteren an Sarkophag-*



deckeln (1970) 110 Nr. 191. – Der Frühling mit Kranz aus großen Blüten.

187. Sarkophagdeckel, fr. Berlin, Schloß Glienicke 116. – Brenneke, a. O. 186, 111 Nr. 192. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Der Sommer: zwei Ähren an den Schläfen.

188. Sarkophagdeckel, fr. Paris, Louvre, Hof, 777. – Brenneke, a. O. 186, 112 Nr. 193. – Maske mit Sichel, Ähren, Weinlaub und Trauben: möglicherweise Sommer und Herbst in einer einzigen Figur vereinigt.

189. (= 89, = Horai/Horae 92\*) Sarkophagdeckel. Vatikan, Cortile Ottogono des Belvedere Inv. 941. – Brenneke, a. O. 186, 112–113 Nr. 194. – 140–150 n. Chr. – Zwei Masken: der Herbst mit satyrhaften Zügen, gekrönt mit Weinlaub; der Winter mit bedecktem Haupt.

## L. Jahreszeitliche Aktivitäten

### Wandgemälde

190. Herculanum, Casa del Gran Portale. – Maiuri, A., *Ercolano* (1958) 1381 Abb. 312. – Mitte 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Zwei geflügelte, nackte Eroten sammeln große Rosen und stellen sie in ein Gefäß; der eine hält auch ein Gefäß in der l. Hand.

### Polychrome Mosaiken

191.\* Tunis, Bardo 1. Aus Karthago. – Parrish Nr. 9 Taf. 15–16; Schneider, L., *Die Domäne als Weltbild* (1983) 68–84 Abb. 17. – Ende 4. oder Anfang 5. Jh. n. Chr. – Mosaik des *Iulius Dominus* mit Darstellung einer Villa mit Galerie im Zentrum, flankiert von Jagdszenen; oben und unten jahreszeitliche Aktivitäten. Oben l. der Winter: Mann mit kurzem Chiton, Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, Hosen und Stiefel; trägt vor der Brust zwei Enten. Vor ihm zwei Knaben mit kurzem Chiton, Hosen und bedecktem Kopf, die Oliven sammeln, und Frau in langem Chiton, verziert mit *Clavus*, die einen mit Oliven gefüllten Korb trägt; sie wenden sich in Richtung einer sitzenden Frau im Zentrum der oberen Fläche, möglicherweise die Herrin der Villa. R. der Sommer: Frau in langem Chiton; sie wendet sich mit einem Lamm in den Armen an dieselbe Frau. Im Hintergrund Hütte mit angebundenem Hund und Ährenfeld. Untere Szene: nur Reste eines sitzenden Mannes und Schaf neben einem Baum erhalten. Der Herbst: der Herr der Villa, unter Obstbäumen sitzend, erhält ein Pergament mit der Inschrift *Iul(io) Dom(ino)* von einem Diener, der sich von l. nähert; von r. kommt ein anderer mit Korb mit Trauben auf den Schultern und einem Hasen, den er mit der l. Hand an den Hinterläufen hält; vor ihm ein Gitter, das vielleicht eine Weinkelter symbolisiert. Beide tragen kurzen Chiton mit *Clavus*. Der Frühling: die reich geschmückte Herrin der Villa empfängt von einem Diener Juwelen, um ihren Schmuck zu vervollständigen, während sich ihr ein weiterer Diener mit einem Blumenkorb nähert; auf der anderen Seite ein Hund. Alle tragen Chiton mit *Clavus* und sind umgeben von Rosensträuchern.

192. (= Horai/Horae 29) Aus La Chebba (Tunesien). – Neben dem Zyklus der Horen ein zweiter Zy-

klus mit jahreszeitlichen Aktivitäten. Winter: Eber zwischen Schilfrohr und Jüngling in kurzem Chiton mit *Clavus*, der Oliven in einen Korb sammelt, der an seiner Schulter hängt. Frühling: Hund zwischen Rosen und Jüngling, der auf seinen Schultern einen Korb mit Rosen trägt. Sommer: Löwe zwischen Ähren und Jüngling, der sich anschickt, einen Korb mit Ähren vom Boden hochzuheben. Herbst: Panther und Jüngling mit Stab auf der l. Schulter, an dem zwei Eimer voll Trauben hängen; zwischen Weinstöcken.

193. (= 57, = Horai/Horae 80) Aus Saint-Romain-en-Gal. – Um die Personifikationen der Jahreszeiten herum sieben Bilder mit jahreszeitlichen Aktivitäten (einige von ihnen verloren). Winter: Säen, Mahlen, Bringen von Dung, Backofen, Opfer an die Laren, Körbeflechten, Totenfeier. Frühling: Rückkehr der Störche, Beschneiden der Bäume. Sommer: Opfer an Taranis, Speerwerfen, Beschneiden der Bäume. Herbst: Apfelernte, Pflügen und Säen, Olivenenernte, Weinlese, Olivenkrüge, Traubentreten.

194. (= 134) Putti jagen Enten mit einem Stab oder sammeln Oliven (Winter), pflücken Blumen (Frühling) oder schneiden Ähren (Sommer).

### Reliefs

195. (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 365\* mit Lit.) Marmorsarkophag, fr. Genf, Mus. MF 1362. – Déonna, W., *Cat. des sculptures antiques* (1924) Nr. 157; Chama, J./Maier, J. L., *Art romain, Sculptures en pierre du Mus. de Genève II* (1989) n° 89 pl. 91. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. (?) – Herbst: ein mit zwei großen Weidekörben voll Trauben beladener Wagen, der von zwei Ochsen gezogen wird; sie werden von einem geflügelten nackten Eros geführt, unterstützt von einem weiteren mit Chlamys quer über die l. Schulter.

196. (= Eros/Amor, Cupido 497/527\* mit Lit.) Sarkophagdeckel, Marmor. Rom, Mus. Naz. Rom. 221328 (196261). Aus Rom, Piazzale Prenestina. – Kranz Nr. 336 Taf. 94. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Frühling: drei Eroten in Blumenfeld, die in einer Falte ihres Mantels Blumen sammeln; ein weiterer trägt einen Korb mit Blumen. Winter (?): ein Eros schlägt mit einem Lagobolon auf den Zweig eines Baumes, vielleicht ein Ölbaum, auf den ein anderer mit Hilfe einer Leiter geklettert ist; eine weitere Gruppe sammelt Äpfel. Herbst: ein Eros auf einer Leiter schneidet Trauben, die ein zweiter in einen Korb legt. Sommer: vier Eroten ernten Ähren: einer schnürt eine Garbe, zwei schneiden Ähren und der vierte trägt eine Garbe.

197. Sarkophagdeckel. Gerona, Mus. Arq. Prov. Aus Ampurias. – Kranz Nr. 330 Taf. 41, 1. – Um 275 n. Chr. – In der Mitte Tafel ohne Inschrift. Herbst: nackte Eroten, die von einer Weinranke Trauben schneiden, sie in ein großes Gefäß werfen und treten. Winter: Eroten in kurzem Chiton, Hosen und Stiefeln, die Oliven pflücken; zwei weitere geben sie in eine Presse.

198.\* Sarkophagdeckel. Vatikan, Campo Santo Teutonico, Mus. – Kranz Nr. 338 Taf. 95, 2. – In der Mitte Tafel mit Inschrift. Herbst: nackte Eroten, die Trauben treten. Sommer: nackte Eroten, die große Ähren schneiden.

199. (= Dionysos/Bacchus 94\* [Kasten]) Sarkophagdeckel. Rom, Mus. Naz. Rom. 124711. – Kranz Nr. 335 Taf. 95, 3. – Tetrarchisch. – In der Mitte Tafel. L. jahreszeitliche Aktivitäten, r. Büsten vor einem Parapetasma. Sommer: nackte Putti schneiden und tragen Ähren; Herbst: nackte Putti lesen und treten Trauben.

200. (= 89, = 189, = Horai/Horae 92\*) Sarkophagdeckel. Vatikan, Cortile Ottogono des Belvedere Inv. 941. – 140–150 n. Chr. – Vier gelagerte Horae; zwischen ihnen Eroten; der dem Sommer entsprechende schneidet Ähren mit einer Sichel.

201. Schmalseiten eines Sarkophags. Vatikan, Mus. Greg. Prof. (ehem. Lateran 181). – Wilpert, G., *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi I* (1929) 142 Taf. 117, 2–3; III (1936) 15–16; Hanfmann II 539. – Mitte 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Frühling: Putto mit Hase und Hund, ein zweiter mit Vogel und Girlande, ein dritter mit Schilfrohrflöten. Ein vierter Putto, der eine Eidechse aus einem Gefäß holt und eine Rebe hält, scheint dem Herbst zu entsprechen, der auf der anderen Schmalseite dargestellt ist. Sommer: drei Putti, die Ähren ernten. Herbst: Traubenernte. Winter: ein Putto, der auf einen Ölbaum klettert.

## M. Vögel

### Wandmalerei

202. Pergamon, Haus des Konsuln Attalos. – Parlasca, K., *Jdl* 78, 1963, 286 Abb. 18. – Anfang 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Zwei Kratere auf dem Sockelvorsprung, vor einer Landschaft mit Pflanzen; aus dem einen trinken zwei Papageien (Herbst), aus dem anderen zwei Tauben (Frühling).

### Polychrome Mosaiken

203.\* Tunis, Bardo 2751. Aus Thysdrus. – Parrish Nr. 41 Taf. 58. – Severisch. – In der Mitte Diana; um sie herum acht Kreise; in den vier größeren, in den Ecken, Hunde, die Hirsche jagen; in den anderen ein Vogel und jahreszeitliche Pflanzen: ein Rebhuhn von Ähren (Sommer), eine Ente von Ölzweigen (Winter), eine Taube von Rosen (Frühling) und ein Fasan von einem Rebzweig und Trauben (Herbst) eingerahmt.

204. (= 226) Knossos, Villa des Dionysos. – Sanders, I. F., *Roman Crete* (1982) 51–53 Taf. 13. – Hadrianisch. – Büste des Dionysos, um sie herum Pfau, Rebhuhn, Wachtel und Ringeltaube, sowie Pflanzen. Möglicherweise bezeichnen sie den Frühling, Sommer, Herbst und Winter.

205. (= 85) Herbst: Wasservögel. Sommer: Fasan. Frühling: Pfauen. Winter: Enten.

### Statue

206. (= 231, = Aion 30\* mit Lit.) Marmorstatue des Aion. Biblioteca Vaticana. Aus einem Mithräum in Ostia. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf den Flügeln die Symbole der vier Jahreszeiten: Frühling: Taube und Schwan; Sommer: Ähren; Herbst: Trauben; Winter: zwei Palmen und eine Binse.

## Reliefs

207. Sarkophag des P. Vettius Sabinus, Marmor. Modena, Mus. Lapidario Estense. Aus Modena. – Gabelmann, H., *Die Werkstattgruppen der oberitalischen Sarkophage* (1973) 139 Nr. 80 Taf. 45–47. – 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr. – An den Seiten der Akrotere ist ein vollständiger Zyklus der Jahreszeiten dargestellt: Frühling: Vögel mit einem Blumenkorb; Sommer: Ährenbündel; Herbst: Trauben; Winter: Schilfrohrland-schaft mit zwei Wasservögeln und *Ascia*.

208.\* Marmorsarkophag. Florenz, Mus. Arch. Aus Siena. – Kranz Nr. 123 Taf. 22, 3. – Um 260 n. Chr. – In der Mitte Clipeus mit Porträt des Verstorbenen. Mit Ausnahme des Clipeus sind alle Motive lediglich eingeritzt. Von l. nach r., Winter (?): Krater mit verschiedenen Früchten, flankiert von zwei Raben; Frühling: Krater mit Blumen, Pfau daneben; Sommer: Krater mit Ähren, Fasan; Herbst (?): Krater mit Trauben; Wachteln oder Raben.

Zahlreiche Sarkophage mit Eroten und Genien weisen Vögel verschiedener Art als Ergänzung der jahreszeitlichen Darstellungen auf; es handelt sich aber nicht um eigenständige Personifikationen, sondern lediglich um Attribute anderer Figuren, weshalb sie in diesem Verzeichnis nicht aufgenommen sind.

## N. Andere Tiere

### Polychrome Mosaiken

209. Ehem. Clos de la Tour (Fréjus), zerstört. – Février, P. A., in *La mosaïque gréco-romaine II* (1975) 298 Taf. 130. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Hahnenkampf, Taube und Krater im Zentrum, umgeben von vier Hexagonalen in Kreisen: darin Löwe, Panther, Hirsch und Stier. Möglicherweise handelt es sich um Sommer, Herbst, Winter (?) und Frühling.

210. Aquileia, Haus von Lycurgus und Ambrosia. – Brusin, G., *BollArte* 49, 1964, 258 Abb. 7; Bertacchi, a. O. 131 (1980) 166 Farbt. 137–138. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Lycurgus und Ambrosia, außerdem Felder mit Oceanus, Tethys und Tieren, die die vier Jahreszeiten symbolisieren: Winter: Eber zwischen Binsen; Frühling: Stier mit Blumengirlanden; Sommer: Löwe mit Ähren.

211. Libanon, Villa von Awza'i. – Chéhab, M., *BullMusBeyrouth* 14, 1957, 128; 15, 1959 Taf. 39. – 2. Hälfte 5. Jh. n. Chr. – Fünf quadratische Felder, getrennt durch Flechtbänder; in der Mitte Büsten mit Blütenkranz, Früchten und ärmellosem Chiton, wahrscheinlich Ge. In den vier übrigen: Tiger oder Panther (Herbst), Löwe (Sommer), Tiger (Winter), Stier (Frühling). Die Deutung ist zweifelhaft.

212. Peyia (Zypern), Ayios Georgios, Basilika A. – Michaelidis, a. O. 179, 48 Nr. 56 Taf. 34. – 6. Jh. n. Chr. – Vier Felder mit sich gegenüberstehenden Tieren: Eber (Winter), Bär (Frühling), Löwe (Sommer) und Zebu (Herbst). Deutung zweifelhaft.

### Reliefs

Zahlreiche Sarkophage mit Eroten und Genien weisen Tiere verschiedener Art als Ergänzung der jah-

reszeitlichen Darstellungen auf; es handelt sich aber nicht um eigenständige Personifikationen, sondern lediglich um Attribute anderer Figuren, weshalb sie in diesem Verzeichnis nicht aufgenommen sind.

**213.** Zwei Silberskyphoi. Paris, Louvre. Aus dem Schatz von Boscoreale. – Schumacher, W. N., *RM* 86, 1979, 249. – Mitte 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Nach Schumacher bilden die beiden Becher einen vollständigen Zyklus der Darstellung der vier Jahreszeiten, eine jede nimmt die Hälfte eines Bechers ein. **a)** Frühling: unten Granatapfel und Hase, oben Korb mit Früchten und Pilzen, sowie Taube; Sommer: oben Fruchtteller und Fackeln, unten Eber und Ähren. Die erste Komposition würde somit auf Venus weisen, die zweite auf Ceres. **b)** Zweiter Skyphos: Herbst: toter Hase, der die Pfoten nach oben streckt, mit gekreuztem Lagobolon dazwischen; Gefäß voll Trauben und Gans; Winter: Eber, Wasserkrug, Rebmesser und Tisch mit Trauben. Nach Schumacher weisen diese Darstellungen auf Dionysos oder Isis bzw. auf Saturnus.

**214.** (= **81**, = Horai/Horae **86\***) Situla aus Vienne. – Frühling: Hore auf Panther; Sommer: auf Stier; Herbst: auf Panther; Winter: auf Eber.

**215.** *Vacat.*

#### O. Tiere, die Wagen ziehen

##### Polychrome Mosaiken

**216.** (= **235**, = Dionysos/Bacchus [in periphria occ.] **90**) Köln, Röm.-Germ. Mus. Aus Köln. – Doppelfeld, O., *Das Dionysos-Mosaik am Dom zu Köln* (1965) Abb. 4. 17; Parlasca, K., *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (1959) Taf. 66. 75. 77; Kraus, PKG Taf. 344. – Um 150 n. Chr. – In zwei der äußeren Felder jeweils ein Vogelpaar, das kleine Wagen zieht. Sommer: Papageien ziehen einen Wagen, der mit einer großen Sichel und einem sechszahnigen Rechen beladen ist. Herbst: Purpurrühner ziehen einen Wagen voll Trauben.

**217.** Villa von Piazza Armerina, *in situ*. – Gentili, G. V., *La Villa Erculiana di Piazza Armerina. I mosaici figurati* (1959) 19 Taf. 40; Carandini, A./Ricci, A./de Vos, M., *Filosofiana, la villa di Piazza Armerina* (1982) 282 Abb. 174 Taf. 41. – Mitte 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Vier Quadrigen, von Erosen geführt, werden in einer Zirkusszene von verschiedenen Vogelpaaren gezogen: Sommer: weiße Gänse; Winter: rote Gänse; Herbst: blaue Rebhühner; Frühling: grüne Tauben. Jeder Eros trägt eng um den Hals ein jahreszeitliches Attribut: Ähren, Bienen, Trauben bzw. Blumen.

##### Sarkophagreliefs

**218.** = **112**. = **68**.

**219.** = **113**.

**220.** = **114\***.

**221.** = **115**.

##### Medaillon

**222.** (= Herakles **1433\*** mit Lit.) AE, Mark Aurel (161–180 n. Chr.). – Herkules lenkt eine Quadriga, die von Kentauren mit den Attributen der vier Jahres-

zeiten gezogen wird. Frühling: Stab (?) über der Schulter mit einem Gegenstand auf der Spitze. Sommer: mit Sichel. Herbst: Fruchtkorb auf dem Kopf. Winter: bedeckter Kopf und möglicherweise zwei Enten in der ausgestreckten r. Hand. Legende *TEMPORVM FELICITAS*.

#### P. Pflanzen und Früchte

Zahlreiche Darstellungen zeigen als Ergänzung verschiedene Arten von Pflanzen, die in diesem Katalog nicht aufgenommen sind, da es sich um bloße jahreszeitliche Attribute handelt.

##### Polychrome Mosaiken

**223.\*** (= Dionysos/Bacchus [in periphria occ.] **17** mit Lit.) El Djem, Mus. Aus Thysdrus. – Parrish Nr. 26 Taf. 38. – Spätantoinisch. – Bacchus auf Tiger; in den Winkeln vier jahreszeitliche Pflanzen. Herbst: Traube; Sommer: Ähren; Frühling: Rosen; Winter: Ölweige.

**224.** (= Aion **14** mit Lit., = Annus **7**) Hippo Regius, *in situ*. Parrish Nr. 46 Taf. 62. – 1. Hälfte 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Im mittleren Kreis, um die Figur des Aion, vier jahreszeitliche Pflanzen. Herbst: Rebe; Sommer: Ähren; Frühling: Rosen; Winter: Ölweige.

**225.** (= **85**) Die geflügelten Putti, welche die Jahreszeiten darstellen, sind von jahreszeitlichen Pflanzen umgeben. Im Zentrum Aion.

**226.** (= **204**) Vier Pflanzen umgeben die Büste des Dionysos, zwischen Feldern mit den unter **204** beschriebenen Vögeln. Frühling: Rosen; Herbst: Früchte; Sommer: Ähren; Winter: trockene Zweige.

**227.** Tunis, Bardo A 389. Aus Thugga. – Parrish Nr. 21 Taf. 30b. – 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Grabmosaik des Q. Papirius Fortunatus. Der Verstorbene sitzt im Zentrum, zu seinen Seiten vier große, Rollen formende Pflanzen, die aus Akanthuskelchen wachsen. Winter: Ölbaum; Herbst: Trauben; Sommer: Ähren; Frühling: Rose.

**228.** Tunis, Bardo 2403. Aus Karthago. – Parrish Nr. 8 Taf. 13–14. – 1. Hälfte 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Vier Pferde fressen Pflanzen, die aus vier hohen Zylindern kommen, vielleicht ein Symbol für die *Metae* des Zirkus; jedes Pferd trägt ein Halsband einer bestimmten Farbe und frisst eine jahreszeitliche Pflanze, weshalb man Pflanze und Farbe in Beziehung setzen kann. Winter: Ölweige; das Pferd müßte ein weißes Halsband tragen (verloren). Herbst: Trauben, blaues Halsband. Frühling: Rosen, grünes Halsband. Sommer: Ähren, rotes Halsband. Die gleichen Pflanzen bilden die gerade, obere Girlande, welche diesen Teil des Mosaiks von dem darüberliegenden trennt, mit einem großen Pfau im Zentrum.

**229.** Sfax, Mus. Aus Thina. – Merlin, A./Poinssot, L., *Mon Piot* 34, 1934, 147. – Jede Quadriga wird flankiert von der für eine Jahreszeit charakteristischen Pflanze. Frühling: grünes Band, Blumen; Herbst: blau, Trauben; Winter: weiß, Oliven.

**230.** Tunis, Bardo. Aus Dougga. – Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 256 Taf. 88. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Quadriga,

Eros als Wagenlenker. Jedes Pferd hat zwischen den Ohren eine Pflanze, die ein jahreszeitliches Symbol sein könnte. Erhalten sind Efeuzweige (Winter), Ähren (Sommer) und Blumen (Frühling).

##### Marmorstatue

**231.** (= **206**) Sommer, Herbst und Winter sind dargestellt durch Ähren, Trauben bzw. zwei Palmen und eine Binse.

##### Reliefs

**232.** Marmorsarkophag. Modena, Mus. Lapidario Estense. Aus Modena. – Gabelmann, a. O. **207**, 109–110. 139. 164 Nr. 59 Taf. 26–27. – 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr. – An den Seiten der Akrotere Zyklus der Jahreszeiten: Frühling: Blumenkorb; Sommer: Ährenbündel; Herbst: Trauben; Winter: Landschaft mit Binsen, zwei Wasservögeln und *ascia*.

**233.** (= **68**, = Eros/Amor, Cupido **389\*** mit Lit.) Girlandensarkophag. – Die Girlanden, welche die Erosen halten, sind aus jahreszeitlichen Pflanzen zusammengesetzt: Frühling: Blumen; Sommer: Ähren; Herbst: Trauben; Winter: Ölweige.

#### Aus Blumentöpfen kommend

##### Polychrome Mosaiken

**234.** Thysdrus, *in situ* (?). Parrish Nr. 30 Taf. 45. – Severisch. – Vier Felder, mit Körben und Pflanzen. Frühling: Rosen; Sommer: Ähren; Herbst: Trauben; Winter: Oliven.

**235.** (= **216**) Parlasca, a. O. **216**, Taf. 66. 78–79. – Vier Quadrate, mit Körben und Krateren mit jahreszeitlichen Früchten: Kirschen oder Feigen (Winter) und Äpfel (Frühling).

**236.** Zerstört. Zeichnung in der Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid). Aus Comunión (Álava). – Blázquez, *MosEsp* V Nr. 2 Abb. 3. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Diana innerhalb eines achteckigen Sterns. In den äußeren Winkeln drei Körbe mit schwer zu identifizierenden Früchten und ein vierter Korb mit geometrischem Motiv. Die Früchte ähneln Trauben, Feigen und Äpfeln und könnten deshalb dem Herbst, Winter und Frühling (?) entsprechen.

#### Aus Krateren kommend

##### Polychrome Mosaiken

**237.** Sousse, Mus. 57042. Aus Hadrumetum. – Parrish Nr. 58 Taf. 79. – Frühseverisch. – Apollo und die Musen; in den Ecken vier Kratere mit Pflanzen: Sommer: Ähren; Winter: Ölweige; Frühling: Rosen; Herbst: Rebe.

**238.** (= Horai/Horae **221\***) Winter: Krater mit Ölweigen; Frühling: mit Rosen; Sommer: mit Ähren; Herbst: mit Trauben.

##### Reliefs

**239.** Säulensarkophag, Marmor. Fragmente in Baden-Baden, Basel, Bern, Lugano, Molinazzo di Monteggio. Aus Rom. – Kranz Nr. 3 Taf. 18, 3; 19. 20, 1–3. – Anfang 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Zwischen den Säulen der Frontseite Reste von vier großen, mit Früchten gefüllten Krateren. Von l. nach r.: Krater des Winters,

von dem nur ein Teil der Ölweige erhalten ist; er stand auf einem Sockel, der mit Ölweigen verziert war; auf ihm wächst auch ein kleiner Ölbaum; davor Reste eines Schäfers und eines Schafes oder einer Ziege. Krater des Sommers: erhalten Oberteil des Kraters, mit Ähren, über denen ein Eros oder eine kleine weibliche Figur einen Panther am Hals hält. Herbst (r. im letzten Intercolumnium, am besten erhalten): henkelloser Krater mit Früchten und Trauben, umgeben von einem Kranz aus Efeublättern; darüber Reste eines Eros, der in den Früchten wühlt. Auf den Schmalseiten eine Axt (l.) und Reste eines Wagens, von Widdern gezogen und einem Eros gelenkt, der einen Korb mit Ähren in den Armen hält (r.); dies entspricht einer weiteren Darstellung des Sommers.

**240.** (= **72\***) Marmorsarkophag. – In den vier Krateren jahreszeitliche Früchte: Winter: Oliven und Ölweige, am Fuß des Kraters Ölweige; Frühling: Blumen; Sommer: Ähren; Herbst: verschiedene Früchte, am Fuß des Kraters Trauben. Auf jedem Krater pickendes Vogelpaar.

**241.** Sarkophagfragment. Marmor. Rom, Mus. Naz. Rom. 108677. Aus Borgo S. Spirito. – Kranz Nr. 119 Taf. 21, 1. – Gallienisch. – Im Zentrum der Verstorbene (in ganzer Gestalt); l. Krater mit Ölweigen, mit pickenden Vögeln, und ein Genius mit Mantel, bedecktem Kopf und zwei Enten in der l. Hand; beides sind Darstellungen des Winters. Auf der anderen Seite Reste eines weiteren Kraters.

**242.** = **208\***.

**243.\*** Marmorsarkophag. Rom, Pal. Corsini. – Kranz Nr. 125 Taf. 22, 2. – Um 260 n. Chr. – Ein Kranz über einem kleinen Sockel, flankiert von je zwei Krateren mit den Symbolen der Jahreszeiten. Winter: gefüllt mit Olivenblättern; daneben Hase und Ölweige; Frühling: mit Blumen. Zwischen den beiden ergreift ein Adler (?) eine Schlange, die aus einer mystischen Ciste gekrochen ist. Sommer: mit Ähren; daneben Eber; Herbst: mit Trauben, daneben Panther und Ziegenbock. Auf jedem der Kratere sitzt ein pickendes Vogelpaar.

**244.** (= Horai/Horae **91**) Sarkophagdeckel. Rom. – Zwischen den gelagerten Horae zwei Kratere, der eine mit Blumen und Ähren, der andere mit Trauben und Olivenblättern; dies entspricht den Horae des Frühlings und des Sommers bzw. des Herbstes und des Winters.

#### Q. Kairoi

Im griechischen Umfeld finden wir eine Reihe von Monumenten mit den Inschriften *KAIPOI* oder *KAAOI KAIPOI*. Sie erscheinen vor allem auf Mosaiken, aber auch auf Dokumenten anderer Art. Interessant in diesem Sinne sind (Robert, J. et L., *Hellenica* IX [1950] 51–66 Taf. 6, 1): ein Altar aus Kalkstein, gewidmet den Moiren und dem Kalokairos, der zweimal zitiert wird: *Μοίραις τὸν βασιλὸν Μνήμης καλοῦ Καλοκαίρου Κλήσιππος ποιήσε νέω καλῶ καλοκαίρῳ*. Robert sah darin einen Hinweis auf den vergangenen und den kommenden Sommer, doch ist meiner Ansicht nach

wahrscheinlicher, daß auf die vergangene und die zukünftige Jahreszeit angespielt wird, ohne zu präzisieren, ob es sich um den Sommer handelt. Das andere Monument ist eine Herme in Istanbul, Arch. Mus., mit der Inschrift Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονι Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη Καλῶι Καίρῳ Ὀμβροῖς Ἀνέμοις Ἑσπρί (Phallus) Θέρει Μετωπῶρ Χειμῶνι. Hier erscheint Kalos Kairos hinter dem Fortunapaar und müßte die Jahreszeiten bedeuten, vor dem Regen, den Winden und den Namen der Jahreszeiten.

#### Münzen

245. AE, Laodikeia (Phrygien), Caracalla. – Robinson, E. S. G., *NC* 1937 241; *BMC Phrygia* 81. – Rs.: Vier Jünglinge repräsentieren die Jahreszeiten, in der gleichen Art wie auf 11. Legende ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΣ ΚΑΙΡΟΙ (griech. Wiedergabe von *Felicia Tempora*, vgl. 16).

#### Polychrome Mosaiken

246. \* Korinth, Grundstück Lekkas, *in situ*. – Waywell, S. E., *AJA* 83, 1979, 313 Nr. 23 Taf. 48, 21; Spiro, M., *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements of the Greek Mainland. 4th–6th Centuries* (1978) 97 Nr. 42 Taf. 95–97. – 4. Jh. n. Chr. (Waywell); 2. Hälfte 5. Jh. n. Chr. (Spiro). – Drei Felder; im mittleren, zum Teil erhalten, zwei geflügelte Figuren, in kurzem ärmellosen Chiton; sie fliegen über ein Blumenfeld und halten zwischen sich einen Blumenkranz über eine dritte Figur; beide haben sie den Kopf leicht nach hinten gewendet. Über ihnen die Inschrift ΚΑΑΟΙ ΚΑΙΡΟΙ; neben ihnen Bäume und schwebende Büste. Spiro schlägt eine Identifikation mit den Monaten Mai, Juni und Juli vor, obwohl es eher scheint, daß es sich um eine Allegorie des Frühlings handelt. In den Feldern l. u. r.: sich gegenüberstehende Vögel beidseits eines Pflanzenmotivs.

247. \* Delphi, Christliche Basilika. – Spiro, a. O. 246, 239–251 Nr. 83 Taf. 259–270. – Ende 5. oder Anfang 6. Jh. n. Chr. – Mittleres Emblem mit Leopard, der einen Hirsch anfällt; in den vier umgebenden Zwickeln je eine laufende männliche Figur, nur die beiden auf der l. Seite sind erhalten. Die obere (kurzer, ärmellos Chiton) hält ein Gefäß mit Früchten; man erkennt eine Traube und eine große runde, gestreifte Frucht, die eine Wassermelone sein könnte; nach Spiro ausserdem Aubergine, Kürbis und Pfirsich. Nach Spiro der August, aber es scheint eher der Herbst zu sein. Zu seiner l. Seite, KA. Die untere Figur (ähnlicher Chiton, aber mit Clavus, Stiefel, Ährenkranz) hält ein großes Ährenbündel; l. von ihr, KAI. Nach Spiro der Juli, aber es ist ohne Zweifel der Sommer. Die Inschrift legt die Lektüre ΚΑΙΡΟΙ ΚΑΙΡΟΙ nahe.

248. Ehem. Tegea, christliches Gebäude, verloren. Spiro, a. O. 246, 194–196 Nr. 70. – 2. Hälfte 5. Jh. n. Chr. – Zwei Jünglinge mit flatternden Umhängen, die nach vorne laufen, um einem dritten Körbe mit Früchten anzubieten; letzterer in kurzärmeligem Chiton bis zum Knie, in der einen Hand Zweig, in der anderen Teller mit Früchten; in den Körben sind Melonen, Auberginen, Äpfel und Birnen, weshalb Spiro glaubt, es müßten Juni, Juli und August sein, da diese Früchte auf 247 von den Monaten des Sommers ge-

tragen würden. Es könnte aber auch einfach die Personifikation des Sommers oder des Herbstes sein. Darüber die Inschrift ΚΑΑΟΙ ΚΑΙΡΟΙ.

#### KOMMENTAR

Im folgenden sind die *Tempora anni* wie im Katalog in verschiedene Gruppen eingeteilt: Knaben, die wir als *Putti* oder *Eroten* bezeichnet haben, und Jünglinge oder ältere Personen, Genien genannt. Unter ihnen wird zwischen geflügelten und ungeflügelten Darstellungen unterschieden, obwohl sie häufig verwechselt werden können oder beide Typen an demselben Monument erscheinen. Schließlich folgen unabhängige Gruppen für alle diejenigen, welche in keine der obengenannten aufgenommen werden können: jahreszeitliche Aktivitäten, Tiere und Pflanzen.

#### Ungeflügelte Putti

Die Gruppe der ungeflügelten *Putti* (1–34) ist sehr zahlreich, und es können verschiedene Unterteilungen vorgenommen werden. Die erste bezieht sich auf die Haltung, mehr oder weniger tanzend, obwohl auch dieser Gesichtspunkt nicht allein maßgebend ist, da manchmal nicht alle *Putti* eines bestimmten Monuments die gleiche Haltung einnehmen. Diese erste Gruppe (1–19) enthält Exemplare, die zwischen das 1. Viertel des 2. Jh. n. Chr. und das 4. Jh. n. Chr. datiert werden; hauptsächlich erscheinen sie auf Grabreliefs, aber auch auf einer Reihe von Münzen und Medaillons (11–19), selten hingegen auf Sarkophagen – mit Ausnahme der, nach Kranz, sehr alten Girlandensarkophage – und Mosaiken. Das älteste Beispiel ist das Grab der Haterii (5), datiert um das Jahr 120 n. Chr., fast zeitgleich mit den ersten Medaillons des Hadrian (11). Die folgende Gruppe, bestehend aus den Darstellungen in langsamer Bewegung, ist etwas weniger zahlreich (20–29), aber von noch größerem Interesse, da sie die älteste, noch sehr atypische Darstellung dieser Art von Personifikationen (20) enthält, aus julisch-claudischer Zeit. Die Chronologie dieser Gruppe, welche auch Grabreliefs, Medaillons und Münzen enthält, bewegt sich zwischen diesem Zeitpunkt und dem 4. Jh. n. Chr. Mit Ausnahme der frühen Darstellung sind die übrigen Zeugnisse zeitgleich mit denen der vorigen Gruppe, mit den Medaillons des Hadrian (22–11) als den ältesten unter ihnen. Die dritte Gruppe, welche die Figuren in stehender Position, fast bewegungslos, bilden, reicht vom Relief des Trajansbogens in Benevent (30) und hadrianischen Monumenten (31) bis ins 4. Jh. n. Chr. (33). Man kann deshalb sagen, es handle sich um eine Art von Reliefdarstellung, die im wesentlichen auf Grab- und Gedenksteinen erscheint, kaum dagegen auf Sarkophagen und so gut wie gar nicht auf Mosaiken.

Faßt man alle Unterteilungen in einer einzigen Gruppe zusammen, so ist das früheste, wenn auch noch sehr atypische Dokument der Altar des Palazzo Rondinini (20), dem der Trajansbogen in Benevento

(30) und die hadrianischen Medaillons (11–22) folgen, während die spätesten die Solidi des Konstantin (19) und einige Konsolen der «Casa di Rienzo» (21) aus der gleichen Zeit sind. Die Attribute der Reliefs des Palazzo Rondinini (20) (Kugel, Weinranke, Vogel und Hase) entsprechen, nach Lorenz, dem Sommer, Herbst, Frühling und Winter und sind in Händen nur zweier Figuren, eine atypische Tatsache, ebenso wie die Kugel als Attribut des Sommers, sowohl in der Gesamtheit der Darstellungen von *Putti* im besonderen, als auch der Ikonographie von Horae und *Tempora anni* im allgemeinen.

Unter allen *Putti* überwiegen Frühling, Sommer und Herbst als gänzlich oder teilweise nackte Darstellungen, mit einer Chlamys, die über die Schultern und den Rücken fällt, wenn auch eine Nebris tragen (Frühling: 6; Sommer: 33); als einziger folgt der Winter nicht diesem Schema, er kann mit kurzem Chiton auftreten (1. 4, mit bedecktem Kopf 11–19), in einen Mantel gehüllt, der bis zu den Knien reicht, den Kopf bedeckend (30) oder freilassend (5), mit phrygischer Mütze und Kleidung des Attis (6), oder mit einem kurzen Ärmelchiton bedeckt, mit Hosen und Stiefeln (23–24); der letztgenannte Typus erscheint auf Münzen des Septimius Severus, ebenso finden wir ihn auf Jahreszeitensarkophagen vom Ende des 3. und Anfang des 4. Jh., mit kurzem Chiton, Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, Stiefeln und ohne Hosen (32–33).

Was die Attribute betrifft, so kann der Frühling einen Blumenkorb halten (30. 32. 33); im ersten Fall tritt er außerdem auf eine Schlange; in den übrigen hält er in der anderen Hand eine Girlande, diesen auf den Schultern (4) oder auf dem Kopf tragen (11–19. 22–24); ebenso kann er ein Füllhorn mit Blumen haben und einen Widder zu seinen Füßen (6), einen Vogel (20) oder einen jungen Hirsch (29). In den frühesten Zeugnissen trägt er einen Vogel (20) oder einen Blumenkorb auf dem Kopf (11–19. 22–24). Der Sommer zeigt als charakteristisches Attribut die Sichel, ergänzt von einem Ährenbündel (4. 5. 9. 11–19. 22–24. 31. 33), Ähren in der Hand (6. 32. 33), Korb mit Ähren (30) und Kugel (20, sehr zweifelhaft). Zweifelhafte ist auch 1, das einzige Mosaik der Gruppe, das eine Figur, bekleidet mit kurzem Chiton und Hut, zeigt, vor sich in einem Korb oder in einer Falte des Mantels einige dreieckige, nicht identifizierbare Objekte haltend, die sich auf die Blumen des Frühlings beziehen könnten, obwohl der Hut, den die Figur trägt, eher auf den Sommer hinweist. Der Herbst trägt als Attribut seltener den Früchtekorb (4) oder einen Blumenstrauß in einer Hand, in der anderen einen Korb mit Früchten (5. 32); das häufigste Attribut sind jedoch Trauben und Reben (6. 20. 26. 27. 30. 33), die manchmal von einem Früchtekorb über der anderen Schulter ergänzt werden (7. 8). Auf Münzen und Medaillons findet sich der Typus, welcher in einer Hand einen Früchtekorb, in der anderen einen Hasen oder ein Zicklein an den Beinen hält (11–19. 22–24). Das Attribut auf dem einzigen Mosaik dieser Gruppe (1) ist ein Hase über der Schulter. Der Winter kann ein Füllhorn und Enten tragen (6), einen Hasen und einen

trockenen Zweig, von dem ein Hase und ein Vogel oder nur ein oder zwei Vögel hängen, obwohl dies sehr schwer zu präzisieren ist (11–19. 22–24); auch kann er einen Hasen (20), zwei Enten (30), ein Lagobolon und eine Ente (33), Binsen (32) und einen Vogel mit sich führen, aber in diesem Fall ist die Figur vor einer Schilflandschaft dargestellt (1). Dieses einzige Mosaik der Gruppe weist einige Unregelmäßigkeiten auf, wie wir oben gesehen haben.

Eine Gruppe für sich bilden die ungeflügelten *Putti*, welche in Verbindung mit anderen Gottheiten auftreten, unter ihnen Tellus, Nilus, Tyche, Horae, Aion oder der Kaiser. Neben Tellus erscheinen sie auf einigen Mosaiken (35. 36) und verschiedenen Reliefs (37–40), die Chronologie reicht von der Zeit des Augustus bis zum 4. Jh. n. Chr. Das älteste Dokument jedoch, die Gemma Augustea (38), ist sehr atypisch, da Tellus selbst verschiedene Jahreszeiten zu personifizieren scheint, mit ihren Attributen wie Efeublättern, Reben und Füllhorn, und mit nackter Brust; einer der nackten *Putti*, die sie begleiten, hält Ähren in den Händen und stellt den Sommer dar. Die anderen Monumente aus dem 2. bis 4. Jh. n. Chr. entsprechen bereits mehr der Regel, obwohl auf einigen von ihnen (36. 37) die Anordnung und die Attribute der *Putti* keine eindeutige Identifikation der Jahreszeiten zulassen. Auf allen erscheint Tellus gelagert, mit nackter Brust und umgeben von vier *Eroten*. Frühling, Sommer und Herbst sind völlig nackt (35) oder mit einer Chlamys, die ihnen über die Schultern und über den Rücken fällt, aber manchmal sind einige nackt und andere mit Chiton bekleidet (39, Frühling). Die jahreszeitlichen Attribute sind für den Frühling ein Kranz auf dem Kopf und Girlande (36) oder Zicklein (39) in den Händen; einmal ergreift er die Schleife der Himmelskrone (40), wenn die Interpretation des oberen Bogens auf der Münze des Antoninus Pius zutrifft. Der Sommer erscheint mit Ährenkranz (35), Ähren (38) oder Ähren und Sichel (39. 40), der Herbst mit Kranz mit Früchten und Trauben (35), Reben (39), und als Ergänzung kann ein Widder zu seinen Füßen hinzukommen (37). Der Winter schließlich, mit einem Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, kann als Attribute eine Binse (35), einen Zweig (39) oder eine Binse und ein totes Tier haben (40).

Mit Nilus sind nur ein Mosaik und einige Münzen erhalten, alle 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr. Die *Putti* sind normalerweise nackt. Die Identifikation des Frühlings bereitet die größte Schwierigkeit, da er entweder fehlt oder auf einen Eros reduziert ist, der ein Nilpferd reitet oder die r. Hand zum Kopf führt (42); er kann jedoch auch einen Blumenkorb auf den Schultern tragen (43). Der Sommer hat als Attribute Sichel und Ähren (41. 42) oder nur Sichel (43), der Winter, mit bedecktem Kopf, hat einen gabelförmigen Stab (41), Binsen (42) oder ein totes Tier, das er an den Vorderpfoten hält, und einen Stab in den Händen (43).

Für die Verbindung von *Putti* und Tyche ist nur ein Beispiel bekannt (44).

Etwas zahlreicher sind die Fälle, in denen *Putti* in Verbindung mit Horae erscheinen und als *Karpoi* auftreten. 36 haben wir bereits als Sonderfall beschrie-



ben, da hier die Karpoi getrennt von den Horae und in Verbindung mit Ge dargestellt sind. Normalerweise erscheinen sie dagegen in enger Verbindung mit ihnen (45–47), und fast immer führen sie auch jahreszeitliche Attribute mit sich. Die Karpoi sind nackt und tragen als Attribute einen Blumenkranz und einen Zweig in der Hand (Frühling), Ähren (Sommer), einen Kranz aus Trauben und eine Rebe in der Hand (Herbst) und einen Junghasen (Winter).

Auf einer Reihe von Medaillons und Münzen aus dem 3. Jh. n. Chr. laufen die Jahreszeiten-Putti durch den Zodiacus, mit schwer identifizierbaren Attributen (49–51). Man kann diese aber im Relief des Bogens von Reims (48) sehen, wo die Putti die Gottheit flankieren; Herbst und Frühling sind nackt, mit einer Chlamys um den Hals, der Winter mit bedecktem Kopf. Als Attribute tragen sie jeweils Früchtekorb, Blumenkorb oder einen Zweig.

Die Putti, die kaiserliche Gaben empfangen, sind auf Medaillons der severischen Zeit des 3. Jh. n. Chr. beschränkt (53–55), auf denen der Kaiser, sein Füllhorn über die vier Jahreszeiten-Putti ausgießend, abgebildet ist.

Schließlich können in diese Gruppe auch die ungeflügelten Eroten aufgenommen werden, die auf Tieren reiten oder Wagen lenken; sie erscheinen auf einigen Gemälden, Mosaiken und Reliefs auf Sarkophagdeckeln, alle datiert in das 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. Auf einem der Mosaiken sind Eroten dargestellt, die auf verschiedenen Tieren reiten: Frühling, Stier; Sommer, Löwe; Herbst, Panther. Sie sind nackt und tragen als Attribute Blumenkranz und Behälter mit Blumen, Ährenkranz und Ähren und Sichel, bzw. Kranz aus Trauben und Korb mit Trauben (57); auf dem anderen ist der Herbst abgebildet, einen Panther reitend, mit einem Kranz aus Weinlaub und einer Nebris quer über der Brust (58).

Auf Sarkophagdeckeln lenken nackte Putti Bigen; Zugtiere sind Hirsche, Ziegenböcke, Panther und Löwen, mit Attributen wie Blumenkorb und Zweig, Lagobolon und Korb, Ährenkorb und Sichel, bzw. Blumenkorb und Zweig (59); die Identifikation mit den einzelnen Jahreszeiten ist problematisch, mit Sicherheit entspricht jedoch die dritte dem Sommer. Auf einem anderen erscheint der Winter, bekleidet mit kurzem Ärmelchiton und phrygischer Mütze; er lenkt einen Wagen, der von Ebern gezogen wird, und hält eine große Binse in der Hand (60).

### Geflügelte Putti

Für die geflügelten Putti haben wir die gleichen Gruppen aufgestellt wie für die ungeflügelten, und wir finden hier die gleiche Problematik vor. Die Gruppe der tanzenden Putti umfaßt hauptsächlich Jahreszeitensarkophage und Mosaiken, mit einer Chronologie zwischen dem 1. Viertel des 2. Jh. n. Chr. und dem 4. Jh. n. Chr. (61–82). Die ältesten sind zwei Girlandensarkophage, auf denen vier nackte Eroten mit Kränzen aus jahreszeitlichen Pflanzen (Blumen, Ähren, Trauben – im anderen Fall Efeublätter, Granatäpfel, Weinlaub und Trauben – und Ölweige) eine üppige Girlande halten, die ebenfalls aus jahreszeitli-

chen Pflanzen besteht (68–69). Etwas später sind die Putti der Gewölbe und Mosaiken von Ostia und Antiochia, obwohl der größte Teil der Mosaiken bereits aus dem 3. und 4. Jh. ist, ähnlich wie auch die Sarkophage. Auf den Mosaiken sind Frühling und Sommer nackt, wenngleich mit einer Chlamys, die nach hinten fällt und einen Teil der Brust oder des Bauchs bedecken kann (61–66); der Herbst erscheint einige Male mit der gleichen Bekleidung (61, 64, 66), ein anderes Mal mit kurzem Chiton, verziert mit Clavus, und Mantel (62, 63). Die Attribute sind folgende: Der Frühling trägt einen Kranz aus Blättern und Blumen, in den Händen ein Tablett mit Napf und Pedom (61), einen Behälter mit Quark (Ricotta) und ein Zicklein an den Vorderbeinen (62), einen Teller oder ein Tablett mit Blumen (63), ein unbestimmtes Objekt und Pedom (64), Schwalbe und Pedom, von dem ein Eimer mit Milch hängt (65), Schwalbe und Blumenkorb (66). Der Sommer: mit Ährenkranz, in den Händen Ähren und Sichel (62, 63), Korb und Pedom (64), Sense und Rosen (65) und Kranz und Blumenkorb (66). Der Herbst: Kranz aus Weinlaub und Behälter mit Trauben (61), Rebmesser und Korb mit Trauben (62), Rebmesser und ein mit Früchten gefüllter Korb (63), Behälter mit Früchten (64, 65). Der Winter, mit Chiton und Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, trägt als Attribute einen Krug (62), Napf mit Oliven (?) (63), Hacke und Ente (?) (64), Stäbe und Hacke (65), Hacke und trockenen Zweig (66). Es handelt sich augenscheinlich um fast ebenso viele Varianten wie Monumente, ohne daß man, außer im Falle des Sommers, von einem allgemeinen Prototyp der Attribute sprechen könnte; außerdem sind diese sehr verschieden von den in der vorherigen Gruppe untersuchten und von denen, die wir im folgenden sehen werden.

Die Putti der Reliefs sind auf ähnliche Weise gekleidet wie die der Mosaiken, wenn auch mit Varianten (Nebris für alle Jahreszeiten auf 72, Chiton und Mantel für den Herbst von 74), und sie zeigen als Attribute, abgesehen von den klassischen Kränzen, die folgenden: Frühling: Girlande und Lamm auf dem Rücken (81), Blumenkörbe und Girlanden (70), Blumenkorb und einen Vogel – mit einem Zicklein neben der Personifikation – (71), Blumenstrauß (72) und Blumenkorb (73). Sommer: ein Kalb zwischen den Beinen (70), Ähren in den Händen und zu Füßen ein Pfau und weitere Ähren (71), eine Sichel (72), Sichel und Getreideschwinge (81), Ähren in einer Falte der Chlamys (73) oder in den Händen (78). Herbst: ein Panther zwischen den Beinen (70), Korb mit Trauben und Weinlaub in den Händen, zu Füßen ein Widder (71), Korb mit Trauben und Rebe (72), Früchtekorb (81), Trauben (77, 81), Früchtekorb und Thyrsos (73), Thyrsos und Hase (74) oder Pedom und Hase (75). Winter: Korb mit Ölweigen und zu Füßen ein Eber (70); zwei Enten und eine Binse und ein weiterer Eber zu Füßen (71), oder ein Stock statt einer Binse (74), ohne Eber (75), oder ein Pedom und zwei Vögel, an den Hinterbeinen gehalten (81), oder ein Pinienzweig und ein Hund (?) (76).

Zu der Gruppe mit ungeflügelten Eroten in langsamer Bewegung (83–107) gehören einige Gemälde

und Mosaiken, und vor allem eine breite Gruppe von Reliefs, hauptsächlich Sarkophagdeckel und Jahreszeitensarkophage; sie werden datiert von der Zeit des Claudius (87), nach Simon – des Hadrian, nach Toynbee –, an bis ins 3. Jh. n. Chr., mit einem Schwerpunkt im gesamten 2. Jh. und in severischer Zeit. Wie üblich erscheinen Frühling und Sommer nackt, mit einer Chlamys über den Schultern, während der Herbst manchmal nackt, manchmal mit Nebris (85, 87) oder Chiton (83) bekleidet ist; der Winter trägt normalerweise Chiton und Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, Stiefel und gelegentlich auch Hosen; in einigen Varianten fehlt der Mantel (89, 90), oder er trägt nur einen kurzen Chiton, der eine der Schultern freiläßt (87, 88), oder er ist vollkommen nackt (92). Charakteristisch für die Jahreszeitensarkophage ist der Winter mit Chiton, Mantel, Hosen und Stiefeln. Das älteste Dokument, wenn wir die Datierung von Simon in claudische Zeit annehmen, ist der Altar von Würzburg (87), auf dem Frühling und Sommer nackt erscheinen, mit einer Chlamys über dem Rücken, und der Winter mit Chiton, der eine Schulter freiläßt. Ihre Attribute sind ein Teller mit Blumen und eine Girlande für den Frühling, für den Sommer ein Zweig Schlafmohn und eine Sichel, für den Herbst Pedom und ein Korb mit Trauben und für den Winter eine Amphore und vielleicht eine Ente. Diese Attribute sind die häufigsten, ihre Kombinationen jedoch können beträchtlich variieren. So kann der Frühling Rosen sammelnd erscheinen (84), mit einem Korb mit Rosen, oder mit Rosen (85, 86, 89, 90, 98), Girlanden (92), Blumen in einer Falte seiner Chlamys (94, 95, 100), Girlande und Früchtekorb (96), Korb mit Blumengirlanden (97), Blumenkörbe auf der Schulter (102), oder mit einem Zicklein (88). Der Sommer tritt auf mit Schlafmohn und Sichel (87), Sichel und Ähren (94, 95, 96, 98, 101), manchmal mit Hut (100), oder er ist Ähren schneidend dargestellt, oder beladen mit einem Ährenbündel (89) oder mit Körben mit Ähren (91). Der Herbst: Rebmesser und Korb (83) oder Rebmesser und Rebe (96), Trauben (84, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95), Körbe mit Trauben (92, 101), Trauben und Pedom (85), Früchte in einer Falte seiner Kleidung (98, 105), Früchtekorb und Zicklein (100) oder Rebe und Hase (106). Der Winter schließlich, mit Amphore und Ente (87) oder Schwein (?) (88), ein Zicklein auf den Schultern oder einen Hasen, an den Löffeln gepackt (89), Ente und Hase (90, 92), Binsen (91), Binse und Hase (95), Binse und Ente (96) oder Enten (101), Zicklein und Ente, zu Füßen ein Pedom (97), Ente (98, 104) oder mit Stock über der Schulter, an dem tote Tiere hängen (100).

Die letzte Gruppe, die von stehenden Putti gebildet wird, ist wesentlich kleiner und erscheint nur auf Reliefs und Skulpturen. Am wichtigsten von ihnen ist der Bogen des Septimius Severus; er zeigt Frühling, Sommer und Herbst nackt oder fast nackt, den Winter mit Chiton und Mantel, den charakteristischen Attributen (108).

Die geflügelten Putti, die auf Tieren reiten oder Wagen lenken, sind aus dem 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr.; erstere finden wir in einem Mosaik aus Nordafrika

(111) mit Frühling, Sommer und Herbst nackt dargestellt, der Winter trägt Chiton und Mantel, und die Attribute sind Blumen, Ähren und Trauben; die zweiten sind auf verschiedenen Jahreszeiten- oder Girlandensarkophagdeckeln dargestellt (112–115): Frühling, Sommer und Herbst nackt oder halbnackt, in Wagen, die von Bären und Stieren, Löwen und Ziegenböcken, Stieren, bzw. Panther und Ziegenböcken gezogen werden; der wagenlenkende Putto kann auch bekleidet auftreten (der Herbst von 113 mit Nebris), auf jeden Fall werden charakteristische Attribute getragen, in den Händen oder in Form eines Korbes.

### Ungeflügelte Genien

Die ungeflügelten männlichen Figuren, und zwar Jünglinge oder reife Personen, haben wir unter dem Begriff Genien zusammengefaßt. Auf Mosaiken und Gemälden sind sie zahlreicher als die vorhergehenden, besonders häufig sind sie jedoch auf Jahreszeitensarkophagen. Tanzend sind sie dokumentiert zwischen dem 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr., obwohl eine Urne von Sempeter existiert, die, ohne absolute Sicherheit, in das 1. Jh. n. Chr. datiert wird (120), und ein entfernter Vorläufer auf dem Fries von Hagios Eleutherios von Athen, datiert in die hellenistische Zeit (→ Horai 50). Auf Wandmalereien von Ostia (116, 117) erscheinen vereinzelte Figuren, die dem Frühling entsprechen, mit einem Zicklein, und dem Herbst, mit einem Pedom und einem Teller mit Früchten. Auf anderen Monumenten sind Frühling, Sommer und Herbst nackt dargestellt, der Winter mit Chiton und Mantel bekleidet; die Attribute sind für den Frühling Kranz und Napf (118) oder Rose (119); für den Sommer Zweige (118) oder Getreideähren (119); für den Herbst Pedom und Teller mit Früchten oder Reben; für den Winter Kranz und Teller (118) oder zwei Enten (119). Das bereits erwähnte Relief von Sempeter (120) zeigt atypische Figuren: ein Jüngling, bekleidet mit einem kurzen Chiton, trägt einen großen Hasen auf dem Kopf; ein weiterer ist ebenfalls nackt, mit Pedom, Früchtekorb (?) und toten Tieren; es könnte sich um den Winter bzw. den Herbst handeln, beim letzteren mit bestimmten Zweifeln.

In nicht tanzender Bewegung herrschen diese Darstellungen vor allem auf Reliefs und Sarkophagen vor, zwischen der Mitte des 1. und der Mitte des 4. Jh. n. Chr., der größte Teil im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. Frühling, Sommer und Herbst sind normalerweise nackt, oder mit der gewohnten Chlamys, sie können aber auch mit kurzem Chiton bekleidet auftreten (123, 127). Als Attribute, abgesehen von den üblichen Kränzen, zeigt der Frühling unbestimmbare Objekte, allein (122) oder in Verbindung mit einem Zicklein, das er mit der anderen Hand an den Hinterbeinen hält (125, 127), mit einem Zicklein über den Schultern (123) und Blumen (126). Der Sommer hat Ähren (126), Sichel und Ähren (123, 127), Sichel und Korb mit Ähren (125), Sichel und Pedom (124), der Herbst Tablett und Früchtekorb (122), Pedom und Rhyton (123), Rebmesser und Früchtekorb (125), Thyrsos (126), Hase und Früchtekorb (127) und Früchte, die er

in einer Falte seiner Chlamys hält (129). Der Winter trägt kurzen Chiton und Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, kann aber auch gelegentlich mit einer Nebris (125) oder Hosen (127) bekleidet sein; als Attribute dienen Hase und Stab oder Stock, an dem zwei Enten hängen (123, 125, 127).

Genien ohne Bewegung sind sehr zahlreich auf Mosaiken und Sarkophagen, von der Mitte des 2. bis zum 6. Jh. n. Chr. Frühling, Sommer und Herbst sind üblicherweise nackt oder tragen die charakteristische Chlamys, sie können jedoch auch kurzen Chiton tragen und gelegentlich einen Mantel (131, 133, 139, 140, 142, 145 – der Sommer einen kurzen Rock) oder eine Nebris (135). Die Attribute des Frühlings sind: Korb und Zweig mit Blumen (133) oder Korb und Blume, mit Blumen an den Seiten (145), Korb mit Blumen und Vögel (135), Spiegel (?) (139), Korb mit Blumen und Girlande (142), Lagobolon und Hase (143), Girlanden und Blumenstrauß (144), Blumen in einer Falte seiner Chlamys (146). Diejenigen des Sommers: Sichel und Ährenbündel (131), in einem Fall wird die Figur von zwei Amphoren flankiert (135), in einem anderen von zwei Ölbäumen (139) und in einem dritten von Ähren und einem Früchtekorb (145), Sichel und Korb mit Ähren (143), zwischen Ähren (142), Sichel und Korb mit Ähren (144), Krug und Blumen (133). Diejenigen des Herbstes: Trauben (131, 135, 141, 144), Blume und Blumenstrauß (133), Sichel und Rebe, eine von zwei Weinranken flankierte Figur (139), Rebe und Korb mit Trauben, allein (148) oder mit einem Zicklein zu Füßen des Genius (143), Korb mit Früchten (142), Rebmesser und Korb mit Trauben (145), Früchte in einer Falte seiner Chlamys (147). Der Winter trägt kurzen Chiton und Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt, und Stiefel; in einem Fall ist er nackt, nur von einer Nebris bedeckt (138), in einem anderen Fall ist er nackt und hat den Kopf bedeckt (149). Seine Attribute sind landwirtschaftliche Geräte und Enten (132, 138) oder Binsen (133), Korb mit Oliven (135), Käfig mit Vögeln oder ein Fanggerät (?) (139), Hase und Binse, auf dem Boden ein Korb mit Oliven (142), Enten und Binsen, allein (144) oder mit einem Eber zu Füßen des Genius (143), Hase und Zweig, von dem zwei Enten hängen (145), Lamm, an den Hinterbeinen gehalten, und Stab, von dem zwei tote Vögel hängen (149).

#### Geflügelte Genien

Die geflügelten Genien in Bewegung sind sehr selten (150–152) und befinden sich alle auf Jahreszeitsarkophagen, datiert in die 2. Hälfte des 3. Jh. n. Chr.; quer über der Brust tragen sie eine Chlamys, mit Ausnahme des Winters, der mit Chiton und Mantel erscheint. Als Attribute trägt der Frühling Girlanden und Blumenkörbe, der Sommer Korb mit Ähren und Sichel, in einem Fall auch mit einem Kalb zu seinen Füßen (152); der Herbst Pedum und Hasen, mit Früchtekorb und einer Maske zu seinen Füßen, oder Pedum und Früchtekorb, mit Kranz aus Weinlaub und einem Panther zu Füßen, oder Thyrsos und Früchtekorb, ebenfalls mit Panther; der Winter Binse und

Korb, möglicherweise mit Oliven, zu Füßen ein Eber oder eine weitere Binse.

Die bewegungslosen Genien sind weitaus zahlreicher und erscheinen fast ausschließlich auf Jahreszeitsarkophagen (153–165). Sie werden in das 3. und 4. Jh. n. Chr. datiert, hauptsächlich in die 2. Hälfte des 3. Jh. Die übliche Bekleidung von Frühling, Sommer und Herbst ist die Chlamys quer über der Brust oder über den Rücken fallend, im Falle des Winters können als Ergänzung ein kurzer Chiton (157) oder Hosen in der Art des Attis (159) hinzukommen, doch trifft man auch den typischen Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt (165). Die Attribute sind komplexer, da zu denen, welche die Personifikationen in Händen halten, weitere hinzukommen, neben oder unter ihnen, häufig von Erosen oder Putti getragen. In einem Fall (158) trägt jeder der Genien ein Füllhorn, gefüllt mit verschiedenen jahreszeitlichen Früchten, was die konkrete Zuweisung jeder Personifikation zu einer Jahreszeit nicht zuläßt. Fast alle tragen charakteristische Kränze. Häufig sind die Sarkophage, auf deren Vorderseite sechs oder acht Genien erscheinen, obwohl, wie Kranz bereits zeigte, in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl nur vier von ihnen jahreszeitlichen Darstellungen entsprechen; in einem Fall (163) erscheinen sie auch auf den kleineren Seiten verdoppelt. Als Attribute trägt der Frühling Blumenkorb und Zweig (153), in einem Fall mit einer Antilope zu seinen Füßen (160), in einem anderen mit einem Eros mit Girlande (163); Girlande und Zweig (157), in einem Fall mit Kranz und Blumenkorb zu seinen Füßen; Blumenkorb (154), Blumenkorb und Girlande (165), mit einem Pfau (155, 164), Erosen (156) oder einem Widder zu Füßen des Genius, oder ein Schäfer, der an der Seite des Genius eine Ziege melkt; die übrigen Attribute sind verschwunden (159). Der Sommer: Sichel (164), Sichel und Früchtekorb (165), Korb mit Ähren (154), in einem Fall mit einem Löwen zu seinen Füßen (161), in einem anderen Fall mit einem Eros mit Ährenkorb und Sichel, Ährenkorb und Ähre, mit einem Kalb zu Füßen (160), Korb mit Ähren und Hase (157), Sichel und Ährenkorb (155), mit einem Hirsch (156) oder einem Ährenkorb zu Füßen, oder ein Bauer, der neben dem Genius Ähren schneidet; die übrigen Attribute sind verschwunden (159). Der Herbst: mit Trauben, die von einem Putto gereicht werden (153), Korb mit Trauben (154), Rebe und Vase (165), Trauben und Thyrsos (160), Thyrsos (164), Korb und Thyrsos, mit einer Gruppe von Putti, die zu seinen Füßen auf einem Panther reitet, Thyrsos und ein weiteres, verlorengegangenes Attribut, mit einem Panther zu Füßen (161); Füllhorn und Hase mit einem Eros mit Hund und Lagobolon, ein weiterer auf einem Panther (155), oder mit nur einem Eros mit einem Korb mit Trauben und Hund (156); Pedum (157), Früchtekorb und Lagobolon (162). Der Winter schließlich erscheint mit zwei Enten und einem verlorenen Attribut (153), Füllhorn mit Früchten und zwei Enten (155), Binse und zwei Enten, mit Eber zu seinen Füßen (156, 157, 160, 161); Binse und Korb (164), nur mit Eber (159), Hase und Korb mit Oliven (162), Enten und Lamm (165).

#### Sitzende Genien

Sitzende Genien sind sehr spärlich. In einem Fall (166) handelt es sich um einen Alten, der den Winter darstellt, während die anderen drei ebenfalls sitzenden Figuren weiblich sind. In einem anderen Fall, vom Anfang des 5. Jh. n. Chr. (168), treten sie mit Chiton und Mantel auf; als Attribute trägt der Winter ein Entenpaar und einen Früchtekorb, der Frühling einen Früchtekorb, ebenso wie Sommer und Herbst; die Identifikation wird durch die vorhandenen Aufschriften neben den Jahreszeiten bestimmt, sowie durch einige sekundäre Attribute, die neben ihnen erscheinen: ein Busch mit Blüten und Früchten neben dem Frühling, Ähren neben dem Sommer.

#### Köpfe und Büsten

Im Gegensatz zu den Horae sind bei den männlichen Darstellungen Köpfe und Büsten sehr selten. Von den ersteren ist nur eine zu berücksichtigen (169). Von den letzteren gibt es dagegen mehrere Monumente (171–182), vornehmlich auf Gemälden und Mosaiken, aber auch einmal auf einem Grabrelief. Sie sind alle datiert zwischen das späte 2. und das Ende des 4. Jh. n. Chr. und sind ungeflügelt. Einige Büsten des Herbstes sind zweifelhaft, da sie in einen Komplex von Büsten von Horae eingeschlossen sind, aber mit männlichen Zügen, weil dionysisch (174); zweimal ist nur der männliche Winter erhalten (172, 173). Im Unterschied zu den Horae tragen fast alle diese männlichen Büsten Attribute in den Händen oder über den Schultern, aber auch Kränze aus Blättern und jahreszeitliche Früchte, ohne daß diese jedoch das hauptsächliche Element für ihre Identifikation darstellen würden. Was die Kleidung betrifft, so tragen Frühling und Herbst normalerweise Chiton oder Chiton und Mantel, gelegentlich aber auch Nebris (179), ebenso wie der Sommer. Der Winter dagegen trägt Chiton und Mantel, der den Kopf bedeckt. Als Attribute hat der Frühling Sträuße (175) oder Blumengirlanden (178), Pedum oder Baummesser (179) und Früchtekorb (182), der Sommer Ährenbündel (175) und Ähre (182), der Herbst eine Weinranke beladen mit Trauben (175) und ein Rebmesser (179), der Winter einen Zweig mit zwei Enten (173), eine Ente (182), eine Binse mit Kürbis (?), zwei Enten und drei Fische (178) und eine Amphore, aus der Wasser strömt (179).

#### Hermen und Masken

In beiden Fällen gibt es nur wenige Exemplare, und sie erscheinen auf Sarkophagen oder Sarkophagdeckeln; erstere sind in das 2., letztere in das 3. Jh. n. Chr. datiert. Die Hermen befinden sich an den Ecken einiger dionysischer Sarkophage (183, 184), wenn auch nur jeweils zu zweit: der Herbst mit Früchten und Sommer mit Sichel und Ähren. Die Masken befinden sich hauptsächlich auf Sarkophagdeckeln und tragen als einziges Attribut die charakteristischen Kränze. Es sind auch einige Exemplare auf Mosaiken bekannt (185), identifizierbar ebenfalls durch ihre Kränze, mit Ausnahme des Herbstes, der durch eine bacchische Maske dargestellt wird.

#### Jahreszeitliche Aktivitäten

Was die jahreszeitlichen Aktivitäten betrifft, so finden wir diese bereits auf einem Gemälde von Herculeum bezeugt (190), in Formen von Erosen, die Rosen sammeln; besonders häufig erscheinen sie jedoch auf westlichen Mosaiken und vor allem auf Jahreszeitsarkophagen und Sarkophagdeckeln. Die Mosaiken stammen aus dem 3. oder 4. Jh. n. Chr. und zeigen Opfergaben mit Schmuck und Blumen (191), Einsammeln von Rosen (192, 194) oder Szenen wie die Ankunft der Störche und das Beschneiden der Bäume (193) für den Frühling; für den Sommer die Opferung eines Lammes vor einem Ährenfeld (191), ein Löwe zwischen Ähren und ein Jüngling, der einen Korb mit Ähren trägt (192), ein Opfer für Taranis, Speerwurf, Beschneiden von Bäumen (193) und Getreideernte (194); für den Herbst ein Opfer mit Trauben und einem Hasen (191), Transport von Trauben (192), Früchteernte und Tätigkeiten, die in Beziehung zur Saat stehen (193); für den Winter Szenen der Saat, der Entenjagd und der Olivenernte (194). Obwohl es sich streng genommen nicht um jahreszeitliche Aktivitäten handelt, erscheinen manchmal religiöse Szenen, wie das Opfer für Attis beim Frühling, das Fest der Ceres beim Sommer und eine dionysische Prozession beim Herbst auf dem Mosaik von Karthago (134), oder das Opfer für Taranis von 193.

Die Reliefs sind in der Zeit zwischen dem 2. und dem 4. Jh. n. Chr. entstanden; häufig sind es christliche Monumente, wie der Sarkophag von Iunius Bassus. Auf allen treten Erosen auf: Blumen sammelnd (196) oder in Verbindung mit Tieren und Flöten (201) für den Frühling; Ähren erntend (196, 198, 199, 200, 201) für den Sommer; Trauben pflückend (196, 197, 199, 201), tretend (197–199) oder transportierend (195) für den Herbst; Oliven vom Baum schlagend (196) oder sammelnd (197) und Äpfel pflückend (196) für den Winter.

#### Tiere und Pflanzen

Tiere stehen ebenfalls in enger Beziehung zu den jahreszeitlichen Darstellungen. Fast immer erscheinen sie als Ergänzung der männlichen oder weiblichen Personifikationen und sind oben als solche schon öfters genannt worden. Einigemale aber werden sie zu selbständigen Symbolen der Jahreszeiten, seien es Vögel oder andere Tiere.

Vögel finden wir auf Gemälden, Mosaiken und Reliefs, vor allem auf Sarkophagen, und fast alle stammen aus dem 3. Jh. n. Chr., obwohl nicht immer die gleichen Vögel auf dieselben Jahreszeiten hinweisen. So haben wir für den Frühling Tauben (202, 203), Pfau (205, 208) und andere Vögel, die nicht mit Bestimmtheit identifiziert werden können, die aber eindeutig mit Attributen des Frühlings assoziiert erscheinen, für den Sommer Rebhuhn (203) und Fasan (208), für den Herbst Papageien (202), Fasan (203) und Wachteln oder Raben (208), für den Winter Enten (203, 207), Ringeltaube (204) und möglicherweise Raben (208).

Andere Tiere befinden sich ebenfalls auf einigen Mosaiken und Reliefs, außerdem auf zahlreichen Jahreszeitsarkophagen, hier als Ergänzung anderer Per-

sonifikationen. Sie erscheinen als unabhängige Einheit zwischen dem 2. und 5. Jh. n. Chr., obwohl ein Skyphos von Boscoreale, aus der Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. (213), auch Tiere im jahreszeitlichen Zusammenhang zeigt, die sich von den bekannten Typen stark unterscheiden: für den Frühling Stier (210. 211), Bär (212) und Hase (?) (213); für den Sommer Löwe (210. 211. 212) und Eber (?) (213); für den Herbst Panther (211), Zebu (212), Hase und Gans (?) (213); für den Winter Tiger (211) und Eber (210. 212. 213). Es scheint, daß auf 209 der Winter durch einen Hirsch dargestellt ist, wenn hier auch Zweifel bestehen.

Einige dieser Tiere können Wagen ziehen, normalerweise von Erosen gelenkt; wir haben sie bereits am entsprechenden Ort vermerkt (112-115). Im wesentlichen erscheinen sie in sepulkralem Zusammenhang im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. Die Wagen des Frühlings werden von Bären (112), Stieren (113. 114) und Löwen (115) gezogen; die des Sommers von Löwen (112. 113. 115) und Zicklein (114); die des Herbstes von Stieren (112), Pantheren (113. 114) und Ziegenböcken (115); die des Winters von Ebern (112. 113. 114). Auf Mosaiken des 2. und 4. Jh. n. Chr. befinden sich Vögel, die Quadrigen ziehen; in einem Fall ziehen zwei Papageien einen Wagen, der mit einer großen Sichel und einem Rechen beladen ist (216); es handelt sich um den Sommer. In einem anderen Fall ziehen Vögel Wagen, die von Amoretten gelenkt werden: Gänse am Wagen des Sommers, Wildgänse beim Winter, Rebhühner beim Herbst und Tauben beim Frühling (217). Auf einem Medaillon (220) lenkt Hercules eine Quadriga, die von Kentauren mit jahreszeitlichen Attributen gezogen wird: unbestimmbares Attribut (Frühling), Sichel (Sommer), Früchtekorb (Herbst) und zwei Enten (Winter).

Zahlreich sind auch die Darstellungen von Pflanzen, wenn auch viele von ihnen, ähnlich wie bei den Tieren, in Beziehung zu Putti, Genien und Horae stehen, denen sie als jahreszeitliche Attribute dienen. Diejenigen, welche auf unabhängige Art die Jahreszeiten symbolisieren, finden wir vor allem auf Mosaiken und auch einmal auf Reliefs, datiert zwischen das 2. und 4. Jh. n. Chr. Die Identifikationen sind folgende: Frühling: Rosen (223-229) oder Blumen im allgemeinen (232. 233); Sommer: Ähren (223-228. 230-233); Herbst: Trauben (223-225. 227-229. 231-233) oder Früchte (226); Winter: Ölweige (223-225. 227-229. 233), Oliven (229), getrocknete Zweige (226) oder Efeu (230) und Binsen (232).

Manchmal ragen die Pflanzen aus Blumentöpfen und Krateren. Von der ersten Variante kennen wir einige Mosaiken aus dem 3. Jh. n. Chr. (234-236), die Trauben, Feigen und Äpfel zeigen, dem Herbst, Winter und vielleicht dem Frühling gehörend. Diejenigen, welche aus Krateren ragen, finden wir häufig vor allem auf Sarkophagen des 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. (239-244), doch sind auch Exemplare auf Mosaiken bekannt (237-238). Sie zeigen große Krater mit Blumen für den Frühling (240. 242. 243. 244), Ähren für den Sommer (239. 240. 242. 243. 244), für den Herbst Trauben und Früchte (239), Früchte (240), Trauben (242. 243. 244), und für den Winter Öl-

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Gelegentlich stehen Farben in Verbindung mit den Pflanzen, den Pferden oder den Quadrigen; so finden wir auf nordafrikanischen Mosaiken (228-229) den Frühling assoziiert mit der grünen Farbe, den Sommer mit rot, den Herbst mit blau und den Frühling mit weiß.

In der östlichen Welt erhalten die männlichen geflügelten Figuren, welche die Jahreszeiten darstellen, den Namen *Kairoi*, *Kaloi Kairoi* oder *Eutycheis Kairoi* (245-248). Das erste Zeugnis dieser Bezeichnung finden wir auf einer Münze des Caracalla (245), die in Wirklichkeit die griechische Version römischer Münzen mit der Inschrift *Felicitas Temporum* ist; trotzdem stammt der größte Teil der Monumente aus der Zeit vom 4. Jh. n. Chr. an, und viele von ihnen gehören bereits zu christlichen Gebäuden (246-248). In einigen Fällen (246. 248) besteht die jahreszeitliche Darstellung aus mehr als einer Person, einige ihrer Attribute sind Früchte, welche auf den anderen jahreszeitlichen Darstellungen selten sind (Wassermelonen, Auberginen, Kürbisse, Pfirsiche); dies hat dazu geführt, daß mancher Autor sie als Monate identifiziert und nicht als Jahreszeiten, obwohl es Gründe gibt, sie dafür zu halten.

LORENZO ABAD CASAL

## KAIROS

(*Kairos*) Personifikation masculine des «momento opportuno» sia nell'agire quotidiano dell'uomo, sia concettualmente nella sfera etica, nell'arte della parola o nella creazione figurativa. È propria del mondo greco, dove ha origine dalla complessa stratificazione dei significati di *kairos* (per l'etimologia, problematica, cf. Chantraine s. v.). Parziale è l'equiparazione ad *Occasio*, che isola un aspetto di casualità secondario nell'allegoria originaria: per cui la denominazione resta intraducibile, se non con una perifrasi, fin nelle lingue moderne.

Come divinità K. viene definito *Ὀλύμπιος*, ed è l'ultimo nato dei figli di Zeus: il culto è attestato ad Olimpia ed a Velia. Ma nei papiri magici è collegato a Zeus non solo come figlio, bensì anche come padre, per aver avuto, insieme ad Aion una parte importante nell'origine del mondo: questa latente identificazione con Chronos riaffiora infatti nell'erudi-

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**FONTI LETTERARIE:** In Omero *kairos* era il «punto giusto» per una ferita mortale: in Esiodo aveva già una sfumatura etica, con riferimento alla saggezza delfica. A Pittaco si attribuiva il *γνώσις kairos* come invito a riconoscere il «momento adatto» per ogni cosa. Per i Pitagorici era simbolo del numero sette, ed aveva carattere «vergine» (Burkert, W., *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* [1972] 467 n. 9), il che implica un'iniziale visualizzazione del soggetto, che di fatto assumerà l'aspetto di adolescente schivo al possesso da parte di chiunque. La prima attestazione della natura divina di K. è alla metà del V sec. in Ione di Chio (Page *PMG* frg. 742), il quale ne avrebbe ideato la discendenza da Zeus. Negli stessi anni la definizione di K. come «abitatore di Olimpo» viene offerta da un cippo iscritto di Velia (Guarducci fig. 8. 9). A questa esaltazione partecipa Policeto, nel solco della teoria pitagorica, facendo del *kairos* un elemento decisivo nel suo trattato sul «canone» (Plut. *mor.* 45c), se non anche rappresentando K. in un bronzo (18): è indicativo che Antimaco di Colofone (fig. 32 Wyss) sia già in grado di attribuire il nome di K. ad uno dei cavalli di Adrasto. Quello che entra nella retorica è comunque K. costituito in figura divina, di cui Protagora e Gorgia ammirano la «potenza»: esso si combina ai concetti di «misura», «simmetria», «armonia» e «grazia», entrando indissolubilmente nella speculazione estetica e nella teoria artistica. In Platone *kairos* sta in relazione con l'aritmetica e la geometria, ovvero indica idealmente il valore medio, la moderazione, ciò che è equilibrato ed opportuno, la giusta distribuzione degli opposti nel corpo sano, finché, nel dialogo rimasto incompiuto nel 349/348 conduce come personificazione gli accademici umani (Plat. *nomoi* IV 709 b 7).

L'allegoria realizzata da Lisippo per Alessandro (1) era forse presente a Demostene frg. 12 p. 254 Baiter/Sauppe II (= Tzetz. *chil.* 10, 289-291): secondo il testo primario di Tzetz. *epist.* 95, l'oratore avrebbe infatti accennato alla «sordità» di K., una caratteristica che veniva riconosciuta in un'altra personificazione plasmata da Lisippo (*Gnomol. Vat.* 399, →Demos 10). Compatibile la conoscenza della figura lisippea, per la sua dote d'inafferrabilità, con la ricostruzione del testo in Menandro *Dysk.* 886: comunque la critica antica attribuiva al poeta un ruolo nel processo di apoteosi di K. (Men. frg. 854 Körte = Pallada *Anth. Pal.* 10, 52). Uno dei bronzi lisippeï che rappresentavano K. è descritto da Posidippo «nell'ingresso» di un edificio che poteva essere la reggia di Pella, località di cui il poeta era nativo (*Anth. Pal.* 16, 275): egli dice che la figura correva sulla punta dei piedi alati, con un rasoio nella destra, capelli lunghi sul davanti, per essere preso al passaggio, ma calvo all'occipite, per non venire acciappato una volta trascorso. Di pari passo con la diffusione dell'immagine lisippea, il concetto di *kairos* acquisisce più larghe accezioni letterarie: dal senso di misura e misurabilità delle cose, quello di importanza,

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La funzione del rasoio ricordato da Posidippo è spiegata per la prima volta da Fedro (5, 8) il quale parla di «un corridore alato in atto di pesare su di un rasoio» (rispetto al testo che ci è pervenuto, *cursor volucris pendens in novacula*, bisogna infatti emendare *volucris*, noto come nominativo singolare maschile anche in Sil. 10, 470, e *pendens* va inteso come voce di *pendo*, non *pendeo*). Fedro conferma inoltre la caratteristica capigliatura, e mostra di conoscere una rappresentazione plastica (*finxere antiqui talem effigiem*). Tuttavia la sua composizione poetica ha ingenerato non pochi equivoci sul piano iconografico introducendo l'equazione K.-*Tempus* (da cui le immagini di un personaggio barbato con attributi di K.: 6-8. 12. 15), e spiegando l'allegoria come *occasionem rerum*... *brevem* (dove la personificazione femminile di *Occasio* con motivi tratti da K. in Aus. *epigr.* 33; Cato *dist.* 2, 26; Paul. Nol. *epist.* 16, 4; *Carm. Bur.* 16, 1, 5-8 ed. Hilka/Schumann); infine la precoce corruzione del primo verso, *cursor volucris pendens in novacula*, unita all'errata interpretazione di *pendens* da *pendeo* avrebbe ispirato la strana figurazione di una gemma (13).

Gli autori greci conservano ancora nel IV sec. d. C. l'esatta cognizione del K. di Lisippo. Callistrato (*stat.* 6) ne descrive attentamente un esemplare a Sicione, confermando rispetto a Posidippo l'andamento della figura sulla punta dei piedi alati, e la tipica pettinatura, ed aggiungendo che K. aveva ali anche sul dorso e che stava in equilibrio su di una sfera. Imerio (*or.* 13, 1), che dichiara di riassumere un ricordo visivo, parla di un «ferro» (*σίδηρος*) nella destra (che deve corrispondere al rasoio di Posidippo) e della bilancia nella sinistra (in accordo con Fedro): ma anche questo testo era destinato ad indurre deviazioni dall'iconografia originale, in quanto il «ferro» è diventato una «spada» negli scrittori bizantini (*μάχαιρα*: Tzetz. *epist.* 70; *chil.* 8, 200, 427; 10, 322, 264; Giorgio Galesiota *de regalitate* 10; *εἶπος*: Niceforo Blemnide *de rege* 10) con le relative conseguenze nelle opere figurative (11. 14. 15).

Perdurava comunque tra gli autori bizantini la conoscenza di altri elementi dell'iniziale personificazione di K., grazie ad uno dei bronzi lisippeï di tale soggetto che era stato portato a Costantinopoli (Giorgio Cedreno 322c), e veniva talvolta citato con il nome stesso di K. (Evagrio 3, 26; Teofilatto di Bulgaria, *lex.* 58), più sovente come Chronos. Motivi dell'allegoria confluiscono nella visione letteraria di →Bios (p. es. Teodoro Prodromo), sicché Tzetze (che conservava tra l'altro le rare notizie dell'appoggio della figura sulla sfera, e della dedica dell'archetipo ad Alessandro da parte di Lisippo) avverte la necessità di ristabilire la corretta lettura della personificazione usando come sinonimi K. o Chronos. La ricostruzione è accolta da alcuni scrittori (p. es. Niceforo Blemnide e Giorgio Galesiota), mentre altri continuano a parlare di Bios (Manuele Filete) in termini pressoché interscambiabili con K., come avviene nell'iconografia postbizantina (14-17). Nei trattati destinati ai pittori religiosi sopravvive invece la denominazione antica di K. con riferimento all'iconografia lisippea (*Hermenela*,



sonifikationen. Sie erscheinen als unabhängige Einheit zwischen dem 2. und 5. Jh. n. Chr., obwohl ein Skypchos von Boscoreale, aus der Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. (213), auch Tiere im jahreszeitlichen Zusammenhang zeigt, die sich von den bekannten Typen stark unterscheiden: für den Frühling Stier (210, 211), Bär (212) und Hase (?) (213); für den Sommer Löwe (210, 211, 212) und Eber (?) (213); für den Herbst Panther (211), Zebu (212), Hase und Gans (?) (213); für den Winter Tiger (211) und Eber (210, 212, 213). Es scheint, daß auf 209 der Winter durch einen Hirsch dargestellt ist, wenn hier auch Zweifel bestehen.

Einige dieser Tiere können Wagen ziehen, normalerweise von Erosen gelenkt; wir haben sie bereits am entsprechenden Ort vermerkt (112-115). Im wesentlichen erscheinen sie in sepulkralem Zusammenhang im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. Die Wagen des Frühlings werden von Bären (112), Stieren (113, 114) und Löwen (115) gezogen; die des Sommers von Löwen (112, 113, 115) und Zickeln (114); die des Herbstes von Stieren (112), Pantheren (113, 114) und Ziegenböcken (115); die des Winters von Ebern (112, 113, 114). Auf Mosaiken des 2. und 4. Jh. n. Chr. befinden sich Vögel, die Quadrigen ziehen; in einem Fall ziehen zwei Papageien einen Wagen, der mit einer großen Sichel und einem Rechen beladen ist (216); es handelt sich um den Sommer. In einem anderen Fall ziehen Vögel Wagen, die von Amoretten gelenkt werden: Gänse am Wagen des Sommers, Wildgänse beim Winter, Rebhühner beim Herbst und Tauben beim Frühling (217). Auf einem Medaillon (220) lenkt Hercules eine Quadriga, die von Kentauren mit jahreszeitlichen Attributen gezogen wird: unbestimmbares Attribut (Frühling), Sichel (Sommer), Früchtekorb (Herbst) und zwei Enten (Winter).

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L'allegoria realizzata da Lisippo per Alessandro (I) era forse presente a Demostene frg. 12 p. 254 Baier/Sauppe II (= Tzetz. *chil.* 10, 289-291): secondo il testo primario di Tzetz. *epist.* 95, l'oratore avrebbe infatti accennato alla «sordità» di K., una caratteristica che veniva riconosciuta in un'altra personificazione plasmata da Lisippo (*Gnomol. Vat.* 399, *→Demos* 10). Compatibile la conoscenza della figura lisippea, per la sua dote d'inafferrabilità, con la ricostruzione del testo in Menandro *Dysk.* 886: comunque la critica antica attribuiva al poeta un ruolo nel processo di apoteosi di K. (Men. frg. 854 Körte = Pallada *Anth. Pal.* 10, 52). Uno dei bronzi lisippee che rappresentavano K. è descritto da Posidippo «nell'ingresso» di un edificio che poteva essere la reggia di Pella, località di cui il poeta era nativo (*Anth. Pal.* 16, 275): egli dice che la figura correva sulla punta dei piedi alati, con un rasoio nella destra, capelli lunghi sul davanti, per essere preso al passaggio, ma calvo all'occipite, per non venire acciappato una volta trascorso. Di pari passo con la diffusione dell'immagine lisippea, il concetto di *kairos* acquisisce più larghe accezioni letterarie: dal senso di misura e misurabilità delle cose, quello di importanza,

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La funzione del rasoio ricordato da Posidippo è spiegata per la prima volta da Fedro (5, 8) il quale parla di «un corridore alato in atto di pesare su di un rasoio» (rispetto al testo che ci è pervenuto, *cursor volucris pendens in novacula*, bisogna infatti emendare *volucris*, noto come nominativo singolare maschile anche in Sil. 10, 470, e *pendens* va inteso come voce di *pendo*, non *pendeo*). Fedro conferma inoltre la caratteristica capigliatura, e mostra di conoscere una rappresentazione plastica (*finxere antiqui talem effigiem*). Tuttavia la sua composizione poetica ha ingenerato non pochi equivoci sul piano iconografico introducendo l'equazione *K. = Tempus* (da cui le immagini di un personaggio barbato con attributi di K.: 6-8, 12, 15), e spiegando l'allegoria come *occasionem rerum*... *brevem* (dove la personificazione femminile di *Occasio* con motivi tratti da K. in Aus. *epigr.* 33; Cato *dist.* 2, 26; Paul. Nol. *epist.* 16, 4; *Carm. Bur.* 16, 1, 5-8 ed. Hilka/Schumann); infine la precoce corruzione del primo verso, *cursor volucris pendens in novacula*, unita all'errata interpretazione di *pendens* da *pendeo* avrebbe ispirato la strana figurazione di una gemma (13).

Gli autori greci conservano ancora nel IV sec. d. C. l'esatta cognizione del K. di Lisippo. Callistrato (*stat.* 6) ne descrive attentamente un esemplare a Sicione, confermando rispetto a Posidippo l'andamento della figura sulla punta dei piedi alati, e la tipica pettinatura, ed aggiungendo che K. aveva ali anche sul dorso e che stava in equilibrio su di una sfera. Imerio (*or.* 13, 1), che dichiara di riassumere un ricordo visivo, parla di un «ferro» (*σίδηρος*) nella destra (che deve corrispondere al rasoio di Posidippo) e della bilancia nella sinistra (in accordo con Fedro): ma anche questo testo era destinato ad indurre deviazioni dall'iconografia originale, in quanto il «ferro» è diventato una «spada» negli scrittori bizantini (*μάχαιρα*: Tzetz. *epist.* 70; *chil.* 8, 200, 427; 10, 322, 264; Giorgio Galesiota *de regalitate* 10; *ἔκτος*: Niceforo Blemnide *de rege* 10) con le relative conseguenze nelle opere figurative (11, 14, 15).

Perdurava comunque tra gli autori bizantini la conoscenza di altri elementi dell'iniziale personificazione di K., grazie ad uno dei bronzi lisippee di tale soggetto che era stato portato a Costantinopoli (Giorgio Cedreno 322c), e veniva talvolta citato con il nome stesso di K. (Evagrio 3, 26; Teofilatto di Bulgaria, *lex.* 58), più sovente come *Chronos*. Motivi dell'allegoria confluiscono nella visione letteraria di *→Bios* (p. es. Teodoro Prodromo), sicché Tzetze (che conservava tra l'altro le rare notizie dell'appoggio della figura sulla sfera, e della dedica dell'archetipo ad Alessandro da parte di Lisippo) avverte la necessità di ristabilire la corretta lettura della personificazione usando come sinonimi K. o *Chronos*. La ricostruzione è accolta da alcuni scrittori (p. es. Niceforo Blemnide e Giorgio Galesiota), mentre altri continuano a parlare di *Bios* (Manuele Filete) in termini pressoché interscambiabili con K., come avviene nell'iconografia postbizantina (14-17). Nei trattati destinati ai pittori religiosi sopravvive invece la denominazione antica di K. con riferimento all'iconografia lisippea (*Hermenela*,

Monte Athos, Iviron, *cod. A*, 685, f. 14: *πὺς ἰστροπίζεται ὁ Καῖρος*, ed anche 15). Non stupisce dunque che nel XVIII sec. si trascrivesse ancora l'epigramma di Posidippo sulla parete di una chiesa monastica nella regione del Pindo (16).

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## CATALOGO

### A. Kairos alato

1. • Statua in bronzo, opera di Lisippo, perduta. L'artista l'avrebbe prodotta in più di un esemplare. Il prototipo sarebbe stato creato a Pella per Alessandro re, tra il 336 ed il 334 a. C. (Posidippo, Tzetzé), un altro bronzo fu visto a Sicione (Callistrato). Un esemplare fu portato a Costantinopoli nel palazzo di Lausus, patrizio del tempo di Arcadio (395-408 d. C.), dove andò distrutto nel 476 d. C. Il tipo si ricostruisce componendo gli elementi forniti da Posidippo, Callistrato ed Imerio con la testimonianza iconografica di alcuni rilievi (2-4) e di una gemma (6): figura di giovinetto, capelli lunghi e fluenti sulla fronte, rasi all'occipite, ali ai piedi e sul dorso, poggiava col piede s. su di una sfera, mentre l'altra gamba era proiettata avanti, con la mano s. protendeva un rasoio semicircolare, con la d.



Kairos I

regolava il piattello di una bilancia posta in equilibrio sulla lama del rasoio (Moreno 3 fig. 68).

#### Rilievi

2. • Fr. Trogir (Traù), Monastero delle Benedettine. - Abramić tav. 1 e figg. 2, 4; Picard, *Manuel* IV 2, 553-565 tav. 14; Moreno 3, fig. 66. - I sec. a. C. - K. di profilo a s., secondo le descrizioni dell'opera lisippica (1): visibili le ali sul dorso, rasoio e bilancia.

3. • Fr. Atene, Mus. dell'Acropoli 2799. - Walter, *RelAkr* 74 n° 125; Curtius tav. 2, 4; Moreno, P., *RivIstArch* 6/7, 1983/84, 59 fig. 17; Carinci fig. 21. - I sec. a. C. - Simile a 2: si conservano le ali al piede s.

4. • Torino, Mus. Arch. Da Roma. - Barra Bagnasco, M., «Il rilievo torinese del Kairos», *Boll. Soc. Piemontese di Arch. e Belle Arti*, Torino 30/31, 1976/77, 11-19 fig. 1; Schwarz fig. alla p. 267; Stewart fig. 1; Carinci fig. 19. - II sec. d. C. (Carinci), XVI sec. (Barra Bagnasco). - Simile a 1. 2, dove peraltro K. poteva poggiare sulla sfera; qui la gamba d. è adattata al movimento lungo la linea di terra.

5. Leningrado. Ermitage A 544. Già Coll. Montferrand. - Waldhauer, O., *Lisipp* [in russo] (1923) 23 tav. 6; Curtius tav. 2, 1; Greifenhagen 67-74. - XVI sec. - Opera moderna ispirata al rilievo 4 per l'andamento della figura, ed alle gemme 6-8 per la rappresentazione di K. barbato come *Tempus*.

#### Gemma

6. • Onice. Londra, BM 1772. Già Coll. Blacas. - Furtwängler, *AG* I tav. 43, 50; II 207-208; Walters, *BMGems* n° 1772 tav. 23. Cook, *Zeus* II 860 n. 4 (c. c') fig. 798; Stewart 164 n. 3 n° 5 ill. 1b. - I-II sec. d. C. - K. di profilo a d., barbato come *Tempus*, ma rispondente in tutti gli attributi alle descrizioni di 1; unica testimonianza iconografica dell'appoggio di un piede sulla sfera, secondo la notizia di Callistrato.

7. Cornalina. Londra, Coll. C. Newton Robinson. - Furtwängler, *AG* I tav. 43, 49; II 207; Cook, *Zeus* II 860 n. 5 (a) fig. 796; Stewart 164 n. 3 n° 4 ill. 1a. - II

sec. d. C. - *Tempus* barbato, di profilo a d., con elementi comuni a K. 1-4, salvo che la bilancia appare sospesa davanti alla figura, che tiene nella d. un farfalla (psicostasia, cf. 12).

8. • Londra, BM 1771. Già Coll. Blacas. - Furtwängler, *AG* I tav. 43, 51; II 208; Walters, *BMGems* n° 1771; Cook, *Zeus* II 860 n. 5 (b. b') fig. 797; Stewart 164 n. 3 n° 6 ill. 1c. - II sec. d. C. - *Tempus* di profilo a s., simile a 7.

#### INTERPRETAZIONE INCERTA

9. Castone inciso di anello d'oro. Taranto, Mus. Naz. 27.385. Da Taranto. - D'Amicis, A., *Taras* 4, 1-2, 1984, 73-74 n° 4; Alessio, A., in *Gli ori di Taranto* (1984) 291 n° 213. - III sec. a. C. - Giovinetto alato di profilo a s., forse con bilancia nella s. protesa. Eventualmente → Eros.

10. Gemma. Collocazione ignota. - Furtwängler, *AG* I tav. 30, 38; II 149; Cook, *Zeus* II 863 n. 1. - I sec. d. C. - Giovinetto alato di profilo a s., rasoio semicircolare (o specchio?) nella d. protesa, frusta (?) nella s., sta con un piede su di una ruota (cf. 12. 15-17).

11. Gemma. Zadar, Mus. Arch. Da Ivoševci (BURNUM). - Suić fig. alla p. 1. - IV sec. d. C. - Giovinetto alato di profilo a s., bilancia nella s., spada nella d. Potrebbe derivare dalla descrizione di 1, equivocata attraverso il testo di Imerio (Commento).

12. (= Aion 5 con bibl., = Chronos 4 con bibl., = Danaides 26 con bibl.) Sarcofago in calcare. Roma, Villa Giulia. Dall'atrio di San Pietro. - Gasparri 2; Moreno 1 fig. 1; Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 40. 189. 614 fig. 11. - Circa 20 a. C. - Viene interpretata come K. (Gasparri) la figura giovanile nella quarta arcata della fronte da s., con mantelletto nella s., farfalla nella d. protesa, e piede s. su ruota; ma dal confronto con 16. 17 si ricava che ha il significato di Bios (simile a → Bios 5, ingiustificatamente espunto dall'iconografia della personificazione). È piuttosto nella figura dell'arcata successiva che si riconoscono i caratteri di K. quale *Tempus* barbato, con ali sul dorso e forse ai piedi, e bilancia nella s.: vestito di tunica, porge un mazzetto di fiori alla farfalla-anima presentata da Bios, per invitarla alla psicostasia (cf. 7. 8). Nella sesta ed ultima arcata sarà da riconoscere → Thanatos.

### B. Kairos con ali solo ai piedi

Variante attestata in età classica da una gemma (13), e da numerose testimonianze bizantine qui soltanto esemplificate (14-17); correlata alla personificazione di Bios, dalla quale non è facile distinguerla in assenza di iscrizioni.

13. • Gemma, cornalina. Berlino, Staatl. Mus. FG 7538. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* n° 7358 tav. 55; Cook, *Zeus* II 862 fig. 800. - II-III sec. d. C. - K. giovinetto con ali ai piedi, in marcia verso s. in equilibrio sull'asta di un timone (?), con bilancia nella s. L'oggetto su cui cammina K. potrebbe essere il «rasoio alato», derivato nell'immaginario antico dalla corrutela e dal conseguente fraintendimento del primo

verso nella descrizione di Fedro: *volucris [...] novacula* (Commento).

14. • Rilievo in marmo. Torcello, Duomo; altro frammento pertinente: Torcello, Mus. - Dalton, O. M., *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (1911) 159 fig. 91; Polacco, R., *Sculture paleocristiane e altomedievali di Torcello* (1976) 138-140; Polacco, R., *La Cattedrale di Torcello* (1984) 35-37 fig. 38. - XI sec. - K.-Bios giovinetto con cintura e perizoma, piedi su ruote alate, impugna nella d. sollevata una lama, con la s. la bilancia. È affiancato da un giovane che l'acciuffa, e da un vecchio che tenta invano di afferrarlo. Segue a d. la personificazione del Pentimento (→ Metanoia). Il giovane appariva incoronato da una figura femminile visibile nel frammento oggi separato.

15. f Miniatura. Monte Athos, Grande Laura, *cod. H*, 16, n° 671, f. 48. - Buras tav. 17. - 1602. - K. barbato come → Chronos (*Tempus*), ciuffo di capelli sulla fronte, ali ai polpacci, perizoma, lama nella mano d., piedi su ruote, iscrizione *Καῖρος ὁ Πανδαιμότωρ* (cf. Posidippo, *Anth.* Pal. 16, 275, 2).



Kairos 15

16. • Affresco. Monastero di Redina (Pindo). - Buras tav. 18. - XVII sec. - K. giovinetto, ciuffo di capelli sulla fronte, raso l'occipite, ali ai polpacci, perizoma, impugna con la d. sollevata un rasoio a lama



Kairos 16

lunga; accompagnato dal testo completo dell'epigramma di Posidippo (cf. 15) e dall'iscrizione *ὁ Kairos*.

17. • Affresco. Chio, Chiesa della Panagia Krina. – Buras fig. 1 tav. 14. – 1734. – K. come Bios, giovinetto nudo, ciuffo di capelli sulla fronte, ali ai polpacci, bilancia nella d., iscrizione *ὁ Bios*; gli si accosta un uomo barbato con un mazzetto di fiori nella d., che prende il giovinetto per il ciuffo, ed è simbolo della vita mondana (*ὁ Κόσμος*).

#### C. Kairos senza ali

##### Scultura

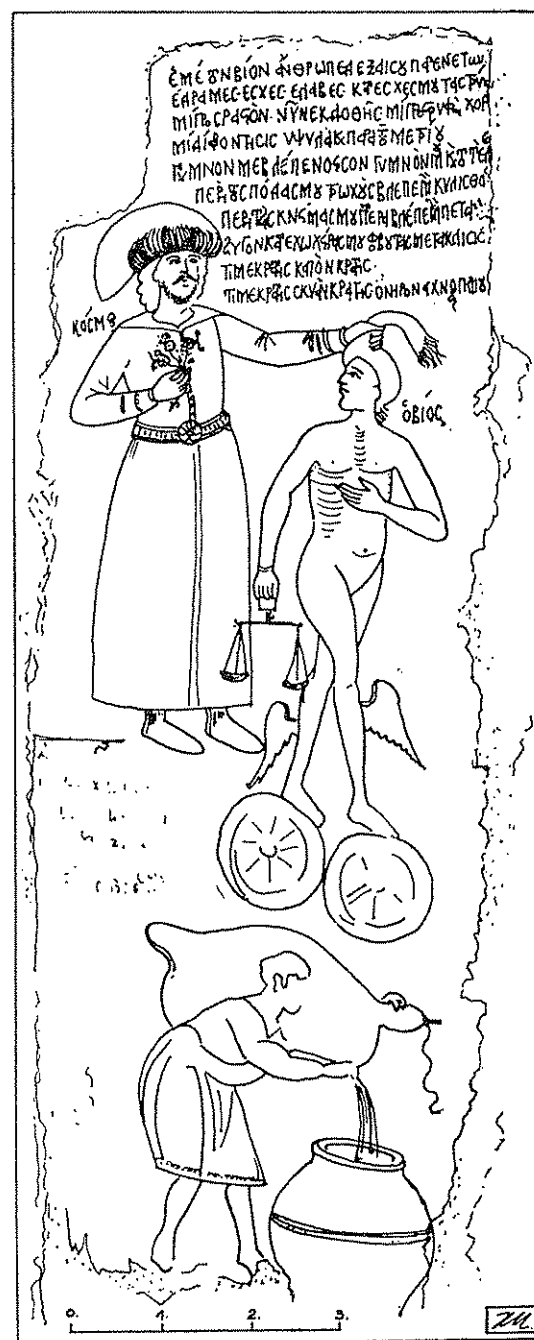
18. • Statua in bronzo, perduta, eventuale opera di Policleto, collocata ad Olimpia sulla base a forma di astragalo, rinvenuta presso l'entrata dello Stadio (Treu, G., *Olympia III* [1897] 218 tav. 55, 4-5), dove Paus. 5, 14, 9 ricorda gli altari dedicati a K. e ad → Hermes Enagionios. La restituzione di tale figura nel catalogo di Policleto si avrebbe da una particolare interpretazione del passo di Plin. nat. 34, 55 *nudum talo incessentem*, che attraverso la retroversione greca suonerebbe «nudo che sta su di un astragalo» (Benndorf, O., in *Festgabe für A. Springer* [1885] 1-11). Le tracce della statua sull'astragalo di Olimpia sono compatibili con l'impronta dei piedi dell'Efebo Westmacott al Brit. Mus. e delle copie ad esso correlate (Hafner, G., «Zum Epheben Westmacott», *SbHeidelb.* 1955 (1); Zanker, P., *Klassizistische Statuen* (1974) 19-24 tav. 21-26), per cui è stato proposto di riconoscere in quella figura giovanile il K. di Policleto, dotato di bilancia nella mano d. portata all'altezza della fronte: esso verrebbe a comporsi con il Fanciullo di Dresda quale Hermes Enagionios (Berger, E., «Zum von Plinius [n. h. 34, 55] überlieferten *nudus talo incessens* des Polyklet», *AntK* 21, 1978, 55-62 fig. 2).

##### Pittura

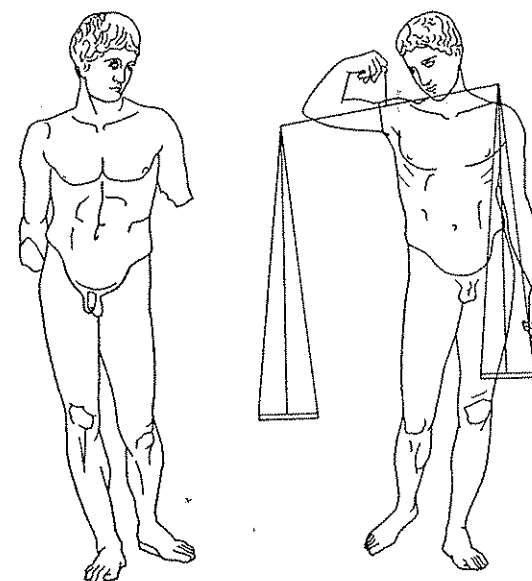
19. Dipinto perduto con → Akme affiancata da K. e Charis. Potrebbe identificarsi con il quadro di Apelle a Smirne, tramandato come Charis (→ Charis, Charites 1). Ne derivano i seguenti mosaici.

##### Mosaici

20. (= Akme 2 con bibl.) Beirut, Mus. Naz. Da Biblo. Moreno, P., in *Storia e civiltà dei Greci* 6 (1979) 497 tav. 62a; *idem*, *Pittura greca* (1987) 150-151 fig. 157. – 200-250 d. C. – La personificazione di Akmé siede trattenendo con la mano d. un fanciullo amman-



Kairos 17



Kairos 18

tato in atto di allontanarsi: l'iscrizione incompleta, già interpretata variamente come *[E]POΣ*, o *[ΘE]POΣ*, va letta *[KAI]POΣ* alla luce del frammento 21.

21. • Roma, Mus. Nuovo dei Conservatori. Da Baalbek. – Moreno 2, fig. 1. – 200-250 d. C. – Formella ottagonale con busto di fanciullo, capelli lunghi e fluenti, mantello sulla spalla s., corona di fiori sul capo, analogo a quello parzialmente visibile in 20; iscrizione *KAIPOΣ*. Allo stesso pavimento appartiene un tondo con busto ed iscrizione di Akmé, simile alla personificazione rappresentata in 20, da aggiungere alla documentazione raccolta per → Akme: Moreno 2, fig. 2.

##### INTERPRETAZIONE INCERTA

22. (= Bythos I 1a, = Galateia 42) Mosaico. Nea Paphos (Cipro), Casa di Aion. – Daszewski, W. A., *Dionysos der Erlöser* (1985) 30-31 fig. 3 tavv. 2. 8. Michaelides, D., *Cypriot Mosaics* (1987) 30 n° 29 tav. 23a. – 325-350 d. C. – Nella gara di bellezza tra le → Nereides, figura parzialmente conservata di fanciullo nudo che porge qualcosa a → Kassiepeia vincitrice; iscrizione incompleta *KAI*, da integrare eventualmente *KAIPOΣ*, o meglio *KAIH[POΣ]*, trattandosi di una scelta per elezione: → Kleros.

##### COMMENTO

È verisimile che la riflessione sul potere divino di K. risalga ai pitagorici, insieme alla concezione giovanile e «vergine» del personaggio. Da tale matrice ideologica deriverebbe sia l'elaborazione nella sfera magica e popolare della figura di K. tra gli artefici del mondo (Ladendorf), sia la classificazione mitografica tra gli dei olimpici: Ione di Chio, che per primo in un inno aveva identificato K. come il più giovane dei figli

di Zeus, era infatti autore anche di un trattato filosofico d'ispirazione pitagorica. Se è giusta l'attribuzione a Policleto di un K. nella forma dell'Efebo Westmacott munito di bilancia, avremmo un impianto iconografico del tutto coerente con quelle premesse teoriche, poichè il «Canone» stesso di Policleto era fondato su principi pitagorici. La precoce apparizione della bilancia nella mano della personificazione, in un contesto religioso che rivolgeva particolare attenzione al destino individuale delle anime, fa intuire la tradizione sommersa di una psicostasia da parte di K., quale verrà più tardi praticata da Chronos (7. 8. 12). Il ritrovamento ad Olimpia della base in aspetto di astragalo (18) nel luogo dove Pausania ricordava l'altare di K. è comunque indicativo di una componente di casualità nei brevi contatti della divinità con i mortali. Nè l'episodio è legato solo all'ambiente agonistico: la diffusione del culto nella seconda metà del V sec. è attestata dall'esistenza ad Elea (Velia) di un area sacra a «K. Olympios» (Guarducci).

Un secolo più tardi, tra il 337 ed il 334 a. C., Timoleonte di Corinto innalzava nella propria casa di Siracusa un altare alla divinità del caso *Αὐτοματία* (Plut. *Timol.* 36, 6): una sincronia suggestiva con la possibile dedica di una statua di K. ad Alessandro Magno da parte di Lisippo negli anni 336-334 (1). Indizi non trascurabili nella tradizione letteraria (Posidippo, Tzetze) fanno credere che lo scultore avesse accompagnato questa prima allegoria a Pella, ed una successiva versione a Siracusa, con iscrizioni esplicative. È certo che oltre al valore morale, la figura avesse per Lisippo un significato estetico, per cui Callistrato vi riconosceva «l'unico creatore di bellezza»: molte infatti delle affermazioni del bronzista e dei suoi contemporanei possono essere ricondotte ai valori di K. (Moreno, P., *Testimonianze per la teoria artistica di Lisippo* [1973] 49. 50. 74-77. 183-190). Partendo dai significati basilari di *Kairos*, come «quantità misurata di qualcosa» ovvero «momento propizio», gli scultori avrebbero figurato nella personificazione una «situazione di misurato equilibrio colta momentaneamente» (Moser von Filseck).

La ricostruzione iconografica del K. di Lisippo resta compromessa dall'eccessivo pessimismo (Schwarz, Moser von Filseck) sulla possibilità che le fonti più informate – Posidippo, Fedro, Callistrato ed Imerio – si riferiscano ad immagini tra loro coerenti. Le apparenti discrepanze sembrano derivare solo dall'aver ciascun autore selezionato determinati attributi della personificazione, tacendone altri. L'attenta esegesi di alcune espressioni consente infatti di considerare impliciti anche i dettagli che non vengono direttamente esplorati. Posidippo riferisce l'andamento della figura sulla punta dei piedi, che non contraddice la collocazione sulla sfera affermata da Callistrato e Tzetze, e ben attestata dalla gemma 6, tanto più che K. in Posidippo dichiara: *ἀεὶ τροχῶν*, letteralmente «sempre ruoto», con il verbo che negli stessi anni Arato (*phain.* 227. 309) adoperava per indicare il moto delle sfere celesti. Il poeta fissa inoltre il motivo delle ali ai piedi (3), del rasoio in una mano (2) e della caratteristica chioma (2). Fedro, nella lettura proposta (fonti letterarie), parla di



una figura alata in corsa, rappresentata nell'atto di pesare sul filo di un rasoio, e l'identifica con l'opera plastica di uno scultore greco (*finxere antiqui*): è dunque sottintesa la presenza della bilancia che sarà citata espressamente da Imerio, ed è frequente nelle riproduzioni ispirate a Lisippo (2. 4-9. 12-14. 17). Callistrato ribadisce l'andatura sulla punta dei piedi connettendola chiaramente con l'appoggio su di una sfera (6), parla di ali ai piedi e sul dorso (2-4), aggiungendo un confronto iconografico con Dioniso, e la complessa equazione di K. con il bello. Imerio sottolinea il carattere di adolescente del K. di Lisippo, tra il *παῖς* e l'*ἔφηβος*, ricorda le ali ai piedi, e gli pone in una mano la bilancia, nell'altra un «ferro» (*σίδηρος*) che può ben essere il «rasoio» di Posidippo e di Fedro: infine la sua attenta definizione del passo furtivo che sembra sfiorare appena la «terra» (*γῆ*), può atteggiarsi all'effimero appoggio sulla sfera terrestre, avvisato da Callistrato, e ripreso più tardi da Tzetze.

Ammettendo dunque che l'immagine lisippea fosse sostanzialmente intatta nella visione o nella fantasia degli scrittori fino al IV sec. d. C. (Callistrato ed Imerio), resta da vedere come da tali testi, ed indipendentemente dall'intenzione degli autori stessi, siano nate delle deviazioni iconografiche. La cosa è facile da spiegare, tenendo conto che ciascuna delle fonti, presa di per sé, non era in grado di fornire una completa restituzione del K. di Lisippo. L'epigramma di Posidippo, fedelmente trascritto sulla parete di una chiesa in Grecia nel XVII sec. suggeriva la semplice figurazione di un giovinetto con ali ai piedi, un ciuffo di capelli sulla fronte, l'occipite calvo, ed un gran rasoio brandito nella destra (16); simile la versione di una miniatura (15), ma con l'interferenza della barba di Chronos e delle ruote di Bios (12. 14). Fedro, per la cattiva lettura *volucris pendens in novacula*, può aver determinato la singolare figura di giovinetto in equilibrio su di un oggetto che sarebbe il fantomatico «rasoio alato» (13); inoltre la sua traduzione di K. con *Tempus* ha prodotto la contaminazione di K. con Chronos barbato (5-8. 12. 15), e la definizione di K. come *occasionem rerum ... brevem* ha contribuito al passaggio di motivi propri di K. nella personificazione di *Occasio*, che corrispondeva invece al greco *Εὐκαιρία* (Cic. off. 1, 142). Imerio, nominando solo un «ferro» (per il rasoio) e la bilancia, avrebbe determinato in un incisore l'allegoria altrimenti ermetica (11), dove il «ferro» sarebbe diventato una «spada» (Suič). Il testo compendiato di Imerio è comunque all'origine di Bios armato di spada e bilancia (14), dove le ruote sotto i piedi vengono da contaminazione con l'*Occasio* di Ausonio epigr. 33, 4: *quid rotulae insistis?*

In particolare le immagini di K. barbato come Chronos, in atto di pesare un'anima-farfalla sulla bilancia (7, 8), si collegano, al di là dell'equivalenza K.-*Tempus* stabilita da Fedro, ad una visione escatologica più chiaramente esposta dal sarcofago di Villa Giulia (12), dove Bios porge l'anima-farfalla a K.-Chronos, che l'alletta con un mazzolino di fiori mentre con l'altra mano prepara la bilancia per la psicostasia: si noterà che qui Bios ha già una rotella sotto un piede, interessante precedente sia per la *rotula* su cui insiste *Occasio*

(Aus. epigr. 33, 4), sia per la personificazione di Bios in età bizantina (14. 17; → Bios 5).

Il trasferimento a Costantinopoli di uno dei bronzi di Lisippo che rappresentava K. ha avuto certamente un peso nella fortuna del soggetto sia dal punto di vista letterario che iconografico, fino all'età post-bizantina: tuttavia, il Lauseion dove la statua si conservava al tempo di Arcadio (395-408) andò distrutto per incendio nel 476. Tanto più impressionante l'impegno filologico di Tzetze, che disponendo alla metà del XII sec. soltanto di immagini del tipo del rilievo di Torcello (14) riusciva ad estrapolare l'essenza originaria del K. di Lisippo, alla luce degli scrittori antichi di cui noi stessi disponiamo.

La notizia che Lisippo ed Apelle usavano scambiarsi giudizi sui rispettivi disegni (Synesius epist. 1), aiuta a intendere che l'allegoria di Charis, Akmé e K. è nata nella pittura in concomitanza con il bronzo lisippeo, in un clima di elaborazione intellettualistica del mito. Per quel che si ricostruisce dalle immagini dei mosaici (20. 21), K. era un giovinetto ancora vicino all'infanzia, parzialmente coperto da un mantelletto, con capelli biondi e fluenti, incoronato di fiori, e privo di ali: esso era trattenuto da Akmé seduta che guardava verso Charis. In senso lato, la scena significava che la giovinezza al suo fiorire è dotata di grazia, e può cogliere l'occasione più felice della vita: da tale visione deriva indubbiamente la metamorfosi di K. in Bios trattenuto da un giovane, p. es. nel rilievo di Torcello (14), o da un uomo che personifica la gioia del mondo (*Κόσμος*) in un affresco del XVIII sec. (17). Ma la metafora aveva anche una spiegazione estetica, più evoluta rispetto a quella eventualmente proposta da Policleto e comunque dichiarata da Lisippo. Numerosi passi tramandano, dai libri di Apelle sulla pittura, l'esaltazione che il pittore faceva del concetto di Charis (Reinach, *RecMilliet* n° 475. 479. 494. 495), e d'altra parte sappiamo che egli credeva alla soluzione del quadro con un colpo di spugna, alla felicità del momento ispirato da Ermete e da K., aveva fede in ciò che si produce da sé (Reinach, *o. c.* n° 471): dunque la figura di Akmé poteva indicare che l'artista nel momento della sua fioritura, ispirato da Charis, sapeva cogliere K., l'istante supremo che fermava una bellezza inimitabile.

PAOLO MORENO

## KAISAREIA I

(*Καيسάρεια ἡ πρὸς Ἀργαίω*, Caesarea ad Argaeum) Personifikation der gleichnamigen Stadt, des heutigen Kayseri in der Türkei. Als Kappadokien 17 n. Chr. römische Provinz wurde, wurde das ehemalige Eusebeia zu Ehren von Augustus in Kaisareia umbenannt.

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## KATALOG

### A. Büste der Stadttyche

#### Münzen von Kaisareia

#### a) Als Eusebeia

1.\* AE, 36 v.-17 n. Chr. - *BMC Galatia*, etc. 45-46, 7. 9 Taf. 8, 4; MacDonald, *Hunter II* 581 Nr. 2; Imhoof-Blumer 7-9 Nr. 17. 23-29. 32 Taf. 1, 15. 18; 11 Nr. 43 Taf. 1, 24; Sydenham 27-28 Nr. 19-20. 24-28; *SNG Copenhagen* 167-169; *SNG v. Aulock* 6335. - Vs.: Mit Mauerkrone nach r. oder l. Rs.: Palmzweig oder Füllhorn mit Kranz oder mit caduceus oder mit caduceus und Palmzweig.

#### b) Als Kaisareia

2. AE, Claudius, 47/48 n. Chr., Trajan, 99/100-117 n. Chr. - *InvWadd* 6740; MacDonald, *Hunter II* 581 Nr. 3; Imhoof-Blumer 16 Nr. 47-50 Taf. 1, 26; Forrer, L., *The Weber Collection III* 2 (1929) Nr. 7794 Taf. 283 (hier falsch datiert); Sydenham 29 Nr. 39; *SNG Copenhagen* 172-173; *SNG v. Aulock* 6340-6342. 8727. - Vs.: Wie 1, jedoch nur nach r. Rs.: Berg → Argaios oder Pyramide.

3. AE, Germanicus, 37/38 n. Chr. - Imhoof-Blumer 43 Nr. 46; MacDonald, *Hunter II* (1901) 582 Nr. 5; Sydenham 33 Nr. 54. - Rs.: Wie 2.

4.\* AE, Claudius, 42/43 n. Chr.; Antoninus Pius, 150/151 n. Chr. - Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 417 Nr. 181; Sydenham 34 Nr. 58; 83 Nr. 307; *SNG Copenhagen* 177; *SNG v. Aulock* 6347-6348. 8730. - Rs.: Wie 2, mit Schleier.

5.\* AE, Gordianus III., 240/241 n. Chr. - Imhoof-Blumer 22 Nr. 76-78; Sydenham 130 Nr. 612-613. - Rs.: Wie 4, jedoch in Lorbeerkranz.

6. AE, Gordianus III. (238-244 n. Chr.). - *SNG v. Aulock* 6527. - Rs.: Wie 5, jedoch ohne Schleier.

7. AE Commodus, 192 n. Chr., Severus Alexander, 224/225 n. Chr. und Gordianus III., 240/241 n. Chr. - Sydenham 95 Nr. 386; 123 Nr. 554. - Rs.: Mit dem Berg Argaios als Mauerkrone nach r.

8. AE, Antoninus Pius, 159/160 n. Chr. und Severus Alexander, 224/225 n. Chr. - Sydenham 84 Nr. 317-318; 120 Nr. 532. - Rs.: Wie 7, zusätzlich mit Schleier.

#### Gemme

9.\* Serpentin. London, BM 1106. - Drexel 901; Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 1663 Taf. 22. - Um 250 n. Chr. - Rs.: Wie 8. *EPTYXI BOKONTI*. Vs.: Helios.

### B. In ganzer Gestalt

#### Münzen von Kaisareia

10.\* AE, Claudius, 44/45 n. Chr. - Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 358-359 Nr. 464 Taf. 15, 1; Sydenham 34 Nr. 59; *SNG v. Aulock* 6350. - Rs.: Nach r. auf Felsen sitzende K. mit Mauerkrone und Schleier, in der Rechten Ähren haltend; zu ihren Füßen schwimmender Flußgott (→ Melas?).

#### Gemme

11.\* Saphir. Ehem. Mailand, Slg. Trivulzio. - Drexel 901; Furtwängler, *AG III* 364-365 Abb. 198; Delbrueck, R., *Spätantike Kaiserporträts* (1933) 152-153 Taf. 74, 1. - Um 350 n. Chr. - Nach l. gelagerte K., vom Rücken gesehen, in Chiton und Mantel, der bis zu den Hüften herabgefallen ist, in der Linken ein Füllhorn haltend, die Rechte erhoben, mit Scheitelfrisur, losen Nackenhaar und Haarband, nach oben blickend, wo Kaiser Constantius II. einen Eber im Walde erlegt, während der ihn begleitende Sklave flieht. *ΚΕΣΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑ*.

#### AUSZUSCHneiden

#### Münzen von Kaisareia

12. AE, 36 v.-17 n. Chr. - *BMC Galatia*, etc. 46, 8 Taf. 8, 5; Imhoof-Blumer 5-6 Nr. 15-16 Taf. 1, 10-11; Sydenham 27 Nr. 19-20; *SNG v. Aulock* 6336. - Vs.: Kopf der Artemis mit Mauerkrone mit Helmbusch und am Rücken Köcher. Rs.: Palmzweig, bisweilen zwischen zwei pilei.

#### Münzen einer unbekannten östlichen Prägestätte

13. AR, Elagabal (218-222 n. Chr.). - *BMC Galatia*, etc. 84, 286 Taf. 12, 5; Sydenham 117. - Rs.: Frontal stehende Tyche mit Mauerkrone in Chiton und Peplos, den Kopf nach l. gewandt, in der Rechten konischen Stein und in der Linken Trophäe haltend.

## KOMMENTAR

Die ältesten Darstellungen der Stadttyche, bis 17 n. Chr. als Eusebeia und danach wegen der Umbenennung als K. zu bezeichnen, zeigen den sehr beliebten Typus der Büste mit Mauerkrone (1-6). Seit Antoninus Pius wird dieses häufig vorkommende, ansonsten parallel auch weiterhin bestehende Bildnis bisweilen in ein eigenständiges, nur auf K. bezogenes Motiv umgewandelt, indem auf einigen Münzen (7-8) und einer Gemme (9) K. anstatt der Mauerkrone den naheliegenden heiligen Berg → Argaios als Kopfschmuck trägt. Unter Claudius wird K. erstmalig als ganze Figur auf Münzen (10) dargestellt, nämlich als sitzende Tyche mit einem Flußgott zu ihren Füßen, möglicherweise dem → Melas. Dieses Schema kehrt besonders häufig auf Münzen Südostkleasiens und Nordsyriens wieder und leitet sich von der bekannten Gruppe des Eutychides, → Antiocheia und den Orontes zeigend, ab. Auf einer Gemme um 350 n. Chr. (11) wird K. auf originelle Weise als liegende Gestalt in Rückenansicht, ein Füllhorn haltend, wiedergegeben und

una figura alata in corsa, rappresentata nell'atto di pesare sul filo di un rasoio, e l'identifica con l'opera plastica di uno scultore greco (*finxere antiqui*): è dunque sottintesa la presenza della bilancia che sarà citata espressamente da Imerio, ed è frequente nelle riproduzioni ispirate a Lisippo (2. 4-9. 12-14. 17). Callistrato ribadisce l'andatura sulla punta dei piedi connettendola chiaramente con l'appoggio su di una sfera (6), parla di ali ai piedi e sul dorso (2-4), aggiungendo un confronto iconografico con Dioniso, e la complessa equazione di K. con il bello. Imerio sottolinea il carattere di adolescente del K. di Lisippo, tra il *παῖς* e l'*ἔφηβος*, ricorda le ali ai piedi, e gli pone in una mano la bilancia, nell'altra un «ferro» (*σίδηρος*) che può ben essere il «rasoio» di Posidippo e di Fedro: infine la sua attenta definizione del passo furtivo che sembra sfiorare appena la «terra» (*γῆ*), può attagliarsi all'effimero appoggio sulla sfera terrestre, avvisato da Callistrato, e ripreso più tardi da Tzetze.

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PAOLO MORENO

## KAI SAREIA I

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#### b) Als Kaisareia

2. AE, Claudius, 47/48 n. Chr., Trajan, 99/100-117 n. Chr. - *InvWadd* 6740; MacDonald, *Hunter II* 581 Nr. 3; Imhoof-Blumer 16 Nr. 47-50 Taf. 1, 26; Forrer, L., *The Weber Collection III* 2 (1929) Nr. 7794 Taf. 283 (hier falsch datiert); Sydenham 29 Nr. 39; SNG Copenhagen 172-173; SNG v. Aulock 6340-6342. 8727. - Vs.: Wie 1, jedoch nur nach r. Rs.: Berg → Argaios oder Pyramide.

3. AE, Germanicus, 37/38 n. Chr. - Imhoof-Blumer 43 Nr. 46; MacDonald, *Hunter II* (1901) 582 Nr. 5; Sydenham 33 Nr. 54. - Rs.: Wie 2.

4.\* AE, Claudius, 42/43 n. Chr.; Antoninus Pius, 150/151 n. Chr. - Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 417 Nr. 181; Sydenham 34 Nr. 58; 83 Nr. 307; SNG Copenhagen 177; SNG v. Aulock 6347-6348. 8730. - Rs.: Wie 2, mit Schleier.

5.\* AE, Gordianus III., 240/241 n. Chr. - Imhoof-Blumer 22 Nr. 76-78; Sydenham 130 Nr. 612-613. - Rs.: Wie 4, jedoch in Lorbeerkranz.

6. AE, Gordianus III. (238-244 n. Chr.). - SNG v. Aulock 6527. - Rs.: Wie 5, jedoch ohne Schleier.

7. AE Commodus, 192 n. Chr., Severus Alexander, 224/225 n. Chr. und Gordianus III., 240/241 n. Chr. - Sydenham 95 Nr. 386; 123 Nr. 554. - Rs.: Mit dem Berg Argaios als Mauerkrone nach r.

8. AE, Antoninus Pius, 159/160 n. Chr. und Severus Alexander, 224/225 n. Chr. - Sydenham 84 Nr. 317-318; 120 Nr. 532. - Rs.: Wie 7, zusätzlich mit Schleier.

#### Gemme

9.\* Serpentin. London, BM 1106. - Drexel 901; Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 1663 Taf. 22. - Um 250 n. Chr. - Rs.: Wie 8. *EYTYXI BOKONTI*. Vs.: Helios.

### B. In ganzer Gestalt

#### Münzen von Kaisareia

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#### Gemme

11.\* Saphir. Ehem. Mailand, Slg. Trivulzio. - Drexel 901; Furtwängler, *AG III* 364-365 Abb. 198; Delbrueck, R., *Spätantike Kaiserporträts* (1933) 152-153 Taf. 74, 1. - Um 350 n. Chr. - Nach l. gelagerte K., vom Rücken gesehen, in Chiton und Mantel, der bis zu den Hüften herabgefallen ist, in der Linken ein Füllhorn haltend, die Rechte erhoben, mit Scheitelfrisur, losem Nackenhaar und Haarband, nach oben blickend, wo Kaiser Constantius II. einen Eber im Walde erlegt, während der ihn begleitende Sklave flieht. *ΚΕΣΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑ*.

#### AUSZUSCHneiden

#### Münzen von Kaisareia

12. AE, 36 v.-17 n. Chr. - *BMC Galatia*, etc. 46, 8 Taf. 8, 5; Imhoof-Blumer 5-6 Nr. 15-16 Taf. 1, 10-11; Sydenham 27 Nr. 19-20; SNG v. Aulock 6336. - Vs.: Kopf der Artemis mit Mauerkrone mit Helmbusch und am Rücken Köcher. Rs.: Palmzweig, bisweilen zwischen zwei *pilei*.

#### Münzen einer unbekannten östlichen Prägestätte

13. AR, Elagabal (218-222 n. Chr.). - *BMC Galatia*, etc. 84, 286 Taf. 12, 5; Sydenham 117. - Rs.: Frontal stehende Tyche mit Mauerkrone in Chiton und Peplos, den Kopf nach l. gewandt, in der Rechten konischen Stein und in der Linken Trophäe haltend.

## KOMMENTAR

Die ältesten Darstellungen der Stadttyche, bis 17 n. Chr. als Eusebeia und danach wegen der Umbenennung als K. zu bezeichnen, zeigen den sehr beliebten Typus der Büste mit Mauerkrone (1-6). Seit Antoninus Pius wird dieses häufig vorkommende, ansonsten parallel auch weiterhin bestehende Bildnis bisweilen in ein eigenständiges, nur auf K. bezogenes Motiv umgewandelt, indem auf einigen Münzen (7-8) und einer Gemme (9) K. anstatt der Mauerkrone den naheliegenden heiligen Berg → Argaios als Kopfschmuck trägt. Unter Claudius wird K. erstmalig als ganze Figur auf Münzen (10) dargestellt, nämlich als sitzende Tyche mit einem Flußgott zu ihren Füßen, möglicherweise dem → Melas. Dieses Schema kehrt besonders häufig auf Münzen Südostkleasiens und Nordsyriens wieder und leitet sich von der bekannten Gruppe des Eutychides, → Antiocheia und den Orontes zeigend, ab. Auf einer Gemme um 350 n. Chr. (11) wird K. auf originelle Weise als liegende Gestalt in Rückenansicht, ein Füllhorn haltend, wiedergegeben und

erinnert dadurch eher an eine Lokalnympe, kann durch die beigegebene Inschrift jedoch eindeutig als K. identifiziert werden. Die über ihr stattfindende Jagd des Kaisers Constantius kann als real angesehen werden, da wir wissen, daß dieser als leidenschaftlicher Jäger oft in Kappadokien verweilte und K. hiermit auf die Gegend des Geschehens hinweisen konnte.

Zwei zusätzlich auf K. bezogene Deutungen (12-13) müssen zurückgewiesen werden. Bei einer Münzreihe von Kaisareia (12) glaubte man bisweilen in der Büste auf der Vorderseite K. erkennen zu können, der Helmbusch wie auch der im Rücken getragene Köcher lassen hier jedoch an Artemis denken. Auf einer weiteren Münzserie (13) ist zwar eine Tyche zu sehen, bei dem Prägeort kann es sich aber nicht, wie schon Sydenham feststellte, um Kaisareia, sondern nur um eine andere, bis jetzt noch nicht identifizierte Stadt handeln; somit muß auch diese Figur dementsprechend anders gedeutet werden.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

## KAISAREIA II

(Καيسάρεια, Caesarea Stratonis oder Palaestinae oder Maritima) Personifikation der gleichnamigen Stadt, deren Umbenennung (vorher Στρατωνος πόλις) 10/9 v. Chr. durch Herodes d. Gr. zu Ehren von Augustus als Dank für ihre Rückgabe an das Königreich Iudaea erfolgte.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Siehe Benzinger 1291-1294; Kadman 16-26.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Avi-Yonah, M., *EAA* II (1959) 524-526 s.v. «Caesarea»; Benzinger, I., *RE* III 1 (1897) 1291-1294 s.v. «Caesarea 10»; Colpe, C., *KIPauly* I (1967) 1004-1005 s.v. «Caesarea 3»; Fellmann, R., *LAW* 538 s.v. «Caesarea 3»; Gersht, R., *PEQ* 116, 1984, 110-114; Kadman, L., *The Coins of Caesarea Maritima. Corpus Nummorum Palaestiniensium* II (1957) 50-54 (= Kadman); idem, *Israel Numismatic Bull.* 3-4, 1962, 69-80 Taf. 1, 13-14; Kindler, A., *The Coinage of Bostrea* (1983) 55 Taf. 11, 1-3; Levine, L. I., *Caesarea under Roman Rule. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity* VII (1975) 31-32, 42; Lifshitz, B., «Césarée de Palestine, son histoire et ses institutions», *ANRW* II 8 (1977) 490-518; Ringel, J., «La Fortune de Césarée et le Génie qui l'accompagne», *RNum* 16, 1974, 155-159 Abb. 1-2 (= Ringel 1); = *Sefunim* 4, 1972-75, 22-27 Taf. 2, 4-5 (= Ringel 2); idem, *Césarée de Palestine* (1975) 45-46, 110, 153-154, 157 Taf. 20-22 (= Ringel 3); Seyrig, H., *Syria* 49, 1972, 112-115 Nr. 100 Taf. 2; Wenning, R., «Die Stadtgöttin von Caesarea Maritima», *Boreas* 9, 1986, 113-129 Taf. 15-16.

## KATALOG

### Münzen von Caesarea Maritima

**A. Stehende Kaisareia als Tyche** in langem Chiton und Mantel, mit Mauerkrone und Kranz, in der Rechten ein Ruder und in der Linken einen Palmzweig haltend.

1.\* AE, Agrippa I., 43/44 n. Chr. - *BMC Palestine* 237, 20; Meshorer, Y., *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (1967) 139-140 Nr. 90, 92; *SNG ANS* 274; Ringel 3, 152-153 Taf. 20, 9; Meshorer, Y., *Ancient Jewish Coinage* II (1982) 61, 248 Nr. 6-7 Taf. 9. - Rs.

**B. Stehende Kaisareia mit Mauerkrone als Amazone** in kurzem Chiton, die r. Brust freilassend, Schwertriemen diagonal über die Brust, r. Fuß auf Prora setzend, in der vorgestreckten Rechten Kaiserbüste und in der Linken Szepter oder Standarte haltend.

2.\* AE, Nero, 67/68 n. Chr., bis Hadrian (117-138 n. Chr.). - *BMC Palestine* 13-17, 5-29, 36-38 Taf. 2, 11-13; MacDonald, *Hunter* III 275 Nr. 1 Taf. 77, 21; *SNG Copenhagen* 5; Kadman Nr. 1-12, 20-21, 26. Taf. 1-3; Wenning 117-121 Taf. 16, 1-3. - Rs.

**C. Wie B. Anstatt Kaiserbüste Szepter in der Rechten haltend und Standarte in der Linken.**

3.\* AE, Nero, 67-68 n. Chr. - Kadman Nr. 13 Taf. 2. - Rs.

**D. Wie B. Rechts Hafengenius, Anker schulternd.**

### a) Allein

4.\* AE, Trajan, 117 n. Chr., bis Etruscilla (249-251 n. Chr.). - *BMC Palestine* 17, 39-41 Taf. 3, 1-2; Kadman Nr. 22 Taf. 2; Price, M. J./Trell, B. L., *Coins and their Cities* (1977) 283 Nr. 778 Abb. 367; Wenning 121-122 Taf. 16, 7. - Rs.: In einem tetrastylem Tempel.

5.\* AE, Hadrian (117-138 n. Chr.) bis Volusianus (251-253 n. Chr.). - *BMC Palestine* 20, 64-68 Taf. 3, 7; 32, 150-151 Taf. 4, 2; 34, 170; MacDonald, *Hunter* III 276 Nr. 5; Grose, *McClellan* III Nr. 9538 Taf. 354, 1; *SNG Copenhagen* 13; Kadman Nr. 47-49, 65, 108, 123, 161, 187, 198, 216 Taf. 4, 9-10, 13, 16-17; Wenning 121 Taf. 16, 4. - Rs.

### Freiplastik

6.\* Marmorstatue. Caesarea, Sdot Yam Mus. Aus Caesarea Maritima. - Smith, S. E., *RBibl* 78, 1971, 592 Taf. 29; Wilhelm, G., *RBibl* 82, 1975, 279 Taf. 31-32; Ringel 3, 154 Taf. 22, 3; Kindler 55 Taf. 11, 1; Gersht 110, 113 Abb. 2; Wenning 113-114 Nr. 1.1 Taf. 15, 1. - 160-180 n. Chr. - K. mit Mantel über l. Schulter; Hafengenius mit Blattschurz.

7.\* Bronzestatue. USA, Privatbesitz. Aus dem Kunsthandel in Beirut. - Seyrig 113-115 Nr. 100 Taf. 2; Ringel 2, 24-25; *MuM Auktion* 60, 1982, 71-72 Nr. 149 Taf. 45; Wenning 116 Nr. 1.5 Taf. 15, 2. - 2.-3. Jh. n. Chr. - R. Hand und Szepter oder Standarte der K. und Anker des Genius fehlen.

### Relief

8.\* Votivaltar des Julius Magnus. Jerusalem, Rokkefeller Mus. 76.98. Aus Caesarea Maritima. - Rahmani, L. Y., *RBibl* 85, 1978, 268-276 Taf. 18; idem, *RBibl* 88, 1981, 240-244; Puech, E., *RBibl* 89, 1982, 210-221; Wenning 115 Nr. 1.4 Taf. 15, 3. -

132-135 n. Chr. - Frontal stehende K., Szepter in der Linken.

### b) Mit weiteren Personen

#### Münzen von Caesarea Maritima

9.\* AE, Antoninus Pius (138-161 n. Chr.) bis Etruscilla (249-251 n. Chr.). - MacDonald, *Hunter* III 276 Nr. 4 Taf. 72, 22; Kadman Nr. 33, 58, 66-67, 74, 80-81, 162 Taf. 3, 5-7, 13; Wenning 123 Taf. 16, 8. - Rs.: Zwischen Dionysos und Demeter in tetrastylem Tempel.

10.\* AE, Philippus I. Arabs (244-249 n. Chr.) und Philippus II. (247-249 n. Chr.). - *BMC Palestine* 30, 142-143 Taf. 3, 18; Kadman Nr. 112, 119 Taf. 9-10; Wenning 123 Taf. 16, 9. - Rs.: Zwischen Demeter und Dionysos in einen Kranz eingeschrieben, der von einem Adler getragen wird.

11.\* AE, Traianus Decius (249-251 n. Chr.). - Kadman Nr. 140-141. - Rs.: K. l. und Dionysos (Thyrsos in der Rechten, Himation über dem l. Arm) r. stehend.

12.\* AE, Traianus Decius (249-251 n. Chr.) bis Herennius Etruscus Decius (251 n. Chr.). - Kadman Nr. 124, 176 Taf. 10, 15; Wenning 123 Taf. 16, 10-11. - Rs.: Zwischen zwei Personen (nicht Demeter und Dionysos oder zwei Göttinnen wie von Kadman vorgeschlagen) bei Opferung.

### Relief

13.\* (= Eshmoun I) Bronzeschale in Niello. Paris, Louvre Br 4391. Angeblich aus Caesarea Maritima. - Will, E., *Mon Piot* 65, 1983, 1-24 Abb. 2, 4; Wenning 116 Nr. 1.6 Taf. 15, 4; Finkelsztejn, G., *RBibl* 93, 1986, 419-428. - 340-360 n. Chr. - Römischer Beamter in Toga, mit Mantel über den Kopf gezogen und Rolle in der Linken, opfert mit Patera in der Rechten über Altar zu K. (Leg. *GENIUS COLONIAE*). Hinter ihm junger Gehilfe mit Weihrauchkästchen.

**E. Bekränzte Büste der Kaisareia** nach r. oder l., mit Himation, Mauerkrone und welligem Haar mit im Nacken hochgestecktem kleinem Knoten.

#### Münzen von Caesarea Maritima

14.\* AE, Severus Alexander (222-235 n. Chr.) bis Volusianus (251-253 n. Chr.). - *BMC Palestine* 29, 136 Taf. 3, 17; 34-38, 164-168, 172-176, 183-188, 191-198 Taf. 4, 9, 11, 13-14, 40, 211-212, 42, 226; *SNG Copenhagen* 11-12; Kadman Nr. 88, 125-128, 163-164, 172-174, 188-192, 199-200, 218-219 Taf. 7, 11, 14-16, 18; Wenning 123-124 Taf. 16, 5-6. - Rs.

15.\* AE, Philip I. (244-249 n. Chr.) bis Volusianus (251-253 n. Chr.). - Grose, *McClellan* III Nr. 9540 Taf. 354, 3; Kadman Nr. 109-111, 118, 129-130, 165, 175, 193, 201-203, 220 Taf. 9-11, 14-18. - Rs.: Büste der K. in Kranz, der von einem Adler getragen wird.

### F. Deutung auf Kaisareia offen

#### Gemme

16. Gemme. Israel, Slg. Hamburger. - Hambur-

ger, A., «Gems from Caesarea Maritima», *Atiqot* 8, 1968, 11 Nr. 80 Taf. 4; Wenning 116 Nr. 1.7. - 3. Jh. n. Chr. - Tyche mit Mauerkrone, Speer in der Linken und Füllhorn in der Rechten.

#### Münzen von Caesarea Maritima

17. AE, Caracalla (198-217 n. Chr.). - Rosenberger, M., *City Coins of Palestine* III (1977) 127; Wenning 127 Nr. f. a. - Rs.: Stehende Tyche mit Füllhorn.

18. AE, Diadumenianus (218 n. Chr.). - MacDonald, *Hunter* III 279 Nr. 7. - Rs.: Stehende Tyche mit Ruder in der Linken und Füllhorn in der Rechten.

19. AE, Volusianus (251-253 n. Chr.). - Kadman Nr. 217 Taf. 17; Wenning 127 Nr. f. d. - Rs.: Stehend, in der Rechten Szepter und in der Linken Füllhorn haltend.

### Freiplastik

20. Marmorstatuette. Caesarea, Sdot Yam Mus. - Gersht 112, 114 Abb. 3; Wenning 115 Nr. 1.3. - 2.-3. Jh. n. Chr. - Tyche mit Flußgott.

21. Marmortorso. Caesarea, Sdot Yam Mus. - Negev, A., *Caesarea on the Sea* (1967) 52; Gersht 112-113 Abb. 4; Wenninger 126 Nr. a. - Hadrianisch (Wenning). - Iulia Augusta (Livia) (?) als Tyche.

## KOMMENTAR

Unter Agrippa I. zeigen Münzen Caesareas in den Jahren 43/44 n. Chr. (1) erstmals die Personifikation ihrer Stadt. Die Göttin wird mit Mauerkrone und Kranz, mit einem Ruder in der Rechten und einem Palmzweig in der Linken dargestellt. Doch wurde dieser Typus schon bald danach wieder aufgegeben. Nach der Ermordung der 20 000 in Caesarea lebenden Juden und der Umwandlung dieser Stadt zu einer rein römisch-griechischen Siedlung während des 1. Jüdischen Krieges wurde dort eine neue Münzstätte seit 67/68 eingerichtet, die als eines ihrer ersten Bildprogramme eine neue Darstellung der K. (2) wählte, nämlich eine kriegerische Amazone, die einen Fuß auf eine Prora setzt, in der Linken eine Standarte oder ein Szepter hält und diagonal über die Brust einen Riemen mit Schwert an dessen Ende trägt. Dieser neue Typus greift auf die Ikonographie der → Roma Victrix/→ Virtus zurück, um so bewußt auf die Präsenz der römischen Macht durch das Heer mit seiner Flotte hinzuweisen. In der Rechten hält K. zudem eine Kaiserbüste, die zugleich auf die kaiserliche Anwesenheit anspielt. Dieser fest umrissene Typus wird hier erstmals entwickelt und wird unter Hadrian (117-138 n. Chr.) von Aelia Capitolina und Tiberias, unter Commodus (180-192 n. Chr.) von Neapolis, Adraa und Gaba, unter Caracalla (198-217 n. Chr.) von Diospolis und unter Elagabal (218-222 n. Chr.) von Anthedon, Esbous und Madaba übernommen. Gleichzeitig zu diesem neuen Typus der K. (2) zeigt eine Münze die Stadtpersonifikation im gleichen Schema, jedoch hält diese anstatt der Kaiserbüste ein Szepter in der Rechten und in der Linken eine Standarte (3). Diese Variante scheint aber keinen Anklang zu finden



und wird nach der Prägung im Jahre 67/68 n. Chr. wieder aufgegeben. Unter Trajan (4) taucht der erfolgreiche K. typus (2) erstmals zusammen mit dem Hafengenius der Stadt auf, und beide werden in einen tetrastilen Tempel gesetzt. Wiederum weist dies auf wichtige Änderungen, die den römischen Machtanspruch durch diese neuen Elemente weiter hervorheben sollten. Die Bedeutung des Hafens für die römische Flotte konnte hiermit betont werden und der Tempel auf die Errichtung eines solchen für K. mit einer eigenen Kultstatue aufmerksam machen, wobei der Anlaß zur Errichtung möglicherweise mit der erfolgreichen Niederwerfung des jüdischen Aufstandes im Jahre 117/118 n. Chr. durch L. Quietus zusammenhängt. Seit Antoninus Pius (138-161 n. Chr.) ersetzt dieser neue Typus gänzlich den ersten, und in einer weiteren Variante wird er (9) durch andere Götter und Göttinnen bereichert, wohl Dionysos und Demeter, die von nun an auch in weiteren Typen K. begleiten (10-11). Seit den Münzen Trajans (4) finden wir mehr oder weniger getreue Wiedergaben der neuen Kultstatue auch bei einer Marmorstatue (6) und einer Bronzestatue (7) und auf einem Votivaltar (8) und einer Schale (13). Die beiden letzten zeugen zudem von ihrer Kultverehrung. Der Altar diente selbst zu diesem Zweck und wurde während einer weiteren kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung, dem Bar-Kokhba-Aufstand, gestiftet und zeugt hiermit auch von der Möglichkeit einer politischen Deutung. Die Schale, die erst um 350 n. Chr. entstanden ist, zeigt direkt eine Kulthandlung vor der Statue und demonstriert, daß dieser Kult selbst noch in dieser Zeit von Bedeutung war. Zudem besteht auch hier die Möglichkeit, daß diese Schale ein Geschenk von offizieller Seite bzw. von einer wichtigen Person war und auf politischen Hintergrund anspielen sollte.

Erst mit Severus Alexander taucht die Büste von K. auf Münzen (14) auf, ein Motiv, das ansonsten die meisten Städte, die ihre Stadtpersonifikation im Bildprogramm haben, viel früher und oft als erstes Thema wählen.

Eine Gemme, drei Münztypen und zwei Statuen (16-21) zeigen weibliche Gestalten, die ein Füllhorn halten, und entsprechen hiermit der geläufigen Tyche-Ikonographie. Die Frage, inwieweit diese allgemeine Darstellungsweise einer Tyche spezifisch auf K. zu beziehen wäre, muß in diesen Fällen offenbleiben, weil Zusatzinformationen, die Antworten geben könnten, verloren sind. Es ist daher wohl besser, diese bis auf weiteres aus den gesicherten K. darstellungen auszuschneiden und als Tyche zu bezeichnen, als welche sie vielleicht auch in der Antike ausschließlich angesehen wurden.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

### KAISAREIA III

(Καيسάρεια, Καيسάρεια ή προς τη Πανεάδι, Καيسάρεια ή Φιλίππου, Πανιάς, Νερονιάς, Caesarea Panias, Caesa-

rea Philippi, Panias, Neronias) Personifikation der gleichnamigen Stadt am Fuße des Hermos und an der Quelle des Jordan gelegen. Philippus, Tetrarch von Trachontis und Sohn des Herodes, benannte zu Ehren des Augustus oder des Tiberius das ehemalige Panion oder Panias in Kaisareia um. Nach einer Stadterweiterung durch Agrippa II. wurde die Stadt zu Ehren von Nero in Neronias umgetauft. Dieser Name fand jedoch keinen Anklang und die Bezeichnung Kaisareia blieb auch weiterhin bis in die Spätantike bestehen, als wieder der Rückgriff auf das ehemalige Panias gebräuchlich wurde.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Benzinger, I., RE III 1 (1897) 1290-1291 s. v. «Caesarea 9»; Colpe, C., KIPauly I (1967) 1004 s. v. «Caesarea 2»; Fellmann, R., LAW 538 s. v. «Caesarea 2».

### KATALOG

#### Münzen von Kaisareia

1.\* AE, Agrippa II. (56-96 n. Chr.). - Meshorer, Y., *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (1967) 142 Nr. 99; *idem*, *Ancient Jewish Coinage II* (1982) 74-75; 250 Nr. 5 Taf. 11; 258 Nr. 51-52 Taf. 16. - Vs.: Büste der K. mit Mauerkrone nach r. Rs.: Zwei gekreuzte Füllhörner mit geflügeltem Caduceus in der Mitte oder Palmzweig oder Füllhorn.

2.\* AE, Agrippa II., 87/88 n. Chr. - Meshorer, a. O. I (1982), 256 Nr. 39-39a Taf. 15. - Rs.: K. als Amazone mit Modius oder Mauerkrone stehend, in der Linken Füllhorn und in der Rechten Ruder haltend.

#### DEUTUNG AUF KAISAREIA OFFEN

3.\* AE, Agrippa II., 74/75-95/96 n. Chr. - Meshorer, a. O. I (1967), 142-146 Nr. 101-109. 112-116; 151 Nr. 138; *idem*, a. O. I (1982), 251 Nr. 7-8b Taf. 11; 252 Nr. 12-12b. 14-14a. 17 Taf. 12-13; 254 Nr. 30-31 Taf. 14; 256-258 Nr. 38. 44. 47. 49-50. 53-53a Taf. 16. - Rs.: Nach l. stehende Frau mit oder ohne Modius oder Mauerkrone, Füllhorn in der Linken und Ähren in der Rechten, bisweilen auf Podium.

### KOMMENTAR

Mehrere von Agrippa in Kaisareia geschlagene Münzen zeigen drei sehr geläufige Tychetypen (→ Tyche), die weibliche Büste mit Mauerkrone (1), die Tyche mit Füllhorn (3) und als Amazone (→ Amazones) mit Füllhorn und Ruder (2). Auf 3 hält K. (?) zusätzlich Ähren in der r. Hand und steht bisweilen auf einem Podium, das auf eine in der Stadt vorhandene Kultstatue hinweisen könnte. Die Ähren scheinen auf den durch die Fruchtbarkeit des umliegenden Landes erworbenen Reichtum der Stadt anzuspielen, der uns auch durch *Ios. bell. Iud.* 1, 404; 3, 509. 513-514 und *ant. Iud.* 15, 364 überliefert ist.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

### KAISAREIA IV

(Καيسάρεια, Caesarea) Personifikation der gleichnamigen Stadt, des heutigen Cherchel in Algerien. Juba II. ließ das ehemalige Iol zu Ehren von Augustus zu Caesarea umbenennen, aus Dank, daß er von diesem als Ersatz für Numidien Mauretania erhielt. Gleichzeitig wurde sie die Hauptstadt seines neuen Königreiches und erreichte eine Hochblüte. Als das Land 40 n. Chr. unter römische Herrschaft geriet, wurde Caesarea Hauptstadt der Provinz Mauretania Caesariensis.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Dessau, H., RE III 1 (1897) 1294-1295 s. v. «Caesarea 14»; Duval, P.-M., *Cherchel et Tipasa* (1946) 148 ff.; Fellmann, R., LAW (1965) 537-538 s. v. «Caesarea 1»; Fittschen, K., «Juba II. und seine Residenz Jol/Caesarea (Cherchel)», in *Die Numider* (Ausstellungskat. Bonn 1979) 227-231; Leglay, M., KIPauly I (1964) 1003-1004 s. v. «Caesarea 1»; Leveau, P., «Caesarea de Maurétanie», *ANRW II* 10.2 (1982) 683-738; Salzmann, D., *MM* 15, 1974, 178-179; Floriani Squarciapino, M., *EAA II* (1959) 543-545 s. v. «Cherchel».

### KATALOG

#### Münzen von Caesarea

1.\* AR Denar, Juba II. (25 v.-23 n. Chr.). - SNG Copenhagen 555; Mazard, *CNNM* 96 Nr. 237-239; 246 Abb. 237-239; Salzmann 178-179 Nr. 28 Taf. 33, 28. - Rs.: Büste der K. nach r. mit Mauerkrone und Haarknoten; eine Locke fällt in den Nacken. Bisweilen CAESAREA.

2. AE, Juba II. (25 v.-23 n. Chr.). - Mazard, *CNNM* 107 Nr. 293-295; 248 Abb. 293. - Rs.: Büste der K. mit Mauerkrone nach r.; ein Haarzopf fällt auf die Schulter. *RA XXIII* (oder *XXVIII* oder *XXXIII*) CAESAREA.

3.\* AE, Juba II. (25 v.-23 n. Chr.). - SNG Copenhagen 686-688; Mazard, *CNNM* 171 Nr. 563; 257 Abb. 563. - Vs.: Büste der K. mit Mauerkrone und Haarknoten nach l.; ein Haarzopf fällt auf die Schulter. *SITVM CAESARIS*. Rs.: Steinbock, Füllhorn, Steuerruder und Globus.

### KOMMENTAR

Eine Reihe von in Caesarea geschlagenen Münzen aus der Zeit Jubas II. (1-3) zeigen die Personifikation des Prägeortes in dem sehr geläufigen Tychetypus der Büste mit Mauerkrone (→ Tyche). Diese Darstellungen zeugen von der Bedeutung dieser Stadt als Hauptstadt des neuen Königreiches und von ihrer ersten Hochblüte.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

KAKASBOS → *Addenda vol. sq.*

KAKOS → Cacus

KALABROS → Sybaris II

KALAIS → Boreadai

### KALCHAS

(Κάλχας, Chalkas, Calchas). Indovino greco che partecipò alla guerra di Troia, ponendo le sue doti al servizio dell'esercito acheo (Aischyl. *Ag.* 122: στρατόμαντις). Aveva una voce divina (Schol. Hom. *Il.* 13, 45 Erbse), ma il suo aspetto era immaginato come quello di un vecchio (Tzet. *posth.* 666-667). Il nome di K. veniva fatto derivare da κάλχη e καλχαίνω (Schol. Soph. *Ant.* 20; *Etym. m.* s. v. Κάλχας; Eust. 51, 9-13 ad Hom. *Il.* 1, 70; cf. però Frisk I 769 s. v. κάλχη). Studi recenti hanno proposto una derivazione da χαλκός (Camassa 26-29); altri hanno pensato a un'origine pelasgica (Windekens) o comunque anellenica del nome (Boissacq<sup>4</sup> 400-401), ma sembra più prudente continuare a far riferimento all'etimologia antica (v. Kamptz, H., *Homerische Personennamen* [1982] 166 n. 91; 375). K. era particolarmente esperto nell'interpretazione del volo degli uccelli (Hom. *Il.* 1, 69; 13, 70; Aischyl. *Ag.* 156-157; Q. Smyrn. 9, 330; Hyg. *fab.* 128; Eust. 51, 13-18 ad Hom. *Il.* 1, 70). In Omero è chiamato μάντις ἀμύμων (*Il.* 1, 92), οἰωνοδόλων ἀριστος (*Il.* 1, 69), θεοπρόπος οἰωνιστής (*Il.* 13, 70), mentre autori più recenti gli attribuiscono anche la conoscenza dell'astrologia (Q. Smyrn. 12, 5; Sen. *Tro.* 355-357; cf. però Prop. 4, 1, 109) e dell'aruspicina (Sen. *Tro.* 355; Q. Smyrn. 9, 331). Su K. pesa un giudizio sfavorevole, giustificato dalla sua partecipazione a sacrifici umani, ma rinforzato dalla condanna razionalistica delle pratiche divinatorie, già presente nei tragici greci (Eur. *Hel.* 744-760), che trova larga eco nel teatro latino (Accius, *TFI.* 169-172; Enn. *scaen.*, *TFI.* 199-201; Pacuvius, *TFI.* 80-85; Plaut. *Merc.* 945; Plaut. *Men.* 748) e costituisce la premessa del sinistro K. virgiliano (Verg. *Aen.* 2, 57-198; Russell, J., *Latomus* 32, 1973, 818-823). Notevole era invece il prestigio di cui K. godeva in Asia Minore, dove era venerato come fondatore di Perge in Pamphylia e di Selge in Pisidia (Strabon 12, 7, 3 p. 570; Eust. ad Dion. Per. 858).

FONTI LETTERARIE: Nelle genealogie antiche K. è detto figlio di Thestor (Hom. *Il.* 1, 69; Hyg. *fab.* 97, 15; 128. 190), a sua volta figlio di Idmon (Pherekyd., *FGH* 3 F 108). In questa discendenza è possibile individuare un collegamento con gli Amythaonidai, stirpe argiva di indovini (Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* I 640), alla quale apparteneva → Melampus (Eust. 50, 38-46 ad Hom. *Il.* 1, 70). Altre fonti pongono K. in relazione con Megara (Paus. 1, 43, 1), con Mykenai (Hyg. *fab.* 97, 15; cf. anche Eur. *Iph. T.* 531-532), con l'Eubea (Schol. Hom. *Il.* 13, 45 Erbse; Eust. 51, 7-9 ad Hom. *Il.* 1, 70). Le predizioni di K. sono legate alla guerra di Troia. Egli rivela la necessità di avere Achille (→ Achilleus) con i Greci (Apollod. *bibl.* 3 [174] 13, 8) e ne svela il nascondiglio (Stat. *Ach.* 1, 514-537); sua è anche l'interpretazione del prodigio delle due aquile e della lepre gravida (Aischyl. *Ag.* 122-125. 140-145),

ma nei poemi omerici l'indovino non svolge un ruolo molto importante. In Aulide, dopo aver vaticinato la durata decennale del conflitto (Hom. *Il.* 2, 322-329), grazie al prodigio degli uccellini (*Kypria*: Proklos, Davies *EGF* p. 32, 44-46; Apollod. *epitome* 3, 15; Cic. *div.* 1, 72; 2, 63, 65; Baebius Italicus *Ilias Lat.* 147-153; Apul. *de deo Socr.* 159-161; Philostr. *v. A.* 1, 22; 3, 6; Orig. *Cels.* 4, 91, 1-23; Macr. *Sat.* 5, 14, 13; Q. Smyrn. 8, 475-477; Triph. 129-131), K. consiglia il sacrificio di → Iphigeneia (*Kypria*: Proklos, Davies *EGF* p. 32, 58-60; Aischyl. *Ag.* 122-159; Eur. *Iph. T.* 15-24; Eur. *Iph. A.* 87-93; Apollod. *epitome* 3, 21; Prop. 4, 1, 109-112; Ov. *met.* 12, 27-29; Sen. *Ag.* 167-168; Paus. 9, 19, 6; Hyg. *fab.* 98, 2). Durante il viaggio verso Troia K. guida le navi (Hom. *Il.* 1, 71; Cic. *div.* 1, 87; Macr. *Sat.* 5, 14, 13; Eust. 47, 1-7, 23-25 *ad* Hom. *Il.* 1, 59), convalidando con le sue capacità divinatorie le indicazioni di → Telephos (Apollod. *epitome* 3, 20). A Troia K. interpreta le ragioni della peste, causata dall'offesa arrecata ad → Apollon (Hom. *Il.* 1, 68-100; Myth. Vat. I 209). Per facilitarne la conquista K. consiglia di ricorrere a → Philoktetes e → Helenos (Konon, *FGH* 26 F 1, 34, 2; Apollod. *epitome* 5, 8-9; Q. Smyrn. 9, 325-329; Serv. *Aen.* 2, 166). A suggerimenti di K. vengono attribuiti anche il sacrificio di → Astyanax (I) (Accius *TF* I. 171-172; Sen. *Tro.* 368-369; Serv. *Aen.* 3, 489) e quello di → Polyxena (Sen. *Tro.* 366-367; Serv. *Aen.* 3, 321), il ratto del Palladio (→ Diomedes I) (Verg. *Aen.* 2, 176-182; Sil. 13, 41-42), la decisione di sacrificare → Sinon (Verg. *Aen.* 2, 100, 122-124, 176, 182) e la costruzione del cavallo di Troia (Verg. *Aen.* 2, 185-188; Petron. 89, 1-6; Q. Smyrn. 12, 377-378), nel quale avrebbe lui stesso preso posto (Triph. 172; Tzet. *posth.* 645). Dopo la presa di Troia K. informa Enea (→ Aineias) sul suo futuro (Q. Smyrn. 13, 333-350) e svolge un ruolo importante nelle decisioni relative al viaggio di ritorno dei Greci (Theop., *FGH* 115 F 351; Q. Smyrn. 14, 346-353, 360-369; cf. però Prop. 4, 1, 109-113). Colto dalla tempesta presso l'Eubea K. venne spinto indietro e approdò a Kolophon (Schol. Hom. *Od.* 13, 259), ma secondo altre fonti vi si sarebbe recato direttamente assieme ad altri compagni (*Nostoi*: Proklos, Davies *EGF* p. 67, 12-14; Strabon 14, 1, 27 p. 643; Tzet. *Lykophr.* 427, 978, 1047). A Kolophon K. entra in contatto con l'oracolo apollineo di Klaros (cf. Kallinos, West *IEG* frg. 8; Suda s. v. *Σίβυλλα Κολοφώνια*), dove affronta → Mopsos, ma viene sconfitto in una gara divinatoria e muore di dolore (Hes. *frg.* 278 Merkelbach/West; Soph., *TrGF* IV F 180; Strab. 14, 1, 27 p. 642; Apollod. *epitome* 6, 2-4; *Lykophron* 426-430; Schol. *Lykophr. ad loc.*; Tzet. *Lykophr. ad loc.*), o addirittura si uccide (Konon, *FGH* 26 F 1, 6). Secondo altre versioni del mito la gara divinatoria avrebbe avuto luogo in Cilicia (Soph. *l. c.*; Strabon 14, 5, 16 pp. 675-676) oppure a Gryneion in Mysia (Euphorion *frg.* 97 Powell; Serv. *eccl.* 6, 72; Myth. Vat. I 194; II 224). Isolata appare l'attribuzione a K. della fondazione di Kalchedon in Bithynia (Hesych., *FGH* 390 F 1, 21). Tracce di K. si incontrano anche in Occidente. In Daunia, sul monte Drion, erano venerate le tombe di Podaleirios (→ Ma-

chaon) e K., presso le quali esisteva un oracolo (*Lykophron* 1047-1049; Schol. *Lykophr. ad loc.*; Tzet. *Lykophr. ad loc.*; Strabon 6, 3, 9 p. 284), mentre a Siris, colonia di Kolophon, era mostrata la tomba di K., ucciso in questo caso da → Herakles (*Lykophron* 978-983; Schol. *Lykophr. ad loc.*; Tzet. *Lykophr. ad loc.*).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Basta Donzelli, G., *EncVirg* 1606-607 s. v. «Calcante»; Camassa, G., «Calcante, la cecità dei Calcedoni e il destino dell'eroe del bronzo», *AnnPisa* 10, 1980, 25-69; Hekkenbach, J., *REX* 2 (1919) 1552-1555 s. v. «Kalchas»; Stoll, H. W., *Immisch, O.*, *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 921-924 s. v. «Kalchas»; Perret, J., «Calchas dieu et conquérant», *RHist* 185, 1933, 23-58; Van Windekens, A. J., «Le nom du devin Κάλχας», *Beitr. zur Namenforschung* 7, 1956, 308-311.

## CATALOGO

### A. Kalchas solo

#### RAFFIGURAZIONE ETRUSCA

1.\* Specchio bronzeo. Vaticano, Mus. Greg. 12240. Da Vulci. - Helbig<sup>1</sup> I n° 724 (Dohrn); Pfister-Roesgen, G., *Die etruskischen Spiegel des 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (1975) 63-64, 158-159 S 45 tav. 49; Fischer-Graf, U., *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci* (1980) 42-44 V 26 tav. 10, 3; Pairault-Massa, F.-H., in *La divination dans le monde étrusco-italique* (1986) 67-68 fig. 2. - Inizio del IV sec. a. C. - Una figura alata con chioma e barba pro-lisse, identificata da un'iscrizione come *Chalchas* (de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 130), compie una hepatoskopia, chinandosi su una tavola sulla quale sono deposte altre viscere.

#### RAFFIGURAZIONE ROMANA

2. Statua perduta. Perge, presso la porta sud. - Mansel, A., *AA* 1956, 109-111; Jameson, Sh., *RE* Suppl. XIV (1974) 378-379 s. v. «Perge»; Weiss, P., *WürzbJbb* 10, 1984, 181-182. - Età adrianea. - Si conserva la base della statua rivenuta assieme ad altre otto basi iscritte, che sostenevano immagini di eroi fondatori (tra gli altri anche Mopsos).

#### RAFFIGURAZIONI DUBBIE

##### Monete

3. AR triobolos, Kalchedon (Bithynia), metà del V sec. a. C. - Baldwin, *BostonGrCoins* n° 1374 tav. 70; Naster, P., *La collection L. de Hirsch* (1959) n° 1426; SNG v. Aulock 6980-6982. - D: testa virile barbata a s. o a d., Zeus? R: Ruota a quattro raggi, tra i quali sono inserite quattro lettere: KAAX. La stessa associazione di D e R compare su altri nominali: BMC Bithynia 124, 1 tav. 27, 1 («Zeus»); *RecGén* I 2, 290, 1-4 tav. 45, 9-12. L'ipotesi che la testa barbata sul D raffiguri K. (Svoronos, I. N., *ArchEph* 1890, 165-169 tav. 8, 29) non è dimostrabile.

### B. Kalchas e Telephos

4.\* Cratere a calice pestano a f. r. San Antonio, G. M. Deumen jr. Coll. 275. - Schauenburg, K., *RM* 90,

1983, 347-349, tav. 84, 1; *RVP* 84-85, 128 tav. 48: Asteas. - Ca. 330 a. C. - Al centro il piccolo Orestes sull'altare, tenuto da Telephos. In alto Apollo, Hermes, una figura femminile (Thrisa) e K. canuto, con chitone, mantello e bastone.

### C. Kalchas interprete di prodigi

#### a) Prodigio degli uccellini

5.\* *Ilias* Ambrosiana, miniatura XII. - Bianchi Bandinelli, R., *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad* (1955) 58 figg. 48, 117-118; Ghisellini, E., *Xenia* 15, 1988, 16 fig. 19. - Al centro K. presso un'ara accesa leva la destra con gesto ammonitorio. A d. l'albero con il serpente che insidia gli uccellini; a s. gli Achei riuniti.

#### b) Spiegazione della peste

6. (= Achilleus 433/543\*, = Apollon/Apollo 489a) Tabula Iliaca. Roma, Mus. Cap. 316. - Sadurska, *Tables* 26 tav. 1; Helbig<sup>1</sup> n° 1266 (Simon). - Prima età imperiale. - K., vestito solo di un mantello, leva la mano destra verso Apollo, che scaglia le frecce del contagio. L'identificazione di K. è assicurata da un'iscrizione.

7. (= Apollon/Apollo 488\*) Pittura parietale. Pompei, Casa del Criptoportico, parete ovest, *in situ*. - Spinazzola, *Pompei* 909-910 figg. 901-903; Bianchi Bandinelli, o. c. 5, 119-120 fig. 175. - C. 30 a. C. - Apollo, in alto a s., lancia i suoi dardi. Su un carro un uomo anziano allarga le braccia: si tratta forse di K., ma lo stesso gesto caratterizza anche un'altra figura, della quale resta solo una mano protesa.

### D. Kalchas e Iphigeneia

#### a) Iphigeneia condotta al sacrificio

##### RAFFIGURAZIONE GRECA

8. (= Agamemnon 31, = Iphigeneia 4 con bibl.) Quadro di Timanthes, perduto ma noto dalle fonti antiche: Cic. *or.* 22, 74; Quint. *inst.* 2, 13, 13; Val. Max. 8, 11 ext. 6. - Overbeck, *SQ* n° 1735-1737; Reinach, A., *Recueil Milliet* I n° 306-308. - Fine del V secolo a. C. - Iphigeneia stante presso l'ara, circondata da più personaggi, il cui dolore era raffigurato in crescendo, da K. fino ad Agamemnon.

##### RAFFIGURAZIONI ROMANE

9. (= Agamemnon 41\*, = Artemis/Diana 48, = Iphigeneia 38 con bibl.) Pittura parietale. Napoli, Mus. Naz. 9112. Da Pompei VI 8, 13 (Casa del Poeta Tragico). - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 1304; Löwy, E., *Oefh* 24, 1929, 26-33 fig. 23; Schefold, *WP* 105. - Età flavia. - Al centro Iphigeneia; sulla destra K., con un lungo chitone senza maniche e un mantello annodato attorno ai fianchi, impugna la spada e tiene nella sinistra abbassata il fodero.

10. (= Agamemnon 42, = Apollon/Apollo 487, = Artemis/Diana 339, = Iphigeneia 39\* con bibl.) Mosaico. Ampurias, Mus. Monografico. Da Ampu-

rias. - Elvira, A., *ArEspArq* 54, 1981, 7-21 figg. 1, 5. - Tarda età imperiale. - Presso l'ara Iphigeneia; sulla s. K., con mantello avvolto attorno ai fianchi e la mano d. levata verso il volto, mentre dalla parte opposta Agamemnon volge le spalle alla scena.

### b) Kalchas taglia i capelli di Iphigeneia

##### RAFFIGURAZIONI ROMANE

11. (= Iphigeneia 40\* con bibl.) Pittura parietale. Pompei, Casa del Vicolo di Modesto, non conservata. - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* n° 1305; Löwy, o. c. 9, 6 fig. 9; Schefold, *WP* 97; De Caro, S., *BollArte* 69, 1984, 41 n° 7 fig. 14. - Sulla d. K., che indossa un chitone corto, taglia con la spada una ciocca dei capelli di Iphigeneia.

12. (= Iphigeneia 41\* con bibl.) Stucco. Roma, Basilica di Porta Maggiore, soffitto della navata centrale. - Bendinelli, G., *MonAnt* 31, 1926, 700 tav. 24, 1; Löwy, o. c. 9, 6 fig. 7; Mielsch, *Stuckreliefs* 119. - Gruppo a due simile a quello dell' 11.

##### Rilievi

13. (= Iphigeneia 42\*\* con bibl.) Ara di Kleome-nes. - Firenze, Uff. 612. - A s. K., con il mantello girato attorno ai fianchi, impugna la spada, con la quale recide una ciocca dei capelli di Iphigeneia.

14. (= Iphigeneia 43 con bibl.) Rilievo anfiglifo, fr. Bolsena. - Balland, A./Goudineau, C., *MEFRA* 79, 1967, 569-571 fig. 1. - Prima metà I sec. d. C. - Su un lato del rilievo (un oscillum quadrangolare?) semplice erotico, sull'altro lato K. a s. e Iphigeneia a d., secondo lo schema del 13.

15. (= Iphigeneia 44\* con bibl.) Ceramica aretina, fr. Dresden, già Staatl. Kunstslg. Zv 679.94. Balland/Goudineau, o. c. 14, 574-577 fig. 4. - Decorazione applicata: a d. Iphigeneia, a s. le braccia di K. e la spada, al centro un altare.

16. (= Iphigeneia 45 con bibl.) Ceramica aretina, fr. New York, MMA. - Si conservano la parte superiore di Iphigeneia e l'avambraccio d. di K. con la spada.

17. (= Iphigeneia 46\*) Brocca fittile. Pompei, Magazzino 1091. - Dalla domus II 8, 2. - De Caro, S., *BollArte* 69, 1984, 39-43 figg. 1-9. - Prima età imperiale. - Intorno al corpo del vaso sono applicate sei figure lavorate a parte. Gruppo centrale di tre figure, simile a quello del 13.

18. (= Iphigeneia 47\* con bibl.) Cassetta d'avorio. London, Victoria and Albert Mus. Da Veroli. - Media età bizantina. - Gruppo centrale di tre figure, simile a quello del 13.

### c) Il miracolo della cerva

##### RAFFIGURAZIONI ETRUSCHE

19.\* (= Agamemnon 35, = Artemis/Diana 336, = Artemis/Artumes 61, = Iphigeneia [in Etruria] 1\* con bibl.) Cista prenestina. Roma, Villa Giulia 13141. Da Praeneste. - Helbig<sup>1</sup> III 2979 (Dohrn); Foerst, G., *Die Gravierungen der pränestinischen Cisten* (1978) n° 80 tavv. 52b-d. 53a. b. - Fine del IV sec. a. C. - A s. Iphigeneia nuda, a d. K., in abito orientale come i suoi aiu-

tanti, ha già levato la *machaira* per compiere il sacrificio, ma al suo fianco spunta la cerva.

20. (= Agamemnon 39\*, = Artemis/Artumes 62, = Iphigeneia [in Etruria] 16\*) Urna chiusina. Chiusi, Mus. Naz. 955. Da Chiusi. - Brunn, *Rilievi I* 51-52 tav. 47, 26; Rebuffat, R., *MEFRA* 84, 1972, 532, 534 fig. 10b. - II sec. a. C. - Al centro K. stante (con stivali, corazza e mantello) tiene con la d. una patera sopra un'ara, presso la quale si trovano sia Iphigeneia, che l'animale destinato a sostituirla. A d., in basso, Agamemnon leva le braccia in segno di meraviglia.

## E. Kalchas e Iphigeneia: raffigurazioni dubbie

### RAFFIGURAZIONI GRECHE

21. (= Iphigeneia 2\* con bibl.) Cratere frammentario del Protoattico Medio, P. di Nesso di N. York. Boston, MFA loan 6.67. - Vermeule E./Chapman S., *AJA* 75, 1971, 285-293 tavv. 69-72; Prag, A. J. N. W., *The Oresteia* (1985) 63, 148 H 1. - 650-630 a. C. - Tre uomini, vestiti con chitone e calzari, trasportano una donna supina, in posizione orizzontale. Se si trattasse di Iphigeneia uno di essi potrebbe essere K.

22. Anfora campana a f.n. London, BM B 70. - Smith, *BMVases II* B 70; Moret, *Iliouperis* 197, 214, tav. 25, 1; Parise Badoni, F., *Ceramica campana a figure nere* (1968) 60 n° 5; 160 tav. 28; Prag, o. c. 21, 65. 149 H 3 tav. 40a-b. - 470-450 a. C. - Una figura armata presso un altare, verso il quale viene trasportata la vittima (Polyxena piuttosto che Iphigeneia).

23. (= Agamemnon 30\*, = Artemis 1373, = Iphigeneia 11\* con bibl.) Cratere a volute apulo a f.r. Londra, BM F 159. - Dalla Basilicata. - *RVAp I* 204, 104; Smith, *BMVases IV* F 159; Séchan, *Etudes* 372 n. 1; 603 fig. 108. - 375-350 a. C. - Sulla d. Iphigeneia e accanto a lei la cerva; al centro un'ara. Il sacrificante, barbato e con lo scettro (Agamemnon piuttosto che K.), leva il coltello verso la testa della fanciulla.

24. (= Iphigeneia 5\* con bibl.) Fregio del tempio di Artemis, Termessos. - Löwy, o. c. 9, 4 fig. 6; Studniczka, K., *Artemis und Iphigenie* (1926) 47-51 fig. 30; Stähler, K., *AA* 1968, 281-282 fig. 1-2. - II sec. a. C. - Sulla d. Iphigeneia stante, al centro l'ara e sulla s. una figura in chitone corto (K. o Artemis?), che leva il braccio d. e sembra tenere con la s. una cerva.

### RAFFIGURAZIONE ETRUSCA

25. (= Agamemnon 40\*, = Iphigeneia [in Etruria] 2) Sarcofago in nenfro. Roma, Villa Giulia 1553 I. Da Tuscania. - Giglioli tav. 353, 3; Helbig, *EtrSark* 48 n° 85 tav. 32b; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III n° 2495 (Dohrn). - III sec. a. C. - Su uno dei lati brevi è raffigurato un uomo barbato (K.), che impugna un coltello nella d. levata e afferra con l'altra mano una donna seduta su un'ara. Sulla s. è seduto un uomo barbato (Agamemnon?), che si tocca la testa in segno di dolore.

### RAFFIGURAZIONI ROMANE

26. (= Agamemnon 29\*, = Artemis/Diana 54) Pittura parietale. Pompei VI 15, 1 (Domus Vettiorum).

- HBr tav. 20; Sogliano, A., *MonAnt* 8, 1908, 365-366 tav. 11, 1; Schefold, *WP* 147. - Età neroniana. - In un santuario di Artemis: a s. dell'ara una sacerdotessa e la cerva, a d. una figura barbata e loricata che brandisce una spada (K.).

27.\* Gemma, sardonica. Copenaghen, Thorv. Mus. I 877. - Fossing, *ThorvGems* n° 106. - Un uomo barbato (K.), con lorica, trafigge con la spada al petto una fanciulla inginocchiata, con le mani legate dietro la schiena (Iphigeneia?).

28. (= Iphigeneia 48\*) Gemma, sardonica. Berlino (Ovest), Staatl. Mus. FG 488. - *AGD II* n° 316. - Un uomo barbato (K.), con lorica e mantello, leva la s., con la quale impugna verticalmente un coltello, sopra una fanciulla con le mani legate (Iphigeneia?), inginocchiata dietro un'ara.

## COMMENTO

La tecnica divinatoria e la sconfitta patita nella gara con Mopsos fanno pensare che K. appartenga a un orizzonte cronologico molto antico, anteriore alla diffusione della mantica apollinea (Burkert, W., *SbHeidelb* 1984, 50. 54), ma i dati disponibili non autorizzano a considerare K. una figura mitica dell'età del bronzo (così Camassa 66-69). La fortuna iconografica di K. appare d'altra parte relativamente recente: se si prescinde dal quadro di Timanthes (8), le attestazioni più antiche sono del IV secolo a. C. (1. 4. 19), ma la maggior parte delle raffigurazioni può essere datata tra il I sec. a. C. e la tarda età imperiale (2. 6-7. 9-17), con sopravvivenze d'epoca bizantina (5. 18). K. è raramente mostrato da solo. La statua di Perge (2) rientra nel quadro delle celebrazioni riservate dalle città d'Asia Minore ai loro fondatori mitici (Weiss, o. c. 2, 193-195; Strubbe, J. H., *Ancient Society* (Louvain) 15-17, 1984-86, 280-284), mentre appare atipica la raffigurazione di K. seminudo e alato su uno specchio etrusco (1). A confronto è stata richiamata una figura alata, forse un indovino, della Cista Ficoroni, la cui identificazione resta però controversa (Mopsos?; cf. Beazley, J. D., *JHS* 69, 1949, 5). Più frequenti sono le scene alle quali K. partecipa come comprimario: oltre al presagio degli uccellini in Aulide e all'interpretazione della peste che aveva colpito l'esercito acheo (5-7), egli compare nell'episodio della cattura del piccolo Orestes, preso in ostaggio da Telephos (4), ma l'episodio che trova più vasta eco nelle arti figurative è il sacrificio di Iphigeneia (8-10), i cui preliminari comportavano il taglio di una ciocca dei capelli della vittima (11-18), come si usava in occasione di riti che accompagnavano il passaggio da una condizione a un'altra (Kötting, B., *RAC* 13 [1986] 181-186 s. v. «Haar»). Rare risultano invece le scene nelle quali K. assiste al momento culminante dell'episodio, quando accanto alla vittima si manifesta la cerva destinata a sostituirla (19-20). Quando interpreta prodigi K. appare coperto da un mantello (6-7), talora indossato sopra un chitone manicato (5), con una combinazione che può ricordare l'abbigliamento degli anziani e dei pedagoghi (4). Du-

rante il sacrificio di Iphigeneia K. ha il mantello avvolto attorno ai fianchi, portato sopra un lungo chitone (9) oppure a torso nudo (10. 13. 17-18), ma può presentarsi anche con un corto chitone cinto alla vita (11-12) o addirittura con abiti orientali (19), mentre isolato appare il K. loricato di un'urnetta etrusca (20).

(Ricerca condotta con contributo del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Roma)  
VINCENZO SALADINO

## KALE

(*Καλή*) «Die Schöne», Mänadenname in Vaseninschriften.

1.\* (= Choro II 1 mit Beschreibung, = Chrysis III 1, = Dionysos 334 mit Lit.) Bauchlekythos mit Goldschmuck, att. rf. Verschollen, ehem. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2471. Aus Trachones (Attika). - *ARV* 1247, 1 Eretriamaler; *Para* 469; *Add* 353; Fränkel, *Namen* 98 Nr. a. - Um 420 v. Chr. - Thiasos. Hinter Choro steht die sinnende K. gegen eine Anhöhe gelehnt, auf die sie beide Ellenbogen aufstützt.

2. (= Amymone 12\* mit Lit. und Beschreibung, = Hedyoinos 2) Glockenkrater, att. rf. Wien, Kunsth. Mus. IV 1011. - *ARV* 1155, 6: Art des Dinomalers; *Add* 337; Fränkel, *Namen* 102 Nr. γ; *CVA* 3 Taf. 117, 3. - Ende 5. Jh. v. Chr. - Vier Silene, von denen zwei benannt sind (→ Hedyoinos, → Komos) belastigen eine wasserholende Frau (mit Efeu bekränzt, hält Tyle und Hydria), welche vergeblich zu fliehen versucht. Die Beischrift nennt sie K. Handelt es sich um eine Mänade (so Eichler, *CVA*) oder um die auf das gleichnamige Satyrspiel des Aischylos zurückgehende Amymone (s. weiter Simon, → Amymone 12 und die verwandten Darstellungen ebenda)? Im letzteren Fall wäre K. nur schmückender Beiname der Amymone. ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## KALEON, KALLON

(*Καλέον, Καλλών*) Gott des gleichnamigen Flusses in Ionien. Der Name ist bisher nur auf Münzen von Smyrna belegt, und die genaue Lage des Flusses ist unbekannt.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML II* 1 (1890-94) 925 s. v. «Kaleon»; Frontrier, A., *REA* 9, 1907, 118-120; Joly, E., *EAA IV* (1961) 296 s. v. «Kaleon»; Klose, D. O. A., *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1987) 37. 249; Meyer, H., *RE X* 2 (1919) 1603 s. v. «Kaleon».

### Münzen von Smyrna

Auf allen Münzen erscheint der nur mit einem Himation bis zu den Hüften bekleidete K. nach l. gelagert, ein Füllhorn in der Rechten haltend und mit der Linken sich auf ein Quellgefäß lehnd.

1.\* AE, Sabina († 137 n. Chr.). - *BMC Ionia* 278, 336-338 Taf. 29, 5; MacDonald, *Hunter II* 381, 217; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 287 Nr. 281 Taf. 9, 20; *SNG Copenhagen* 1365; *MuM*, Liste 371, 1975, Nr. 33; Klose 37. 249 Nr. XLV. Sabina 1-12 Taf. 35. - Rs.: K. *KAAEON EMYP* oder *KAAΩ [E]MYP*.

Die Darstellungen des K. entsprechen dem geläufigen Typus des auf einem Quellgefäß gelagerten menschengestaltigen Flußgottes (→ Fluvii). Bei einem Unikum von London scheint die leicht abweichende Benennung *KAAΩ* auf einen Fehler zurückzugehen, und wir können annehmen, daß hier ebenfalls K. gemeint ist. Ansonsten ist er von den übrigen auf Münzen von Smyrna auftauchenden Flußgöttern → Hermos, → Melas und → Meles klar zu differenzieren.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

KALETOR → Alexandros 89

KALI[---] → Amazonas 67

## KALLIAS

(*Καλλίας*) Satyrname in einer Vaseninschrift, vgl. *Καλλίας* = Affe.

1.\* (= Eu[---] 1) Schale, att. rf. Brüssel, Mus. Roy. R 253 und Vatikan, Astarita 306. Aus Vulci. - *ARV* 64, 104; Olto; Fränkel, *Namen* 23. 88 Nr. S. - Auf der einen Außenseite tanzt die Mänade → Ligeia zwischen den Satyrn Eu[---] Jos (r.) und K. (l., *KAAIA[Σ]*, in Tanzbewegung nach r. zur Mänade). K. war eine Bezeichnung des Affen, wie auch eine Affenart in der Antike: Fränkel, *Namen* 23 mit Quellen; Keller, O., *Antike Tierwelt I* (1909) 5. 10; McDermott, W. C., *The Ape in Antiquity* (1938) 95. 132-133. Zur Affenart Satyros: McDermott a. O. 71-72. 79-84. 105-106. Vgl. auch den Affen mit Beischrift Satyros (verschieden Sattyos) auf dem Nilmosaik von Palestrina: Gullini, G., *I mosaici di Palestrina* (1956) Taf. 26; Philipps, K. M. Jr., *The Barberini Mosaic: sunt hominum animaliumque complures imagines* (1962) 99-100; Steinmeyer-Schareika, A., *Das Nilmosaik von Palestrina und eine ptolemäische Expedition nach Äthiopien* (1978) 63.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## KALLICHORA

(*Καλλιχώρα*) Néréide dont le nom n'apparaît pas dans les listes traditionnelles (→ Nereides), connue par une inscription sur un vase.



BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Joly, E., *EAA* IV (1961) 296 s. v. «Kallichora»; Roscher, W. H., *ML* II 1 (1890–94) 926 s. v. «Kal(l)ichora».

1. \* Hydrie attique à f. n. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. GR 33.1864. De Vulci (coll. Leake). – *CVA* I pl. 16 (254) 2. – Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – Panse: au centre → Herakles lutte contre → Triton, tandis que deux Néréides, → Pontia et K. (*KALIXOPA*), les regardent, levant une main. Elles sont coiffées d'une ténia, vêtues d'un chiton et d'un himation. Tous les personnages sont désignés par des inscriptions.

Le nom de K., qui est également celui de la source sacrée près de laquelle dansèrent les jeunes filles d'Éleusis (Paus. I, 38, 6), évoque la danse, tout comme celui d'une autre Néréide, → Choro (I).

NOËLLE ICARD-GIANOLIO

**KALLIE** → Amazonen 16

**KALLIKRATES** → Theseus

## KALLIMACHOS

(*Καλλιμαχος*) Name eines Gefährten des → Kephalos. Nur auf einem Vasenbild (I) mit dessen Verfolgung durch → Eos überliefert.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890–94) 927 s. v. «Kallimachos»; Kaempf, *Liebe der Götter* 18; Schefold, *SB* III 316.

## KATALOG

### a) Inschriftlich gesicherte Darstellung

1. \* (= Eos 100 mit Lit.) Glockenkrater, att. rf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 423. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1055, 72: Polygnotosgruppe; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 322. – Um 450/40 v. Chr. – Bei der Verfolgung des Kephalos durch Eos flieht K. (Namensbeischrift) nach l. und dreht sich in Richtung des Geschehens um. Er ist mit Petasos, Mantel, Stiefeln und zwei Speeren als Jäger gekennzeichnet. Mit einem Stein in seiner Rechten droht er der Göttin.

### b) Unsichere Darstellung

2. (= Eos 124 mit Lit.) Kelchkrater, att. rf. Richmond, Virginia Mus. 81.70. – Oakley, J. H., *AntK* 30, 1987, 123 ff. Taf. 19, 1–2: Nikiasmaler (Töpfersign. des Nikias). – Um 410 v. Chr. – B: Eos verfolgt den Jäger Kephalos (beide mit Namensbeischrift) nach r.; in die Gegenrichtung flieht ein namenloser Gefährte (Petasos, Himation, Stiefel) mit Stein in der erhobenen Linken. Oakley 125 nennt diesen in Hinblick auf 1 Kallimachos, was aber nicht zu sichern ist. A: Geburt des Erichthonios, → Erechtheus II\* = Hephaistos 221\*.

## KOMMENTAR

Für den nur einmal überlieferten Kephalosgefährten K. (I) ist kein Bezug zu den Sagen um Kephalos oder Eos nachzuweisen. Da der Name K. in Athen sicher häufiger anzutreffen war, könnte er vom Vasenmaler ohne mythologischen Hintergrund gewählt worden sein, vielleicht einfach aus Gründen der Vollständigkeit, um die dritte Figur nicht namenlos zu lassen. Von den Assoziationen, die ein zeitgenössischer Bezug erweckt (Kaempf 18; Schefold, *SB* III 316), ist keine zu sichern (2). Wenn der Maler sich allerdings wirklich mit der Namenswahl an seinen Zeitgenossen orientiert hat, betont er damit die attische Komponente dieser Sage (vgl. → Eos S. 777) und formuliert, indem er den mythischen Heros und seinen «bürgerlichen» Gefährten als Jäger ausrüstet, ein attisches Erziehungsideal (s. Kaempf 18).

Das Bedürfnis, auch Nebenfiguren inschriftlich zu benennen, läßt sich bei den attischen Vasenmalern seit der archaischen Zeit nachweisen und äußert sich in verschiedenen Phänomenen: So können unbeteiligte Zuschauer durch Namensbeischriften, die sie als Personen des dargestellten Mythos auszeichnen, miteinbezogen werden (vgl. v. Bothmer, D., *JHS* 71, 1951, 40 ff.). Andererseits werden Gefährten oder sonstige, den Hauptakteuren nahestehende Personen mit nicht im Mythos wurzelnden Namen belegt. Gerade letzteres ist häufiger bei Verfolgungs- und Raubscenen anzutreffen, vgl. z. B. → Deianeira III. Besonders auffallend ist dieses heute willkürlich erscheinende Verfahren dann, wenn die Namen nicht mit der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit der Bezeichneten übereinstimmen: so benennt Oltos auf der Schale München 2618 (→ Achilles 656\*) die trojanischen Begleiter des Priamos mit griechischen Namen (dazu Friis Johansen, *Iliad* 130), der Lykaonmaler hingegen schreibt auf einer Pelike (→ Eos 98\*) dem attischen Jäger Kephalos als Gefährten den trojanischen Eosgeliebten Tithonos zu (vgl. dazu auch → Eos, Kommentar S. 776–777).

CARINA WEISS

**KALLIOPE I** → Mousa, Mousai

## KALLIOPE II

(*Καλλιόπη*) Sous ce nom, les textes antiques mentionnent uniquement la Muse (Kalliope I, → Mousa, Mousai). Cependant, sur un vase attique, est ainsi nommée la femme d'Adraste (→ Adrastos). Selon les auteurs, elle s'appelle Lysimaché, Lysippé, → Amphithea (I) ou Demonassa.

1. (= Adrastos 6\* avec bibl.) Amphore attique à f. n. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. Chr. VIII 3 (112). De

Sant'Agata dei Goti (Samnium). – *ABV* 292, 5: Psiak; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 76; Overbeck 94–95 n° 6 pl. 3, 7; Beazley, J. D., «Some Inscriptions on Vases V», *AJA* 54, 1950, 315 n° 6. – 510–500 av. J.-C. – Devant un quadriga monté par deux guerriers dont l'un est nommé Adrastos (inscr.) se tient une femme debout tournée vers le centre (inscr. *KALLOPA*).

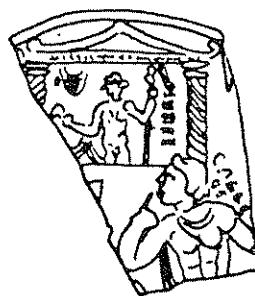
ALIKI KAUFFMANN-SAMARAS

**KALLIPHÖBE** → Herakles 2124. 2129. 2130

## KALLIPOLIS

(*Καλλιπολις*) Fils d'→ Alkathoos, il mourut tué par son père qu'il avait interrompu durant un sacrifice; ce dernier crut en effet à un acte d'impiété alors qu'il venait lui apprendre la mort de son frère aîné, Ischépolis. On montrait sa tombe à Mégare (Paus. I, 42, 6; 43, 5).

1. \* Médaille d'applique fr., perdu. De Lyon, Hauts-de-Saint-Just. – Desbat, A., «Vases à médailles d'applique des fouilles récentes de Lyon», *Figlina* 5–6, 1980–81, 69, M 003 (dessin). – II<sup>e</sup>–III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Petit *sacellum* abritant une effigie de Liber Pater (inscr. *LIBER*; → Dionysos/Bacchus); devant, au premier plan, un personnage masculin fr. (buste), figuré de face, visage à g., bras dr. replié et index pointé en direction de la bouche. Inscr. *CALLI*(...) ou *CAELI*(...).



Kallipolis 1

L'identification proposée par A. Desbat est problématique, du fait de l'état fragmentaire du médaillon et de l'inscription. Selon Pausanias, Alkathoos était en train d'offrir un sacrifice à Apollon et non à Dionysos lorsqu'il fut dérangé par son fils; on notera toutefois que le geste de Kallipolis signifie généralement le deuil, ce qui serait en accord avec la tragique nouvelle qu'il s'apprête à annoncer. En outre, le prêtre qui purifie Alkathoos de son meurtre, Polydus, est le fondateur du temple de Dionysos à Mégare (Paus. I, 43, 5), ce qui pourrait expliquer la confusion des deux divinités.

NICOLE BLANC

**KALLIRRHÖE I** → Herakles, section IV L, Literary sources and 2470. 2473. 2488. 2489. 2495. 2501 (all uncertain identifications), and Commentary p. 83.

## KALLIRRHÖE II

(*Καλλιρρόη*) Nymphe (→ Nymphae). Personification d'une attique source, qui, sous le nom de Peisistratide, est devenue la source Enneakrunos (Neunröhrenbrunnen) umgestaltet wurde. Sie wurde verehrt in Athen am Ilissosbett (→ Ilisos), wo die gleichnamige Quelle entsprang, im Echelidenheiligtum in Neu-Phaleron und allgemein in Attika.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Nach Ausweis des größten Teils der literarischen Überlieferung lag die Quelle K. südöstlich der Akropolis (Thuk. 2, 15, 5) am Ilissosbett (*Etym. m. s. v. Ἐννεάκρουνος*; Stat. *Theb.* 12, 629–633) neben dem Zeustempel (Hierokles *praef.* 1, 13, *Corp. Hippiatricorum Graecorum* I p. 5) in Richtung des Itonia-Tores, im Kynosarges (Plat. *Ax.* 364a–b. d). Die am Hymettos wohnenden Pelasger belästigten hier die Töchter der Athener (Hdt. 6, 137), die dem Brauch gemäß am Vorabend ihrer Hochzeit Wasser zum Brautbad aus dieser Quelle holten. Die K.-Quelle wurde zur Enneakrunos umgestaltet (*Etym. m., Harpokr. Hesych. und Suda s. v. Ἐννεάκρουνος bzw. Ἐννεάκρουνον*; Phot. *s. v. λουτρά*; Pollux 3, 43; Thuk. 2, 15, 4–5), als die Peisistratiden einen Brunnen dorischen Stils mit neun Wasserspeiern an dieser Stelle errichteten (vgl. Brunnenszenen auf einer sf. Hydria in London, BM B 331, 6. Jh. v. Chr., aus Vulci, Inschrift *KAAIPE KPENE*, *ABV* 261, 41; 667; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 68; *CVA* 6 Taf. 88; sf. Vasenfr., 6. Jh. v. Chr., von der Akropolis, Athen, Nat. Mus. Akr. 732, Inschrift *KAAIPOE*, Graef/Langlotz I No. 732 Taf. 47). Nach Paus. 1, 14, 1 befand sich K.-Enneakrunos in der Stadt Athen, in der sie die einzige Quelle war, neben dem Odeion und den Tempeln der Demeter, der Kore und des Triptolemos. Die Baureste eines Brunnens in der SO-Ecke der Agora hat Wyckley (140. 142) mit der Enneakrunos der Peisistratiden identifiziert; dagegen wandte sich Tölle-Kastenbein (63. 65). Vielleicht gab es zwei gleichnamige Quellen (vgl. die Theorie von Broneer über doppelte Heiligtümer und Stätten im N und S von Athen, Broneer 55. 57–58; Thompson, H., *Hesperia* 25, 1956, 51–52).

Der von W. Dörpfeld (*ArchEph* 1894, 1–10; *Alt-Athen* I [1937] 88–98. 117–118; II [1939] 257–258. 272–273) am Ostabhang der Pnyx ausgegrabene Brunnen kann weder mit dem von Thukydides noch mit dem von Pausanias erwähnten identifiziert werden.

Das Wasser der K.-Enneakrunos wurde als klar und kühl bezeichnet (Isokr. 15, 287; Plin. *nat.* 31, 50; Alkiphron *epist.* 3, 13, 1; Himerios *frag.* 1. 7).

Im 5. Jh. v. Chr. genoss die Nymphe K. als Personifikation der gleichnamigen Quelle mit anderen Gottheiten und Nymphen im Kephisos-Heiligtum im

Demos der Echeliden kultische Verehrung (IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 4547, s. 2).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Broneer, O., «Plato's Description of Early Athens», *Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 1949, 58–59; Diehl, E., *Die Hydria* (1964) 131. 202; Hamdorf, *Kultpersonifikationen* 17; Krohl, W., *RE* X 2 (1917) 1669–1672 s. v. «Kallirrhoe II»; Muthmann, F., *Mutter und Quelle* (1975) 84. 120. 126. 250; Thompson, H., *Agora XIV* (1972) 198–199; Tölle-Kastenbein, R., «Kallirrhoe und Enneakrunos», *JdI* 101, 1986, 55–73; Travlos, *TopAth* 204 Abb. 267–274; Weiß, *Fluß* 142–149. 159–163 Taf. 15; Wytherley, R. E., *Agora III, Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (1957) 137–142.

## KATALOG

1.\* (= Chione I 2 mit Lit.) Figur W aus dem Westgiebel des Parthenon, pentelischer Marmor. Bis 1979 im Giebel, jetzt im Akropolismuseum, o. Nr. Fr. von W in London, BM, Smith, *BM Sculpture* Nr. 160. – Von der Mehrzahl der Forscher als K. identifiziert, von einigen als → Prokris oder Chione. – Robertson, *HGA* 300; Weiß, *Fluß* 142–149, bes. 149: A = → Kephisos (I), W = Kallirrhoe; Anm. 910. 941 zu anderen Deutungen; Boardman, *GSCP* 100. – 438–432 v. Chr. – Weibliche Figur in mit reichen Falten versehenem Himation, in der r. Ecke des Giebels gelagert; mit aufgerichtetem Oberkörper, nach l. gewendet, scheint sie das Geschehen in der Giebelmitte zu beobachten. Siehe 4.

2. (= Acheloos 197\* mit Lit., = Ilisos 2 mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Weihrelief der Xenokrateia, Marmor. Athen, Nat. Mus. 2756. Aus Neu-Phaleron. Spätes 5. Jh. v. Chr. – L. Apollon Pythios auf einem Dreifußthron, die Füße auf dem delphischen Omphalos, vor dem zwei Adler stehen, → Artemis, → Leto, und vor ihnen Xenokrateia und ihr Sohn Xenaiades. Dann → Kephisos (I), → Ilisos und eine Gruppe von Gottheiten, die *σύνθετοι* des Kephisos waren: die Gerastai Nymphae Genethliai (→ Nymphae), → Acheloos und hinter ihm K. als Karyatide mit Polos auf dem Kopf und ärmellosem, hochgegurtem Chiton. Diese Figur wurde von einigen Forschern als → Eileithyia oder → Hekate angesehen (vgl. Stais, B., *ArchEph* 1909, 239–264; Eckstein, F., *AntPl* IV [1965] 33–34). Die Gottheiten konnten zum Teil aufgrund der mitgefundenen Inschrift IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 4547 identifiziert werden (→ Artemis 1182).

3.\* (= Acheloos 204 mit Lit., = Herakles 3376 mit Lit., = Hermes 728) Weihrelief, Marmor. Athen, Nat. Mus. 1778. Aus dem Ilissosbett. – 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. v. Chr. – L., eine männliche, bärtige Figur nach r., die auf einer Acheloosmaske sitzt. Zu ihr treten → Hermes und → Herakles. Die weibliche Figur mit Füllhorn l. im Hintergrund (von der nur ein kleiner Teil erhalten ist) wurde von der Mehrzahl der Forscher als K. identifiziert, von einigen aber als Meter oder → Persephone (Möbius, H., *AM* 60/61, 1935/36, 247–248 pl. 90; Isler, H. P., *Acheloos* [1970] 38). Mitropoulou, E., *Libation Scenes*... (1975) 70–71 Nr. 51 fig.: Palaimon? (→ Melikertes Palaimon).

4. Kleine Marmorstatue einer gelagerten weiblichen Figur. Eleusis, Magazin des Mus. Nr. 25, o. Inv.

Aus dem Giebel eines Schatzhauses, vor den Großen Propyläen des eleusinischen Heiligtums gefunden. – Carpenter, R., *Hesperia* 1, 1932, 23 Abb. 11; Travlos, I., *ArchDelt* 16, 1960, 55–60; Brommer, F., *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel* (1963) 105 Nr. 4, zur Deutung 170; Lindner, R., *JdI* 97, 1982, 380–381. 391–393 Abb. 53. 54. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Die Figur (nur der untere Teil erhalten) lagert nach l., vom reich mit Gewandfalten versehenen Himation umhüllt. Es handelt sich um eine Kopie (oder einen Nachklang) der Figur W des Parthenon-Westgiebels (1). Lindner (a. O. 391–393) vermutet in V und W des Parthenon-Giebels, wie auch in ihren eleusinischen Kopien, → Eumolpos und Chione (→ Chione I 2).

## DEUTUNG UNSICHER

5. Lekythos, rf. Bologna, Mus. Civ., Coll. Palagi 1199. Aus Athen. – Pellegrini, G., *Cat. ... Coll. Palagi ed Universitaria* (1900) 56–58 Nr. 323 Abb. 49–50; Simon, E., *Opfernde Götter* (1953) 45 Nr. 74 Taf. 2. – 5. Jh. v. Chr. – L. Apollon, in Chiton und Himation, mit Lorbeerkränzen auf dem Kopf, einer Phiale in der Rechten und einem Lorbeerzweig in der Linken. R. eine weibliche Figur in Chiton und Himation, mit Diadem auf dem Kopf: Artemis oder Nymphe. Inschrift *KΑΛΙΡΡΗΟΙ*, die zu *KΑΛΙΡΡΗΟΙ* oder, wie ich meine, zu *KΑΛΙΡΡΗΟΙ* ergänzt werden kann (s. u.).

## KOMMENTAR

Die Verehrung der K., der Hauptquelle von Athen, erscheint in der Ikonographie im 6. Jh. v. Chr. Das Brunnenhaus auf attisch sf. Vasen (bes. auf Hydrien, s. lit. Quellen) zu dem sich Mädchen mit Zweigen und Blüten in den Händen begeben und dessen Wasserspeier sie mit Kränzen und Binden schmücken, ist die zuerst Kallirrhoe und nach ihrer Umgestaltung unter den Peisistratiden Enneakrunos genannte Quelle, deren Wasser die Mädchen am Vorabend ihrer Hochzeit zum Brautbad, aber auch zu anderen sakralen Verrichtungen holten.

Die Personifikation der Quelle K. erscheint in der Ikonographie zuerst im 5. Jh. v. Chr. Die meisten Erforscher der Parthenonskulpturen vermuten, daß die Figur W des Westgiebels (1) wie auch ihre eleusinische Kopie (4) K. repräsentieren, falls die Pendantfigur A und die benachbarte Figur V attische Flußgottheiten darstellen (A = Kephisos, V = Ilisos). Die Position der Figur im Giebel paßt zur topographischen Situation der Quelle. Doch wurde diese Interpretation neuerdings wieder bezweifelt (vgl. Brommer, a. O. 4, 170 Anm. 22. 24; Weiß, *Fluß* 142 Anm. 910. 145 Anm. 941).

Das Weihrelief der Xenokrateia (2) und die Inschrift IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 4547 des 5. Jh. v. Chr. zeigen, daß K. zusammen mit anderen Gottheiten und Nymphen im Kephisosheiligtum des Demos der Echeliden in Neu-Phaleron kultische Ehren zuteil wurden. Im r. Teil des Reliefs neben Acheloos dargestellt, wurde die Figur von den meisten Forschern wegen ihrer Nähe zu Acheloos, einem überlokalen Gott des Wassers und

Vater aller Quellnymphen (→ Acheloos S. 12), und wegen der Darstellung weiterer attischer Flußgötter auf dem Relief als K. identifiziert.

Eine Darstellung der K. beim Ilissos erkennt man auch auf dem Weihrelief 3 des 3. Jh. v. Chr. Die Figur hinten links wird als die Nymphe K. angesehen, deren Quelle am Fundort des Reliefs entsprang. Das Füllhorn ist das Symbol des Acheloos, das gewöhnlich er selbst trägt (vgl. das Weihrelief → Acheloos 212), manchmal aber auch die Nymphen, die ihn begleiten (Maas, E., *AM* 20, 1895, 356).

Eine Identifizierung der weiblichen Figur mit Apollon auf der rf. Lekythos von Bologna (5) als Nymphe K. ist nicht unwahrscheinlich: Der Fundort der Vase berechtigt zur Annahme der Darstellung eines Lokalmythos (vgl. dagegen die Deutung als Apollon und → Kreusa, *ML* II 1 [1890–94] 1426) oder, wie ich meine, der Darstellung einer lokalen symbolischen Szene. Die dargestellte Nymphe kann die Personifikation der Ilissos-Quelle K. sein, die dem Apollon in eine Omphalosschale, ein sicher mit kultischen Handlungen verbundenes Gefäß, Wasser spendet, das im nahegelegenen Heiligtum des Gottes (vgl. Travlos, *TopAth* 100 Abb. 130; 291 Abb. 379) benötigt wurde. Der Name *KΑΛΙΡΡΗΟΙ*, von dem weitere fünf Buchstaben fehlen, wäre folglich zu *KΑΛΙΡΡΗΟΙ* zu ergänzen.

ALKESTIS SPETSIERI-CHOREMI

## KALLIRRHÖE III

(*Καλλιρόη, Καλλιρόα, Καλλιρρόη*) Nymphe (→ Nymphae), fille du dieu-fleuve → Acheloos (→ Flu-vii). Elle épousa Alcmeon (→ Alkmaion) dont elle eut deux fils, Amphoteros et Akarnan. Après la mort de son mari, elle fut aimée par → Zeus. Elle connut force malheurs parce qu'elle avait convoité le collier et la robe d'→ Harmonia.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Eur. *Alcmeon*, *TGF*<sup>2</sup> frg. 79; Apollod. *bibl.* 3 (88–93), 7, 5; Paus. 8, 24, 9–10; Ov. *met.* 9, 412–417.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Imhoof-Blumer, F., «Nymphen und Chariten», *JlArchNum* 11, 1908, 82–83; Joly, E., *EAA* IV (1961) 301 s. v. «Kallirhoe»; Latte, K., *RE* X 2 (1919) 1668 s. v. «Kallirrhoe 2»; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890–94) 929 s. v. «Kallirrhoe 2».

## CATALOGUE

1.\* (= Acheloos 95 avec bibl.) AR dioboles, Stratos (Acarnanie), vers 450–432 av. J.-C. – Av. Tête cornue d'Achéloos. Rv. Tête de K. de face, dans un carré creux. Ethnique rétr. *STPA*.

2. AR dioboles, Stratos, vers 450–432 av. J.-C. – Babelon, *Traité* II 4, 14, 4 pl. 271, 4. – Av. Tête à g. d'Achéloos, barbue et cornue. Rv. Tête de K. de profil à dr., avec collier, dans un carré creux. *ST*.

3.\* AR, Acarnanie, IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – BMC Thes-

saly... 168, 1 pl. 27, 1. – Av. Achéloos. Rv. Tête de K. de face, diadémée (ténia ou diadème de perles).

4. AR, Stratos plutôt qu'Oiniadai (Acarnanie), IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – BMC Thessaly... 189, 2–3 pl. 29, 11; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flussg* 222, 121. – Av. Tête d'Achéloos de profil. Rv. Dans un carré creux, Z et lég. *KΑΑΛΙΡΡΗΟΙ*.

5. AR, Stratos plutôt qu'Oiniadai, IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – BMC Thessaly... 189, 4 pl. 29, 12. – Av. Tête d'Achéloos. Rv. Champ concave: lettre T et feuilles de lierre ou de vigne. Au-dessous, *KΑΑ*.

## Identification incertaine

6. (= Acheloos 95a avec bibl.) AE, Stratos, IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. – BMC Thessaly... 191, 2–3 pl. 29, 16. – Av. Tête de Nymphe coiffée d'une sphendoné: K.? Rv. Tête d'Achéloos; ethnique.

## COMMENTAIRE

Jusqu'au début du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. Stratos était la ville principale de la Confédération acarnanienne: elle a donc frappé monnaie en adoptant comme type de revers la tête de K., mère d'Akarnan, héros éponyme du pays. Quant aux monnaies jadis attribuées à Oiniadai (4–5), elles appartiennent probablement à Stratos (Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 331–332). DAPHNÉ GONDICAS

## KALLIS I → Achilleus 656

## KALLIS II

(*Κάλλις*) Ménadennome (→ Mainades) in Vasenschriften.

1.\* (= Dionysos 55 mit Lit. [A]) Schale, att. sf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. SA 172. Aus Capua. – *ABV* 203, 1; 689: Kallismaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 55; Fränkel, *Namen* 21. 84 Nr. K; *CVA* 1 Taf. 21 (965) 3; Buschor, E., *Feldmäuse, Sbmünchen* 1937, 1, 4; v. Vacano, O., *Zur Entstehung und Deutung gemalter seitenansichtiger Kopfbilder auf schwarzfigurigen Vasen des griechischen Festlandes* (1973) 66. 75–76. 97–98. 117–118. 233 Nr. A 164. In der weiteren neueren, hier nicht angegebenen Lit. ist meist nur die Seite A (Dionysos und Semele mit Beischriften) besprochen und abgebildet. – Um 530 v. Chr. – B: Vier Büsten: im Zentrum Dionysos und K. (*KΑΛΙΣ*, Haube, Schmuck, eine Hand zum Kinn erhoben) einander zugewandt. Sie werden l. und r. von je einer Frauenbüste gerahmt, welche einander anblicken. Die rechte ist → Sime benannt. Adriani (*CVA*) will in K. wie auf der Gegenseite Semele erkennen und deutet die Beischrift wie schon Heydemann im Neapler Vasenkatalog (der allerdings an Ariadne dachte) als Beinamen im Sinne von *Καλλιστή*. Es handelt sich hier um keine Anodosdarstellung, sondern

wohl um die Abkürzung einer Ganzfigur. Der Kallismaler, der überhaupt gern Büsten malte, gilt als Erfinder des Götterkopfbildes.

2. (= Dionysos 449) Schale, att. rf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 6848. Aus Tarquinia. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 60, 66; 1622: Oltos; Para 327; Add<sup>2</sup> 165; Fränkel, *Namen* 21. 44. 88 Nr. U; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen<sup>2</sup>* Taf. 94; Detailabb. bei Arias/Shefton/Hirmer Taf. 100; CVA I Taf. 3 (1155) 2. - Um 520 v. Chr. - Wagenbesteigender Dionysos, auf den der Silen → Terpes zuläuft. Anführerin des Zuges ist die Mänade oder Nymphe → Theos. Hinter Dionysos läuft die Mänade K. (KALLIS, Efeukranz im offenen Haar, Löwe auf der mit einem Raubtierfell bedeckten Schulter, Thyrsos, Chiton, Mantel) nach l. Ihr folgt der Silen → Terpon (l).

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## KALLISTHENES → Achilleus 656

## KALLISTO

(Καλλιστώ, Callisto) K. was a nymph, or an Arkadian princess, daughter of → Lykaon (or of Nykteus or Keteus), who became a huntress and virgin companion of the goddess → Artemis. → Zeus fell in love with K. and, whether in his own form or in the guise of Artemis or of → Apollon or of a lion, seduced her. K.'s pregnancy was discovered by → Hera, or by Artemis while she and her companions were bathing. She was transformed into a bear by Zeus who wished to conceal his act, or by Artemis, or by Hera. K. gave birth to a son, → Arkas (or to two sons, Arkas and the god → Pan), who was rescued by Zeus or by → Hermes at Zeus' behest. K.'s end after her metamorphosis is variously related: she was shot with an arrow by Artemis who was annoyed at her loss of virginity or who was spurred on by a jealous Hera, and either K. or her likeness was placed by Zeus in the heavens as the constellation of the Great Bear; or the young Arkas, out hunting, found her and was about to kill her when Zeus turned them both into constellations; or she was chased by Arkas into the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaion where they were about to be slain by the Arkadians when Zeus transformed K. and Arkas into the Great Bear and the Bear-warden.

LITERARY SOURCES: K. is not named in Homer, though the poet knows the constellation of the Great Bear (*Od.* 5, 273-275). Eumelos of Corinth (Davies *EGFF* 10) is said to have referred to K. as the daughter of Lykaon. Hesiod (*frg.* 163 Merkelbach/West) also seems to have described K. as daughter of Lykaon. She was a huntress and companion of Artemis and was made pregnant by Zeus. The goddess discovered her companion's condition while they were bathing, and in anger turned her into a bear in which form K. gave birth to Arkas. How this story ended is unknown. There may also have been a second Hesiodic version

(*frg.* 163 Merkelbach/West: Apollod. *bibl.* 3, 8, 2; see Sale W., *RhM*, 102, 1962, 133-141; West, M. L., *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* [1985] 91 ff.) in which K. was identified as a nymph. In other early writers K.'s parentage varies: Asios (Davies *EGF* 9) seems to have called her daughter of Nykteus and Pherekydes made her father Keteus (*FGH* 3 F 157), as did Araithos of Tegea (*FGH* IV 318 *frg.* 47) who even called her by a different name, Megisto. Epimenides (*FGH* 457 F 9) seems to have given K. two children: Arkas, and the god Pan. Among the tragedians of the 5th cent. B. C. Aischylos wrote a drama entitled *Καλλιστώ* (*TrGF* III p. 216), but we know nothing of the plot. Euripides also refers to K. (*Eur. Hel.* 375-378), but the text may be corrupt, and the meaning is unclear. K. may also have been the subject of at least one comedy: Amphis (*CAFII* 249 *frg.* 47), a writer of Middle Comedy, is said to have had Zeus disguise himself as Artemis (*cf.* Apollod. *bibl.* 3, 8, 2; *Ov. met.* 2, 425; *Schol. Stat. Theb.* 3, 685; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 744) in order to embrace K. so that the latter, when questioned, could accuse Artemis herself of the deed. The story of K. was naturally attractive to the writers of the Hellenistic Age. Kallimachos (*frg.* 632 Pf.; *cf.* *Kall. h.* 1, 40-41) had Hera, not Artemis, change K., daughter of Lykaon, into a bear in which form she was killed by Artemis but katasterized by Zeus. Whether this transformation of K. into a constellation was already present in Hesiod or was merely a Hellenistic elaboration of the myth is uncertain. Certainly K. was treated by Eratosthenes in his *Καταστερισμοί* (p. 9-10 Olivieri: see Robert, C., *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae* 50-55): in this version K. was followed or chased by Arkas into the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaion and both were about to be killed by the Arkadians when they were translated into the heavens. The story of K. was popular in Roman times, and the fullest accounts are given by Ovid (*fast.* 2, 155-192; *met.* 2, 409-533), Apollodoros (*bibl.* 3, 8, 2), Hyginus (*fab.* 176. 177; *astr.* 2, 1) and Pausanias (8, 3, 6; 4, 1).

There are many slight variations upon the story of K. Zeus may come to her not only as Artemis but in the guise of Apollo (Apollod. *bibl.* 3, 8, 2) or even, seemingly, as a lion (Clem. *Rom. hom.* 5, 13). In accounts of the Roman period K. is usually transformed into a bear by Hera (*Ov. met.* 2, 476-484; Paus. 8, 3, 6; *Hyg. astr.* 2, 1; *Serv. georg.* 1, 67. 138) following Kallimachos.

Paus. 8, 35, 8 records a tomb of K., which was covered by a mound planted with trees and topped by a shrine of Artemis Kalliste.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Adler, A., *REX* 2 (1919) 1726-1729 s. v. «Kallisto 1»; Amyx, D., *Archaeological News* VIII. 4, 1979, 107-108; Arena, R., «Καλλιστώ», *Atti del Sodalizio glottologico milanese* 20, 1978/79 (1980), 27-30; *idem*, «Considerazioni sul mito di Callisto», *Acme* 32, 1979, 5-26; Cook, *Zeus* II 228-229 n. 4-7; Curtius, L., «Zu den Bildern in der Casa del Poeta Tragico», *Festschr. P. Clemen* (1926) 94-104; Franz, R., «De Callistis fabula», *Leipziger Studien für klass. Philologie* XII, 2 (1890) 235-365; *idem*, *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 931-935 s. v. «Kallisto»; Head, *HN<sup>2</sup>* 451-452; Sale, W., «The Story of Callisto in Hesiod», *RhM* 102, 1962, 133-141; *idem*, «Kallisto and the virginity of Artemis», *RhM* 108, 1965, 11-35; Schefold, *SB* III

229-232; Stenico, A., «Kallisto», *QuadTic* 6, 1977, 73-86; Svoronos, J. N., «Explication de la «Suppliante» Barberini. Kallisto, œuvre de Deinomenès sur l'Acropole d'Athènes», *JArchNum* 16, 1914, 255-278; Trendall, A. D., «Callisto in Apulian Vase-painting», *AntK* 20, 1977, 99-101; Zoreda, L. C., «Diana y Calisto en una sigillata clara de Lucentum (Alicante)», *Homenaje M. Almagro Basch* IV (1983) 7-20.

## CATALOGUE

### A. Kallisto alone

#### Painting

1. Lost painting of «Odysseus in the Underworld» (Nekyia) by Polygnotos of Thasos in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi. - Robert, C., *Die Nekyia des Polygnot*, 16. *HallWPr* 1892; Weizsäcker, P., *Polygnots Gemälde in der Lesche der Knidier in Delphi* (1895); Kerbric, R., *The Paintings in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi and their Historical Context* (1983); Felten, W., *Attische Unterweltdarstellungen des VI. und V. Jh. v. Chr.* (1975) 65-86; Robertson, *HGA* 266-270. - About 470-460 B. C. - Known from Paus. 10, 28, 1-31, 12. K. was probably located in the upper lefthand section of the painting (10, 31, 10): «Higher up than these [*sc.* Paris, Penthesileia, women carrying water in broken vases] is K., daughter of Lykaon, Nomia and Pero, daughter of Neleus... Instead of a mattress Kallisto has a bear-skin, and her feet are resting on Nomia's knees. I have already mentioned that the Arkadians say that Nomia is a nymph native to their country. The poets say that the nymphs live for a great number of years, but are not altogether exempt from death.» Polygnotos presumably followed the version in which K. was slain by Artemis. The bear-skin might suggest her metamorphosis or simply indicate her status as a huntress.

#### Statues

2. Statue of K. by Deinomenes, dedicated on Akropolis at Athens. - Svoronos, J., *JArchNum* 16, 1914, 255-277; Berger, E., *LAW* 696 s. v. Deinomenes; *idem*, in *Führer durch das Antikenmuseum Basel* (s.d.) 24 no. 15; Schefold *SB* III 229-230 fig. 315. - About 400 B. C. - Paus. 1, 25, 1 (= Overbeck *SQ* no. 924) says that statues of K. and Io (→ Io 183) stood near those of Anacreon and Xanthippos on the Athenian Akropolis. Since the stories of K. and Io both involve the love of Zeus, the antipathy of Hera and the metamorphosis of the young women, and since only one sculptor was involved, the two statues probably formed a single dedication. Impossible, however, to say how K. was represented or whether the statue was of bronze or marble, though Deinomenes is mentioned by Pliny (*nat.* 34, 50) in his discussion of bronze statuary. Pliny also lists Deinomenes among sculptors who flourished in the 95th Olympiad (ca. 400-397 B. C.). Svoronos argues that the «Barberini Suppliant» is actually a copy of Deinomenes' statue and that it was dedicated ca. 418-415 B. C. by Elean exiles in Athens. Berger, however, followed by Schefold, suggested that K. is represented by a statue preserved in Roman copies in Basel and Budapest (in

*AntK* 11, 1968, 65-67, however, Berger suggests alternatively a Danaid: → Danaides 40); the date of the original would be ca. 460-450 B. C.: the argument is unconvincing. A statue base (Loewy, *IGB* no. 233) from the Akropolis, with lettering supposedly of the 1st cent. B. C., preserving the name of the sculptor has also suggested to some scholars that the statue of K. was made by a much later Deinomenes.

3. Lost bronze statue of K. by Pausanias of Apollonia dedicated at Delphi by the Arkadians. - Paus. 10, 9, 5-6 (= Overbeck, *SQ* no. 993); Pomtow, H./Bulle, H., «Studien zu den Weihgeschenken und der Topographie von Delphi», *AM* 31, 1906, 437-564, esp. 461-492; Arnold, D., *Die Polykletnachsfolge* (1969) 191-192 fig. 40b. - Shortly after 369 B. C. - Paus. records statues of Apollo, K., Nike, Arkas, → Elatos, → Apheidas, → Azan, → Triphylos, → Erasos. Pausanias of Apollonia made the statues of K. and Apollo. The base is preserved, with dedicatory inscription and signatures of sculptors (Bourguet, E., *FDelphes* III 1, [1910] 4-9 nos. 3-11; Marcadé, *Signatures* I 86 pl. 15, 3). The statue of K. came second from the right in the group. K. was perhaps over life-size, and Arnold suggests that she was shown not standing but collapsing in the direction of Apollo, but Bulle imagined K. as about two-thirds life-size and walking towards Apollo.

### B. Zeus as Artemis seducing Kallisto

#### Metal vase

4. (= Artemis 1386) Silver ladle (*simpulum*). Paris, Petit Palais, Dutuit Coll. From Cullera (near Valencia, Spain). - Helbig, W., *BdI* 1865, 120-122; Froehner, W., *Les Musées de France* (1873) 21-23 pl. 5; *ML* II 1, 933-934; Cook, *Zeus* II 229 n. 7 pl. 15; Braemer, F., *L'art dans l'occident romain* (1963) 29 no. 117; Schefold, *SB* III 229. - C. 250-300 A. D. - Zeus disguised as Artemis is about to embrace K. who is partly draped in a cloak. Eros stands nearby. On either side of the scene is an oak-tree, beside one of which is a stele surmounted by a lighted torch(?). The three other pictures on the ladle show Zeus as a swan embracing Leda, Zeus and Semele, and Zeus as an eagle carrying off Ganymede. Schefold believes the scenes are derived from an Alexandrian model.

### C. Kallisto turned into a bear

#### Apulian vases

5.\* (= Arkas 3a, = Artemis 1388) Fr. rf. Boston, MFA 13.206. - *RVAp* I 166, 10 pl. 54, 2: Black Fury P.; *FR* II 264 fig. 94b; *BullCom* 58, 1930, 59 fig. 1; Trendall pl. 22, 5; Schefold, *SB* III 231 fig. 322. - C. 380-70 B. C. - The fragment preserves the head, in three-quarter view to l., and the r. hand of K. Her r. hand has already become a paw, her ears are pointed, and her face is beginning to grow hair. To l., a tree, and the legs, draped, of a seated figure (Artemis?).

6.\* (= Arkas 3, = Hermes 387) Oenochoe, rf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 72.AE.128. - *RVAp* I 167, 12 pl.



54, 6: closely connected in style with the Black Fury P.; Trendall pl. 22, 1-3; Amyx 108 figs. 19-20; Scheffold, *SB III* 230 figs. 319-321; Keuls, E., *The Reign of the Phallus* (1985) 313 fig. 275. - C. 370 B.C. - K. is seated, in three-quarter view to r., on a fawn-skin spread over a hillock on which grow plants and trees. She wears a short chiton that has come away from her r. shoulder, a cloak about her thighs, and high boots. Beside her lie two spears. K.'s hands have become paws, her skin hairy, her ears pointed. To r. is Hermes rescuing the infant Arkas, to l. is a hunter.

7. (= Arkas 1\*, = Artemis 1389) Krater fr., rf. American private coll. - *RVAp I* 168, 25: follower of the Black Fury P.; Trendall pl. 22, 4; Mayo, *Vases-Magna Graecia* 89 no. 19; Keuls, *o.c.* 6, 313 fig. 276. - C. 360 B.C. - K. (head, body, l. arm) was probably seated, in three-quarter view to r., with Arkas (head only) perhaps seated on her knees. K. wears a necklace, and a cloak covers the back of her head. She seems to want to caress Arkas but her hand has turned into a paw, and her ears are pointed. To r. are two spears; above, the upper body of a female (?) figure (Artemis?), shown partly hidden by the groundline.

8. (= Arkas 2\*, = Artemis 1385, = Hermes 388) Kalyx-krater, rf. Cremona, Mus. Civ. (Dordoni Coll. 23). From Ruvo(?). - *RVAp I* 263, 27a: Judgement P.; Stenico 74-86; Trendall 99-100; Rossi, L., *Ceramiche apule nel Mus. di Cremona* (1981) 31 no. 43 pls. 15-17. - C. 360 B.C. - K. (*ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΩ*) is seated, in three-quarter view to r., on a fawn-skin and a cloak that she holds out with her l. hand. In her r. hand is a spear. K. wears a chiton that has come away from her r. shoulder, and a necklace. To r. are Lyssa (*ΛΥΣΣΑ*), Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ*) and Apollo (*ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ*). To l., Hermes (*ΕΡΜΑΣ*) moves away with the infant Arkas (*ΑΡΚΑΣ*). The actions of K. are hard to interpret: is the painter following an unknown drama in which K. went mad and committed suicide? On the vase she seems about to thrust a javelin into her body.

#### D. Kallisto shot by Artemis

##### Coins

9. (= Arkas 4\*, = Artemis 1387) AE, Orchomenos (Arkadia), about 370-360 B.C. - *BMC Peloponnesus* 190, 1 pl. 35, 15; Cook, *Zeus II* 229 fig. 158; Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 203 nos. 246-247 pl. E 10; *NumCommPaus* 96 pl. S 22-23; Babelon, *Traité II* 3 nos. 940-942 pl. 226, 15-16; Svoronos, *JArchNum* 16, 1914, pl. 11, 4-8; Scheffold, *SB III* 230 figs. 317-318. - Obv.: kneeling Artemis shooting with a bow; rev.: K. falling back, pierced in the chest by an arrow, the infant Arkas on the ground beside her. K. is shown in human form, naked apparently, with a garment below her.

10. (= Arkas 5\*) AE, Methydrion (Arkadia), about 370-360 B.C. - Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 200 no. 244 pl. E 9; Cook, *Zeus II* 229 fig. 159; Svoronos, *JArchNum* 16, 1914, pl. 11, 1-3. - Obv.: head of Zeus; rev.: K. falling back, pierced in the chest by an arrow, the infant Arkas on the ground beside her.

#### E. Kallisto in the form of a bear, hunted by Arkas

##### Mosaic

11.\* (= Danae 22 with bibl., = Europe I 154 with bibl., = Ganymedes 108 with bibl.) Seville, Condesa de Lebrija. From Itálica. - García y Bellido, A., *Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica* (1960) 134 pl. XV; Blanco Freijeiro, A., *MosEsp II, Mosaiques Romanos de Itálica I* (1978) 25-26 pls. 1. 6b. - 2nd half of 2nd or beginning of 3rd cent. A.D. - The mosaic shows a selection of the loves of Zeus: Europa, Antiope, K.; Leda, Io, Danae, Ganymede. K., in the form of a bear, moves to r., looking back at her son Arkas who, youthful and naked save for a light cloak, aims a javelin at his mother and holds two more spare.

#### F. Uncertain or Incorrect Identifications

##### Greek Coins

12. AR hemidrachm, Arkadian Confederation (Tegea mint?), ca. 468-460 B.C. - *BMC Peloponnesus* 169, 1 pl. 31, 10; Babelon, *Traité II* 1, no. 1235 pl. 38, 18; Williams, R. T., *The Confederate Coinage of the Arcadians in the 5th Cent. B.C.* (1965) no. 176 pl. 8; Erhart, K. P., *The Development of the Facing Head Motif on Greek Coins and Its Relation to Classical Art* (1979) 108-110. 333 C 27 fig. 7. - Obv.: standing Zeus. Rev.: frontal head of a woman, with chignon on r. side. Though Williams favours Despoia (→ Despoia 3\*) or Artemis (→ Artemis 837) for the head on this coin, Erhart gives good reasons for preferring K. Erhart suggests the same identification for the female head on her C 28 (fig. 8; Williams no. 179 pl. 8) and C 29 (fig. 9; Williams no. 185 pl. 8).

13. (= Arkas 6 [rev.], = Hermes 389 [rev.]) AR stater, Pheneos (Arkadia), about 370-360 B.C. - Gardner, *BMC Peloponnesus* 194, 13 pl. 36, 7; Babelon, *Traité II* 3, 897-898 pl. 225, 7; Imhoof-Blumer, F., «Nymphen und Chariten auf griechischen Münzen», *JArchNum* 11, 1908, 94 no. 279 pl. 6, 39; Seltman, *GrCoins* 166 pl. 35, 12; Jenkins, G. K., *Ancient Greek Coins* (1972) figs. 247-248; Kraay/Hirmer, *GrCoins* pl. 160, 515. - The rev. shows Hermes moving to l. with the infant Arkas seated on his l. hand. The obv. shows a female head inspired by the Arethusa head by Euainetos on the Syracusan decadrachmas. The head has been identified as Demeter (Gardner, Seltman, Kraay) or Maia (Babelon, Jenkins, with reservations), but may it not be that of K.? K., not Demeter or Maia, was included in the contemporary Arkadian sculpture group at Delphi. - a) A similar identification has been suggested for the female head that is used as the reverse type of the contemporary AR drachms and triobols of Mantinea: *BMC Peloponnesus* 85 pls. 34, 29; 35, 1; Babelon, *Traité II* 3, 647, 965. 966 pl. 227, 3. 4.

##### Roman Red-slip dish

14. Madrid, Mus. Arch. 1980/84. From «Lucen-tum» (Alicante or Elche). - Zoreda 7-20, esp. 8 fig. 1, and 20 pl. 1, 2-5. - 2nd cent. A.D. - In the tondo, a bear (ears, back, one leg) to l., up on its hind legs. Zo-

reda sees the bear as K. She thinks that there may have been a second figure: Zeus who has just turned K. into a bear, or Arkas hunting K. The reliefs may be derived from those on a metal vessel.

##### Roman Painting

15. Wall-painting. Naples, Mus. Naz. 111441. From Pompeii VII 12, 26 (House of L. Cornelius Diadumenus). - Scheffold, *WP* 202; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 253 pl. 6a; HBr pl. 18; Curtius 94-104; *idem WP* 43 fig. 29; *EAA IV* 303 fig. 356; Diepolder, H., *RM* 41, 1926, 41 fig. 8, 1; Richardson, L., *Pompeii: The Casa dei Dioscuri and its Painters* (1955) pl. 46, 1; Scheffold, *SB III* 231-232 fig. 323; Elia, O., *Pitture murali e mosaici nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (1932) no. 58; *Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (1986) 147 no. 164. - About 70 A.D. (Scheffold, *SB III*). - A figure, in short tunic and leather boots, and holding two spears, stands before a seated woman (short tunic, boots, radiate crown) who has a quiver on the ground beside her and an Eros leaning against her lap holding an arrow; in the background are three other women. Curtius suggested that the scene represented the discovery of K.'s pregnancy by Artemis: K. protests her innocence, Eros tries to intercede, Artemis spurns K.; the three women are nymphs. Curtius is followed by Scheffold. Elia suggested Adonis and Aphrodite, others favour Hippolytos and Artemis (Petersen, E., *RM* 14, 1899, 91-100), Aktaion and Artemis (Helbig) or even Aineias and Dido. Earlier scholars (Helbig, Petersen, Brunn in *BdI* 1863, 96) took the standing figure to be male. Three other versions of this picture are known: a) Pompeii VI 8, 3 (House of the Tragic Poet). - Scheffold, *WP* 105; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 254; HBr 27 fig. 6; Rizzo, G. E., *Le pitture della casa del Poeta Tragico MonPitt III* 1 (1935) 7-12 figs. 4-6. - About 70-79 A.D. - b) Pompeii IX 5, 6. - Scheffold, *WP* 254; HBr pl. 19a; Rizzo, *o.c.* 7 fig. 8; Diepolder, *o.c.* 41 fig. 8, 2; Niccolini, F., *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei designati e descritti* (1854-96) II pl. 92. - c) Pompeii VII 12, 28. - Scheffold, *WP* 203; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 255.

##### Roman mosaic

16. Avignon. From Villelaure (Vaucluse). - Héron de Villefosse, A., *BullArchCTH* 1903, 13-32 pl. 1; *Inv-Mos* 24 no. 105; Picard, G.-Ch., in *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* (1965) 263; Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 218. - 1st half of 3rd (Picard) or 4th cent. A.D. (Dunbabin?). - Diana stands at the l. facing to r., with her r. arm outstretched, a spear over her l. shoulder. A dog looks up at her. A second figure, female, is seated on a rock beside a tree, facing to l. and extending her r. hand towards Diana. She wears boots and seems to sit on a cloak but is otherwise naked. Most of her head, her body and her l. arm are missing. In the aquarelle she is shown as pregnant: this and the presence of Diana have suggested the identification of the woman as K.

##### Attic vase-paintings

17. (= Artemis 1347\* with bibl.) Amphora, rf. Paris, Baron Seillière. From Vulci. - *ARI* 2 604, 51;

1661: Niobid P.; Scheffold, *SB III* 230-231 fig. 316; *FR III* 284 fig. 131. - About 470-460 B.C. - Scheffold suggests that the picture shows Artemis about to shoot an arrow at K. who flees with Arkas, but the figures are usually identified as Artemis and Niobe holding one of her daughters, and the child is surely female.

18. (= Artemis 1034\*\*, = Apollon 631k) Kalyx-krater (of special variety), frr., rf. Basel, Cahli coll. HC 501-506. - Kahil, L., *AntK* 20, 1977, 86-98, esp. 92-93 figs. 5-8. C pl. 20; Simon, *Festivals* 87-88 pl. 25. - About 440-420 B.C. - Kahil identifies the figures on one side as Leto, Artemis shooting an arrow at a deer, and Apollo; and the figures on the other side as a priest and priestess wearing bear-masks. Simon interprets the scene not as a representation of a ritual but of a myth: on one side, Leto, Artemis and Apollo; on the other, Arkas, and K. who flees from Artemis. Simon's interpretation seems to me preferable: I wonder whether the veiled goddess may not be Hera rather than Leto.

#### COMMENTARY

The earliest representation of K. at present known is recorded by Pausanias in the lost painting (1) by Polygnotos in the Knidian Lesche at Delphi about 470-460 B.C. K. was shown seated on a bear-skin in the Underworld, along with → Nomia and → Pero (I). Why these three, rather obscure, Peloponnesian characters should have been included in the painting is not clear. It is also unclear whether the bear-skin was intended to hint at K.'s metamorphosis or merely to indicate her status as a huntress. Since the story of K. is a Peloponnesian myth, it is not surprising that she is found rarely in Athenian art. Scheffold has identified the scene on an amphora (17) by the Niobid Painter as the death of K., but this is certainly misguided. More attractive is Simon's interpretation of the pictures on the unusual kalyx-krater (18) in Basel, which is connected with the cult of Artemis Brauronia and may be dated c. 440-420 B.C. We may have here Artemis, accompanied by Apollo and Hera(?), shooting an arrow at the fleeing K. who, like her son Arkas, is shown with a bear's head. A lost statue of K. (2) was dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis perhaps in the period 420-400 B.C. and perhaps as part of a single dedication with a companion piece representing Io, both works of an obscure sculptor named Deinomenes. Whether K. was shown in human form or in the process of metamorphosis is unknown. The earliest preserved works that certainly show K. belong to the second quarter of the 4th cent. B.C. Bronze coins (9. 10) produced by the mints of Orchomenos and Methydrion shortly after the establishment of the Arkadian League in 370 B.C. show, on the reverse, K. falling back, pierced by an arrow. K. appears in human form and naked except for a garment under her; on the ground beside her is the infant Arkas. It is just possible that the female head on the obverse of the contemporary silver stater of Pheneos (13) is K., not Demeter or Maia. The establishment of the new League and victo-

ries over the Spartans also seem to have inspired the dedication at Delphi of a monument (3) consisting of nine bronze statues including Apollo, K., Nike and six early Arkadian kings. The statue of K. is lost but the base survives, and the suggestion has been made that K. was shown, not standing, but collapsing as on the contemporary coins. The clearest representations of K., however, appear on Apulian red-figure vases of the 380-360 B. C. The fullest picture, with inscriptions, is painted on the Cremona kalyx-krater (8) where K., in human form, is shown seated upon a bear-skin. She wears a chiton which has come away from her shoulder, and holds out a cloak with her left hand. Perhaps K. is about to kill herself with the javelin that she brandishes in her right hand: suicide brought on by remorse. The scene might then be based upon a lost tragic drama as the presence of Lyssa suggests. The three other vases (5-7), all by or connected with the Black-Fury Painter, show the transformation of K.: her hands have become paws, her ears are pointed, animal hair begins to grow in places. On the Malibu oinochoe (6) K. appears as a huntress, in short tunic, wrap, leather boots, with two javelins, and she is seated upon an animal-skin spread out over a mound which is covered by plants and trees (cf. 5): perhaps her tomb rather than simply an Arkadian hillside. Perhaps all these Apulian vases were suggested by dramatic performances at Taras, performances which in turn were inspired by the presence of Arkadian mercenaries and knowledge of events in the Peloponnese. After this brief and localized popularity K. is not represented again in art until the Roman Empire. Four wall-paintings (15) from Pompeii, all of about 70 A. D., have been thought to show K., in the garb of a huntress and holding two spears, standing before Artemis who is seated, with three companions in the background. Despite the intercession of Eros, Artemis spurns K. This identification is, however, far from assured. The mosaic from Villedaure in France (16), of the 3rd or 4th cent. A. D., may also show the discovery by Artemis of K.'s pregnancy. A second mosaic, from Itálica (11) in Spain, which probably belongs to the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. A. D., includes the unique scene of the youthful Arkas about to cast a javelin at his mother K. who has been transformed into a bear. The red-slip ware dish from Spain (14) may also represent K. in the form of a bear. An entirely different aspect of the story of K. is treated on a silver simpulum (4) from Spain of the 2nd half of the 3rd cent. A. D. Here four of Zeus' illicit love-affairs are pictured: in one, within a woodland setting, Zeus disguised as Artemis is in the act of embracing K., in the presence of Eros. IAN MCPHEE

## KALLOS I

(Κάλλος) Personification of the Beauty. K. apparaît aux côtés de → Dikaiosyne, → Episteme et → Sophrosyne dans la procession des âmes d'un des mythes de Plat. *Phaidros* 247d-e et 250b.

I.\* Mosaïque. Apamée (Syrie), *in situ* sous la cathédrale. - Balty, J. Ch., «Nouvelles mosaïques du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle sous la cathédrale de l'est», dans *Colloque Apamée de Syrie II* (1972) 172-173 pl. 62, 1; Balty, J. & J. Ch., «Un programme philosophique sous la cathédrale d'Apamée: l'ensemble néo-platonicien de l'empereur Julien», dans *Texte et image* (1984) 169-170; Simon, E., *Die konstantinischen Deckengemälde in Trier* (1986) 63 n. 130. - Vers 362-363 ap. J.-C. (Balty, *Colloque Apamée* 182). - Personnage masculin (inscr. ΚΑΛΛΟΣ), couronné de végétation, assis de trois-quarts à l'extrémité dr. d'une sorte d'exèdre qui regroupe les convives d'un banquet (parmi ceux-ci, [Charjis?]; au-devant, une table servie.

Le contexte néo-platonicien de tout l'ensemble de mosaïques mis au jour sous la cathédrale invite à reconnaître ici les participants à un banquet d'immortalité promis au sage; mais le caractère très fragmentaire du panneau interdit de pousser au-delà l'analyse et le commentaire.

JEAN CH. BALTY

## KALLOS II

(Κάλλος) Amouret, désigné par ce nom en raison même de l'appartenance d'Amour (→ Eros/Amor, Cupido) au cercle de Vénus et de la Beauté.

I.\* (= Agrios II 1, = Aigialos 1, = Bythos II 1, = Epithymia II 1, = Glaukos I 2) Mosaïque. Garni, Mus. Arch. Des thermes de Garni (Arménie soviétique). - Vostchinina, A., dans *La mosaïque gréco-romaine I* (1965) 320 fig. 6. - Fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Arakelian ap. Vostchinina). - Amour ailé (inscr. ΚΑΛΛΟΣ), penché vers l'avant sur un rebord rocheux, tirant de la mer un filet rempli de poissons, au-devant d'un long cortège de Tritons et de Néréides (→ Tritones, → Nereides) dont deux au moins ont des noms de sentiments amoureux (→ Epithymia II, → Pothos). La présence et le nom de ce *putto* orientent sans doute de la même manière le contexte de la mosaïque (pour le schéma iconographique de l'Amour ramenant un filet, → Eros/Amor, Cupido 438-440; pour Amour au sein du thiasse marin, *ibid.* 662-668). JEAN CH. BALTY

## KALOPA → Kalliope II

## KALYDONIOS KAPROS → Meleagros

## KALYKADNOS

(Καλύκαδνος) Personification des gleichnamigen, am unteren Teil schiffbaren Flusses im westlichen Ki-

liken, des heutigen Erminetsu oder Göksu, in dem auf dem 3. Kreuzzug 1190 Friedrich Barbarossa ertrank.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML II* 1 (1890-94) 939 s. v. «Kalykadnos»; Ruge, W., *RE X* 2 (1919) 1767 s. v. «Kalykadnos»; Treidler, H., *KIPauly III* (1967) 93 s. v. «Kalykadnos»; Waser, O., *RE VI* 2 (1909) 2801-2802 s. v. «Flußgötter».

## KATALOG

### Münzen von Seleukeia am Kalykadnos

I.\* AE, Septimius Severus (193-211 n. Chr.) und Gordianus III. (238-244 n. Chr.). - *InvWadd* 4474; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 354 Nr. 454; SNG Switzerland I 737; *Athena* (München), Auktion 2 (1988) 37 Nr. 442 Taf. 23. - Rs.: Nach l. gelagerter, nur bis zu den Hüften mit einem Himation bekleideter jugendlicher K., die linke auf Quellgefäß stützend und Schilfrohr haltend, in der Rechten Ähren.

2.\* AE, Severus Alexander (222-235 n. Chr.). - Imhoof-Blumer, *KIM II* 484-485 Nr. 14-15 Taf. 20, 24; *idem*, *Fluß* 354-355 Nr. 455 Taf. 14, 18; Ziegler, R., *Münzen Kilikiens aus kleineren deutschen Sammlungen* (1989) 67, 469-472 Taf. 23. - Rs.: Nach l. sitzende → Seleukeia unter Aedicula, in der Rechten Ähren haltend und die Linke auf Sitz stützend; zu ihren Füßen nach l. schwimmender K.

### Münzen von Diokaisareia

3. AE, Philippus I. (244-249 n. Chr.). - *InvWadd* 4272 Taf. 10, 10; *BMC Lycaonia*, etc. 74-75, 14-19 Taf. 13, 3; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 347 Nr. 435 Taf. 14, 6; Forrer, L., *The Weber Collection III* 2 (1929) Nr. 7547 Taf. 271; SNG Copenhagen 129; SNG v. Aulock 5546-5548; Staffieri, G. M., *La monetazione di Diocæsarea in Cilicia* (1985) 31-34 Nr. 22-22g Taf. 3, 25-5, 32; SNG Switzerland I 675-676; Ziegler, a. O. 2, 59, 391-393 Taf. 19. - Rs.: Diokaisareia nach r. sitzend, ihr gegenüber Tyche stehend, zu deren Füßen nach l. schwimmender K.

## KOMMENTAR

Die einzig uns bekannten Darstellungen des K. auf Münzen von Seleukeia am Kalykadnos und Diokaisareia zeigen den Flußgott in den zwei geläufigsten kaiserzeitlichen Typen (→ Fluvii) als einen auf ein Quellgefäß Gelagerten (1) oder als Schwimmenden entweder zu Füßen der Seleukeia (2) oder der Diokaisareia und einer Tyche (3). Bei beiden Städten kann die Identifikation durch das Fehlen sicherer Beischriften nur durch ihre Lage am Kalykadnos erschlossen werden.

RAINER VOLKKOMMER

## KALYKE

(Καλύκη) «Blumenkelch, Knospe», Mänadenname in einer Vaseninschrift; als solcher auch bei Nonn. *Dion.* 29, 251-252 belegt.

I. Schale, att. rf. Verschollen. - Fränkel, *Namen* 45. 92 Nr. h; *Musée étrusque* 74 Nr. 557 Taf. 12; Scherling, K. *RE X* 2 (1919) 1767 s. v. «Kalyke 2». - Die eine Seite zeigt drei Silene und zwei Mänaden, von denen die eine K. benannt ist. Gegenseite: Herakles-Geryoneus.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## KALYPSO

(Καλυψώ, Calypso) Nymph and goddess. Daughter of → Atlas. K. lived in a magnificent cave on Ogygia, the island where → Odysseus was washed ashore after a shipwreck. The nymph fell in love with him and promised him immortality if he would stay with her forever, but he refused her offer. After seven years → Zeus sent → Hermes to tell K. to let Odysseus leave her island. She obeyed the order of Zeus and gave the hero what he needed for his voyage. K. appears mainly in the *Odyssey*, living by herself on the beautiful island of Ogygia. The whereabouts of this island has been disputed but was probably thought to be located somewhere in the Western Mediterranean.

LITERARY SOURCES: K. is introduced in the very beginning of the *Odyssey* as the nymph and goddess who retains Odysseus on his way back from Troy (*Od.* 1, 14-15). At the plea of → Athena the assembled gods decide to send Hermes as messenger to K. on Ogygia (*Od.* 1, 84-87) and in the fifth book the arrival of Hermes on the island is described and his conversation with K. during which he tells her that she must hold back Odysseus no longer (*Od.* 5, 43-147). K. gives in, although against her will, and promises Odysseus assistance and advice; the construction of a boat and the farewell between K. and the hero is told in detail (*Od.* 5, 160-267). Hereafter K. is only mentioned sporadically in the rest of the poem, when for example Odysseus tells → Alkinoos (I) and Arete about his adventures (*Od.* 7, 245-266).

In Hes. *theog.* 359 K. figures among the daughters of → Okeanos and → Tethys (→ Okeanides), and in *theog.* 1017-1018 are mentioned two sons of K. and Odysseus, Nausithoos and Nausinoos. Hes. *fig.* 150, 30-31 Merkelbach/West has the Cephallenians as descendants of K. and Hermes.

Later authors mention K. very seldom. A comedy named *Kalypso* was written by Anaxilas, living in the 4th cent. B. C. (*CAF II fig.* 10-11) and K. is briefly mentioned by Ovid (*ars* 2, 123-142) and by Lukianos (*v. h.* 2, 35).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brommer, *Odysseus* 10. 92-94. 113. 121. 122; Caprino, C., *EAA II* (1959) 276-277 s. v. «Calipso»; v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly III* (1967) 94-96 s. v. «Kalypso»; Güntert, H., *Kalypso* (1919); Immisch, O., *ML II* 1 (1890-94) 940-942 s. v. «Kalypso»; Lamer, H., *RE X* 2 (1919) 1772-1799 s. v. «Kalypso»; Lucas, H., «Die Kalypso des Nikias», *OeJh* 32, 1940, 54-59; Meuli, K., *Odyssee und Argonautika* (1921) 60 ff.; Müller, F., *Die antiken Odyssee-Illustrationen in ihrer kunsthistorischen Entwicklung* (1913); Toucheffeu, *Thèmes odysseens* 191-200. 210-211.

## CATALOGUE

## A. Kalypso alone

1. Mural painting in tomb at Kertsch. - Rostovtzeff, M., *Décorations antiques du Sud de la Russie* (1913) pl. 59, 2; *idem*, *JHS* 39, 1919, 151-152 fig. 2; *EAA* II (1959) 932 s.v. «Crimea»; Brommer 94; Touchéfeu 200 no. 353. - A.D. 1-50. - K. (*KAAVYQ*) seen in front view, dressed in a long chiton and a white mantle which covers her head. She looks toward her r. shoulder, her r. hand raised touching her chin, while her l. hand supports the elbow.

2. Painting by Nikias. - Plin. *nat.* 35, 132; Lucas 56; Touchéfeu 200 no. 354. - About 330 B.C.

3. Painting by Nikias. - Plin. *nat.* 35, 132; Lucas 56; Touchéfeu 200 no. 354. - About 330 B.C. - K. seated.

## B. Kalypso and Hermes

4. Marble relief, Tabula Odysseica (the Tomasetti tablet). Vatican, Mus. Sacro 0066. - Weitzmann, K., *AJA* 45, 1941, 166 figs. 1-2; 171-172; Touchéfeu 192 no. 337. - 1st cent. A.D. - Relief with 24 small panels illustrating the books of the *Odyssey* arranged round a larger panel with → Poseidon on a dolphin. The panel in the upper l. corner, only partly preserved, shows a figure, probably Hermes, in a short chiton seen in three-quarter view to the l., raising his r. arm in a speaking gesture. Behind his l. shoulder probably the kerykeion. Nothing is left of the person to whom Hermes is speaking but it could be K., supposedly in a seated position.

## C. Kalypso and Odysseus

5. \*Hydria, Lucanian rf. Naples, Mus. Naz. 81839 (H 2899). From Paestum. - *LCS* 110, 568 pl. 56, 3; Brooklyn-Budapest P.; Touchéfeu 193-195 no. 339 pl. 30, 2. - About 390-380 B.C. - On the shoulder to the r., K. is standing seen in three-quarter view to the r. dressed in a sleeveless chiton. Long hair with a headband. Her r. hand rests on her hip, in her raised l. hand a chest from which a ribbon hangs. She offers the chest to the bearded Odysseus (inscr.), seated on a rock. He is naked except for a mantle draped round the lower part of his body, in his r. hand a sword in sheath.

6. Fr. of clay relief bowl. Volos, Mus. From Phthiotic Thebes. - Arvanitopoulos, A. S., *ArchEph* 1910, 89-90 pl. 2, 3; Touchéfeu 197-198 no. 344; Sinn, *Becher* 84 MB 15 fig. 4, 2; Brommer 94 fig. 46 (late 3rd cent. B.C.). - Middle of 2nd cent. B.C. - To the l. Odysseus (inscr.), astride a plank dressed in a short chiton and pilos, hammers a wooden peg into the plank with a hammer and is surrounded by other utensils and materials for building his boat. Further away to the r. is the fragmentary figure of a standing woman, K., preserved from the thighs down, dressed in a chiton. She seems to turn away from Odysseus toward

another standing woman of whom even less of the body is preserved.

7. Fr. of clay relief bowl. Volos, Mus. From Phthiotic Thebes. - Arvanitopoulos, A. S., 6, 86-88 pl. 2, 2; Touchéfeu 199 no. 352; Sinn, *Becher* 84 MB 16 fig. 4, 3; Brommer 93 fig. 45 (late 3rd cent. B.C.). - Middle of 2nd cent. B.C. - To the l. K. is standing, only the lower r. part of her chiton and one foot preserved, apparently in profile to the r. With her r. hand she grasps the l. hand of Odysseus, touching his chin with her l. hand. Odysseus is seen in front view dressed in a short chiton and mantle, with pilos and sword. A bundle fastened to a stick is slung over his l. shoulder. His head is turned toward K. To the r. a maid in a chiton approaches Odysseus, she offers him a bag with provisions and a jar. Behind her on the ground a large pithos with a lid. Arvanitopoulos sees one more person behind the jar, perhaps another servant. Above the figures l. to r.: [*KAAVYQ*] *Q* *O* *A* *Y* *S* [*EY*] *A* *O* *P* [*A*]. (For a different interpretation and reading see Sinn.)

## D. Kalypso in the Garden of the Hesperides

→ Hesperides 36.

## E. Uncertain

8. (= Daidalos et Ikaros 11a with bibl.) Stele, Etruscan. Bologna, Mus. Civ. From the necropolis in the Giardini Margherita. - Elderkin, G. W., *AJA* 21, 1917, 402 fig. 2 (500-450 B.C.); Touchéfeu 197 no. 343 bis (with bibl.). - 390-360 B.C. - In a square field a winged figure hovers in the air, dressed in a short chiton. In the l. hand a saw, in the r. hand a hammer and a carpenter's rule(?).

9. Bronze mirror, Praenestine. Rome, Villa Giulia 12992. From Praeneste. - Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV pl. 404; Dohrn, T., in Helbig<sup>4</sup> III no. 2953; Touchéfeu 192 n. 6. - About 300 B.C. - To the l. a woman seated on a carved throne with cushions, dressed in chiton and shoes, a mantle covers her back and she lifts up a corner of it with her l. hand. She wears necklace and a bracelet, in her hair a wreath. At her l. side a naked maid with shoes holds a sunshade over her. Opposite Hermes seen in three-quarter view to the l. with his r. leg raised, naked except for a mantle fastened round his neck, petasos and winged shoes. Below, a sea-monster seen in front view.

10. Stone urn. Perugia, Mus. Naz. 403. From S. Caterina, Perugia. - Brunn, *Rilievi* I 130 pl. 99, 2; Lucas 58-59 fig. 38; Touchéfeu 244 no. 450 pl. 35, 2; Brommer 94. - 100-50 B.C. - To the l. the bearded Odysseus seen in profile to the r., his l. foot raised on a stone, dressed in short chiton and pilos. A mantle over his raised leg. He supports his chin with his l. hand. Behind him a rock. In the middle a woman seen in three-quarter view to the r., short-haired and dressed in a chiton. In her raised l. hand a mirror, in her lowered r. hand a garment which she presents to a woman seated on a chair to the r., dressed in a chiton.

11. Stone urn. Perugia, Mus. Naz. 404. From Perugia. - Brunn, *Rilievi* I 130 pl. 99, 1; Lucas 55-56 fig. 35; Touchéfeu 245-246 no. 451 pl. 34, 2; Brommer 94. - 100-50 B.C. - To the l. the bearded Odysseus seated on a rock, seen in three-quarter view to the l., dressed in short chiton, mantle and pilos. He turns his head and looks at a woman seen in front view. She is naked except for a mantle draped around her legs and her raised r. arm. With her r. hand she touches her hair. At her side kneels a woman, seen in profile to the l., dressed in chiton; in her l. hand she has an alabastron, presenting it to the woman. To the r. another woman in chiton and mantle, holds up a mirror with both hands. The scene is framed by two columns.

## F. Incorrect identifications

12. (= Hermes 689) Amphora, «Melian». Athens, Nat. Mus. 354. From Melos. - *EAA* II (1959) 591 fig. 808; Papastamos, D., *Melische Amphoren* (1970) 52-54 pl. 8; Schefold, *Sagenbilder* 89-91 fig. 45. - About 600 B.C. - Neck: Hermes with winged shoes and kerykeion walks toward a standing woman, seen in three-quarter view to the l., dressed in a richly embroidered chiton and mantle. Schefold does not doubt that the woman is K. but there is nothing in the scene to prove it.

13. Hydria, Attic rf. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2379. From Nola. - GGK, *Führer Berlin* 150. - About 460-450 B.C. - Hermes with petasos, winged shoes and kerykeion together with two women.

14. Mural painting. Pompeii VII 4, 22, entrance of Via del Foro. - Schefold, *WP* 179; Reinach, *RépPeint* 97, 3; Müller 135; Touchéfeu 192 n. 2. - Hermes with winged petasos and kerykeion. Woman in mantle and diadem. Column and pillar against which stands a small figure.

15. Gem, glass. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 1382. - HBr 71 fig. 17; Lucas 56; Touchéfeu 237 no. 435 (with bibl.). - 3rd-2nd cent. B.C. - Odysseus and a woman.

16. Gem. Geneva, Mus. MF 2750. - Touchéfeu 237 no. 436 (with bibl.). - Odysseus and a woman.

17. Gem, carnelian. Bonn, Coll. Mertens-Schaffhausen. - Overbeck, J., *Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis* (1857) 809 no. 104 pl. 33, 14; Touchéfeu 237 no. 437. - Odysseus and a woman.

18. Gem, glass. Coll. Wyndham-Cook no. 163. - Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 25, 36; Lucas 56; Touchéfeu 237 no. 438. - Odysseus and a woman.

19. Mural painting. Pompeii VII 9, 4-12, Macellum. - Schefold, *WP* 196; Lucas 54-55 fig. 34; Touchéfeu 236 no. 432 (with bibl.) pl. 34, 1. - A.D. 68-79. - Seated Odysseus and standing woman in front of a house.

## COMMENTARY

In contrast to other scenes from the *Odyssey* the event which involved K. was not favoured in Greek

and Roman art. This is not surprising because although Odysseus spent seven years with K. on the island of Ogygia this long period had very little to offer artists as regards drama and action. The representations do not seem to go further back than the 4th cent. B.C. The Lucanian hydria (5) is from the beginning of this cent. and shows K. as young and pretty but not as the main character in the scene, being clearly second in importance to Odysseus, identified by name, who is being appealed to by the goddess. She offers him a chest richly decorated with a ribbon hanging from it. It does not look much like a container of provisions needed for Odysseus' voyage and it has been suggested that the chest symbolises the gift of immortality K. presented to Odysseus and which he refused (Touchéfeu 193-194).

More than two centuries later come fragments of two Megarian bowls with Homeric scenes (6, 7). Sadly both preserve very little of K. On 6 it is not even certain which of the two women to the extreme right is K. although it seems reasonable to recognize her in the woman nearest to Odysseus perhaps turning to her maid in order to take from her whatever she was carrying, probably material for the sails Odysseus needed for his boat. On the fragment 7 K. is no better preserved, but this time her identity is secured not only by the fragmentary inscription above her but also by her gestures toward Odysseus grasping his hand and touching his chin. This intimate gesture can only be attributed to K., and moreover Odysseus looks at her and not at the woman offering him provisions. Again, however, Odysseus is the main figure on both fragments even more than he was on 5. The representations on 5-7 show the preparations for the further voyage of Odysseus, the building of his boat and taking leave of K. as told by Homer (*Od.* 5, 246-267).

It is not possible to tell if the winged figure on an Etruscan stele 8 who might be bringing utensils for the building of Odysseus' boat, is male or female, but it does look male, with a short chiton and half long hair, and a youthful Hermes is quite as probable as a representation of K. (Touchéfeu 197).

On two Etruscan urns from the 1st cent. B.C. (10, 11) Odysseus attends the main scene as a spectator, and the person who claims attention is in both cases a woman: on 10 she is seated, while a maid holds up a mirror and hands her a garment. The chair is handsomely carved and she has herself a matronly look which goes ill with her being the nymph K. She is rather → Penelope, the faithful wife waiting for her husband. On the contrary Lucas saw the seated woman as K. and the representation inspired by a painting by Nikias of «*Kalypso sedens*» (3), rejecting the idea of Penelope because of her coquettish look (Lucas 59).

On the urn 11 Odysseus is less involved in the main scene, his seated body being turned away, but he does look at the young woman being served by two maids. Again Lucas sees a reflection of a painting by Nikias (2), this time of a standing Kalypso, while Touchéfeu is more sceptical; she hesitatingly suggests Penelope but this half-naked woman is far from the image of the respectable Penelope and Odysseus looks



rather sad, as if he was still far from home. But quite different persons might come into consideration such as → Menelaos and → Helene or → Hephaistos and → Aphrodite (Touchefeu 247-248).

Another possible reflection of Nikias' picture 2 is the painting from Kertsch I belonging to the 1st cent. A. D. K.'s identity is secured by the inscription and she is depicted with grave aspect wrapped in long dress without jewellery or other finery. The presence of K. in a grave, however, and with a picture of Hermes on the opposite side of the door to the grave, might indicate a pair of *θεοὶ ψυχοπόμποι* rather than the episode in the *Odyssey* (Rostovtzeff, M., *JHS* 39, 1919, 151).

An Etruscan mirror 9 shows Hermes together with a woman who might be K. receiving him on her island (as Homer *Od.* 5, 55-148). The identification is possible and the sea-monster below might show that the episode took place on an island. Both Gerhard (*EtrSp* IV 2, 63) and Dohrn in Helbig<sup>4</sup> suggested K. and Hermes on the mirror and Touchefeu does not wholly reject it.

Three representations 12, 13, 14 of Hermes and a woman (on 13 two women) have all been connected with Hermes' visit to K. (Schefold, *Sagenbilder* 89; Touchefeu 192 n. 5 and n. 2; Müller 135) but must be rejected as the female figures involved might as well be Aphrodite, Penelope or mortal women.

Four gems (15-18) all have the same scene, Odysseus seated, a woman approaching from the left or right. Lucas identified the woman as K. on 15, 17-18 but Furtwängler argued convincingly for identifying her as Penelope, pointing to the fact that Odysseus is disguised as a beggar (Lucas 56; Furtwängler *AG* II 127).

The mural painting from the Macellum at Pompeii (19) shows Odysseus and a woman in a courtyard in front of a house. He is seated in the same way as on the gems, the woman stands opposite him with a distaff in her hand. Lucas identified the woman as K., again referring to the painting by Nikias (2). The distaff is not out of place, he argues, since K. also wove, and the way Odysseus gazes upwards and far away, shows that he is still homesick on Ogygia (Lucas 55; Touchefeu 238-241 rejects this theory).

In one case K. is represented in a scene not connected with the *Odyssey*, as one of the Hesperides on a Paestan squat lekythos is named K. (→ Hesperides 36). McPhee (→ Hesperides, Commentary) rightly observes that the appearance of K. as a Hesperid can be explained by her parentage and her dwelling place in the Western Mediterranean. BIRGITTE RAFN

#### KAMAREITES → Men

#### KAMARINA

(*Καμάρινα*, *Camarina*, *Camerina*) Figlia di Oceano, ninfa del lago e della città omonima sulla costa meri-

dionale della Sicilia. Ci è nota da Pind. *O.* 5, 4 e *schol. ad l.*, e dalle monete emesse da Kamarina sul finire del V sec. a. C.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Imhoof-Blumer, F., «Nymphen und Chariten», *JlArchNum* 11, 1908, 34-36, 73-79 tav. 2, 31-35; Lacroix, L., *Monnaies et colonisation* (1965) 108; Rizzo, G. E., «Arae velificantes», *BullCom* 67, 1939, 151-159; Westermarck, U./Jenkins, K., *The Coinage of Kamarina* (1980) 59-60, 66-71. Sulla topografia: Manni, E., *Geografia fisica e politica della Sicilia antica* (1981) 102, 154-155.

#### CATALOGO

##### Monete di Kamarina

1. AR, litre, 461-440/35 a. C. - Westermarck/Jenkins 146-174 tavv. 2-6, 10-129. - D.: Nike (K?) in volo, in basso cigno con ali chiuse, entro corona di ulivo. R.: Atene stante.

(2-4 = Aphrodite 946 con bibl., = Aurai 7)

2.\* AR, didrammi, 415-405 a. C. - Westermarck/Jenkins 197-200, 158-161 tav. 21, 158-161. - D.: Testa del dio fluviale Hipparis a s.; su alcuni conii firme: YA o EEAKE. Etnico. R.: K. seduta su un cigno navigante sulle acque, con lungo chitone che lascia il busto parzialmente nudo; con la d. trattiene un lembo del velo che si gonfia ad arco sul capo. In basso le onde del mare in piccole spirali. Etnico.

3.\* AR, didrammi. - Westermarck/Jenkins 200-202, 162-163 tavv. 21-22, 162-163. - D.: Testa frontale dell'Hipparis entro cornice di onde a volute, EYAI (firma di Euainetos). R.: K. come 2, nel campo uno o due pesci, KAMAPINA.

4.\* AR, didrammi. - Westermarck/Jenkins 202-204, 164-166 tav. 22, 164-166. - D.: K. come 2 e 3, rivestita di chitone con maniche, mancano le onde, in basso due o tre pesci. Etnico. R.: Testa di Hipparis, nel campo due pesci, IIIIAPIS.

5. AR, dracme, 410-405 a. C. - Westermarck/Jenkins 205-206, 167-168 tav. 29, 167-68. - D.: Nike in volo. Etnico. R.: Testa frontale di K. con orecchini e collana, capelli in riccioli gonfi che le incorniciano il volto, trattenuti dall'*ampyx*, ovvero con riccioli disposti a raggiera e nel campo due pesci.

6. AR, hemidracme e litre. - Westermarck/Jenkins 207-209, 169-174 tav. 29, 169-174. - D.: Nike in volo con scudo rotondo. R.: Testa di K. a s. con capelli entro sphendone, in basso due pesci, KAMAPINA. Nelle litre: D.: Stessa testa di K. R.: Cigno in volo su onde a spirali, in basso pesce.

##### Gioielli

7. Bottoni in oro sbalzato. Da Gela? - Orsi, P., *MonAnt* 9, 1889, 276-278; 17, 1906, 538-540. - Fine V-inizi IV sec. a. C. - K. seduta su un cigno in volo a d. su onde a spirali.

#### COMMENTO

L'iconografia più frequente di K. è quella di una giovane donna adagiata su un cigno che naviga sulle acque. La figura, rivestita talora da un lungo chitone

#### KAMEIRO

(*Καμειρώ*) Fille de → Pandareos et sœur de Klytié (Klytia).

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Les traditions varient sur le nombre (deux ou trois) des filles de Pandaréos et sur leurs noms: K. et Klytié d'après Paus. 10, 30, 2, mais d'autres noms comme Kléothéra et Mérôpé sont aussi mentionnés, auxquels s'ajoute parfois celui d'Aédon (*Schol. Hom. Od.* 20, 66; Eust. 1875, 15 ad *Hom. Od.* 19, 518 et 1883, 11 ss. ad *Hom. Od.* 20, 66 ss.; Ant. Lib. 11). Leur mère est Harmathoé (Harmothoé): *Schol. Hom. Od.*, l. c.

Après la punition infligée par → Zeus à leur père Pandaréos, les déesses prennent les orphelines en charge: → Aphrodite les nourrit de fromage, de miel suave et de vin, → Hera leur donne la beauté, la raison et la chasteté, → Artemis la grandeur et → Athena l'adresse aux beaux ouvrages. Mais au moment où Aphrodite monte dans l'Olympe pour demander à Zeus de procurer un heureux mariage à chacune des sœurs, elles sont enlevées par les Harpyies (→ Harpyiai) et remises comme servantes aux Érinées (→ Erinyes) (*Hom. Od.* 20, 66-78; Paus. 10, 30, 2).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Gruppe, O., *Griechische Mythologie* I (1906) 247 n. 2; 257. 640; van der Kolf, M. C., *RE* XVIII 3 (1949) 499-504 s. v. «Pandareos»; Preller/Robert, *GrMyth* I (1894) 830; Robert, *Heldensage* I (1920) 379; Roscher, W. H., *ML* III 1 (1897-1902) 1498-1504 s. v. «Pandareos I»; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 944 s. v. «Kameiro».

#### CATALOGUE

##### Document disparu

1. Peinture murale représentant la *Nekyia*. Delphes, Lesché des Cnidiens. Œuvre de Polygnote de Thasos. - Robert, C., *Die Nekyia des Polygnote*, 16. *HallWPr* (1892) 31-32. 81-82. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Selon Paus. 10, 30, 2, K. et Klytié (noms inscrits), couronnées de fleurs, étaient figurées jouant aux osselets.

##### Identification incertaine

2.\* (= Hephaistos 237 avec bibl.) Coupe attique à f. n., type de Siana. Paris, Louvre A 478. De Kamiros. - *ABV* 66, 54 (24): P. de Heidelberg; *Para* 26, 54; *Add* 18; *CVA* pl. 76, 2-5; Pottier, *Vases Louvre* pl. 17; Barnett, L., *Hermes* 33, 1898, 638; Perdrizet, P., *BCH* 1898, 584-586; Harrison, J. E., *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (1903) 226 fig. 48; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 39; Hiller, S., *Bellerophon* (1978) fig. 2; Schefold, *SB* II fig. 84, 101. - Vers 560 av. J.-C. - Un homme barbu en tunique longue (Pandaréos?) fuit vers la g. en retournant la tête, avec un geste de frayeur. Derrière lui un chien gigantesque marche vers la g. Une femme ailée en tunique courte (→ Iris?), accourt de la dr., poursuivant l'homme; elle est suivie d'→ Hermes qui tourne la tête vers deux femmes drapées et voilées, écartant de la main dr. le pan de leur himation (Barnett: les filles de Pandaréos).

3. Couvercle de pyxis attique à f. n. Mykonos, Mus. KZ 1489, anc. coll. M. Cambanis. De Béotie. -

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Perdrizet, o. c. 2, 584 fig. 1: probablement du même atelier que 2; Harrison, o. c. 2, 299 fig. 82; Buchholz, H. G., «Symbol des gemeinsamen Mantels», *JdI* 102, 1987, 40 n° 78. – Vers 560 av. J.-C. – Poursuivi par Hermès, un homme imberbe (Pandaréos?), en tunique courte et himation, se sauve vers la dr. en tournant la tête vers l'arrière et en gesticulant d'effroi. A dr. un chien de grande taille, qui regarde vers l'arrière. Derrière Hermès, les trois déesses, Athéna, Héra et Aphrodite, portant leurs attributs, s'avancent vers la dr. Derrière elles, deux femmes face à face, enveloppées dans le même manteau: les filles de Pandaréos selon Perdrizet; autres interprétations: Clairmont, C., *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst* (1951) 28, K 39; Raab, I., *Zu den Darstellungen des Parisurteils in der gr. Kunst* (1972) 165 n° 27.

## COMMENTAIRE

Les sources littéraires ainsi que les documents figurés relatifs à K. sont très peu nombreux. Selon Pausanias, K. et Klytié (noms probablement tirés de la mythologie cnidienne: cf. Robert, *Heldensage* I 379) sont représentées dans une peinture de la Lesché des Cnidiens (1) parmi des héros du cycle troyen: ce pourrait être un indice d'anciennes relations entre Cnide et la Crète, puisque les filles de Pandaréos seraient originaires de Milet, une ville de Crète (Pandaréos: Paus. 10, 30, 2; pour ces relations, cf. *etiam* Robert, o. c. I, 81).

L'interprétation des scènes figurées sur les vases à f. n. 2-3 n'est pas sûre. Sur 3 l'absence d'Artémis – qui joue un rôle aussi important que les autres déesses dans l'éducation de K. et de Klytié – infirme l'identification de la scène avec la poursuite de Pandaréos, et celle des figures féminines avec ses filles (*contra*: Harrison, o. c. 2, 300-301; cf. *etiam* Clairmont, o. c. 3, 28, K 39; Raab, o. c. 3, 165 n° 27; Buchholz, o. c. 3, avec bibl.; cf. Tiverios, M., *Προβλήματα της μελανόμορφης αττικής κεραμικής* (1981) 19-21 n. 19. 28 et surtout 30-31 pour les figures analogues dans les représentations archaïques).

Dans l'hypothèse où le mythe de K. aurait été créé à Rhodes, l'image 2 serait le témoignage de cette tradition rhodienne (cf. van der Kolf 501). Or K. est également considérée comme l'éponyme de la ville rhodienne de Kamiros (Groupe I 247 n. 2; 640; → Ialysos).

HÉLÈNE KOTSOU

KAMILOS, KAMILLOS → Megaloi Theoi

## KANAKE

(Κανάκη, auch Κανάκη [Schol. Aristoph. *Nubes* 1372a]; Canace) Tochter des → Aiolos und der → Am-

phithea (II) oder der Enarete. Schwester und Geliebte des Makareus. Durch Poseidon Mutter des Aloeus (Stammvater der → Aloada), → Epopeus, Hopleus, Nireus und Triops.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Nach Apollod. *bibl.* I [51] 7, 3 ist K. eine Tochter des thessalischen Königs Aiolos und der Enarete, die außer K. noch fünf andere Töchter und sechs Söhne hatten. In der thessalischen Sage zeugt K. mit Poseidon die oben genannten fünf Kinder. Bei Diod. 5, 61 ist der tyrrenische König Aiolos K.s Vater. Auch er hatte sechs Söhne und sechs Töchter. Die beiden Aiolo, der thessalische und der tyrrenische, werden schon früh miteinander verquickt und später mit dem Hüter der Winde Aiolos und dessen zwölf Kindern identifiziert (Diod. 4, 67 unterscheidet drei Aiolo). In Hom. *Od.* 10, 1-9 lebt dieser Windhüter Aiolos mit seinen paarweise in Geschwisterehe verheirateten Kindern glücklich auf der fernen, schwimmenden Insel Aiolia. In Anknüpfung an diesen dritten Aiolos, den Windhüter, entstand 423 v. Chr. die Tragödie *Aiolos* von Eur. (*TGF* 2 fig. 14-41, dazu Teil der Hypothese, Austin, C., *Nova fragmenta Euripidea* [1968] 88-89), in der die tragisch endende Inzestliebe der Geschwister K. und Makareus wohl zum erstenmal für die Bühne bearbeitet worden ist. Die als anstößig und sträflich angesehene (cf. Plat. *nomoi* 8, 838a-c) Geschwisterehe und -liebe bot Stoff für die Gestaltung eines tragischen Konfliktes, der mit dem Tod der beiden Liebenden enden mußte. Für K., die ursprünglich zum thessalischen Aiolos gehörte (Apollod. *bibl.* I [51] 7, 3), wird die Geschwisterehe als thessalische Sitte erklärt (Archinos, *FGH* 604 F 1). Die Rekonstruktion der eur. Tragödie ist im einzelnen problematisch. Ov. hat den Stoff in *her.* 11 aufgegriffen, in der er K. einen Brief an Makareus schreiben läßt. Ov. bezieht sich auf Eur. *Aiolos*, benützt daneben aber wohl noch eine alexandrinische Quelle. Bei Eur. und Ov. ist K. Tochter des Windhüters Aiolos, der seine Kinder durch Lüge miteinander verheiratete, weil Makareus ihn aus Liebe zu K. dazu überredet haben soll. K. fiel bei dieser Verlosung nicht an Makareus, bei dem sie bereits gelegen hatte und von dem sie nun ein Kind erwartete, sondern an einen anderen Bruder. Als sie sich krank zu Bett legte, wurde Aiolos ihr Geheimnis entdeckt (durch die Amme?), und er schickte K. ein Schwert, mit dem sie sich selber töten sollte, was wahrscheinlich Hyg. *fab.* 238 dazu verleitet, dem Vater Aiolos den Mord anzulasten. An anderer Stelle bezeichnet Hyg. K. als Selbstmörderin (243, 6). Sie wird auch in anderen Selbstmordkatalogen erwähnt (Ov. *trist.* 2, 384). Makareus verübte ebenfalls Selbstmord. Der Tod der K. wurde parodiert (Aristoph., *PCG* III 2 F 1-16; Eriphos, *PCG* V F 1; Antiphanes, *CAF* II fig. 18-19) und zum Sujet der Pantomime (*Anth. Pal.* 11, 254). Die *Canace parturiens* soll eine von Neros Lieblingsrollen gewesen sein (Suet. *Nero* 21; Cass. Dio 63, 10, 2).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Paribeni, E., *EAA* IV (1961) 310 s. v. «Kanake»; Robert, *Heldensage* I, 380-385; Scherling, K., *REX* 2 (1919) 1853-1854 s. v. «Kanake»; Séchan, *Etudes* 233-239 Abb. 71; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (190-94) 946 s. v. «Kanake»; Webster, T. B. L., *The Tragedies of Euripides* (1967) 157-160. 303.

## KATALOG

1. (= Aiolos 1\* mit Lit. = Amphithea II 1) Hydria, frühlukan. rf. Bari, Mus. Arch. 1535. Aus Canosa. – LCS 45, 221 Taf. 18: Amykosmaler; Scheffold/Jung, *SB* IV 44-45 Abb. 34. – Um 410 v. Chr. – Das Vasenbild ist nicht lange nach Eur. *Aiolos* (423 v. Chr.) entstanden. K. liegt mit geschlossenen Augen sterbend oder tot auf einer Kline, hinter der eine dorische Säule als Palastangabe steht. Ihr r. Arm mit dem Schwert in der Hand ist herabgesunken. Unterhalb ihrer r., entblößten Brust ist die Einstichwunde sichtbar. Am Kopfende des Bettes steht Aiolos und zeigt mit einem Stock auf Makareus, der mit gebundenen Händen an das Fußende des Bettes geführt wird. Hinter Aiolos sitzt Amphithea oder die Amme auf einem Altar.

2. Gemälde eines Aristeides aus Theben, nicht erhalten. – Plin. *nat.* 35, 99. – Das Bild soll ein aus Liebe zu seinem Bruder sterbendes Mädchen (*anapauomenen propter fratris amorem*) dargestellt haben; vielleicht K. Plin. *nat.* 35, 98 nennt Aristeides einen Zeitgenossen des Apelles, also wäre das K.-Bild zwischen 340 und 290 v. Chr. zu datieren.

3.\* Fresko, röm. Vatikan, Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandine. Gefunden 1816 bei Tor Marancia vor Porta S. Sebastiano in einer antiken Villa. – Helbig I Nr. 464 (B. Andreae); Borda, M., *La pittura romana* 283-284; Nogara B., *Ausonia* 1, 1906, 51 ff.; *idem*, *Le Nozze Aldobrandine* (1907) 55 ff. Taf. 33; Reinach, *Rép. Peint* 182, 1; Robert, *Heldensage* 385 Anm. 6; Rumpf, *MhZ* 192; Wiegand, Th., *Antike Fresken* Taf. 1. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Ausschnitt aus einem Zyklus mythischer Heroinen, die aus unerlaubter Liebe oder Leidenschaft ein Verbrechen begehen. Außer K. sind noch → Myrrha, → Pasiphae, → Phaidra und → Skylla (II) dargestellt; alle mit Namensbeischriften. Die Figur der K. (Beischr. *Canace*) ist mit dem Schwert in der Hand, wohl kurz vor ihrem Selbstmord dargestellt, wie sie ihren Kopf nachdenklich auf die Hand stützt, in der sie das Schwert hält. Zum Motiv vgl. das Relief mit den Töchtern des Pelias (→ Peliades). Die Beispiele zu dieser Heroingalerie sind wahrscheinlich in einem hellenistischen Vorbild der alexandrinischen Kunst zu suchen. Der Hauptreiz der zugrundeliegenden Originale beruhte offenbar in der feinen Individualisierung des Gesichtsausdruckes (Andreae), wovon im röm. Wandgemälde nur noch wenig zu erkennen ist.

## ABZULEHNENDE DEUTUNG

4. Wandmalerei, Neapel, Mus. Naz. I 11483. Aus Pompeji IX 5, 14-16. – Scheffold, *WP* 260; *HBr* Taf. 162b; Rizzo, *PER* Taf. 134r. – Vespasianisch. – Die Deutung als → Pyramus und Thisbe ist der von K. und Makareus vorzuziehen, weil bei jenem Paar auf pompejanischen Wandgemälden (vgl. auch Pompeji V 4, 11, Scheffold, *WP* 86) der Jüngling eindeutig tot ist und das Mädchen sich erst angesichts seines Todes in das Schwert stürzt. Bei K. und Makareus ist dieser Sachverhalt genau umgekehrt.

## KOMMENTAR

Es ist offensichtlich, daß die homerischen Götter die Inzucht zwischen den Söhnen und Töchtern des Aiolos nicht für schändlich hielten. Eur. und die lateinischen Mythographen veränderten Aiolos so, daß er mit Härte gegen das Benehmen von K. und Makareus vorgehen mußte, was aus der ersten uns bekannten Darstellung von K. auf 1 deutlich wird, die sicher unter dem Eindruck von Eur. *Aiolos* entstanden ist. Wahrscheinlich stand am Schluß des Theaterstückes das Bett mit der toten K. auf der Bühne. Auch die Konzeption des röm. Freskenfrieses 3, auf dem K. eine von sechs Verbrecherinnen aus Liebe darstellt, scheint auf ein literarisches Werk zurückzugehen, es wirkt wie eine Illustration zu Ov. *her.*

GRATIA BERGER-DOER

## KANOPOS I

(Κάνωπος, Κάνωβος, Canopus) Originale d'Amyclées, K. war timonier des Schiffes von Ménélaos (→ Menelaos). Nach der Eroberung Trojas, das Schiff, das er regierte, nach Ägypten, nicht weit von der Mündung des Nil. Théonoé, die Tochter des Proteus (→ Proteus), wurde K. verliebt. Er wurde von einem Schlangentod (Mourut) getötet. Ménélaos und Helene l'enterrèrent sur place, là où plus tard fut fondée la ville de Canope.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Les mentions de K. sont marginales, faites le plus souvent à propos de la ville de Canope: Strabon 17, 1, 17 p. 801; Skylax 106 (GGM I p. 80-81); Dion Per. 13 (GGM II p. 105); Steph. Byz. s. v. Κάνωπος; Tac. *ann.* 2, 60; Mela 2, 103. Pour le mythe lui-même, la version la plus complète est celle de Conon, *FGH* 26 F 1 (VIII); cf. *etiam* Serv. *Aen.* 11, 263; Serv. *georg.* 4, 287; Nik. *ther.* 309-31.

Selon Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 359e, K. était le timonier du bateau d'Osiris, ce qui établit une relation artificielle entre la légende du pilote de Ménélaos et l'existence à Canope d'un grand temple d'Osiris (→ Osiris-Kanopos). Plut. mentionne aussi la version qui faisait de K. le timonier du navire Argo (→ Argonautai), ce qui était une justification du nom attribué à l'étoile Kanopos: cf. Hyg. *astr.* 2, 32; Eratosth. *kat.* 37.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 948-949 s. v. «Kanopos»; Helck, H. W., *KIPauly* 3 (1969) 108 s. v. «Kanobos 2»; Roeder, G., *REX* 1 (1918) 1870-1873 s. v. «Kanobos 2».

## CATALOGUE

1. (= Helene 375\* avec bibl.) Miniature sur parchemin, illustrant un manuscrit de Nik. *ther.* 309-319. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. suppl. gr. 247, fol.

12r. – Gąsiorowski, St., *Malarstwo minjaturowe grecko-rzymskie* (1928) 168–169 fig. 82; Weitzmann, K., *Isl. Scient. Ill.* 261 pl. 36, 15; idem, *Ancient Book Illumination* (1959) 99 fig. 106. – XI<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – K. est à demi allongé de face, s'appuyant sur le coude g., la main dr. tendue. Sa tête au visage juvénile imberbe, aux cheveux sombres, est entourée d'un nimbe. Il porte une tunique et un manteau agrafé sur l'épaule dr. Au-dessous ondule le serpent αἰμοπόλις. A g. Hélène et Ménélas armé s'élançant vers K.; au loin à dr., un navire voguant sur la mer.

## COMMENTAIRE

La miniature du XI<sup>e</sup> s. r., qui s'inspire incontestablement de modèles antiques, est la seule image connue du timonier de Ménélas. K. est figuré de manière conventionnelle, sans aucun attribut caractéristique, dans la position que prennent de nombreuses divinités fluviales gréco-romaines.

K. était un personnage de second plan dans le cycle légendaire des retours de Troie. Le fait qu'une étoile ait été appelée K. ne lui a pas assuré plus de succès dans l'iconographie. Il est surtout connu pour avoir donné son nom à la localité située à l'est d'Alexandrie, qui abritait un célèbre temple d'Osiris. L'iconographie de cet Osiris de Canope est restée sans rapport avec une iconographie grecque du timonier de Ménélas. De même la mention d'un dieu K. dans les écrits paléochrétiens ne se rapportait qu'à Osiris.

L'amalgame tenté par Plutarque entre les deux traditions – faire de K. le timonier du navire d'Osiris – était une construction intellectuelle qui n'eut aucun reflet dans l'iconographie. ZSOLT KISS

## KANOPOS II → Osiris-Kanopos

## KANTHAROS

(Κάνθαρος) Géant (→ Gigantes).

I. (= Gigantes 2\* avec bibl. et renvois) Frise nord du trésor des Siphniens. Delphes, Mus. – Peu avant 525 av. J.-C. – Entre les Létoides et leurs adversaires, un Géant fuit pour échapper à → Dionysos et à son attelage. Habillé en hoplite, il a un casque dont le cimier est supporté par un canthare. Entre ses jambes, Mastrokostas, E., *AM* 71, 1956, 77–82 fig. 3, Beil. 47, a déchiffré ΚΑ(ν)ΘΑΡΟΣ. Ce nom, qui désigne ailleurs un héros attique, convient bien à un adversaire de Dionysos. Bien que les traces de l'A devant le Θ semblent claires, cette lecture a été contestée par Brinkmann, V., *BCH* 109, 1985, 92 fig. 36–39. Selon ce dernier, le Géant se nomme ΘΑΡΟΣ, c'est-à-dire «Mut», «Dreistigkeit» (p. 129). Quelle que soit la lecture exacte de l'inscription, l'interprétation de ΘΑΡΟΣ

est irrecevable: une figure légendaire ne peut être désignée par un nom abstrait; en outre, la forme attique θάρ(ρ)ος est déplacée parmi les inscriptions de la frise siphnienne. FRANCIS VIAN

## KAPANEUS

(Καπανεός, Capne, Capaneus) Sohn des Hipponoos, Gemahl der Euadne, Vater des → Sthenelos. Einer der sieben argivischen Fürsten, die am Zug gegen Theben teilnahmen (→ Septem). Von wildem, überheblichem Charakter, wurde er vor allem bekannt durch die Art seines Todes, der Folge seiner Hybris ist: Als er erklärt, auch Zeus werde ihn nicht hindern, die Mauern Thebens zu erstürmen, stürzt ihn ein Blitzschlag von der Sturmleiter herab.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Die Geschichte des K. muß in dem verlorenen Epos *Thebais* behandelt worden sein. Von deren K. betreffenden Passagen ist jedoch kein einziger Vers überliefert; nicht einmal Hinweise darauf finden sich in der späteren antiken Literatur. Homer erwähnt in der *Ilias* K. als Vater des Sthenelos (2, 564; 4, 403), ohne im mindesten auf seinen Charakter oder die Art seines Todes einzugehen. Stesichoros erzählte in seiner *Eriphyle*, daß Asklepios K. und Lykourgos von den Toten wieder auferweckt habe (Page *PMG* frg. 194). Als mythische Gestalt faßbar wird K. für uns erst bei den Tragikern; sie charakterisieren ihn übereinstimmend als wilden, riesigen (Aischyl. *Septem* 424) Krieger, der prahlerisch Zeus selbst herausfordert und damit seinen Tod durch den Blitzschlag heraufbeschwört. Aischylos schildert in den *Septem* am ausführlichsten sein Prahlen vor dem Angriff an dem von ihm erlosten Elekträischen Tor (422–436; K. führt als Schildzeichen einen nackten Mann mit einer Fackel und der Inschrift: «Ich werde die Stadt verbrennen»; ein Bewaffneter auf einer Sturmleiter, der laut einer Inschrift sich brüstet, selbst Ares werde ihn nicht von der Mauer herunterwerfen können, ist auf dem Schild des Eteokles zu sehen, 466–469; 437–446 sagt Eteokles K.'s Tod durch den Blitz voraus). Auch bei Eur. *Phoen.* 1128–1133 greift K. am Elekträischen Tor an (schon 179–181, in der Mauerchau der Antigone, beschäftigt sich K. mit höhnischen Worten – ἐφουβρίζει – mit den Mauern Thebens); sein Schildzeichen ist ein Gigant, der eine von der Erde losgerissene Stadt auf den Schultern trägt (1130–1132). Das Bild des Feuerträgers – offensichtlich zum festen Bestand der Schildbeschreibungen der Sieben gehörend – ist hier auf den Schild des Tydeus versetzt und (um?)gedeutet als Prometheus (δεξιὰ δὲ λαμπάδα Τιτάν Προμηθεὺς ἔφερεν; vgl. Powell, J. U., *The Phoen. of Eur.* [1911] 200 zur Stelle). Aber auch Prometheus erweckt den Eindruck, daß er die Stadt verbrennen wolle «ὡς πρήσων πόλιν», wodurch die Anspielung auf das frevlerische Prahlen des K. erhalten bleibt (1121–1122). Besonders ausführlich schildert

Euripides K.'s letzten Angriff auf der Sturmleiter und seinen Sturz (1172–1186). Soph. *Ant.* 128–137 steuert das Detail bei, daß K. beim Mauersturm eine Fackel trug. Dem frevlerisch seinen Sturz herausfordernden Verhalten des K. stellt Eur. *Suppl.* 980–1071 den Tod seiner Gemahlin Euadne gegenüber. Auch sie kommt in Flammen um, aber ihr Tod entspringt entgegengesetzten Motiven: ihrem Gatten über den Tod hinaus die Treue bewahrend, stürzt sie sich in seinen Scheiterhaufen – K.'s Leiche, geweiht (τερός) durch den Blitz des Zeus, wird auf einem gesonderten Scheiterhaufen bestattet (934–938).

Zu der von den Tragikern übereinstimmend überlieferten und im Kern wohl schon aus dem Epos stammenden Geschichte des K. fügen die jüngeren Quellen nur noch kleinere Varianten und einzelne Episoden hinzu. Bei Apollod. *bibl.* 3 (68) 6, 6, 1 und Stat. *Theb.* 10, 921 greift K. am Ogygischen Tor an. Seine Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse variieren; nur Vater, Gattin und Sohn, Hipponoos, Euadne und Sthenelos stehen fest (vgl. hierzu vor allem Robert I 210–211; auch Latte 1886–1887, Weizsäcker 950–951). Als Erfinder der Sturmleiter nennt ihn Veg. *mil.* 4, 21 und fügt hinzu, daß K. mit solcher Wucht zu Tode gestürzt sei, daß man hinterher geglaubt habe, er sei vom Blitz getroffen worden.

Die *Thebais* des Statius, die ausführlichste erhaltene Schilderung des Zugs der Sieben gegen Theben liefert einige zusätzliche Episoden: 3, 598–676 drängt der kriegslüsterne, gottlose K. → Amphiaraios zur Teilnahme am Krieg; er ist auch hier riesig und führt riesige Waffen (4, 165–177; sein Schildzeichen die Lernäische Hydra, als Helmbuschträger ein Gigant). K. führt gegen die Schlange, die → Archemoros getötet hatte, den entscheidenden Stoß (5, 565–574) und entgeht dabei nur knapp der Rache Jupiters (5, 583–587); bei den Leichenspielen für Archemoros siegt er im Boxkampf (6, 731–825). Während der Schlacht trägt er den Leichnam des Melanippos auf seiner linken Schulter zu Tydeus, der nach dem Haupt des erlegten Feindes verlangt hatte (8, 745–750) – eine Aufgabe, die sonst Amphiaraios zufällt, der aber bei Statius bereits in der Erde versunken ist (→ Amphiaraios, → Athanasia). K.'s Tod (10, 827–939) bedeutet die letzte Steigerung vor dem abschließenden Höhepunkt, dem Wechseltod der Oidipous-Söhne.

Der Charakter des K. ist in der antiken Literatur sehr einheitlich gezeichnet: er ist bestimmt durch wilde, zügellose Tapferkeit, die in frevlerischer Überhebung selbst die Götter herausfordert. Diese an sich negativen Charakterzüge zeichnen ihn aber doch auch vor den anderen aus: wie sein frommer Gegenpart Amphiaraios stirbt er unbesiegt von den Menschen, nur durch göttliche Kraft überwunden (vgl. auch Ov. *met.* 9, 404–405). Seine Leiche und sein Grab sind durch Zeus' Blitz heilig (cf. oben, Eur. *Suppl.* 934–938).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Benndorf, O./Niemann, G., *Das Heroon von Gjolbaschi-Trysa* (1889) 193–194; Caprino, G., *EAA* II (1959) 318–319 s. v. «Capaneos»; Childs, W. A. P., *The City-Reliefs of Lycia* (1978) 72–76; v. Freytag gen. Lörringhoff, B., *Das Giebelrelief von Telamon und seine Stellung innerhalb der Ikonogra-*

phie der «Sieben gegen Theben», *RM Erg.-H.* 27 (1986) 162–176; Krauskopf, *ThebSag* 41–42, 57–59, 98–102; Latte, K., *RE* X 2 (1919) 1886–1887 s. v. «Kapaneus»; Robert, C., *Oidipous I* (1915) 227–233; Ronzitti Orsolini, G., *Il mito dei Sette a Tebe nelle urne Volterranne* (1971) 4–6, 44–51, 116; Small, J. P., *Studies Related to the Theban Cycle on Late Etruscan Urns* (1981, Diss. Princeton 1972) 72–76, 146–147, 152–156; Tiverios, M. A., «Kapaneus auf einer messapischen Vase», *AA* 1980, 511–523; Weizsäcker, P., *ML* II 1 (1890–1894) 950–951 s. v. «Kapaneus».

## KATALOG

Bei der Beschreibung von Gemmen und Pasten wird rechts und links von der Darstellung aus definiert: der linke Arm ist derjenige, an dem der Schild, der rechte der, mit dem Schwert oder Lanze getragen werden. Diese «richtige» Ansicht kann sich im Original oder im Abdruck finden.

Gemmen, die K. in Haltung und Attributen nahezu identisch, aber stilistisch differierend wiedergeben, sind unter einer Nummer aufgeführt.

## I. Kapaneus ohne Handlungszusammenhang oder in unbekanntem Kontext

### A. Nur literarisch überliefert

1. Statuengruppen der Sieben gegen Theben in Delphi und Argos, → Amphiaraios 4, 5, → Adrastos 3, 4; → Septem.

2. Ein Epigramm auf eine Statue des K. (*Anth. Pal.* 16, 106) beschreibt nicht die Statue selbst, sondern den Eindruck, den sie auf den Betrachter macht: Dieser K. würde die Mauern Thebens erstürmen; sogar der Blitz des Zeus hätte sich gescheut, einen solchen Kämpfer zu töten.

3. (= Eteokles I mit Lit.) Gemälde des Tauriskos, Plin. *nat.* 35, 144. Tauriskos malte «Clytaemestram, Pannison, Polynicen regnum repetentem et Capaneam».

### B. Fragmentiert erhalten

4. Homerischer Becher, fr. Volos, Mus. 169. Aus einem Fundkomplex am Pagasäischen Golf. – Sinn, *Becher* 116 MB 61 Taf. 32, 6. – 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Erhalten fast nur die linksläufige Inschrift ΚΑΠΑΝΕΥΣ. Sinn vermutet, daß der Becher ein Gegenstück zu → Eteokles 8 = Adrastos 17 mit weiteren Kämpferpaaren gewesen sein könnte.

### C. Gruppierung mit anderen Heroen

5. (= Aias II 90, = Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 90\*) Bronzegriffspiegel, ehem. Florenz, Coll. Pacini. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* V Taf. 87, 2; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 85 (5). – 3.–frühes 2. Jh. v. Chr. – K. (Capne) als nackter, junger Mann im Gespräch mit Kassandra (Castra). R. Evas und Castur.



## II. Kapaneus als Teilnehmer an den Leichenspielen für Pelias

6. (= Amphiaros 2\* mit Lit., = Atalante 62 mit Lit., = Iphitos 18\*) Dinos(?)-Fr., att. sf. Athen, NM 15466 (Akr. 590). Von der Akropolis. – Graef/Langlotz I Nr. 590 Taf. 27; Schefold, *Sagenbilder* 73–74 Taf. 65; Bakir, T., *Der Kolonettenkrater in Korinth und Attika* (1974) 48 Taf. 4, 2. – Um 570 v. Chr. – K. (KAIJA...) mit einem Speer hinter dem Flötenspieler Philonb[.]n stehend; hinter ihm Peripha[s].

## III. Der Zug gegen Theben

### A. Beim Tod des Archemoros

7.\* (= Archemoros 10 mit Lit., = Euneos et Thoas 1 mit Lit.) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 81394 (H 3255). Aus Ruvo. – *RVAp* II 496, 42: Dareiosmaler. – Um 340 v. Chr. – Seite A: R. von dem Naikos mit Hypsipyle, Eurydike und Amphiaros eine Zweiergruppe: K. (bärtig, mit Pilos, Chlamys, Schwertgehänge und Stiefeln), sich auf seine Lanze stützend, wendet sich mit einem Gesprächsgestus an Parthenopaios. Alle Figuren mit Namensbeischriften.

### B. Vorbereitungen zum Angriff auf Theben

#### 1. Kapaneus rüstet sich

8.\* Achat-Skarabäus, etr. London, BM 624. Aus Pitigliano. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 17, 39; Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 624 Taf. 11; Lippold, *Gemmen* Taf. 46, 2; Richter, *EngelGems* Nr. 837; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 83 Nr. 141 Taf. 30; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 85 (3); Krauskopf 42. 98 Kap 1 Taf. 18, 6. – 2. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. (*Capne*) nackt, nach vorn gebeugt, mit beiden Händen einen Helm und ein Tuch (Mantel?) aufhebend. Vor ihm am Boden ein Schild.

#### 2. Kapaneus trägt eine Leiter

9. (= Adrastos 14\* mit Lit., = Argeia 4 mit Lit., = Archemoros 7 [Schmalseite]) Sarkophag, att. Korinth, Mus. Aus Korinth. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 416–417. 440 Nr. 35; 459 Abb. 439. – Um 170/80 n. Chr. – K. als dritter der Sieben, stehend (Beinschienen, Panzer, Schwertgehänge), in der Rechten einen korinthischen Helm haltend, trägt die Leiter auf der l. Schulter. Zwischen seinen Beinen ein Köcher.

10. AE, Bizya (Thrakien), Septimius Severus (193–211). – Svoronos, J., *ArchEph* 7, 1889, 101–103 Taf. 2, 15; Benndorf/Niemann 187 Abb. 154a–b; 194 Anm. 4 (von S. 193); v. Freytag 168 Anm. 669. – Rs.: K. (Helm, Lanze, Schild) mit großem Schritt nach r. schreitend und zurückblickend. Die Leiter erscheint zwischen dem l. Arm und dem l. Bein. Zu seinen Füßen ein länglicher Gegenstand (nach Svoronos Thymaterion).

## C. Der Angriff auf Theben

### 1. Kapaneus schleppt einen Torflügel

11. Skarabäus, etr. Verschollen. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 17, 16; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 174 Nr. 846; Krauskopf 98 Kap 2. – 4. Jh. v. Chr. – K. (nackt), sich tief bückend, faßt mit beiden Armen einen Torflügel.

### 2. Kapaneus steigt die Leiter hinauf

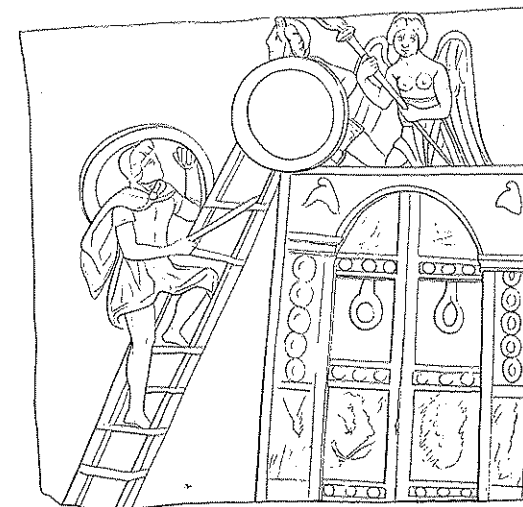
Vgl. auch 26.

12.\* Kanne, campan. rf. Toronto, ROM C. 392. – *LCS* 257, 207: Group of Toronto 387 (Kreis des Parish-Malers); Robinson, D. M., *A Cat. of Greek Vases*. Toronto (1930) 191 Nr. 387 Taf. 68; v. Freytag 168. – Mitte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Vier Krieger in unterschiedlichen Haltungen, ganz l. K. (Helm mit Federn, Chlamys), mit großem Schritt vom Boden auf die zweite Sprosse einer Leiter steigend, beide Arme (mit Schild und Schwert) nach oben streckend.

12a) Halsamphora, campan. rf. Ehem. Kunsthandel Europa. – Unpubliziert. – 3. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr., Caivano-Maler (A. D. Trendall brieflich). – K. (bärtig, nackt bis auf Beinschienen, eine am Hals geknüpfte, über den Rücken herabfallende Chlamys und einen mit Federn geschmückten Helm) steht, fast von vorn gesehen, auf der an die Stadtmauer angelehnten Sturmlleiter. Er deckt sich nach oben gegen die zwischen den Mauerzinnen sichtbaren Verteidiger mit einem Schild und schwingt mit derselben (l.) Hand eine Axt gegen sie. In der gesenkten Rechten trägt er eine Fackel. L. oberhalb von ihm ist vor einer Zinne der herabfahrende Blitz zu erkennen. R. von K. ein Stadttor, neben dem ein vom Bildrand überschrittenes Viergespann nach l. vorne galoppiert. Über den Pferden schwebt eine Flügelfrau in langem Gewand mit einem Kranz und einer Binde in den Händen (Nike?). R. oben zwischen den Zinnen ein weißhaariger, bärtiger Mann mit einem Szepter (Kreon?). Dargestellt ist ein Augenblick, der etwa den Versen Eur. *Phoen.* 1172 ff. entspricht, in denen K.'s Hybris ihren Höhepunkt erreicht, unmittelbar vor seinem Tode durch den Blitz.

13.\* Urne, chiusinisch. Chiusi, Mus. Naz. 1013 (chem. 37). – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1, 64 Taf. 23, 6; Robert 229–230 Abb. 40; Small 76 Nr. 97; 155 Taf. 43b; Krauskopf 99 Kap 4; v. Freytag 173. 285 U 66 Taf. 67, 2. – 1. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – K. mit Schild und Schwert auf halber Höhe der an einem Stadttor lehnenen Leiter. Auf der Mauer ein Verteidiger mit einem Schild und eine Dämonin mit einer Fackel.

14. (= Eteokles 29\* mit Lit.) Travertinurne, perugin. Rom, Villa Giulia 50314. Aus Perugia, Necropoli del Palazzone. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1, 55–56 Taf. 20, 8; von Vacano, O.-W., *RM* 68, 1961, 56 Taf. 5; Small 17 Nr. 9 Taf. 6a; Krauskopf 107 Pol 38 Taf. 24, 3; v. Freytag 282 U 43 Taf. 60, 1. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Im oberen Teil des Bildfeldes in der Mitte ein Holm der Leiter, auf der K. hinaufklettert. Er ist vom Rücken gesehen und – aus Platzmangel – in etwas verkrümmter Haltung wiedergegeben. Seinen Schild hält er hoch über den Kopf. R. und l. von ihm in symmetrischer Anordnung zwei nach oben kämpf-



Kapaneus 13

fende Krieger, der r. vom Rücken, der l. von vorn dargestellt.

15. Glaspaste, italisch. Verschollen. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 21, 18; Lippold, *Gemmen* Taf. 46, 3; Krauskopf 99 Kap 3; v. Freytag 168 mit Anm. 666. – 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – K., vom Rücken gesehen, vom Boden auf die vierte Sprosse einer zu klein dargestellten, an der Mauer lehnenen Leiter steigend. Er ist bewaffnet mit (umgehängtem) Schwert, Speer, Lanze und einem Schild, mit dem er sich nach oben verteidigt.

16. Sard-Ringstein. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. FG 7601. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 7601 Taf. 56; v. Freytag 168. – Kaiserzeitlich. – K. (Helm, Schild, Schwert) steht auf einer sehr flach an einen Turm gelehnten Leiter. Auf dem Turm ein Verteidiger.

Vgl. auch 26.

17. (= Amphiaros 46\* mit Lit., = Antigone 5/II mit Lit., = Eteokles 36\*/42 mit Lit., = Iokaste 11\* mit Lit.) Sarkophag, röm. Rom, Villa Doria Pamphilj. – Koch/Sichtermann, *RömSark* 186. 264 Abb. 202; v. Freytag 167 Taf. 75, 1. – Ende 2. Jh. n. Chr. – K. (mit Helm, sonst nackt), vom Boden auf die dritte Sprosse einer Leiter steigend, in der Rechten das Schwert, den Schild in die Höhe haltend.

### 3. Kapaneus besteigt die Leiter mit einem Leichnam über dem Arm

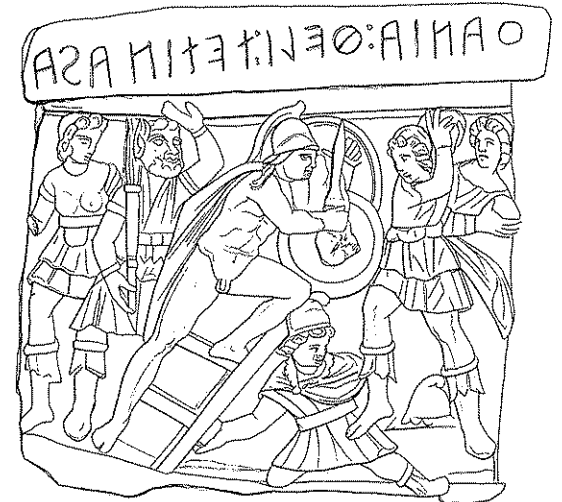
ETRUSKISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

18. (Adrastos 22 mit Lit., = Amphiaros 44\* mit Lit.) Alabasterurne, chiusin. Chiusi, Mus. Naz. 215 (ex Paolozzi). Aus dem Marcni-Grab bei Chiusi. – Small 22 Nr. 15 Taf. 9a; Krauskopf 110 Sie 18 Taf. 23, 2; Childs 74 Abb. 37; v. Freytag 94. 107–111. 171–175. 284 U 65 Taf. 67, 1. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – In der Bildmitte oben auf der Leiter K. (Helm, Chlamys) in weiter Schrittstellung, mit dem Schwert in der Rechten (teilweise abgebrochen). Über den l. Arm, mit dem er den Schild emporhält, hängt kopfüber ein nackter Leichnam, der an seinem weit herabhängenden l. Arm noch den Schild trägt. R. neben K. eine Dämonin mit einem Stein(?) in der Hand.

L., etwas unterhalb, ein bärtiger Dämon mit Fackel, die Linke in einem Schreckensgestus erhoben. Zu den anderen Gruppen s. auch → Septem.

19.\* Urne, chiusin. Ehem. Chiusi, Slg. V. Giuletti. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1, 65–66 Taf. 23, 7; Small 24 Nr. 18; 155 Taf. 10b; Krauskopf 110 Sie 17; v. Freytag 172. 285 U 69. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Die Gruppe des K. mit den beiden Dämonen ähnlich 18, fast das ganze Bildfeld der Urne einnehmend. Der Schild des Gefallenen hängt weniger weit herab. Am Boden r. von K. wie auf 18 ein auf die Knie Stürzender.

Sehr ähnlich, Relief stark abgerieben: chiusin. Urne Siena, Mus. Naz. 737 (ex Sarteano, Bargagli) Small 24 Nr. 17 Taf. 10a; v. Freytag 285 U 68 Taf. 69, 1.



Kapaneus 19

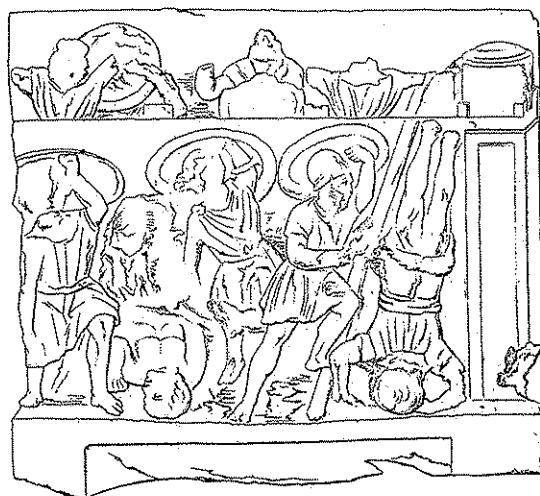
20. Alabasterurne, chiusin. Palermo, Mus. Reg. 11257 (ex Casuccini 33). – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1, 66–67 Taf. 24, 9; Small 23 Nr. 16; 155 Taf. 9b; Krauskopf 109 Sie 16; v. Freytag 172. 285 U 67 Taf. 68, 1. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Die Hauptfiguren ähnlich 19; K. steht nicht auf der Leiter; sie erscheint zwischen seinen Beinen (wohl eine Ungeschicklichkeit des Bildhauers).

21. (= Adrastos 16 mit Lit., = Amphiaros 45 mit Lit., = Eteokles 26 mit Lit.) Terrakottagiebel, Platte N. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 9798. Aus Talamone. – v. Freytag 163–164. 175–176 Taf. 1, 6, 1; 22. – 2. Viertel 2. Jh. v. Chr. – K. auf der Leiter, ähnlich wie auf 18–19, ganz oben in der Giebelmitte. Kopf, l. Arm und l. Bein nicht erhalten, vom r. Arm nur der oberste Teil. Ein Fragment der Leiter mit einem Gewandstück und ein Schild könnten zu dem Leichnam gehören, den K. auf 18–20 trägt. R. und l. von K. aufwärts kämpfende Krieger wie auf 14.

### 4. Ein Krieger (Kapaneus?) steigt eine Leiter empor, auf deren anderen Seite ein Krieger kopfüber hinabstürzt

Peruginer Aschenurnen

22.\* (Ehem.?) Perugia, Villa Monticelli. – Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1 Taf. 20, 9; Robert 230–231 Abb. 4;



Kapaneus 22

Small 75 Nr. 96; 162-164 Taf. 43a; Krauskopf 109 Sie 14; v. Freytag 173-174; 285 U 70. - 2. Jh. v. Chr. - Stadtmauer mit Verteidigern, r. in einen Turm übergehend, an dem eine seitlich gesehene Leiter lehnt, auf deren unterste Sprosse ein Krieger in ähnlicher Haltung wie auf 13 tritt. L. von ihm zwei weitere nach oben kämpfende Krieger sowie ein Gefallener. R. von der Leiter ein kopfüber herabstürzender Mann, wie die Krieger im Chiton, aber ohne Waffen. Seine Füße befinden sich in Höhe der Mauerkrone; er stürzt anscheinend von der Mauer, nicht von der Leiter.

23. Travertin. Perugia, Mus. Naz. 321 (ehem. 235). Aus Perugia. - Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* III 240 Abb. 58; Small 74 Nr. 95; 162-164 Taf. 42b; Krauskopf 109 Sie 13; v. Freytag 173-174; 285 U 71 Taf. 68, 2. - Spätes 2.-Anfang 1. Jh. v. Chr. - Schematische Variante von 22: vier Krieger (Panzer, Chiton, Helm) in der Haltung des Leitersteigers von 22; der vorderste berührt die Leiter so, daß er als Leitersteiger gelten kann. Der Stürzende trägt Panzer und Schild, seine Beine sind vom Schild eines aufwärts Kämpfenden verdeckt. L. am Boden zwei weitere Krieger.

#### 5. Deutung auf Kapaneus zu unsicher

24. Karneolskarabäus, etr. Ehem. Coll. Durand. - Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 50; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 174 Nr. 845. - «Freier Stil». - Krieger, einen Stein schleudernd.

#### D. Der Tod des Kapaneus

##### 1. Nur literarisch überliefert

25. Gemälde im Dioskurentempel von Ardea, Serv. *Aen.* 1, 44: *Capaneos pictus est fulmen per utraque tempora traiectus*. - v. Freytag 165.

##### 2. Kapaneus auf der Leiter vom Blitz getroffen

Vgl. auch 12a.

26. Sard-Ringstein, Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. 7602. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 7602 Taf. 56; v. Freytag 167. - Kaiserzeitlich. - Ähnlich 16, die Leiter

steiler. K. blickt sich um nach einem herabfahrenden Blitz, der ihn am r. Oberarm berührt.

##### 3. Von Leiter stürzend

27. \* (= Adrast 15 mit Lit., = Amphiaros 39 mit Lit.) Relieffries an der äußeren Südwand des Heroons von Gjölbaski-Trysa (Platte A 4). Wien, Kunsthist. Mus. - Benndorf/Niemann 190. 193 mit Anm. 4 Taf. 24; Robert 226 Abb. 38; Childs 72-73 Abb. 9 Taf. 5, 1; v. Freytag 167 Taf. 75, 3. - Um 400 v. Chr. - K. (Panzer, Chiton, Helm) stürzt mit angewinkelten Beinen von der Leiter, die gerade beginnt umzufallen. Der herabhängende l. Arm mit dem Schild berührt schon fast den Boden.



Kapaneus 27

28. \* Volterrane Alabasterurne. Volterra, Mus. Guarnacci 371. Aus Volterra. - Brunn/Körte, *Rilievi* II 1, 63 Taf. 22, 5; Laviosa, C., *Scultura tardo-etrusca di Volterra* (1964) 140-145 Nr. 29 Taf. 87-91; Ronzitti Orsolini 47-51. 57. 116 Nr. 28 Abb.; Small 72-74 Nr. 94; 162-164 Taf. 41b; Krauskopf 109 Sie 15; SBH, *Etrusker* Taf. 268; Childs 74 Abb. 36; v. Freytag 285 U 72 Taf. 69, 2. - 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr. - R. ein zinnenbewehrtes Tor der Stadtmauer, vor dem, kopfüber herabstürzend, K. (Helm, sonst nackt) zu sehen ist. Er hält noch den Schild am herabhängenden l. Arm und das Schwert in der erhobenen Rechten. Ein Bein ist angewinkelt, das andere ausgestreckt. Neben, z. T. auch vor seinem Körper ein Teil der zerbrochenen Leiter. L. von K. zwei nach oben kämpfende Krieger, ein weiterer, der einen zu Boden Gesunkenen niederstößt, sowie ein Reiter, ein Mann, der ein Pferd am Zügel hält und Gefallene.

29. \* Glaspaste, italisch-etruskisierend. London BM 1055. - Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 1055; Krauskopf 101 Kap 29. - 2.-1. Jh. v. Chr. - K. (Helm, Schild, Blitz im Nacken) mit angewinkelten Beinen, sonst fast aufrecht, herabstürzend. Die Leiter hinter seinen Beinen sichtbar, sonst durch seinen Körper verdeckt.

##### 4. Kapaneus zu ebener Erde, Zeus schleudert den Blitz

30. \* (= Athanasia 4 mit Lit., = Athena/Menerva 239\*) Tonrelief, etr., Antepagmentum des Tempels A von Pyrgi. Rom, Villa Giulia. - Colonna, G., *NotSc* 1970 Suppl. II 1, 65-66 Abb. 41 Taf. 1, 1-2; SBH *Etrusker* Taf. 178; v. Freytag 169. - Um 470 v. Chr. -

K., bärtig, nackt, bewaffnet mit Helm und Schild, prallt zurück vor dem heranstürmenden Zeus, der mit dem r. Arm zum Wurf ausholt (der Unterarm nicht erhalten, in der Hand sicher ein Blitz zu ergänzen). K.'s Gesicht mit dem halbgeöffneten Mund, das von wirrem Haar umrahmt ist, spiegelt sowohl die Wildheit seines Angriffs wie sein Entsetzen vor dem Gott, der ihm entgegentritt. Möglicherweise hat ein Blitz ihn schon getroffen; ein Loch in der Helmkalotte könnte die Einlassung einer Blitzspitze gewesen sein. Der r. Arm des K. nicht erhalten, möglicherweise zugehörig eine Hand mit einem Krummschwert (Machaira).

31. \* (= Aineias 42 [andere Seite]) Nestoris (Trozzella), messapisch sf. Kopenhagen, Glypt. 3417. Aus Grottaglie. - Johansen, F., *ArchCl* 24, 1972, 256-262 Taf. 63-66; Santoro, C., *ArchCl* 28, 1976, 216-224, bes. 220-224; Tiverios 511-523 Abb. 1. 3. 5-7; Forti, L., in *Forschungen und Funde, Festschr. B. Neutsch* (1980) 117-126 Taf. 27; v. Freytag 165-167. - Mitte 5. Jh. v. Chr. - L. ein Stadttor, dahinter in einem durch vier parallele, gebogene Linien abgetrennten Bereich (Himmelsgewölbe?) Zeus, einen Blitz schleudernd. R. vom Tor K. (Panzer, Helm), vom Rücken gesehen, im Laufen zusammenbrechend, in einer Haltung, die - bis auf den r. Arm, in dem er eine Lanze hält - der des «Kapaneus» Albani (65) nicht unähnlich ist. Aus seinem von der Seite gesehenen Schild ragt die Spitze eines Blitzes; zwischen seinen Beinen die Inschrift *KAPANEUS*. Hinter ihm zwei Krieger, die beide einen Arm gegen Zeus ausstrecken (Schreckensgestus?).

##### 5. Kapaneus allein, zusammenbrechend, mit Namensbeischrift

*Etruskische Skarabäen*

32. \* Karneol. New York, MMA 48.11.1. Aus Populonia? - Richter, *MetrMusGems* Nr. 163 Taf. 27; Richter, *EngrGems* Nr. 836; Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 833; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 85 (1) (irrtümlich *kapne*); Krauskopf 41. 99 Kap 5 Taf. 18, 1; v. Vacano, O. W./v. Freytag gen. Lörringhoff, B., *Il frontone di Talamone e il mito dei «Sette a Tebe»*. Cat. mostra Firenze (1982) = *Studi e materiali* 5 (1982) 208 Abb. 29. - 1. Drittel 5. Jh. v. Chr. - K. (*Capne*) mit beiden Beinen auf dem Boden kniend, den Kopf über die l. Schulter nach oben gewandt, den Schild noch am gesenkten l. Arm, berührt mit der r. Hand seine Hüfte. Hinter ihm eine geknickte Lanze, die wohl gerade seiner Hand entfallen ist.

33. Karneol. Ehem. Slg. Campanari. Aus Vulci. - Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 33; Lippold, *Gemmen* Taf. 46, 4; Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 834; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 85 (2); Krauskopf 41. 99 Kap 6. - 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr. - K. (*Capne*) auf dem r. Knie kniend (Beine in Seit-, Oberkörper in Vorderansicht) hat den Kopf über die l. Schulter nach oben gewandt, den Schild leicht erhoben; der r. Arm hängt herab.

34. \* Karneol. Hamburg, Mus. KG 1964.300. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* 55 Nr. 65 Taf. 18; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 85 (4); Krauskopf 100 Kap. 16; AGD IV Nr. 22 Taf. 252; Zazoff, *AG* 222. 231 Taf. 56, 6; v. Freytag 170 Anm. 686. - Spätes 5. Jh. v. Chr. - K. (*Capne*) frontal, in einer dem «Kapaneus» Albani (65) ähnli-

chen Haltung; jedoch ist der Schildarm weniger weit ausgestreckt und der l. Unterschenkel nicht sichtbar; der r. Arm ist nicht so hoch erhoben wie dort, der Kopf über die l. Schulter gewandt. Reste einer geknickten Lanze sind vor dem l. Bein sichtbar.

##### 6. Kapaneus allein, zusammenbrechend, Deutung durch Blitz gesichert

###### a) Auf beiden Beinen kniend

ETRUSKISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

35. \* a) Achat-Skarabäus. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1941.307. - Boardman/Vollenweider, *CatGemsOxford* I Nr. 213 Taf. 36. - 2. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. - Wie 32, ohne die Lanze. Blitz vorn am Hals. - b) \* Karneol-Skarabäus. London, BM 627. - Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 36; Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 627 Taf. 11; Lippold, *Gemmen* Taf. 46, 13; Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 838; Krauskopf 99 Kap 14 Taf. 18, 2; v. Vacano/v. Freytag, a. O. 32, 208 Abb. 30; v. Freytag 169-170. - 3. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. - Wie a.

36. \* Henkelatlasche einer Bronzekanne «mit Bauchknick». Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H 5190. - Krauskopf 100 Kap 19; Simon, *FührerWüzb* 277; v. Freytag 170 Taf. 76, 3. - Spätes 5. Jh. v. Chr. - Haltung ähnlich 31. 35, jedoch fehlt der Schild, und beide Unterschenkel sind zu sehen. K. hält in der Linken ein Schwert. Der Blitz hinter ihm als Zickzacklinie, die in einem Pfeil endet.

###### b) Auf einem Bein kniend

ETRUSKISCHE UND ITALISCH-ETRUSKISIERENDE (37c) DARSTELLUNGEN

37. a) \* Sardonyx-Skarabäoid. London, BM 652. - Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 5. 6 = 38; Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 652 Taf. 11; Richter, *EngrGems* Nr. 835; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 54 Nr. 63 Taf. 18; Krauskopf 99 Kap 9 Taf. 18, 3. - 2. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. - Haltung wie 33, jedoch der Kopf (mit Helm) gesenkt; Blitz im Nacken. Am Bildrand das Schwert, das gerade der Hand des K. entfallen ist. - b) Karneol-Skarabäus. Verschollen, ehem. München, Slg. Arndt. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 832; Krauskopf 99 Kap 10. - 2. Viertel bis Mitte 5. Jh. v. Chr. - Wie a. - c) Onyx-Ringstein, italisch-etruskisierend. München, Münzslg. A 1652. - AGD I 2 Nr. 679 Taf. 78; Krauskopf 100 Kap 24. - 3. Jh. v. Chr. - Wie a. b. - d) Karneol-Skarabäus. Vatikan, Mus. Greg. Etr. 13233. - Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 839; Krauskopf 100 Kap 20. - 4. Jh. v. Chr. - Variante von 37: K. (ohne Helm?) kniet auf dem hinteren Knie.

38. \* Achat-Skarabäus. London, BM 625. - Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 37; Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 625 Taf. 11; Richter, *EngrGems* Nr. 834; Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 836; Krauskopf 99 Kap 7. - 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr. - Haltung wie 37, K. ohne Helm und Schwert, Hand zum Kopf erhoben, Blitz am Hinterkopf. Im Rücken Teil einer Chlamys sichtbar.

39. \* Goldplättchen. Vatikan, Mus. Greg. Etr. 13448-13450. Aus Vulci. - Becatti, G., *Oreficerie antiche* (1955) Nr. 312 Abb.; Helbig, *Führer I* Nr. 772; Krauskopf 100 Kap 18; Cristofani, M./Martelli, M.,

*L'oro degli Etruschi* (1983) 245. 319 Abb. 285. – Um 400 v. Chr. – K. kniend ähnlich 33 (der r. Unterschenkel ganz auf dem Boden aufliegend), Kopf zurückgeworfen wie bei 35; Blitz am Hals. In der Rechten hält K. einen Dolch.

40. Karneol-Skarabäus. Wien, Kunsth. Mus. IX B 187. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 1065; AGOe I Nr. 65 Taf. 13; Krauskopf 100 Kap 22. – A-globolo-Stil, 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Haltung ähnlich 33; der Schild fehlt, l. Unterarm erhoben. Hinter dem Kopf eine Kugel mit nach oben laufenden Strahlen = Blitz.

#### c) Kapaneus liegend

41. \* Karneolskarabäus, etr. London, BM 626. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 46; Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 626 Taf. 11; Lippold, *Gemmen* Taf. 45, 14; Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 837; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* Nr. 833; Krauskopf 99 Kap 8. – 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Dem Querformat angepaßte Kombination der Typen 32 und 33; der l. Arm wird in ganzer Länge waagrecht gehalten, der Oberkörper sinkt zurück, der Kopf ist auf die r. Schulter geneigt. Blitz am Hinterkopf; neben dem r. Arm das Schwert.

#### d) Kapaneus im Laufen zusammensinkend

##### Etruskische Skarabäen

42. a) \* Achat. New York, MMA 81.6.4. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 35; Lippold, *Gemmen* Taf. 46, 8; Richter, *MetrMusGems* Nr. 166 Taf. 28; Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 843; Krauskopf 99 Kap 12. – Nach der Mitte des 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. im Schritt in den Knien einknickend, Oberkörper und Kopf zurückfallend, der r. Arm in verkraumpfter Haltung angewinkelt. Der Helm – zwischen r. Arm und Bein – fällt herunter; das ebenfalls fallende Schwert – zwischen den Beinen – erreicht gerade mit der Spitze den Boden; den Schild hat K. noch am Arm. Der Blitz trifft ihn am Hals. – b) Karneol. London, BM 855. – Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 855; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 127 Nr. 247 Taf. 47; Krauskopf 102 Kap 40. – A-globolo-Stil, spätes 4.–3. Jh. v. Chr. – Haltung wie a, der Blitz als Strahlenkugel am Boden. K. hält in der Rechten fast waagrecht einen Stab (Sword?, Teil einer Lanze?).

43. Karneol. Hannover, Kestner-Mus. K 1844. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 44; Lippold, *Gemmen* Taf. 46, 1; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 62 Nr. 83 Taf. 21; Krauskopf 99 Kap 13; Zazoff, *AG* 222. 231 Taf. 56, 5. – 2. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Körperhaltung ähnlich 42, jedoch ist der Schildarm gesenkt und der Kopf über die l. Schulter geneigt. Blitz im Nacken.

44. Karneol, Ehem. Slg. Vescovoli. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 848; Krauskopf 99 Kap 11. – Mitte 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Beine weiter eingeknickt als bei 42. 43. Oberkörper aufrecht, beide Arme gesenkt (der l. mit Schild), über r. Schulter zurückblickend. Blitz am Hinterkopf.

45. Karneol. Verschollen. Aus Tarquinia. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 55; Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 850; Krauskopf 100 Kap 15. – Späteres 5./4. Jh. v. Chr. – K. frontal mit überkreuzten Beinen stehend, das Schwert ist gerade seiner Hand entfallen; der Arm mit dem Schild hängt lose herab. Kopf nach oben gewandt, Blitz am Hals.

46. \* Karneol. Wien, Kunsth. Mus. IX B 177. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 247 Nr. 250 Taf. 47; AGOe I Nr. 64 Taf. 13; Krauskopf 100 Kap 21 Taf. 18, 7. – A-globolo-Stil, spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Haltung ähnlich 44, jedoch die Seiten vertauscht: K. blickt über die l. Schulter zurück. In der Rechten hält er eine Kugel (Stein?). Blitz im Nacken.

47. Karneol. Malibu, Getty Mus. – Boardman, J., *Intaglios and Rings ... from a Private Collection* (1975) Nr. 141. – 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Haltung ähnlich 42, Beine weniger eingeknickt und z. T. in Vorderansicht. In der Rechten hält K. ein Schwert; der Blitz zwischen seinen Beinen. Oben Inschrift AVO.

#### 7. Kapaneus allein, zusammenbrechend, mit Blitz und Torflügel

48. \* Karneol-Skarabäus, etr. Ehem. Slg. Quast. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 51; Lippold, *Gemmen* Taf. 46, 5; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 174 Nr. 844; Krauskopf 100 Kap 17; v. Freytag 170 Anm. 688. – 4. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – K. frontal stehend, ein Bein leicht angewinkelt, mit der Linken den Schild, mit der Rechten einen Torflügel fassend. Kopf über die r. Schulter geneigt; Blitz am Hinterkopf.

#### 8. Kapaneus allein, zusammenbrechend, mit Leiter und Blitz

49. \* Chalcedon-Ringstein, ital. Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. (ex Lewis Coll.) – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 21, 10; Richter, *EngrGemsRom* Nr. 2; Krauskopf 100 Kap 27; Henig, *LewisColl* Nr. 178 Taf. 11. – 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – K. (Helm, Schild) kniend vor einer Mauer mit einem Turm(?). Den Oberkörper mit dem Schildarm weit zurückgebeugt, blickt er nach oben und hat den r. Arm erhoben. Vor seiner Brust der Blitz, am Turm und am Boden Teile der zusammenstürzenden Leiter.

50. Gelbe Glaspaste, ital. Genf, Mus. MF 2678. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. (?) – K. (Panzer, Helm, Mantel) kniend wie auf 52, in der Rechten das Schwert, in der Linken einen kleinen Schild. Zu seiner Linken ein Stück der Leiter; im Nacken der Blitz.

#### 9. Kapaneus allein, zusammenbrechend, mit Resten der Leiter

##### Etruskische und italische Gemmen und Pasten

51. \* Smaragdplasma-Skarabäus, etr. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. FG 375. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 840; AGD II Nr. 296 Taf. 58; Krauskopf 100 Kap 23 Taf. 18, 9; v. Freytag 170–171 Anm. 689. – 3. Jh. v. Chr. – K. frontal, auf dem r. Bein kniend, die Rechte mit einem kurzen Schwert gesenkt, den Schild über den Kopf hebbend, nach oben blickend. Im Hintergrund zwei Teile der noch aufrecht stehenden Leiter.

52. Sard-Ringstein. London, BM 961. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 21, 11; Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 961 Taf. 14; Krauskopf 100 Kap 25. – 3.–2. Jh. v. Chr. – K. (Helm, Schild) auf beiden Beinen kniend, den Kopf über die r. Schulter gesenkt, auf ein vor ihm stehendes(?) Schwert (in der Scheide) blickend. Am Boden und zu seiner Rechten zwei Stücke der Leiter.

53. Sardonyx-Ringstein, italisch. Ehem. Rom, Slg. Martinelli. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 21, 17; Krauskopf 100 Kap 26. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. – K. (Helm, Schild) fallend, fast schon liegend, l. Bein angewinkelt am Boden, r. Bein und r. Arm emporgestreckt. Um K. herum mehrere Leiterfragmente.

54. Sard-Ringstein, italisch. Athen, NM 104 (Geschenk Tsivanopoulos). – Richter, *EngrGemsRom* Nr. 3; Krauskopf 101 Kap 28. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. – K. in ähnlicher Haltung wie auf 53; ein Leiterstück über seinem rechten Bein.

#### 10. Zusammenbrechende Krieger in auch für Kapaneus bezugten Schemata. Deutung auf Kapaneus möglich.

Kleine Auswahl. Wenn nicht anders angegeben, etruskische Skarabäen.

55. Karneol. München, Münzslg. 95760. – AGDI 2 Nr. 636 Taf. 69; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 61 Nr. 80 Taf. 20 (Tydeus); Krauskopf 103 Tyd 11; Zazoff, *AG* 232 Taf. 58, 3. – 2. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Schema von 32. 35; vgl. aber auch Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 79 = Krauskopf Tyd 10 = Zazoff, *AG* Taf. 58, 4 mit Beischrift *Tute* (Tydeus).

Ähnlich (Kopf gesenkt, Rechte zur Schulter erhoben); Ringstein Kassel (AGD III Nr. 25; Martini, *Ringsteinglyptik* Nr. 143).

56. Attaschen von etrusk. Bronzeschnabelkannen «mit Bauchknick». – Krauskopf 101 Kap 36 mit Lit.; v. Freytag 170 Taf. 76, 4; eine vollständige Liste wird erscheinen in Krauskopf, I., *Etruskische Bronzeschnabelkannen mit «Bauchknick»* (in Vorbereitung). – Spätes 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Haltung ähnlich 36, jedoch seitenverkehrt, am l. Arm der Schild. Der Krieger trägt einen Panzer und ist barhäuptig. Bei den meisten Exemplaren ist zwischen Kopf und r. Fuß der herabfallende Helm zu erkennen; häufig hält der Krieger eine geknickte Lanze in der Hand. Am Boden eine Streitaxt.

Weitere kniende Krieger: z. B. Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 1573; AGDI 2 Nr. 678.

57. Achat. Peronne, Mus. (Slg. Danicourt). – Boardman, J., *RA* 1971, 204–205 Abb. 15. – 2. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Krieger kniend ähnlich 32. 35, die r. Hand zur Schulter erhoben. Vor dem Schild eine geknickte Lanze, die sich hinter dem Rücken des Kriegers fortsetzt und unter dem r. Arm wieder sichtbar wird. Es ist fraglich, ob hier der Krieger von der Lanze durchbohrt zu denken ist – warum ist sie dann geknickt, und wieso endet sie vor dem Schild – oder ob es sich um die zerbrochene Lanze des Kriegers handelt. In beiden Fällen wäre die Darstellung etwas ungeschickt.

58. Boston, MFA 98.732. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 32; Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 835; Boardman, a. O. 57, 204 Anm. 2. – 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Wie 33, zwischen der r. Hand und dem Rücken Teil einer Lanze, die im Rücken zu stecken scheint; sie müßte aufgrund ihrer Richtung Schild und Körper von schräg oben durchdrungen haben (so Boardman). Am Boden das Schwert des Kriegers.

59. Bronzering, etr. London, BM 1228. – Walters, *BMBronzes* Nr. 2266 Abb. 52; Marshall, *BMFinger-*

*Rings* Nr. 1228 Taf. 30; Boardman, J., *AntK* 10, 1967, 17 D 14; Krauskopf 101 Kap 30. – 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Ähnlich 33, Krieger mit Helm, Schild weiter nach oben gehalten. Vor dem Körper eine waagrechte Linie: Schwert, das der Krieger hält? oder Lanze, die ihn durchbohrt?

60. Achat. Paris, Cab. Méd. Luynes 270. – Zazoff, *EtrSk* 61 Nr. 78 Taf. 20; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* Nr. 843; Krauskopf 101 Kap 34. – 2. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Haltung wie 34, jedoch faßt der Krieger an die zerbrochene Lanze, die hier in seinem Körper zu stecken scheint.

Vgl. auch Karneol Oxford, Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 854; Boardman/Vollenweider, *CatGemsOxford* I Nr. 214 Taf. 36.

61. Karneol. Paris, Cab. Méd. Luynes 271. – Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 16, 34; Zazoff, *EtrSk* 54 Nr. 62 Taf. 18; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* Nr. 840 (Tydeus); Krauskopf 101 Kap 31 Taf. 18, 5. – 2. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Wie 42a, anstelle des Helms das zu Boden fallende Krummschwert.

Ähnlich, mit fallendem Helm; Achat Malibu, Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 20, 1; Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 847; Krauskopf 101 Kap 35; Boardman, a. O. 47, Nr. 124.

62. Verbrannter Karneol. Genf, Mus. 1962.19747. – Vollenweider, *CatGenève* I Nr. 227 Taf. 86, 6. 9, 10; Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 852; Krauskopf 102 Kap 38. – Ende 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Ähnlich 42a. 61, größerer Schritt, der Krieger faßt an eine Lanze, die im Rücken «steckt» und deren Ende am Hals zu sehen ist. Durchbohrt die Lanze den Körper oder geht sie vor ihm vorbei (so Vollenweider)?

Sehr ähnlich, ohne das obere Ende der Lanze: Karneol Vatikan, Coll. Borgia; Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 853; Krauskopf 102 Kap 39.

Weitere im Laufen zusammenbrechende Krieger z. B. Krauskopf 101–102 Kap 32. 33. 37. 41. 42. 43 = Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 842. 849. 851. 855. 856.

#### E. Der Leichnam des Kapaneus

63. Gemälde, beschrieben von Philostr. *im.* 2, 29: auf dem Schlachtfeld vor Theben die Leichen der Sieben, K. einem Giganten gleich, noch dampfend vom Blitz des Zeus.

64. Gemälde, beschrieben von Philostr. *im.* 2, 65: Bestattung der Leichen in Argos, Selbstmord der Eudadne, der Gemahlin des K., am Scheiterhaufen.

#### F. Auszuscheiden

65. (= Chalkodon I mit Lit., = Erechtheus 77 mit Lit.) «Piräus-Reliefs», Marmor (sog. Kapaneus Albani). Rom, Villa Albani; Chicago, Art Institute; Piräus, Mus. – Krieger in Vorderansicht, auf dem r. Bein kniend, das l. weit ausgestreckt, ebenso der l. Arm mit dem von innen gesehenen Rundschild. Mit der Rechten greift er an seinen Nacken, wo deshalb eine Verwundung anzunehmen ist. Die früher vielfach vertretene Deutung des Reliefs Albani auf K. ist durch die Entdeckung des Reliefs im Piräus hinfällig geworden;



es gehört zur Serie der Kopien nach dem Parthenos-Schild.

66. Das Gemälde des Polygnot in der Porticus des Pompeius in Rom, bei dem man nicht wußte, ob er einen Hinaufsteigenden oder einen Herabsteigenden mit Schild gemalt hatte (Plin. nat. 35, 59: *... in qua dubitatur ascendentem cum dupeo pinxerit an descendentem*) wurde zwar mehrfach auf K. bezogen (Lit. bei v. Freytag 165 Anm. 651; vgl. auch Childs 73 Anm. 86), stellte aber sicher keinen Leitersteiger dar. Den Gedanken, daß Polygnot einen auf einer Sturmleiter herabkletternden Krieger gemalt haben könnte, hätte wohl niemand ernsthaft in Betracht gezogen. Die Interpretation als Bild eines Apobaten hat mehr für sich (Lit. bei v. Freytag 165 Anm. 652).

## KOMMENTAR

Wie die meisten der Sieben gegen Theben (→ Septem), wurde K. in archaischer Zeit kaum dargestellt; erhalten ist nur ein einziges att. sf. Vasenfragment (6), das ihn zusammen mit → Amphiaros als Teilnehmer bei den Leichenspielen für Pelias zeigt. Das zweite außerhalb Italiens entstandene Monument, das K. darstellt, ist ca. 180 Jahre jünger: der Fries von Gjölbaschi (27) mit dem Sturm der Sieben gegen die Mauern von Theben. Das nächste uns erhaltene Denkmal, auf dem K. gesichert ist (4; zu Darstellungen der Sieben, bei denen die einzelnen Heroen nicht identifizierbar sind → Septem), folgt in ähnlichem zeitlichem Abstand. Einige K.-Darstellungen muß es allerdings auch in der Zwischenzeit gegeben haben; literarisch überliefert sind die Statuengruppen der Sieben in Delphi und Argos (1) und das Fresko des Onasias in Plataiai (→ Eteokles 6), in dem wohl auch K. in irgendeiner Weise dargestellt gewesen sein wird.

Im Westen, vor allem in Etrurien setzt dagegen schon der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jh. eine Fülle von K.-Bildern ein. Sie stellen zwar alle den Tod des K. oder unmittelbar vorhergehende Szenen dar, variieren aber innerhalb dieses Themenbereiches zu stark, als daß man für alle direkte Vorlagen aus Griechenland – die ja nicht sehr zahlreich gewesen sein könnten (s. oben) – postulieren könnte. In Etrurien beginnt im frühen 5. Jh. eine Serie von Skarabäen, die meist den sterbenden K. darstellen. Einer der ältesten Steine (32), der im Stil noch stark griechisch geprägt ist, zeigt einen auf die Knie gestürzten Krieger. Die Art der Verwundung ist nicht zu erkennen; auf K. weist nur die Namensbeischrift. Ob das Vorbild dieses Steins bereits K. meinte oder irgendeinen anderen Krieger, ist nicht zu entscheiden. Dasselbe (35) oder ähnliche Schemata wurden in den folgenden Jahrzehnten für viele K.-Skarabäen verwendet, wobei jeweils nur die Namensbeischrift (33–34) oder – bei den jüngeren Steinen häufiger – ein Blitz (35a. b. 37a. b. 38. 41. 42a. 43–45) die Deutung auf K. ermöglichen. Alle diese Schemata sind für K. passend; meist ist ersichtlich, daß der Krieger unerwartet von einer aus der Ferne geschleuderten Waffe getroffen wird; manchmal entgleitet ein Schwert seiner Hand (37. 41. 42a. 45) oder

eine zerbrochene Lanze ist neben ihm sichtbar (32. 34). Häufig blickt er nach oben (32. 33. 35. 36. 39. 42. 45); manchmal scheint er im Laufen zusammenzubrechen (42. 43–45. 37?). Wenn der Blitz dargestellt ist, trifft er ihn am Hals (35. 39. 42a. 45), im Nacken (37. 43) oder am Hinterkopf (38. 41. 44. 48). Kleinformatige Metallreliefs übernehmen am Ende des 5. und im 4. Jh. das Motiv (36. 39).

Die Beliebtheit des K. auf etruskischen Skarabäen geht über die Darstellung seines Todes hinaus: ein den Helm aufhebender Krieger ist ebenfalls als *Capne* bezeichnet (8). In diesem Fall sind griechische Skarabäen mit einem sehr ähnlichen Motiv erhalten (Boardman, *AGGems* Nr. 260–261 Taf. 17–18 = Furtwängler, *AGTaf.* 61, 15); zu einer Deutung auf K. besteht bei ihnen keinerlei Anlaß. Wahrscheinlich haben die etruskischen Gemmenschneider, bei denen K.-Skarabäen bestellt wurden, aus einem Repertoire von Kriegerbildern für K. passende Motive ausgewählt. Ein Blitz oder eine Inschrift ließ sich dann leicht hinzufügen. Ein einziges Motiv scheint auf K. zugeschnitten oder jedenfalls nicht allgemein verwendbar: K., der einen Torflügel schleppt, während er vom Blitz getroffen wird (48, vgl. auch 11, s. unten). Dahinter muß eine – literarisch nicht faßbare – Version stehen, in der K., statt auf der Leiter die Mauern Thebens emporzustürmen, einen Torflügel wegrißt, um so in die Stadt einzudringen. Doch selbst dieses ungewöhnliche Motiv ließ sich ohne Schwierigkeiten aus einem griechischen Kriegertypus entwickeln (Furtwängler, *AGTaf.* 63, 4; 65, 3; Boardman, *AGGems* Nr. 264–265 Taf. 18; Richter, *EngrGemsGE* Nr. 92); es mußte nur der Schild gegen den Torflügel und das Schwert gegen den Schild ausgetauscht werden.

Neben den durch Inschrift oder Blitz – seltsamerweise tritt nie beides zusammen auf – für K. gesicherten Gemmen gibt es zahlreiche andere, die zusammenbrechende Krieger in sehr ähnlichen Schemata wiedergeben (z. B. 55 wie 32. 35; 58 wie 33; 60 wie 34; 61 wie 42) und möglicherweise auch K. meinen. Da aber dieselben Typen auch für andere Heroen verwendet werden (z. B. das Schema von 32/35 und von 43 für Tydeus; zu 32/35 vgl. Zazoff, *EtrSk* Nr. 79. 80 Taf. 20 = Krauskopf 103 Tyd 10–11 Taf. 19, 3; zu 43 vgl. Zazoff Nr. 82 Taf. 21 = Krauskopf 103 Tyd 12 Taf. 19, 4), ist die Deutung in keinem Fall sicher. Gerade Schemata, die für K. besonders gut passen (z. B. der Blick nach oben oder eine Haltung, die auf einen unerwarteten, heftigen Stoß schließen läßt), wurden oft auch für andere Heroen gewählt. Andererseits können auch Bildtypen nicht ausgeschlossen werden, bei denen auf den ersten Blick eine Deutung auf K. eher unwahrscheinlich erscheint. So gibt es eine Reihe von Steinen, bei denen eine Lanze den Körper des Kriegers zu durchdringen scheint (57–60. 62); doch ist nie sicher, ob sie nicht *hinter* dem Körper zu denken ist. Eine zerbrochene Lanze (wie auf 57. 60) findet sich schon auf einem der ältesten K.-Skarabäen (32, auch auf 34). Auch eine noch intakte Lanze kann zu K. gehören: vor allem bei einer steil von unten in den Rücken «eindringenden» Lanze (58. 62) wäre die

Wurfrichtung problematisch; sie müßte, da sie ja nicht von unten her geworfen worden sein kann, von hoch oben kommend mit großer Wucht den Körper durchbohren (die Richtung deutlich auf 62) und im Rücken in beträchtlicher Länge wieder hervorgekommen sein. Wahrscheinlicher ist die Annahme, daß es sich um die Lanze des Kriegers handelt, die er noch in der Hand hält. Generell können also alle Darstellungen eines zusammenbrechenden Kriegers, bei denen die Verletzung nicht durch einen Pfeil oder durch ein Schwert angegeben ist, K. meinen. Am wenigsten wahrscheinlich ist dies beim Typus des sich an den Nacken fassenden Kriegers (vgl. 65, wo die Deutung auch aus anderen Gründen abzulehnen ist und → Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 85): K. kann zwar in einer Reflexbewegung den Arm zum Kopf heben (so 34. 38. 42. 57. 61); die Wirkung des Blitzes durchdringt dann aber den ganzen Körper. Eine begrenzte Wunde im Nacken, die betastet werden kann, ist dagegen wohl meist auf einen Pfeil zurückzuführen.

Wenn man davon ausgeht, daß die nicht durch Namensbeischriften, Attribute oder eine genaue Angabe der Verwundung deutbaren Bilder überhaupt eine bestimmte Person und nicht ganz allgemein einen sterbenden Krieger darstellen sollten, besteht eine prozentuale Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß K., der auf den sicher bestimmbar Skarabäen mit zusammenbrechenden Krieger am häufigsten dargestellt ist, auch dann oft gemeint ist, wenn uns keine eindeutige Benennung möglich ist. Die Prämisse, daß eine große Zahl der etruskischen Skarabäen – zumindest in den Augen ihrer Käufer und Besitzer – konkrete Personen und nicht näher bestimmbar Krieger oder Athleten darstellte, kann hier nicht ausführlich diskutiert werden (s. dazu Krauskopf, I./Breitfeld, D., *Index der Heroen- und Götterbilder auf etr. Skarabäen* [1990] Einleitung). Im konkreten Fall des K.-Schemas würde die Wahl eines anonymen Kriegers als Gemmenbild implizieren, daß die – zahlreichen – Käufer mit diesem Bild eindeutig positive Aspekte verbanden und den Tod in der Schlacht als etwas wenn schon nicht Erstrebenswertes, so doch zumindest Vorbildhaftes empfanden. Für eine solche, kriegerische Ideale betonende Denkweise lassen sich in anderen Kunstgattungen während des 5. und der 1. Hälfte des 4. Jh., der Zeit, in der ein Großteil der Kriegergemmen entstand, kaum Anhaltspunkte finden. Gerade in der Sepulkralkunst, deren Themenwahl ähnlich wie die der Gemmen privat bestimmt war, spielen die Themen «Krieg» und «Tod in der Schlacht» eine verschwindend geringe Rolle.

Das Relief aus Pyrgi (30), das das etruskische Interesse an K. auch im öffentlichen Bereich dokumentiert, stellt die Episode von K.'s Tod in einen größeren Rahmen. Im Kampfgetümmel vor Theben sieht sich K. plötzlich Zeus/Tinia gegenüber, der den Blitz gegen ihn schleudert. Diese Szene, die auf dem Antepagamentum, bedingt durch sein Format, auf engstem Raum zusammengedrängt werden mußte, wird auf einem messapischen Gefäß (31) in «realistischer» Dimensionen auseinandergezogen: Zwischen dem vom Tor in die Knie gestürzten K. und Zeus wird

durch das Himmelsgewölbe andeutende Parallelllinien eine größere Distanz geschaffen.

Ein Fresko in Ardea (25) kann vielleicht mit der Notiz bei Plin. nat. 35, 17 in Verbindung gebracht werden, nach der es in den Tempeln von Ardea «*antiquiores urbe picturae*», d. h. sehr altertümliche Gemälde gab. Es wäre dann zeitlich den etruskischen und italienischen Bildern des zu ebener Erde zusammenbrechenden K. (30–48) näher als den hellenistischen Darstellungen des von der Leiter stürzenden (27–29). Auch unabhängig von der Plinius-Stelle möchte man sich einen K., bei dem der Blitz deutlich am Kopf sichtbar ist, eher in der Art der Gemmen und Metallreliefs, zu Boden gestürzt, vorstellen – bei dem von der Leiter fallenden K. wird der Blitz nicht in dieser Weise wiedergegeben (zu einer Ausnahme, 29, s. unten).

Das Interesse, das dem im archaischen und klassischen Griechenland so selten dargestellten Heros vor allem in Etrurien, aber auch in anderen Gebieten Italiens zuteil wurde, bedarf einer Erklärung. Besonders aufschlußreich ist hier die messapische Trozzella 31. Tiverios hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß auf beiden Seiten des Gefäßes nur je ein Krieger durch eine Namensbeischrift ausgezeichnet ist: Aineias und K. Auf diese beiden kam es dem Maler offensichtlich an. Aineias' Bedeutung für Italien ist bekannt; die Annahme einer ähnlichen Funktion als Gründerheros, die seine Beliebtheit in Italien erklären könnte, stößt bei K. zunächst auf eine Schwierigkeit: K. stirbt vor Theben und kommt nicht nach Italien. Diese Schwierigkeit läßt sich vielleicht überwinden: Tiverios weist auf die Stelle bei Apollodor hin, nach der in einer Version des Stesichoros K. durch Asklepios wieder zum Leben erweckt worden sei. Vermutlich hat diese abweichende Mythenversion sich nicht auf die Schilderung der Erweckung beschränkt, sondern auch von weiteren Taten des K. in seinem zweiten Leben berichtet. Da diese Mythenvariante gerade Stesichoros zugeschrieben wird, könnte es sich um Taten im Westen gehandelt haben. Den erstarkenden westgriechischen Städten und ihren führenden Geschlechtern fehlte ja zunächst völlig die mythische Vergangenheit, die für die großen Städte des Mutterlandes selbstverständlich war. Hier muß ein Defizit empfunden worden sein, zu dessen Auffüllung zahlreiche neue Mythenvarianten erfunden wurden – man denke nur an die vielen über ganz Italien verstreuten Abenteuer des Herakles auf dem Rückweg von der Insel des Geryoneus. K. in diesen Kontext westgriechischer Sondermythen einzuordnen, erschiene sehr gewagt, wenn nicht das durch die Bildkunst bezeugte Interesse an K. diese Vermutung stützte.

Daß auch die Etrusker durch solche Erzählungen ihre Geschichte mit der großen Vergangenheit der Griechen und ihrer mythischen Gegner zu verknüpfen suchten, ist schon mehrfach vermutet worden (speziell zu den Sieben gegen Theben zuletzt Cristofani, M., in *Edipo. Il teatro greco e la cultura europea. Atti del Convegno Int. Urbino 1982* [1987] 200–202). Bei K. mag das Interesse noch gesteigert worden sein durch die Art seines Todes – und möglicherweise noch mehr durch seine Wiederbelebung, die ihn für die Etrusker,

in deren Religion Blitze und ihre Deutung bekanntlich eine große Bedeutung hatten, zu einer faszinierenden Gestalt gemacht haben müßte.

Im 4. Jh. sind K.-Darstellungen in Etrurien nicht ganz so häufig wie im 5. Sie folgen noch den Schemata des 5. Jh. (um 400: 39. 45; 4. Jh.: 37d. 47; aglobolo-Skarabäen des 4. und 3. Jh.: 40. 42b. 46; Nachzügler des 3. Jh.: 37c; Krieger auf Gemmen des 4.-2. Jh., deren Deutung auf K. nicht zu sichern ist, erwähnt nach 55. 56. 62). Ein neues Motiv – oder richtiger eine Variante des Themas von 48 – bringt nur der Skarabäus 11, auf dem K. dabei ist, einen Torflügel emporzuheben. Wie schon die Bilder des 5. Jh., geben auch die des 4. Jh. K. nur in Szenen wieder, die zu ebener Erde spielen, wobei nichts auf einen vorhergehenden Sturz von einer Leiter hindeutet (allenfalls den liegenden K. von 41 könnte man so interpretieren; doch ist dies nicht zwingend). Die Sturmleiter beginnt erst in hellenistischen etruskischen K.-Bildern eine Rolle zu spielen.

Im Osten hatte dagegen schon das älteste erhaltene Bild vom Tod des K. (27) den Helden beim Sturz von der Leiter gezeigt. Das kühne Motiv des rücklings von der Leiter heruntergeschleuderten K., das an die Schilderung des Leitersturzes in den *Phoinissen* des Euripides (1182–1186) erinnert, ist sicher nicht für Gjölbaschi erfunden worden. Formal ähnelt der stürzende K. der kopfüber gestürzten Amazone des Parthenos-Schildes (→ Amazonas 246), an den auch andere Kriegertypen des Frieses erinnern. Eine Verbindung mit dem Gemälde des Onasias (→ Eteokles 6), die früher vorsichtig versucht wurde (Stellen bei v. Freytag 57 Anm. 181), ist völlig hypothetisch.

In die durch die messapische Trozzella (31) und das Fresko in Ardea (25) angedeutete italische Tradition (s. oben) läßt sich vielleicht auch die campanische Kanne 12 einreihen. Zweifel an der Deutung des Leitersteigers auf K. sind m. E. unberechtigt. Vier aneinander gereichte Krieger in vier verschiedenen Kampfhaltungen, die nicht aufeinander Bezug nehmen, sind schwerlich als Auszug aus einer »ganz allgemein nicht näher bestimmten Stadtbelagerung« (v. Freytag 168) zu begreifen, sondern müssen, wenn die Darstellung irgendeinen Sinn haben soll, als namentlich bestimmbare Heroen verstanden werden, für die Bildtypen aus einer (oder auch mehreren) figurenreicheren Vorlage(n) ausgewählt wurden. Ein Leitersteiger ist zwar theoretisch in jeder Stadtbelagerungsszene denkbar; unter den bildlich überlieferten Darstellungen sind aber die meisten sicher als K. zu deuten (14. 17–21. 26), einige isolierte Figuren sind aus sich heraus nicht zu benennen (10. 13. 15. 16; zu der Kombination von Leitersteiger und Herabstürzendem, 22–23, s. unten). Für einen anderen Heros ist das Motiv meines Wissens nicht gesichert; auch in nicht mythisch bestimmbarer Belagerungsszene ist es sehr selten (auf dem von B. v. Freytag als Beispiel zitierten Relief vom Nereidenmonument, Childs Taf. 10, 2, stürmen mehrere Krieger die Leiter hinauf, was einer orientalischen Bildtradition entspricht, vgl. Childs Taf. 26, 2; 27, 3). Da die Leiter zumindest seit dem Beginn des Hellenismus für K. das charakteristische Attribut wird

(28–29. 49–54; Kaiserzeit: 9), ist bei einem Leitersteiger der Deutung auf K. der Vorzug zu geben, auch wenn sie nicht ganz gesichert werden kann.

Namentlich benannt ist K. auf einem apulischen Volutenkrater (7) als Nebenfigur bei der Aufbahrung des Archemoros; er wird wohl auch unter den Krieger zu suchen sein, die die Archemoros tötende Schlange bekämpfen (→ Archemoros 8). Außer dem – wahrscheinlich zu einer Kampfszene gehörenden – Fragment eines homerischen Bechers (4) sind aus vorrömischer Zeit keine weiteren K.-Bilder erhalten (literarisch überliefert 3, das Gemälde des Tauriskos).

Dagegen bleiben K.-Darstellungen im etruskischen und dem etruskisch beeinflussten italischen Bereich weiterhin häufig. Gemmen und Glaspasten des 3. bis 1. Jh. zeigen den sterbenden K. zunächst in den bekannten Schemata; jedoch werden statt des Blitzes jetzt meist Teile der zerbrochenen Sturmleiter als Identifizierungsmerkmal angegeben (51. 52; Leiter und Blitz: 50). Häufiger wird nun versucht, den vorhergegangenen Sturz von der Leiter deutlich zu machen. K. scheint gerade inmitten der Fragmente seiner Leiter auf dem Boden aufgeprallt zu sein (53. 54). Ein den vorigen ähnliches Schema kann bei einer Drehung der Figur um 90° dazu verwendet werden, den Sturz selbst – mit den Füßen voran – darzustellen (29, wobei der Blitz im Nacken die Richtung der Figur festlegt; er kann nicht von unten gekommen sein). Auf dem Ringstein 49 schließlich wird neben dem gerade zu Boden gestürzten K., den Teilen der Leiter und dem Blitz noch ein Teil der Stadtmauer gezeigt. Eine Glaspaste mit einem die Leiter hinaufstürmenden (15) darf angesichts der vielen hellenistischen etruskischen und italischen K.-Bildern wohl auch als K. gedeutet werden (s. oben).

Außerhalb der Glyptik wird in der hellenistisch-etruskischen Kunst das Motiv des die Leiter hinaufsteigenden K. bevorzugt. Im Giebel von Talamone (21), auf chiusinischen (18) und Peruginer Urnen (14) ist die Deutung gesichert durch die umgebenden Szenen. An die Urne 18 schließt sich eine Reihe weiterer chiusinischer Urnen (19–20) an, die auf die flankierenden Gespanne verzichten und K., der wie auf 18 einen Leichnam über dem Arm trägt, in den Mittelpunkt der Schlachtszene stellen. Daß K. sich auf der Sturmleiter mit einer Leiche belädt, erschien vielen Interpreten so ungewöhnlich, daß sie eine Kontamination zweier Szenen vermuteten (Körte in Brunn/Körte, *Relievi* II 1, 67): K. beim Sturm auf die Mauern und beim Transport des gefallenen → Melanippos zu → Tydeus. In der Tat ist bei Stat. *Theb.* 8, 745–750 geschildert, wie K. den sterbenden Melanippos auf seiner linken Schulter zu Tydeus schleppt; in den meisten anderen Versionen bringt → Amphiarao ihm das Haupt des Melanippos. Da aber zumindest die Paolozzi-Urne 18 von guter Qualität ist und K. wahrscheinlich auch im Giebel von Talamone (21) den Gefallenen über dem Arm trug, befriedigt diese Erklärung, die die Szene als bloßes Mißverständnis etruskischer Urnenbildhauer erklären will, wenig, zumal, da die zugrundeliegende Szene, K. mit Melanippos bei Tydeus, in der Bildkunst nicht belegt ist. Wenig

einleuchtend ist auch Roberts Versuch (Robert 229–230), die chiusin. Urne 13 mit den Urnen 18–20 zu verbinden: der Verteidiger, der auf 13 bereits sich weit über den Mauerrand hinausbeuge, werde im nächsten Augenblick, von K.'s Lanze getroffen, auf diesen herabstürzen, K. werde durch den Aufprall der Leiche aber nicht von der Leiter geschleudert, sondern ließe sich, wie auf 18–20 dargestellt, in seinem Aufstieg dadurch nicht im mindesten irritieren. Plausibler erscheint die Erklärung, die B. v. Freytag (174–175) vorschlägt: K. trage die Leiche des Kreon-Sohnes → Menoikeus, der sich gerade von der Mauer gestürzt hatte, um gemäß dem Orakel durch seinen Opfertod Theben zu retten. K. habe sich bei seinem Sturm auf die Stadtmauer mit der Leiche beladen, um prahlerisch zu demonstrieren, daß er gegen dieses Orakel und gegen Zeus' Willen dennoch Theben erobern werde. Diese sehr einleuchtende Deutung hat den einzigen Nachteil, daß die Szene in der antiken Literatur keine Spuren hinterlassen hat. Statius (*Theb.* 10, 846) läßt K. zwar gerade an dem Turm angreifen, von dem sich Menoikeus unmittelbar vorher herabgestürzt hat (*Menoiceo qua lubrica sanguine turris...*), aber auch er, der sich sonst in der Schilderung von Greueln nicht genug tun kann, ließ sich die Gelegenheit entgehen, die Gottlosigkeit des K. durch einen solchen weiteren Frevel zu unterstreichen.

Die zuletzt genannte Deutung der Urnen 18–20 und des Talamone-Giebels hat einen weiteren Vorteil: Auch die Peruginer Urnen 22–23, die neben einem die untersten Sprossen der Leiter betretenden Krieger einen kopfüber herabstürzenden zeigen – formal eindeutig eine Kombination zweier K.-Figuren –, lassen sich in die postulierte Mythenvariante einfügen. Da anders als auf der Volterranner Urne 28, auf der die auseinanderbrechende Leiter den Körper des stürzenden K. überschneidet, auf 22–23 die Leiter noch fest steht und benutzt wird, kann der Blitzeinschlag noch nicht erfolgt sein. Der Stürzende kann daher nicht K. sein, sondern ein Verteidiger (so schon Robert 230) oder eben Menoikeus (v. Freytag 173–174).

Wenn man bei der genauen Deutung der etruskischen Urnen auch nicht ohne im letzten nicht beweisbare Hypothesen auskommt, so zeugen sie durch ihre Anzahl (13. 14. 18–20. 22–23. 28) zusammen mit dem Talamone-Giebel (21) und den etruskischen und italischen Gemmen und Glaspasten (15. 29. 37c. 49–54) unbezweifelbar von der anhaltenden Beliebtheit des K. im hellenistischen Mittelitalien. Auf andere Weise bezeugt dies auch die K. nennende Namensbeischrift auf dem Spiegel 5, der ihn in eine Versammlung bekannter Heroen und Heroinnen aus anderen Sagenkreisen einfügt.

So wenig wie die griechische hat die römische Kunst den zahlreichen etruskischen und italischen K.-Bildern Adäquates entgegenzusetzen. Bilder vom Todessturz des K. sind – vielleicht zufällig – nicht erhalten. Den die Leiter hinaufstürmenden K. zeigen einige Ringsteine (16. 26), die an das von der Glaspaste 15 und mehr noch von der chiusinischen Urne 13 bekannte Schema anknüpfen, wobei auf 26 noch der

Blitz hinzugefügt, d. h. also genau der Augenblick gewählt wurde, in dem K.'s Hybris, sein vermeintlicher Triumph, ihren Gipfel und zugleich ihr Ende erreicht. Auf dem römischen Sarkophag 17, der mehrere Szenen aus der Schlacht vor Theben kombiniert, ist für K. ein etwas früheres Moment ausgewählt: Er erklimmt gerade – in einem einzigen Schritt drei Sprossen auf einmal nehmend – den untersten Teil der Leiter.

Die Sturmleiter war inzwischen so eng mit K., der ja auch als ihr Erfinder galt, verbunden worden, daß er sie wie ein Attribut mit sich herumtragen kann: auf dem attischen Sarkophag 9 und vielleicht auch auf Bronzemünzen aus Bizya in Thrakien (10), auf denen allerdings die Deutung auf K. nicht ganz gesichert ist; der längliche Gegenstand, auf den der Heros mit dem linken Fuß tritt, hat bisher keine Erklärung gefunden, die es erlauben würde, ihn in den K.-Mythos einzubeziehen. Deshalb kann die Möglichkeit nicht ganz ausgeschlossen werden, daß ein lokaler Heros gemeint ist, in dessen Geschichte sowohl die Leiter wie auch der fragliche Gegenstand eine Rolle spielen.

Unsicher muß schließlich auch bleiben, ob der in einem Epigramm geschilderten Statue des K. (2) und den von Philostrat beschriebenen Bildern, die K.'s Leiche auf dem Schlachtfeld (63) und ihre Verbrennung (64) zeigen, bei der sich K.'s Gattin Euadne in die Flammen des Scheiterhaufens stürzt, in der Realität je etwas entsprochen hat. Immerhin zeigen die im Verhältnis zum Erhaltenen relativ zahlreichen Erwähnungen K. darstellender Kunstwerke in der Literatur (1–3. 25. 63. 64, indirekt auch das Onasias-Fresko, → Eteokles 6), daß es zwar immer wieder einzelne, z. T. auch bedeutende Kunstwerke gegeben haben muß, die das Thema von der bestraften Hybris des K. in ein Bild umsetzten, daß aber dieses Thema nie Gegenstand einer größeren Denkmälerserie geworden ist – mit einer Ausnahme, Etrurien, wo sich K. vom 5. bis ins 2. Jh. v. Chr. großer Beliebtheit erfreute.

*Nachtrag:* Die erst während der Drucklegung bekannt gewordene campanische Amphora 12a macht die Deutung des Kriegers auf der Leiter als K. auf der Kanne 12 noch wahrscheinlicher. Beide Gefäße bestätigen dann die Vermutung, die M. Tiverios schon angesichts der Trozzella 31 ausgesprochen hat: Nicht nur für die Etrusker, sondern – freilich in etwas geringem Ausmaß – auch für Westgriechen war das Schicksal des K. von besonderem Interesse.

INGRID KRAUSKOPF

## KAPPADOKIA

(*Καππαδοκία*, Cappadocia) Personifikation der gleichnamigen römischen Provinz im mittleren und östlichen Kleinasien.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Brandenstein, W., *RE* Suppl. VI (1935) 138–140 s. v. »Kappadokia«; Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890–94) 955 s. v. »Kappadokia«; Fellmann, R., *LAW* 1486–1487 s. v. »Kappadokien«; Kirsten, E., *RAC* II (1954) 861–891, insb. 866 s. v. »Cappadocia«; Ruge, W., *REX* 2 (1919)

1910-1917 s.v. «Kappadokia»; Susini, G., *EAA* II (1959) 330-331 s.v. «Cappadocia»; Teja, R., «Die römische Provinz Kappadokien in der Prinzipatszeit», *ANRW* II 7.2 (1980) 1083-1124; Toynbee, J. M. C., *The Hadrianic School* (1934) 66-69, 148; Treidler, H., *KIPauly* III (1967) 114-115 s.v. «Kappadokia».

## KATALOG

1. \* AE As, Dupondius und Sesterz, Rom, Hadrian, 137 n. Chr. - *BMC Emp* III 508-509, 1725-1734 Taf. 94, 3. 9; Strack, *Reichsprägung* II Nr. 714 Taf. 12; Toynbee 66-67 Taf. 3, 17-20; Susini 331 Abb. 479; Robertson, *Hunter* II 162 Nr. 610-613 Taf. 42. - Rs.: Stehende K. in kurzem Militärmantel und Tierfellmantel, mit Mauerkrone und Jagdstiefeln, in der Linken vexillum und in der Rechten den Berg → Argaios in Form von aufeinandergetürmten Steinchen haltend. *CAPPADOCIA S C*.

2. AE Sesterz, Rom, Hadrian, 137 n. Chr. - Toynbee 66. - Rs.: wie 1, der Mantel ist jedoch aus Stoff. *CAPPADOCIA S C*.

3. \* AE Sesterz, Rom, Hadrian, 137 n. Chr. - *BMC Emp* III 509 Anm. zu Nr. 1726. - Rs.: Wie 1; der Argaios wird hier als Kopf mit Strahlenkrone auf Steinchen gebildet. *CAPPADOCIA S C*.

4. \* AE Sesterz, Rom, Antoninus Pius, 139 n. Chr. - Strack, *Reichsprägung* III Nr. 783 Taf. 9; Toynbee 148 Taf. 7, 12-13. 15; 8, 1: *BMC Emp* IV 188, 1185 Taf. 26, 10; Robertson, *Hunter* II 211-212 Nr. 172. - Rs.: wie 1, aber nun Stoffmantel und in der Rechten fiscus; der Argaios ist in Form von aufgehäuften Steinchen auf den Boden gesetzt. *CAPPADOCIA S C* COS II.

5. \* AE Sesterz, Rom, Antoninus Pius, 139 n. Chr. - Strack, *Reichsprägung* III Nr. 781 Taf. 9; Toynbee 148 Taf. 7, 14; *BMC Emp* IV 367, Anm. zu Nr. \*. - Rs.: Wie 4, in der Rechten Diadem anstatt fiscus, über Argaios bisweilen Stern. *CAPPADOCIA S C*.

6. \* AE Sesterz, Rom, Antoninus Pius, 139 n. Chr. - Rs.: Wie 4, in der Rechten Kranz anstatt fiscus, das vexillum ist aber auf den in Form von aufgehäuften Steinchen gezeichneten Argaios gesetzt. *CAPPADOCIA S C*.

7. AE Sesterz, Rom, Antoninus Pius, 139 n. Chr. - *BMC Emp* IV 367, \*. - Rs.: Wie 5, in der Linken jedoch Speer. *CAPPADOCIA S C*.

8. AE Sesterz, Rom, Antoninus Pius, 139 n. Chr. - Strack, *Reichsprägung* III Nr. 784. - Rs.: Wie 5, jedoch ohne vexillum. *CAPPADOCIA S C*.

9. \* AE Sesterz, Rom, Antoninus Pius, 139 n. Chr. - *BMC Emp* IV 189, 1186 Taf. 26, 11. - Rs.: Wie 5, Stephane anstatt Mauerkrone. *CAPPADOCIA S C* COS II.

## DEUTUNG AUF KAPPADOKIA WAHRSCHEINLICH

10. \* Statue aus parischem Marmor. Liverpool, Merseyside County Mus. (ehem. Ince Blundell Hall). Aus Tivoli, Villa Hadriana. - Michaelis, M., *AZ* 32, 1874, 25 Nr. 42; *idem*, *AntM* 350 Nr. 42; Reinach, *RépStat* I 451, 1906A; Gusman, P., *Villa Impériale de Tibur* (1904) 296 Abb. 528; Ashmole, B., *A Cat. of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (1929) 23-24 Nr.

42 Taf. 27; Toynbee 67-69 Taf. 24, 4; *CCCA* III 149 Nr. 455; Raeder, J., *Die statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli* (1983) 195 Nr. V 6. - Hadrianisch. - Stehend, mit Mauerkrone, kurzem Chiton und Stoffmantel, die Linke einst auf Baumstamm mit Tympanon gestützt. R. Arm und l. Hand sind modern.

## KOMMENTAR

In der hadrianischen Münzserie römischer Provinzen von 137 n. Chr. wird K. (1-3) erstmals dargestellt. Sie erscheint dabei im Typus der Amazone mit Jagdstiefeln und kurzem Chiton, einer Ikonographie, die auch öfters für Stadtpersonifikationen, insbesondere Kleinasien, verwendet wurde (→ Amazonas S. 649-650). Diese Bildwahl soll auf die weit im Osten (wie das Land der Amazonen) gelegene Provinz und die militärische Funktion als Grenzposten gegen die feindlichen Parther hinweisen. Der kriegerische Charakter wird des weiteren durch das vexillum und den Militärmantel unterstrichen, der zudem bisweilen aus einem Tierfell (1. 3) besteht, wohl um besser das Wilde und Rauhe der entfernten Provinz hervorzuheben. Weiterhin hält K. in der Rechten den → Argaios, den bekannten heiligen Berg, an dessen Fuß die Provinzhauptstadt → Kaisareia (I) liegt. Er wird in der Regel in Verbindung mit K. durch angehäuften Steine (1-2, 4-9), in einem Fall (3) aber auch durch einen mit einer Strahlenkrone versehenen Kopf gekennzeichnet. Eine Statue aus der Villa Hadriana (10) ist wahrscheinlich ebenfalls anhand ihrer Mauerkrone und kriegerischen Kleidung und Beschuhung als K. zu identifizieren. Andere Deutungsvorschläge, auf → Phrygia durch Michaelis, Ashmole, Vermaseren und Raeder, und auf → Bithynia durch Reinach, sind weniger stichhaltig. Bithynia trägt immer eine andere Kleidung und Phrygia besitzt niemals eine Mauerkrone. Das Tympanon, das noch als einziges Argument für die letztere benutzt wurde, weil diese Provinz sehr bekannt für den Kybelekult war, bei dem dieses Musikinstrument eine wichtigere Rolle spielte, könnte jedoch auch für K. angeführt werden, weil auch in dieser Gegend Kybele besonders verehrt wurde. Leider sind aber die Hände, die möglicherweise die klar zur Lösung führenden Attribute hielten, nicht mehr vorhanden.

Hadrians Thronfolger Antoninus Pius greift teilweise die Münzreihe der Provinzen seines Vorgängers, darunter die Darstellung der K. (4-9), 139 n. Chr. für die Festlichkeiten des *aurum coronarium* wieder auf, wohl um damit seine Nachfolge intensiver zu legitimieren. K.s Bekleidung bleibt die gleiche, ihr Mantel besteht nun aber immer aus Stoff und der Berg Argaios wird in Form von aufgehäuften Steinen neben ihr auf den Boden verlegt, manchmal schwebt über diesen ein Stern (5. 7. 9). In der Rechten hält sie dafür jetzt einen fiscus (4), ein Diadem (5. 7-9) oder einen Kranz (6), angemessene Gaben, die auf das Ereignis des *aurum coronarium* verstärkt anspielen konnten.

RAINER VOLKKOMMER

## KAPROS I

(*Κάπρος*, «Eber») Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses im östl. Karien und bei Laodikeia in Phrygien, Nebenfluß des → Lykos.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Durch Plin. nat. 5, 105 erfahren wir, daß der Kapros und der Asopos dicht an Laodikeia (das am Lykos liegt) vorüberflossen und durch Strabon 12, 8, 16 p. 578, daß der Kapros in den Lykos mündete.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 955-956 s.v. «Kapros 2»; Joly, E., *EAA* IV (1961) 313 s.v. «Kapros 2»; Ruge, W., *RE* X 2 (1919) 1921 s.v. «Kapros 1»; Treidler, H., *KIPauly* III (1969) 115 s.v. «Kapros 1»; Waser, O., *RE* VI 2 (1909) 2802 s.v. «Flußgötter».

## KATALOG

## Münzen von Laodikeia in Phrygien

## A. Kapros in Gestalt eines Ebers

## a) Allein

1. \* AE, 2. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr. - *BMC Phrygia* 287, 52-53 Taf. 34, 11; *InvWadd* 6207; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 325 Nr. 379 Taf. 12, 16; Forrer, *Weber* III 2, 521 Nr. 7129 Taf. 254. - Vs.: Nach l. springend. Rs.: Wolf (= Lykos).

2. \* AE, 3. Jh. n. Chr. - *BMC Phrygia* 296, 111 Taf. 36, 2; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 325 Nr. 378. - Rs.: nach l. sitzend, die r. Vordertatze auf umgestürztes strömendes Quellgefäß gelegt. Vs.: Kopf des → Demos.

## b) In einem Bild mit dem Lykos, der als Wolf dargestellt ist

3. \* AE, 2.-3. Jh. n. Chr. - *BMC Phrygia* 299, 127-129 Taf. 36, 7; *InvWadd* 6254; Grose, *McClellan* III 247 Nr. 8831 Taf. 312, 6; *SNG Copenhagen* 540; *SNG v. Aulock* 3832. - Rs.: K. l. und Lykos r., Rücken an Rücken sitzend, mit einander zugewandten Köpfen. Vs.: Büste des → Senatus.

4. AE, Caracalla, 211-212 n. Chr., Philippus II. (244-249 n. Chr.). - *BMC Phrygia* 324, 260-261; *InvWadd* 6326 Taf. 17, 17; Forrer, *Weber* III 2, 526 Nr. 7151 Taf. 255; *SNG Copenhagen* 607; *SNG v. Aulock* 3861. - Rs.: Wie 3.

5. \* AE, Caracalla, 211-212 n. Chr. - Imhoof-Blumer, *KIM* I 273 Nr. 48 Taf. 9, 4; *BMC Phrygia* 319, 235; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 326 Nr. 382 Taf. 12, 19; *SNG v. Aulock* 3862. - Rs.: Wie 3., Lykos l. und K. r., die Köpfe Wasser speiend.

6. \* AE, Caracalla, 211-212 n. Chr. - *SNG v. Aulock* 3860. - Rs.: Lykos l. und K. r. sich gegenüberstehend.

## c) Mit Lykos als Wolf und weiteren Personen

7. \* AE, Faustina II. († 176 n. Chr.) und Julia Domna († 217 n. Chr.). - *BMC Phrygia* 313, 215-216 Taf. 37, 10; *InvWadd* 6296; Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluß* 325 Nr. 380-381 Taf. 12, 17-18. - Rs.: Frontal stehende Stadtgöttin mit Kalathos, Kopf nach l., in der

Rechten Schale und in der Linken eine Statuette des Zeus Laodikenos haltend, zu ihren Füßen l. Lykos und r. K. wie auf 3. Bisweilen *ΛΥΚΟΣ* und *ΚΑΠΡΟΣ*.

8. \* AE, Caracalla, 211-212 n. Chr. - *SNG Copenhagen* 589. - Rs.: Stehende Rhea, Statue des Zeus Laodikenos haltend und ihren r. Fuß auf Plinthe setzend, umgeben von vier Korybanten mit Schilden, l. weitere Person, r. gelagerter Flußgott; l. und r. der Plinthe Lykos und K.

9. \* AE, Caracalla, 211-212 n. Chr. - Imhoof-Blumer, F., *Nomisma* 5, 1910, 33 Nr. 29 Taf. 3, 2; *idem*, *Fluß* 326 Nr. 383 Taf. 12, 20. - Rs.: Nach l. eilender nackter Mann, den Kopf zurückwendend, die Rechte erhoben, am l. Arm flatterndes Gewand; zu seinen Füßen Wasser speiende Köpfe des K. rechtshin und des Lykos linkshin; im Abschnitt Wellen.

## B. Kapros in menschlicher Gestalt

Nach l. gelagert, nur bis zu den Hüften mit einem Himation bekleidet, die Linke auf Quellgefäß stützend und Schilfrohr haltend.

10. \* AE, Antoninus Pius (138-161 n. Chr.) und Commodus (180-192 n. Chr.). - *InvWadd* Nr. 6284; Imhoof-Blumer, *KIM* I 268 Nr. 26 Taf. 8, 26; *idem*, *Fluß* 326-327 Nr. 385 Taf. 12, 22. - Rs.: Nach l. thronende Stadtgöttin mit Kalathos, mit der Linken ein Szepter schulternd und in der Rechten eine Statuette des Zeus Laodikenos haltend; zu ihren Füßen l. Lykos (*ΛΥΚΟΣ*) und r. K. (*ΚΑΠΡΟΣ*); darunter bisweilen Wellen.

11. \* AE, Caracalla, 211/212 n. Chr. - *BMC Phrygia* 317, 229 Taf. 38, 3; Imhoof-Blumer, *KIM* I 274 Nr. 51a; *idem*, *Fluß* 327 Taf. 12, 23; *SNG v. Aulock* 8419. - Rs.: Wie 10, die Stadtgöttin und K. halten zusätzlich ein Füllhorn.

12. (= Adrasteia II 7\*) AE, Caracalla (198-217 n. Chr.). - Imhoof-Blumer, F., *JdI* 3, 1888, 290 Nr. 2 Taf. 9, 19; *idem*, *Nymphen und Chariten auf griechischen Münzen* (1908) 137 Nr. 403 Taf. 9, 2. - Rs.: Nach l. eilende Adrasteia mit Zeuskind in der L., umgeben von drei Korybanten, l. Genius der Stadt mit Steuerruder, r. oben Adler, zu Füßen der Adrasteia l. und r. Lykos und K.

## KOMMENTAR

Alle bekannten Darstellungen des K. (1-12) befinden sich auf Münzen der Stadt Laodikeia in Phrygien, an welcher der Fluß vorbeifloß. Die ältesten Beispiele zeigen K. in Gestalt eines Ebers (1-9). Flußgötter wurden häufig in Form eines Stieres gebildet, als Eber erscheint uns jedoch allein K. Diese einzigartige Charakterisierung läßt sich auf seinen Namen zurückführen, der Eber bedeutet. Oft wird er auch zusammen mit Lykos dargestellt (3-12), der ebenfalls an Laodikeia vorbeifloß und in den der Kapros mündete. Wenn beide zusammen erscheinen und K. als Eber auftritt (3-9), wird Lykos als Wolf gezeigt, weil sein Name diese Bedeutung hat. Erst seit Antoninus Pius



(10-12) sehen wir K. auch in Menschengestalt und zwar im geläufigen Schema des auf ein Quellgefäß gelagerten Gottes. In zwei Reihen tauchen beide Flußgötter zusammen mit Laodikeia auf (7 und 10-11) und treten hier wie wohl auch bei den Einzeldarstellungen als Garanten des Reichtums der Stadt auf. Auf zwei weiteren Typen (8 und 12) fungieren die beiden Flußgötter nur als Beifiguren zu Szenen mit dem Zeuskind und deuten hier auf die Lage des Geschehens bei Laodikeia hin, eine Ortszuweisung, die wohl auf eine Lokallegende zurückzuführen ist (→ Kadmos II, Kommentar).

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

## KAPROS II

(Κάπρος) Hypothetische Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses in Assyrien, eines östlichen Nebenflusses des Tigris.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 955 s. v. «Kaprois I»; Joly, E., *EAA* IV (1961) 313 s. v. «Kaprois I»; Treidler, H., *KIPauly* III (1967) 115 s. v. «Kaprois 2»; Waser, O., *RE* VI 2 (1909) 2802 s. v. «Flußgötter»; Weissbach, F. H., *RE* X 2 (1919) 1921 s. v. «Kaprois 2».

1. AE, Artavasdes (224-228 n. Chr.), Unikum. - Gardner, P., *The Parthian Coinage* (1877) 59-60 Taf. 7, 22; Head, *HN* 690 (nicht mehr in *HN*); *BMC Parthia* LXXXV-LXXXVI Anm. 3 Taf. 37, 11. - Rs.: Stadtgöttin nach l. auf Felsen sitzend, in der Rechten Nike haltend, zu ihren Füßen schwimmender Flußgott mit großem Horn. Leg. ΠΟΛΙΣ Α. Vs.: Kopf der Stadtgöttin nach r.

Der auf diesem Unikum dargestellte Flußgott wurde von Head, *HN* 690 als K. identifiziert, weil er glaubte, daß der auf der Münze beigegebene Buchstabe Α auf die Stadt Atusia verweise, die an diesem Fluß liegt. Diese Interpretation wurde von Drexler und Joly in *ML* und *EAA* übernommen. Jedoch scheint es sehr unwahrscheinlich, daß diese Münze in Atusia geprägt wurde und daß die Stadtgöttin dieser recht unbedeutenden Stadt wiedergegeben sein sollte. Damit wird auch die Deutung des Flußgottes auf K. hinfällig.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

## KAR

(Κάρ, Car) Éponyme des Cariens d'Anatolie d'après leur légende. Fils de → Zeus et de → Krete (Ail. nat. 12, 30), il était frère de Lydos et de Mysos: d'où l'antique parenté des trois peuples «autochtones», Cariens, Lydiens et Mysiens, affirmée au sanctuaire de Zeus Carios à Mylasa (Hdt. I, 171; Strabon 14, 659). Il fonda Alabanda et lui donna le nom de son fils Alabandos; on voyait son tombeau à Euangelia/Souagela:

Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀλάβανδα, s. v. Εὐάγγελια. Il serait également le père du satrape Idrieus, et l'inventeur des augures tirés du vol des oiseaux (Plin. nat. 7, 203). Il faut le distinguer de K. fils de Phoroneus, premier roi de Mégare et éponyme de sa citadelle.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 957 s. v. «Kar 2»; v. Geisau, H., *KIPauly* III (1969) 116 s. v. «Kar 1».

### IDENTIFICATION HYPOTHÉTIQUE

1. Plaque de marbre. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. M 201. De Lagina, Hécateion, frise sud. - Mendel, *Sculpt* I 446-447. 466-469 n° 201; Schober, A., *Der Fries des Hekateions von Lagina* (1933) 77 n° 201 pl. 27; *EAA* IV (1961) 456 fig. 534. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Robert, L., *Études anatoliennes* [1937] 427 n. 2) plutôt que fin du II<sup>e</sup> (Schober) ou du I<sup>er</sup> s. (Mendel). - Près d'un dieu barbu assis à dr., un dieu jeune semble présenter deux enfants nus, qui s'avancent au premier plan, à une déesse voilée, trônant en majesté; elle tient sur ses genoux un troisième enfant, très endommagé. A g., debout, un adolescent nu et une seconde déesse matronale.

Pour Mendel, la plaque, contiguë à une Assemblée des dieux, illustre la légende carienne: → Hermes amène à Zeus Carios et à → Hécate, assistée par → Demeter, les trois frères K., Lydos et Mysos: «l'un, vraisemblablement Car, est déjà reçu sur les genoux d'Hécate; les deux autres implorent la protection de la déesse et de son père Zeus» (en effet, ils en touchent les vêtements).

Mais que représente alors l'éphèbe nu? Les enfants pourraient aussi figurer «les divisions ethniques ou politiques de la Carie, ou de Stratonice seule», et le dieu assis serait en ce cas Zeus Chrysaoreus (Mendel).

Selon Schober, le sujet serait la naissance de Zeus: Hécate, debout, aide → Rhea à cacher le nouveau-né à → Kronos.

CHRISTIAN AUGÉ

## KARALLIA

(Καράλλια, Karália, Káralis, Karállia) Personification der gleichnamigen Stadt in Kilikien.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Ruge, W., *RE* X 2 (1919) 1926-1927 s. v. «Kara(l)is, Karalleia 1».

### Münzen von Karallia (Kilikien)

1. \* AE, Maximinus (235-238 n. Chr.). - *BMC* Lycaonia, etc. 47, 4 Taf. 8, 7; *SNG* v. Aulock 5608; Ziegler, R., *Münzen Kilikiens in kleineren deutschen Sammlungen* (1989) 19, 60 Taf. 3. - Rs.: K. mit Mauerkrone auf Felsen im Tempel sitzend und in der Rechten Ähren haltend.

2. \* AE, Philippus I. (244-249 n. Chr.). - *BMC* Lycaonia, etc. 48, 7 Taf. 8, 8. - Rs.: K. mit Kalathos nach l. stehend, in der Linken Füllhorn und in der Rechten Statuette der Demeter mit Phiale und Fackel haltend.

Zwei Münztypen von Karallia zeigen die Stadtgöttin. In einer Reihe von Maximinus erscheint K. auf einem Felsen sitzend, ein Schema, das besonders in Südostkleinasien und Nordsyrien sehr beliebt war und sich von der bekannten hellenistischen Gruppe der → Antiocheia mit dem Orontes des Eutychides ableiten läßt. Sie sitzt zudem in einem Tempel, was das Vorhandensein eines solchen für den Kult andeuten könnte. In einer zweiten Serie (2) hält K. neben dem typischen Attribut für Tychen, dem Füllhorn, noch eine Statuette der Demeter, einer Göttin, die in dieser Stadt besondere Verehrung genoß. Die Statuette könnte hier möglicherweise als Zeugnis für die dort verwendete Kultstatue gewertet werden.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

## KARIA

(Καρία, Caria) Personifikation feminine du pays situé au sud-ouest de l'Anatolie, devenu une circonscription de la province romaine d'Asie (→ Asia II) puis, au III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., une province (Phrygie et Carie, puis Carie seule), dont le chef-lieu était → Aphrodisias.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 958 s. v. «Karia I»; Sgatti, G., *EAA* II (1959) 339 s. v. «Caria».

## CATALOGUE

### REPRÉSENTATION SÛRE

1. \* AE, Laodicée du Lykos (Phrygie), Caracalla (198-217). - *SNG* v. Aulock 3856; Sgatti fig. 490. - *Rv*. Entourant → Laodikeia assise et figurée comme une → Tyche qui tient une statuette de → Zeus Laodikeus, deux figures debout, nommées: à g. → Phrygia, à dr. K.; toutes deux portent une haute coiffure évasée (calathos plutôt que couronne murale), une robe longue et un himation. K. tient sur son bras g. une corne d'abondance et dans la main dr. un rameau.

### REPRÉSENTATIONS HYPOTHÉTIQUES

2. (= Isauria 1\* avec bibl.) AE, Tarse (Cilicie), Septime Sévère (193-211). - Kenner, F., *Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian* (1871) 153-155 pl. 5, 12; Waddington, W. H., *BCH* 7, 1883, 283-285. - *Rv*. Trois figures féminines debout, l'Isaurie (seule nommée) et deux Tychai, dont l'une (→ Lykaonia?) couronne l'autre. Cette dernière, tourelée, avec un dieu-fleuve à ses pieds (→ Fluvii), tient elle aussi une couronne. Selon Waddington, il s'agirait de → Kilikia représentée par la Tyché de Tarse (→ Tarsos) avec le fleuve → Kydnos. Mais l'identification à K. est également possible (Kenner, Drexler).

3. \* Plaque de marbre. Istanbul, Mus. Arch. M 223. De Lagina, Hécateion, frise nord. - Mendel, *Sculpt* I 446-447. 516-518 n° 223; Schober, A., *Der Fries des Hekateions von Lagina* (1933) 35-36. 73-74 n° 223 pl. 11. - 1<sup>er</sup> quart du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. (Robert, L., *Études ana-*

tolienes [1937] 427 n. 2) plutôt que dernier quart du II<sup>e</sup> (Schober) ou du I<sup>er</sup> s. (Mendel). - Au centre un guerrier casqué et cuirassé, tourné à dr., prend la main d'une femme casquée, vêtue comme une Amazone (→ Amazones) d'une tunique courte dénudant un sein, et portant sur son bras g. une épée dans son fourreau: K.? A g. une figure féminine, une danseuse et un tronc d'arbre; à dr. un trophée près de l'épaule de l'Amazone et deux femmes debout dont l'une, qui tient une patère, rappelle → Iuno Pronuba.

Selon Mendel il s'agit de l'union symbolique, du «mariage politique», de Rome, représentée par son Peuple armé, et de la Carie, plutôt que de deux simples villes comme on en voit sur la plaque précédente (Mendel 514-516 n° 222). Le trophée symboliserait les victoires attachées à cette alliance.

## COMMENTAIRE

K. est une pure et simple personnification, totalement dépourvue de mythologie: elle n'est même pas rattachée à une généalogie divine. La Carie, les Cariens, sont pourtant souvent cités dans les textes, mais on mentionne à leur propos tantôt leur ancêtre mythique → Kar, tantôt leurs dieux tutélaires, notamment → Zeus Karios.

La seule représentation sûre de K., désignée par une inscription, est le type monétaire 1: il pourrait se rapporter à quelque entente (ou à quelque modification de statut?) des deux régions voisines, la Carie et la Phrygie, réunies autour de Laodicée, l'ancienne capitale du *conventus* de Cibyratide. Faute de renseignements historiques suffisants, il est impossible de confirmer, ou d'infirmer, l'hypothèse présentée pour l'identification du type monétaire 2.

L'explication proposée par Mendel pour la scène centrale de la frise nord de Lagina (3) est d'autant plus vraisemblable que cette sorte d'allégories se répand à l'époque où l'on suppose que furent sculptés ces reliefs. Les plaques voisines (Mendel nos 216-222. 224-225) réunissent des dieux, des soldats romains et orientaux, des personnages masculins (représentant des *démoi*) et féminins, surtout des Amazones figurant la série de villes anatoliennes auxquelles, selon la légende, elles ont donné leur nom. Il ne serait pas surprenant que la Carie soit personnifiée de la même façon. Ce serait alors la première des très rares représentations attestées du pays.

KENAN T. ERIM

## KARMEIOS

(Κάρμειος) Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses in Phrygien, dem heutigen Yusuf Yylan Çay.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 960 s. v. «Karmeios»; Joly, E., *EAA* IV (1961) 321 s. v. «Karmeios»; Ruge, W., *RE* X 2 (1919) 1957 s. v. «Karmeios»; Waser, O., *RE* VI 2 (1909) 2802 s. v. «Flußgötter».

## Münzen von Hadrianopolis-Sebaste (Phrygien)

1. \* AE, Severus Alexander (222-235 n. Chr.), Maximinus Thrax (235-238 n. Chr.), Philippus I. (244-249 n. Chr.), Philippus II. und Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 n. Chr.). - BMC Phrygia 227, 11. 13 Taf. 28, 8; *InvWadd* 6076 Taf. 16, 14; Imhoof-Blumer, *GrM* 213 Nr. 687; *idem*, *KIM* 1 234 Nr. 8; *idem*, *Flußg* 320 Nr. 365-366 Taf. 12, 4-5; Grose, *McClellan* III (1929) Nr. 8812 Taf. 311, 4; Forrer, L., *The Weber Coll.* III 2 (1929) Nr. 7098-7099 Taf. 253. - Rs.: Nach l. gelagerter, nur bis zu den Hüften mit einem Himation bekleideter jugendlicher K., mit der Linken auf Quellgefäß sich stützend und Schilfrohr haltend, in der Rechten Füllhorn. Bisweilen *ΣΕΒΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ ΕΠΙ ΑΜΙΑΝΤΟΥ ΚΑΡΜΕΙΟΣ* oder *ΣΕΒΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠ ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧ ΚΑΛΠΟΥΡΝΙΟΥ Β ΚΑΡΜΕΙΟΣ*.

Diese einzig uns bekannten Darstellungen des K. entsprechen dem geläufigen Typus des auf ein Quellgefäß gelagerten menschengestaltigen Flußgottes (→ Fluvii).

RAINER VOLKKOMMER

## KARMELOS

(hébr. *Karmel* [la montagne], *Κάρμηλος*, Carmelus [le dieu]). Nom de la montagne située entre la Phénicie et la Palestine et du dieu qui y était vénéré.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: 1<sup>er</sup> Rois 18 (LXX: 3<sup>e</sup> Rois 18); Skylax 104, GGM I 79; Tac. *hist.* 2, 78; Suet. *Vesp.* 5; *Iambl.* v. P. 3, 14-15; Oros. 7, 9.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Alt, A., «Das Gottesurteil auf dem Karmel», dans *Festschrift G. Beer* (1935) 1-18 = *Kl. Schriften* II (1953, 1959<sup>2</sup>) 135-149; Avi-Yonah, M., «Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbeck», *IEJ* 2, 1952, 118-124; *idem*, «Syrian Gods at Ptolemais-Akko», *IEJ* 9, 1959, 1-12; Eißfeldt, O., *Der Gott Karmel* (1953); Gallig, K., dans *Geschichte und Altes Testament, Festschrift A. Alt* (1953) 110-121; Hill, G. F., *BMC Phoenicia* (1910) LXXVII-LXXXVII 131-138 pl. 16-17, 42; Kadman, L., *The Coins of Akko-Ptolemais, Corpus Nummorum Palaestiniensium* IV (1961); Lifshitz, B., dans *ANRW* II 8 (1977) 13-16; Seyrig, H., «Divinités de Ptolémaïs», *Syria* 39, 1962, 193-207 pl. 13-14 = *AntSyr* VI (1966) 100-114; de Vaux, R., «Les prophètes de Baal sur le Mont Carmel», *BullMusBeyrouth* 5, 1941, 7-20.

## CATALOGUE

Pour tous les documents, l'identification est incertaine.

## A. Le dieu (Karmélos?) debout

## Monnaies coloniales de Ptolémaïs-Aké

1. \* AE, Alexandre Sévère (222-235), Philippe I et II (244-249), Valérien (253-260), peut-être Gallien (253-268). - De Saulcy, F., *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte* (1874) 166, 3 pl. 8, 10; van der Vliet, N., *RBibl* 57, 1950, 433 n° 4 pl. 6; Kadman n°s 196-197.

206-207. 220-221. 244; Seyrig 197 = 104 pl. 13, 7-9. - *Rv.* Dans un sanctuaire portatif avec colonnes, architrave, brancards et autel, dieu debout de face (calathos, longue gaine) tenant de la main g. un sceptre long, parfois surmonté d'une → Nike, et de la dr. une torche oblique; sur le socle, de chaque côté, torche ou pyrée (et non taureaux: Seyrig, o. c. et *RNum* 1962, 49 = *Scripta Numismatica* [1986] 285, contre Kadman 76). Variations dans le dessin de l'architrave (simple ou double) et la présentation du sanctuaire (de face, en perspective...).



Karmelos 1

2. \* AE, peut-être Valérien (et non Caracalla: Seyrig), Gallien. - Hill, *BMC* 138, 50 pl. 17, 10; Kadman n°s 149. 256-258; Seyrig 199-200 = 106-107 p. 13, 10-11. - *Rv.* Dans un sanctuaire portatif à 4 colonnes et architrave ornée, dieu debout sur un rocher, en vêtement court, brandissant de la main dr. une bipenne et tenant de la g. un épi (?).

## B. Buste (de Karmélos?)

3. \* AE, Marc Aurèle (161-180), Septime Sévère (193-211) (et non Caracalla). - De Saulcy, o. c. I, 161, 4-5 pl. 8, 8; Babelon, *Achémenides* 223, 1535 pl. 29, 9; Kadman n°s 111. 123. 139; Seyrig 196 = 103 pl. 13, 6. - *Rv.* Buste à dr. radié et drapé, la barbe et la chevelure très fournie; sur le front se dressent trois mèches à l'aspect de flammes; devant, torche.



Karmelos 3



Karmelos 4a

## C. Karmélos représenté par un symbole (pied)

4a) \* (= Heliopolitani Dei 63 avec bibl.) AE, peut-être Elagabal (218-222), Valérien, Salonine

(253-268). - De Saulcy, o. c. I, 169, 1-2 pl. 8, 12; Babelon, *Achémenides* 228, 1562 pl. 29, 18; Rosenberger, M., *City-Coins of Palestine* I (1977) 29, 66 (Elagabal); 32, 84. - *Rv.* Pied dr. humain, tourné à dr., avec attache au sommet, surmonté d'un foudre; à dr. caducée, au-dessous, il peut y avoir une harpée.

4b) AE, Philippe II. - Meshorer, Y., *City-Coins of Eretz-Israel*. . . (1985) 15 n° 15. - Variante: pied tourné à g., foudre et caducée, pas de harpée.

## Ronde bosse

5. (= Heliopolitani Dei 64 avec bibl.) Fr. de pied votif en marbre. Couvent carmélite Saint Elie du mont Carmel. Prov. probablement des environs. - Fin II<sup>e</sup>-début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Doigts et avant d'un pied dr. monumental posé sur un socle. Dédicace de G. Ioulios Eutychas, colon de Césarée, à *ΔΙΙ ΗΛΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗ ΚΑΡΜΗΛΩ*.

## COMMENTAIRE

Le mont Carmel est mentionné pour la première fois dans les sources égyptiennes sous le nom de *raši-qodšu* («tête» ou «cap saint») dans les annales de Thoutmosis III en 1468 av. J.-C. et de Ramsès II lors de sa campagne sur l'Oronte. Cela laisse supposer qu'un culte y était déjà rendu (Ahituv, S. *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* [1984] 162). Mais la première mention explicite d'un tel culte se trouve en 1<sup>er</sup> Rois 18 et renvoie au IX<sup>e</sup> s.: dans un affrontement avec Elie sur la montagne, des prophètes de Baal préparent un sacrifice et demandent vainement au dieu de l'enflammer. C'est donc une épiphanie dans les flammes qui est attendue et le contexte permet d'affirmer qu'il s'agit d'un rite destiné à faire venir la pluie. Le dieu est donc lié au feu et à les caractères d'un dieu de l'orage et des éléments atmosphériques, comme il est normal pour le Seigneur d'une montagne avançant en promontoire sur la mer. Si le Baal ici célébré est une divinité locale de la montagne, analogue à Baal Şapon (Donner, H./Röllig, W., *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* 3 [1971-76] n° 50) ou à Baal Lebanon (*ibid.* n° 31), il a les caractères des dieux de l'orage phénicien (Baalshamim) et syrien (→ Hadad), qui tous deux seront plus tard identifiés à Zeus. On doit d'ailleurs noter que le culte de Hadad est lui aussi attesté dans la région d'Akko au II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Avi-Yonah 1959, 1-12). Mais il n'est fait mention dans le texte biblique ni d'une représentation du dieu ni d'un lieu de culte permanent.

La littérature classique ne permet pas non plus de connaître l'iconographie du dieu. A part la mention de Tacite selon lequel il ne faisait justement l'objet d'aucune image et n'avait pas de temple, il n'est question que de la sainteté du lieu et de son caractère secret (Jamblique), et d'un oracle qui aurait prédit l'empire à Vespasien (Tacite, Suétone) et poussé les Juifs à la rébellion (Orose). Le Pseudo-Scylax précise que le Carmel était «la montagne sainte de Zeus».

Il n'existe aucune représentation certaine de ce dieu. L'explication en est peut-être fournie par Tacite

selon lequel son culte était aniconique. Certains monuments peuvent cependant être mis en rapport avec lui, comme le pied de marbre découvert sur le mont Carmel (5). L'inscription prouve qu'il était lié à son culte. L'hypothèse du premier éditeur, un fr. d'une statue monumentale, est infirmée par le parallèle des monnaies coloniales de Ptolémaïs qui représentent aussi un pied seul (4). Il s'agit d'un pied votif symbolisant le dieu (Guarducci, M., *RendPontAcc* 19, 1943, 322-328). L'assimilation du dieu Carmel à Zeus Héliopolitain, dont le nom Karmélos devient presque un qualificatif, le foudre qui surmonte le pied sur les monnaies, nous renvoient à une iconographie de dieu de l'orage. Le caducée serait le symbole de Mercure, lié ici à Zeus Héliopolitain comme à Baalbek (Seyrig 203-205 = 110-112).

Mais pour Seyrig 196-199 = 103-106, c'est un autre type monétaire de Ptolémaïs qui figurerait le dieu Carmel: dans un sanctuaire portatif, un dieu mâle engainé à la mode syrienne, coiffé du calathos, tenant une torche et entouré de pyrées (1). Ce dieu du feu ne serait autre que celui dont les prophètes de Baal attendaient qu'il enflamme leur sacrifice. Le type monétaire reproduirait une image qui se trouvait non dans le sanctuaire sur la montagne, où la figuration était interdite, mais dans un temple édifié dans la ville d'Akko, au territoire de laquelle appartenait la montagne. Le dieu est peut-être identique à celui dont le buste (qui fait penser à → Sarapis) orne d'autres émissions un peu plus anciennes (3): la torche et les flammes qui paraissent s'échapper de la chevelure lui donnent le même caractère de «dieu du feu». Enfin, si la monnaie signalée par Avi-Yonah 1959, 10 et représentant Tyché assise sur un roc face à un dieu montagnard «que nous savons être le dieu Carmel» n'a jamais été publiée, on doit mentionner, toujours sur des émissions de Ptolémaïs, un sanctuaire portatif avec une autre image d'un dieu debout sur un rocher (2), «Baal montagnard» selon Seyrig, que l'on pourrait aussi rapprocher du Baal du Carmel. FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET

KARNEIOS → Apollon 313, p. 226, 389, p. 314, → Aristaios I 21

KARPO → Horai

## KARPOI

(*Karpot*) Personnifications des Fruits, en tant qu'enfants de la Terre (→ Ge, → Tellus).

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Les K. apparaissent exclusivement chez Jean de Gaza (Jo. Gaz. 2, 11-13; 33-44) dans sa description de la coupole peinte d'un bain d'hiver à Gaza (ou Antioche, selon une correction antique du manuscrit) (*infra* 3).

## CATALOGUE

## Mosaïques

1.\* (= Aion 3\*, = Boreas 7, = Drosio 1, = Ge 30, = Georgia 1, = Kairoi/Tempora anni 36 - avec bibl.) Damas, Mus. Nat. De Shahba-Philippopolis. - Fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Au premier plan d'une composition cosmogonique dense, quatre bambins (inscr. *KAPPIOI*) entourent la figure de Gé assise; aux trois-quarts nus, ils se différencient entre eux par la couronne qui les coiffe et les fruits qu'ils portent.

2. (= Aroura 1\* avec bibl.) Antakya, Mus. Hatay. D'Antioche, grande salle des bains E. - Rostovtzeff, M., «*KAPPIOI*», *REA* 42, 1940 (= *Mél. G. Radet*) 508-514. - 2<sup>e</sup> quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Entourant une Gé coiffée d'épis, à demi étendue sur un siège en forme de Sphinge, neuf jeunes garçons complètement nus portent une énorme guirlande de blé; deux d'entre eux, à g., placés plus près de Gé, évoquent le groupe de la Karpophoros avec ses deux enfants (*infra* 3); les autres, à dr., s'activent à moissonner ou à soulever la lourde charge; le dernier embrasse une jeune femme qu'une inscr. désigne comme Aro(ura), la Terre labourée. A dr., l'inscr. *KAPPIOI* se rapporte sans doute à l'ensemble du groupe.

## Peinture

3. Coupole peinte. Gaza (ou Antioche), thermes d'hiver (descr. par Jean de Gaza). Perdue. - Friedländer, P., *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius* (1912) 152-153. 192-194; Downey, G., «John of Gaza and the Mosaic of Ge and Karpoi», *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* II (1938) 205-212. - VI<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Les jumeaux, nés de la Terre, sont figurés auprès de leur mère: l'un d'eux lui entoure le cou de ses bras et lève la tête vers elle pour l'embrasser, tandis que l'autre tend la main pour attraper les gouttes de pluie.

Seules les représentations authentifiées par une inscr. ont été reprises ici; pour les autres (cf. Strong, E., «Terra Mater or Italia?», *JRS* 27, 1937, 116-118), → Tellus, → Neilos.

Appendice: représentation hypothétiquement identifiée comme un Karpos

4. (= Horai/Horae 73\* avec bibl. et renvois) Mosaïque. Mérida, Casa del Mitreo. - Quet, M.-H., *La mosaïque cosmologique de Mérida* (1981) 137-143. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Une figure féminine de Saison tient par la main un «putto-K.» portant un bouquet d'épis et une faucille, attributs de l'Été.

## COMMENTAIRE

Il semble y avoir deux types iconographiques distincts des K., l'un où ils sont étroitement liés à Tellus, Terra Mater (1. 3), l'autre où le contexte égyptien est déterminant (2). Le premier type comporte de nombreuses variantes quant au nombre des K.: vraisemblablement deux à l'origine, ils peuvent, selon l'espace disponible, se réduire à un seul ou se multiplier jusqu'à trois ou quatre; dans ce dernier cas, ils portent fréquemment des attributs précis et sont dès lors assis-

milés aux Saisons (mosaïque de Sentinum p.ex., → Kairoi/Tempora anni 35 = Aion 13\*, → Tellus). Les K. du second type sont liés à la procession du Nil après la crue (cf. Rostovtzeff, o.c. 2) et symbolisent les «fruits» de la Terre d'Égypte: c'est pourquoi Gé, sur la mosaïque d'Antioche, est assise sur une Sphinge (→ Sphinx); on les a généralement identifiés dans ce cas aux → Pecheis (les «coudées», qui doivent être au nombre de 16 pour que l'inondation soit bonne; cf. Bonneau, D., *La crue du Nil* [1964] 343-345).

On ne retrouve à Mérida (4) aucun de ces deux types; l'enfant doit être sans doute un simple dédoublement de la Saison dont il porte l'attribut.

JANINE BALTZ

KARRHAI → LIMC Suppl.

KASMILOS → Megaloi Theoi

KASSANDRA I → Aias II, → Addenda vol. sq.

## KASSANDRA II / KASSANDROS

In der praenestischen Form *Casenter* Name einer Reiterin oder eines Reiters auf:

1. (= Altria/Alsir 2 mit Lit., = Amazones Etruscae 4\* mit Lit., = Chryseis I 2, = Helene/Elina 41) Bronzeciste, praenestisch, Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. 3467 (Fr. 542). - CPI I Nr. 9 Taf. 73; Steuding, H., *ML I* 1, 855 s. v. «Casenter(a)»; Wachter, R., *Altlateinische Inschriften* (1987) 154-158. - 3. Jh. v. Chr. - Neben einem jugendlichen, nach l. gewendeten Reiter oder einer Reiterin (Chiton und Chlamys, Schuhe, bewaffnet mit Lanze, Schild und Beinschienen) ist die Beischrift *Casenter* zu lesen, die entweder als vollständige, altlateinische Form des Namens Kassandros oder als unvollständig zu Casentera zu ergänzende, von Kassandra abgeleitete Form zu interpretieren ist (Wachter 156 erwägt auch die Lesung *Casentia*, die aber ein Ungenauigkeit des Zeichners der einzig publizierten Abbildung voraussetzt; am Original läßt sich die Lesung nicht mehr überprüfen).

Das Geschlecht der Reitergestalt ist unbestimmt; daß es sich um eine Frau, d. h. um eine Amazone handelt, wird meist geschlossen aus der Namensbeischrift *Oinumama* bei einer sehr ähnlichen, nach r. reitenden Gestalt r. von Ajax. Während *Oinumama* wohl als Unimamma, d. h. «die mit (nur) einer Brust» zu erklären ist (Lit. bei Wachter 158), ist Kassandra als Amazonenname nicht überliefert. Da der Name selbst aber durch Kassandra I in Mittelitalien wesentlich bekannter gewesen sein dürfte als Kassandros, ein Bundesgenosse der Troer (s. *ML II* 1, 985-986 s. v. «Kassandros»), und zudem aus Analogie zu *Oinumama* eine

weibliche Form naheliegt, dürfte die Lesung *Casenter[a]* vorzuziehen sein, aber auch die Form *Casenter/Kassandros* kann nicht ganz ausgeschlossen werden.

INGRID KRAUSKOPF

KASSIEPEIA → Addenda vol. sq.

KASSIOPEIA → Kassiepeia (Addenda vol. sq.)

KASSMIA → Oidipous, → Sphinx (LIMC Suppl.)

## KASTALIA I

(*Κασταλία*, Castalia) Personnification de la source Castalie à Delphes, fille d'→ Acheloo et épouse de → Delphos.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: La source de Delphes K. est connue par de nombreux témoignages, mais peu de textes ont trait à sa nymphe éponyme. K. est fille d'→ Acheloo (Panyassis *fig.* 15 K Matthews) et épouse de Delphos, mère de Kastalios et de Phémone (Schol. Eur. Or. 1094). Une autre version la présente comme une jeune fille de Delphes, aimée d'→ Apollon, qui pour échapper au dieu se jeta dans la fontaine à laquelle on donna son nom (Schol. Stat. Theb. 1, 698).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML II* 1 (1890-94) 996 s. v. «Kastalia»; Kroll, W., *RE X* 2 (1919) 2338 s. v. «Kastalia 2».

## CATALOGUE

## DOCUMENTS D'IDENTIFICATION INCERTAINE

1.\* (= Apollon 1007 avec bibl., = Delphos 2) Statue fr. de «Coré», en marbre, fronton est du temple archaïque d'Apollon. Delphes, Mus. - Fin du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - La Coré à la dr. du dieu pourrait être, selon moi, K. (cf. Commentaire).

2. (= Delos I 4 avec bibl.) Mosaïque. Oran, Mus. De Portus Magnus (Algérie). - Robert, C., *JdI* 5, 1890, 217 pl. 5. - IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Dans une scène énigmatique, une femme dénudée portant une phiale a été identifiée comme K. face à Neptune (→ Poseidon/Neptunus) qui frapperait du trident le serpent Python (Robert).

3.\* Mosaïque. Delphes, Mus. De la basilique fouillée dans le village moderne. - Daux, G., *BCH* 84, 1960, 754; Sodini, J.-P., *BCH* 94, 1970, 711 n. 21; idem, *BCH* 95, 1971, 582; Spiro, M., *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements on the Greek Mainland...* (1978) 237 pl. 252. - Fin V<sup>e</sup>-début VI<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Dans le médaillon central entouré d'une couronne de laurier, l'avant-bras g. d'un personnage mutilé tient par la base une cruche d'où s'échappe un filet d'eau.

## COMMENTAIRE

Sur le fronton est du temple de Delphes 1, la présence de K. accentue le caractère local de la scène. Plutôt que d'y voir l'arrivée d'Apollon avec des Athéniens (Plassart, A., *REA* 42, 1940, 297-298; Dörig, J., *AntK* 4. Beih. [1967] 107-109), j'adopte l'hypothèse de Lambrinoudakis, → Apollon 1007 et Commentaire. Les divinités épichoriques Delphos et K. accueillent Apollon escorté par deux Hyperboréennes et deux Hyperboréens (→ Hyperboreioi), qui sont, selon moi, les deux fondateurs de l'oracle (cf. Paus. 10, 5, 7); une paraphrase d'Alk. *fig.* 307 Voigt mentionne en effet la source K. dans le récit du retour d'Apollon.

L'identification de K. est au contraire insoutenable sur la mosaïque 2: rien n'indique que la scène se passe à Delphes; le serpent ne peut être Python, qui fut tué par Apollon, non par Neptune.

En revanche, la figure très lacunaire de Delphes (3) doit représenter K., à cause du lieu de trouvaille de cette mosaïque. Le mosaïste a pu s'inspirer de figurations contemporaines de la K. de Daphné, dont le silence symbolise la victoire du christianisme sur le paganisme (→ Kastalia II).

On se gardera de reconnaître un symbole de K. dans toute hydrie associée à un trépied. Sur un bas-relief d'Akraï (→ Apollon 675) qui présente peut-être cette image (Mingazzini, P., *Scritti vari*, éd. G. de Luca [1986] 60), l'hydrie restituée ne saurait représenter K., même si son eau est associée à la notion de purification (cf. Amandry, P., *BCH Suppl.* IV [1977] 198 n. 11); l'hydrie contient l'eau de la fontaine Cassotis, qui a quelque signification cultuelle (cf. Roux, G., *Delphes, son oracle et ses dieux* [1976] 136-144).

FRANÇOIS QUEYREL

## KASTALIA II

(*Κασταλία*, Castalia) Personnification de la source Castalie du sanctuaire de Daphné près d'Antioche.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Les témoignages sur le caractère oraculaire de la source sont nombreux, mais la figure mythologique n'est pas évoquée dans les textes. Le pouvoir prophétique de son eau distingue la Castalie d'Antioche de son homonyme de Delphes, → Kastalia I (Bernardi). La littérature chrétienne raille le silence de l'oracle, dont Julien a voulu restaurer le pouvoir fatidique en débouchant la source, qu'Hadrien avait fait obstruer (Soz. 5, 19, 10-11; cf. Bidez).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Bernardi, J., éd. de Grégoire de Naziance, *Contre Julien. Deuxième invective* (1983) 358 n. 1; Bidez, J., *La vie de l'Empereur Julien* (1930) 286-287. 401 n. 15-16; Bouché-Leclercq, A., *Hist. de la divination dans l'antiquité III* (1880) 267-269; Downey, G., *A History of Antioch in Syria* (1961) 83-84. 222. 364. 387-388; Kroll, W., *RE X* (1919) 2338 s. v. «Kastalia 3»; Martin, R., dans Festugière, A. J., *Antioche païenne et chrétienne* (1959) 54.



## CATALOGUE

## IDENTIFICATION ASSURÉE

1. \* Mosaïque. De Yakto, Antioche. - Seyrig, H., *Berytus* 2, 1935, 45 = *Scripta varia* (1985) 481; Levi, *Antioch* 329 pl. 79a. - 2<sup>e</sup> moitié du V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Sur la bordure à thème topographique, K., identifiée par l'inscr. *ΚΑΣΤΑΛΙΑ*, est figurée sous l'apparence d'un personnage féminin, le torse nu, les jambes enveloppées dans un himation de couleur verte. Elle retient de la main g. un vase d'où s'échappe un filet d'eau qui alimente un bâtiment semi-circulaire figuré dessous.

2. \* Mosaïque. Gasr el-Libia (Libye, Cyrénaïque), Mus. De la basilique. - Grabar, A., *CRAI* 1969, 275-278; Stern, H., *ibidem* 279-282 fig. 1; Alföldi-Rosenbaum, E./Ward-Perkins, J., *Justinianic Mosaic Pavements in Cyrenaican Churches* (1980) 33 n. 84; 39-40. 126 D 3; 146 A VIII, pl. 11, 1; 105, 4. - 539-540 ap. J.-C. - K. (inscr. *ΚΑΣΤΑΛΙΑ*) est entourée par l'Euphrate et le Tigre (→ Euphrates, → Tigris), tournés vers elle. La nymphe, à demi nue, est assise près d'un arbre aux fruits rouges; elle repose son bras dr. sur la tête, qui est serrée dans un foulard, tandis que sa main g. retient un vase d'où coule un flot d'eau.

## IDENTIFICATION VRAISEMBLABLE

3. (= Apollon/Apollo 451, = Daphne 40, = Hylas 33 - avec bibl.) Site en argent. Leningrad, Ermitage 2160/2. De Concesti (Roumanie). - V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Je propose d'identifier comme K. la Nymphe assise à la g. de Daphné; elle tient un rameau de laurier dans la main dr., tandis que son autre main repose sur une jarre d'où s'échappe un flot d'eau.

4. (= Daphne 40a) Tissu copte. Zurich, marché des ant. - IV<sup>e</sup> ou V<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - La Nymphe debout qui porte un bassin pourrait, me semble-t-il, représenter K., en compagnie d'Apollon et de Daphné.

## COMMENTAIRE

La date tardive des images de K. s'explique sans doute par l'histoire de la source, qui, après avoir été obstruée par Hadrien, coula de nouveau sous Julien. Le paysage d'Antioche et de son faubourg autorise à identifier comme K. II la Nymphe figurée sur la mosaïque 1 au-dessus d'un bâtiment qui doit être le «théâtre des sources», réservoir de Daphné (Malalas *chronographia* 11 p. 278 Dindorf; cf. Downey 221 n. 97).

Le silence de l'oracle de K. II est peut-être indiqué par la pose alanguie de la Nymphe de la basilique libyenne 2 (Grabar); j'ajoute un argument en faveur de cette interprétation: le temple qui fait pendant à la figure de K. (Alföldi-Rosenbaum/Ward-Perkins, o. c. 2, F3, 128 pl. 16, 2) représente, selon moi, le temple déchu d'Apollon à Daphné, plutôt que le temple de Jérusalem (Stern, o. c. 2). L'attitude de K., qui reprend la pose de l'Apollon Delphinios (→ Apollon 66-66a; cf. Thomas, E., *IstanbMitt* 33, 1983, 123-133 pl. 27-30), a une double signification: elle rappelle le lien de K. avec Apollon, qui se marque dans la proximité de la

source et du temple (Downey 364 n. 217), tout en évoquant le silence de l'oracle.

Sur les documents 3 et 4, la présence d'une Nymphe aux côtés d'Apollon et de Daphné amène à l'identifier comme la K. du sanctuaire de Daphné. Sur la situle 3, K. reprend partiellement, en l'inversant, l'attitude qu'elle adopte sur la mosaïque 2, sans toutefois poser un bras sur la tête.

Signalons enfin que K. II sera encore représentée au XI<sup>e</sup> s., sur des miniatures qui ne suivent aucune tradition classique (cf. Weitzmann, K., *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* [1951] 61-63 pl. 22, 74; 23, 76; Grabar, o. c. 2, 276 n. 1 fig. 5). FRANÇOIS QUEYREL

KASTOR → Dioskouroi

KASTUR, KASUTRU → Dioskouroi/Tinas cliniar 58. 59. 77

## KATARRHAKTES

(*Katarrhaktēs*, Cata(r)rhactes) Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses in Pamphylien, heute Düden Su, genannt nach dem Wasserfall, mit dem er über die Klippen ins Meer mündet.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 1002 s. v. «Katarrhaktēs»; Joly, E., *EAA* IV (1961) 332 s. v. «Katarrhaktēs»; Ruge, W., *RE* X 2 (1919) 2485 s. v. «Katarrhaktēs 12»; Waser, O., *RE* VI 2 (1909) 2789. 2802 s. v. «Flußgötter».

1. \* AE, Magydos (Pamphylien), Marcus Aurelius bis Gallienus (161-268 n. Chr.). - Löbbecke, A., *ZfN* 12, 1885, 326 Nr. 1; *BMC* Pamphylia 116, 6; Imhoof-Blumer, *KIM* II 325 Nr. 3; *idem*, *Fluß* 333 Nr. 400 Taf. 13, 6; *SNG* v. Aulock 4642. 4646. 8510. - Rs.: K. bärtig, linkshin gelagert, ein Himation um den Unterkörper geschlungen, mit dem l. Arm auf ein Quellgefäß gestützt, in der l. Armbeuge Füllhorn, in der Rechten geschultertes Schilfrohr.

Die nach dem in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit üblichen Schema der Flußgötter (→ Fluvii) dargestellte Figur auf den Münzen von Magydos ist nirgends durch eine Beischrift näher bezeichnet. Die gängige Deutung dieser Gestalt als K. ist jedoch durchaus glaubwürdig, da zwei Quellen die Stadt Magydos in Verbindung mit dem Fluß K. nennen (Skylax 100; Ptol. 5, 5, 2); daneben taucht der Name Magydos nur in der Spätantike als Herkunftsbezeichnung sowie im Mittelalter auf (vgl. Ruge, W., *RE* XIV 1 [1928] 521 s. v. «Magydos»); der Fluß erscheint an zwei weiteren Stellen ohne Erwähnung der Stadt (Strabon 14, 4, 1 p. 667; Mela 1, 14, 79). THOMAS GANSCHOW

## KAUKASOS

(*Καυκάσος*, Caucasus) Personification des Monte Caucas, lieu de châtement de → Prometheus.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Häfer, O., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 1004-1005 s. v. «Kaukasos»; Milchhöfer, A., *Die Befreiung des Prometheus. Ein Fund aus Pergamon*, 42. *BerlWP* (1882); Paribeni, E., *EAA* IV (1961) 332 s. v. «Kaukasos».

## CATALOGUE

1. \* Relief de marbre, frs. Berlin-DDR, Staatl. Mus. D'un monument votif élevé par Mithridate Eupator. - Milchhöfer, *passim* pl. 1; Winter, F., *Pergamon VII* 2 (1908) 175-180 pl. 37. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Selon la mise en place proposée par Milchhöfer, Prométhée est enchaîné sur un fond rocheux dans l'angle g. du relief; en contrebas → Herakles tend son arc. A l'aplomb de Prométhée, K. de dos, drapé dans son manteau qui laisse l'épaule dr. découverte.

2. Sarcophage, petit côté dr. perdu. Paris, Louvre MA 355. Ex-coll. Borghèse. - Dessin de Cifferi, *Recueil Topham* (XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.), Bibliothèque d'Eton Bm II, 38, 2; Baratte/Metzger, *SarcLouv* n° 46 (bibl.). - Vers 220 ap. J.-C. - L'aigle dévore le foie de Prométhée enchaîné, cependant qu'Héraclès bande son arc. Aux pieds de Prométhée, K. (pour Baratte, o. c. 114, il s'agit de → Tartaros).

3. \* Sarcophage en marbre. Rom, Mus. Cap. 329. - Helbig II<sup>e</sup> n° 1257 (bibl.); Milchhöfer 6 et vignette p. 1; *SarkRel* III 3 fig. 355 b; Raggio, O., *JWarbInst* 21, 1958, 47 pl. 5 d. - Fin III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - La silhouette de Prométhée forme l'arête entre la face principale et le petit côté du sarcophage. Dans l'angle supérieur dr., K. repose dans l'attitude préférée des dieux fluviaux sur un sol rocheux et pentu. Il contemple la délivrance de Prométhée par Héraclès, le front posé sur une cornucopia qu'il retient de la main dr. Il est barbu, un manteau agrafé sur le cou drape ses jambes; il tient un rameau ou une palme au creux du bras g.

## COMMENTAIRE

K. est un simple figurant dans les scènes représentant la libération de Prométhée. Comme d'autres dieux de montagne (→ Montes), il apparaît sous les traits d'un homme mûr, comparable à un dieu fleuve atypique. L'identification du personnage comme Tartaros (2) est difficile à admettre lorsqu'il a pour attribut une corne d'abondance, car celle-ci est l'emblème des terres fertiles, ce que le Tartare ne peut être (néanmoins Pluton est souvent représenté avec la corne d'abondance). K. n'est reconnaissable que dans les scènes qui ont lieu dans le Caucase. Comme toute personification d'un lieu éloigné sans épaisseur légendaire, K. est dépourvu de relief. ANNE NERCESSIAN

## KAULOS

(*Caulus*) Figlio dell'Amazzone Kleite, eponimo ed ecista di Kaulonia, in Magna Grecia.

FONTI LETTERARIE: Di lui è noto soltanto il nome, generalmente ricostruito sulla base del latino *Caulus*, Serv. *Aen.* 3, 553; Hekat., *FGH* I F 84, con tradizione manoscritta non concorde, dà invece *Αύλων* (?).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Bayet, J., *Idéologie et plastique* (1959) 73-81; Cazzaniga, I., «Il dio e la cerva nella monetazione di Caulonia e la tradizione ecistica cauloniata», *PP* 122, 1968, 371-383; *idem*, *RINum* 71, 1969, 9-24; Giannelli, G., *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia* (1963) 179-185; Head, *HN* 92-93; Lacroix, L., «L'Apollon de Caulonia», *RBN* 105, 1959, 5-24; *idem*, *Monnaies et colonisation dans l'Occident grec* (1965) 159-161; Lambrinoudakis, W., → Apollon 391, con bibl.; Lloyd, W., «On the types of the coins of Caulonia», *NC* 10, 1848, 1-20; Noe, S. P., *The coinage of Caulonia* (1958) 3-6; Panofka, Th., «Über die Münztypen von Kaulonia», *AZ* 1, 1843, 165-175; Robinson, E. S. G., «Rhegion, Zankle-Messana and the Samians», *JHS* 66, 1946, 16; Stoll, H. W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 1005-1006 s. v. «Kaulos».

Per la cronologia delle monete di Caulonia: Kraay, C. M., «Caulonia and south Italian problems», *NC* 1960, 53-82.

## CATALOGO

## Monete di Caulonia

1. (= Apollon 391\*) AR, stateri e dracme, Periodo I, 530-475 a. C. (Kraay). - Noe, Gruppi A-D, tavv. 1-5, 15. 201-205; *SNG* Oxford 1425-1436; *SNG* München 1396-1400; *SNG* ANS 141-164. - D.: Figura maschile nuda in moto verso d.; tiene nella d. sollevata un ramo di alloro, e sulla s. distesa una figurina maschile in corsa, spesso col capo rivolto verso il dio e con rami in mano. A d. cerva che guarda il giovane uomo; entrambi su corta base. R.: Stesso tipo in incuso.

2. \* AR, stateri, dracme e frazioni, Periodo II, 475-435 a. C. (Kraay). - Noe, Gruppi E-F, tavv. 6-9, 15. 208-215; *SNG* Oxford 1437-1444; *SNG* München 1401-1407. 1416-1417; *SNG* ANS 165-183. 215-218. - D.: *Idem*. R.: Cerva e simboli vari.

3. \* AR, stateri, dracme e frazioni, Periodo III, 435-389/8 a. C. (Kraay). - Noe, Gruppi G-J, tavv. 9-14, 15. 216a-228; *SNG* Oxford 1445-1458; *SNG* München 1408-1415. 1418-1420; *SNG* ANS 184-214. 219-223. - D.: Stessa figura maschile stilisticamente evoluta. Scompare il piccolo *daimon* e spesso manca anche la cerva, che appare sostituita o accompagnata da altri simboli (fra cui: albero; airone; mosca; fontana, bucranio ed erma itfallica; altare; delfini). R.: Cerva e simboli vari.

4. AR, oboli e dioboli; Noe, tav. 15. 229-232. - D.: Giovane testa maschile a d., con corona di alloro e capelli lunghi, o senza corona e capelli raccolti sulla nuca. R.: Cerva a d.

## COMMENTO

L'identificazione con K. della figura virile nuda, con piccolo *daimon* sul braccio e ramo di alloro in

mano, che caratterizza l'intera monetazione di Caulonia, era stata proposta nell'800 dal Panofka, senza peraltro trovare molto seguito.

Oggi gli studiosi concordano nel riconoscere nel tipo cauloniato → Apollon Daphnephoros; ancora incerti rimangono invece l'identificazione e il significato della figurina che il dio reca sul braccio. Il Robinson vi riconosceva un simbolo solare confrontabile con la svastica o con la triskelès, espressione della natura heliaca del dio; J. Bayet pensava ad un *εἰδωλον*, personificazione della potenza spirituale emanante dalla statua di Apollo. L. Lacroix lo identifica con un *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής*, riconoscibile dai rami lustrali che tiene in mano, che corre ad annunciare nella valle di Tempe l'arrivo del dio. Il nesso ideale con il luogo tessalico verrebbe assicurato dall'antico nome *Aulon*, per *Kaulonia*, derivante da *αὐλὼν*, «valle» (Hekat. l.c.), nome che si applicava in special modo a quella di Tempe: là Apollo aveva raccolto l'alloro prima di prendere possesso dell'oracolo di Delfi. Ove si ammetta la correttezza della lezione manoscritta di Ecatteo, che sembra far risalire ad un eponimo *Aulon* la denominazione più antica di Caulonia, il legame della polis con la valle tessalica risulterebbe mediato dalla figura stessa del fondatore eponimo. Di conseguenza, poiché l'iconografia dell'Apollon cauloniato costituisce un *unicum* fra i documenti pervenuti, non si esclude che essa sia stata influenzata da tradizioni locali e che l'Apollon, in funzione di Archaghetas, sia venuto a sovrapporsi ad una divinità preesistente, il cui ricordo sarebbe sopravvissuto nel mitico K., figlio di una Amazzone. A tal proposito la costante presenza della cerva sulle monete di Caulonia (pur essendo un simbolo non estraneo ad Apollon), potrebbe essere letta in relazione al culto di Artemis, di quella Efesia in particolare, il cui culto era stato fondato proprio dalle Amazzoni (→ Artemis Ephesia). Potrebbe essere questo un indizio per la ricostruzione della sfuggente figura dell'Apollon Cauloniato.

MARIA CACCAMO CALTABIANO

## KAYSTROS I

(*Καύστρος*, *Καύστριος* [ältere Namensform, erscheint nur in Hom. *Il.* 2, 461 und bei Hdt. 5, 100], Caystrus) Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses, der südlich von Sardes am Tmolos-Gebirge entspringt und nördlich von Ephesos ins Meer mündet, heute Küçük Menderes. Sohn des → Achilleus und der → Penthesileia (Serv. *Aen.* 11, 661), Vater des → Ephesos (II) (Paus. 7, 2, 7), des mythischen Gründers der Stadt und des Artemisions; heiratete in Askalon die → Derketo, die ihm die → Semiramis gebar (*Etym. m.* s.v. «Kaystros»). Zusammen mit dem Heros Asios auf der Asischen Wiese in einem Heroon verehrt (Strabon 14, 1, 45 p. 650).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Büchner, L., *RE* XI 1 (1921) 100-101 s.v. «Kaystros I»; Joly, E., *EAA* IV (1961) 332-333

s.v. «Kaystros»; Stoll, H. W./Drexler, W., *ML* II 1 (1890-94) 1008-1009 s.v. «Kaystros»; Waser, O., *RE* VI 2 (1909) 2789. 2802 s.v. «Flußgötter».

## KATALOG

a) **Kaystros gelagert**, bekleidet mit einem um den Unterkörper geschlungenen Himation

1.\* (= Kenchreios 2) AE, Ephesos (Ionien), Antoninus Pius (138-161 n. Chr.). - *BMC* Ionia 78, 236 Taf. 13, 8; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 278 Nr. 262 Taf. 9, 1. - Rs.: Zwei einander zugewandte gelagerte Flußgötter zu Füßen des Kultbildes der → Artemis Ephesia. R. → Kenchreios, l. K., mit dem r. Arm auf ein Quellgefäß gestützt, über dem r. Unterarm ein Gewandzipfel, in der Linken Schilfrohr. *ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΔΙΕ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΥΣΤΡΟΣ ΚΕΝΧΡΕΙΟΣ*.

2.\* AE, Ephesos (Ionien), Diadumenianus (217-218 n. Chr.). - Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 278 Nr. 261 Taf. 8, 26. - Rs.: K. bärtig, linkshin gelagert, ein Zipfel des Gewandes fällt über seine l. Schulter herab, den l. Arm an ein Quellgefäß gelehnt, in der l. Armbeuge Füllhorn, in der Rechten Schilfrohr. *ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΥΣΤΡΟΣ*.

3. AE, Ephesos (Ionien), Commodus (176-192 n. Chr.). - Imhoof-Blumer *Flußg* 278. - Rs.: K. unbärtig, sonst wie 2.

4.\* AE, Homonoia-Prägung Ephesos-Alexandria (Ägypten), Gordianus III. (238-244 n. Chr.). - Milne, J. G., *NC* 1937, 164, Ephesos Nr. 52 Taf. 8, 3. - Rs.: Zwei einander gegenüber gelagerte Flußgötter: R. → Neilos mit Statuette der → Isis, l. K., in der Rechten Schilfrohr, auf der l. Hand Statuette der Artemis Ephesia en face. *ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ*.

5.\* AE, Dioshieron (Lydien), antoninisch. - *BMC* Lydia 74, 4-5 Taf. 8, 8; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 297 Nr. 308. - Rs.: K. nach l. gelagert, den l. Unterarm auf ein Quellgefäß gestützt, in der l. Armbeuge ein Füllhorn, in der Rechten geschultertes Schilfrohr. *(ΔΙΟΣΙΕΡΕΙΩΝ) ΚΑΥΣΤΡΟΣ*. Vs.: → Demos oder → Senatus.

6.\* AE, Dioshieron (Lydien), hadrianisch bis antoninisch. - Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 297 Nr. 307 Taf. 10, 13; SNG Copenhagen 112. - Rs.: wie 5, ohne Füllhorn. *ΚΑΥΣΤΡΟΣ*. Vs.: → Athena.

7.\* AE, Hypaipa (Lydien), Zeit des Hadrianus bis Septimius Severus. - *BMC* Lydia 109, 6 Taf. 12, 3; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 299 Nr. 312. - Rs.: K., linkshin gelagert, lehnt an einem Felsen, an dessen Fuß ein Quellgefäß sprudelt; in der l. Armbeuge ein Füllhorn, in der r. Hand ein Schilfrohr. *ΥΠΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ ΚΑΥΣΤΡΟΣ*. Vs.: → Senatus.

b) **Kaystros auftauchend**, dargestellt ist nur der Oberkörper

8.\* (= Ephesos I 3) Friesplatte des sog. Partherdenkmales, Marmor. Wien, Kunsth. Mus. I 1662. Aus Ephesos. - 169 n. Chr. oder kurz danach. - Oberleitner, W., *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake* (1978) Kat.-Nr. 70 («Skirtos»); Oberleitner vermutet in dem verlorenen Flußgott der Friesplatte Kat.-Nr. 71 den

K.); Diez, E., in *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft, Festschr. H. Vettors* (1985) 218 Abb. 2 (Kaystros). - Friesplatte mit zwei stehenden weiblichen Figuren, zwischen denen am unteren Bildrand ein sehr fragmentarisch erhaltener Flußgott auftaucht: Außer einem Teil des Oberkörpers ist nur der von einem Gewand umhüllte l. Unterarm zu erkennen, der sich auf ein Meeresungeheuer stützt; die Hand hält einen Delphin.

## c) Kaystros sitzend

9.\* Miniatur in der Handschrift der *Theriaka* des Nikandros. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms. suppl. grec 247 fol. 18 v. - 10. Jh. - *GazArch* 2, 1876, Taf. 11, 1; Omont, H., *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibl. Nat. du VI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> s.* (1929) 38-39 Taf. 66, 3; Bibliothèque Nationale. *Byzance et la France médiévale. Manuscrits à peintures du II<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1958) 2-3 Nr. 3. - Zwei einander gegenüber sitzende Personen mit Nimbus, beide in eine lange blaue Tunika gekleidet, über die ein rötlicher Mantel gelegt ist. R. → Kilbis, l. K. als Jüngling, beide Hände nach r. ausgestreckt. Zwischen den Figuren ein kleiner Teich. Im Hintergrund das Grabmal des Gyges als tetrastylar Prostylon.

## d) Deutung auf Kaystros auszuschließen

10. (= Amazzonen 798\* mit Lit., = Ephesos I 1, = Hierokaisareia I mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Basis einer Statue des Tiberius, sog. Puteolanische Basis, Marmor. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 6780. Angeblich aus Pozzuoli. - 30 n. Chr. (Jahn) oder 81-91 n. Chr. (Mingazzini). - Auf der Rückseite → Ephesos (I) als Amazone zwischen den Personifikationen anderer kleinasiatischer Städte stehend, den l. Fuß auf einen bärtigen Kopf mit langem strähnigen Haar gesetzt, dessen obere Gesichtshälfte stark bestoßen ist.

11. AE, Untere Kilbianer (Lydien), Iulia Domna (193-217 n. Chr.), Caracalla (198-217 n. Chr.), Geta Caesar (198-209 n. Chr.). - *BMC* Lydia 66, 13-15 Taf. 7, 9 (Kilbos); Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 301 Nr. 316-317 Taf. 10, 20 (Kaystros); SNG v. Aulock 2993 (Kaystros); SNG Copenhagen 109 (Flußgott). - Rs.: Nach l. gelagerter Flußgott, ein Himation um den Unterkörper geschlungen, den l. Arm auf ein Quellgefäß gelehnt, in der Rechten ein Schilfrohr. *ΝΕΙΚΑΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΚΙΑΒΙΑΝΩ* bzw. *ΝΕΙΚΑΕΩΝ ΚΙΑΒΙΑΝΩΝ*.

12. AE, Untere Kilbianer (Lydien), Caracalla (198-217 n. Chr.). - SNG Fitzwilliam 4853 (Kaystros). - Rs.: Wie 11, der Flußgott trägt außerdem in der l. Armbeuge ein Füllhorn. *ΝΕΙΚΑΕΩΝ ΚΙΑΒΙΑΝΩΝ*.

## KOMMENTAR

Auf Münzen (1-7) ist K. im üblichen Schema der gelagerten männlichen Flußgötter hellenistisch-römischer Zeit wiedergegeben (→ Fluvii). Zwei Prägungen zeigen K. zusammen mit anderen Flußgöttern (1. 4): Während es sich bei 4 um eine Homonoia-Prägung zwischen Alexandria und Ephesos handelt, sind zu 1 nur Vermutungen darüber anzustellen, warum

hier neben K. auch und gerade Kenchreios dargestellt wurde (vgl. hierzu → Kenchreios).

Das sog. Partherdenkmal von Ephesos (8) wurde kurz nach dem Tode des Lucius Verus, der den Oberbefehl über den Partherfeldzug der Jahre 162-165 innehatte, zu dessen Verherrlichung errichtet. In einer Serie verhältnismäßig schlecht erhaltener Relieftafeln erscheinen Personifikationen verschiedener Städte, die während der Kampfhandlungen eine Rolle spielten. Ephesos als zweites Hauptquartier des Kaisers durfte dabei sicher nicht fehlen. Unsicher ist jedoch, ob → Androklos oder eine Amazone stellvertretend für Ephesos steht. Oberleitner vermutet den mythischen Stadtgründer in den Fragmenten eines Kriegers, oberhalb dessen linker Schulter er einen Eber ergänzen möchte (Oberleitner 85). Sicher benennbar erscheint Androklos sonst nur in Darstellungen, die die Stadtgründungslegende zum Inhalt haben, oder zusammen mit anderen Göttern bzw. Heroen, jedoch nicht als Repräsentant der Stadt. Daher dürfte der Hypothese von Frau Diez der Vorzug zu geben sein: Sie erkennt Ephesos in der Amazone, die ein vexillum mit lunula und Stern - Beizeichen der Artemis Ephesia (Diez 217) - trägt. Der Flußgott zu deren Füßen wäre somit als K. zu bezeichnen. Auch auf der - allerdings früheren - Puteolanischen Basis wird Ephesos als Amazone dargestellt, durch eine Namensbezeichnung eindeutig gekennzeichnet.

In Vers 635 der *Theriaka* des Nikandros (9) ist K. genannt, so daß über die Deutung der Figur kein Zweifel besteht. Er erscheint als vollständig bekleideter Jüngling mit Nimbus im Sprechgestus zu der ihm gegenüber sitzenden → Kilbis. Die übrigen erhaltenen Darstellungen des K. zeigen ihn als männliche Gestalt, teils bärtig, teils jugendlich, mit nacktem Oberkörper und den seinem Element zukommenden Attributen (1-8), also im üblichen Schema der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit. Vollständig bekleidete Flußgötter hingegen erscheinen in der Klassik, sind aber stets als würdige alte Männer charakterisiert; Jünglinge als Personifikationen von Flüssen treten ab der Mitte des 5. Jh. v. Chr. auf, werden jedoch nackt dargestellt (→ Fluvii). Der Künstler, der die Vorlage der Miniatur geschaffen hat, dürfte somit zwei verschiedene Darstellungsformen für Flußgötter miteinander verschmolzen haben. Das Original wird daher weder in der Klassik noch in der hellenistisch-römischen Epoche entstanden sein, sondern wahrscheinlich erst in spätrömischer oder byzantinischer Zeit.

Die Puteolanische Basis (10) stellt die verkleinerte Nachbildung einer auf dem Caesar-Forum in Rom aufgestellten Weihung an Tiberius dar, die von mehreren durch verschiedene Erdbeben während der Regierungszeit des Kaisers stark zerstörte Städte Kleinasien zum Dank für dessen Hilfe errichtet wurde (zu den antiken Quellen und zur Interpretation der Figuren vgl. → Hierokaisareia). Nach allgemeiner Ansicht handelt es sich bei dem Kopf unter dem linken Fuß der → Ephesos (I) um die Maske eines Flußgottes (z. B. Diez, a.O. 8, 219 Anm. 38), wohl des K. (z. B. → Ephesos I 1). Für diese Darstellungsform finden sich jedoch keine Parallelen. Das deutliche (Nieder-)Tre-

ten impliziert zudem kaum das Verhältnis einer Stadt zu dem ihr segenspendenden Wasserlauf; viel eher ist an die siegreiche Unterdrückung eines Feindes zu denken. In vergleichbarer Haltung wird → Virtus seit neronischer Zeit auf Münzen abgebildet: Gekleidet als Amazone, einen Fuß auf den Helm eines besiegten Gegners gesetzt (BMC Emp I 204, 27 Taf. 38, 21 *et passim*). Varianten dieser Ikonographie treten hinzu: So stellt Virtus auf einem wohl vespasianischen Aureus des Titus (BMC Emp II 110, †) ihren linken Fuß auf einen Gefangenen. Es ist daher sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Amazone Ephesos auf der Puteolanischen Basis nicht einen Flußgott, sondern einen Unterlegenen niedertritt. Hier wäre möglicherweise an die karischen Ureinwohner zu denken, die von den ionischen Siedlern verdrängt worden waren.

Der auf den Münzen der Unteren Kilbianer im üblichen Schema dargestellte Flußgott (11-12) wurde von Imhoof-Blumer als K. bezeichnet, da er den Prägeort in dessen Tal vermutete, eine Deutung, die fortan in fast allen Münzkatalogen ohne weiteren Kommentar übernommen wurde. Im früher erschienenen BMC-Band hingegen wird der Flußgott → Kilbos genannt. Auf einer Münze des Antoninus Pius der Oberen Kilbianer erscheint ein Flußgott mit der Beischrift *KIABOΞ* (Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 300-301 Nr. 315 Taf. 10, 19). Die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß es sich auch bei dem Flußgott der Unteren Kilbianer eher um den Kilbos als den K. handelt, ist daher nicht gering, vor allem, da das Ethnikon sicher nicht ohne Grund auf den Namen dieses Flusses zurückgeht.

Auf Münzen von Ephesos erscheinen vielfach zwei astragalspielende Kinder zu Füßen der Kultstatue der → Artemis Ephesia. Sie als Personifikationen von Flußgöttern (Drexler, W., *ML II* 1, 1008-1009) bzw. als K. und Kenchreios (Joly 332-333) anzusprechen, muß aus mehreren Gründen abgelehnt werden. So fehlt zunächst eine Beischrift, die die beiden Kinder benennt. Weiterhin ist kein Beispiel einer Darstellung von Flußgöttern als Kinder bekannt (→ Fluvii). Schließlich erscheinen auch vor den Kultbildern der samischen → Hera und der → Artemis Anaitis auf Münzen von Samos bzw. Hypaipa astragalspielende Kinder in derselben Pose, so daß diese Darstellungsform kaum als Personifikationen bestimmter Flüsse interpretiert werden kann, sondern vielmehr in einem besonderen Zusammenhang mit dem Kult der genannten kleinasiatischen Göttinnen gesehen werden muß (Imhoof-Blumer, F., *Nomisma* 6, 1911, 4-7).

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## KAYSTROS II

(*Καύστρος*) Personifikation des gleichnamigen Flusses in Phrygien, vielleicht der heutige Akar Çayı, möglicherweise auf Münzen von Prymnessos dargestellt. Die Existenz eines zweiten Flusses mit Namen K. stützt sich lediglich auf Xen. *an.* 1, 2, 11, der eine

Stadt in Phrygien mit dem Namen *Καύστρον πεδίων* erwähnt. Die Lokalisierung der Ebene gleichen Namens bei Xen. *Kyr.* 2, 1, 5 ist nicht gesichert, da dort nur berichtet wird, daß der Feldherr Gabaidos ein Heereskontingent aus Phrygien in *Καύστρον πεδίων* zusammengezogen habe. Eine Identifizierung dieser Ortsangabe mit der in Xen. *an.* genannten ist jedoch recht wahrscheinlich.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: v. Aulock, H., *IstanbMitt* Beih. 27 (1987) 34-36. 111-112; Ruge, W., *RE XI* 1 (1921) 101 s. v. «Kaystru pedion»; Treidler, H., *KlPauly* III (1969) 172 s. v. «Kaystros 2» und «Kaystru pedion 2».

1. AE, Prymnessos (Phrygien), Zeit des Augustus bis Gallienus(?). – *InvWadd* Nr. 6416 Taf. 18, 3; BMC Phrygia 361, 3 Taf. 42, 7; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 330 Nr. 394 Taf. 12, 28; SNG Copenhagen 659; v. Aulock 36. 111-112. – Rs.: K. (?) linkshin gelagert, nur mit einem über die Hüften geschlungenen Himation bekleidet, den l. Arm gegen ein Quellgefäß gelehnt, in der Rechten Schilfrohr. Vs.: König → Midas.

K. (?) ist in dem in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit geläufigen Schema des gelagerten männlichen Flußgottes wiedergegeben (→ Fluvii). Die Bezeichnung des Flußgottes auf den Münzen von Prymnessos als K. ist nicht gesichert, da weder auf den Münzen eine Beischrift erscheint, die den Flußgott benennt, noch werden Prymnessos und der K. in den antiken Quellen gemeinsam genannt. Bekannt ist lediglich, daß es eine Stadt mit dem Namen Kaystru pedion gegeben hat, die von Kyros auf seinem Feldzuge berührt wurde (Xen. *an.* 1, 2, 11). Aufgrund der bei Xenophon beschriebenen Marschrichtung des Kyros wird allgemein angenommen, daß die Stadt im Bereich des heutigen Eber Gölü zu suchen ist (*RE* s. v. «Kaystru pedion»), in den von Westen her als größter Fluß der Akar Çayı fließt. Gesichert ist jedoch die Lage der antiken Stadt Prymnessos bei dem modernen Dorf Süglün, ca. 6 km südöstlich von Afyon (v. Aulock 34), somit also ungefähr 40 km westlich des Eber Gölü. Der auf den Münzen der Stadt dargestellte Fluß ist sehr wahrscheinlich mit dem heutigen Akar Çayı zu identifizieren, der von Afyon in östlicher bzw. süd-östlicher Richtung zum Eber Gölü fließt. Ist daher mit Kaystru pedion die Ebene westlich des Eber Gölü gemeint, durch die der Akar Çayı fließt, könnte dieser Fluß mit dem K. gleichzusetzen sein. Allerdings ist es ebenso möglich, daß einer der zahlreichen Nebenflüsse des Akar Çayı in der Antike als K. bezeichnet wurde, so daß eine eindeutige Benennung des Flußgottes auf den Münzen von Prymnessos nicht erlaubt ist.

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## KAZANES

(*Καζάνης*) Gott des gleichnamigen Flusses in Phrygien, eines rechten Nebenflusses des → Indos (heute Dalaman Çayı). Antiker Name des Flusses nur durch Münzen belegt.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML II* 1 (1890-94) 1009 s. v. «Kazanes»; Joly, E., *EAA IV* (1961) 333 s. v. «Kazanes»; Ruge, W., *RE XI* 1 (1921) 101 s. v. «Kazanes»; Waser, O., *RE VI* 2 (1909) 2789. 2802 s. v. «Flußgötter».

1. \* AE, Themision (Phrygien), autonome Prägungen (193-249 n. Chr.); Julia Domna (193-217 n. Chr.). – *InvWadd* Nr. 6564; Engel, A., *RNum* 1884, 16 Nr. 7; BMC Phrygia 418, 4 Taf. 49, 1; 419, 5-6 Taf. 49, 2; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 331 Nr. 397 Taf. 13, 3; SNG v. Aulock 8455; SNG Copenhagen 750. – Rs.: K. nach l. gelagert, bekleidet mit einem über die Hüfte gelegten Himation, mit dem l. Arm auf ein Quellgefäß gelehnt, in der Rechten ein Schilfrohr. ΘΕΜΙΣΩΝΕΩΝ ΚΑΖΑΝΗΣ. – Vs.: → Sozon, → Boule oder Kaiserin.

K. ist in dem in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit geläufigen Schema des gelagerten männlichen Flußgottes wiedergegeben (→ Fluvii). THOMAS GANSCHOW

## KEBRIONES

(*Κεβρίωνης, Κεβρίωνας, Κεβρίωνεύς* [2], Cebriones) Sohn des → Priamos und Wagenlenker des → Hektor.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: In Hom. *Il.* folgen drei Wagenlenker des Hektor aufeinander: zunächst Eniopeus, der von Diomedes getötet wird (8, 119-129), dann Archeptolemos, welchen Teukros tötet (8, 311-315), schließlich K. (8, 318). Als Wagenlenker des Hektor ist K. auch 11, 521-537; 12, 88-92; 16, 727-728 genannt. Auch als tapferer Kämpfer ist K. bekannt (12, 88-92; 13, 790). Er ist Halbbruder des Hektor, gemeinsam ist beiden der Vater Priamos (*Il.* 8, 318; 16, 738; Apollod. *bibl.* 3 [153] 12, 5, 9; Hyg. *fab.* 90). K. findet den Tod durch die Hand des Patroklos. Dieser zerschmettert ihm mit einem Stein den Schädel, so daß K. vom Wagen fällt. Es schließt sich ein erbitterter Kampf zwischen Hektor und Patroklos um die Leiche des K. an, bei dem Patroklos die Oberhand gewinnt und den toten K. seiner Waffen beraubt (*Il.* 16, 734-782). Man vermutete in der Antike, daß der Name K. vielleicht von dem Landstrich Kebrenia oder der Stadt Kebrene in der Troas abgeleitet sei (Strabon 13, 1, 33 p. 596-597; umgekehrt: Steph. Byz. s. v. *Κεβρονία*).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Friis Johansen, *Iliad* 82. 219. 221. 224. 226. 275. 277; Lorber, *Inscriften* 80-81; Scherling, K., *RE XI* 1 (1921) 106-107 s. v. «Kebriones 2»; Stoll, H. W., *ML II* 1 (1890-94) 1012 s. v. «Kebriones».

## KATALOG

Attisch schwarzfigurige Vasen

1. (= Glaukos V 10 mit Lit., = Hektor 14\*) Hydria. London, BM B 76. Aus Kamiros. – *ABV* 85, 1: Maler von London B 76; *Para* 32; *Add* 23. – Um 560

v. Chr. – Im Schulterbild in der Mitte stehendes Viergespann in Vorderansicht. Im Wagenkasten steht K. (Körper frontal, Kopf nach r. gewandt, Namensbeischrift *KEBPIONE* [sic]). L. vom Wagen steht Hektor, r. Glaukos (beide mit Beischriften). Sie sind von unbenannten Personen flankiert. Zwar dürfte eine Begebenheit aus der *Ilias* gemeint sein, da K. nur dort vorkommt, doch ist die Episode nicht näher präzisiert. Man könnte vielleicht an Hom. *Il.* 16, 536-551 denken, wo Glaukos, der Lykier, Hektor ermahnt, mit ihm gegen die Griechen zu kämpfen, um Sarpedons Leichnam vor Schändung zu bewahren. Hier sind einem eher allgemein gehaltenen Bild einer Kriegerausfahrt, wie sie im 6. Jh. beliebt waren, mythische Namen beigelegt.

2. (= Hektor 15 mit Lit.) Amphora, fr. Paris, Louvre CA 2364. – Ende 6. Jh. v. Chr. – Anschirung eines nach r. gerichteten Gespanns durch K. (im langen weißen Wagenlenkergewand; er steht hinter den Pferden nach r.; Beischrift: *JBPIONEYΣ*) und zwei Gefährten. Von Hektor ist nur die Beischrift erhalten.

Korinthische Vasen

3. \* (= Ainoi 1\* mit Lit., = Hekabe 15, = Hektor 12 mit Lit.) Kolonettenkrater. Paris, Louvre E 638. Aus Caere. – Lorber, *Inscriften* Nr. 126 mit Lit. Taf. 34. – 570/60 v. Chr. – Abschied des Hektor von seinen Eltern. Im Zentrum des Bildes dominiert das große, nach l. gerichtete Gespann. K. (Beischrift *KEBPIONAS*) steht bereits wartend auf dem Wagen und hält mit beiden Händen die Zügel. Weitere Familienmitglieder (mit Namensbeischriften) sind beim Abschied zugegen. Lorber weist darauf hin, daß ein in der korinthischen Vasenmalerei geläufiges Bildschema hier durch die mythischen Namen individualisiert ist. K. kommt nur in der *Ilias* vor, doch wird dort kein Abschied des Hektor von seinen Eltern geschildert.

4. (= Damon 2\* mit Lit., = Eurylochos III 1) Kolonettenkrater. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 80996 (H 685). Aus Nola oder Capua. – Um 560 v. Chr. – Auszug von Krieger. Auf einem Wagen ist der Wagenlenker (langes weißes Gewand, zügelhaltend) K. (*KEBPIONAS*) und der neben ihm stehende Hoplit Hektor benannt. Die Namensbeischriften der übrigen Helden sind zwar in der Epik belegt, passen aber nicht zu einer Szene mit Hektors Ausfahrt.

Chalkidische Vase

5. \* (= Alexandros 68, = Andromache I 4, = Hektor 13, = Helena 193, alle mit Lit.) Krater mit Deckel. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 160. Wahrscheinlich aus Vulci. – Um 540 v. Chr., Inscriftenmaler. – Zwei Paare (Paris-Helena; Hektor-Andromache) nehmen Abschied (Beischriften). Hinter Hektor reitet sein Knappe K. (kurzer Chiton; Beischrift *KEBPIONEΣ*) mit einem Beipferd heran. Auf der Rückseite galoppieren zwei weitere Knappen. Daß K. hier nicht mehr als Lenker des homerischen Kampfwagens dargestellt ist, sondern als Reiter, ist eine Anpassung des Malers an die Kampfweise seiner eigenen Lebenszeit. Die Darstellung ist von der *Ilias* beeinflusst, kann aber nicht mit einer bestimmten Stelle



verbunden werden. Zwar wird *Il.* 6, 371-495 ein Abschied zwischen Hektor und Andromache geschildert, doch hat dort Hektor noch einen anderen Wagenlenker (s. lit. Quellen).

## KOMMENTAR

K. ist nur durch wenige Schriftquellen und Bilder bekannt. Ein längerer Mythos ist für ihn nicht überliefert. Seine wichtigste Funktion ist die als Wagenlenker seines Halbbruders Hektor. Als solcher wird er im 8. Gesang der *Ilias* ernannt und im 16. Gesang von Patroklos getötet. Nur auf Bildern, die sich auf dazwischenliegende Kämpfe des Hektor beziehen, könnte K. zugegen sein. Doch läßt sich das Bildmaterial oft nicht als Illustration bestimmter Szenen fassen, so daß die dargestellten Kämpfe nicht immer präzise mit einer *Ilias*-Stelle zu verbinden sind. Da dem Hektor aber auch noch andere Wagenlenker dienten (Eniopeus, Archeptolemos), sind hier im Katalog nur die K.-Darstellungen mit Namensbeischriften ausgewählt (1-5).

Alle Wiedergaben finden sich auf Vasenbildern, die dem 6. Jh. v. Chr. angehören. Als Wagenlenker tritt K. auf 1-4 auf. Auf 1. 3. 4 steht er im Wagenkorb, auf 2 ist er mit der Anschirung der Pferde beschäftigt. Das charakteristische Wagenlenkergewand trägt er auf 1. 2. 4. Nur auf 5 erscheint K. als Reiter. Da die Fahrt mit dem Kampfwagen im 6. Jh. nicht mehr üblich war, ist K. der Sitte der Zeit gemäß hier als Knappe dargestellt.

Keines der Bilder läßt sich genau mit einer *Ilias*-Szene verbinden, wie die Namen der weiteren zugefügten Personen zeigen. Es handelt sich eher um Wiedergaben der im 6. Jh. beliebten Szenen von Kriegers Abschied, Anschirung des Gespannes und Ausfahrt, die hier durch Beifügung mythischer Namen individualisiert sind. Das Anliegen der Maler war es wohl, auf diese Weise allgemein eine epische Szene darzustellen, ohne aber eine bestimmte Begebenheit aus dem Epos zu illustrieren.

ANNELIESE KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN

## KEBRIOTHES

(Κηβριόθης) Nom d'un Troyen sur 1.

1. (= Equus Troianus 12\* avec bibl.) Bouclier peint. New Haven, Yale Univ. 1935.551. De Doura-Europos. - Décor en deux scènes complémentaires opposées sur le disque du bouclier: la scène d'*Iliupersis* en B est annoncée, en A, par l'arrivée du cheval de bois devant les remparts troyens, en présence de Cassandre, Priam (→ Kassandra I, → Priamos) et d'autres Troyens. K. (nom inscr., bonnet phrygien, tunique à manches) est monté sur le cheval et tire les rênes, passées autour du poitrail. La présence insolite d'un cavalier sur le

cheval de bois est exceptionnelle, et le nom de K. (confusion avec → Kebriones?) n'est pas cité dans les récits littéraires de cet épisode.

ODETTE TOUCHEFEU-MEYNIER

## KEDALION

(Κηδάλιον) Aus Naxos stammender Lehrer und späterer Gehilfe des → Hephaistos, der nach dem Schüreisen benannt ist.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Nach *Schol. Hom. Il.* 14, 296 Erbse und Eust. 987, 7 ad *Hom. Il.* 14, 294 war K. ein Naxier, dem Hera den Hephaistos kurz nach dessen Geburt zur Auferziehung und zum Lehren der Schmiedekunst übergab. Aus *Hes. fig.* 148a Merkelbach/West; *Eratosth. kat.* 32; *Schol. Arat. phain.* 322; *Schol. Germ.* 331; *Schol. Nik. ther.* 15; *Hyg. astr.* 2, 34; *Apollod. bibl.* 1, 4, 3; *Serv. Aen.* 10, 763 erfahren wir, daß → Orion, nachdem er von Oinopion geblendet worden war, nach Lemnos ging und dort von Hephaistos K. als Führer erhält. Orion trägt ihn auf seinen Schultern und schreitet unter seiner Anleitung der Sonne entgegen, durch deren Strahlen er von der Blindheit geheilt wird. Weiter wissen wir von einem verlorenen Satyrspiel *Kedalion* des Sophokles, dessen Inhalt jedoch nicht bekannt ist (*TrGF IV F* 328-333).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: v. Geisau, H., *KlPauIy* III (1969) 173-174 s. v. «Kedalion»; Gunning, J., *RE XI* 1 (1922) 107-109 s. v. «Kedalion»; Joly, E., *EAAIV* (1961) 337 s. v. «Kedalion»; Stoll, H. W., *ML II* 1 (1890-94) 1012 s. v. «Kedalion».

## KATALOG

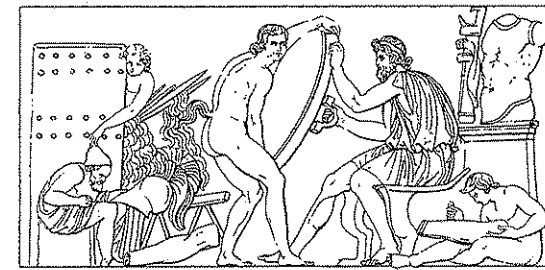
## A. In der Werkstatt des Hephaistos

## DEUTUNG WAHRSCHEINLICH

1.\* Wandmalerei. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 9529. Aus Pompeji IX 1, 7 (e). - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* Nr. 1318c Taf. 17; HBr Taf. 141; Curtius, *WP* (1929) 226 Abb. 134; Elia Nr. 130; Schefold, *WP* 235; Arias, P. E., *EAA III* (1960) Farbt. bei S. 232 s. v. «Efesto»; Lewis, S., *AJA* 77, 1973, 310 Taf. 50, 3; Brommer, *Hephaistos* 235 Nr. 1 Abb. 15, 1. - Um 70 n. Chr. - Im Innern der Werkstatt sitzt l. Hephaistos und zeigt der ihm gegenüberstehenden Thetis den für Achill hergestellten Schild, der zwischen beiden von einem Mann mit beiden Händen gehalten wird. Hinter Thetis steht eine Begleiterin, unterhalb des Hephaistos sitzt der bärtige K. mit weißem Pileus und grünem Schurz um die Lenden, der mit Hammer und Meißel Ornamente auf dem sich vor ihm befindenden Helm einzeiselt. Vor ihm liegen der Panzer und die Beinschienen.

2.\* Marmorrelief. Paris, Louvre Fr. 109. - Reinach, *RépStat I* 71; Libertini, G., *RM* 52, 1937, 71 Abb. 2; Lippold, *Gemäldekopien* 130 Abb. 109; Brom-

mer, *Hephaistos* 246 Nr. 41. - 1.-2. Jh. n. Chr. - In der Werkstatt sitzt Hephaistos und nimmt den zukünftigen Schild des Achill von einem Satyr entgegen. Unter und etwas hinter Hephaistos sitzt ein Jüngling und bearbeitet eine Beinschiene, darüber ruht der fertige Panzer auf einem Pfeiler. Vor Hephaistos ist der bärtige K. mit Pileus und einem Schurz mit der Feinausarbeitung des Helmes beschäftigt, während ein teilweise hinter einer Wand versteckter junger Satyr im Begriff ist, ihm den Pileus wegzunehmen. Von einer Replik, einem Marmorrelief in Catania, Mus. Civ., ist nur noch der r. arbeitende Satyr erhalten, s. Libertini a. O. 68 Abb. 1.



Kedalion 2

## B. Orion, den Kedalion tragend

3. (= Hephaistos 233) Wandmalerei. Verloren. - Lukianos *de domo* 28-29. - K. auf den Schultern des blinden Orion, Hephaistos ihnen von Lemnos aus nachschauend.

## KOMMENTAR

Während wir von der einzigen uns bisher bekannten Darstellung der Episode K.s mit Orion nur durch die Beschreibung Lukians Kenntnis haben, scheinen zumindest zwei Szenen (1-2) K. in der Werkstatt des Hephaistos zu zeigen. Der Gehilfe des Hephaistos bei diesen ist jeweils bei der Fertigstellung des Helms für Achill gezeigt und weist in beiden Fällen die gleiche Ikonographie auf; K. ist bärtig und ist nur mit einem Schurz und Pileus versehen. Beide Bilddokumente haben Gemeinsamkeiten, die auf ein verlorenes Vorbild des 3. Jh. v. Chr. hinweisen, jedoch kann bisher keine genauere Aussage über dieses getroffen werden. Sicherlich ist aber F. G. Welckers Ansicht in *Alte Denkmäler II* (1851) 158 abzulehnen, daß dieses Original von dem Satyrspiel des Sophokles herrühren würde.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

KEKROPIDES → Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos

KEKROPS → *Addenda vol. sq.*

KELAAS → Peliou athla, → Atalante 62

## KELADOS

(Κέλαδος) «Getöse, Lärm», Personifikation des Schlachtenlärms. Inschriftlich gesicherte Darstellungen auf megarischen Bechern zeigen K. als salpinxblenden Griechen bei der Zerstörung Trojas.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: In der erhaltenen schriftlichen Überlieferung zur *Iliupersis* kommt K. als mythische Person nicht vor. Der Begriff κέλαδος ist bereits bei Homer belegt (*Od.* 18, 402; *Il.* 9, 547; 18, 530) und bezeichnet da den Lärm bei einem Streit bzw. Kampf. Euripides (*Hec.* 928) gebraucht ihn für den Schlachtenlärm beim Fall Trojas.

Bekannt ist K. auch als Fluß- und Personennamen. Zum Schlachtenlärm s. auch → Kydoimos.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Akamatis, G. M., *Πήλινες μήτρες αγγείων από την Πέλλα* (1985) 358-361 und *passim*.

## KATALOG

## A. Gesicherte Darstellungen

## Megarische Becher und Formschalen

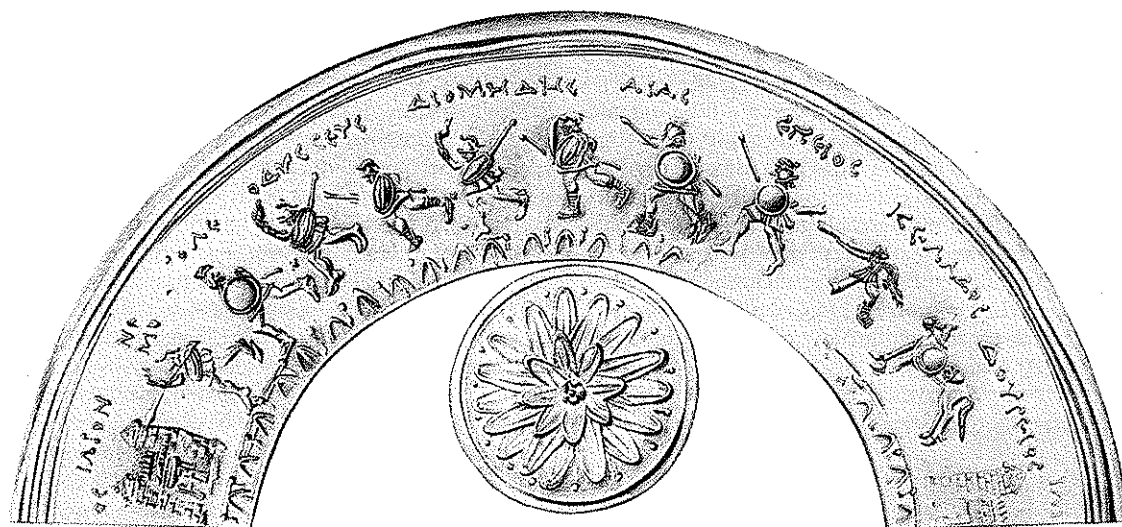
1. a) Formschale. Pella, Mus. 81.105. Aus Pella. - Akamatis 182-183 Nr. 300 Taf. 179. - 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. - K. (Beischrift: ΚΕΛΑΔΟΣ retrogr., gegürteter Chiton, wehender Mantel, über der Brust zusammengehalten und um den r. Arm geschlungen, Stiefel) bläst die Salpinx, die er mit der ausgestreckten l. Hand hält. Er wendet sich nach r., wo die zum Teil mit Beischriften versehenen Griechen zur Burg eilen. Der letzte, → Epeios, blickt gestikulierend zu ihm zurück. Hinter K. steht das hölzerne Pferd (→ Equus Troianus).

b) \* Formschale. Pella, Mus. 81.104. Aus Pella. - Akamatis 180-182 Nr. 299 Taf. 177. - 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. - K. (Beischrift: ΚΕΛΑΔΟΣ retrogr., Stempel wie 1a) zwischen Epeios und hölzernem Pferd. Übrige Krieger zum Teil anders benannt als auf 1a.

c) Becher, fr. Florina, Mus. 161. Aus Florina. - Keramopoulos, A. D., *ArchEph* 1932, 67 Nr. 65; S. 69 Abb. 26, 2; Sinn, *Becher* 138 Nr. MB 101 Taf. 34, 6; 35, 4. - 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. - Abdruck nach einer Formschale wie hier 1b. Erhalten: Hölzernes Pferd, K., Epeios.

2. (= Aias II 92, = Athena 102, = Equus Troianus 25\* mit Lit.) Becher. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. 3161k. Aus Tanagra. - Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* Taf. 41, 2; Gropengiesser, H., in *Tainia, Festschr. R. Hampe* (1980) 325. 326 Abb. 7. - 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. - K. (Chiton, wehender Schultermantel, Stiefel) hält die Salpinx an ihrem vorderen Ende. Vor ihm: drei Griechen, Trojanisches Pferd, Aias und Kassandra, Tempel, weiterer Grieche (zu dem stehenden Mann hinter K., einer versehentlich eingestempelten zu großen Figur vgl. Robert, C., *Homerische Becher*, 50. *BerlWPr* 1890, 71).

3. a)\* Formschale. Pella, Mus. 81.103. Aus Pella. - Akamatis 177-179 Nr. 297 Taf. 171. - 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. - K. (Chiton, Schultermantel um den r. Arm geschlungen, Stiefel) hält mit der l. die lange Salpinx



Kelados 1b

in der Mitte. Vor ihm: drei Leichtbewaffnete, drei Hopliten, Aias und Cassandra, Tempel; hinter ihm: Krieger, wohl Epeios, und Trojanisches Pferd.

b) Formschale, fr. Pella, Mus. 81.102. Aus Pella. – Akamatis 179–180 Nr. 298 Taf. 173. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Wie 3a. R. vor dem inschriftlich genannten Epeios ist das r. Bein des K. erhalten.

4. (= Aias II 73) Becher. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. 5440. Aus Florina. – Sinn, *Becher* 98 Nr. MB 34 Taf. 10, 1; Akamatis 341 Anm. 3; S. 357. 358. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – K. (Beischrift: *KEAAΔOΞ*, Chiton, Mantel um l. Arm geschlungen; r. Arm mit Salpinx nur im Ansatz erhalten) wendet sich nach l. zu dem letzten der fünf voranschreitenden Krieger, der gestikulierend zu ihm zurückblickt. Weitere Szenen der Iliupersis.

#### FRAGMENTARISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN, SZENEN-ABFOLGE UNKLAR

5. Bandhenkel-Amphoriskos mit Fries in der Art megarischer Becher, fr. Florina, Mus. 164. Aus Florina. – Hausmann, *Reliefbecher* 57 Nr. 39; Sinn, *Becher* 100 Nr. MB 35 Taf. 11, 1; Akamatis 342 Anm. 1. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Ähnliche Szene wie auf 4; von K. Teil der Beischrift (*KEAAΔOΞ*) und geringe figürliche Reste erhalten.

6. Megarische Formschale, fr. Pella, Mus. 81.131. Aus Pella. – Akamatis 185 Nr. 302 Taf. 185. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Erhalten: Teil der Beischrift:

*KEAAΔOΞ* (retrogr.), Gesicht im Profil nach r., oberer Rand der Salpinx, Finger der l. Hand.

#### B. Mögliche Darstellung

7. Schale, fr. att. rf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 80.AE.154. – Wescoat, B. D., *Poets & Heroes: Scenes of the Trojan War* (Ausstellung Atlanta 1986–87) 58–60 Nr. 15; S. 61 Abb.: Oltos (Frel). – 520/10 v. Chr. – Auf beiden Außenbildern Iliupersisszenen. B: Aias, Cassandra (Beischriften) und Athena, von Palmen gerahmt. Seitlich davon l. eine Frau, r. Salpinxbläser (Helm, Beinschienen, Schild, Lanze). Leicht nach vorn gebeugt, das Instrument schräg nach unten haltend, bewegt er sich nach l. auf die Hauptszene zu. Obwohl kein Name beigeschrieben ist, könnte hier K. gemeint sein, da nur er als Salpinxbläser bei Iliupersisszenen auftritt (1–6). Zwar stammen diese Darstellungen aus wesentlich späterer Zeit, jedoch war K. möglicherweise bereits im 6. Jh. v. Chr. aus der Literatur bekannt (s. Kommentar).

#### KOMMENTAR

Gesicherte Darstellungen des K. (1–6) gibt es nur auf der zeitlich und räumlich eng begrenzten Gattung der megarischen Becher (mit für ihn charakteristischer



Kelados 4

#### KELEOS

(*Κελεός*, Celeus) König von Eleusis (Hom. *h. Cer.* 97. 475; Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 5, 1), der die ihre Tochter suchende → Demeter in seinem Palast gastlich aufnahm (Apollod. *bibl.* 3, 14, 7; Schol. Aristoph. *Egu.* 698a).

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Das älteste Zeugnis über K. steht im Homerischen Hymnus auf Demeter. Er wird als Sohn des Autochthonen Eleusis (Hom. *h. Cer.* 105) oder des Rharos (Suda s. v. *«Ραριάς»*) erwähnt. Gatte der → Metaneira (Hom. *h. Cer.* 161; Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 5, 1; Paus. 1, 39, 1), Vater des Demophon (Hom. *h. Cer.* 233–234; Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 5, 1). Hesych. s. v. *«Βαλλητός»* erwähnt ein athenisches Fest zu Ehren des Sohnes des K. Demophon (Athen. 9, 406d; Deubner, L., *Attische Feste* [1932] 69 Anm. 4). Erst später wird auch → Triptolemos zum Sohn des K. (Apollod. *bibl.* 1, 5, 2; Paus. 1, 14, 2). Im Hom. *h. Cer.* 109–110 sind Kallidike, Kleisidike, Demo und Kallithoe seine Töchter, während Paus. 1, 38, 3, sich auf Pamphos und Homer berufend, als solche Diogeneia, Pammerope und Saisara erwähnt. Im Homerischen Hymnus wird K. als edelmütig (*δαίμων*), mutig (*ἀγώνος*), göttlich (*διοτρεφής*), mächtig (*εὐρύστης*) gekennzeichnet (Hom. *h. Cer.* 96. 155. 184. 233. 294). Als König von Eleusis neben Triptolemos, Diokles, Polykeinos, → Eumolpos und Dolichos sehr verehrt (Hom. *h. Cer.* 153–155), war er einer von denjenigen, denen Demeter die Mysterien offenbarte; er errichtete zu Ehren der Göttin einen Tempel und einen Altar (Hom. *h. Cer.* 296–298. 474–478). K. nahm Demeter in Eleusis auf, als Pandion König in Athen war (Apollod. *bibl.* 3, 14, 7; Nonn. *Dion.* 19, 83–90; 47, 99; Phot. s. v. *«Κελεός»*; Mylonas, G., *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* [1961] 14–15). Das Haus des K. wie das des Ikarios entsandte Truppen zum Kriegszug, den → Theseus gegen Kreon unternahm (Stat. *Theb.* 12, 618–619). Es sind Opfer zu Ehren des K. während der Eleusinia erwähnt (LSCG Suppl. Nr. 10, 72).

In späterer Zeit begegnet K. als ein ärmlicher Landmann, was wohl aus einer hellenistischen Quelle übernommen worden ist (Serv. *georg.* 1, 165; Ov. *fast.* 4, 507–562; Kern *Orph. F.* 49, 103–106). Nik. *Ther.* 486 nennt das einfache gastfreundliche Haus des K. *«θεράπια»* (Frentz, W., *Mythologisches in Vergils Georgica* [1967] 10–11). Den Landmann K. kennen wir noch aus zwei Erwähnungen bei Nonn. *Dion.* 27, 285–286; 47, 46–50, aus drei Felsinschriften von Lindos (IG XII 1, 780. 781. 783) und aus *Anth. Pal.* 15, 11, worin erscheint, daß K. dieselbe Berühmtheit wie Ikarios in Attika erreichte. Bei Hyg. *fab.* 147 findet sich die Version, nach der K. Triptolemos, den Sohn des Königs von Eleusis, Eleusinus, töten wollte, als er von seiner Weltwanderung zurückkehrte. Bei Serv. *georg.* 1, 19 aber ist Cephalus anstatt K. erwähnt.

Einen großen Einfluß auf die Darstellungen des K. hatte wahrscheinlich die Tragödie *Triptolemos* des Sophokles (*TrGF IV F* 596–617a). Sie gehörte zu derjenigen Tetralogie des Dichters, mit welcher er 468 v. Chr. siegte.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML II 1* (1890–94) 1026–1027 s. v. *«Keleos»*; v. Geisau, H., *KlPauIy III* (1969)

Kleidung und Haltung). Da es sich immer um Iliupersis-Szenen handelt, scheint K. speziell mit diesen Kämpfen verbunden gewesen zu sein. Möglicherweise trat er daher schon in der Fassung dieses Mythos im epischen Kyklos auf (vgl. Akamatis 361), wenn er auch eine untergeordnete Rolle spielte und selten dargestellt war. Als Personifikation des Schlachtenlärms bläst K. die Salpinx, die als Signalinstrument diesen Lärm einleitete und auch im weiteren Verlauf des Kampfes ein wesentlicher Bestandteil davon war (zur Salpinx vgl. Bélis, A., *BCH* 110, 1986, 212–218). So wird K. sowohl am Beginn der Episode (Krieger steigen aus dem hölzernen Pferd: 1a–c) als auch im fortgeschrittenen Stadium des Kampfes (2–5) eingesetzt. Indiz für eine frühe Bekanntheit des K. ist die Verbindung des Begriffes *Κελαδος* (lat.: *clamor*) mit dem Mythos durch Euripides (*Hec.* 928) und Vergil (*Aen.* 2, 313) bzw. dessen Quelle, wo der Lärm sogar mit Trompetentönen kombiniert wird. Ungesichert ist die Darstellung eines Trompeters bei der Iliupersis auf einer rf. Schale des Oltos aus dem 6. Jh. v. Chr. (7). Daß die Personifikation eines derartigen Begriffes bereits im Epos möglich war, zeigt der mehrmals bei Homer erwähnte → Kydoimos (*Il.* 5, 593; 18, 535; vgl. auch Aristoph. *Pax* 255–288), von dem bisher keine Darstellung bekannt ist. PETRA REICHERT

#### KELAINOS → LIMC Suppl.

#### KELENDERIS

(*Κελένδρις*) Personifikation der gleichnamigen Stadt in Kilikien.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Ruge, W., *RE XI 1* (1921) 138 s. v. *«Kelenderis 2»*.

#### Münzen von Kelenderis (Kilikien)

1. AE, 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – *InvWadd* Nr. 4210–4211; *BMC Lycaonia* etc. 57–58, 40–43 Taf. 10, 13; Imhoof-Blumer, *KIM II* 456–457 Nr. 11–18 Taf. 17, 19–20; Forrer, *Weber III 2* Nr. 7531–7532 Taf. 271; *SNG Copenhagen* 96–97; *SNG v. Aulock* 5646–5647; *SNG Switzerland I* 534–539; Ziegler, R., *Münzen Kilikiens in kleineren deutschen Sammlungen* (1989) 41–42, 246–254 Taf. 12. – Vs.: Büste der K. mit Mauerkrone und Schleier nach r. Rs.: Apollon.

Diese Münzreihe zeigt K. in dem für Vorderseiten von Münzen beliebtesten Tychetypus (→ Tyche), als Büste mit Mauerkrone im Profil.

RAINER VOLLKOMMER

177-178 s. v. «Keleos 1»; Grossman, B., *Eleusinian Gods and Heroes in Greek Art* (1959) 71. 109. 120-121. 124. 127-129. 140. 142; Joly, E., *EAAIV* (1961) 338 s. v. «Keleos»; Kern, O., *REXI* 1 (1921) 138-142 s. v. «Keleos 1»; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 70. 180. 185-186; Metzger, *Recherches* 14-17; idem, *REG* 89, 1976, 409; Overbeck, J., *Griechische Kunstmythologie III* (1873) 531-547; Preller, L., *Demeter und Persephone* (1837) 105-107; Preller/Robert, *GrMyth* 772, 1; Raubitschek, I. K. and A. E., «The Mission of Triptolemos», *Hesperia* Suppl. 20, (1982) 109-117; Richardson, N. J., *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (1974) 174. 177-179. 183-184. 195-196; Schefold, *SBIII* 50. 51; Schwarz, G., *Triptolemos. Ikonographie einer Agrar- und Mysteriengottheit* (1987) *passim*, s. Index; Simon, E., *Opfernde Götter* (1953) 67-68; Weidauer, L., «Eumolpos und Athen», *AA* 1985, 197-198.

## KATALOG

Bereits die att. rf. Vasen des 1. Viertels des 5. Jh. v. Chr. zeigen K. als königliche Gestalt gewöhnlich mit anderen Heroen oder Königen von Eleusis bei der Aussendung des Triptolemos.

### Attisch rf. Vasen

1.\* (= Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos 15 mit Lit. [B]); = Chione 1 [Innenbild] = Eumolpos 20 mit Lit. [A], = Iris 102\* mit Lit. [A]) Schale. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus ST V 7. Aus Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 386. 1649: Art des Brygosmalers, nahe dem Castelgiorgio-Maler; *Para* 521; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 229; *CVA* 2 Taf. 61, 1. 2; 62, 1. 2; Schwarz 38 V 56; 101-102. 104. 108 Abb. 11a. - Um 480 v. Chr. - Seite A: Am r. Bildrand sitzt K., bärtig, mit Tānie im Haar, in einer Palasthalle auf einem Thron. Er trägt Chiton und Himation und hält mit der l. Hand ein Szepter, in der ausgestreckten rechten eine Phiale.

2. (= Demeter 346\* mit Lit., = Hippothoon 10 mit Lit.) Glockenkrater. Palermo, Mus. Reg. V 779. Aus Agrigento. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 496, 5; Oreithyamaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 250; *CVA* 1 Taf. 35, 1; 36, 4; Simon 67 Anm. 10; Peschlow-Bindokat, A., *JdI* 87, 1972, 82 Abb. 17; Schefold, *SB III* 51 Anm. 92; *Veder Greco. Le necropoli di Agrigento* (Mostra 1988) Nr. 66. - Um 470 v. Chr. - Die Figuren durch Beischriften gekennzeichnet. K. steht am r. Bildrand, bekränzt, mit Chiton und Himation bekleidet, Szepter in der Linken. Er erhebt die Rechte im Verehrungs- oder Abschiedsgestus.

3. (= Eumolpos 4\* mit Lit., = Hippothoon 9 mit Lit.) Stamnos. Paris, Louvre G 371. Aus Etrurien. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 208, 158; Berliner Maler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 195; Metzger, *Représentations* 234 Anm. 8; Schwarz, G., *AA* 1971, 182 Anm. 18; Weidauer 198 Anm. 23: a. - Um 470/465 v. Chr. - K. steht r., bekränzt, mit weißem Haar, langem Chiton und Himation, Szepter in der Rechten.

4. (= Eumolpos 7 mit Lit., Demeter 354 mit Lit., = Hippothoon 14 mit Lit.) Kelchkrater. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 2891 (T 313 VT). Aus Spina. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 602, 24; 1661: Niobidenmaler; *Para* 395; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 266-267; Weidauer 198 Anm. 23: g. - Um 460/450 v. Chr. - K. steht am r. Bildrand, mit weißem Haar, mit Himation bekleidet und Stab in der r. Hand.

5.\* (= Eumolpos 8 mit Lit., = Hippothoon 16\* mit Lit.) Volutenkrater. Paris, Louvre G 343. Aus Etrurien. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 600, 17; Niobidenmaler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 266; *CVA* 3 Taf. 5 (166) 3; Metzger, *Représentations* 234 Anm. 8; Weidauer 198 Anm. 23: h. - Um 450 v. Chr.

- K., bekränzt, steht l., mit Chiton und Himation bekleidet, Szepter und Zweig in der Linken, die Rechte im Verehrungs- oder Abschiedsgestus.

### DEUTUNG VERMUTET

6. (= Hades 34\* mit Lit.) Amphora, att. sf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 197. Aus Vulci. - Langlotz, *KatWürzb* 34 Taf. 51; Metzger, *Représentations* 234 Anm. 5. - 525/500 v. Chr. - K. (andere Deutung: Hades) r. mit Szepter in der r. Hand, auf einem Klappstuhl sitzend.

7. (= Hades 37\*, = Demeter 345 mit Lit.) Amphora, att. rf. London, BM 95.10-31.1. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 583, 1; Maler von London 95; *CVA* 3 Taf. 4 (169) 1b; Weidauer 198 Anm. 23: c; Schwarz 41 V 68. - Um 470/460 v. Chr. - K. (oder Hades?) von einem Hund begleitet, steht am l. Bildrand, ein Szepter in der Rechten haltend.

8. (= Demeter 347 mit Lit. [A], = Hippothoon 11 mit Lit.) Stamnos, att. rf. Kopenhagen, Nat. Mus. 3612. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 498, 7; Deepdene-Maler; *Para* 381, 7; Weidauer 198 Anm. 23: d. - 465/460 v. Chr. - K. ist vielleicht in einer der beiden bärtigen Gestalten zu erkennen, die Chiton und Himation tragen und ein Szepter halten.

9. (= Demeter 350 mit Lit., = Hippothoon 13 mit Lit.) Kelchkrater, att. rf. Leningrad, Ermitage B 1601 (B 639, St 1207). - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 591, 15; Altamura-Maler. - Um 465/460 v. Chr. - Seite B: K. ist vielleicht der Mann r. in Chiton und Himation, mit Szepter in der Linken, der sich mit einer Frau unterhält.

10. (= Eumolpos 6 mit Lit., = Hippothoon 12 mit Lit.) Volutenkrater, att. rf. London, BM E 469. Aus Altamura. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 589, 1; Altamura-Maler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 264; Weidauer 198 Anm. 23: e. - Um 465/460 v. Chr. - Hals, A: K. einer von beiden Gestalten, bärtig, mit Krobylos, ein Szepter haltend.

11. (= Demeter 352) Glockenkrater, att. rf. Perugia, Mus. Naz. Aus Orvieto. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 603, 34; Niobidenmaler; Messerschmidt, F., *StEtr* 6, 1932, 513-515 Taf. 26. 27, 18 Abb. 1; Peschlow-Bindokat a. O. 2, 85 Abb. 18; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 186 Anm. 909; Weidauer 198 Anm. 23: f; Schwarz 43 V 77. - Um 460/450 v. Chr. - K., weißhaarig, hinter Triptolemos, in Chiton und Himation, ein Szepter in der l. Hand haltend.

12. (= Hippothoon 15 mit Lit.) Glockenkrater, fr. att. rf., Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz. Aus Lokroi. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 603, 40; Niobidenmaler. - Um 450 v. Chr. - K. bärtig, ein Szepter haltend.

13. (= Eumolpos 9 mit Lit., = Demeter 358\* mit Lit., = Hippothoon 17 mit Lit. [B]) Schale, att. wgr. und rf. München, Antikenslg. 2685 WAF. Aus Vulci. - *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 837, 9; Sabouroff-Maler; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 295; Weidauer 198 Anm. 23: i. - Um 460/450 v. Chr. - A: K. l. von Triptolemos, bärtig, Chiton und Himation tragend. In der rechten Phiale, in der Linken Szepter.

## KOMMENTAR

Im Homerischen Hymnus ist K. als einer der eleusinischen Könige erwähnt, genauer als «der Erste» un-

ter ihnen, der von Demeter in die Mysterien eingeführt wurde. Auf den Darstellungen mit der Aussendung des Triptolemos ist K. als der ältere zwischen den anderen Heroen oder Königen von Eleusis gekennzeichnet, bärtig, häufig Chiton und Himation tragend. Am einen Bildrand nimmt K. oft an der Abschiedsspende teil, eine Phiale und das Szepter, Zeichen seiner königlichen Macht, haltend (1). In anderen Fällen nimmt K. mit einer betenden Gebärde an der Szene der Triptolemosaussendung teil (2. 5), auf 2 mit Hippothoon, beide durch Inschrift gekennzeichnet. Bei diesen Darstellungen der 1. Hälfte des 5. Jh. v. Chr. soll der Triptolemos des Sophokles eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben. Der eleusinische Königssohn, der auf seinem Flügelwagen die heiligen Gaben der Demeter über die Welt trug, wurde von den Athenern freudig aufgenommen. Auf den übrigen Darstellungen ist K. auf Grund des weißen Haars als die ältere königliche Gestalt unter den anderen eleusinischen Heroen zu erkennen (3. 4).

ROSA PROSKYNITOPOULOU

## KENCHREAI

(*Κενχρεαί*) und Lechaion (*Λέχαιον*). Die zwei Häfen Korinths am Saronischen bzw. Korinthischen Golf. Außer durch die Hafengötter → Kenchrias und Leches wurden die beiden Häfen auch durch Nymphen oder durch Mädchen und einen Jüngling personifiziert:

### a) Personifikation von Kenchreai und Lechaion durch Nymphen (→ Nymphai)

1.\* Münzen. AE, Korinth, Hadrian (117-138 n. Chr.) - *BMC Corinth* 75, 595 Taf. 21, 15; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 410-411 Nr. 577 Taf. 18, 20. - Zwei frontal stehende, bekleidete weibliche Figuren, die den einen Arm um die Schultern der andern und die andere, gesenkte Hand an ein Steuerruder legen. Beischrift *LECH* und *CENCH*.

### b) Kenchreai durch mehrere Mädchen, Lechaion durch einen Jüngling personifiziert

2. (= Isthmos 7) Gemälde, nicht erhalten oder fiktiv. - Philostr. *im.* 2, 16, 4; Schönenberger, O., *Philostratos, Die Bilder* (1968) 424. - Opfer des → Sisyphe für → Melikertes Palaimon, der schlafend von einem Delphin beim Isthmos an Land gebracht wird. Der → Isthmos ist als gelagerter Gott personifiziert; «zu seiner Rechten steht ein Jüngling (*νεπρώνιον*), wohl Lechaion, zur Linken junge Mädchen (*κόραι*)» (Übers. Schönenberger). (In einer späten Handschrift des Philostrattextes findet sich der Einschub «wohl Kenchreai» nach «Mädchen», Schönenberger 424). Offenbar

ist also hier einfach die Feminin-Plural-Form des Ortsnamens für die Personifikation bildlich umgesetzt worden.

IOANNIS TOURATSOGLOU

## KENCHREIOS

(*Κενχρεῖος*: von den Münzen abgesehen, ältere Namensform [nur bei Alexander Aetolus *fig.* 4, 6 Powell], sonst *Κενχρεῖος*, auf Münzen *Κένχρ(ε)ῖος*; Cencreus) Gott des gleichnamigen Flusses in Ionien, eines linken Nebenflusses des → Kaystros (I) nahe dessen Mündung bei Ephesos. Durchfloß den Hain der Ortygia (II), in dem → Leto nach ephesischer Überlieferung → Apollon und → Artemis gebar (Strabon 14, 1, 20 p. 639; Tac. *ann.* 3, 61).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Büchner, L., *RE XI* 1 (1921) 170-171 s. v. «Kenchreios»; Drexler, W., *ML II* 1 (1890-94) 1030-1031 s. v. «Kenchreios»; Joly, E., *EAAIV* (1961) 339 s. v. «Kenchreios 2»; Waser, O., *RE VI* 2 (1909) 2802 s. v. «Flußgötter»; Ziegler, K., *KlPauly III* (1969) 182 s. v. «Kenchreios».

## KATALOG

### Münzen von Ephesos (Ionien)

1.\* AE, Hadrian (117-138 n. Chr.), Severus Alexander (222-235 n. Chr.). - *BMC Ionia* 94, 317; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 278 Nr. 263 Taf. 9, 2. - Rs.: K. bärtig, nach l. gelagert, bekleidet mit einem um die Hüften geschlungenen Himation, mit dem l. Arm auf ein Quellgefäß gelehnt, in der l. Armbeuge ein Füllhorn, in der Rechten ein Schilfrohr. *ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΚΕΝΧΡΕΙΟΣ*.

2. (= Kaystros 11\* mit Lit.) AE, Antoninus Pius (138-161 n. Chr.). - Rs.: Zwei zueinander gelagerte männliche, nur mit einem um den Unterkörper gelegten Himation bekleidete Figuren zu Füßen des Kultbildes der → Artemis Ephesia. L. Kaystros, r. K., mit dem l. Arm auf ein Quellgefäß gestützt, über dem l. Unterarm ein Zipfel des Gewandes, in der Rechten ein Schilfrohr. *ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΔΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΥΣΤΡΟΣ ΚΕΝΧΡΕΙΟΣ*.

## KOMMENTAR

K. ist in dem in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit verbreiteten Typus des menschengestaltigen gelagerten Flußgottes wiedergegeben (→ Fluvii). Selten hingegen ist die Darstellung zweier Flußgottheiten gemeinsam. Existierte vielleicht ein besonderes Monument, das die Anregung zu dieser Darstellungsform gab, oder sollte lediglich auf die topographische Situation der Stadt Ephesos zwischen den beiden Flüssen angespielt werden? Ein Monument mit Kaystros und K. ist bis heute nicht freigelegt oder identifiziert worden, so daß diese Vermutung bloße Hypothese bleiben muß.



Wenn hingegen auf die Lage von Ephesos hingewiesen worden sein soll, scheint unklar, warum gerade Kaystros und K. gewählt wurden und nicht beispielsweise die auch sonst auf Münzen erscheinenden Personifikationen des → Klaseas und → Marnas. Kaystros als größter Fluß im ephesischen Gebiet und einer der größten im westlichen Kleinasien überhaupt dürfte sicher nicht fehlen. Nach Tacitus (*ann.* 3, 61) wies eine Gesandtschaft der Ephesier besonders nachdrücklich darauf hin, daß Leto die göttlichen Zwillinge im Hain der Ortygia, der vom K. durchflossen wurde, zur Welt gebracht habe. Von allen Nebenflüssen des Kaystros spielt somit K. mythologisch die wichtigste Rolle. In der Münzlegende wird die zweite Neokorie genannt, die der Stadt definitiv unter Hadrian verliehen wurde. Daneben besaß Ephesos außerdem die Neokorie der Artemis (Hanell, K., *RE XVI* 2 [1935] 2424–2425 s. v. «Neokoroi»). Es ist daher denkbar, daß diese weitere Neokorie zusätzlich zu den beiden «kaiserlichen» bei der Gestaltung des Münzbildes zum Ausdruck kommen sollte, einerseits mit der Darstellung der Artemis Ephesia, die andererseits noch durch den ihr zu Füßen liegenden K. gleichsam betont wird.

Zur Interpretation der astragalspielenden Kinder zu Füßen des Kultbildes der Artemis Ephesia, die W. Drexler (*ML II* 1 [1890–94] 1008–1009 s. v. «Kaystros») als Flußgötter und E. Joly (*EAA IV* [1961] 332–333 s. v. «Kaystros») als Personifikationen von Kaystros und K. bezeichnet, vgl. → Kaystros I.

THOMAS GANSCHOW

## KENCHRIAS

(*Κενχρίας, Κένχρειος*) Sohn des Poseidon und der → Peirene, Bruder des Leches (*Λέχης*).

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: Paus. 2, 2, 3; 2, 3, 2 (*Κενχρίας*); Steph. Byz. s. v. «*Κενχρείαι*» (*Κένχρειος*). Als K. von Artemis getötet wurde, entstand aus den Tränen seiner Mutter die korinthische Quelle Peirene. Nach K. und Leches erhielten die Häfen Korinths, Kenchreai (am Saronischen Golf) und Lechaion (am Korinthischen Golf), ihre Namen.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Drexler, W., *ML II* 1 (1890–94) 1031 s. v. «Kenchreios 2»; Scherling, K., *RE XII* 1 (1924) 1056 s. v. «Leches»; Stoll, H. W., *ML II* 1 (1890–94) 1031 s. v. «Kenchrias»; idem, *ML II* 2 (1894–97) 1922 s. v. «Leches».

1. \* (= Aphrodite 640 mit Lit.) Münzen. AE, Korinths, Septimius Severus (193–211 n. Chr.). – *BMC Corinth* 85, 652 Taf. 21, 14; Imhoof-Blumer, *Flußg* 410 Nr. 576 Taf. 18, 19. – K. halbnackt r. am Fuß eines Felsens (Akrokorinths) gelagert, auf welchem Aphrodite steht; er hält im r. Arm ein Ruder, die Linke ist über den Kopf gelegt. Auf der l. Seite des Felsens ist in derselben Haltung Leches gelagert, einen Anker schulternd.

Das in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit für die Wiedergabe von Flußgöttern übliche Schema der gelagerten Figur (→ Fluvii) wurde hier auf Hafengötter übertragen. Für die Anordnung eines Flußgötterpaares beidseits einer Statue → Kaikos I und → Kenchreios. – S. auch → Kenchreai. IOANNIS TOURATSOGLOU

## Addenda

### EPONA

(*Ἐπιόνα*, Epona) Déesse celtique, protectrice des équidés et des écuries. Le nom se rattache à la racine indo-eur. *ekw-*, gr. *ἵππο-*, lat. *equ-*, celt. *epos*, irl. *ech*, breton *ebol*, *ebeul*, poulain. Les formes en *equ-* (*equesus*, *equonus*) peuvent être celtiques, en alternance avec les formes en *ep-*: cf. Dottin, G., *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique* (1906) 25. 85. 90. 239; Holder I (1896) 1447–1450 s. v. «Epona»; Keune, *RE*; Lafaye, *DA*; Walde/Hof. (1965) 412–413 s. v. «equus»; Ellis Evans, D., *Gaulish Personal Names* (1967) 197. Le nom *Epōna* doit être rapproché des autres formes celtiques *Divōna*, *Sirōna*, mais non des formes latines *Pomōna*, *Bellōna*, etc.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES ET ÉPIGRAPHIQUES: D'après Ps.-Plut. *parall. min.* 29b p. 312e qui se réfère à un certain Agésilaos (*FGH* 828 F 1), É. serait née de l'union d'un nommé Fulvius Stellus et d'une jument.

Mentions dans les textes latins: Iuv. 8, 155–157 et *Schol.*; Apul. *met.* 3, 27; Fulg. *ant.* 11; Min. Felix 28, 7; Tert. *apol.* 16; nat. 1, 11; Prud. *apoth.* 197–199. Dans l'épigraphie lat. (cf. Ruggiero, *Diz. epigr. s. v.* «Epona»), formes particulières du nom. Au dat. sing. *Epone*: calendrier de Guidizzolo, *CIL I* 253 = *AEpigr.* 1907, 106; inscriptions de provenances diverses: *CIL III* 7750, Dacie; de Dacie aussi, inscr. citée par Keune, *RE* 232 l. 10; *CIL III* 3420, Hongrie; *AEpigr.* 1939, 235, Budapest; *CIL III* 6332 a, Transylvanie; *AEpigr.* 1907, 106: plaque de bronze d'Alise-Sainte-Reine. Au dat. pl. *Eponabus*: *CIL III* 7904, Transylvanie.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Benoît, F., *Les mythes de l'outre-tombe. Le cavalier à l'anguipède et l'écurière Épona*. Coll. *Latomus* 2 (1950) (= Benoît, *Mythes*); idem, «Réalisme ou allégorie?», *AntCl* 1952, 84 s.; idem, *L'héroïsation équestre* (1954); idem, «Archétypes plastiques en Ibérie de l'Épona gallo-romaine», *Ogam* 6, 1954, 105–113; idem, «Épona funéraire», *Ogam* 17, 1965, 333–336; idem, *Arts et dieux de la Gaule* (1969) 110 s.; idem, *Le symbolisme dans les sanctuaires de la Gaule*. Coll. *Latomus* 105 (1970); Bonnet, M.-H., «Note sur quelques représentations inconnues ou peu connues de la déesse Épona dans l'est de la Gaule», *RAE* 34, 1983, 161–165; Boucher, St., «L'inscription d'Entrains *CIL XIII* 2903, et l'apparition du culte d'Épona en Gaule au I<sup>er</sup> siècle de notre ère», dans *Homm. L. Lerat* I (1984) 131 s.; De Vries, J., *La religion des Celtes* (1963) 132–135; Duval, P.-M., «Chronique gallo-romaine», *REA* 1953, 397–398, «Épona»; idem, *La vie quotidienne en Gaule* (1952) 307 s.; idem, *Les religions des Celtes, Hist. des Religions V* (1957); idem, *Les dieux de la Gaule* (1976) 49–51.112; Grenier, A., «Aspects de la religion romaine en Provence», *CRAI* 1954 (1955) 328 s.; Hanoteau, M.-T., «Sur les traces d'Épona dans le centre de la France», *Rev. arch. du Centre* 18, 1979, 157–159 (= Hanoteau 1); eadem, «Épona, déesse des chevaux», *Helvetica archaeologica* 11, 1980, 2 s. (= Hanoteau 2);

eadem, *Mém. de maîtrise à l'Univ. de Paris IV*, inédit (1978), 260 phot. et fig.; Hatt, J.-J., *La tombe gallo-romaine* (1951) 239 s.; Hubert, H., «Le mythe d'Épona», dans *Mél. M. Vendryès* (1925) 187 s.; Keune, J. B., *RE VI* 1 (1907) 228–243 s. v. «Epona»; idem, *RE Suppl. III* (1918) 436–439; Lafaye, G., *DA II* (1892) 733–735 s. v. «Epona»; Lambrechts, P., *Contribution à l'étude des divinités celtiques* (1942) 172 s.; idem, «La colonne du dieu cavalier au géant et le culte des sources en Gaule», *Latomus* 8, 1949/2, 150–158; idem, «Épona et les matres», *AntCl* 19, 1950, 103–112; idem, «Divinités équestres celtiques ou défunts héroïses?», *AntCl* 20, 1951, 107–128; Linduff, K. M., «Epona: a Celt among the Romans», *Latomus* 38, 1979, 817 s.; Magnen, R./Thevenot, E., *Épona, déesse gauloise des chevaux, protectrice des cavaliers* (1953–55) + additif (1956) (= MT); Nagy, T., «Sur l'histoire du culte d'Épona», *ArchErt* 1956, 222–224; Reinach, S., «Épona», *RA* 1895/1, 163–195. 309–335 (= Reinach 1); idem, «Encore Épona», *RA* 1898/2, 197–200; idem, «Épona», *RA* 1899/2, 61–70; idem, «Divinités équestres. Épona», *RA* 1902/1, 227–238; idem, «Nouvelles Éponas», *RA* 1903/2, 348–350; Schleiermacher, W., «Studien an Göttertypen der röm. Rheinprovinzen», *BerRGK* 23, 1933, 142 s.; Sjoestedt-Jonval, M. L., *Dieux et héros des Celtes* (1940) 26 s.; Thevenot, E., «Les monuments et le culte d'Épona chez les Éduens», *AntCl* 18, 1949, 385s (= Thevenot 1); idem, «Méthodes d'exploration de la religion gallo-romaine», *RAE* 6, 1955, 355–366 (= Thevenot 2); idem, *Inventaire supplémentaire des monuments à Épona* (deuxième supplément), *RAE* 1964, 112–118 (= Thevenot, *Suppl.*); idem, *Sur les traces des Mars celtiques* (1955), *passim*; idem, *Divinités et sanctuaires de la Gaule* (1968) 187 s.; Vaillant, R. (Karnos), «Epona Rigantona», *Ogam* 3, 1951, 190 s.; 4, 1952, 190 s.; Vigneron, P., *Le cheval dans l'antiquité* (1968) 164.

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Wenn hingegen auf die Lage von Ephesos hingewiesen worden sein soll, scheint unklar, warum gerade Kaystros und K. gewählt wurden und nicht beispielsweise die auch sonst auf Münzen erscheinenden Personifikationen des → Klaseas und → Marnas. Kaystros als größter Fluß im ephesischen Gebiet und einer der größten im westlichen Kleinasien überhaupt dürfte sicher nicht fehlen. Nach Tacitus (*ann.* 3, 61) wies eine Gesandtschaft der Ephesier besonders nachdrücklich darauf hin, daß Leto die göttlichen Zwillinge im Hain der Ortygia, der vom K. durchflossen wurde, zur Welt gebracht habe. Von allen Nebenflüssen des Kaystros spielt somit K. mythologisch die wichtigste Rolle. In der Münzlegende wird die zweite Neokorie genannt, die der Stadt definitiv unter Hadrian verliehen wurde. Daneben besaß Ephesos außerdem die Neokorie der Artemis (Hanell, K., *RE XVI* 2 [1935] 2424–2425 s. v. «Neokoroi»). Es ist daher denkbar, daß diese weitere Neokorie zusätzlich zu den beiden «kaiserlichen» bei der Gestaltung des Münzbildes zum Ausdruck kommen sollte, einerseits mit der Darstellung der Artemis Ephesia, die andererseits noch durch den ihr zu Füßen liegenden K. gleichsam betont wird.

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## Addenda

### EPONA

(*Ἐπιονα*, Epona) Déesse celtique, protectrice des équidés et des écuries. Le nom se rattache à la racine indo-eur. *ekw-*, gr. *ἵππο-*, lat. *equ-*, celt. *epos*, irl. *ech*, breton *ebol*, *ebeul*, poulain. Les formes en *equ-* (*equesus*, *equonus*) peuvent être celtiques, en alternance avec les formes en *ep-*: cf. Dottin, G., *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique* (1906) 25. 85. 90. 239; Holder I (1896) 1447–1450 s. v. «Epona»; Keune, *RE*; Lafaye, *DA*; Walde/Hof. (1965) 412–413 s. v. «equus»; Ellis Evans, D., *Gaulish Personal Names* (1967) 197. Le nom *Epōna* doit être rapproché des autres formes celtiques *Divōna*, *Sirōna*, mais non des formes latines *Pomōna*, *Bellōna*, etc.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES ET ÉPIGRAPHIQUES: D'après Ps.-Plut. *parall. min.* 29b p. 312e qui se réfère à un certain Agésilaos (*FGH* 828 F 1), É. serait née de l'union d'un nommé Fulvius Stellus et d'une jument.

Mentions dans les textes latins: Iuv. 8, 155–157 et *Schol.*; Apul. *met.* 3, 27; Fulg. *ant.* 11; Min. Felix 28, 7; Tert. *apol.* 16; nat. 1, 11; Prud. *apoth.* 197–199. Dans l'épigraphie lat. (cf. Ruggiero, *Diz. epigr.* s. v. «Epona»), formes particulières du nom. Au dat. sing. *Epone*: calendrier de Guidizzolo, *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 253 = *AEpigr.* 1907, 106; inscriptions de provenances diverses: *CIL* III 7750, Dacie; de Dacie aussi, inscr. citée par Keune, *RE* 232 l. 10; *CIL* III 3420, Hongrie; *AEpigr.* 1939, 235, Budapest; *CIL* III 6332 a, Transylvanie; *AEpigr.* 1907, 106: plaque de bronze d'Alise-Sainte-Reine. Au dat. pl. *Eponabus*: *CIL* III 7904, Transylvanie.

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*eadem*, *Mém. de maîtrise à l'Univ. de Paris IV*, inédit (1978), 260 phot. et fig.; Hatt, J.-J., *La tombe gallo-romaine* (1951) 239 s.; Hubert, H., «Le mythe d'Épona», dans *Mél. M. Vendryès* (1925) 187 s.; Keune, J. B., *RE VI* 1 (1907) 228–243 s. v. «Epona»; *idem*, *RE Suppl. III* (1918) 436–439; Lafaye, G., *DA II* (1892) 733–735 s. v. «Epona»; Lambrechts, P., *Contribution à l'étude des divinités celtiques* (1942) 172 s.; *idem*, «La colonne du dieu cavalier au géant et le culte des sources en Gaule», *Latomus* 8, 1949/2, 150–158; *idem*, «Épona et les matres», *AntCl* 19, 1950, 103–112; *idem*, «Divinités équestres celtiques ou défunts héroïsés?», *AntCl* 20, 1951, 107–128; Linduff, K. M., «Epona: a Celt among the Romans», *Latomus* 38, 1979, 817 s.; Magnen, R./Thevenot, E., *Épona, déesse gauloise des chevaux, protectrice des cavaliers* (1953–55) + additif (1956) (= MT); Nagy, T., «Sur l'histoire du culte d'Épona», *ArchErt* 1956, 222–224; Reinach, S., «Épona», *RA* 1895/1, 163–195. 309–335 (= Reinach 1); *idem*, «Encore Épona», *RA* 1898/2, 197–200; *idem*, «Épona», *RA* 1899/2, 61–70; *idem*, «Divinités équestres. Épona», *RA* 1902/1, 227–238; *idem*, «Nouvelles Éponas», *RA* 1903/2, 348–350; Schleiermacher, W., «Studien an Göttertypen der röm. Rheinprovinzen», *BerRGK* 23, 1933, 142 s.; Sjoestedt-Jonval, M. L., *Dieux et héros des Celtes* (1940) 26 s.; Thevenot, E., «Les monuments et le culte d'Épona chez les Éduens», *AntCl* 18, 1949, 385 s. (= Thevenot 1); *idem*, «Méthodes d'exploration de la religion gallo-romaine», *RAE* 6, 1955, 355–366 (= Thevenot 2); *idem*, *Inventory supplémentaire des monuments à Épona* (deuxième supplément), *RAE* 1964, 112–118 (= Thevenot, *Suppl.*); *idem*, *Sur les traces des Mars celtiques* (1955), *passim*; *idem*, *Divinités et sanctuaires de la Gaule* (1968) 187 s.; Vaillant, R. (Katanos), «Épona Rigantona», *Ogam* 3, 1951, 190 s.; 4, 1952, 190 s.; Vigneron, P., *Le cheval dans l'antiquité* (1968) 164.

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## CATALOGUE

Les objets ont été découverts essentiellement dans les régions éduennes et du Centre-Est de la Gaule, dans les régions trévires et du Nord-Est, et dans celles du Rhin et du limes rhénan, enfin dans celles d'Europe centrale et du limes danubien. C'est dans cet ordre qu'ils seront recensés. Quelques monuments sont dispersés et seront mentionnés en fin de chacune des rubriques.

## A. Épona assise à droite

## Reliefs, pierre

1.\* Coll. part. Ampilly-lès-Bordes (Côte-d'Or). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* XV 9046; MT 102; Thevenot 1, 389 fig. - É. porte une pèlerine à bord festonné. Elle tient peut-être une corne d'abondance.

2. Dijon, Mus. Arch. De la tour du *castrum*. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IV 3448; MT 157 pl. 40; Deyts, S., *Dijon, Sculptures antiques régionales* (1976) n° 113. - Le cheval porte une grande housse. É. est acéphale.

3. Avallon, Mus. de l'Avallonnais. De Censy (Yonne). - Thevenot, *Suppl.* 280 fig. 22; *L'art de la Bourgogne romaine*, exp. Dijon (1973) n° 193 pl. 49. - É. porte une tunique plissée; elle tient la bride de la main g. et une patère de la dr.

4. Auxerre, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. D'Entrains (Nièvre). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* II 2246; MT 97 pl. 19. - Les pieds d'É. sont posés sur une «planchette». Les attributs ne sont pas identifiables.

5.\* Autun, Mus. Rolin ML 871. - *Gallia* 22, 1964, 421; Bonnet 162-163 fig. 2. - É. suivie d'un palefrenier ? Sur le fond, motif en forme de *pelta* (jaillissement d'une source ?). Au Mus. d'Autun, autres stèles dédiées à É.: Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 1856 bis.

6.\* Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. 35454. - De Gannat (Allier). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* II 1618; MT 79 pl. 21; *Les dieux de la Gaule romaine*, exp. Luxembourg (1989) n° 62 fig. - Le voile d'É. est gonflé par le vent de la course. Dans la main dr., clé ou sceptre court ? Son bras g. entoure l'encolure de sa monture, sur laquelle ses doigts sont nettement figurés.

7.\* Paris, Louvre. De Nérès-les-Bains (Allier). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* II 1562; MT 78; *RAE* 6, 1955, 218; Linduff fig. 2. - É. porte un long manteau gonflé par le vent. Peut-être tient-elle une clé dans la main dr. Au-dessus, une arcature soutenue par un pilastre.

8. Loc. inconnue. De Vieuv-Valromey (Ain). -

*RAE* 11, 1960, 188-189 fig. 111; Thevenot, *Suppl.* 276. - É., semble-t-il, tenait une corne d'abondance.

9. Reims, Mus. St Rémi. De Reims. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 3672; MT 104. - É. est en robe longue, elle tient une patère à dr., à g. une corne d'abondance.

10. Loc. inconnue. De Perthes (Haute-Marne). - *Gallia* 25, 1967, 294; *Ogam* 19, 1967, 197 pl. 72-74. - Contexte du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Attributs indiscernables.

11. Langres, Mus. du Breuil de Saint-Germain. De Chalmessin (Haute-Marne). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IV 3363; MT 103. - É. porte une robe longue, tient une patère et une corne d'abondance.

12. Langres, Mus. St Didier. De Gourzon (Haute-Marne). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VI 4740; MT 123. - Les attributs ne sont pas reconnaissables; un autel apparaît sous les sabots de la monture.

13. Édicule votif en forme de temple à acrotères. Langres, Mus. St Didier. De Gourzon (Haute-Marne), ruines du Châtelet, dans un puits (avec des monnaies constantiniennes). - MT 228 pl. 41; Lambrechts (1949) 151; Benoît, F., *Ogam* 9, 1957, 251 pl. 47 fig. 3. - É. tient un fouet de la main dr.; ses pieds reposent sur un autel sous lequel est creusé un trou à libations. Cf. MT n° 229: édicule comparable.

14. Luxeuil (Haute-Saône), Mus. de la Tour des Échevins. De l'établissement thermal. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VII 5320, MT 227. - Stèle presque triangulaire, comparable à la façade des édicules mentionnés ci-dessus. Trou à libations. Traces d'une inscr. illisible.

15. a-b) Deux stèles de même forme que la précédente. Moulages: Luxeuil, Mus. de la Tour des Échevins. De Baudoncourt (Haute-Saône), forêt des «Sept Chevaux» (plaine d'élevage?) (cf. 201). - *Gallia* 22, 1964, 378 fig. 4. - É. lève le bras dr.; au sommet de l'une des stèles, disque (lune ? soleil ?).

16. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. De Frémifontaine (Vosges). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VI 4773; MT 124. - La main dr., levée, tient une patère (?).

17. Épinal, Mus. De Grand (Vosges). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VI 4894; MT 125. - Clé à dr., à g. corne d'abondance.

18. Stèle à sommet arrondi. Strasbourg, Mus. Arch. 32259. De Mussig-Vicens (Bas-Rhin). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VIII 7290; MT 127; Forrer, R., *Cah. d'arch. et d'hist. d'Alsace* 12, 1921, 1249 s; Hatt, J. J., *Strasbourg, Mus. Arch. Sculptures antiques régionales* (1964) n° 121. - I<sup>re</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É. pose les pieds sur une «planchette». Attributs indiscernables.

19.\* Colmar, Mus. d'Unterlinden. De Horbourg-Wihr (Haut-Rhin). - Bonnet 164 fig. 3. - Bride dans la main g., gâteau (?) dans la dr.; pieds posés sur une «planchette».

20. Loc. inconnue. De Cutry (Meurthe-et-Moselle). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4417; MT 115. - É. tient devant elle une corbeille de fruits.

21. Verdun, Mus. de la Prinerie ? Moulage: Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. De Senon (Meuse). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4636; MT 122. - É. tient une patère dans la main dr.

22. Loc. inconnue. De la forêt de Garrebou (Moselle). - *Gallia* 22, 1964, 358 fig. 31. - É. porte une tunique longue et pose sa main dr. sur ses genoux.

23. Stèle présentant deux pans en forme de toit. Thionville, Mus. de la Tour aux Puc. De Daspich (Moselle). - *Gallia* 24, 1966, 295 fig. 30. - É. tient un attribut non identifiable.

24. Relief en forme de niche à sommet cintré. Nancy, Mus. Lorrain I 54. De Freyming (Moselle), lieu-dit «Saint-Fontaine». - Espérandieu, *Recueil* X 7611; MT 121. - Le site (anc. source divinisée, temple) a livré des traces du culte de → Sirona, Hygie (→ Hygieia, → Salus), Mercure (→ Mercurius) et → Apollon/Apollo.

25. Kuntzig (Moselle), dans le mur d'une maison. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IX 7240; MT 120. - É. tient des fruits sur les genoux.

26. Niche à sommet cintré. Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. De Cocheren (Moselle). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4451; MT 119.

26 bis.\* Metz, 30, rue des Clercs, *in situ*; moulage: Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. - *Annuaire Soc. d'Hist. et d'Arch. de la Lorraine* 1963, 1-3 pl. 1; Collot, G., *Mus. Arch. de Metz. La civilisation gallo-romaine* I (1964) n° 186. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - De la main g., É. tient sont voile.

27. Stèle incomplète. Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. De Cocheren (Moselle), Le Hiérable. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4446; MT 118.

28. a) Stèle à cadre arrondi. Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. De Metz, citadelle. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4284; MT 111 pl. 18. - É. porte une longue robe et un manteau. Attribut non identifiable. b) Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4285; MT 112.

29. Stèle à sommet cintré. Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. D'Hagondange (Moselle). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4437; MT 116. - Attributs non identifiables.

30.\* Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. - De la Horgne-au-Sablon (Moselle). Trouvée avec d'autres stèles (31. 137-138) sur un site qui semble être une nécropole. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4353; MT 113 pl. 20; Tous-saint, M., *Metz à l'époque romaine* (1948) n° 363; *Dieux de la Gaule*, o. c. 6, n° 63 fig. - É. porte un manteau dont un pan flotte derrière elle.

31. Stèle à sommet cintré. Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. De la Horgne-au-Sablon (Moselle). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4354; MT 114.

32.\* Luxembourg, Mus. de l'État 236. De Dalheim (Luxembourg). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4255; MT 108 pl. 23; Wilhelm, E., *Pierres sculptées et inscr. de l'ép. romaine, Mus. d'Hist. et d'Art, Luxembourg* (1974) n° 316 pl. 112; Hanoteau 2, fig. p. 3. - É. tient sur ses genoux un vase rempli de fruits.

33. Luxembourg, Mus. de l'État 235. - De Dalheim. Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4262; MT 109; Wilhelm, o. c. 32, n° 317. - É. tient des fruits sur ses genoux.

34. a) Luxembourg, Mus. de l'État 458. - Wilhelm, o. c. 32, n° 323. - É. porte des fruits. - b) *Ibid.*, cf. Wilhelm n° 324: fruits et oiseau. - Cf. *etiam* Wilhelm n° 321. 352.

35. Luxembourg, Mus. de l'État. 264. D'Echter-nach. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4340; MT 107. - É. tient des fruits sur ses genoux.

36. Stèle à sommet cintré. Trèves, Landesmus. D'Alttier. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4219; MT 106 pl. 25; Wilhelm, o. c. 32, n° 322. - É. tient sur ses genoux un quadrupède et un oiseau.

37. Bad Homburg, Saalburgmus. De Bad Homburg. - Thevenot, *Suppl.* 273; *Ogam* 11, 1959, 346 pl. 40. - É. tient les rênes et une patère; ses pieds sont posés sur une «planchette».

38.\* Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. 185. De la citadelle de Mayence. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VII 5863; MT 126 pl. 24. - É. tient un fruit ou un gâteau.

39. Stèle. Mayence, RGZM. De Mayence, citadelle. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VII 7355; MT 133. - Les jambes g. de la monture étaient peintes.

40. Trèves, Landesmus. 17503. Découverte près des casernes. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VI 4953; MT 130. - É. porte une corbeille de fruits.

41.\* Trèves, Landesmus. 21, 48. Du Petrisberg. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* X 7605; MT 131. - É. porte une corbeille de fruits, elle est précédée par une femme.

42. a)\* Stèle. Trèves, Landesmus. De l'Altbachtal, enceinte religieuse comportant une chapelle à É. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* XI 7736; MT 132; Linduff fig. 11; Gose, E., *Der gallo-röm. Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier* (1972) 35 s fig. 125. - É. tient sur la main dr. un large plateau de fruits. - b) Stèle incomplète (le haut manque). Trèves, Landesmus. ? - Gose fig. 126.

43. Wiesbaden, Mus. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 8; MT 134. - É. porte une corbeille de fruits.

44.\* Wiesbaden, Mus. 259. D'Hedderheim. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 131; MT 137. - É. tient une patère à dr. Les jambes g. du cheval étaient peintes.

45. Bad Homburg, Saalburgmus. De Walldürn. - *SaalburgJb* 35, 1978, 173.

46. Bad Homburg, Saalburgmus. De Stockstadt, temple de → Mithras. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 291; MT 140. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É. très petite sur un cheval très haut.

47. Walldürn, Mus. D'Alteburg. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 201; MT 138; É. porte une grande patère de fruits; ses pieds reposent sur une «planchette».

48. Mayence, RGZM. De Worms. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VIII 6010; MT 129. - É. tient une corbeille de fruits.

49. Stuttgart, Landesmus. De Walheim, près de Ludwigsburg. - Mention dans *Ogam* 11, 1959, 346 s. - É. pose ses deux mains sur ses genoux.

50. Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 1. De Mittelstadt. - Les pieds d'É. sont posés sur une «planchette».

51. a) Stuttgart, Landesmus. De La Steig. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 547; MT 150. - b) Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 22. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 552; MT 153; Schleiermacher 130.

52. a) Stuttgart, Landesmus. De Cannstatt, camp romain. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 549; MT 151. - É. porte une corbeille de fruits; ses pieds sont posés sur une «planchette». - b) Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 10. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 543; MT 149.



53. Stèle. Stuttgart, Landesmus. De Cannstatt, près du camp romain. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 551; MT 152; Schleiermacher 130.

54. Moulage: Stuttgart, Landesmus. De Klingenberg. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 392; MT 148. - Les jambes g. de la monture n'étaient pas sculptées mais peintes.

55.\* Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 414. De Großacksenheim. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 372; MT 145. - É. tient une corbeille de fruits.

56. Sarrebruck, Mus. für Vor- und Frühgeschichte. De Ludweiler, près de Sarrebruck. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* XIV 8425; MT 128 bis; Schleiermacher, W., *Germania* 1942, 122-135 pl. 23; REA 45, 1943, 115. Cf. Espérandieu, *Recueil* XIV 8428-8429. Parmi cinq reliefs (cf. 144. 152). - É. porte un attribut en forme de fer de lance (?); il s'agirait plutôt d'un manche de fouet.

57. a-b) Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. D'Ubstadt. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 384; MT 147-147 bis.

58. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. De Rheinzabern. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VIII 5912; MT 128. - Les pieds d'É. sont posés sur une «planchette», les jambes g. du cheval étaient peintes.

59. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. De Königsbach. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 363; MT 143. - Les pieds sont posés sur une «planchette».

60. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. De Stettfeld. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 369; MT 144. - É., les pieds sur une «planchette», tient une patère et une corbeille de fruits.

61. Détruit. Anc. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. De Büchig. Moulage: Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. 26255. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 379; MT 146; Beck, F., *Antiquités* Nat. 10, 1978, 58-60 fig. 13. - É. tient une pomme de pin ou un gâteau dans la main dr.

62.\* Eichstätt, Jura-Mus. 7595. De Nassenfels. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 711; MT 155. - É. tient des fruits dans la main dr.

63. a) Stèle (sommets en forme de coquille). Mannheim, Reiß-Mus. De Ladenburg. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 333; MT 141. - Housse et harnachement ornés de phalères; É., les pieds posés sur un tabouret, présente des fruits sur les genoux. b) Fr. Mannheim, Reiß-Mus. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 338; MT 142.

64.\* Fr. d'autel. Bordeaux, Mus. d'Aquitaine 60.2.49. De Gironde. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* II 1705; MT 224 pl. 46; Étienne, R., *Bordeaux antique* (1962) 166; idem, *Bordeaux, deux mille ans d'histoire* (1973) 29 n° 6. - É. tient une patère; un chêne est figuré au second plan.

65. Loc. inconnue. De Braga (Portugal). - Reinach, *RépRel* III 476 fig.; MT 155 bis. - Il s'agit bien d'É. et non d'un simple cavalier.

66. Arlon (Belgique), Mus. De Grandcourt. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4124; MT 105. - É. tient devant elle un objet arrondi.

#### Ronde-bosse, pierre

67. Semur-en-Auxois (Côte-d'Or), Mus. Mun. De Bierre-lès-Semur. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IX 7103;

MT 167. - É. porte un manteau flottant et tient une patère dans la main dr.

68.\* Autun (Saône-et-Loire), Mus. Rolin ML 1154. De Sussey-lès-Rouvre (Côte-d'Or). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IX 7077; MT 165. - É. tient une grappe, ce qui est inhabituel.

69. Coll. part. De Commarin (Côte-d'Or). - Bonnet 161 fig. 1. - La partie inférieure du cheval a disparu, ou n'a pas été représentée. É. est adossée à une niche ovale. Elle porte un voile festonné, et tient une patère contenant trois gâteaux.

70.\* Alise-Sainte-Reine (Côte-d'Or), Mus. Alésia. D'Alésia. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2356; MT 168 pl. 50; Le Gall, J., *Alésia* (1963) 156; *Alésia* (1980) 164. - La monture est trop petite pour É. qui est très trapue, et dont la tête semble énorme. Elle tient à dr. une couronne torsadée.

71. Statuette, disparue. De l'Auxois (Côte-d'Or). - MT 170.

72. Loc. inconnue. De Thoisy-le-Désert (Côte-d'Or), ruines d'une grande villa. - Thevenot, *Suppl.* 278 fig. 23-24. - É. tient une patère de la main dr.

73. Auxerre, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. D'Entrains (Nièvre). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2240; MT 162 pl. 48. Statuette mutilée.

74. Autun, Mus. Rolin, ML 28. De Saône-et-Loire. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 1856; MT 161; *Augustodunum*, exp. Autun 1985 (1987) n° 583 b. - Robe serrée à la taille et manteau.

75. Statuette disparue. Anc. Orléans, Mus. Hist. De Gaubertin (Loiret), bâtiments romains situés près d'une source. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* XI 7699; MT 99. - Le voile d'É. est gonflé et s'arrondit autour de sa tête.

76. Luxembourg, Mus. de l'État. 237. De Dalheim. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4263; *Jdl* 1914, 228 fig.; MT 174; Wilhelm, o. c. 32, n° 320. - Un objet est tenu dans chaque main, un petit quadrupède (poulain) est posé sur les genoux d'É.

77. Luxembourg, Mus. de l'État 1202. De Tetelbierg. - Thevenot, *Suppl.* 279; Wilhelm, o. c. 32, n° 352. - Dans la main dr. un objet rond, peut-être une patère.

78. Statuette. Poitiers (Vienne), Mus. Ste Croix. Du Puy de Mercure (Vienne), dans un puits gallo-romain. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IX 6963; MT 159.

79. Vacat.

80.\* Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. 81159. De L'Orbie (Vendée). - Lantier, R., dans *Homm. W. Déonna*, coll. *Latomus* (1957) 334-337 pl. 44; Thevenot, *Suppl.* 275; *Gallia* 15, 1957, 218 fig. 15. - É., toute petite, tient une boîte cylindrique. Son voile est gonflé; le sabot g. du cheval repose sur un socle en forme de S (source?).

81. Moulage. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. 45888. De Rouillac (Charente). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* II 1380; MT 158 pl. 54. - É. tient un petit quadrupède sur les genoux. Nous pensons qu'il s'agit d'un poulain.

82. Colchester (Essex), Mus. De Colchester Castle. - *Trans. of the Essex Arch. Soc.* 19, 198; MT 175 pl. 49. - Statuette mutilée, comparable à celle d'Entrains (73).

#### Ronde-bosse, bois

83.\* Saintes (Charente-Maritime), Mus. Arch. 49530. De Saintes, dans un puits au lieu-dit Saint-Saloine, près des thermes antiques. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* II 1716; MT 77 pl. 17; *Saintes à la recherche de ses dieux*, exp. (1984) n° 64 fig. - Quadrupède (poulain) tenu sur les genoux. A dr. d'É., un enfant nu tenant une patère ou un gâteau.

#### Ronde-bosse, terre cuite

84. Autun (Saône-et-Loire), Mus. Rolin. - Thevenot, *Suppl.* 271; cf. *Augustodunum*, o. c. 74, n° 584 fr. - Atelier de Pistillus, fin I<sup>er</sup>-début II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.

85. Figurine disparue. De Vauchignion ou Santosse (Côte-d'Or). - MT 58. - Le cheval, de formes très puissantes, a été considéré à tort comme un éléphant.

86. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. 28029. De Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (Allier). - MT 52; Rouvier-Jeanlin, M., *Les figurines en terre cuite au Mus. des. Ant. Nat.*, *Gallia* Suppl. 24 (1972) n° 479. - É. porte un manteau à capuchon; tapis de selle.

87. a) Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. 28035. De l'Allier. - Rouvier-Jeanlin, o. c. 86, n° 480. - Le cheval, de formes épaisses, a une tête qui ressemble à celle d'un bovidé; nous pensons que ce n'est là que maladresse. - b-c) *Ibidem*. - Rouvier-Jeanlin n° 481 (il ne reste que le cheval); n° 983 (un cheval qui porte les traces d'une statuette de personnage assis, sans doute É.)

88. Vichy (Allier), Mus. De Vichy. - MT 55. - Composition habituelle.

89. a) Moulins, Mus. De Toulon-sur-Allier (Allier). - MT 50. - Patère et corne d'abondance. - b)\* Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. 27962. Même provenance. - MT 51; Rouvier-Jeanlin, o. c. 86, n° 474. - Même type.

90. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. 1664. De Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme). - MT 56; Rouvier-Jeanlin, o. c. 86, n° 478. - É. porte une corbeille de fruits sur les genoux.

91. Meaux (Seine-et-Marne) Mus. Bossuet. - REA 1901, 143; MT 59. - É. a les deux mains posées sur les genoux. Elle a été trouvée en même temps qu'une figurine représentant un mulet chargé de deux paniers.

92. Mannheim, Reiß-Mus. De Hermsheim. - É. de type habituel, mais tunique plissée.

93.\* Mayence, RGZM R 5914. - Type habituel.

94. Bonn. Rhein. Landesmus. De Cologne. - É. tient peut-être une corbeille sur les genoux.

95. Spire. Mus. der Pfalz. De Spire. - MT 64.

96 a). Wiesbaden, Mus. - MT 71. - Petit animal (poulain) sur les genoux. - b) Darmstadt, Mus. - MT 69.

97. a-b) Worms, Mus. - MT 65-66. - É. tient un petit animal sur les genoux. - c) *Ibidem*. - MT 67.

98.\* Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. 19835. - MT 73 bis pl. 14. - É. tient les rênes.

99.\* Bonn, Rhein. Landesmus. A 698. De Boppard. - MT 73 pl. 14. - É. tient deux petits animaux (poulains).

100. Mayence, RGZM. De Kastel. - MT 70 pl. 15. - É. tient devant elle une patère, une fleur ou une couronne.

101. Bad Homburg, Saalburgmus. Z 4557. De Kastel Zugmantel. - Composition inhabituelle.

102. a) Loc. inconnue. D'Écaquelon (Eure). - MT 60. - Statuette trouvée avec des monnaies d'Antonin et de Constantin. - b) Loc. inconnue. Des Baux (Eure). - MT 61.

103. a)\* Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. 75823. De Mont-Frugy (Finistère). - MT 62; Rouvier-Jeanlin, o. c. 86, n° 475. - b-c) *Ibidem*. De Tro-noën (Finistère). - Rouvier-Jeanlin n° 465-476 fr. (inv. 75824).

104. Bavay, Mus. Arch. - *Ogam* 10, 1958, 418-419 pl. 85; Thevenot, *Suppl.* 270. - É. tient une corne d'abondance. D'autres statuettes d'É. auraient été découvertes dans la région.

105. Laon, Mus. Arch. De Versigny (Aisne). - *Gallia* 25, 1967, 191 fig. 7. - Cheval portant les traces d'un cavalier assis à dr., sans doute É.

106.\* Leyde, Rijksmus. GL 247. De Baarlo (Pays-Bas). - MT 74 pl. 13; Vermaseren, M. J., *De Romeinse Beschaving in Midden-Limburg* (1951) 50. - Attributs indistincts.

107. Newport (Grande-Bretagne), Mus. De Caerwent. - MT 76. - Débris d'une statuette rappelant les figurines de l'Allier.

#### Ronde-bosse, bronze

108. Loc. inconnue. De Janville (Eure-et-Loir). - Reinach 1, n° 11 (dessin); MT 35; Hanoteau 1, 157. 159. - É. tient une patère et des fruits (?).

109. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. De Champoulet (Loiret). - CRAI 1976, 795 s.; Hanoteau 1, 157-158 fig.; *Bull. Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* 1979, 801. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É. est assise, mains ouvertes; le traitement de la chevelure, du vêtement, de la crinière du cheval est très stylisé et décoratif plutôt que réaliste, de même que l'attitude rigide d'É. et de sa monture.

110. Paris, Cab. Méd. 690. De Reims (Marne). - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 690; MT 41 pl. 8. - Milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É. porte une couronne, tient des fruits à dr., et les rênes (plutôt que des serpents!) dans la main g.

111. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. De Pupillin (Jura). - Reinach, S., *Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* (1894) n° 181; Lantier, o. c. 80, 334-335; MT 39. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. ? - La tête a disparu. É. tenait une patère à dr.

112. Besançon, Mus. des Beaux-Arts et d'Arch. 852.2.10. De Besançon. - Lebel, P., *Cat. des bronzes figurés du Mus. de Besançon* (1961) 47 pl. 53. - Le cheval seul est conservé, mais il porte les traces d'une statuette d'É., qui est la seule divinité à monter de cette façon, en position assise.

113.\* Paris, Cab. Méd. 692. De Franche-Comté. - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 692; MT 40 pl. 4. - Ensemble massif. Support cylindrique entre les jambes du cheval au repos. É. a les deux mains sur les genoux; elle porte un épais manteau à capuchon, aux plis rigides.

**114.\*** Paris, Cab. Méd. 691. De Bâgé-la-Ville (Ain). – Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 691; MT 37 pl. 7. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. ? – É., coiffée en bandeaux, est allongée sur sa monture au trot, dans une attitude gracieuse. Elle tient une patère de la main dr. L'ensemble manque de proportions.

**115.** Paris, Cab. Méd. 693. De Vienne (Isère). – Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n° 693; MT 34 pl. 6. – Couronne, voile, fleurs et fruits sur les genoux. Serait-elle montée sur un poulain ou un béliet? Ceci est peu vraisemblable. Il s'agit surtout de fautes de proportion et de maladresses.

**116.** Avenches (Suisse), Mus. – Leibundgut, A., *Die röm. Bronzen der Schweiz* II, Avenches (1976) 61 n° 41. – Cheval portant sur le côté dr. les traces d'une figurine, qui était certainement une É. Mais il n'y a pas à restituer de second cheval, et le cheval cabré de la Roche-Vineuse (*Gallia* 16, 1958, 367 fig. 18) ne peut être comparé à celui d'Avenches, même s'il porte une amulette, qui ne se rencontre ailleurs que sur les chevaux d'É.

**117.\*** Luxembourg, Mus. de l'État 3-1057. De Dalheim. – Wilhelm, E., *Bronzes figurés d'ép. romaine, Mus. d'Hist. et d'Art, Luxembourg* (1975) n° 16 pl. 43. – II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – É. porte un diadème; elle tient à dr. un objet rond (fruit ? gâteau ?), et lève la main g.

**118.** Paris, Petit-Palais. De Seine-Maritime (?). – Reinach, *RépStat* II 267 n° 4; MT 36; Petit, J., *Mus. du Petit Palais. Bronzes antiques* (1980) 58 n° 13. – É. porte un diadème. Elle est coiffée en grosses mèches, et tient une patère à dr.

**119.** Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. B 2762. De Maaseik (Limbourg). – MT 43 pl. 5; Feider-Feytmans, G., *Les bronzes rom. de Belgique* (1979) 87 n° 89 pl. 55. – É. est diadémée; ses attributs sont indistincts.

**120.** Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. 1735. De Kalougerovo (dép. Serlievo). – MT 44; *Le bronze sculpté de l'ép. romaine au Mus. Arch. Nat. auprès de l'Acad. bulgare des Sciences* (1984) n° 190; Naïdonova, V., *Musées et monuments de la culture* (1984) 41 s. – É. porte une patère dans la main g.

Voir E. É. accompagnée d'un poulain, 160-180. 182-184.

## B. Épona assise à gauche

### Reliefs, pierre

**121.** Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. De Cocheren (Moselle), près de la fontaine Ste Hélène. – MT 180; Toussaint, M., *Rép. arch. du Dép. de la Meuse* (1946) 63.

**122.** Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. De Senon (Meuse). – Espérandieu, *Recueil* IX 7257; MT 179 pl. 26. – Cette figuration aurait été encadrée dans un mur, probablement celui d'une écurie, les côtés étant simplement épannelés. Attributs indiscernables.

**123.** Saint-Dizier, Mus. De Perthes (Haute-Marne). – *Gallia* 25, 1967, 294-295 fig. 43b. – Relief gravé, très schématique, «statue-menhir».

**124.** Loc. inconnue. De Heidelsburg, près de Waldfischbach (Palatinat), ruines d'un poste romain du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* VIII 5933;

Lambrechts (1950) 107; MT 230. – Sur une des faces, É. se dirige vers une tour. Selon Magnen/Thevenot, un autre bloc provenant du même ensemble figure un → Attis funéraire.

### Bronze découpé

**125.** Pièce de harnachement ? Amulette ? Alise-Sainte-Reine (Côte-d'Or), Mus. D'Alésia. – Espérandieu, É., *Pro Alesia* 1907, 257 fig. 68; MT 47. – Contours d'une É. assise à g. sur un cheval au galop vers la g.

### Ronde-bosse, pierre

**126.** Langres, Mus. St Didier. De Gourzon (Haute-Marne), ruines du Châtelet. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* VI 4738; MT 178. – Statuette fruste.

**127.** Statuette incomplète. Nevers, Mus. du Nivernais. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2213; MT 176 pl. 53. – É. semble tenir une boule marquée par deux traits en croix (gâteau).

### Ronde-bosse, terre cuite

**128.** Moulins, Mus. De Nérès-les-Bains (Allier). MT 54; Cravay, P., *RAE* 6, 1955, 219. – Patère et corne d'abondance.

**129.** Nérès-les-Bains, Mus. Rieckotter. De Nérès. – Cravay, o. c. 128, 219. – Statuette d'un petit cheval présentant des traces d'arrachement, probablement celles d'une figurine d'É.

**130.** Moulins, Mus. De Vichy (Allier), quartier de Moûtier, dans un puits. – Morlet, A., *Vichy gallo-romain* (1957) 265 fig. 179. – É. porte une couronne murale (Tutela d'*Aquae Calidae*, → Tyche/Fortuna). Elle tient dans la main g. une corne d'abondance qu'elle appuie contre elle.

**131.** Leyde, Rijksmus. Prov. inconnue. – É. tient sur les genoux un petit animal (poulain).

### Ronde-bosse, métal

**132.** Détruite. De Tongres (Belgique). – Reinach (1899) 65 fig. – «Métal blanc très lourd». Housse sur la jument; É. tient une corne d'abondance dans la main dr.

Voir E. É. accompagnée d'un poulain, 181.

## C. Épona à califourchon

### Reliefs, pierre

**133.** Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. De Bonviller (Meurthe-et-Moselle); remployé dans un mur d'écurie-relais de poste. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4415; MT 191. – Sommet à double pente, très fruste.

**134. a)** Coll. part. Du Hiéruple, de Cocheren (Moselle)? – Espérandieu, *Recueil* IX n° 7718; MT 196; Berghol, E., *Ann. Soc. Hist. et Arch. de la Lorraine* 1935, 11, note qu'à cet endroit avaient lieu des pèlerinages pour les chevaux. – É. tient peut-être une patère. – **b)** Perdu. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4444; MT n° 92.

**135.** Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. (?). De Fontoy (Moselle). – Espérandieu, *Recueil* 4435; MT 193. É. aurait tenu un fouet.

**136.** Stèle à sommet cintré. Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. De Metz. – *Gallia* 22, 1964, 351 fig. 17; Collet, G., *La civ. gallo-rom. dans la cité des Médiomatrices I, Mus. arch. de Metz* (1981) n° 186. – É. «boudeuse», est vue de trois quarts, un manteau couvre partiellement la tête; de la main g. elle rajuste sa chevelure éparse sur les épaules; la main dr. s'appuie sur la croupe de sa monture. L'attitude est aisée.

**137.\*** Stèles à sommet cintré. Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. De la Horgne-au-Sablon (Moselle), nécropole. **a)** Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4350; MT 186. – **b)\*** Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4351; MT 187 pl. 28. – É. lève le bras dr. – **c)** Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4352; MT 188 pl. 27.

**138.\*** Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. De la Horgne-au-Sablon. **a)\*** Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4355; MT 189 pl. 29. Un palefrenier accompagne É. – **b)** Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4356; MT 190; Toussaint, o. c. 30, 109-110.

**139.\*** Luxembourg, Mus. de l'État 258. De Conterren. Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4273; MT 185; Wilhelm, o. c. 32, n° 318. – La jument marche vers la g., les jambes de dr. étaient peintes.

**140.** Luxembourg, Mus. de l'État 259. De Dalheim. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4259; MT 184; Wilhelm, o. c. 32, n° 319. – É. est vêtue d'une robe moulante; elle tient les rênes de sa monture.

**141.** Luxembourg, Mus. de l'État 261. De Dalheim ? – MT 232; Wilhelm, o. c. 32, n° 322; Hatt, J. J., *La tombe gallo-romaine* (1951) 223. – Sur la paroi intérieure d'un petit édicule, É. se dirige vers une porte. Objet à valeur funéraire ?

**142.\*** Luxembourg, Mus. de l'État 11. De Medingen. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4188; MT 183; Wilhelm, o. c. 32, n° 315. – É. tient des fruits sur ses genoux.

**143.** Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 14. De Cannstatt. – Espérandieu, *Germanie* 548; MT 197. – Deux des jambes de la monture sont peintes.

**144.** Sarrebruck, Mus. für Vor- und Frühgeschichte. De Ludweiler. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* XIV 8427; MT 128 bis; Schleiermacher 133 pl. 23, 2. – Quatre autres stèles ont été trouvées au même endroit (56. 152). L'attribut en forme de lance pourrait être un fouet.

### Ronde-bosse, pierre

**145.** De Saulon-La Chapelle (Côte-d'Or). – MT 199 pl. 57; Thevenot 1, 391 fig.; Benoît, *Mythes* 35. – É. nue à califourchon sur un cheval sellé.

**146.** Stuttgart, Landesmus. – MT 198; Espérandieu, *Germanie* 497. – Corbeille de fruits sur les genoux.

**147.** Fr. Mayence, RGZM. De Kastell. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* X 7379; MT 195. – É. à califourchon, avec une tunique courte et des bottes.

### Ronde-bosse, terre cuite

**148.** Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat.; moulage: Saumur, Mus. du Cheval. De Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (Allier). – Tunique courte et cheveux

relevés; la main dr. est fermée, et le bras replié vers le haut. Yeux proéminents en amande.

**149.** Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. De Cluny (Saône-et-Loire). – MT 57. – Tunique longue.

## D. Épona à côté de son cheval

### Reliefs, pierre

**150.\*** Jabreilles (Haute-Vienne), sous le porche de l'église. De Jabreilles. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* II 1588; MT 200. – É. debout, tenant une jument par la bride et portant une corne d'abondance. Sur la face opposée du bloc trois déesses-mères debout (→ Matres, Matronae), sur les petits côtés Apollon respectivement Mars (→ Ares/Mars)?

**151.** Épinal, Mus. De Frémifontaine (Vosges). – Espérandieu, *Recueil* VI 4783; MT 203. – É. debout appuyée contre le flanc dr. de sa monture.

**152.** Sarrebruck, Mus. für Vor- und Frühgeschichte. De Ludweiler. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* XIV 8426; MT 128 bis. Trouvée en même temps que quatre autres stèles (56. 144). – L'attribut n'est pas une lance, mais le manche d'un fouet.

**153.\*** Fr. Thaims (Charente-Maritime), église. D'un édifice romain (lieu de culte?), sous l'église. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* XV 8937; Tonnelier, P. M., *Gallia* 11, 1953, 84 fig. 2; MT 200 bis pl. 46 bis. – É. est auprès de sa monture, tournée vers la g.

### Relief, terre cuite

**154.** Moule. Du Puy-de-Dôme. – Ogam 9, 1957, 259. – É., debout auprès de sa monture (tunique courte, corne d'abondance).

### Ronde-bosse, pierre

**155.** De Bierre-lès-Semur (Côte-d'Or), ruines d'une villa. – Espérandieu, *Recueil* IX 7103; MT 167. – É. semble se laisser glisser de sa monture.

**156.** Coll. part. De Chantenay (Nièvre). – Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2200. – É. auprès de sa monture, la main sur les naseaux.

**157.\*** Poitiers, Mus. Ste Croix. De Poitiers, Trésorerie générale. – *Gallia* 33, 1975, 381-382 fig. 25. – É. tient une patère et un coffret.

**158.** Groupe mutilé. Nérès-les-Bains (Allier), Mus. De Nérès. – *REA* 1916, 204; MT 201 pl. 55; Lambrechts (1949) 152 fig. – É. acéphale. Sous le sabot avant g., un enfant nu, personnification d'une source?

**159.** Groupe. De Saintes (Charente-Maritime). – *Gallia* 41, 1983, 335 fig. 12. – É. court à côté de son cheval tourné vers la dr.

## E. Épona accompagnée d'un poulain

La déesse est assise à dr. sauf en 181.

### Reliefs, pierre

**160.** Coll. part. De Vitteaux (Côte-d'Or). – Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2329; Thevenot 1, 386; MT 95. – Les mains d'É. sont brisées. Ses pieds sont posés sur le dos d'un poulain.

**161.** Coll. part. De Gilly-lès-Cîteaux (Côte-d'Or). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* XIII 8227; *BullSantF* 1943-44, 211 s; MT 156. - Un voile couvre la tête d'É.; ses pieds sont posés sur le dos d'un poulain qui flaire la patère tenue à dr.; corne d'abondance dans la main g. La tête de la monture ressemble à celle d'un bovidé.

**162.** Dijon, Mus. Arch. De Brazey-en-Plaine (Côte-d'Or). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* X 7515; MT 100 pl. 33; Deyts, *o. c.* 2, n° 57. - É. porte un manteau flottant; ses pieds reposent sur le dos d'un poulain.

**163.** Beaune, Mus. 44. De Chassagne-Montrachet (Côte-d'Or). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2033; MT 91. - É. tient une patère dans la main dr.; un poulain est couché sous sa mère.

**164.** Stèle incomplète. Beaune, Mus. D 59. 1. 3. De Cisse-Mercueil (Côte-d'Or). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2121; MT 94. - Le poulain tête sa mère.

**165.** Stèle disparue. De St Romain, Pommard-Volnay (Côte-d'Or). Avant 1900, elle était intégrée dans un mur d'écurie à la métairie de la Serve. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2113; MT 92. - Poulain tétant.

**166.** Stèle disparue. De Santenay-le-Haut (Côte-d'Or). Photogr.: Nevers, Mus. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* X 7513; Thevenot 1, 387; MT 190. - É. tient une patère dans la main dr.; très petit poulain tétant.

**167.** Dijon, Mus. Arch. De Mâlain (Côte-d'Or). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IV 3555; MT 171 pl. 52; Deyts, *o. c.* 2, n° 144. - É., acéphale, tient une patère dans la main dr.; un poulain l'accompagne.

**168.** Fr. Châtillon-sur-Seine, Mus. Arch. De Vertault (Côte-d'Or). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* IX 7182; MT 101. - Il ne reste que les pieds d'É., posés sur le dos d'un poulain.

**169.** Dijon, Mus. Arch. D'Allerey (Côte-d'Or). Trouvé à un croisement de chemins (ancien relais de poste) - Espérandieu, *Recueil* XIII 8235; Lambrechts 2, 152-153; MT 96; Deyts, *o. c.* 2 n° 8. - É. est couronnée de fleurs et nue jusqu'aux hanches; ses cheveux forment une torsade sur son épaule g. Un poulain est couché sous la jument.

**170.\*** Stèle à sommet arrondi. Beaune, Mus. 899.3.1. Moulage: Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. De Mersault (Côte-d'Or). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2117; MT 93 pl. 38. - É. tient à dr. une patère, à g. une corne d'abondance; un poulain est couché sous la jument; un voile se gonfle derrière la tête d'É., détail qui apparaît ailleurs (cf. Index).

**171.** Saumur, Mus. du Cheval. «De Bourgogne». - Bonnet 164 fig. 4. - Un poulain est debout près de sa mère.

**172.** D'Ouroux-en-Chalonais (Saône-et-Loire). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* XIII 8247; MT 82; Armand-Calliat, L., *Le Chalonais gallo-romain* (1937) 209 pl. 21. - Attributs indistincts. Le poulain tête sa mère.

**173.** Beaune, Mus. 44.777. De Remigny (Saône-et-Loire). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2135; Thevenot 1, 387; MT 89. - É. tient une patère de la main dr.; un poulain tête sa mère.

**174.** Loc. inconnue. De Fontaine-lès-Chalon (Saône-et-Loire). Moulage: Chalon-sur-Saône, Mus. Denon. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2110; MT 83 pl. 34;

Thevenot 2, 362; - É. tient une patère dans la main dr., une corne d'abondance dans la main g.; sous la jument, un poulain tend la tête vers la patère. É. est vêtue d'une longue robe et d'un manteau flottant formant un cercle autour de sa tête.

**175.\*** Chalon-sur-Saône, Mus. Denon. De Melcey (Saône-et-Loire), ruines d'un temple au bord d'une voie rom. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2128; MT 88 pl. 37; Linduff fig. 4. - Dimensions exceptionnelles (1,10 m x 0,63 m). Dans une niche cintrée, É. assise sur sa monture tenait à dr. une patère que vient flaire un poulain qui suit sa mère.

**176.** Stèle à sommet cintré encastrée dans un mur, Saint-Martin-sous-Montaigu (Saône-et-Loire). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* XIII 8248; MT 85; Armand-Calliat, *o. c.* 172, 250 pl. 29. - É. tient une patère ou une corbeille; ses pieds sont posés sur le dos d'un poulain qui lève la tête pour téter.

**177.\*** Stèle perdue. Moulage: Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. D'Agneux-Rully (Saône-et-Loire). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2127; MT 86 pl. 35. - É. (patère dans la main dr., corne d'abondance dans la g.) pose les pieds (?) sur le dos d'un poulain. Cf. MT 87: stèle disparue.

**178.** Autun, Mus. Rolin ML 13. De Charrecey (Saône-et-Loire). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2124; MT 84 pl. 36; Armand-Calliat, *o. c.* 172, 115. - Dans la main dr. É. tient une patère emplie de gâteaux (?); elle pose les pieds sur le dos du poulain qui lève la tête vers elle.

**179.** Autun, Mus. Rolin ML 842. De Saône-et-Loire, prov. précise inconnue. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 1855; Thevenot 2, 386; MT 80. - É. tient une patère remplie de fruits ou de gâteaux vers laquelle un poulain lève la tête.

**180.** Dijon, coll. part. De l'Yonne, localité indéterminée. - MT 98 pl. 32; signalée dans *Congrès Ass. bourguignonne des Soc. Sav.* 1952; non publiée à l'époque. - Le sabot dr. de la jument est posé sur un objet de forme ornementale (volute ? symbole de l'eau jaillissante ?); un poulain est debout sous sa mère.

**181.** Relief perdu, connu par un dessin. De Dieulouard (Meurthe-et-Moselle). Des ruines de Scarponne. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VI 4605; MT 177. - É., assise à g., tient dans la main g. une corbeille de fruits; sous la jument un poulain tête.

#### Ronde-bosse, pierre

**182.** Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. 1476. De Vitteaux (Côte-d'Or). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 2335; MT 164 pl. 51. - 2° moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É. tient une patère vers laquelle le poulain lève la tête.

**183.** Autun, Mus. Rolin ML 29. De Saône-et-Loire, prov. imprécise. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* III 1851; MT 160. - É. tient une patère et pose les pieds sur le dos d'un poulain.

#### Ronde-bosse, bronze

**184.\*** Grande statuette. Paris, Cab. Méd. 689. De Loisia (Jura), bâtiment ant. (ancien haras ?) avec petit temple d'É. - Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* n°

689; MT 38 pl. 9; Thevenot, *Suppl* 38; *idem*, *RAE* 9, 1958, 224-238; Dayet, M., «Notes complémentaires sur l'É. de Loisia», *RAE* 14, 1963, 121s; *Dieux de la Gaule*, *o. c.* 6, 86-88 n° 61, fig. - É. est assise à dr. sur une jument flanquée d'un poulain; elle est représentée torse nu (Index), et rappelle en cela les *Matres*. Elle porte un diadème; ses yeux étaient incrustés d'argent; les cheveux sont relevés en chignon. É. tenait probablement une patère dans la main dr.

### F. Épona avec deux ou plusieurs chevaux

Voir aussi 217.

#### a) Chevaux représentés de face ou de trois quarts Reliefs, pierre

**185.\*** Autel. Metz, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist. De Naix (Meuse). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VI 4650; MT 207 pl. 3; Toussaint, *o. c.* 121, 28. - 211-222 ap. J.-C. - Sur la face du bloc, dédicace (inscr.) à la déesse É. et au Génie des Leuques (→ Genius), représenté sur le côté dr.; sur le côté g. É. entre deux chevaux tournant la tête vers elle.

**186.** Sarcophage. Arles, Mus. de l'Arles Antique. D'Arles. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* I 180; MT 204; Benoît, *Mythes* 37 fig.; Lambrechts (1949) 151. - Sur l'un des côtés, édifice en forme de temple à acrotères; sur le podium, bien signalé par trois marches d'accès, É. encadrée de deux chevaux, la tête légèrement tournée vers l'extérieur. Sur la face opposée, un orgue hydraulique.

**187.** Oran, Mus. (?). De Béthioua (ex-Saint-Leu), station de cavaliers. - MT 216 pl. 45; Thevenot 2, 364. - Dans le champ, deux rosaces. É. est assise entre deux équidés vus de trois quarts, tournant la tête vers elle; derrière elle, un panneau mouluré figure l'entrée d'une écurie (ou la porte de l'Hadès ? Benoît, *Mythes* 41. 57).

**188.** Stèle en forme de temple. Friedberg, Mus. De Kapersburg (Hesse). - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 53; MT 209 pl. 44. - Déd. à É. datée de 202 ap. J.-C. - É., assise entre deux chevaux tournés vers l'extérieur et surmontés de deux têtes de mulets, tient une corbeille; à l'extérieur, de chaque côté, un autel est allumé.

**189.\*** Worms, Mus. der Stadt Worms. - Espérandieu, *Recueil* VIII 6040; MT 208. - Milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É. est assise, tenant une corbeille de fruits ou de graines; deux chevaux l'encadrent et tournent la tête vers elle.

**190.** Sarrebruck, Mus. für Vor- und Frühgeschichte HV 329. De Limbach, Neuenkirchen (Sarre). - Espérandieu, *Recueil* V 4479; Moreau, J., *La Nouv. Clio* 1952, 232; MT 206 pl. 42. - É., une corbeille de fruits (?) sur les genoux, entre deux petits équidés vus de trois quarts, tournant la tête vers l'extérieur.

**191.\*** Stuttgart, Landesmus. D'Öhringen. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 666; MT 212. - É. est assise de face et tient probablement une corbeille de fruits sur les genoux; deux juments vers la dr. se tournent vers elle, la croupe d'une troisième dirigée vers la g. est visible.

**192.\*** Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 416. De Köngen. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 586; Schleiermacher 129; MT 211 pl. 43; Hanoteau 2, fig. p. 13; Linduff fig. 5; *Römer am Rhein* A 92. - Fin II<sup>e</sup>-début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É. tient une grande corbeille de fruits sur les genoux. Deux chevaux vus de trois quarts tournent la tête vers l'extérieur. La coiffure d'É. est comparable à celle de Julia Domna.

#### Relief, bronze

**193.** Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts. D'Ofen. - Reinach 1, 124; *idem* (1899) 69; MT 246. - Reinach doute de l'authenticité de l'objet qui nous paraît cependant antique. - É. est assise entre deux poulains vus de face, tête tournée vers elle.

#### Relief, plomb

**194.\*** Augst, Römermus. 1960.7660. De Kaiser-augst. - Laur-Belart, R., *Führer durch Augusta Raurica* (1966) 171 fig. 121; Hanoteau 2, fig. p. 6. - É. debout dominant quatre petits chevaux vus de trois quarts. Les deux chevaux du centre ont la tête tournée vers l'intérieur, les deux autres vers l'extérieur: quadriges ? Cet objet n'a de parenté avec aucune autre figuration connue.

#### Ronde-bosse, pierre

**195. a)** Marbre. Rome. - Reinach 1, n° 72; MT 217. - É. entre deux petits chevaux vus de face et tournant la tête vers celle de la déesse. - **b)** Cf. MT 218: groupe trouvé sur le Testaccio. Même sujet.

#### Ronde-bosse, bronze

**196.** Groupe disparu, connu par un dessin. De Muri (Argovie, Suisse). - Reinach (1903) 349; Stähelin, F., *Anz. für Schweiz. Altertumskunde* 1924, 20; MT n° 45 pl. 10; Hanoteau 2, 6 fig. p. 8-9. - Quelques doutes ont été formulés quant à l'authenticité de ce bronze. É. est assise sur un trône devant deux chevaux adossés, couchés sur le ventre. Elle tient une corbeille de fruits sur les genoux.

**197.** Londres, BM. Du Wiltshire (?). - Reinach 1, n° 61; MT 46 pl. 11; Hanoteau 2, fig. p. 14; Johns, C., «A Roman Bronze Statuette of E.», *BMQ* 36, 1971, 37-41. - É. trône entre deux poulains; elle tenait une corne d'abondance; les poulains, vus de trois quarts, tournent la tête vers elle. Johns suppose qu'É. conduisait une carriole; sa position entre les deux équidés semble exclure cette interprétation.

### b) Chevaux de profil, tournés vers la déesse Peinture

**198.** De Rome, cirque de Maxence. Connue par d'anc. gravures. - Lafaye 734 fig. 2705; MT 221. - É. est assise entre quatre poulains, dont deux viennent manger sur ses genoux (rideaux sur les côtés).

#### Gravure

**199.** Pierre. Adria, Mus. Bocchi. - Reinach 1, 163-164 n° 69; MT 222. - Deux chevaux tournés vers É.



200. a)\* Cornaline. Copenhague, Mus. Nat. 8009. Sans provenance. - II<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É. est assise sur un trône, entre deux poulains. Lettres gravées dans le champ: *E P S.* - b) Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 8422. - Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* n° 8422 pl. 60, publie une représentation similaire, mais interprétée comme Vesta (→ Hestia/Vesta) avec des ânes (?).

#### Reliefs, pierre

201.\* Grand bas-relief. Stuttgart, Landesmus. RL 415. De Beihingen. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 404; MT 215 pl. 62; Hanoteau 2, fig. p. 15. Fin II<sup>e</sup>-début III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É., assise, tient une corbeille sur les genoux. A sa dr. sont représentés trois chevaux, quatre à sa g., tous de profil (sept chevaux: cf. 15, lieu dit forêt des «Sept Chevaux» à Baudoncourt, Haute-Saône).

202. Ptuj, Mus. 742. De Poetovio (Yougoslavie). - MT 266. - É., assise sur un trône à dossier courbe, tient une corbeille de fruits sur les genoux; deux chevaux sont tournés vers elle; un palefrenier tient un fouet (?).

203. Autriche. De Lorch (Lauriacum). - Jenny, W./Vetters, H., *PMAAR* 3, 1953, 5; Eckhart, L., *Forschungen in Lauriacum* 2 (1954) 82 fig. 75; Kenne, H., *ÖJh* 43, 1958, 66; Eckhart, L., *CSIR Österreich III* 2 (Lauriacum) 70 n° 103 pl. 41 s. - III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É. assise, un tabouret sous les pieds; un cheval s'approche pour manger le contenu d'une corbeille (fruits ?) posée sur ses genoux. La stèle est brisée; un autre équidé se trouvait à sa g.

204. Sofia, Mus. Arch. Nat. D'Aptaat (dép. Varna). - RA 1902/1, 237 fig.; MT 219 pl. 61; Linduff fig. 6. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É. offre du grain à deux équidés se faisant face.

205. Plaque en marbre. Plovdiv, Mus. Arch. De Plovdiv. - Botoucharova, L., RA 1949, 164-166, fig.; Benoît, *Mythes* 40; MT 220 pl. 60. - É. pose ses mains sur la tête de deux chevaux.

206.\* Thessalonique, Mus. Arch. 3056. De Thessalonique, palais de Galère. - Bakalakis, G., AA 1973, 683 fig. 14; Laubscher, P., *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* (1973) 149 pl. 69. - É. est assise entre quatre chevaux vus de profil, tournés vers elle; les deux chevaux de l'arrière-plan sont en partie gravés, en partie en bas-relief très mince; É. est couronnée et semble tenir des fruits dans un pli de son vêtement. Appartenait à un monument funéraire ?

207.\* Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts, 60.15 A. «De Dacie». - Nagy, T., *BullMusHong* 26, 1965, 7634 fig. 3; Bökönyi, S., *History of Domestic Mammals in Central and Eastern Europe* (1974) 257 fig. 97. - É. est assise, les pieds posés sur un tabouret. Elle pose la main sur l'encolure de deux petits chevaux. La stèle présente un fronton à son sommet, et des rideaux plissés, fixés aux murs latéraux (rideaux du temple de la déesse).

#### c) Chevaux disposés de façon dissymétrique

##### Reliefs, pierre

208.\* Wiesbaden, Mus. 246. D'Hedderheim, sanctuaire mitriaque de l'Heidenfeld. - Espérandieu, *Germanie* 135; Schleiermacher 130; MT 210. - É. porte à dr. un objet rond, à g. une corne d'abondance;

elle est assise entre deux chevaux adossés; l'un tourne la tête vers elle.

209. Stèle de hauteur d'homme. De Schwarzenacker, Kreis Homburg, d'un établissement romain situé à une croisée de routes. - MT 267; Kolling, A., «Die röm. Siedlung Schwarzenacker an der Blies», *Germania* 59, 1961, 483-485 fig. - É. est couronnée et porte vraisemblablement un plat de fruits. Elle pose la main sur l'encolure de deux chevaux qui se croisent derrière elle; l'un tend la tête vers les fruits.

#### d) Chevaux en liberté

##### Reliefs, pierre

210.\* Zurich, Mus. Nat. suisse P 3333. De Seegraben (canton de Zurich). - Espérandieu, *Recueil VII* 5445; MT 213; Hanoteau 2, fig. p. 7. - É. debout parmi plusieurs chevaux. Cf. Stähelin, o. c. 196, 20.

211.\* Bregenz (Autriche), Vorarlberger Landesmus. 19.974. De Bregenz. - Reinach 1, 195 n° 59; MT 214 pl. 47. - É. est à cheval, assise à dr., et présente de la nourriture à quelques autres chevaux.

##### Relief, terre cuite

212. Moule à médaillon d'applique. Lectoure (Gers), Mus. E. Camoreyt. De Lectoure, atelier de potier. - Gallia 34, 1976, 486 fig. 25. - I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É., assise sur un cheval, tend à manger à l'un des chevaux qui se trouvent derrière elle.

#### G. Épona entre des animaux et monstres marins

##### Relief, pierre

213. Agassac (Haute-Garonne). - Espérandieu, *Recueil II* 843; MT 223; Hatt, J. J., *Ann. du Midi* 1945, 180; *idem*, *RAE* 1970, 16 fig. 4. - Début du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - É. est assise à dr. sur un cheval au galop. Champ de rosaces et de rouelles. Sous le cheval, dauphin, tau-reau marin et poisson. On a pensé reconnaître dans ce monument une contamination du type de la Néréide (→ Nereides) et de l'É. funéraire.

#### H. Épona double ou triple

##### Reliefs, pierre

##### a) Épona double

214.\* Linteau de porte. Strasbourg, Mus. Arch. 34775. De Strasbourg. - Espérandieu, *Recueil X* 7297; MT 182; Hatt, o. c. 18, n° 7. - Fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. ? - Trois niches: au milieu, buste de Mercure; niches latérales: deux É., l'une assise à dr., l'autre à g., s'éloignent du centre.

##### b) Épona triple

215.\* Fr. Metz, Mus. Arch. D'Hagondange (Moselle). - Espérandieu, *Recueil V* 4449; Lambrechts (1950) 112; MT 117. - É. est assise dans un fauteuil; à dr. et à g. deux É. s'éloignent de la première.

216. Linteau ? Chez un particulier à Uckange (Moselle). Trouvé au lieu-dit Bois Saint-Hubert, dans un

puits, près d'une voie rom. (anc. *mansio* ou *mutatio* ?). - Gallia 26, 1968, 391; *Études mosellanes* 1, 1969, 76. - Dans trois niches, trois É. sont assises à dr.

#### I. Épona et un parèdre

##### Relief, pierre

217. Stèle. Beaune (Côte-d'Or), Mus. De Beaune (et non de Santosse), trouvé au lieu-dit «La Lulune» près d'une source. - Espérandieu, *Recueil III* 2042; Benoît, *Mythes* 44; MT 241; Thevenot 1, 98; 2, 361. - Les deux divinités sont assises; entre elles apparaît un monument surmonté de trois vases (?), et deux poulains sont tournés vers les personnages qui les abreuvant. En bas deux cerfs, vus de profil et tournés l'un vers l'autre, semblent flairer ce qui pourrait être une vasque ou une fontaine.

#### J. Épona associée à d'autres dieux

##### Reliefs, pierre

Avec Sirona, Hygie, Mercure, Apollon: 24; Mercure: 214; le Génie des Leuques: 185; Attis funéraire: 124; les Déeses-Mères, Apollon, Mars (?): 150; Mithra: 46. 208.

#### K. Varia

##### Relief, pierre

218. Zadar (Yougoslavie), Mus. Arch. De Koprno. - Ratković, M. A., «Un relief d'É. provenant de Koprno en Dalmatie», *Diadora* 1, 1959, 133-139; Duval, P.-M., *REA* 63, 1961, 421; Thevenot, *Suppl.* 277. - É. est assise sur un tabouret, entre un homme debout, à dr. (palefrenier?), et l'avant-train d'un petit cheval accompagné d'un chien (?) ou plutôt d'un poulain.

##### Relief, argent

219. Belgrade, Mus. Nat. De Rudnik. - Benoît, *Mythes* 45; Lambrechts (1942) 126; MT 49. - Sur un manche de patère, buste d'une divinité tenant un petit cheval; au-dessous, un bouc. Une autre patère provenant du même site porte le nom gravé: EPONA.

##### Ronde-bosse, pierre

220. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. D'Élouges (Hainaut). - Espérandieu, *Recueil V* 3991; MT 172 pl. 56. - É. est assise et tient une patère que flaire un poulain. Il n'est pas certain que l'on puisse reconstituer l'image d'un autre poulain.

#### L. Incerta

##### Peinture

221. (= Hestia/Vesta 54 avec bibl.) De Pompéi. - Lambrechts (1951) 124; Schleiermacher pl. 13; MT 245. - Femme assise sur une mule: É. ? Vesta ? → Iris ?

##### Gravure

222. Intaille de verre. Nice, Mus. Arch. De Cimiez. - Benoît, F., «L'É. de Cimiez», *Ogam* 11, 1959, 43-45 pl. 8, 5. - Deux chevaux encadrent un personnage ou un objet non identifiable.

##### Reliefs, pierre

223. De Bavay. - Espérandieu, *Recueil X* 7564; MT 173. - Déesse isolée sans attribut déterminant.

224. De Saint-Germain-Source-Seine (Côte-d'Or). - Espérandieu, *Recueil XIII* 8291; MT 238. - Débris d'une statue équestre.

225. De Santenay (Côte-d'Or). - Thevenot 1, 393 fig.; MT 166. - Tête de cheval qui ne concerne pas clairement É.

226. De Sougères-en-Puisaye (Yonne). - MT 239 pl. 63. - Débris de statues dans un sanctuaire: Apollon ? É. ?

227. De Virecourt (Meurthe-et-Moselle). - Espérandieu, *Recueil IV* 2850; MT 242. - É. sans cheval ?

228. De Crissier (Suisse). - Hanoteau 2, 10. - Il s'agit d'un dieu, torse nu, sans aucune trace de cheval.

229. De Hilton of Cadboll (Écosse). - Henry, F., *La sculpture irlandaise* (1932) 222; MT 242 bis. - É. (?) chevauchant à g.

230. «Relief Torlonia». D'Italie. - Reinach (1898) 198; MT 243. - É. ou Vesta ?

231. De Milan. - MT 244; Schleiermacher pl. 13. - Dans une niche, une déesse debout, le bras g. levé, tend une patère à dr. à l'un des deux très petits chevaux qui l'encadrent.

232. De Carnuntum (Hongrie). - MT 247 (bibl.). - Déesse assise entre deux cavaliers.

##### Ronde-bosse, terre cuite

233. Moules et statuettes de chevaux. D'Essche-Kalkoven (Belgique). - MT 240; Renard, M., *Latomus* 1951, 181 s. - L'auteur remarque, à juste titre, que sans les traces d'arrachements, qui sont très caractéristiques, on ne peut décider s'il s'agit de statuettes dédiées à É.

##### Ronde-bosse, pierre

234. De Meursault (Côte d'Or), ruines d'une villa. - Espérandieu, *Recueil XIII* 8234; Thevenot 1, 391 fig.; Benoît, *Mythes* 36 fig.; MT 181 pl. 58. - Chapiteau surmonté d'un cheval accroupi portant un dieu ou une déesse. Rien ne permet d'affirmer qu'il s'agit d'É.

235. Trèves, Landesmus. De Dalheim (Luxembourg). - MT 205. - Déesse assise, considérée, sans preuve aucune, comme É.

##### Ronde-bosse, bronze

236. Troyes (Aube), Mus. - MT 236. - Fr. de cheval de bronze, qui ne semble pas antique.

237. De Savoyeux (Haute-Saône). - Reinach, o. c. 111, 105; *Ogam* 1955, 357; Thevenot, *Suppl.* 281. - Applique qui pourrait aussi bien figurer Neptune (→ Poseidon/Neptunus) mais qui n'est pas antique.

238. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. Ant. Nat. De Tonnerre (Yonne). - Reinach 1, n° 35; MT 235. - Cheval de bronze, présentant sur le dos un orifice rectangulaire.

## M. Épona et le «domador» hispanique

On ne peut, avec certitude, établir de relation certaine entre les deux divinités (*contra* Benoît, *Mythes*). Le problème sera examiné plus bas.

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## COMMENTAIRE

É. n'a pas de légende. En dehors du récit étiologique d'Agésilaos rapporté par Ps.-Plutarque, qui concerne ses origines mythiques, nous ne lui connaissons pas d'aventures comparables à celles des dieux grecs et romains. Les textes d'époque romaine qui la mentionnent font état de ses qualités et pouvoirs de protectrice des équidés et des écuries; mais c'est une divinité secondaire, comme l'attestent Fulgence et les apologistes chrétiens. Cependant elle a occupé une place importante dans le panthéon gaulois, et son culte a été diffusé sur le *limes* de Bretagne, sur ceux du Rhin et du Danube, en Europe centrale, en Macédoine, en Italie, ainsi qu'en Espagne et au Portugal.

On a voulu reconnaître É. dans la déesse celtique Rhiannon (Hubert 187 s; Ross, A., *Pagan Celtic Religion* [1967] 118 s) qui est elle aussi associée au cheval; mais ses aventures, complexes, sanglantes, bien postérieures à l'époque romaine, n'ont pas de rapport avec l'image simple, paisible et bienveillante de l'É. classique. Ce serait plutôt Rhiannon qui aurait hérité de cette dernière sa personnalité de déesse cavalière, le reste de sa légende étant lié à des particularités locales et tardives.

Nous ne la reconnaitrons pas non plus sous l'image du *domador* ibérique (Benoît, *Mythes* 40 s, et Ogam 6, 1954, 105-113), la déesse n'ayant jamais cette apparence de dompteur, même lorsqu'elle est entourée de deux ou plusieurs chevaux, et les datations proposées étant en contradiction avec les documents historiques qui seront étudiés plus bas. Même la plaque de Saint-Leu (187), très fruste, ne peut s'apparenter au *domador*. Elle a été trouvée dans une station de cavaliers romains. Nous ne mentionnerons que pour mémoire les stèles représentant une jument et un poulain (MT 225-226), rien ne prouvant que la déesse ait été honorée sous cet aspect zoomorphe. Ajoutons qu'aucun document certain ne la concerne avant l'époque romaine.

Les inscriptions l'associent, sur des lieux de culte, à toutes sortes de dieux du panthéon romain: Jupiter, Junon, Minerve, Mars, Victoire, Hercule, Fortune, Mercure, Felicitas, Salus, Fas, Apollon, Diane, ainsi qu'à Silvain, aux *Campestres*, aux *Matres Suleviae* (CIL VI 31140-31142. 31145-31146. 31148-31149, ca-

sernes du Latran, dédicaces des *equites singulares Augusti*, datées de 118 à 141), aux *Campestres* encore, en Bavière (CIL III 5910 et 11909), en Transylvanie (CIL III 7904), en Écosse sur le *vallum* d'Antonin (CIL VII 1114b); aux *Matrae* près de Dijon (CIL XIII 5622) sur la grande voie de Lyon à Cologne. Elle est *Mater* elle-même à Soleure en Suisse (CIL XIII 5170), *Victoria* en Écosse (CIL VII 1114b), *Regina* en Transylvanie (CIL III 7750) et en Yougoslavie (CIL III 12679), *Sancta* à Cilli en Yougoslavie encore, où elle était associée à la déesse locale → *Celeia* (CIL III 5176). Elle apparaît encore sur d'autres inscriptions (Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr. s. v.* «Epona»), et une fois en Espagne (CIL II 5788).

Un temple lui est connu à Entrains (CIL XIII 2902), et de nombreux vestiges ont été reconnus pour être aussi des temples, sanctuaires, autels, laraires (Index et figuration des rideaux 198 et 207).

La plupart des dédicants sont des soldats de tous grades, des fonctionnaires. Notons un courrier public à Kapersbourg (CIL XIII 7439), un autre peut-être à Alésia, représenté conduisant un char, sur une plaque de bronze (*AEpigr.* 1907, 106). Les lieux de trouvaille de ces inscriptions se situent essentiellement dans les zones militaires, mais ces documents ne sont pas antérieurs au II<sup>e</sup> s. de notre ère. Le calendrier de Guidizzolo en Italie (CIL I 1<sup>2</sup> p. 253) est le témoignage le plus ancien que nous connaissions concernant le culte d'É. (27 av. J.-C.), et une inscription découverte à Entrains (CIL XIII 2903) date du I<sup>er</sup> siècle de l'Empire. Les *Indigitamenta* n'en font pas état.

Ce sont les monuments figurés qui, pour la plus grande part, attestent qu'É. était honorée essentiellement en Gaule du Nord, de l'Est et du Centre Est, sur le *limes* rhénan; ils n'apparaissent que sporadiquement dans les autres régions citées plus haut.

La présence de la déesse est souvent attestée sur l'emplacement de bâtiments antiques, qui ont pu être ceux de grands domaines, et d'écuries – notons les réemplois dans des écuries modernes –, à des croisements de routes, où il y avait probablement des relais, dans des *castra*; elle apparaît évidemment dans les grandes régions d'élevage du centre de la Gaule (Thevenot [1964] 108 s). Sur les territoires des Trévires existaient probablement des zones d'élevage, des haras, nécessaires à la remonte de l'armée, ainsi que près des *limes* breton, rhénan et danubien. On rencontre fréquemment la déesse sur l'emplacement de thermes antiques, qui sont devenus des établissements modernes, mais aussi de puits, de sources, de rivières. L'eau nécessaire à l'élevage, à la culture, à la santé des hommes explique le rapprochement et la fusion des cultes. Les inscriptions et les stèles trouvées dans des sanctuaires ou sur des autels, parfois partagés avec d'autres divinités, démontrent bien la participation de la déesse aux cultes romains et gallo-romains.

Les attributs qui caractérisent le plus souvent É. – patère, corne d'abondance, gâteaux, fruits – en font, ainsi que sa nudité ou semi-nudité – rare –, une déesse fondamentalement liée aux *Matres* (Lambrechts [1950] 103 s). La couronne de fleurs mentionnée par Apulée n'apparaît qu'une fois sur sa tête (169), rare-

ment à la main (70. 100). La clé qu'elle porte en certains cas peut être celle des écuries, ou du temple dans lequel elle est révéérée, et la porte que présentent plusieurs stèles, celle de ces mêmes édifices ou bâtiments; le fouet convient bien à la déesse des chevaux. Parfois, elle tient sur les genoux un ou deux petits quadrupèdes, des poulains nouveau-nés sans doute. É. pose souvent les pieds sur une sorte de planchette, ou sur un tabouret, parfois un petit autel (Benoît, F., «Traditions païennes dans l'iconographie romane. Épona au tabouret», Coll. *Latomus* 28 [1957] 116 s).

Dans la majorité des cas, les représentations de la déesse, à cheval, semblent donc réalistes, liées aux besoins humains et animaux, plutôt que symboliques, dans une allusion à l'outre-tombe, que l'on a pu invoquer (Benoît, *Mythes* 25 s, et [1952] 84 s), théorie qui sera examinée plus bas. Les reliefs d'Europe centrale constituent un groupe original, faisant appel à une imagerie différente de celle de l'Europe occidentale: É. est assise entre deux ou plusieurs équidés vus de profil.

Les stèles ou statuettes des pays éduens, trévires et du *limes* rhénan, qui semblent relativement banales et uniformes, et proches, finalement, des représentations des *Matres*, proposent des diversités et particularités intéressantes:

– La *corbeille de fruits* apparaît surtout dans les régions trévires et du *limes* rhénan (20-63) et n'est que très peu représentée dans les contrées éduennes. Est-ce là une allusion à l'existence, en ces lieux, de cultures fruitières, qui seraient ainsi signalées à la bienveillante attention de la déesse, présente, comme les *Matres*, en tous points où coulent ou surgissent les eaux fécondantes, É. étant elle-même une *Mater*? S'agit-il d'une habitude transmis localement d'atelier en atelier?

– Le *poulain* sous la jument ou auprès d'elle ne se rencontre à l'inverse que chez les Éduens (160-184). Cette particularité met l'accent sur l'élevage et la reproduction sur les grands domaines de pâturages. Il ne peut être question, dans cet ensemble bien déterminé, de reconnaître en ce petit animal un chien, «attribut fréquent des divinités infernales» (Benoît, *Mythes* 34). Mais là aussi il doit s'agir, partiellement, de traditions locales pour ce type de représentation, le centre de la Gaule n'ayant probablement pas possédé le monopole de l'élevage des chevaux, sinon, peut-être au début de l'Empire (cf. l'inscription d'Entrains, ci-dessous).

– Le *petit quadrupède* (il y en a rarement deux), assis sur les genoux de la déesse dans les régions trévires et sur le *limes* rhénan, ne peut guère être un chien, qui courrait plutôt à terre, près du cheval. Cet animal est lié à la personnalité d'É., très certainement, au même titre que ses autres attributs, qui symbolisent l'abondance et la fertilité (gâteau, fruits, corne d'abondance). Ce parallélisme avec les attributs des *Matres* conduit à penser qu'É. tient dans ces cas un jeune *poulain*, comme les *Matres* peuvent porter un poulain; de taille très réduite, il devient le symbole particulier de ses pouvoirs dans le domaine de l'élevage des chevaux.

L'apparition du culte d'É. doit être examinée, dans toutes les régions où il se manifeste, à la lumière des

inscriptions, les monuments figurés ne permettant pas d'établir une chronologie précise.

1. Le calendrier de Guidizzolo (Barnabei, I., *NiS* 1892, 7 s; Reinach I, n° 90; *CIL* I 1<sup>2</sup> p. 253; Keune, *RE* 229; Duval [1976] 50; Chevallier, R., *La romanisation de la Celtique du Pô* [1983] 432-433) offre le plus ancien témoignage du culte d'É.; ce calendrier privé et rustique a été découvert dans la région de Brescia, capitale des *Galli Cenomani*, et date des premières années du principat d'Auguste (27 av. J.-C.). On sait que la Cisalpine a fourni une partie de la remonte de la cavalerie romaine (Chevallier, *o. c.* 243 et n. 154-155 avec bibl.).

2. Une inscription d'Entrains (Nièvre) (*CIL* XIII 2903; MT 2; Boucher 131 s), en bons caractères du I<sup>er</sup> s., est une dédicace faite à É. par un «intendant» d'origine probablement romaine, et suppose l'existence d'un sanctuaire à une date haute dans l'un des grands domaines éduens bien connus.

3. Les *equites singulares* des casernes du Latran, recrutés sur le Rhin et le Danube, ont offert à É. un certain nombre de dédicaces (*CIL* VI 31140-31149; MT 18) entre les années 118 et 141. La déesse est associée à de nombreuses divinités, dont les *Matres Suleviae* d'origine celto-germanique (Lambrechts [1951] 128 s).

4. A Also-Ilosva, en Transylvanie, une stèle est dédiée à É. (*CIL* III 788; MT 29) par le I<sup>er</sup> corps de cavalerie des Tongriens et l'inscription est datée du II<sup>e</sup> s.

5. A Aptaat (région de Tolbuhin, Bulgarie), une inscription grecque (204; MT 219) datée du II<sup>e</sup> s. serait liée au séjour en Mésie de la *Cohors II Gallorum* (Dimittrov).

6. Deux inscriptions de Grande-Bretagne ont été découvertes, l'une (*CIL* VII 747) à Carvoran, sur le *vallum* d'Hadrien, l'autre (*CIL* VII 1114b) à Auchindavy, sur le *vallum* d'Antonin.

Les inscriptions les plus anciennes sont donc celles des Gaules cisalpine et transalpine, et concernent des régions d'élevage développé, entretenu et renouvelé du cheptel des chevaux destinés à l'armée, aux courriers, aux particuliers, aux courses aussi. Quelques textes latins sont significatifs à ce sujet. Horace (*Hor. c.* 1, 8, 5-7) morigène un jeune Romain: *cur neque militaris / inter aequalis equitet, Gallica nec lupatis / temperet ora frenis?* Un cavalier éduen, *Eporodix*, se rallia à César, puis le trahit, pendant la guerre des Gaules (*Caes. Gall.* 7, 55, 67). Plus tard Pline l'Ancien (*Plin. nat.* 3, 123) écrit: *Eporédias Galli bonos equorum domitores uocant*. Notons aussi le nom de la ville d'*Eporédia*, l'actuelle Ivree.

Les stèles inscrites de caractère militaire apparaissent seulement au II<sup>e</sup> s. et constituent une sorte de prolongation autour du noyau éduen et trévire. Des Gaulois et des Tongriens se sont rendus dans les régions danubiennes; nous n'avons aucune preuve que se soit produit l'inverse, comme le suppose F. Benoît (*Mythes*). On s'expliquerait mal qu'un si grand nombre de représentations d'É. en Gaule n'aient été exécutées qu'à partir de la fin du II<sup>e</sup> s.; beaucoup d'entre elles sont certainement antérieures.

On comprendrait mal, aussi, que le thème *unique* utilisé dans les régions danubiennes – É. entre deux ou plusieurs chevaux ou mulets vus de profil ou de trois quarts – n'ait pas eu d'écho en Gaule, où apparaissent sur les stèles des types de représentations très différents de ceux pour lesquels F. Benoît revendique comme archétypes des figurations du *domador* hispanique. Et de ce *domador* aux hypothétiques «dompteuses» d'Europe centrale, par l'intermédiaire de documents grecs ou étrusques, il n'y a certainement aucun lien. Comment expliquer toutefois la particularité des figurations danubiennes? K. M. Linduff (817 s) a supposé que la déesse celtique s'était manifestée à une même époque sous des formes différentes: il ne tient pas compte de l'antériorité des textes gaulois. Une statuette de bronze du type gaulois (É. assise à dr.) a été trouvée en Bulgarie (120); elle a pu y être introduite par des soldats; mais elle est seule en son genre, et il reste à expliquer ce caractère original des stèles d'Europe centrale. On peut penser qu'une influence importante a pu déterminer ce choix nouveau; et cette influence pourrait bien être celle de l'art grec dont il est admis qu'elle a subsisté, dans ces régions, jusqu'à l'époque romaine et au cours de celle-ci. Les temples et autres monuments ne sont pas loin, qui présentaient des attelages face à face.

Les stèles de Gaule et du *limes* rhénan, au contraire, ont un aspect beaucoup plus rustique et réaliste. Elles supposent un substrat paysan, ce mode de chevauchée assise étant le plus simple et le plus répandu dans l'usage quotidien, en particulier pour les femmes (Vigneron 164). Il est possible que se soit fait sentir l'influence de l'art grec encore, en particulier celle du thème des Néréides, dans quelques cas où É. présente plus d'aisance (statuette de Loisia, 184), p. ex. quand son voile se gonfle au vent (voir Index), lorsqu'elle glisse de son cheval ou court auprès de lui (150-159). La nudité ou la semi-nudité sont rares et apparentent la déesse aux *Matres* plus qu'à Vénus. Dans un seul cas (147) É. monte à califourchon, vêtue d'une tunique courte comme les Amazones.

Les représentations d'É. assise à gauche (121-132) posent un problème particulier. Le fait est relativement rare. La direction vers la gauche peut être considérée comme néfaste, dans le contexte de la réussite que la déesse symbolise. Une pierre du Mus. de Strasbourg (214) présente une tête de Mercure entre deux É. qui s'éloignent du dieu. Rien n'indique que Mercure ait là une valeur funéraire; il serait plutôt le dieu des voyageurs, envoyant dans les deux sens sa messagère, son associée, sur les voies du commerce prospère, en tant que protectrice des montures, chevaux, ânes et mulets, et de leurs maîtres. Nombre de stèles ont été découvertes à des croisements de routes, à des relais de poste, sur l'emplacement d'anciennes écuries, et il est clair que la protection divine devait s'exercer dans toutes les directions (cf. É. triple 215, 216).

Il n'est pas possible d'établir pour l'ensemble de ces documents une chronologie, ne serait-ce qu'approximative. La plupart des stèles révèlent un art naïf, le plus souvent, qui s'éloigne de l'art classique, même si les

principes élémentaires en sont appliqués. Les bronzes, qui souvent sont plus soignés que les reliefs, restent parfois raides et maladroits. Toutefois ces statuettes, presque uniquement trouvées en Gaule (108-119, 184; seul le n° 120 a été découvert en Bulgarie, apporté là sans doute par un soldat) dénotent souvent un art plus raffiné que celui des stèles, et sont, pour quelques-unes au moins (184), d'époque relativement haute, ce qui confirmerait encore l'antériorité des cultes gaulois sur ceux de l'Europe centrale. Mais cette «réussite» n'est pas un critère absolu. La maladresse n'est pas une caractéristique du provincialisme et n'entraîne pas forcément une datation basse. Quelques stèles ont été découvertes dans un contexte daté (Index); d'autres, en forme de maison (13-15), portent la marque d'un atelier précis, mais toute datation reste aléatoire. Sur les stèles de Baudoncourt (15a-b) É. devient une sorte de pantin désarticulé, et la forme même du support peut évoquer des sépultures tardives.

Pour l'ensemble, on relève plus de maladresses que d'éléments positifs. Parfois le cheval est trop gros pour sa cavalière; il peut être si bas sur pattes qu'on a pu se demander s'il ne manquait pas une partie de la statue (49); il lui arrive de ressembler à un éléphant (85), à un taureau (87a), à un bélier (115). Il est rare que ces montures d'É. aient été l'objet d'études soignées; les chevaux ressemblent souvent à des chevaux de trait, ou même à des mulets (dont É. était aussi la protectrice); les jambes sont trop longues ou trop courtes; mais certains ne manquent pas d'élégance. Il faut signaler quelques réussites. La «boudeuse» de Metz (136), vêtue d'un manteau aux plis archaisants, écarte d'un geste gracieux sa chevelure et s'appuie doucement de la main dr. sur la croupe de sa monture. É. à Bâgé-la-Ville (114) est allongée sur le dos de son cheval, dans un abandon très bien traduit. Quand elle est auréolée d'un voile (Index), elle ne manque pas d'allure. Mieux encore, la déesse court auprès de sa monture, belle dans sa longue tunique (159). La plus charmante est celle de Gannat (6), souriante, complice en serrant affectueusement de son bras le col de sa monture, dans un style et une inspiration qui doivent peut-être beaucoup à l'art classique, avec une fraîcheur inattendue.

On a voulu rapprocher ces figurations de celles du Cavalier thrace (→ Heros equitans; Benoît, *Mythes* 63; dernière étude que nous connaissions: Tontceva-Vasileva, N., *Bull. des Mus. de la Bulgarie du Sud-Est*, 1983, 15 s). Mais ce dernier est toujours à califourchon, É. ne l'est que rarement. Il est dieu guerrier, É. est pacifique: la lance que l'on a voulu attribuer à la déesse n'est en fait qu'un fouet. Les trois stèles de Baudoncourt (15a-b) la montrent levant haut le bras dr., comme le Cavalier. Ces stèles sont certainement tardives, et accusent peut-être l'influence du dieu thrace, dans le contexte d'un vaste mouvement d'échange de thèmes et de croyances. Ces deux divinités se rejoignent-elles dans une fonction funéraire? S'agit-il de chevauchées infernales, de symboles du dernier voyage?

Plusieurs théories ont été formulées à ce sujet (Benoît, *Mythes* et [1965] 333 s; Lambrechts [1951] 107 s;

Thevenot 2, 355 s). La première est très tranchée; en certains cas (ils sont rares), la mention d'É. signifierait «bon voyage», et elle serait un démon de la mort présidant à une chasse infernale et (de façon contradictoire) symbolisant l'éternel repos. Cette chevauchée funéraire l'emporterait de loin sur le sens réaliste d'une puissance de la vie. Quelques stèles découvertes dans la nécropole de la Horgne-au-Sablon (30-31, 137-138) témoignaient en ce sens; certaines plaques triangulaires (14-15) présentent à leur base un évidemment réservé aux libations – funéraires – (cf. Linckenheld, E., *Les stèles funéraires en forme de maison chez les Médiomatriques et en Gaule* [1927]). La clé tenue par É. (Index) serait celle des Enfers; la porte figurée sur certaines stèles serait également celle des Enfers (Index); le poulain serait en fait un chien infernal. É. assise entre deux chevaux sur une paroi de sarcophage (186) aurait un sens funéraire, au même titre que l'orgue hydraulique figuré sur une autre paroi. La déesse chevauchant parmi des monstres marins (213) serait une Néréide infernale. Infernaux aussi le sommet de la stèle arrondi en forme de niche, le voile gonflé par le vent, qui serait en fait un nimbe (?).

Tous ces détails accumulés sont impressionnants. Mais dans la très grande majorité des cas, rien ne vient confirmer ces théories. É. Thevenot, tout en reconnaissant la valeur de certains des arguments de F. Benoît, a refusé de généraliser ces propositions trop relatives et insuffisamment étayées. Il ne faut pas oublier que les premières inscriptions apparaissent dans des régions rurales où se pratiquait l'élevage des équidés. Quelques détails sont à noter aussi. L'É. tourelée de Vichy (130) ne peut guère être funéraire. Le nimbe supposé (75) n'est probablement qu'une simplification du voile gonflé par le vent (Index). Les stèles en forme de «maison» ne sont pas obligatoirement funéraires. Quand É. est assise, les pieds posés sur un autel, elle est représentée simplement devant son temple, et la porte est celle, aussi, de ce temple – ou bien des écuries, dans lesquelles elle ne refusa pas de figurer (peinture du cirque de Maxence, 198), et dont Apulée fait mention. Le sarcophage d'Arles (186) présente un véritable temple, et rappelle les activités du défunt, de même que l'orgue hydraulique, à notre avis, selon les traditions les plus anciennes.

Presque tous les dieux du panthéon gallo-romain ont revêtu tôt ou tard des fonctions funéraires. Le fait est plus rare pour les déesses. → Rosmerta, bien que parèdre de Mercure, n'a jamais bénéficié de dédicaces évoquant quelque fonction que ce soit dans l'au-delà. Si É., selon la théorie de «la dilatation fonctionnelle des grands dieux gaulois», devint une divinité infernale, cela fut certainement un phénomène épisodique et tardif. Elle reste avant tout une déesse de l'abondance, de la fertilité, patronne du poulainage, protectrice des chevaux, ânes et mulets. Des temples lui furent élevés, où figurèrent des statues en ronde-bosse, qui lui donnent sa place dans le monde des vivants, et non dans celui des morts.

STÉPHANIE BOUCHER



## GALATEIA

(Γαλάτεια, Galatea) Nereid (→ Nereides), daughter of → Nereus, the Old Man of the Sea, and Doris, the sea nymph. The legend of G. is closely related to Sicily, to the Cyclops → Polyphemos, and to the shepherd Acis. According to the more popular version, Polyphemos fell in love with G. and tried to attract her attention with gifts and by other means. But G. loved Acis and spurned the Cyclops, who, mad with jealousy, tried to crush his rival with a rock. G. transformed him into the river of the same name, and then went to its source where she bore a daughter called Catena.

A different version relates that G. reciprocated Polyphemos' love and married him. They begot several children, one being Galas or Galata.

G. was also considered a protectress of animals and vegetation. In this sense, she has some similarities with → Aphrodite, who, like her, also received worship in the temples near the sea.

**LITERARY SOURCES:** Her name was related to the sea's milky froth (γαλακτόχρως ἀφρός, Eust. 1131, 5 ad Hom. *Il.* 18, 42) and, at a later date and by extension, with animal's milk. As a protectress of animals she is also called γάλα. According to Duris, *FGrH* 76 F 58, G. was worshipped in Sicily, as the protectress of flocks. Hom. *Il.* 18, 45; Hes. *theog.* 250; Apollod. *bibl.* 1 (11) 2, 7; Hyg. *fab. praef.* 8 provide lists of Nereids among which appears the «very illustrious» and «beautiful» G. One of the ships of the Attic fleet took her name (*IG* II/III<sup>a</sup> 1606, 14).

Even though the legend of G. and Polyphemos could have had a local origin in Sicily (Weicker 517), its appearance in literature must depend on Philoxenos of Cythera (c. 435–380 B.C.), a poet in the court of Syracuse (Page *PMG* *frg.* 815–818). According to Duris, *FGrH* 76 F 58 [= Page *PMG* *frg.* 817], Philoxenos invented Polyphemos' love for G. Phainias of Eresos (*frg.* 13 Wehrli) specifies that Philoxenos tried to seduce G., Dionysios' lover, and was therefore banned to the city's quarries. There he wrote a dithyramb under the title *Kyklops* or *Galateia* where he presented G. as a sea nymph, Dionysios as Polyphemos and himself as Odysseus.

Perhaps before the time of Philoxenos, it seems there was a legend in which G. accepted Polyphemos' love. We find reminiscences of this in later texts. Thus, Nonn. *Dion.* 39, 257–264 tells that when G. saw Polyphemos fighting for Lyaos against Deriades in the Indian war she beseeched Aphrodite to protect him. In Nonn. *Dion.* 40, 555 Schol. and Prop. 3, 2, 5–6 G. stops at the base of mount Etna to listen to his songs. According to App. *Ill.* 2 they had three children: Galas, Keltos and Illyrios.

We barely know Philoxenos' poem, nor the comedies on the same subject written by Nikocharēs (*CAF* I *frg.* 2–3), Antiphanes (*CAF* II *frg.* 131–133) and Alexis (*CAF* II *frg.* 36–39).

The idea of presenting the monstrous Cyclops of the Homeric poems as a pathetic giant, full of passion for the delicate G., was very attractive to Hellenistic

taste. Poets thereafter abandoned the relationship with Odysseus and concentrated on Polyphemos' frustrated love.

In Theokr. 6, Polyphemos imagines that by pretending indifference he will awaken G.'s love, and she will send messages to him. The same poet dedicates his *idyll* 11, well known and often imitated in antiquity, to narrating Polyphemos' afflictions by means of the songs he devotes to his loved nymph.

The influence of Theokritos' *idyll* 11 can be seen in Verg. *ec.* 7 where Polyphemos addresses G. in amorous terms: «Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae...» (37). Virgil also mentions G. in *ec.* 9, 39. Other Hellenistic poets who dealt with this subject were Hermesianax (Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* *frg.* 7, 73–74), Kallimachos in his poem *Galateia* (*frg.* 378–379 Pf.), Bion in his *Epithalamium* for Achilles and *Deidameia* (2, 2–3) and in *frg.* 16, 3, and the anonymous author of the *Epitaph for Bion* (58–63). Another example of the refusal of Polyphemos' love is in Lukianos *d. mar.* 1. A conversation between G. and Doris takes place here, but although G. affirms that she is not in love with the Cyclops she really defends him from Doris, who is making fun of Polyphemos' figure and voice.

The version in which a coquettish G. laughs at the lovelorn Cyclops remained the more popular throughout antiquity: Philostr. *im.* 2, 18; Sil. 14, 221–226; Niketas Eugenianos 6, 501–505 (Hercher, R., *Erotici scriptores Graeci* II [1859] 516).

In *v. h.* 2, 3 Lukianos says that in the Cheese Island of the Milk Sea there was a sanctuary dedicated to G., whose only beauty, according to other Nereids, was a whiteness that would appeal to a shepherd, used to cheese and milk (Lukianos *d. mar.* 1, 2). Some authors believe that Lukianos' mention of a sanctuary of G. reinforces the possibility of the existence of a local cult (Weicker 517).

Finally, we may note Ov. *met.* 13, 750–897, where the writer centres his interest on Acis, Polyphemos' rival. G. is talking with Skylla; she explains what happened when the Cyclops discovered Acis and herself together. Holland 272 believes Ovid took the theme from Kallimachos.

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## CATALOGUE

## A. Galateia alone

1.★ Mosaic. Madrid, Mus. Arch. and Elche Museum. From Ilici (Elche, Alicante), Algoros ruins. –

Ramos Fernández, *La ciudad romana de Ilici* (1975) fig. on p. 35; Ibarra, *Ilici, su situación y sus antigüedades* (1879) 181 ss. pl. 14; Blázquez, J., et al., *ArEspArq* 59, 1986, 103. – Only partly preserved. G. on an hippocamp is followed by some fish on the central part. She wears a shawl falling over her legs. According to Ibarra, this scene represents just the moment when G. leaves the Cilician shores to go to the Neapolitan beaches to look for her lover Acis. At the bottom, on the r., inscribed: GALATEIA.

2. Mosaic. Lost. From Italica (Seville). – Celestino, *Habis* 8 (1977) 366–370 pl. 26; Blanco, A. *MosEsp* II (1978) pl. 77. – 2nd cent. A.D. – Among the pavements there was one called «of G.», probably because the central figure, seated on a dolphin, could be G. Nevertheless, Blanco thinks it is a mistake to call this mosaic «of G.», just because after its publication it was said to be similar to Raphael's G.

3. Terracotta, lamp. Zadar, Arch. Mus. From Nona. – Bulic, F., «Le lucerne fittili romane di Nona», *Bull. Arch. Stor. dalmata* 38, 1915, 63. – G., on a dolphin, on the l. She is naked, with a mantle forming an arc around her head. Right leg bent, left stretched. She holds an object in her right hand.

## POSSIBLE REPRESENTATIONS

4. Wall painting. Pompeii V 1, 18, triclinium, to the r. – Schefold, *WP* 86. – G. and Polyphemos' letter.

5. Wall painting. Pompeii IX 3, 5, atrium, western wall. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1837; Schefold, *WP* 248. – G. on a dolphin.

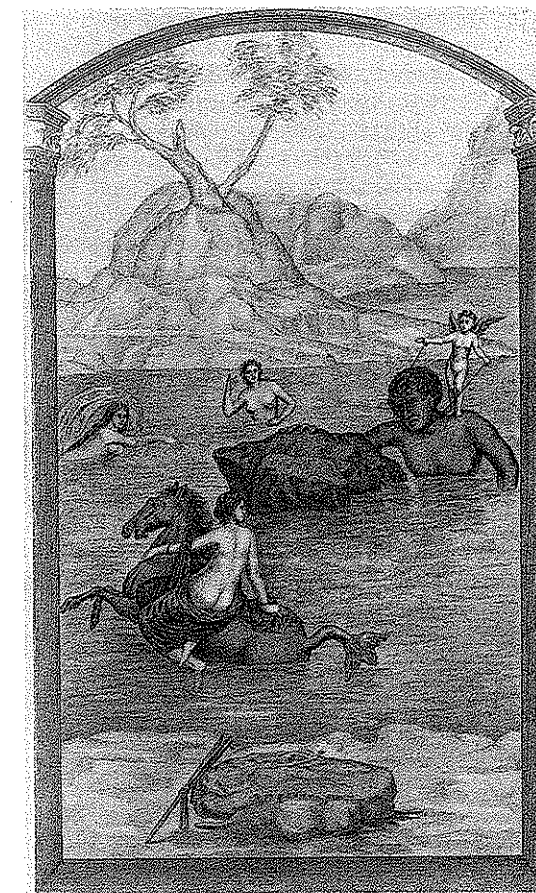
6. Wall painting. Pompeii VII 1, 8, Stabian thermae IV. – Schefold, *WP* 163. – Probably G. is represented.

7. Cup, Etruscan rf. From Volterra. – *Jdl* 2, 1887, 116 no. 3; *EVP* 68–69. – 2nd half of 5th cent. B.C. – Goddess riding a ketos, escorted by Triton. Some authors believe this could be G., but the attribution is uncertain. Inscribed: ALACEA. Sciassi supposed that an initial sigma was lost, the original being: SALACEA. Beazley thinks it is very unlikely that a letter is missing. The reading is in fact uncertain.

## B. Galateia and Polyphemos

## Wall paintings

8.★ Rome, Palatine, House of Livia. – Weizsäcker, P., *ML* I 2 (1886–90) 1587; Reinach, *RépPeint* 172, 7; Curtius, *WP* 104. 106. 406 pl. 63; Rizzo, *PER* 76 pl. 164; idem, *Le pitture della Casa di Livia*, *MonPitt* 35–40 pl. 3. 4. 25–29. – 2nd half of 1st cent. B.C. – Practically destroyed, known in drawings. Oldest known representation of the legend. The sea and shore are represented at the bottom, the mountain Etna at the top. G. and the Cyclops are in the center, and the Nereids far away. The picture is typically Hellenistic, both in subject and form. Eros, who is making fun of Polyphemos, rides on his shoulders while G. is riding an hippocamp in the sea. She shows her white body to Polyphemos in a provocative way. The conception of the background is nearest to that of the *Odyssey*.



Galateia 8

9.★ Naples, Mus. Naz. 8886. From Pompeii VII 4, 51 (Casa dei Capitelli colorati, Casa di Arianna). – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1042; Reinach, *RépPeint* 172, 6; Dawson, C. M., *Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting*, *YaleClSt* 9 (1944) 110 no. 62 pl. 23; Schefold, *WP* 184. – Polyphemos stands at l. in the foreground, with his flock, looking at G. She rides a dolphin, attended by a triton and a flying Eros who holds a sunshade over her.

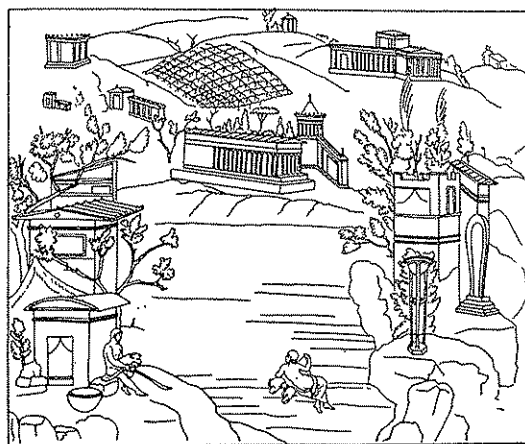
10. Pompeii VII 4, 59 (Casa dei Bronzi or della Parete Nera), oecus left of tablinum, destroyed. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1045; Dawson, *o.c.* 9, 107 no. 53; Schefold, *WP* 187. – Polyphemos sits on a rock, his l. hand resting on a club, and looks at G., who is riding a dolphin with her mantle floating out in an arc behind her.

11. Pompeii VII 15, 2, exedra or apodyterium, left wall? – Sogliano, A., *Le pitture murali Campane...*, in *Pompei... II* (1879) 470; Dawson, *o.c.* 9, 91 no. 26; Schefold, *WP* 206; *Italianische Reise* (exp. Pompeii 1989) no. 58 fig. 58 (water-colour painting of 1897). – G. wears a chiton and a mantle, an unusual representation of the Nereid. She rides a dolphin at the l., her veil flying back in a wide curve. Though she moves to the l., her face is turned up towards the r., where presumably Polyphemos was represented. Here, we only can see a group of rocks, amid which three goats are grazing.

12. Pompeii IX 2, 18, cubiculum on south-west side of the viridarium. – Sogliano, *o. c.* 11, 471; Dawson, *o. c.* 9, 87 no. 17; Schefold, *WP* 244. – Poorly preserved. There are traces of Polyphemos in the center, and remains of trees. G. rides a dolphin.

13. Pompeii I 7, 7 (House of the Sacerdos Aman-dus), triclinium at north-west corner of atrium, south wall. – Dawson, *o. c.* 9, 99 no. 40 pl. 15; Schefold, *WP* 31. – Polyphemos is seated on a rocky promontory while his flock grazes around him. He has a wreath, syrinx and pedom. He looks at G. who is approaching on a dolphin. Her mantle is blown by the wind and forms a wide arc. In the lower r. there is a column; behind the corner we can see a curtain of dark cypresses and a warship rounding a cape.

14. \* From Pompeii. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1043; Reinach, *RépPeint* 172, 8. – Polyphemos, on the l., looks at G. She turns away, riding a dolphin, with her r. hand holding part of her dress. Her head is turned towards Polyphemos, who sits with an animal. He wears a skin over his legs. The background differs from the most usual type. There is a colossal landscape representing a bay with the shores full of fantastic buildings, gardens and vineyards.



Galateia 14

15. Pompeii VI 5, 5 (Casa dei Vasi di Vetro). Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1047; Schefold, *WP* 97. – Mostly destroyed. Polyphemos sits on a rock with a lyre on his r. hand and playing towards G. In front of him there is a goat. G. astride a dolphin wears a yellow chiton covering her hips and legs.

16. Pompeii VI 10, 1. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1044; Schefold, *WP* 122. – 4th style. – Polyphemos, with bulging head, is seated on stones covered with a skin. He lifts his r. arm against G., who rides a dolphin. With her l. arm she lifts a stick in a threatening attitude. She is also adorned with a strophion, necklaces, and bracelets on the l. arm.

17. Pompeii VI 16, 32. – Schefold, *WP* 159. – Polyphemos and G. on a dolphin.

18. Pompeii VIII 5, 37 (Casa delle Parete rosse), atrium, southern wall. – Schefold, *WP* 228. – Polyphemos and G.

19. Herculaneum. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1046; Dawson, *o. c.* 9, 86 no. 15. – Polyphemos is seated on a cliff. A piece of skin covers his l. arm. In front of him, three sheep are grazing. There is the shape of a male figure above. He is not looking at G., who is on a dolphin. She looks at Polyphemos and holds a leaf-shaped fan in her l. hand.

20. \* Naples, Mus. Naz. 8983. From Herculaneum. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1050; Reinach, *RépPeint* 172, 2. – 4th style. – Polyphemos courting G. The giant is seated on a rock, looking at G. in a thoughtful way. He holds a pedom in his l. hand. G. stands with another woman, both of them dressed in chitons, and she has an aquatic leaf in her l. hand. Perhaps the other woman is Polyphemos' mediator.

21. \* Naples, Mus. Naz. 9244. From Herculaneum. – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1053; Reinach, *RépPeint* 124, 3. – Satyr and Bacchant or Polyphemos and G. G., seated on a rock, looking back to Polyphemos, who is seated behind her. She wears a mantle covering her legs. Polyphemos looks at her; he wears a wreath and holds a pedom in his l. hand. In the background, there is the forepart of a ship and statues on pedestals.

22. New York, MMA. From Boscotrecase, cubiculum 19, west wall. – Blanckenhagen, P. H./Alexander, C., *The Paintings of Boscotrecase*, RM 6. Erg.-H. (1962) 38 pl. 40-43; Steinmeyer-Schareika, A., *Das Nilmosaik von Paestum und eine ptolemäische Expedition nach Äthiopien* (1978) 16. 17 pl. 3. – Poor preservation. Two scenes: Polyphemos courting G. and Polyphemos throwing a rock at Ulysses' ship. The giant, with a single eyebrow and one central eye, sits with his l. hand resting on a stone whilst his r. hand raises the shepherd's pipe. His l. leg is stretched forward, his r. bent. To the l., G. rides on a dolphin, steadying herself with her r. hand. Her l. holds a thin himation and she wears a transparent yellow chiton. Steinmeyer describes G. as seated on a rock, not a dolphin. She wears a mantle covering her legs and forming a wide arc beside her.

#### Mosaics

23. Antioch, House of Polyphemos and Galateia (destroyed?). G.'s head in Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. M 79. – Levi, *Antioch* I 25-28 pl. 3a; Jones, F. F., *Record of the Art Mus., Princeton Univ.* 40, 2, 1981, 17 fig. M 79 (head of G.). – Badly preserved. A naked man with abundant hair sits on an animal. His l. hand holds a rectangular object, probably a syrinx or a diptych signifying a letter. The man turns his head to the r., gazing at a Nereid, who moves away from him riding a dolphin. The Nereid also looks backwards towards him. The sea is represented by horizontal lines in barely perceptible zig-zags.

24. Alcázar de los Reyes Cristianos. From De la Corredera Square, Córdoba. – Blanco, *o. c.* 2, 114 figs. 1. 2; García y Bellido, A., *ArEspArq* 33, 1960, 167 ff. pls. 2. 3; Blázquez, J. M., *MosEsp* III (1981) 13-18 pls. 1. 2. 31 figs. 1. 2; Blázquez, J. M., *et al.*, *o. c.* 1, 102-103 no. 153-154. – C. 200 A.D. – G., on the l.,

is seated on a «ketos» and looks at three-eyed Polyphemos seated on a rock. Perhaps the giant is represented declaring his love to G.

25. \* El Djem Mus. F 17. From El Djem (Thysdrus, Tunisia), House A from Terrain Jilani Guirat, Room 17. – Foucher, L., *Notes et documents. Découvertes archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1960* (1961) 42 pl. 17; Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 259 no. 18c. – C. 180-200 A.D. – Mosaic with four panels of divine lovers. One represents Polyphemos seated on a rock as G. rides a dolphin. Polyphemos is naked. G. wears red clothes and holds an aquatic leaf in her hand, probably a present for her lover Acis.

26. \* Sousse Mus. From Themetra (Chott Maria), Tunisia. Wall-mosaic from piscina. – Foucher, L., *Thermes romains des environs d'Hadrumète* (1958) 26-27 pl. 14; Picard, G. Ch., *RA* 1960 II, 33; Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 272 no. 1b? – C. 200-220 A.D. – G. (name inscribed in gold letters) riding a green dolphin, probably with Cyclops (fr.). She has a veil in her r. hand flying around the head. The nymph is an example of the Severan style with her long bust and wide hips. There is a winged swimming figure in front of G. According to Dunbabin and Picard it must be Eros, and not Acis, as Foucher suggests.

#### Reliefs

27. White Luna marble slab. Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. From Nemi. – Sogliano, *NotSc* 1907, 574 ff. fig. 19; *NotSc* 1931, 269 fig. 29. – Two faces are represented, on the r., a woman, on the l., a male with beard and three eyes, one on the forehead. Behind the two heads some waves are represented together with a head of a dolphin. Sogliano does not identify this scene as Polyphemos and G.

28. Rome, Villa Albani. – Schreiber, *HR* pl. 65; Bieber, *SculptHell* 153 fig. 649. – Polyphemos is seated under a big tree. A goat stands beside the rock on which the Cyclops is seated, with a lyre in his arms. Eros shows G. to the giant.

29. Sarcophagus. Rome, Pal. Mattei. – Robert, *SarkRel* II no. 182 pl. 60; Sauer 1, 52; *idem*, 2, 2787 fig. 8; Guerrini, L., *Pal. Mattei di Giove, Le antichità* (1982) no. 52 pl. 58. – Polyphemos and G. are on the r. The Cyclops is seated on a rock. Beside him there is a goat; between his legs a pedom. His l. hand holds an unknown object, possibly two young sheep. The animal that he holds in his r. and offers to G. is a bear. G. is on the sea, astride a dolphin. Her l. hand rests on its head, her r. arm around her head. She is naked, with a mantle covering her shoulder and l. leg. Above her, a young river god is seated on the mountain side, probably Acis.

#### Gem

30. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 7368. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* no. 7368; Imhoof-Blumer, F./Keller, O., *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder* pl. 20, 33; Sauer 1, 102 no. 147. – Polyphemos, playing a harp, is seated with his back to G. riding a dolphin.

#### Lost representations

##### Wall paintings

31. Pompeii I 2, 3. – Sogliano, *o. c.* 11, 474; Schefold, *WP* 8. – Polyphemos and G.

32. Pompeii IX 7, 12? (Mau; IX 7, 16 according to Sogliano). Sogliano, *o. c.* 11, 688; Dawson, *o. c.* 9, 83 no. 6; Schefold, *WP* 268; v. Blanckenhagen, P. H., *RM* 75, 1968, 140 pl. 46, 1. – The positions of Polyphemos and G. are reversed and the setting lacks the characteristic axial symmetry of all panels of the Boscotrecase type. The Cyclops was seated on the l., on a rock by the seashore, naked except for a mantle flung over his l. arm and thighs. G. is approaching on an hippocamp, resting her l. hand on her neck and raising the edge of her mantle with her r. hand.

33. Painting (imaginary?). – Philostr. *im.* 2, 18. – Polyphemos is seated on the beach, with his herd, looking at the sea where G. used to ride a dolphin.

#### POSSIBLE REPRESENTATIONS

34. Wall painting. Pompeii V 1, 18 (Casa degli Epigrammi), triclinium, right wall. Dawson, *o. c.* 9, 106 no. 58; Schefold, *WP* 65. – Mostly fragmentary. Perhaps a scene of Polyphemos and G., but all that can be distinguished is a he-goat, land, the head of some fish in the foreground at the l., and the forepart of a ship at the r.

35. Wall painting. Pompeii IX 3, 5 (Casa di M. Lucretius). – Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1051; Schefold, *WP* 248. – 4th style. – Probably Polyphemos is seated and G. stands. She wears a wreath. In front of the giant a goat.

36. Mosaic. Tazoult Mus. From Lambaesis. – *Inv-Mos* 47, 192; Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 263 no. 6a. – Mosaic with three panels. Only two fr. survive. On the second, a man prepares to play a syrinx. A Nereid on a dolphin moves towards him. Probably Polyphemos and G.

#### C. Polyphemos and Galateia embracing

37. \* Wall painting. Naples, Mus. Naz. 27.687. From Pompeii, Casa della Caccia Antica, exedra to the l. of the peristyle, south wall. Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1052; Reinach, *RépPeint* 172, 4; Levi, *Antioch* 25 ff.; Schefold, *WP* 132. – Both stand beside a rock. The giant is naked. G. wears a mantle hanging from her l. arm covering only her legs.

38. Wall painting. Pompeii IX 2, 10. Lost. – Sogliano, *o. c.* 11, 475; Schefold, *WP* 241. – 4th style.

39. Relief, marble slab. Turin, Mus. di Antichità. Sauer, *o. c.*, 57, fig. p. 58; Schreiber, *o. c.* pl. 55; Sauer 2 *o. c.* 2710, fig. 10. Polyphemos and G. are embracing. Possibly the most detailed representation of this version of the legend. They are seated on rocks, on skins. Both are naked, but G. wears a mantle, a part of which is rolled on Polyphemos' left arm. In front of them there is a landscape with some goats.

## D. Galateia with other Nereids

40. (= Achilleus 479/520 with bibl., = Euploia 1) Lekythos, Attic rf. New York, MMA 31.11.13. From Athens. - ARV<sup>2</sup> 1248, 9; 1688: Eretria P.; *Para* 469; *Add* 353. - Last quarter of 5th cent. B. C. - In the middle register, Achilles mourning for Patroklos and Thetis with other Nereids bringing him his armour, among them G. (name inscr.).

41. (= Anabesineos 1\* with bibl.) Mosaic. Antakya, Hatay Mus. From Antioch, Thermae E, room 2. - Levy, *Antioch* 270 pl. 63c. - 2nd quarter of 4th cent. A. D. - Marine mosaic: G. (inscr. ΓΑΛΑΤΙΑ) facing → Anabesineos is depicted in one of the panels. This could contain an allusion to the G. and Polyphemos theme.

42.\* (= Bythos I 1a, = Kairos 22) Mosaic. Nea Paphos (Cyprus), House of Aion, *in situ*. - Daszewski, W. A., *Dionysos der Erlöser* (1985) 31-32 fig. 3 pls. 2. 20; Michaelides, D., *Cypriot Mosaics* (1987) 30 no. 29 pl. 23b. - 2nd quarter of 4th cent. A. D. - Beauty judgement between → Kassiepeia and Nereids. G. (inscr. ΓΑΛΑΤΙΑ), nude, nimbus, necklace and arm-rings, mantle on her legs, *velificatio*, sitting on the fish-tail of → Pontos. The other Nereids depicted are Doris and Thetis.

## E. Representations connected with Galateia's myth

## Wall paintings

43. Pompeii V 2, destroyed. - Schefold, *WP* 74. - Polyphemos is receiving a letter from Eros.

44. Pompeii IX 3, 5 (7) (Casa di M. Lucretius). - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1049; Schefold, *WP* 247. - Polyphemos receives a message from G.

45. Pompeii VI 14, 28 (House of Laocoon). Lost. - Sogliano, *o. c.* 11, 472; Reinach, *RépPeint* 172, 5; Schefold, *WP* 134. - Eros is bringing Polyphemos a message from G. He is seated on a rock, with r. hand extended towards Eros.

46. Naples, Mus. Naz. 8984. From Herculaneum. - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1048; Reinach, *RépPeint* 172, 3; Rizzo, *PER* 64 pl. 133. - Eros carrying G.'s message to Polyphemos.

47. Pompeii IX 6, small atrium, south side, lost. - Sogliano, *o. c.* 11, 473; Dawson, *o. c.* 9, 81 no. 2; Schefold, *WP* 266; Blanckenhagen, *o. c.* 22, 139; *Italienische Reise* (exp. Pompeii 1989) no. 79 fig. 79 (water-colour painting of 1880). - Polyphemos, Akis fleeing.

## Mosaic

48. Cluny Mus. From North Thermae, boulevard Saint-Michel, Paris. - Darmon, J. P./Lavagne, H., *Rec-MosGaule* II 3 (1977) 164-165 pl. 119. - Eros is riding a dolphin, turned to the r. He is naked and carries a love letter.

## COMMENTARY

The Nereids do not present in mythology enough distinctive attributes to allow a clear differentiation of

their names, as compiled in ancient lists. G. is in like case with her sisters, and in representations she has no special attributes. The elements accompanying her, as the fan leaf, the dress covering her body from hips to feet, the animal ridden, are attributes shared by the other Nereids. However, if we analyse the internal syntax of the pictures it is possible to identify G. from her relationship to other characters that appear in different versions of the legend known from literature. She became the heroine of a love story, at first the subject of poetry, later of painting and other artistic media.

The better known version presents Polyphemos unable to gain the love of the beautiful and disdainful G. It is a story of thwarted love, very much in keeping with the Hellenistic poet's taste, which also tended towards bucolic themes. A second version, also widely known, shows G. accepting the attentions of the Cyclops.

There are no Greek depictions of the legend of G. and Polyphemos. The older representations are on vases (7? 40), where G. is depicted alone or with other Nereids. What is relevant is that G. never appears with Polyphemos, possibly because the legend was not yet formulated. Most of the pictures are Hellenistic and Roman. The main group are the frescoes from Pompeii and Herculaneum, although the House of Livia (8: the oldest known representation) and the villa of Boscotrecase (22) have yielded two of the most important representations. The mosaics from Elche (1), Córdoba (24), Antioch (23), Thysdrus (25), Themetra (26) represent another medium in which G. is depicted. Finally, we have other representations of G. and the legend in reliefs, on some vases, one gem and one terracotta.

The most usual type is a mythological landscape, generally of the Third Style. The best examples have common features: scenery of rocks and trees, with the shepherd and musician Polyphemos placed by the seaside where G. lives, playing with various marine animals or with her companions (23. 10. 13. 15). A close connection can be established between this landscape painting with Polyphemos and G. and the poetic description of Theokritos *idyll* 11: Polyphemos seated, surrounded by his flock, looks imploringly toward white G. Undoubtedly, the presence of landscape on mural painting is related to the new feeling for Nature in Hellenistic poetry. Theokritos describes the Cyclops as eager to learn to swim, and the Palatine painting (8) was possibly inspired by this poem: Polyphemos is on the sea, leaning on a rock while G. and other Nereids look at him. This is the oldest picture on this theme. It is totally Hellenistic, in both subject and conception: an example of the way Hellenistic artists take old subjects and give them a humorous tone. This representation probably comes from a painter of the late Hellenistic period. He does not adopt either the scheme or the formula of other Pompeian pictures.

The picture described by Philostratos (33) belongs to this group. We do not know if he was describing a real picture or inventing a setting for his narration. We

have later mosaics with the same subject, dated c. 200 A. D. (25. 26).

Related to the second important version of the legend, mural paintings (37. 38) and the Turin relief (39) present the characters embraced. In the mosaic from Córdoba (24) Polyphemos and G. are juxtaposed. This was surely the artist's intention, above all if we consider that this is the version of the legend in which G. responds to Polyphemos' love.

In some cases (22) the artist has remembered a different view of the legend: a faraway ship approaches, and it is supposed that later it will bring Odysseus and his men to fight the Cyclops. But the main scene always belongs to the love theme: Polyphemos sings or looks at the sea, watching the object of his desire, G., who rides the waves on an animal or sea-monster, generally affecting indifference towards her suitor. In antiquity spectators were familiar with sequences of panels, each of which pictured a distinct episode of a continuous story. A diachronic sequence to the narrative is thus added.

However, we have only rare records combining the story of Polyphemos and G. and the story of the Giant and Odysseus.

## Lesser topics

One of the Pompeii paintings (47) and some mosaics (25. 26) introduce Polyphemos' rival, Akis, who is probably also represented on a sarcophagus (29) as a river god.

Another topic that is chosen for representation is that of the letter. Thus, Polyphemos is shown receiving a letter from G. (23). As Rizzo points out, the delivery of the letter appears quite distinctly in the representations. In the one from Casa di Lucretius (44), Polyphemos stoops down with lively movement towards Eros, who seems to approach the shore on a dolphin, leaning forward to hand him the letter. In other paintings (46), Polyphemos' attitude is more dignified, similar to that of the composition where he sings of his love to G., the only change being the substitution of Eros for the Nereid. G. riding on her dolphin is as usual naked above the waist with her mantle floating behind her in a wide arc.

Generally, artistic representations of the subject oppose G.'s beauty and daintiness to the Cyclops' roughness. G. is always, or frequently, associated with marine contexts, and Polyphemos with the land and mountains. In this respect also, therefore, the two characters appear opposed.

SANDRA MONTÓN SUBIAS

## HELIOS

(Ἥλιος, ep. Ἡέλιος, dor. ἄολ. ἄρκ. Ἀέλιος, Ἀλιος, lat. Sol [→ Helios/Sol, LIMC IV]) Der Sonnengott. Sein Kult geht auf griechischem Boden vermutlich in die kretisch-mykenische Periode zurück.

LITERARISCHE QUELLEN: H. sowie → Selene (→ Astra) und → Eos waren Kinder der Titanen → Hyperion und Theia (Hes. *theog.* 371-374; Hom. *h.* 2, 26; Apollod. *bibl.* I [8] 2, 2); die letzteren waren Kinder des → Ouranos und der Gaia (→ Ge) (Hes. *theog.* 127-135). Als Mutter des H. werden auch Euryphaessa (Hom. *h.* 31, 2-7) und Nyx (Soph. *Trach.* 94-96) angegeben. Als Gemahlinnen des H. galten: die Okeanide Perse oder Perseis, Mutter der → Kirke und des → Aietes; Antiope, Mutter des Aietes und des Aloeus; Ephyra, Mutter des Aietes; Asterope, Mutter der Kirke und des Aietes; Aigle, Mutter der Chariten (→ Charis, Charites); Selene, Mutter der → Horai; Neaira, Mutter der Lampetie und der Phaethousa; Rhode, Tochter des → Asopos, Mutter des → Phaethon (I), der Lampetie, der Aigle und der Phaethousa; → Klymene (II), Tochter des → Okeanos, Mutter des Phaethon; Prote, Tochter des → Nereus, Mutter des Phaethon; Krete, Mutter der → Pasiphae, die auch als Gattin des Helios oder auch als seine Tochter galt; Rhodos, Mutter der rhodischen Heliaden; Leukothoe, Mutter des Argonauten Thersanon, oder Tochter des Orchamos, und die Nymphe Klytia. Als Kinder des H. werden auch gelegentlich Neaira, Aigle, Helia und Augeias (→ Herakles) erwähnt. Cf. Jessen 78-81 für ausführliche Behandlung der Genealogie von Helios.

Die Verehrung des H. ist bei den Griechen, wie bei ihren Nachbarn, sehr alt und tief verwurzelt. Wir kennen den Charakter seines Kultes in der kretisch-mykenischen Epoche nicht, obwohl die Sonnenscheibe, wie auch die Mondsichel, das Rad, der Stern und die Rosette auf Werken jener Zeit zu finden sind (Nilsson, M. P., *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* [1950] 412-414 Abb. 55. 158). Dieser uralte anikonische Aspekt des H. überlebt vielfach in die historische Zeit: cf. Hom. *Il.* 18, 484; Anaximand., Diels *Vorsokr.* 5 12 A 21; Aischyl. *Pers.* 504; Soph., *TrGFIV* F 738; Aristoph. *Thesm.* 17; Eur. *Elektr.* 464; Philostr. *im.* 10, 5; Roes, in *Studia Vollgraff* 115-116; Jessen 65; Fittschen, K., *Der Schild des Achilleus, ArchHom* N 1 (1973) 10-11 (mit Lit.). Erinnerung an diese Vergangenheit spiegelt sich in der Ansicht Platons, es scheine, daß die ersten Menschen in Griechenland als einzige Götter die Sonne, den Mond, die Erde, die Gestirne und den Himmel verehrt hätten (*Krat.* 397 c). Zur Verehrung der Sonne s. auch Plat. *symp.* 220 d; *nomoi* 887 c; Lukianos *salt.* 17; Soph., *TrGFIV* F 738; Men. *frag.* 678 K.

Seit der frühen historischen Zeit aber hatte sich für H., neben den genannten uralten Symbolen, auch schon sein anthropomorphes Bild ausgeprägt, so wie es in der homerischen Dichtung geschildert wird; es ist die Vorstellung des H. auf einem von Rossen gezogenen Gespann. H. steigt jeden Tag, unaufhörlich, mit seinem Gespann aus dem Lande der Aithiopen auf, um der Erde das Licht zu bringen. Nachdem er das Himmelsgewölbe durchfahren hat, steigt er im Lande der Hesperiden, Erytheia, ab. Sein Wagen wird jeweils von einem, zwei oder vier Rossen gezogen (Hom. *h.* 4, 68-69; 28, 13-15; 31, 14-16). Dieses Bild des H. wurde von den Dichtern seit dem 7. Jh. v. Chr. beibehalten: Hes. *frag.* 390 Merkelbach/West; Mimn., West



IEG I frg. 12; Stesich., Page PMG frg. 185; Bakchyl. epin. 11, 101; Pind. O. 7, 71; Aischyl. Prom. Lyom., TrGF III F 192; Soph., Aias 845-857; Eur. Phoen. 2-3; Iph. T. 1138; Ion 82. 1148-1149; El. 466; Apoll. Rhod. 3, 309-313.

Die Rosse des H. werden gelegentlich als geflügelt beschrieben (Eur. El. 466). Nach Hyg. fab. 183 nannte «Eumelos» (Davies, EGF Titanomachia F 4<sup>B</sup>) diese Rosse Eous, Aithiops, Bronte und Sterope; s. auch Schol. Eur. Phoen. 3, wo sie Chronos, Aithiops, Bronte und Astrape heißen.

In Hom. h. 31, 9-15 trägt H. einen Helm; dieselbe Vorstellung bei Nonn. Dion. 38, 291-292.

Der Wohnsitz des H. bei Nacht liegt zwischen Osten und Westen, im Lande jenseits des großen Meeressgürtels, des Okeanos: Hom. h. 2, 62-63; 4, 68-69. H. weilte bei seiner Mutter, seiner Gattin und seinen Kindern: Stesich., Page PMG frg. 185. Vgl. auch Eur., Phaethon 1-5 Diggle; Athen. 11, 469 und Ov. met. 1, 774; 2, 1-20. 112-115. Um vom Westen wieder den Osten zu erreichen, fährt H. in einem Kahn oder in einem großen goldenen Kessel (vgl. 99. 100) oder auf einem Schiff (vgl. 102) zurück: Athen. 11, 469 d-470 d; sein Fahrzeug wird als δέπας (Stesich., Page PMG frg. 185, 1; Aischyl. Heliades, TrGF III F 69; Pherekyd., FGrH 3 F 18 a) als φιάλη (Panyassis, Davies EGF F 7<sup>A</sup>) oder als λέβης (Titanomachia, Davies EGF F 7; Theolytos, FGrH 478, 1) bezeichnet. Mimn. (West IEG II frg. 12) umschreibt das Fahrzeug als Ruhelager, das mit Flügeln versehen war und den schlafenden H. über das Meer vom Land der Hesperiden zum Aithiopenland trug (cf. Jessen 90 ff.).

Zur Erscheinung des Sonnengottes als Stier: Auf Kreta ist H. auch in Stiergestalt verehrt worden (Anekd. Bekk. I 344, 10 s. v. Ἀδριανός ταύρος). Auch der kretische Sonnengott Talos (Τάλως) trug einst dieselbe Gestalt: Hesych. s. v. τάλως ὁ ἥλιος; Apollod. bibl. I (140) 9, 26. Zu Talos s. auch Farnell, Cults I 44. Über den Stieraspekt des H. und der Selene/Pasiphae s. Jessen 65-66. Zu den heiligen Rinderherden des Helios, die für verschiedene Orte überliefert sind (auch Schafferden), s. Jessen 83-84. Die bekanntesten sind die in der Odyssee genannten sieben Rinder- und Schafferden auf der Insel Thrinakie (I, 8; 11, 107-109; 12, 127-136; 19, 275-276; 23, 329).

Zum H.kult in historischer Zeit s. Farnell, Cults V 418-419. 449-453; Jessen 63-72; Nilsson, GrRel I<sup>4</sup> 839-840; II<sup>4</sup> 232. Der wichtigste Kultort war Rhodos, wo H. der Hauptgott war (zu Rhodos s. Jessen 66-69; Nilsson, M. P., Griech. Feste [1906] 427-428; idem, GrRel I<sup>4</sup> 839-840; Morelli, D., «I culti di Rodi», Studi Class. e Or. 8, 1959; wichtig vor allem Pind. O. 7, 54-80; Schol. Pind. O. 7, 145-146 a Drachmann). Ihm zu Ehren wurde in Rhodos jährlich eine Quadriga ins Meer gestürzt. Außer Rhodos soll hier noch Korinth genannt sein, wo H. neben Aphrodite der Hauptgott auf Akrokorinth war (Jessen 64; Paus. 2, 1, 6; 2, 4, 6); ferner ein Heiligtum mit heiligen Schafferden am Tainaron in Lakonien (Hom. h. Ap. 409-413) und der Berg Taleton, ein Gipfel des Taygetos oberhalb Bryseai, der dem H. heilig war und wo man ihm Pferde opferte (Paus. 3, 20, 4; den Namen

Taleton bringt Wide, S., Lakonische Kulte [1893] 215-216 mit Τάλως [s. o.] und Ταλειτίας in Verbindung). Obwohl also der H.kult in der frühen Zeit, besonders in dorischen Gebieten, nicht unbedeutend war, scheint er doch, im Vergleich mit dem Kult der olympischen Götter, gering gewesen zu sein (Nilsson, Griech. Feste 427; idem, GrRel I<sup>4</sup> 839). Das Zurücktreten des H.kultes während der archaischen Zeit ist aber äußerlich und aus folgenden Gründen zu erklären: wie Ouranos, Okeanos u. a., wohnt H. nicht auf dem Olymp. Mit seinem Gespann durchläuft er das Himmelsgewölbe und verbringt die Nacht jenseits des Okeanos. Nur ganz vereinzelt befindet er sich im Rat der übrigen Götter (z. B. wenn er hingeht, um wegen der Vernichtung der Rinder durch die Gefährten des Odysseus zu protestieren, Hom. Od. 12, 376). Er überblickt aus der Ferne das Menschen- und Götterleben. Er gehört nicht zu den olympischen Göttern, die sich mit den Taten und dem Schicksal der Sterblichen befassen, sondern zu den οὐράνιοι θεοί (Orph. h. 8, 2; Artemid. 2, 34). Bei Hom. Il. 8, 480; 19, 398; Od. 12, 133 wird H. sogar als mit → Hyperion identisch verstanden. Es ist bezeichnend, daß H. keine Liebesgeschichten mit Sterblichen gehabt hat. Seine Liebesbeziehungen sind immer und ausdrücklich mit Wesen verbunden, die der göttlich-dämonischen Sphäre angehören: Okeaniden und dergleichen (s. oben) und solche, die nur von kosmischem Charakter sind. Bezeichnend ist auch, daß keine alte Sage von einer Schuld des H. spricht. H. ist ein ἀγνός θεός (Pind. O. 7, 60), ἀμύαντος (Orph. h. 8, 13). Seit der hocharchaischen Zeit ist H. der Gott der Weisheit und Wahrheit (Pind. pae. IX, 4-5 Snell/Maehler); deshalb wurden auch seine sieben rhodischen Kinder als besonders weise gerühmt (Pind. O. 7, 72; Diod. 5, 57). H. sieht und hört alles (Hom. Il. 3, 277; Od. 11, 109; Hom. h. Cer. 62; Aischyl. Prom. 91; Choeph. 985-986). Er blickt sogar über die Taten der Götter: er verrät der → Demeter die Entführung ihrer Tochter durch Pluton (→ Hades) (Hom. h. Cer. 26, 62) und verrät dem → Hephaistos den Liebesverkehr zwischen → Aphrodite und → Ares (Hom. Od. 8, 271. 302). Vor dem Gigantenkampf opfert Zeus dem H., dem Ouranos und der Gaia; H. ist «μέγας» (Hes. theog. 19) und auch «πάντων θεῶν θεός πρόμος» (Soph. Oid. t. 660) und «γεννητὴς θεῶν πατὴρ τε πάντων» (Soph. TrGF IV F 752). So setzten Mythographen H. und Ge sogar als Elternpaar statt Ouranos und Ge an den Anfang aller Dinge. Sie sind vor allem die Eltern jener Tritopatreis, die man in Athen als γεννήσεως ἀρχηγούς anflehte, und damit sind sie zugleich die eigentlichen γονεῖς der Menschen (Suda s. v. Τριτοπάτορες).

Auf die besondere Stellung des H. als οὐράνιος θεός, weit weg von der Tätigkeit der olympischen Götter im täglichen Menschenleben, wird angespielt in der Erzählung (Pind. O. 7, 54-61) über die Verteilung der Erde unter den Göttern, bei der H., weit weg verweilend, vergessen wurde, und deshalb kein Stück erhielt.

H. und die Jahreszeiten: Bei Platon (pol. 7, 516 b) ist es die Sonne, «die die Jahreszeiten und Jahre schafft und alles in der sichtbaren Welt verwaltet» (Übers. K.

Vretska); vgl. Orph. h. 8, 10. 12 (πατὴρ χρόνου und ἀροτρόφος). In diesem Zusammenhang steht sicherlich die Zahl der Rinder des H. in Thrinakie (Hom. Od. 12, 127-130): Sieben Gruppen von je fünfzig Rindern, also 350 Rinder, was der Zahl der Tage des Sonnenjahres entspricht.

Die Funktionen des Lichtgottes wurden in der früheren Zeit anderen Göttern und Heroen zugeteilt, von denen sein Kult abgelöst wurde: Zeus, Hestia, Hephaistos, Apollon, Artemis, Hekate, Athena, Aphrodite Ourania, Phaethon, Telchines, Leukippos, Epopeus, Perseus, Talos, Augeias u. a. (s. Jessen 63. 75-77). In dieser Verteilung der Hauptlichtquelle, die dem H. galt, wird sein οὐράνιον (θεῖον oder νοερόν) φῶς oder αἰθήρ zum οὐρανιον, zum kosmischen Licht. Das so gesplante und fruchtbar gewordene πῦρ (Feuer) ist besonders deutlich bei Hephaistos, bei welchem es zu seiner Techne ausgewertet wird. Vor allem aber Apollon hat viel von H.' Funktionen und Zügen erhalten. Viele Appellativa Apollons deuten auf seine Gleichsetzung mit H.: φωσφόρος, ἀγλήτης, ἀγλήεις, ἀκούων, εἰσοράων, παμράης, ἐάιος, λαμπρότων, πανδερκής u. a. (cf. ML Suppl. 1, Epitheta s. v. Ἀπόλλων; Farnell, Cults IV 136 ff. Anm. 31 und 32; Jessen 72-74). Von der Identifizierung dieser beiden Götter sprechen Denker und Dichter seit der Zeit des Aischylos (s. auch Oinopides, Mitte 5. Jh., Diels Vorsokr. 5 41 A 7 [p. 394, 9-12]; ferner Vorsokr. 5 22 C 3, 1 [das Sonnenlicht als Plektron der Lyra Apollons, nach Heraklit] und Orph. h. 8, 9 [H. χρυσολύρης]). Theagenes aus Rhegion (6./5. Jh.) nennt das Feuer Apollon, H. und Hephaistos (Diels Vorsokr. 5 8, 2 [p. 52, 8]). In den Basarai des Aischylos (TrGF III p. 138) begrüßt Orpheus auf dem Gipfel Pangaia die aufgehende Sonne als Apollon. Es handelt sich nach Deichgräber (NachGöttingen NF 3, 8, 1939, 284) um eine Interpretatio Orphica, die bei diesem Tragiker sehr wohl möglich ist; s. auch Linforth, M., The Arts of Orpheus (1941) 9-10; West, M. L., The Orphic Poems (1983) 12-13. Aischylos setzte auch Artemis mit Selene gleich (Xantriai, TrGF III F 170, wo H. seinen eigenen Namen hat, Selene aber zu Artemis geworden ist; Deichgräber a. O. 283-284; anders Kern, O., Hermes 24, 1889, 501 und Farnell, Cults IV 138). Auch bei Euripides ist die Gleichsetzung des H. mit Apollon schon fest (Fontenrose, J., AJPh 64, 1943, 278-279); in seinem Phaethon (224-225 Diggle) wird H. angerufen, der aber «bei den Sterblichen» Apollon genannt werde. Vgl. v. Wilamowitz, U., Platon<sup>1</sup> 416-417 Anm. 3. - S. ferner Kall. frg. 302 Pf.; Kleantes, SVF I 112 frg. 502; Plut. de E apud Delphos 386 b; idem, de def. or. 433 d; idem, de Pyth. or. 400 c; Corn. 32; Etym. m. s. v. Ἐκατομβαιών; Suda s. v. Τριτοπάτορες; Proklos theol. Plat. 6, 12 p. 376, 21 (für Orpheus und Platon).

Mehrere Attribute und Funktionen von H. sind auch im Apollonkult zu finden: Apollon fährt auch im Kessel oder auf dem Dreifuß über das Meer, → Apollon 381-382. Außerdem besitzt Apollon Rinder, die → Hermes zu stehlen versucht hat (Hom. h. Merc. usw.). Die Pfeile des Apollon entsprechen den Strahlen des H., während die Pfeile der Artemis den Strahlen der Selene entsprechen. Auch Rad und Scheibe

sind sowohl mit H. (s. oben) als auch mit Apollon eng verbunden und wurden dem letzteren oft als Votive dargebracht. In diesem Zusammenhang steht auch die τροχοειδὴς λίμνη (der radförmige See) auf Delos (Thgn. 7; Hdt. 2, 170) sowie der Mythos von Apollon und Hyakinthos und die Tötung des letzteren durch den Diskus des Apollon. Weitere Parallelen in anderen Mythen: der Liebesgeschichte von Apollo und Daphne und der Verwandlung der letzteren in den gleichnamigen Baum (Daphne) entspricht die Erzählung über H., Klytie und Leukothoe und die Verwandlung der zwei letzteren in einen Weihrauchbaum (δενδρόλιβανον) und eine Heliotrop genannte Pflanze (Ov. met. 4, 194-270).

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## KATALOG

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# I. Helios allein auf Gespann (außer auf Münzen)

## Kykladische Vase (Deutung unsicher)

1. Theräische Halsamphora. London, BM 1950.11-12.1. Aus Kythera (?). – Coldstream, J. N., «A Theraen Sunrise», *BICS* 12, 1965, 34-36 Taf. 4. – 670-660 v. Chr. – Protome einer männlichen Figur, mit kurzem Haar und Bart; sie hält die Zügel eines Pferdes, das wie eine Protome gezeichnet ist. Nach Coldstream handelt es sich hier wohl um den aufgehenden H., und in diesem Fall würde es sich um die älteste bekannte H.-darstellung handeln.

## Attisch sf. und wgr. Vasen

2.\* Lekythos. Boston, MFA 93.99. – Dörig/Gigon

57 Taf. 24b; Haspels, *ABL* 120, 4; 206, 5 Taf. 32, 1: Gela-Maler; Schauenburg, *AntK* 52; Yalouris 317 Taf. 40 Abb. 14. – 510-500 v. Chr. – H. bärtig auf seiner Biga in Vorderansicht mit dem Kopf im Profil nach l.; über seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe, deren Verzierung, in konzentrischen Zonen, an Scheibenakrotere erinnert; im Hintergrund Zweige; die beiden geflügelten Pferde, bis zur Brust wie Protomen gezeichnet, wenden die Köpfe gegeneinander; die eigenartige dicke «Plattform» unter den Pferdeprotomen wird im oberen Teil von einer Wellenlinie abgeschlossen, im unteren aber ist sie mit einer Reihe von Sternen gefüllt. Sie wurde als der Heliosbecher erklärt, von anderen aber anders (Schauenburg, Haspels, Yalouris, Dörig). Es handelt sich eher um den gestirnten Himmel und den Okeanos (Yalouris).

3.\* Lekythos, wgr. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 384. Aus Eretria. – Dörig/Gigon 58 Taf. 24b; Haspels, *ABL* 120, 9; Langlotz, *KatWürzb* Nr. 384 Taf. 108. – 490 v. Chr. – H. auf seiner Biga in Vorderansicht mit dem Kopf im Profil nach l. und mit der Sonnenscheibe über seinem Kopf. Sie ist durch zwei Gruppen von übereinander unregelmäßig eingeritzten Bögen gezeichnet. Die beiden geflügelten Pferde, bis zur Brust wie Protomen gezeichnet, neigen die Köpfe gegeneinander. Die in je zwei schräg und symmetrisch zueinander hinter den Pferdeköpfen angeordneten Paare speerartiger Objekte, die von H. gehalten werden, könnten seine Pfeile bzw. sein Kentron sein.

4. Lekythos, wgr. Athen, Nat. Mus. 2211. – Haspels, *ABL* 121, 15; 123. 243, 57; Haimonmaler; Schauenburg, *AntK* 51 Anm. 2 Taf. 17, 1. – 490 v. Chr. – H. bartlos auf Biga in Vorderansicht mit dem Kopf im Profil nach l. und mit der Sonnenscheibe, schwarz ohne Verzierung. Die beiden geflügelten Pferde, bis zur Brust wie Protomen gezeichnet, neigen die Köpfe gegeneinander. Hinter den Pferdeköpfen je zwei schräg und symmetrisch zueinander angeordnete Paare von H. gehaltener speerartiger Objekte; es könnten seine Pfeile bzw. sein Kentron sein. Am oberen Teil des Bildes unregelmäßig dick bemalte Zone: Wolken? Cf. auch 6-8.

5. Lekythos, wgr. Ehem. Athen, Kunsthandel. – Haspels, *ABL* 121. 123. 243, 56; Haimonmaler; Schauenburg, *AntK* 51 Anm. 2 Taf. 17, 1. – Anfang 5. Jh. v. Chr. – H. in Vorderansicht auf Gespann.

6. Lekythos. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1983. – Dörig/Gigon 58; Haspels, *ABL* 120, 11; 123. 124, 53; Haimonmaler; Furtwängler, *Berlin Vasen* 421 Nr. 1983; Schauenburg, *AntK* 51 Anm. 9. – 490 v. Chr. – H. bärtig auf Biga in Vorderansicht mit dem Kopf im Profil; über seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe «mit zwei großen, nach beiden Seiten ausgebreiteten dicken schlangenförmigen Enden» (Furtwängler). «There is a white band superimposed on the black» (Haspels). Nach Schauenburg Andeutung des Morgendunstes. Nach Dörig die nächtliche Überfahrt des H.: vgl. 4. 7. 8. Die beiden geflügelten Pferde, bis zur Brust wie Protomen gezeichnet, neigen die Köpfe gegeneinander. R. und l. von H. je zwei Stäbe (Pfeile, Kentron?).

7.\* Lekythos. New York, MMA GR 540. – Haspels, *ABL* 120, 10; 123. 124; Schauenburg, *AntK* 51

Anm. 9. – Ca. 490 v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann in Vorderansicht mit dem Kopf im Profil nach l. Die Pferde ohne Flügel; je zwei neigen die Köpfe auseinander. Eine weiße, wellenartige Zone unter den Pferden deutet auf das Meer. Über dem Kopf des H. die Sonnenscheibe, weiß bemalt, und eine lange, wellenartige, weiß bemalte Zone, die sich über die ganze Komposition ausstreckt und auch teils die Sonnenscheibe deckt. Im Felde stilisierte Zweige. Vgl. 4. 6. 8.

8.\* Lekythos. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. B 1530. – *ABV* 538, 54; Haimonmaler; Haspels, *ABL* 121, 12; 123. 243, 54; Dörig/Gigon 58 Taf. 23c; *CVA* 1 Taf. 13, 9. – 480 v. Chr. – H. auf Biga in Vorderansicht mit dem Kopf im Profil nach l. und mit rot bemalter Sonnenscheibe. Die beiden geflügelten Pferde, bis zur Brust wie Protomen gezeichnet, neigen die Köpfe gegeneinander; hinter den Pferdeköpfen je zwei schräg und symmetrisch zueinander von H. gehaltene speerartige Objekte (Pfeile und Kentron?). Im oberen Teil des Bildes dicke schwarze Wellenlinie: Wolke? Nach Dörig die nächtliche Überfahrt des H., vgl. 4. 6. 7.

9. Lekythos. Athen, Kerameikos. Vom Kerameikos, Grab HS 231. – Ca. 470 v. Chr. – Schlecht erhalten: r. Teil der Bilder sowie der größte Teil des Kopfes des H. abgeblättert; keine Spur seiner Scheibe erhalten. H. auf seiner Biga in Vorderansicht mit Kopf im Profil nach l. Die zwei Pferde geflügelt; nur ihr oberer Teil abgebildet. Wellenband über der ganzen Darstellung.

10. Lekythos, wgr. Hannover, Kestner-Mus. 1966, 34. – *CVA* 1 Taf. 22, 4; Beldam-Maler. – Um 470 v. Chr. – H. unbärtig mit Viergespann vollständig in Vorderansicht, mit dem Kopf im Profil nach r.; er steht in kleinem Wagenkasten, mit gegürtetem und reich gefältem Chiton. Auf dem nach r. gewandten Kopf trägt er einen Helm (?); darüber die Sonnenscheibe; l. und r. von ihm je ein schräg gezeichnetes Kentron; die Zügel in seinen Händen. Je zwei Pferde neigen die Köpfe auseinander. Keine Andeutung des Okeanos.

11.\* Tonspule, wgr., polychrom (bobbin). Athen, Agora P 5113. – Brendel, O., *Antike* 12, 1936, 280 Abb. 8; Lacroix 94 Taf. 25, 2; Haspels, *ABL* 124 Anm. 3; Robertson, M., *Greek Painting* (1959) 110-112; Schauenburg, *Helios* 70 Anm. 320.84; Talcott, L., *Hesperia* 5, 1936, 333-335 Abb. 1; Wehgartner, I., *Attisch weißgrundige Keramik* (1983) 156, 2. Nachfolger des Brygosmalers. – Um 480 v. Chr. – H. unbärtig auf Biga in Vorderansicht mit dem Kopf nach r., Kentron in der Rechten; die beiden geflügelten Rosse (vom linken nur ein Teil des Kopfes und der Brust erhalten), bis zur Brust als Protomen gezeichnet, neigen die Köpfe einander zu. Über dem Kopf des H. seine Scheibe; im unteren Teil der Komposition die Wellen des Okeanos, aus dem H. emporsteigt.

12. (= Dioskouroi 196\* mit Lit., = Eos 18 mit Lit., = Europe I 45 [B]) Tonspule, wgr. (bobbin). Athen, Nat. Mus. 2350. – *ARV* 775, 3; Sotheby-Maler; *Add* 288; Schauenburg, *Helios* 58 Anm. 168. – Um 470 v. Chr. – Auf der einen Scheibe (A) im Zentrum H. auf seinem Gespann (schlecht erhalten) nach

r.; in der äußeren Zone der Raub der Leukippiden; auf der anderen Scheibe (B) die Entführung Europas.

13.\* (Deutung unsicher) Lekythos. Nikosia, Cyprus Mus. 1935/C 727 (K 12). – Spätes 6. Jh. v. Chr. – H. (?) auf Biga, von geflügelten Pferden gezogen.

## Attisch sf. Vasen

14.\* Kolonettenkrater. Detroit, Inst. of Arts 1924.120. – *ARV* 569, 43; Leningrad-Maler; *Add* 261; Lacroix 94 Taf. 25; Schauenburg, *Helios* 70 Anm. 320 Abb. 17; *idem*, *AntK* 51 Anm. 1; 53 Anm. 30; 61 Anm. 114. – Um 480 v. Chr. – H. bärtig in Zweigespann nach r.; unter ihm Delphin und Wellen. Über dem Kopf des H. die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen; die Zügel und das Kentron in seinen Händen. Die Pferde geflügelt.

15. Kolonettenkrater. Agrigent, Mus. Reg. 184. Aus Gela. – *ARV* 512, 11; Maler von Bologna 228; Lacroix 94; Marcadé 18 Abb. 11; Schauenburg, *Helios* 54 Anm. 111; 58 Anm. 168 Abb. 9; *idem*, *AntK* 51 Anm. 3. – Um 460 v. Chr. – H. unbärtig auf Biga mit geflügelten Rossen nach r.; in den Händen die Zügel und das Kentron. H. ohne Sonnenscheibe.

16. Skyphos (att.), verschollen; wahrscheinlich aus Süditalien (nach Millin). – Ducati, P., *I vasi dipinti nello stile del ceramista Midia*, *MemLinc* XIV (1909) 107. 17; Schauenburg, *AntK* 59 Anm. 82; Lenormant, Ch./de Witte, J., *Elite céramographique* II 381 Taf. 112 A. – 4. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – H. unbärtig auf Viergespann nach l.; sein Kopf in die mit Strahlen versehene Sonnenscheibe eingeschrieben; unter dem Wagen das Meer mit Fisch und Tintenfisch; auf der Rs. der Vase: Dionysos mit Nymphen.

## Rhodische Vase

17. Amphora, fr., sf., lokale Werkstatt, Nachahmung panathenäischer Amphoren. Rhodos, Mus. BE 2160. Aus Rhodos. – Zervoudaki, E., «Helios kai Halieia», *ArchDelt* 30, 1975, 1-20 Abb. 1. 2 Taf. 1. – 330-320 v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann in Vorderansicht; er hat Strahlen um den Kopf, einen weißen Chiton und hält die Zügel (nur die Rechte erhalten). Fragmente einer zweiten ähnlichen Amphora (MBE 3331) mit ähnlicher Darstellung (H. hier nach l.), frühes 3. Jh. v. Chr., und einer dritten (PBE 1771) mit Pferderten (Zervoudaki a. O. 13-14 Taf. 3c. 4b).

## Apulische Vasen

18.\* Krater, fr. Heidelberg, Univ. 26/87a. Aus Tarent. – *RVApI* 36, 14; Maler der Dionysosgeburt oder Nähe; *CVA* 2 Taf. 74; Schauenburg, *AntK* 58 Taf. 19, 3. – Ende 5. Jh. v. Chr. – H. auf Gespann nach l.; sein kurzes lockiges Haar mit Nimbus aus drei konzentrischen weißen Kreisen versehen; außen gelber Strahlenkranz.

19.\* Glockenkrater. Wien, Kunsth. Mus. IV 1131. Aus Apulien. – *RVApI* 265, 38; Maler von Heidelberg U6 (Judgement Group); Neugebauer, A., *Jdl* 58, 1943, 66 Abb. 8. – 360-340 v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann in Vorderansicht, sein Chiton mit Swastika, von zwei Kreisen umrahmt, geschmückt. Die ganze

Komposition von einem Riesennimbus mit Strahlen umschlossen.

20. (= Achilleus 794\*) Volutenkrater. Boston, MFA 03.804. Aus Ceglie del Campo. – *RVAp* II 472, 75 (mit Lit.): connected with the Varrese P.; Schauenburg, *AntK* 58 Anm. 80 Taf. 20. – Ca. 340 v. Chr. – Hals: H. auf Viergespann nach l. Die riesengroße Sonnenscheibe umfaßt die ganze Gestalt des Gottes und das Viergespann.

21. Volutenkrater. Genf, Privatslg. – *RVAp* II 496, 41 Taf. 177, 1: Dareiosmaler; Aellen, C., *et al.*, *Le peintre de Darius* 111–117 Abb. – Um 340 v. Chr. – A: Abfahrt des Amphiaros. Hals: H., unbärtig, auf Viergespann nach r.; um seinen Kopf die Sonnenscheibe, aus zwei konzentrischen Kreisen und Strahlen bestehend; auf dem Kopf Krone mit Strahlen; über den Köpfen der Pferde je ein Stern.

22.\* Situla. Helgoland, Slg. Kropatschek 115. – *RVAp* II 466, 54a: Maler von Kopenhagen 4223. – Schauenburg, K., *RM* 88, 1981, 110 Taf. 24. 25; Hornbostel, W., *Antiken der Slg. Kropatschek* (1980) Nr. 115. – Um 330 v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann nach l.; auf seinem Kopf eine Krone aus Strahlen und um den Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen.

23.\* (= Aiaikos 3 mit Lit., = Astra 76\* mit Lit., = Eos 10 mit Lit.) Volutenkrater. München, Antikenslg. 3297. Aus Canosa. – *RVAp* II 533, 282 Taf. 194 (mit Lit.): Unterweltmaler. – Um 330 v. Chr. – Hals: H. auf Viergespann nach r.; um seinen Kopf der Strahlennimbus, aus drei konzentrischen Kreisen bestehend. Vor H. Eos auf einem Viergespann und vor ihrem Gespann Phosphoros vorausfliegend. Über den Köpfen der Pferde Sterne.

24.\* Dinos. London, BM F 305. Aus Apulien. – *RVAp* II 502, 72 Taf. 180, 2: wahrscheinlich Dareiosmaler; Schauenburg, *Helios* Abb. 6. – Um 330 v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann nach r.; um den Kopf der Strahlenkranz.

25.\* Volutenkrater. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. B 4. Aus Ruvo. – *RVAp* I 431, 81 Taf. 160, 1; *EVP* 147, 6; *CVA* 2 Taf. 61, 5; 62–64. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Hals, A: Helios mit dem Kopf in der Sonnenscheibe, mit Strahlen versehen, auf Viergespann nach r. Er hält die Zügel und das Kentron. Die Darstellung auf beiden Seiten von reichen Akanthus- und Volutenran-

ken umrahmt. B: Frauenkopf aus Blütenkelch sich erhebend. Bauch, A: Unterwelt; B: Bellerophon und Chimaira.

26. Volutenkrater. Neapel, Privatslg. 371. Aus Apulien. – *RVAp* II 924, 88 Taf. 359: Arpi-Maler. – Um 320 v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann nach l. Um seinen Kopf die Sonnenscheibe, mit weißen Punkten gefüllt und mit einer doppelten Reihe von Strahlen an seiner Peripherie.

27.\* Volutenkrater. Paris, Louvre K 67. – *RVAp* II 930, 115 pl. 365, 1. 2: Maler von Louvre K 67 (Nachfolger des Baltimoremalers); Schauenburg, *Helios* Abb. 11; *idem*, *BonnJbb* 161, 1961, 221–223. – Um 310 v. Chr. – Hals: H. auf Viergespann nach r. Um seinen Kopf die Sonnenscheibe aus zwei konzentrischen Kreisen mit Strahlen.

28.\* Teller. Paris, Louvre K 174. – *RVAp* II 979, 215: Stuttgart-Gruppe (Einfluß des White Saccos P.); Schauenburg, *Helios* Anm. 168 Abb. 14. – 4. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann nach l. Um seinen Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen.

Vgl. auch → Eos 12 (H. oder Eos?)

29. Volutenkrater. Ehem. New York, Kunsthandel. – *RVAp* Suppl. 1, 170, 52a: nahe der Gruppe von Taranto 7013; Sotheby Parke Bernet 2–3 XII 1982, Nr. 133 Abb. – Ende 4. Jh. v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann nach l. fahrend.

#### Reliefs

30. (Deutung unsicher) (= Astra 13 mit Lit., = Eos 22 mit Lit.) Nordmetope 1 des Parthenon, pentelischer Marmor. Athen, *in situ*. – Becatti 84–85 Taf. 16. 65; Brommer, F., *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (1967) 39 ff. 218 ff. Taf. 85–90; Jeppesen, K., *ActaArch* 34, 1963, 42–43 Abb. 10b; Marcadé 13–16 Abb. 5–8; Picard, *Manuel* II 1, 432 Abb. 179; Simon, E., *JdI* 90, 1975, 110–111; Schauenburg, *AntK* 53 Anm. 31. 33; Berger, *PartheDokMet* 19. 22 ff. 50 ff. Taf. 4–7. – Wagenlenker (?) in Zweigespann nach r.; stark verwittert und verstümmelt. Die Diskussion über die Deutung auf H. oder Athena, Eos, Hemera, Nyx, Eris, Thetis in Berger und Brommer (→ Astra 13, = Eos 22).

31. Weihrelief, fr., Marmor. London, BM E 21.40/N 50.20. – Hanfmann, G. M. A./Ramage, N. H., *Sardis Report 2: Sculpture from Sardis: The finds*

through 1975 (1978) 130–131 Nr. 167 Abb. 315. – 5. oder 6. Jh. n. Chr. – H. als Wagenlenker in Vorderansicht mit der Peitsche über seinem Kopf, seine Stirn mit dreieckigen Strahlen gekrönt. Man hat gedacht, daß sich auch die Akanthusblätter, die aus dem oberen Teil des Säulchens hinter H. wachsen, auf den Lichtgott beziehen (Hanfmann, a. O.).

#### Gemmen

32. Chalcedon. New York, MMA 188.6.173. – Richter, *MetMusGems* 70, 281 Taf. 40, 281. – 1–2. Jh. n. Chr. – H. nackt in Vorderansicht mit dem Kopf zur Seite gewendet, und von Strahlen umgeben, auf Viergespann in Vorderansicht.

33.\* (= Helios/Sol 127) Heliotrop in silbernem Fingerring. Hamburg, Mus. KG 1967.17. – *Hamburger Jb.* 13, 1968, 225–235; Hoffmann, H./v. Claer, V., *Antiker Gold- und Silberschmuck* (1968) 186 Nr. 127. – 2.–3. Jh. n. Chr. – H., den Kopf zur Seite gewendet und von Strahlen umgeben, auf Viergespann in Vorderansicht.

34. Chalcedon. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 2666. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 2666 Taf. 24. – H. mit Strahlenkranz auf Viergespann in Vorderansicht.

35. Heliotrop. München, Münzslg. 2650. – *AGD* I 3, Nr. 2650 Taf. 246. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – H. mit Strahlenkranz und Peitsche auf Viergespann nach l.

#### Amphorenstempel

36. Amphorenstempel. Rhodos, Mus. – *BCH* 76, 1952, 524 Abb. 3; *ArchDelt* 24, 1969, B 2, 13 Taf. 465a. – Um 200 v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann nach r. – Andere Amphorenstempel mit demselben Thema: Grace, V., *Hesperia* 3, 1934, 277 Taf. 1, 5 und in Delos, Grace a. O. Um 230 v. Chr. Für die Datierung dieser Gattung s. auch Grace, V., *AM* 89, 1974, 193–200.

#### Freiplastik

37. Bronzestatue des H. auf Viergespann, Werk des Lysippos, nicht erhalten. – *Plin. nat.* 34, 63. – Das Weihgeschenk hat entweder in Rhodos (Marcadé, *MusDél* 479; Picard, *Manuel* IV 2, 518–532) oder in Delphi vor dem Apollontempel (Johnson, F. R., *Lysippos* [1927] 68. 152–153; Moreno, P., *Lisippo I* [1974] 113–116) gestanden. Über die Existenz einer Statue des H. auf Viergespann s. Cass. Dio 47, 33, 4, nach welchem der Consul Cassius nach der Eroberung von Rhodos alles plünderte außer dem Viergespann des H. – Zu den vergoldeten Pferden von San Marco in Venedig und ihrer Beziehung zum Heliosviergespann siehe Seitschek 204–218. 224–230; *I Cavalli di San Marco* (Cat. mostra Venezia 1977); *Die Pferde von San Marco* (Ausstellung Berlin 1982) 27. 29–31. 36–40.

## II. Helios allein auf Gespann, auf Münzen

### 1. Auf Pferdequadriga bzw. -biga ohne besonderes Attribut

#### GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

38. AR Tetradrachmon und Drachme, Athen, 151 v. Chr. – *BMC Attica* 48, 378–383; Svoronos, S. N.,

*Les monnaies d'Athènes* (1923–26) Taf. 52 Nr. 1–16; Thompson, M., *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (1961) 209–216, 552–579 Taf. 57–59. – Vs.: Kopf der Athena. Rs.: Eule auf Amphora, Beizeichen H. auf Quadriga von vorn.

39. AE, Mopsos (Kilikien), 2. Jh. v. Chr. bis 2. Jh. n. Chr. – v. Aulock, H., *AA* 1963, 245–246, 17 Abb. 2, 24. – Vs.: Büste der Athena. Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach r.

40.\* AE, Tralleis (Lydien), 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – *BMC Lydia* 337, 71 Taf. 34, 7; Imhoof-Blumer, F., *Lydische Stadtmünzen* (1897) 172 Nr. 17; *SNG Copenhagen* (Lydia) 676. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach r.

41. (Deutung unsicher) AR Dekadrachmon, Akragas (Sizilien), um 411 v. Chr. – Alföldi, M. R., *Dekadrachmon* (1976) 130–135 Taf. 2, 1; Seltman, Ch., *NC* 1948, 3. 7. 8 Nr. 7–10 Taf. II F; III F. G. – Vs.: Zwei Hasen, einen Adler zerfleischend. Rs.: H. (?) auf Quadriga nach l. Oben Adler, unten Krabbe.

#### RÖMISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

42.\* AE, Korinth, Agrippina d. J., 54–68 n. Chr. – *BMC Corinth* 68, 552 Taf. 17, 9; *SNG Copenhagen* (Corinth) 238; Amandry, M., *Le monnayage des Duovirs corinthiens* (1988) 201 XX R III a. b Taf. 34. 35. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach r.

43. AE, Korinth, Domitian, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, Caracalla (81–96, 138–161, 161–169, 198–217 n. Chr.). – *BMC Corinth* 72, 582 Taf. 19, 3 (Domitian); 80, 621 (Lucius Verus); 88, 663 Taf. 22, 6 (Caracalla); *SNG Copenhagen* (Corinth) 274 (Domitian); 302 (Antoninus Pius). – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach r.

44. AE, Bithynion Klaudiopolis (Bithynien), Maximinus Thrax (235–238 n. Chr.). – *SNG v. Aulock* 333. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach l.

45. AE, Nikaia (Bithynien), Maximus (235–238 n. Chr.). – *BMC Bithynia* 170, 113; *RecGén* I 3, 482, 662 Taf. 84, 5. – Rs.: H. in Quadriga nach r. mit Peitsche.

46. AE, Prusa am Olympos (Bithynien), Maximinus Thrax (235–238 n. Chr.). – *SNG v. Aulock* 879. – Rs.: H. auf Biga nach r. mit Peitsche.

47. AE, Prusias am Hypios (Bithynien), Antoninus Pius (138–161 n. Chr.). – *RecGén* I 4, 605, 15 Taf. 104, 2; *SNG v. Aulock* 887. – Rs.: H. auf Biga nach r.

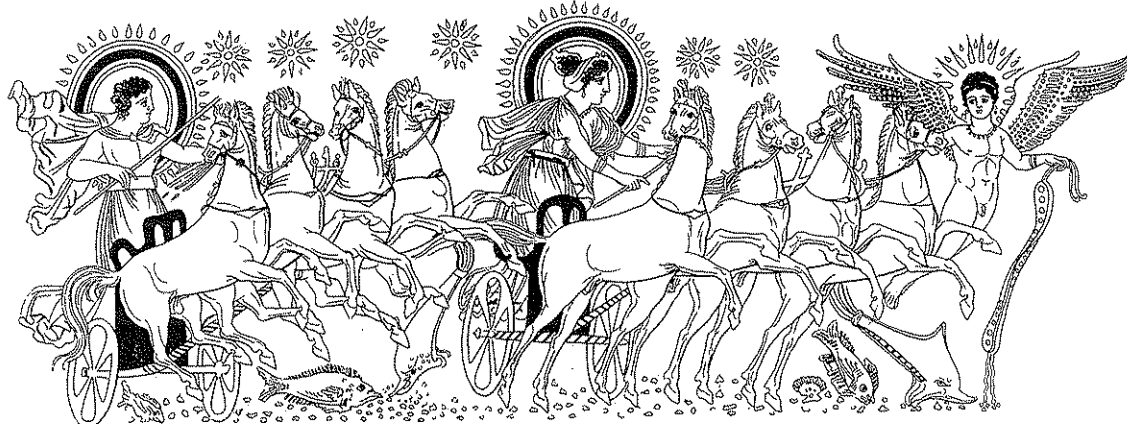
48. AE, Prusias am Hypios (Bithynien), Septimius Severus (193–211 n. Chr.). – *BMC Bithynia* 201, 4; *RecGén* I 4, 610, 51 Taf. 105, 8. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach r. mit Kentron.

49. AE, Magnesia am Mäander (Ionien), Gordian III. (238–244 n. Chr.). – Schultz, S., *Die Münzprägung von Magnesia am Mäander in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1975) 111, 425 Taf. 29. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach l.

50.\* AE, Pergamon (Mysien), Mark Aurel (161–180 n. Chr.). – *SNG v. Aulock* 1404. – Rs.: H. auf Biga nach l.

51. AE, Attaleia (Pamphylien), Caracalla (198–217 n. Chr.). – *BMC Pamphylia* 113, 23. – Rs.: H. auf Biga nach r. mit Peitsche.

52.\* AE, Antiocheia (Pisidien), Gordian III. (238–244 n. Chr.). – Krzyżanowska, A., *Monnaies colo-*



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niales d'Antioche de Pisidie (1970) 183 Rv 90 Taf. 38; SNG v. Aulock 4962; SNG Copenhagen (Pisidia) 64. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach l. mit Peitsche.

53.\* AE, Irenopolis (Kilikien), Alexander Severus (222–235 n. Chr.). – SNG v. Aulock 5595. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga von vorn mit Peitsche.

54.\* AE, Tarsos (Kilikien), Macrinus (217–218 n. Chr.). – SNG v. Aulock 6021. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach l. mit Peitsche.

## 2. Auf Pferdequadriga bzw. -biga mit einem Attribut

### a) Mit Globus

55.\* AE, Tralleis (Lydien), Gordian III. (238–244 n. Chr.). – BMC Lydia 355, 170 Taf. 27, 8; SNG v. Aulock 3294. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga von vorn.

### b) Mit Fackel

56.\* AE, Ankyra (Galatien), Mark Aurel. (161–180 n. Chr.). – MacDonald, *Hunter II* 569, 3; SNG v. Aulock 6138, 6139. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach l., Fackel in beiden Händen.

57.\* AE, Aninetos (Lydien), Antoninus Pius (138–161 n. Chr.). – Imhoof-Blumer, a. O. 40, 24, 8 Taf. 2, 5; SNG v. Aulock 2895. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach r.

58. AE, Tralleis (Lydien), Lucius Verus (161–169 n. Chr.). – BMC Lydia 351, 151 Taf. 37, 3. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga nach r.

## 3. Auf Pferdequadriga bzw. -biga mit zwei Attributen

59. AE, Aizanoi (Phrygien), um 250 n. Chr. – BMC Phrygia 28, 35 Taf. 5, 6. – Vs.: Büste des Demos. Rs.: H. auf Quadriga von vorn mit Szepter und Globus.

60.\* AE, Kolossai (Phrygien), um 180 n. Chr. – BMC Phrygia 154–155, 4–5 Taf. 19, 5; SNG v. Aulock 3765; SNG Copenhagen (Phrygia) 310. – Vs.: Büste des Demos. Rs.: H. auf Quadriga von vorn mit Fackel und Globus.

61. AE, Kotiaion (Phrygien), um 250 n. Chr. – BMC Phrygia 160–161, 10–13 Taf. 20, 4; SNG v. Aulock 3774. – Vs.: Kopf des Demos. Rs.: H. auf Quadriga von vorn mit Fackel und Globus.

## 4. Auf Pferdequadriga mit dem Dionysosknaben

62. AE, Magnesia am Mäander, Geta (211–212 n. Chr.). – Schultz, a. O. 49, 80, 214 Taf. 16. – Rs.: H. auf Quadriga von vorn mit Fackel in der Rechten, Dionysosknabe mit Thyrsos in der Linken.

## 5. Auf Elefantenquadriga nach links

63.\* AE, Laodikeia (Phrygien), Caracalla (198–217 n. Chr.). – SNG v. Aulock 3857. – Rs.: H. mit Schale und geschultertem Szepter.

## 6. Auf Löwengespann von vorn

64. AE, Thyateira (Lydien), Alexander Severus (222–235 n. Chr.). – Imhoof-Blumer, a. O. 40, 159, 30–31 Taf. 6, 17, 18. – Rs.: zwei Löwen nach l., einer nach r. springend. L. und r. der Räder je ein Stierkopf von vorn. H. mit Globus.

## 7. Helios, auf Sonnenscheibe stehend, auf der Pferdequadriga von vorn

65.\* AE, Mopsos (Kilikien), Gordian II. (238–244 n. Chr.). – SNG v. Aulock 5746; v. Aulock, a. O. 39, 269–270, 75 Abb. 5, 57. – Rs.: H. mit Globus.

## 8. Auf Pferdequadriga über Altar

66.\* AE, Amaseia (Pontos), Commodus, Caracalla und Alexander Severus, 188, 209, 228 n. Chr. – *Rec-Gén I* 12, 47, 90 (Caracalla); 49–50, 104, 105, 107 Taf. 6, 12, 13 (Alexander Severus); SNG v. Aulock 43 (Alexander Severus); 6701 (Commodus); 6710 (Alexander Severus). – Rs.: Auf einem Altar (Scheiterhaufen) Adler mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln, darüber zweiter Adler und darüber Helios mit Strahlenkrone in Quadriga, in der Linken Peitsche. L. Baum.

67. AE, Miletropolis (Mysien), Gallienus, 253–268 n. Chr. – SNG v. Aulock 1344. – Rs.: H. mit Strahlenkrone von vorn auf einer Quadriga, die ihrerseits auf einem Altar ruht. Zu beiden Seiten Säulen mit Statuen.

## III. Helios auf Gespann im Gigantenkampf

68. (= Gigantes 40 mit Lit.) Schild der phidiasischen Athena Parthenos, bemalte (?) Innenseite, nicht erhalten. – Plin. *nat.* 36, 18. – Gigantomachie, die vom das Gespann besteigenden H. und der reitenden, untergehenden Selene umrahmt wird. Es wird angenommen, daß die Wiedergabe auf dem Kraterfr. in Neapel (69; Leiden, a. O. 118, Abb. 84) der Komposition des Parthenon-Schildes am nächsten kommt (s. auch → Astra S. 916). Hier ist H., wie auch Selene, nach l. und nicht nach r. gerichtet, wie bei Sonnenaufgang, da während des Kampfes beide astralen Götter bis zum Sieg der Olympier verborgen bleiben mußten: cf. Berger, *PartheDokMet* 75–76.

69. (= Gigantes 316\* mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Kelchkrater, fr. att. rf. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 2045 (H 2883). – Aus Ruvo. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1338; Para 481: dem Pronomosmaler verwandt; Add<sup>2</sup> 366; Becatti 120 Taf. 70; Lacroix 101; Marcadé 16 Abb. 9; v. Salis, A., *JdI* 55, 1940, 90 ff. Abb. 1–2, 8, 17, 34; Schauenburg, *AntK* 55–57; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* Taf. 232. – 400/390 v. Chr. – Eine kreisförmige Zone trennt den Himmel von der Erde. Außerhalb der Zone kämpfen die Götter gegen die innerhalb der Zone befindlichen Giganten. R. steigt der unbärtige H. auf seinem Viergespann (oberer Teil sichtbar) nach l. auf; über seinem

Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen; am l. Ende der Komposition Selene im Frauensitz auf ihrem Pferd untergehend. Die Komposition scheint von der Gigantomachie auf dem phidiasischen Parthenon-Schild inspiriert zu sein.

70.\* (= Gigantes 26\* mit Lit.) Relief einer Dachkassette des Athenatempels in Priene, Marmor. London, BM 1168. – Schober, A., *OeJh* 30, 1937, 33–35 Abb. 9; Carter, J. C., «The Date of the Sculptured Coffers Lids from the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene», in *Studies ... P. H. v. Blanckenhagen* (1979) 149; *idem*, *The Sculpture of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene* (1983) 33–40, 132–134 und *passim* Taf. 14; *idem*, in *Proceedings of the XII Int. Congress of Classical Archaeology, Ankara* (1978) 781–782. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann nach r. im Gigantenkampf. (Erhaltungszustand schlecht).

71. (= Gigantes 24\* mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Pergamonaltar, Marmor, Südfries. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. Aus Pergamon. – Bruns, G., *Der große Altar von Pergamon* (1949) Abb. 12; Rohde, E., *Pergamon* (1961) Abb. 26; Köhler, H., *Der große Fries von Pergamon* (1948) 50, 107, 164. Taf. 9; Schmidt, E.-M., *Der große Altar zu Pergamon* (1961) 31, 67. Taf. 21, 22; Simon, *Pergamon passim* Taf. 25; Müller, W., *Der Pergamon-Altar* (1978) 19 Taf. 33, 34–36. – 180–160 v. Chr. – H. auf seinem Viergespann nach l. mit Fackel. Vor Helios Eos und hinter ihm Theia und Selene. Weitere Darstellungen → Gigantes S. 264.

## IV. Helios auf Gespann in Anwesenheit anderer Götter oder Heroen

### Attisch rf. Vasen

72. Kolonettenkrater. Ehem. Basel, Kunsthandel. – *MuM*, Sonderliste N (1971) Nr. 9 Abb.: Boreas-Florenz-Gruppe. – Um 460 v. Chr. – H. im Viergespann in Seitenansicht nach r. und Hermes, vorausgehend. H. unbärtig; Pferde geflügelt.

73. Glockenkrater, fr. Tübingen, Univ. S/10 1521 (E 173). – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1054, 49: Polygnotosgruppe; Schauenburg, *Helios* 58 Anm. 168; Watzinger, C., *Kat. Tübingen* 55 E 173 Taf. 31; CVA 4 Taf. 28, 1. – 450 v. Chr. – H. unbärtig mit Gespann (die Rosse geflügelt) nach r.; über seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen. Nach dem erhaltenen Rest des Henkels zu schließen, gehörte H. zu einer größeren Komposition.

74. (= Amphitrite 79\* mit Lit., = Eros 906) Kelchkrater. Bologna, Mus. Civ. Pell. 303. Aus Bologna. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1184–1185, 6: Kadmosmaler; Para 460; Add<sup>2</sup> 341; Dugas, Ch./Flacelière, R., *Thesée* (1958) 69–70 Taf. 18–19; Marcadé 44 Abb. 22a; Pfuhl, *MuZ* Abb. 590; Schauenburg, *Helios* 49 Anm. 17, 4. – Um 420 v. Chr. – L. die aufgehende Sonne und r. von ihr Poseidon und Amphitrite, die Nereiden, Eros und Theseus in den Armen eines Tritons. H., unbärtig auf dem Viergespann, die Zügel und das Kentron in den Händen haltend, führt den Wagen nach r., der nur in seinem oberen Teil sichtbar ist; die Pferde sind bis zum Hals erkennbar: H. steigt aus dem

Okeanos empor. Die Figur des H. ist sicherlich vom Ostgiebel des Parthenon inspiriert.

75. (= Eileithyia 57\*) Kelchkrater, fr. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. V 75, 129. Aus Olynthos. – Robinson, D. M., *Olynthus V* (1933) Nr. 129 Taf. 75, 76; Metzger, *Représentations* 178 Nr. 35. – Ende 5. Jh. v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann nach r. (nur Teil des Wagens erhalten) in einer Komposition mit Leto (?), Apollon, Mänaden, Satyrn usw. (das ganze schlecht erhalten).

76. (Deutung unsicher) Glockenkrater, fr., att. rf. Bruxelles, Mus. Roy. A 2078. Aus Naukratis. – ARV<sup>2</sup> 1043, 4: Guglielmi-Maler; CVA 2 Taf. 10, 3; Schauenburg, *Helios* 58 Anm. 168; *idem*, *AntK* 53 Anm. 26. – H. (?) unbärtig, nackt, nach r.; er hält Zügel und Kentron; hinter seinem Kopf Teil der Sonnenscheibe (?) erhalten; Athena, Theseus (?), Nike (?) und andere Figuren.

### Apulische Vasen

77. (= Astra 74 mit Querverweis, = Atlas 12, = Herakles 2686 mit Lit., = Hesperides 56\*) Volutenkrater. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 81394 (H 3255). Aus Altamura. – RVAp II 496, 42: Dareiosmaler; Schauenburg, *AntK* 55–56, 59 Taf. 17, 3. – Um 340 v. Chr. – B, Bauch: Herakles bei den Hesperiden mit Athena. Weiter oben Atlas, das Himmelsgewölbe tragend; r. von Atlas, Helios auf Zweigespann nach l.; der Kopf des H. von konzentrischen Kreisen der Sonnenscheibe umgeben; darüber drei Sterne. L. von Atlas Phosphoros (?) nach l. reitend.

78.\* Oinochoe. Zürich, Slg. Roß 66. – RVAp II 932, 121 Taf. 366, 1: Heliosgruppe. – Ende 4. Jh. v. Chr. – H. auf dem Viergespann nach l.; um den Kopf die Sonnenscheibe aus breiten konzentrischen Kreisen mit Strahlen; über den Pferden drei Sterne. Vor H. Hermes.

79. Oinochoe. Haifa, Mus. of Ancient Art 3361. – RVAp II 932, 120: Heliosgruppe. – Ende 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Wie 78.

80. Amphora. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 81953 (H 3219). Aus Ruvo. – RVAp II 497, 45 Taf. 178, 2: Dareiosmaler. – Schauenburg, *AntK* 59 Taf. 19, 1. – Um 330 v. Chr. – B: H. auf Viergespann nach r.; um seinen Kopf die Sonnenscheibe aus zwei konzentrischen Kreisen; auf dem Kopf eine Krone mit Strahlen. Vor dem Viergespann ein Hund, eine Schlange angreifend. Poseidon und andere Figuren.

81. (= Eos 13 mit Lit.) Schüssel. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 82244 (H 2576). Aus Canosa. – RVAp II 979, 220 pl. 384, 4: Stuttgart-Gruppe; Schauenburg, *AntK* 59 Taf. 19, 4. – 4. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann nach l.; um seinen Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit Sternen; vor dem Gespann Eros fliegend; unter dem Gespann ein Hund und zwei Hasen.

82. (= Eros 923) Kugelpyxis. Potenza, Mus. Prov. 54392. Aus Melfi. – RVAp II 984, 261 Taf. 386, 2: White Saccos-Kantharos Group; Schauenburg, K., *RdA* 2, 1978, 18 Abb. 14; *idem*, *Rev. de la Universidad Complutense* 25 no. 104, 1976 (= *Homenaje a A. García y Bellido*) 177 Abb. 1–4. – 4. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – H. in Vorderansicht; um seinen Kopf Sonnenstrahlen;

sein Wagen wird von vier Enoten anstatt Pferden gezogen.

#### Relief

83. (= Dioskouroi 118\* mit Lit.) Weihrelief, Marmor (?). Aus Larissa. Paris, Louvre MA 746. – Messerschmidt, F., *StEtr* 3, 1929, 523 Anm. 1 Taf. 58; Charbonneaux, *Sculpt Louvre* 121 Nr. 746. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. (Messerschmidt), 1. Jh. v. Chr. (Charbonneaux). – Das Relief ist den Megaloi Theoi, den Dioskuren geweiht, die darauf dargestellt sind; darunter eine Nike, eine leere Kline, ein Tisch und ein Altar, an dem ein Mann mit einer Frau spendet; im giebelartigen obersten Abschnitt des Reliefs H. im Viergespann in Vorderansicht aufsteigend (H. und Pferde bis zur Brust sichtbar).

#### Gemme und Kameo

84.\* Kameo, Karneol. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 26086. – Furtwängler, *AG II* 201, 27 Taf. 42; Picard, *Manuel IV* 2, 525 Anm. 1. – Hellenistisch. – H. mit Fackel auf Viergespann nach r. Unten liegt Okeanos, daneben eine Göttin (Tethys?).

85. Karneol. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 2669. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 2669 Taf. 24. – H. mit Peitsche auf Viergespann nach r. R. Kopf des Sarapis. Unten in ganzer Gestalt Isis, Hygieia und Asklepios; ringsum vier Sterne und Mondsichel.

#### Goldschmuck

86. Diadem. London, BM. Aus Westgriechenland. – Marshall, *BM Jewellery* Nr. 1612–1615; *Palladion, Antike Kunst*, Kat. 1976, 96 Nr. 115c. – 4. Jh. v. Chr. – H. Kopf mit Strahlen in Vorderansicht auf Viergespann; r. und l. eine Vielzahl sitzender und tanzender Figuren.

87.\* Ohrgehänge. Paris, Louvre C 112. Aus Bosnien. – De Ridder, A., *Mus. Nat. du Louvre: cat. sommaire des bijoux antiques* (1924) 24 Nr. 272–3 Taf. 8; Schauenburg, *Helios* 81. – Hellenistisch (?). – Zwei Ohrgehänge, jedes aus einem Meniskos bestehend, der in zwei Palmetten ausläuft. Innerhalb des Meniskos H. mit Strahlenkranz in Vorderansicht im Viergespann. L. und r. von H. je eine Nike. Die Ohrgehänge sind im unteren Teil mit weiterem reichem Schmuck versehen.

88. (= Demeter 323 mit Lit., = Hades 106 mit Lit.) Getriebenes Goldblech. Leningrad, Ermitage II 1834.51. Aus Kertsch. – Mitte 4. Jh. v. Chr. (Lindner). – H. auf Viergespann beim Raub der Persephone; Demeter, Hermes, Gespielinnen, Zeus.

#### Rundplastik

89. (= Astra 66 mit Lit., = Dionysos 489) Westgiebel des spätclassischen Apollontempels in Delphi, nicht erhalten. – Paus. 10, 19, 4; Vallois, *BCH* 55, 1931, 348–349; Picard, *Manuel IV* 2, 933–940. 1126–1131; Lapalus, E., *Le fronton sculpté en Grèce* (1947) 205–208. – 340–330 v. Chr. – «Der Untergang des Helios, Dionysos und die Thyaden» (Paus.). H. Untergang (wohl nach l. dargestellt) symbolisierte

die Nacht und den Winter, wenn Dionysos nach Delphi kommt.

#### DEUTUNG UNSICHER

##### Reliefs

90. (= Artemis 1227\* mit Lit. und Querverweis) Metope. Palermo, Mus. Naz. Aus Selinunt, Tempel C. – Ein Wagenlenker auf dem Viergespann von zwei Figuren umrahmt: H., Apollon und Selene, Apollon, Artemis und Leto, oder Pelops und Oinomaos.

91. Weihrelief, Marmor. Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Mus. 45:32/7. Ehem. im Castello Giusso in Vico Equense (östlich von Sorrento) eingemauert. – Frel, J./Kingsley, B. M., *GRBS* 11, 1970, 201 Nr. 5 Taf. 11, 2; Ridgway, B. S., *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (1981) 152 Nr. 1; Mingazzini, P./Pfister, F., *Surventum, Forma Italiae* 12, 1946, 189–190 Taf. XXXVI, 127; Stähler, K., «Ein großgriechisches Weihrelief an Helios», *Boreas* 1, 1978, 103–112 Taf. 17, 18; Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Th., *Neaattika* (1979) 149–150. – Spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Es handelt sich um H. oder Selene nach Mingazzini/Pfister, um Aphrodite nach Frel/Kingsley, um Helios nach Stähler, um Selene mit der Fackel nach Stephanidou-Tiveriou.

92. (= Astra 15a mit Lit., = Eos 23a mit Lit.) Weihrelief, Marmor. Genf-Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer (ehem. Lissabon, Slg. Duc de Loulé). Aus Italien. – Stephanidou-Tiveriou, a. O. 91, 145–150, Taf. 48a. – Spätes 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Relief A: H. (?) auf Viergespann nach l.: vor ihm Phosphoros oder Hermes.

#### V. Helios auf Gespann beim Parisurteil

##### Attisch rf. Vasen

93.\* (= Astra 25 mit Querverweisen) Glockenkranz. Wien, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 1771. Aus Orvieto. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1318: wohl Maler der Athener Hochzeit; Lacroix 101; Lippold, *Gemäldekopien* 39 ff. Taf. 5, 25; Marcadé 30 Abb. 15; Metzger, *Représentations* 270 Nr. 9 Taf. 41, 1; Schauenburg, *AntK* 53 Anm. 25, 60; *CVA* 3 Taf. 120–121. – Ende 5. Jh. v. Chr. – H. und Selene rahmen das Parisurteil; r. H. unbärtig auf dem Viergespann nach l., aus dem Okeanos aufsteigend; nur die oberen Teile des Gottes und seiner Pferde sind sichtbar, die unteren Teile hinter der Erde verborgen, die als unregelmäßige Kurve wiedergegeben wird. H. hält die Zügel und das Kentron in den Händen; vor seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit großen Strahlen. L. Selene im Frauensitz auf Pferd nach l. Im Zentrum Paris, Athena, Aphrodite, Hermes, Hera, Enoten, Hebe (?).

94.\* (= Aphrodite 1275/1430 mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Hermes 476 mit Querverweisen) Hydria. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmus. 259 (B 36). Aus Ruvo. – *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1315, 1: Maler des Karlsruher Paris; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 362; Pfuhl, *MuZ* § 643 Abb. 595; Dugas, Ch., *Tradition littéraire et tradition graphique* (1960) 64 Taf. 13, 1; *FR I* 141–145 Taf. 30; *CVA* 1 Taf. 22, 4–5; 23, 24, 1–5; Lacroix 101; Lippold, *Gemäldekopien* 39–44 Abb. 25; Marcadé 44 Abb. 21b; Abb. 595. – Anfang 4.

Jh. v. Chr. – H. unbärtig mit Zügel und Kentron in den Händen r. vom Parisurteil. Er steigt auf seinem Viergespann nach l. (sein oberer Teil und die Köpfe sichtbar) über eine schräge Wellenlinie empor, die den Abhang eines Berges darstellen dürfte. Zwischen den Köpfen der Rosse und dem des Helios die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen. In der Szene außer den drei Göttinnen Hermes und Paris sowie Zeus, → Klymene (VI).

#### VI. Helios auf Gespann und Herakles mit oder ohne Athena

##### Attisch sf. Vasen

95. (= Herakles 2545\* mit Lit.) Lekythos. Athen, Nat. Mus. 513. Aus Eretria. – *ABV* 380, 290: Leagrosgruppe; Haspels, *ABL* 57, 120. 196 Taf. 17, 1a–c; Dörig/Gigon 60, 1; Berger, *PartheDokMet* 74. – 510–500 v. Chr. (Haspels). – H., bärtig, auf seiner Biga in Vorderansicht mit dem Kopf nach seiner R.; über seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe. Die beiden geflügelten Pferde neigen einander die Köpfe zu. Zwischen den Pferdefüßen und -schwänzen Fische, den Okeanos andeutend. L., auf einem Felsen kauend, Herakles mit Keule, Bogen und Köcher; seine Hand in Gesprächsgeste zu H.

96.\* (= Herakles 2548 mit Lit.) Lekythos. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. GR 78.1864 (G 100). Aus Athen. – Haspels, *ABL* 120, 7; Dörig/Gigon 60, 4; Schauenburg, *Helios* 70 Anm. 320; 84. – 490 v. Chr. – H. bärtig auf Biga in Vorderansicht mit Kopf im Profil nach seiner R.; über seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe, schwarz bemalt. Die beiden geflügelten Pferde, bis zur Brust als Protomen gezeichnet, neigen die Köpfe einander zu. Hinter dem r. Pferd zwei parallele, schräge Linien (Pfeile, Kentron?). L. Herakles mit der Keule in der Rechten und dem Bogen in der Linken auf H. zueilend; r. Athena nach r. Im Feld Efeuzweige.

97.\* (= Herakles 2549 mit Lit.) Lekythos. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1934.371. – Haspels, *ABL* 120, 8; Dörig/Gigon 60, 5; Schauenburg, *Helios* 70 Anm. 320 Abb. 23. – 510 v. Chr. (Schauenburg); nicht älter als 490 v. Chr. (Haspels). – H. bärtig auf Biga in Vorderansicht, ohne Sonnenscheibe, mit dem Kopf im Profil nach seiner Rechten. Die beiden geflügelten Pferde, wie Protomen bis zur Brust gezeichnet, neigen einander die Köpfe zu. Die zwei parallelen, schräg gezeichneten Linien hinter dem r. Pferd deuten vielleicht das Kentron und den Pfeil des Gottes an. L. auf H. zueilender Herakles, r. Athena.

98. (= Herakles 2546\* mit Lit.) Skyphos. Tarent, Mus. Naz. 7029. Aus Tarent. – *ABV* 518, 21: Theusmalter; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 129; Dörig/Gigon 60, 2 Taf. 24c; Haspels, *ABL* 120, 2; 250, 21; Lacroix 97 Taf. 23; *EAA III* 1141 Abb. 1458; Philippart, H., *Collections de céramique grecque en Italie* (1932) 54; Schauenburg, *AntK* 51. – 505–485 v. Chr. – H. bärtig auf Biga in Vorderansicht, den Kopf im Profil nach seiner Linken. Über dem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe, weiß bemalt. Die beiden geflügelten Rosse, wie Protomen bis zur Brust gezeichnet, neigen einander die Köpfe zu. Die zwei

schräg und parallel zueinander gezeichneten Linien oberhalb des r. Pferdes sind als Zügel und Kentron des Gottes zu verstehen. H. steigt aus dem Okeanos empor, der als breite, schwarz bemalte, im oberen Teil wellenförmige Zone, mit Fischen gefüllt, angegeben wird. R. sitzt Herakles mit Keule und Löwenfell auf einer weiß gemalten Anhöhe und wendet sich gestikulierend H. zu; im Felde Zweige. Dieselbe Szene auf der anderen Seite des Skyphos, nur besteigt hier Herakles die Anhöhe nach r., den Kopf zu H. zurückwendend.

#### VII. Helios im Sonnenbecher

99. (= Astra 61\*) Halsamphora, att. sf. Wien, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 815. – Dörig/Gigon 57 Taf. 23a; Haspels, *ABL* 120, 5; 213, 177; *CVA* Mainz, Universität 1 zu Taf. 39, 4–6 (Selene); Schauenburg, *AntK* 51 (Helios). – 1. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – H. unbärtig auf seiner Biga in Vorderansicht mit dem Kopf nach seiner R.; über seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit konzentrischen Kreisen verziert. Im Felde Zweige. Die beiden geflügelten Pferde, als Protomen bis zur Brust gezeichnet, neigen einander die Köpfe zu; sie steigen aus einem rechteckigen Gebilde empor, das als der Sonnenbecher erklärt wird (Dörig). Im Felde Zweige mit Früchten.

100. Parthenon-Ostmetope Nr. 14, pentelischer Marmor. Athen, *in situ*. – Praschniker 220–221 Abb. 131 Taf. 27; Vian, F., *La guerre des Géants* (1952) 44. 162; Marcadé 17. 19. 20 Abb. 10; Jeppesen, a. O. 30, 50; Arias, P. E., *Problemi di scultura greca* (1965) 389; Brommer, a. O. 30, 38. 204. 208 Taf. 77. 79. 80. 82; Berger, *PartheDokMet* 71–76 Taf. 70–71 mit Lit. – Phidiasisch; 447–439 v. Chr. – H. mit Biga nach l., im «Sonnenbecher» auf seiner Nachtfahrt aufsteigend (Berger a. O. 74–75). Erhalten sind: der untere Teil des Körpers des H., ein großer Teil des l. Schenkels, Reste des Gewandes, vielleicht um seine Arme gewickelt, mit denen er die Zügel hielt, die Rosse, deren Oberfläche stark verstümmelt ist, der «Wannenrand» des Sonnenbeckers, als erhöhte Plattform wiedergegeben, mit im hinteren auslaufenden Zwickel der Wannen-Seitenwand; an der Wandung des Behälters sind zwei Fische zu sehen (Berger a. O.). Nach Brommer (a. O. 204. 206) handelt es sich eher um Poseidon und nicht um H.

#### VIII. Helios auf Gespann und Herakles im Sonnenbecher

S. auch → Herakles 2550–2552.

101. Lekythos (?), att. sf. Athen, Kanellopoulos-Mus. 79. – Spätes 6. Jh. v. Chr. – Herakles mit Keule im Sonnenbecher; r. H. auf Biga, mit Scheibe, aus den Fluten des Okeanos emporsteigend (?); l. von Herakles eine stehende bärtige Figur.

# IX. Helios und Demeter im Viergespann auf einem Schiff

Für H. und Demeter auf Viergespann s. auch → Astra 27 = Demeter 313.

102. (= Demeter 459\* mit Lit.) Volutenkrater, apul. rf. Paris, Louvre N 3512. – *RVAp* II 1023, 39: associated with the Group of Taranto 7013; Hafner, G., *Viergespanne in Vorderansicht* (1938) 61 Nr. 168; 78 Taf. 3. – Ende 4. Jh. v. Chr. – H. unbärtig und Demeter auf Viergespann in Vorderansicht auf einem Schiff stehend; um den Kopf des Gottes die Sonnenscheibe aus drei konzentrischen Kreisen mit Strahlen bestehend; l. Pan und r. Korybant. H. und Demeter sind auf der Suche nach Persephone.

# X. Sonnenscheibe oberhalb des Gespanns ohne Helios

103.\* Amphora, att. sf. Paris, Cab. Méd. 220. – *Para* 248; *Add* 127; Haspels, *ABL* 120, 6; 238, 122: Diosphosmaler; *CVA* 10 Taf. 75, 8–9; 76, 4–6; Pfuhl, *MuZ* Abb. 291; Schauenburg, *Helios* 35 Anm. 303. – Sonnenviergespann in Vorderansicht; je zwei der Pferde ohne Flügel neigen die Köpfe auseinander; oberhalb des zweiten Pferdes von l. ein stabartiger Gegenstand, das Kentron des H.; eine Zone aus wellenartigen Strichen, mit drei Delphinen unter den Pferden, deutet den Okeanos an. Über den Köpfen der Pferde die Sonnenscheibe aus drei konzentrischen Kreisen bestehend, die zwei inneren hell, der äußere schwarz behalt und mit weißen Punkten versehen. Auf der anderen Seite der Amphora eilen Hermes und Athena über das Meer mit vier Delphinen. Die Figur des H. bzw. sein Kopf ist, obwohl es mehrfach behauptet wurde, nicht angegeben, im winzigen Raum zwischen dem unteren Teil der Sonnenscheibe und den Pferdeköpfen gibt es keinen Platz für seinen Kopf; die kleinen Spuren von schwarzer und weißer Farbe gehören zu den Zöpfen der Mähnen der zwei mittleren Pferde und den weißen Punkten der Scheibe. So wird das Thema auch in der zeichnerischen Wiedergabe von Dubois-Maisonneuve (*Introduction à l'étude des vases antiques* [1817]) verstanden. Genauso wird H. auch in Eur. *El.* 464 geschildert: ἐν δὲ μέσῳ κατέλαμπε σάκει φαέθων κύκλος ἄλιον ἵπποις ἀμπεροῦσαι; vgl. auch Hdt. 7, 40, wo im Zug des Xerxes gegen Griechenland der heilige Wagen des Zeus von acht weißen Pferden gezogen wird, wobei der Wagenlenker ihn zu Fuß führt, ohne ihn besteigen zu dürfen. Cf. Schauenburg, *Helios* 35, der jedoch auf 103 die Abwesenheit des H. nicht glaubt.

104. Altar, Marmor. Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. Aus Pergamon. – Winter, F., *Pergamon* VII 2 (1907) 338–339 Nr. 420 Abb.; Schauenburg, *Helios* 35 Anm. 300; Ohlmutz, E., *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* (1968<sup>2</sup>) 87. – Hellenistisch. – Auf der Mitte der Rundfläche des Altars ist in Relief der Sonnenwagen dargestellt; über dem Wagenstuhl die Sonne als achtstrahliger Stern mit wellenförmig geschwungenen Lichtstrahlen zwischen den Zacken.

Die Pferde mit Brust- und Leibgurt versehen; die Zügel am oberen Rand des Wagenstuhles angebunden.

# XI. Helios auf Gespann mit anderen Lichtgöttern

## Attische Vasen

105.\* (= Astra 3\* mit Lit., = Eos 1 mit Lit., = Herakles 1341/2547 mit Lit.) Lekythos. New York, MMA 41.162.29. Aus Attika. – *ABV* 507, 6; 702: Sapphomaler; *Add* 126; Haspels, *ABL* 96. 98. 99. 113. 120, 3; 123–124. 226, 6 Taf. 32, 1; Dörig/Gigon 51. 59. 60, 3; Lacroix 94 Taf. 12; Schauenburg, *Helios* 70 Anm. 320; *idem*, *AntK* 51 Anm. 11; 54 Anm. 40; Boardman, *ABFH* 148 Abb. 260, 1–3. – I. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Im Zentrum der Komposition H. bärtig auf Viergespann in Vorderansicht mit dem Kopf nach seiner Linken. Über seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe, aus zwei konzentrischen Kreisen und Strahlen bestehend. Je zwei der Pferde, ohne Flügel, neigen die Köpfe auseinander. Sie sind bis zur Brust, wie Protomen, abgebildet, als ob sie aus dem Okeanos emporstiegen. H. mit dem Gespann ist auf beiden Seiten von je einer schwarz bemalten, wellenartigen Zone umrahmt, die als Wasser oder Okeanos (Haspels) oder als der Morgendunst (Schauenburg) bezeichnet wird. Am oberen Ende der r. Zone Eos auf Viergespann nach r.; über ihrem Kopf eine ähnlich wie bei H. verzierte Scheibe; am oberen Ende der l. Zone Nyx auf Viergespann nach l.; über ihrem Kopf eine schwarz bemalte Scheibe ohne jegliche Dekoration. Der stabartige Gegenstand, den Eos und Nyx halten, kann ein Kentron sein. L. von H. auf einer Anhöhe des Geländes Herakles; er hält zwei Spieße, an denen er je ein Stück Fleisch fixiert hat; er hält sie über das Feuer eines Altars; unter Herakles ein Hund (zur Erklärung der Szene als Abstieg des Herakles in den Hades s. Pinney, F. G./Ridgway, B. S., *JHS* 101, 1981, 141–144). Alle vier Figuren sind mit Inschriften benannt.

106. (= Astra 8\*/19 mit Lit., = Eos 37 mit Lit.) Pyxisdeckel. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2519. – Lacroix 102–103 Taf. 31, 2; Roberts, S. R., *The Attic Pyxis* (1978) 147 Taf. 86, 3. 87, 3; Yalouris 3 14 Anm. 14. – 430 v. Chr. – H. unbärtig auf seiner Biga nach r.; über seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen. Vor ihm Selene (?) im Frauensitz auf ihrem Pferd; r. von ihr und um den Kopf ihres Pferdes Sterne. Hinter H. Nyx (?) geflügelt auf Viergespann. Zwischen beiden Göttern eine Palme: Anspielung auf kosmische Symbole, Baumkult, Säulenkult (Yalouris).

107. (= Astra 7\*/38 mit Lit., = Eos 28 mit Lit.) Pyxisdeckel. Athen, Nat. Mus. 17983. – *ARV* 1282, 2: Deckelmaler; *Add* 358; Karousos Ch. und S., *Anthologema Thesauron tou Eth. Mous.* (1981) 73 Taf. 83a–c; Schauenburg, *AntK* 53. – 2. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr. – H. unbärtig auf Viergespann nach r.; in seinen Händen die Zügel und das Kentron; über seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen. Vor dem Gespann ein Bogen aus konzentrischen Halbkreisen – die Grenzen des Okeanos eher als des Himmels andeutend (Karousos) – hinter dem Selene verschwindet

(nur der hintere Teil ihres Pferdes sichtbar); über ihrem Pferd Mondsichel mit Sternen. Hinter H. eine geflügelte Figur auf einer Biga, die Zügel und das Kentron in den Händen, nach l. (gegen Selene) zurückblickend: Eos (?); über ihrem Kopf Mondsichel und Sterne. Im Felde Zweige.

108.\* (= Astra 4\*/21 mit Lit., = Eos 4 mit Lit.) Pyxisdeckel. London, BM 1920.18–21.1. – *ARV* 1282, 1: Deckelmaler; *Add* 358; Lacroix 102 Taf. 31, 1; Schauenburg, *Helios* 57 Anm. 173; Roberts, A. O. 106, 128–129; Walters, H. B., *JHS* 41, 1921, 144–145 Taf. 6. – Um 430–420 v. Chr. – H. unbärtig auf dem Viergespann nach r.; vor seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen, die Zügel und das Kentron in den Händen. Vor ihm Eos (nach Lacroix) oder Selene (nach Beazley) auf einer Biga nach r. mit der Mondsichel vor ihrem Kopf. Unter einem Bogen aus zwei konzentrischen Halbkreisen Nyx (Beazley) oder Selene (Lacroix) im Damensitz auf einem Pferd nach r. reitend, ihren Kopf nach l. wendend. Walters nennt die Figuren: Helios, Nyx, Selene.

109. (= Astra 22 mit Lit., = Endymion 11\* mit Lit., = Eos 110 mit Lit.) Kelchkrater. London, BM E 466. Aus Apulien (?). – *FR* III 33–36 (mit Lit.) Taf. 126; Lacroix 104. 105 Taf. 34–36; Marcadé 44 Abb. 22b; Rapp 2010 Abb; Roscher, W. H., *ML* II 2, 3143 Abb. 15. – 420 v. Chr. – H. unbärtig, den Kopf in der mit Strahlen versehenen Sonnenscheibe eingeschrieben, auf Viergespann nach l. aus dem Okeanos aufsteigend, ein Kentron in der Hand, während die Sterne, als Jünglinge verkörpert, sich wie im Bade tummeln; l. droht Kephalos mit einem Stein Eos; der Junge (?) in der Mitte ist Endymion (?) (Furtwängler) oder Pan (Roscher). Am l. Ende der Komposition Selene im Frauensitz reitend beim Untergehen. H. hat die Zügel und das Kentron in den Händen. Sein Kopf ist dem Sonnendiskus mit Strahlen eingeschrieben; seine Rosse sind geflügelt.

110. (= Astra 10\*/64 mit Lit., = Eos 27 mit Lit.) Hydria, fr. Neapel, Mus. Naz. RC 157. Aus Cumae. – *ARV* 1042, 3: Coghill-Maler; *Add* 320; Schauenburg, *AntK* 53 Anm. 23. – 430–420 v. Chr. – R. fährt H. nach l. (nur der Vorderteil der Flügelspitze erhalten); l. Selene (?) auf einem Gespann (nur die Flügel der Pferde erhalten), während in der Mitte Nyx (?), geflügelt, auf ihrer Biga mit geflügelten Rossen erscheint; zwischen H. und Nyx die Sterne als Jünglinge, sich wie im Bade tummelnd.

111. (= Astra 23 mit Lit., = Endymion 12 mit Lit.) Kelchkrater, fr. Leningrad, Ermitage O. 13 (St. 1798). Aus Kertsch. – *ARV* 1337 2: nahe dem Pronomosmaler; *Para* 481; *Add* 366; Lacroix 101–102 Taf. 35, 1. – Ende 5. Jh. v. Chr. – H. auf Gespann (?) in einer vielfigurigen Komposition nach l.; nur sein Kopf, in der Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen eingezeichnet, ist erhalten. Hinter ihm eine weibliche Figur, nur bis zur Brust erhalten; sie eilt mit erhobenen Händen erstaunt nach r. (Nyx?); neben ihr Selene im Frauensitz auf Pferd nach l. (nur ihr oberer Teil bis zum Bauch sowie der Kopf und der Hals des Pferdes erhalten); nahe dem Pferdekopf die Mondsichel, in der die Büste der Göttin im Profil nach l. ein zweites Mal zu sehen

ist. Weiter nach r. die Figur eines Jünglings (nur Kopf und Hände erhalten) und ein kleiner Rest eines zweiten nach r. H. ist hier vielleicht im Untergang zu verstehen, während als Hauptperson der Komposition Selene erscheint, die sich im Zentrum befindet und deren Scheibe größer ist als diejenige des H.

## Unteritalische Vasen

112.\* Nestoris, lukan. Genf, Slg. Ortiz. – *LCS Suppl.* 3, 61, D 28 Taf. 10: Dolonmaler; Aellen *et al.*, a. O. 21, 31–34 Abb. – 400–370 v. Chr. – Auf dem Hals H. auf Viergespann nach l. Vor seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen (der weiße Überzug ist verschwunden); Beischrift *HAIOE*. Hinter dem Gott folgt Selene.

113. (= Astra 27 mit Lit., = Eos 21\*/283 mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Demeter 313 mit Lit. und Querverweisen, = Iris 103 mit Querverweisen) Volutenkrater, apul. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 81667 (H 3256). Aus Ruvo. – *RVAp* II 495–496, 40: Dareiosmaler; Moret, *Ilioupersis* 155–157, 100 Taf. 81–83. – Um 340 v. Chr. – B: Perserschlacht. Auf dem Hals H. auf Viergespann nach r.; um sein Haupt der Nimbus mit Strahlen. R. die reitende Selene, zwischen H. und Selene Eos auf Viergespann und Tithonos. A: H. wieder auf dem Viergespann nach r., um seinen Kopf der Nimbus mit Strahlen. Hinter ihm ist Demeter im Begriff, seinen Wagen zu besteigen. Hera, Zeus, Gany-med, Poseidon und andere Figuren; am Ende reitet Selene nach r.

114. (= Astra 29/84, = Eos 41 mit Lit. und Querverweisen) Volutenkrater, apul. Neapel, Mus. Naz. 81666 (H 3222). Aus Altamura. – *RVAp* I 431, 82: Kreis des Lykurgosmalers; White, S., *Perspective in Ancient Drawing and Painting* (1956) 35 Taf. 6b; Borda, M., *Ceramiche apule* (1966) 47. 101 Abb. 36; Keuls, E., *The Water Carriers in Hades* (1974) Taf. 10. – Um 350. – B, Hals: H. auf Viergespann; ihn umgibt in weitem Kreis ein Strahlennimbus; voran fliegt Eros, in der R. die Zügel des hintersten Pferdes haltend; unter ihm Fische. Voraus reitet Selene, von einem weiteren Strahlennimbus umgeben; vor ihr ein großer Stern, von acht kleineren umgeben.

115. Volutenkrater. Ehem. Brüssel, Kunsthandel. (Deletaille). Aus Apulien. – *RVAp Suppl.* 1, 152, 236 Taf. 26: Baltimore-Maler. – 330–310 v. Chr. – Auf dem Hals H. auf Viergespann nach l.; um seinen Kopf die Sonnenscheibe aus zwei konzentrischen Kreisen mit Strahlen. Vor ihm die reitende Selene; hinter ihm reitende Selene oder Nyx.

116. (= Astra 75 mit Lit., = Hera 391\*, = Iris I 74) Skyphos, fr. Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 31. Aus Apulien. – *RVAp* II 870, 51: Baltimore-Maler. – 330–310 v. Chr. – H. auf dem Viergespann nach r.; um den Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen. Hinter ihm Zeus, Hermes, Hera und Iris. Auf dem unteren Niveau Phosphoros reitend, Dionysos und Ariadne auf Zweigespann, Kephalos (oder Orion) und Hesperos reitend.

## Reliefs

117. (= Aphrodite 1172, = Astra 33) Goldrelief an der Basis des phidiasischen Zeusthrones von



Olympia, nicht erhalten. – Paus. 5, 11, 8 (= Overbeck, SQNr. 696); Simon, E., *Die Geburt der Aphrodite* (1959) 41–42. – H., auf dem Gespann aufsteigend, und die untergehende Selene umrahmen die olympischen Götter bei der Geburt der Aphrodite.

**118.** Relief auf dem Sockel der phidiasischen Athenastatue im Parthenon, nicht erhalten. – Paus. 1, 24, 5; Brommer, F., *Athena Parthenos* (1957) 6–7; Leipen, N., *Athena Parthenos* (1971) 3, 24; (mit Lit.); Liegle, J., *Der Zeus des Pheidias* (1952) 431; Praschniker, C., «Das Basisrelief der Parthenos», *OeJh* 39, 1952, 8. – Paus. spricht in seiner kurzen Beschreibung nicht von H. und Selene, doch wird einstimmig angenommen, daß die Erschaffung Pandoras I. von H. auf dem Gespann, das sich nach r. aufbäumt, und r. von der reitenden Selene flankiert war. Die Komposition ist am besten erhalten auf: a) (= Athena 221\*, = Athena/Minerva 142a, = Astra 32) Athena Lenormant, Marmorstatue (Basis). Athen, Nat. Mus. 128. – Brommer a. O. 6 Abb. 2; Leipen a. O. 3, 24 Abb. 1, 60, 63 (mit Lit.); Karusu, S., *Nat. Arch. Mus., Coll. of Sculpture* (1968) 68; Schuchhardt, W.-H., *APL* 2 (1963) 47 Taf. 36b. – Römische Kopie der Athena Parthenos des Phidias, 1. oder 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Am l. Rand des Basisreliefs (Erschaffung der Pandora) H. im Wagen nach r., während im r. Rand die berittene Selene, ebenfalls nach r., erscheint.

**119.** (= Iris I 123a) Marmorrelief von der rechteckigen «Tribune» in Sidon, Heiligtum des Echmoun. – Dunand, M., *BullMusBeyrouth* 26, 1973, 17–20 Taf. 2–6, 1; Will, E., *BCH* 100, 1976, 565–574 Abb. 1–3; Stephanidou-Tiveriou, A. O. 91, 150; Stucky, R. A., *Tribune d'Echmoun*, *AntK* 13, Beih. (1984) 18–19, 39–40 Taf. 4, 1–2; 5, 1; 6, 1; 7, 13, 1; 16, 1–2. – Um 350 v. Chr. (Will); 1. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. (Dunand). – Die Götterversammlung wird auf der r. Schmalseite von H. auf Viergespann nach r., und auf der l. von Selene auf Viergespann gerahmt.

**120.\*** Weihrelief (zweiseitig), att., Marmor. Boston, MFA 1972.78. – Comstock/Vermeule, *SculptBoston* 53 Nr. 78 (mit Lit.); Vermeule, C., *Greek Art, Socrates to Sulla* (1980) 16 Abb. 19–20; Lane, E., *Corpus Monumentorum Religiosis Dei Menis I* (1971) 1 Nr. 2 Taf. 2; Simon, E., *Die Konstantinischen Deckengemälde in Trier* (1986) 26 Abb. 10. – Ca. 340 v. Chr. – A: H. mit seinem Kopf in der Sonnenscheibe auf Viergespann nach r.; B: Der kleinasiatische Gott → Men auf einem Widder mit Mondsichel.

**121.** (= Astra 16 mit Lit., = Eos 42 mit Lit., = Demeter 458\* mit Lit.) Tonrelief, fr. Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz. Aus Lokroi. – Um 475 v. Chr. – Hekate vor Demeter. In der r. oberen Ecke des Reliefs, oberhalb des Halbkreises, der das Himmelsgewölbe andeutet, H. mit Strahlen bis zu den Schultern, nach l. (das Viergespann nicht sichtbar). In der entsprechenden l. Ecke Nyx oder Eos.

#### Rundplastik

**122.** (→ Astra 65\*) Ostgiebel des Parthenon, Figuren A, B, C, pentelischer Marmor. London, BM (Helios [A] und Pferde [B]); Athen, *in situ* (Pferde C [die beiden hinteren]). – Berger, E., *Parthenon-Ostgiebel*

(1959) 60–70 (mit Lit.); *idem*, *Die Geburt der Athena im Ostgiebel des Parthenon* (1974) 85 (Lit.); *idem*, *AntK* 23, 1980, 59–98 Taf. 17–24; Brommer, F., *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel* (1963) 3–7, 155–156 Taf. 20–25; *idem*, *AM* 84, 1969, 103–116 Taf. 40; *idem*, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* (1979) 54–55 Abb. 26 Taf. 132; Harrison, E. B., *AJA* 71, 1967, 27–58; *eadem*, in *Festschr. F. Brommer* (1977) 155–161 Taf. 42, 1; Fuchs, W., *Gnomon* 39, 1967, 16 (Rez. von Brommer, *Skulpturen*); Marcadé 18–20 Abb. 12; Lullies/Hirmer, *Plastik* 84–85 Taf. 153; Schauenburg, *AntK* 53 Anm. 31. – Phidiasisch, um 432 v. Chr. – In der l. Giebelecke H. auf seiner Quadriga nach r. aus dem Okeanos aufsteigend. Von H. (A) nur Teile des Kopfes und des Halses und die Arme, von den Rossen (B) nur die Köpfe mit den Halsen erhalten. Die wellenartige Oberfläche deutet auf das Meer. In der r. Giebelecke die untergehende Selene auf ihrem Viergespann. Beide astralen Götter rahmen die Geburt der Stadtgöttin Athena.

**123.** Die Propyläen von Korinth gegen Lechaion trugen zwei vergoldete Wagen, den einen mit H., den anderen mit Phaethon. Nicht erhalten. – Paus. 2, 3, 2. – Wiedergabe dieser Propyläen mit Statuen auf kaiserzeitlichen korinthischen Münzen: *NumCommPaus* 22 Taf. F 97–100; Papachatzis, *Paus. Korinthiaka* 68–81 Abb. 72, 1.

## XII. Köpfe und Büsten

### A. Kopf bzw. Büste des Helios allein (außer auf Münzen)

#### Apulische Vasen

**124.** Oinochoe. Baranello, Mus. 149. – *RVAp* II 974, 164; White Saccos P.; Dareggi, G., *Ceramica Greca ed italiota nel Museo di Baranello* (1977), 84–85 Nr. 89 Taf. 38. – 4. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Auf dem Henkel der Vase der Kopf des H. in Vorderansicht mit Strahlen, die plastisch wiedergegeben sind.

**125.** Oinochoe. Baranello, Mus. 142. – *RVAp* II 974, 165; White Saccos P.; Dareggi, A. O. 124, Taf. 37. – 4. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Wie 124.

**126.** Volutenkrater. Ehem. Kunsthandel Deutschland. – *RVAp* II 915, 39a; Gruppe von Tarent 7013 («Lasimos»-Gruppe). – Um 320 v. Chr. – An den Henkeln H. masken (Mascaroons).

**127.** (Deutung unsicher) Pyxis. Louvre CA 960. – *RVAp* I 168, 21: connected with the Black Fury P. – 410–400 v. Chr. – Männlicher Kopf in Vorderansicht (H. ?)

#### Andere Vasen

**128.\*** (= Helios/Sol 7) Schale, fr. calenisch. Heidelberg, Univ. R 18. Aus Athen. – Courby, *Vases à reliefs* 229 Nr. 7; Pagenstecher, R., *AM* 33, 1908, 121 Anm. 2; *idem*, *Calen* 9 Taf. 2d. – Hellenistisch, nach Courby 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Protome des H. in Vorderansicht, mit roten Strahlen versehen; sie ist rings von einem Band (Sternma) mit roten Strahlen umschlossen. Ein weiteres breiteres Band, das innere umschließend,

ist durch sechs radiale weiße Linien in vier Abschnitte unterteilt. Jede Metope ist mit einem Dreieck aus weißen Punkten gefüllt.

**129.\*** Schale (weißer Überzug). Hamburg, Mus. KG 1936, 3. Aus dem Faijûm. – v. Merklin, E., *AA* 1940, 4–9 Nr. 5 Abb. 6; Schauenburg, *Helios* 16. – Hellenistisch. – Im Innern Kopf des H. in Relief, unbärtig mit langen Haarlocken; vom Kopf zum Rand ziehen sich in der oberen Hälfte der Schale fünf schwarze Strahlen.

**130.** Hydria (Aschenurne), Hadratypus. Kairo, Mus. Egypt. 26232. Aus Alexandria. – Guerrini, L., *Vasi di Hadra* (1964) (Gr. B 36) S. 13 Taf. 4; Schauenburg, *AntK* 53 Anm. 27. – 310–290 v. Chr. (Gruppe B nach Guerrini). – Auf dem Bauch der Vase Protome des H. in Vorderansicht, Strahlen auf dem Kopf, von Ranken und Palmetten flankiert.

**131.\*** Skyphios, apul. Gnathiatechnik. Hamburg, Mus. KG 1917.555. – Schauenburg, *Helios* 13, 16, 25 Abb. 3. – Um 325 v. Chr. – Innerhalb der mit Strahlen versehenen Sonnenscheibe Helioskopf in Vorderansicht. Weintrauben, Weinblätter, Voluten und zwei Sterne umrahmen den Kopf.

**132.** Stamnos (?). Ehem. Smyrna, verschollen. Aus Westkleinasien. – Schauenburg, *Helios* 22 Abb. 10 Anm. 157. – Hellenistisch. – Das Gefäß erinnert am ehesten an Hadravasen (Schauenburg). Gesicht des H. mit Strahlen.

#### Wandgemälde

**133.\*** Wandgemälde (Tondo) im Hause 16, Delos. – Bulard, M., *EADélos IX* (1926) 45–46, 147 Taf. 22; Bruneau, *Cultes* 449 Nr. 8 Taf. 5, 4; Marcadé, J., *BCH* Suppl. 1, 1973, 358–359. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. (?) – Im Tondo H. mit Strahlenkranz, in Dreiviertelansicht nach r.

#### Mosaik

**134.** Sparta. – *ArchDelt* 19, 1964, B 1, 138–141 Taf. 140; *BCH* 90, 1966, 795 Abb. 4; Waywell, S. E., *AJA* 83, 1979, 303 Nr. 49 (mit Lit.); 318 Nr. 19. – Kurz nach 267 n. Chr. – H. büste als jugendliche Figur mit Nimbus und Globus in der Hand. In einem anderen Feld (zerstört) war vermutlich Selene dargestellt.

#### Reliefs

**135.\*** Büste. Schweiz, Privatslg. – Dörig, J., *Art Antique* (1975) Nr. 300 Abb. – Anfang 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Heliosbüste in Vorderansicht mit Strahlenkranz. Nach Dörig steht das Werk unter dem direkten Einfluß des rhodischen Helios, des Werkes von Chares aus Lindos (334).

**136.** Reliefbüste im Giebfeld der Vorhalle des Serapeions von Milet, *in situ*. – Knackfuß, H., *Milet I* 7 (1924) 206 Abb. 215–218; Hommel, P., «Giebel und Himmel», *IstMitt* 7, 1957, 16 Nr. 1. – 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Die H. büste in Vorderansicht mit Strahlen, das Zentrum des Giebels verzierend.

**137.** Kopf. Aphrodisias, Mus. Aus Aphrodisias (Stoa der Agora). – Jacopi, G., *MontAnt* 38, 1939, 124 Nr. 60 Taf. 19–20, 44; Squarciapino, M., *La Scuola di Afrodizia* (1943) 49. – 14–29 n. Chr. (nach Squarcia-

pino). – Der Kopf mit Strahlennimbus verzierte den Fries der großen Stoa der Agora.

**138.\*** Kopf. Izmir, Basmahane. Aus Aphrodisias. – Unpubliziert.

**139.** (= Apollon 474\* mit Lit.) Drei Steinplatten. Delos, Mus. A 2915–2917. Aus Delos, Haus des Opfertisches. – Marcadé, A. O. 133, 357–380 Abb. 37; Bruneau, *Cultes* 449 Nr. 9 Taf. 5, 3; Bruneau, Ph./Ducat, J., *Guide de Délos* (1983) 262 Abb. 101. – Hellenistisch. – H. büste in Vorderansicht mit Chiton, Köcher und Strahlenkranz.

**140.** (= Apollon 507 mit Lit.) Statue, Marmor. Bagdad, Irak Mus. 5676. Aus Hatra, Tempel V. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Der Gott Apollon/Nabu trägt einen Panzer, dessen Brustpartie mit der H. büste verziert ist.

**141.\*** Statue eines Camillus, Marmor. Berkeley, Lowie Mus. 8.4241. – Torso: 4. Jh. v. Chr.; Kopf: 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Die Statue, wahrscheinlich einen jungen Camillus darstellend, trägt eine Chlamys und einen Chiton, der mit der Büste des H. verziert ist.

#### Gemmen

**142.** Chalzedon. Ehem. Slg. Robinson. Aus Salamis. – *Studies Th.-L. Shear, Hesperia* Suppl. 8 (1949) 315 Nr. 18 Taf. 41; Schauenburg, *Helios* 21, 56 Anm. 140. – 400–375 v. Chr. (nach Schauenburg ist diese Datierung zu früh). – H. kopf in Vorderansicht; oberhalb und unterhalb des Kopfes je vier bzw. drei Strahlen.

**143.** Heliotrop. München, Münzslg. A 2207. – *AGDI* I Nr. 525 Taf. 56. – Hellenistisch. – H. protome im Profil nach l., Diadem mit Strahlen auf dem Kopf; seine Chlamys mit Brosche auf der Schulter gehalten.

**144.** Aquamarin. München, Münzslg. A 2206. – *AGDI* I Nr. 524 Taf. 56. – Hellenistisch. – H. protome im Profil, wie 143.

**145.\*** Amethystartiges Glas. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1941.443. – Boardman/Vollenweider, *CatGemsOxford I* Nr. 323 Taf. 54. – Anfang oder 2. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr. – H. protome wie 143, 144, nach r.

**146.** Gelbes Glas. Genf, Mus. MF 1593. – Vollenweider, *CatGenève II* 87–88 Nr. 84 Taf. 34, 2. – 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr. (?) – H. protome wie 145.

**147.\*** Sard. London, BM 1167. – Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 1167; Furtwängler, *AG* Taf. 33, 30; De Ujfalnij, Ch., *Le type physique d'Alexandre le Grand* (1902) 141 Abb. 42; Schreiber, Th., *Studien über das Bildnis Alexanders des Großen* (1903) 210 Anm. 35. – Hellenistisch. – H. protome in Dreiviertelansicht nach l. Um den Kopf Strahlen. Nach Walters und De Ujfalnij könnte es sich um das Porträt Alexanders des Großen handeln; dies wird von Schreiber abgelehnt.

**148.** Schwarze Paste. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 4851. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 4851 Taf. 35. – H. kopf in Dreiviertelansicht nach l. Auf dem Kopf Strahlenkranz.

**149.** Gemme. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 2378. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 2378 Taf. 22. – H. kopf mit Strahlenkranz frontal.

Eine östliche Sonnengottheit zeigen offenbar zwei orientalisierende Gemmen des 6. Jh. v. Chr. (Board-

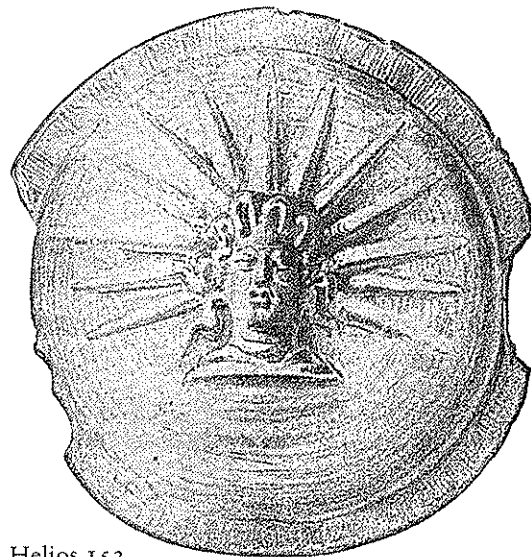
man, AGG 31-33 Nr. 42-43; *idem*, RA 1971, 200; *idem*, GGFR 143 Taf. 287: männliche (?) Büste mit Armen und vier Flügeln, mit Strahlen auf dem Kopf (AGG Nr. 43: Helm?, Mütze? mit Strahlen), über einer ebenfalls mit Strahlen versehenen Sonnenscheibe (oder -kugel) emporwachsend (diese ebenfalls geflügelt?). S. die Besprechung von Boardman (AGG: «Clearly we have to deal with a version of the eastern sun god carried on the winged sun disc»); → Helios/Usil, Kommentar; vgl. auch AGG Nr. 40-41 (→ Iris I 5).

#### Tonreliefs

**150.** Votivschildchen, Ton. Boston, MFA. Aus Eretria. – L'Orange, H. P., *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (1953) 94 Abb. 66; Schauenburg, *Helios* 3 Anm. 276; Kleiner, G., *Tanagrafiguren*<sup>2</sup> (1984) 20. – 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Sechs Schildchen mit H. protome mit Strahlen in Vorderansicht, in Relief.

**151.** Votivschildchen. Boston, MFA. Aus Eretria. – L'Orange, a. O. 150, Abb. 66 (unten l.). – 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Zwei Schildchen mit H. protome, ähnlich wie 150, aber ohne Strahlen, von zwei Sternen umrahmt.

**152.\*** Votivschildchen. Athen, Nat. Mus. 11728. Aus Eretria. – Kourouniotis, K., *ArchEph* 1899, 228 Abb. 2. – 3. Jh. v. Chr. – H. wie 150 und 151.



Helios 152

**153.\*** Tonstatuette. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. 430. Aus Myrina. – Winter, *Typen* I 173, 1; Mendel, G., *Mus. impériaux ottomans, Cat. des figurines grecques de terre cuite* (1908) 402 Nr. 2740; Schauenburg, *Helios* 37. – 2.-1. Jh. v. Chr. – Krieger mit rundem Schild in seiner Linken, der mit der H. protome mit Strahlen in Vorderansicht in Relief verziert ist.

**154.\*** Tonstatuette, fr. London, BM C 589. Aus Naukratis. – Walters, *BMTerracottas* 253, C 589; Schauenburg, *Helios* 16 Abb. 7. – Hellenistisch (?). – Zwischen den Hörnern eines Stieres die Sonnenscheibe mit der H. büste, frontal wiedergegeben. Um



Helios 153

den Kopf schwarze Strahlen: eine Vermählung des ägyptischen Lichtsymbols mit der griechischen Büstenform des H.

**155.\*** Tonschüssel mit Reliefverzierung, fr. Heidelberg, Univ. 6411. – Hampe, R., *Kat. der Slg. ant. Kleinkunst des Arch. Inst., Univ. Heidelberg II* (1971) 79-81 Nr. 112 Taf. 76, 2. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – H. mit Strahlen.

**156.** Täfelchen mit Relief-Verzierung, fr. Çanakkale (Dardanellen), Mus. 33-236. Aus Troja. – Thompson, D. B., *Troy Suppl. III, The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period* (1963) 117-118 Nr. 131 Taf. 28. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Erhalten ist die Brust einer männlichen Figur, auf der in der unteren r. Ecke der H. mit Strahlen erkennbar ist.

**157.** Amphorenstempel, thasisch. Leningrad, Ermitage 550 t. Aus Kertsch. – Grace, V., *AJA* 50, 1946, 31-38 Abb. 1, 3; Schauenburg, *Helios* 18 Anm. 100. – Mitte 4. Jh. v. Chr. (Grace). – H. kopf mit Strahlen.

**158.** Amphorenstempel. Rhodos, Mus. Aus Lindos. – Nilsson, M. P., *Timbres amphoriques de Lindos. Exploration arch. de Rhodes V* (1909) 1-180, bes. 159, Kat. S. 349-351 und bes. 352-353. 530 und *passim*; Picard, *Manuel IV* 2, 520 (dort weitere H. darstellungen). – Um 300 v. Chr. – H. kopf mit Strahlen wie 157.

#### Lampen

**159.** Lampengriff, Ton. Patras, Mus. 22239. Aus Patras. – *ArchDelt* 33, 1978, A, 307 Taf. 86y. – 2.-3. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf dem sichelförmigen Griff der Lampe die H. büste in Relief mit Strahlen.

**160.\*** Lampen, Ton. a)\* Athen, Agora; b) Korinth, Mus.; c) Delphi, Mus. – Perlzweig, J., *Agora VII* 172-173 Nr. 2366-2377 Taf. 37; 196 Nr. 2876 Taf. 45; Broneer, O., *Corinth IV* 2, 106. 109. 251-253 Nr. 1148-1168 Taf. 16; Perdrizet, P., *FDelphes V* 190 Nr. 539 Abb. 828. – 2. Hälfte 5. Jh.-6. Jh. n. Chr. – Kopf des H. in Relief mit Strahlen.

#### Metallene Schmuckstücke

**161.\*** Zwei Goldrollen (Paar). London, BM 2068-2069. Aus Rhodos. – Marshall, *BMJewellery* Nr. 2068-2069 Taf. 40. – 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Auf der einen Seite H. kopf, auf der anderen Seite Rosette, von konzentrischen Kreisen umschlossen. Der H. kopf erinnert an jenen der rhodischen Münzen.

**162.** Runde Goldplättchen. Leningrad, Ermitage (?). Aus Taman (Südrussland). – Stephani, R., *CRPetersb* 1865, 74 Nr. 15 Taf. 3; Reinach, S., *et al., Antiquités de la Russie méridionale* (1891) 114; Schauenburg, *Helios* 20. – Frühhellenistisch. – H. kopf im Strahlenkranz.

**163.** Drei scheibenförmige Ohrgehänge, vergoldete Terrakotta. London, BM 2144-2146. – Marshall, *BMJewellery* 2144-2146 Taf. 42. – Hellenistisch. – Im Zentrum jeder Scheibe Kopf des H. (oder des Apollo) verziert.

**164.\*** Goldstephane. London, BM 2113. Aus Kalabrien. – Marshall, *BMJewellery* 241 Nr. 2113 Taf. 41. – Frühes 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Im Zentrum der giebelartigen Formation des mittleren Teiles der Stephane der H. kopf, von Ranken, Voluten und Blumen umrahmt.

**165.\*** Helmzier (Gipsabguß). Hildesheim, Pel.-Mus. 1129. – Rubensohn, O., *Hellenistisches Silbergerät* (1911) 53-54 Taf. 6, 38; Roeder, G., *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim* (1921) 145. – Hellenistisch. – H. büste mit Strahlenkranz als Reliefverzierung des Helmfragmentes.

**166.** Goldblatt von einem Diadem oder Kranz. Athen, Nat. Mus. – Lemerle, P., *BCH* 60, 1936, 453 Taf. 62 A; Schauenburg, *Helios* 57 Anm. 160. – Hellenistisch. – H. gesicht mit Strahlen in Treibtechnik, in der Mitte einer üppigen floralen Dekoration.

**167.\*** Goldbroschen. Paris, Louvre C 353. C 357. Aus Campanien (?). – de Ridder, A., *Mus. Nat. du Louvre, Cat. somm. des bijoux antiques* (1924) 83-84 Nr. 962. 963 Taf. 14; Schauenburg, *Helios* 20 Anm. 129. – Hellenistisch. – Auf dem Kopf der Broschen der H. kopf mit Strahlen.

**168.** Golddiadem. Athen, Kanellopoulos-Mus. – Laffineur, R., *BCH* 104, 1980, 408-410 Nr. 97 Abb. 106. – Hellenistisch (?). – In dem giebelartigen mittleren Teil des Diadems die H. protome und auf der Spitze dieses Teiles vier dünne strahlenartige Blätter. Oberhalb der H. protome ein Halbedelstein eingesetzt.

#### Rundplastik

**169.\*** Kolossalkopf. Rom, Mus. Cap. – Stuart Jones, 341 ff. Nr. 3 Taf. 85; Hoffmann 121-122 Taf. 24 (mit Lit.). – Römische Kopie nach der lysippischen Heliosstatue. – Es handelt sich ohne Zweifel um einen Kopf des H., wie die sieben Löcher auf dem Schädel für die Fixierung von sieben Strahlen aus Metall bezeugen.

**170.** Kolossalkopf. Boston, MFA 95.88. Aus Ägypten. – Bieber, M., *AJA* 49, 1945, 425 ff. Abb. 1-2 (mit Lit.); Hoffmann Taf. 25. – Römische Kopie, aus der 1. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr., nach dem lysippischen

Helios. – Statue (Bieber und Hoffmann). Die zwei Köpfe, der von Boston und der Kapitolinische (169) sind sehr ähnlich; sie sind sicherlich Kopien vom selben Original (Hoffmann).

**171.** Kopf, Marmor. Ehem. Berlin, Slg. Hiller v. Gaertringen. Aus Koskinou, Rhodos. – Graef, B., «Helioskopf aus Rhodos», in *Strena Helbigiana* (1900) 99-100 mit Taf.; Thimmen, D., *AJA* 50, 1946, 355 Taf. 21, 20; Neumann, G., «Zum Helioskopf von Rhodos», *AA* 1977, 89. – Um 200 v. Chr. – Der überlebensgroße H. nach l. gewandt; auf seinem Kopf Löcher für die Befestigung der metallenen Strahlen. Auf der Rückseite eine rechteckige und weiter unten eine runde Vertiefung. Nach Graef (103) handelt es sich um eine Darstellung des H. auf seinem Gespann. Nach Neumann handelt es sich eher um einen selbständigen H., der in einem Medaillon an einer Wand oder in einem Giebeltriëck befestigt war.

**172.\*** Kopf, Marmor. Rhodos, Mus. Aus der Stadt Rhodos. – Merker, B. M., *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodos* (1973) 29-30 Abb. 42-44; Gualandri, G., *ASAtene* 1976, 51-52 Abb. 26 Nr. 13; Neumann, a. O. 171, 87 ff. Abb. 1-3; Fuchs, *Skulptur*<sup>3</sup> 570-571 Abb. 697. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Der Kopf, bis zum Hals erhalten, hat auf dem Haar 15 Löcher für die Befestigung der metallenen Strahlen des Lichtgottes. Auf der Rückseite ein Dübelloch. Der Kopf wird mit dem Koloß von Rhodos des Chares (334) in Zusammenhang gebracht (Fuchs), oder er hat zur Dekoration eines Medaillons oder eines Giebeltriëckes gedient (Neumann).

**173.** Kopf, Ton. Rhodos, Mus. E 327. – Zervoudaki, E., *ArchDelt* 30, 1975, A, 14-15 Taf. 6-8a. c. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Er stellt H. dar, worauf die sieben Löcher auf dem Kopf für die Befestigung der Strahlen schließen lassen.

**174.\*** Büste, Marmor. Cologny (Genève), Fondation Martin Bodmer. Aus Ägypten. – Dörig, J., *Art Antique, Coll. privées de Suisse Romande* (1975) 7 Abb. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. – H. mit dreizehn Löchern für die Befestigung der metallenen Strahlen.

**175.\*** Büste, Marmor. Athen, Agora S 2356. Von der Agora. – Shear, L., *Hesperia* 40, 1971, 273-274 Taf. 58b. – Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Nach Shear handelt es sich um ein Alexanderporträt, und die fünfzehn Löcher auf dem Haar dienten für die Fixierung eines Kranzes oder einer Krone. Viel wahrscheinlicher ist jedoch, daß es sich hier um einen H. handelt, wobei die Löcher eher für die Befestigung seiner metallenen Strahlen dienten (Mitteilung Prof. H. Thompson).

**176.** Porträtkopf, Marmor. Bologna, Mus. Civ. inv. Rom 1929. – Brizzolara, A. M., *Le sculpture del Mus. Civ. Arch. di Bologna, La Collezione Marsili* (1986) 56-57 Abb. 17 Taf. 37-38 (mit Lit.). – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf dem Kopf fünf Löcher für die Befestigung metallener Strahlen, was darauf hindeutet, daß es sich um einen H., wahrscheinlich sogar um einen Alexander-H.-kopf handelt (Brizzolara).

**177.** In Megalopolis standen im Peribolos der Großen Götter Hermen, unter anderen auch die des H. mit dem Beinamen Soter (oder Soter Herakles?) (Paus. 8, 31, 7).

**B. Kopf bzw. Büste des Helios allein auf Münzen****1. Auf Münzen von Rhodos**

(In diesem Abschnitt ist BMC immer = BMC Caria.)

**a) Vs.: Kopf des Helios von vorn ohne Strahlenkrone; Rs.: Rose**

## GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

**178.\*** AR, Tetradrachmon, Hemidrachmon (attischer Münzfuß), 408–400 v. Chr. – Tetradrachmon: BMC 230, 1 Taf. 36, 1; Babelon, *Traité II* 2, 1015–1016, 1691–1693 Taf. 147, 1, 2; Berend, D., «Les tétradrachmes de Rhodes de la première période», SNR 51, 1972, 5–39 Taf. 1–10; Hemidrachmon (Rs.: Rose und verschiedene Beizeichen in Quadratum incusum): BMC 230, 2 Taf. 36, 2; Babelon, *Traité II* 2, 1015–1016, 1694 Taf. 147, 3; Hemidrachmon (Vs.: Ansatz des Halses ist zu sehen: H. scheint sich umzuschauen; Rs.: Rose in Quadratum incusum oder Kopf der Rhodos): BMC 230–231, 3–9 Taf. 36, 3, 4; Babelon, *Traité II* 2, 1015–1016, 1694 Taf. 147, 3.

**179.\*** AU Stater, AR Tetradrachmon, Didrachmon, Drachme, Hemidrachmon, 400–333 v. Chr. – AU Stater: BMC 231, 10 Taf. 36, 5; Babelon, *Traité II* 2, 1017–1018, 1695 Taf. 147, 4; Tetradrachmon: BMC 231–232, 11–25 Taf. 36, 6, 7; Babelon, *Traité II* 2, 1019–1020, 1697–1703 Taf. 147, 6–10; Didrachmon: BMC 233, 26–37 Taf. 36, 8–10; Babelon, *Traité II* 2, 1021–1022, 1704–1709 Taf. 147, 11–15; Drachme: BMC 234, 38–40 Taf. 36, 11; Babelon, *Traité II* 2, 1021–1022, 1710–1713 Taf. 147, 11–17. – Rs.: Rose und verschiedene Attribute in Quadratum incusum.

**180.\*** AR Didrachmon, Drachme, Triobol (Hemidrachmon), 333 bis 304 v. Chr. – Didrachmon (Rs.: Rose und verschiedene Attribute, oben Beamtenname): BMC 234–235, 43–48 Taf. 37, 1, 2; Babelon, *Traité II* 2, 1025–1026, 1722–1726 Abb. 1726; Drachme (Rs.: Rose und verschiedene Attribute; meistens Initialen der Beamten): BMC 236, 56–60 Taf. 37, 4, 5; Babelon, *Traité II* 2, 1027–1028; Triobol (Rs.: s. Drachme): BMC 236, 61, 62 Taf. 37, 6.

**181.\*** AR Drachme, Hemidrachmon, 304–166 v. Chr. – Drachme (mit Namen von Rhodos auf der Rs.): BMC 244–247, 153–187 Taf. 39, 2–4; Drachme (ohne Namen von Rhodos auf der Rs.): BMC 248–249, 190–209 Taf. 39, 8–11; Ashton, R. H. J., «Pseudo-Rhodian Drachms and the Beginning of the Lycian League Coinage», NC 1987, Taf. 3 (Serie II: Beamter lasos): Karien zugeschrieben; Drachme (Vs.: Adler vor r. Wange des H.; Rs.: Rose mit verschiedenen Buchstaben, Name von Rhodos fehlt): BMC 249–250, 210–218 Taf. 39, 12–14; Ashton, a. O. Taf. 3 A–G: nach Akarca, A., *Les monnaies grecques de Mylasa* (1959) 92–99 Mylasa in Karien zugeschrieben; Hemidrachmon (wie Drachme 178): BMC 247, 188–197 Taf. 39, 5–7.

**b) Vs.: Kopf des Helios mit Strahlenkrone von vorn; Rs.: Rose**

## GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

**182.\*** AR Didrachmon, 333–304 v. Chr. – BMC 235, 49–55 Taf. 37, 3. – Rs.: Rose und verschiedene Beizeichen, Initialen von Beamtennamen.

**183.\*** AR Tetradrachmon, Didrachmon, 304–166 v. Chr. – Tetradrachmon: BMC 240–242, 118–128 Taf. 38, 1–3; Didrachmon: BMC 242–244, 129–152 Taf. 38, 4–8. – Rs.: Rose und verschiedene Attribute, oben Beamtenname.

**184.** AU Stater, Hemi-Stater, 189–166 v. Chr. – AU Stater: BMC 251, 229, 230 Taf. 39, 19; Hackens, T./Levy, E., *BCH* 89, 1965, 503; Hemi-Stater: BMC 272, 230. – Rs.: Quadratum incusum mit Rose r., l. verschiedene Attribute, oben Beamtenname.

**185.** AR Hemidrachmon, 166–88 v. Chr. – BMC 256, 291–308 Taf. 40, 12–15. – Rs. wie 184.

**186.\*** AR Trihemidrachmon, Drachme, AE, 88–43 v. Chr. – AR Trihemidrachmon: BMC 260, 334 Taf. 41, 1; Drachme: BMC 260–261, 335–341 Taf. 41, 2; AE: BMC 261, 342–345 Taf. 41, 3, 4. – Rs.: Rosenblüte von oben.

**c) Vs.: Kopf des Helios mit Strahlenkrone nach rechts; Rs.: Rose**

## GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

**187.\*** AR Didrachmon, Diobol, Trihemidrachmon, 380–333 v. Chr. – Didrachmon (Rs.: Rose mit Beizeichen): BMC 234, 41 Taf. 36, 12; Diobol (Rs.: Zwei Rosen): BMC 234, 42 Taf. 36, 13.

**188.** AR Trihemidrachmon, 333–304 v. Chr. – BMC 237, 63–69 Taf. 37, 7, 8. – Rs.: Zwei Rosen und verschiedene Beizeichen.

**189.** AR Drachme, Trihemidrachmon, AE, 166–88 v. Chr. – Drachme (Rs.: Quadratum incusum mit Rose r., verschiedenen Beizeichen l., oben Beamtenname): BMC 252–256, 235–290 Taf. 40, 1–11; Trihemidrachmon (Rs.: Quadratum incusum mit Rose r. und verschiedenen Beizeichen l.): BMC 258, 309–311 Taf. 40, 16; AE (Rs.: Rose mit Beizeichen): BMC 258–259, 312–326 Taf. 40, 17, 18.

**190.** AE, 88–43 v. Chr. – BMC 262–263, 346–361 Taf. 41, 5, n; BMC 263, 362, 363 Taf. 41, 7 (Vs.: Büste des H. mit Strahlenkrone?) – Rs.: Rosenblüte von oben.

## RÖMISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

**191.** AE, Frühe Kaiserzeit. – BMC 266, 287–390 Taf. 42, 9, 10. – Vs.: Kopf bzw. Büste des H.; Rs.: Stehende Nike nach r. oder l.

**192.** AE Drachme, Frühe Kaiserzeit. – BMC 267–269, 394–413 Taf. 43, 1–6. – Vs.: Kopf bzw. Büste des H.; Rs.: Nike bekrönt Tropaion bzw. Nemesis (?) zwischen zwei Thymiateria bzw. Büste/Kopf des Serapis bzw. stehender Asklepios bzw. Früchte bzw. Thyrsos.

**193.** AE, Antoninus Pius (138–161 n. Chr.), Commodus (180–191 n. Chr.). – BMC 270, 419, 422 Taf. 43, 9 (Commodus).

**2.–5. Auf Münzen anderer Städte****2. Der Kopf des Helios ohne Strahlenkrone**

## GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

**194.** AE, Astyra (Karien), 4. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC 60, 8–10 Taf. 10, 5, 6; SNG Copenhagen (Caria) 158. – Vs.: Kopf des H. von vorn. Rs.: Amphora.

**195.\*** AR Drachme, Euthenai (Karien), ca. 350 v. Chr. – Cahn, H. A., NC 1942, 92–94 Abb. S. 92; SNG v. Aulock 2862. – Vs.: Kopf des H. nach l. Rs.: Rose.

**196.\*** AR Drachme und AE, Halikarnassos (Karien), 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – AR: BMC 106, 43–47 Taf. 18, 14, 15; SNG Copenhagen (Caria) 367; AE: BMC 107, 54–57 Taf. 18, 19; SNG v. Aulock 2530. – Vs.: Kopf des H. von vorn. Rs.: Büste der Athena.

**197.\*** AR Didrachmon, Knidos (Karien), 2. Jh. v. Chr. – SNG v. Aulock 8111; SNG Copenhagen (Caria) 318–323. – Vs.: Kopf des H. von vorn. Rs.: Löwenkopf.

**198.** AE, Laodikeia (Phrygien), 2. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Phrygia 135, 26 Taf. 16, 9; SNG Copenhagen (Phrygia) 279. – Vs.: Büste des H. nach r. Rs.: Füllhorn bzw. Altar.

**3. Kopf bzw. Büste des Helios mit Strahlenkrone****a) im Profil**

## GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

**199.** AE Triens, Aitne (Sizilien), 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Gâbrici, *Bronzo* 112, 2 Taf. 6, 10; Auktion Hess-Leu 6, 1973, Nr. 58; SNG Copenhagen (Sicily) 14–15. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Bewaffneter Krieger.

**200.\*** AE, Entella (Sizilien), 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Gâbrici, *Bronzo* 129, 10; SNG Copenhagen (Sicily) 238. – Vs.: Büste des H. Rs.: Stehende weibliche Gestalt mit Füllhorn.

**201.** AE, Syrakus, 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Gâbrici, *Bronzo* 188, 603 Taf. 9, 12 («Artemis»); Head, B., *History of the Coinage of Syracuse* (1874) Taf. 14, 11. – Vs.: Büste des H. Rs.: Nackte männliche Gestalt im ägyptisierenden Stil.

**202.** AE, Hephaistia (Lemnos), 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Forrer, *Weber II* 141, 2487, 2488 Taf. 95; Grose, *McClean* 138, 4186 Taf. 151, 14; Mouchmoff, N., *Anticrit Moneti* (1912) 5682; SNG Copenhagen (Thrace) 983. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Weintraube und Thyrsos.

**203.** AE, Ambrakia (Epirus), 3.–2. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Thessaly 95, 20–23 Taf. 18, 4; SNG Copenhagen (Epirus) 32–34. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Schreitender Apollon bzw. Zeus.

**204.** AR Drachme (Victoriatus), Dyrrhachion (Epirus), 2. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Thessaly 70, 70, 71 Taf. 14, 2; 72 Nr. 109–111. – Vs.: Kuh mit Kalb, Beamtenname, Beizeichen H. Rs.: Blumenmuster im Linienviereck.

**205.** AE, Dyrrhachion (Epirus), 2. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Thessaly 77, 180–184 Taf. 14, 5. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Schiffsbug.

**206.** AE, Makedonien, Philipp V., 220–178 v. Chr. – Gaebler, *Makedonia II* 193 Nr. 25 Taf. 35, 5;

Mamroth, A., *ZfN* 42, 1935, Nr. 24 Taf. 13; – Vs.: H. Rs.: Blitz.

**207.** AE, Zakynthos (Peloponnes), 3. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Peloponnesus 101, 76 Taf. 20, 15. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Halbmond.

**208.** AE, Achaiische Liga, Kleitor, 3.–2. Jh. v. Chr. – Babelon, *Traité III* 613–614, 926. – Vs.: H. Rs.: KAH im Lorbeerkrantz.

**209.\*** AR Tetradrachmon (Stephanophor), Abydos (Troas), um 150 v. Chr. – SNG v. Aulock 1453; SNG Copenhagen (Troas) 54. – Vs.: Büste der Artemis. Rs.: Adler, Beamtennamen, Beizeichen H.

**210.** AE, Myrina (Aiolis), 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Troas 137, 32; SNG Copenhagen (Aeolis) 226. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Amphora.

**211.** AE, Mytilene (Lesbos), 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Troas 153–157 Taf. 38, 24; SNG Copenhagen (Aeolis) 404. – Vs.: Büste des H. Rs.: Dreifuß.

**212.\*** AE, Halikarnassos (Karien), 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – SNG v. Aulock 2531; SNG Copenhagen (Caria) 371–375. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Lyra.

**213.** AE, Knidos (Karien), 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 310, 52. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Stierkopf.

**214.** AE, Gabala (Syrien), 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Syria 243, 1 Taf. 28, 5; Imhoof-Blumer, F., *Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde* (1908) 236. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Vorderteil einer Triere.

**215.** AE, Laodikeia (Syrien), 1. Jh. v. Chr. – frühe Kaiserzeit. – BMC Syria 248, 12 Taf. 29, 6; SNG Copenhagen (Syria) 319, 323, 324. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Stehende Artemis.

**216.\*** AE, Soloi (Kilikien), 3. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Lycaonia 152, 45 Taf. 26, 15; SNG v. Aulock 5882, 5883; SNG Copenhagen (Lycaonia) 244. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Sitzende Athena Nikephoros.

**217.\*** AE, Seleukeia am Kalykadnos (Kilikien), 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – *InvWadd* 249, 4453; BMC Cilicia S. LXV Anm. 1; SNG v. Aulock 5816. – Vs.: Kopf der Athena. Rs.: Büste des H.

**218.** AR Tetradrachmon (Cistophor), Tralleis (Lydien), 140–133 v. Chr. – Kleiner, F. S./Noe, S. P., *The Early Cistophoric Coinage* (1977) 72, 73 Series 39 Taf. 26, 6–9. – Vs.: Cista mystica. Rs.: Zwei Schlangen um Köcher und Bogen, Beizeichen H.

**219.** AR Drachme (Viertel-Cistophor), Tralleis (Lydien), 140–135 v. Chr. – Kleiner/Noe, a. O. 218, 72 Series 39 Taf. 26, 10, 11. – Vs.: Keule mit Löwenfell. Rs.: Weintraube auf Weinblatt. Beizeichen H.

**220.** AE, Tralleis (Lydien), 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Lydia 337, 72 Taf. 34, 8; SNG Copenhagen (Lydia) 677 Taf. 20. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Selene auf Biga.

**221.** AR, Olbia (Sarmatien). – *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der antiken Münzen I* (1888) 18, 32. – Vs.: Kopf des Herakles, Gegenstempel H.

## RÖMISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

**222.** AE, Hadrianopolis (Thrakien), Marc Aurel, 161–180 n. Chr. – BMC Thracia 116, 5. – Rs.: Büste des H.

**223.** AE, Korinth, 50–51 n. Chr. – Amandry, a. O. 42, 198 II Da-h Taf. 31–32 II. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Poseidon oder Melikertes.



224. AE, Korinth, 40–30 v. Chr. – Amandry, a. O. 42, Taf. 45 Db 1–3; Edwards, K. M., *Corinth VI, Coins* (1933) 26, 88 Taf. 3. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Pegasos.
225. AE, Korinth, Hadrian, 117–138 n. Chr. – Edwards, a. O. 224, 30, 127. – Rs.: H.
226. AE, Prusias am Hypios (Bithynien), Lucius Verus, 161–169 n. Chr. – *RecGén* I 4, 608, 40 Taf. 104, 24. – Rs.: Büste des H.
227. AE, Bi, Alexandria (Ägypten), Kaiserzeit. – *BMC Alexandria* Nr. 583, 1257, 1403, 1599 (Taf. 3). 1725, 1771, 1810, 1859, 1946, 2070, 2107, 2155, 2243, 2283, 2308, 2542; Geißel, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 76, 945 (Hadrian). – Rs.: Büste des H., l. bisweilen Palmzweig.
228. AE, Aphrodisias (Karien), Kaiserzeit. – *BMC Caria* 38, 82; *SNG Copenhagen* (Karien) 81. – Vs.: Büste des H. Rs.: Adler.
229. \* AE, Apollonia Salbake (Karien), Kaiserzeit. – Robert, L./Robert, J., *La Carie* II (1954) 268–269 Nr. BF. BG (Taf. 49, 9). BH; *SNG v. Aulock* 2483. – Vs.: Büste des H. Rs.: Telesphoros bzw. Dionysos bzw. Asklepios.
230. Bi (Tetradrachmon), Emisa (Syrien), Julia Domna, Macrinus, Caracalla, 215–217, 217–218 n. Chr. – Bellinger, A. R., *The Syrian Tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus*, *Num. Stud.* III (1940) 62–65, 178–210 Taf. 14, 15, 1–7. – Rs.: Adler mit Kranz, Beizeichen H.
231. AE, Emisa (Syrien), Antoninus Pius (138–161 n. Chr.). – *BMC Syria* 238 Taf. 27, 10; *SNG Copenhagen* (Syria) 308. – Rs.: Büste des H.
232. AE, Hieropolis-Kastabala (Kilikien), Faustina minor (138–161 n. Chr.). – *BMC Cilicia* S. CII; Imhoof-Blumer, *GrM* 185 Nr. 560. – Rs.: Büste des H.
233. \* AE, Briula (Lydien), Kaiserzeit. – *BMC Lydia* 58, 2 Taf. 6, 6; *SNG v. Aulock* 2933. – Vs.: Büste des H., bisweilen *HAIOΣ* Rs.: Stehender Apollon bzw. stehende Kybele.
234. \* AE, Tralleis (Lydien), Kaiserzeit. – *BMC Lydia* 339–341, 81 Taf. 35, 4; *SNG v. Aulock* 3279, 3280. – Vs.: H., bisweilen *HAIOΣ AΠOΛΛΩN* oder *HAIOΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΣ* Rs.: Verschiedene Darstellungen.
235. \* AE, Tripolis (Lydien), Tiberius bzw. Livia (14–37 n. Chr.). – *SNG v. Aulock* 3317; *SNG Copenhagen* (Lydien) 743, 744. – Rs.: H.
236. AE, Tripolis (Lydien), Trajan (98–117 n. Chr.). – *BMC Lydia* 373, 53. – Vs.: Büste des H.
237. AE, Hieropolis (Phrygien), Kaiserzeit. – *BMC Phrygia* 348, 8–10 Taf. 41, 3. – Vs.: Büste des H. Rs.: Bukranion mit Mondsichel und Sternen.
238. AE, Kibyra (Phrygien), Kaiserzeit. – *BMC Phrygia* 135, 26 Taf. 16, 9; *SNG Copenhagen* (Phrygia) 279. – Vs.: Büste des H. Rs.: Weidenkorb.
239. AE, Peltai (Phrygien), Kaiserzeit. – *BMC Phrygia* 348, 8–10 Taf. 41, 3. – Vs.: Büste des H. Rs.: *ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩN* im Lorbeerkranz.
240. AE, Arados (Phönizien), Augustus bis Trajan (28 v. Chr. – 117 n. Chr.). – *BMC Phoenicia* 43, 347–349 Taf. 5, 13; *SNG Copenhagen* (Phoenicia) 74. – Vs.: Büste des H. Rs.: Korb mit Ähren und Weinzweig.

## b) Von vorn und in Dreiviertelansicht

### GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

241. AR Hemibolion, Rubi (Apulien), spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Evans, A. J., *NC* 1889, 84 Taf. 5, 8. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Zwei Halbmonde.
242. AU 1/20 Stater Hemilitron, AU 1/12 Stater, AR Diobolion, AE, Tarent (Kalabrien), 334–330 v. Chr. (Zeit Alexanders I. von Epirus). – AU 1/20 Stater: *SNG Copenhagen* (Kalabrien) 833; Ravel, O. E., *Cat. Vlasto Coll.* (1947) 3 Nr. 13–15 Taf. 1; Vlasto, M. P., *NC* 1926, 154–231; AU 1/12 Stater: Vlasto a. O. 161 Typ 6, 6a, 6b Taf. 9, 10a, 11; AR Diobolion: Vlasto a. O. 163 Typ 8 Taf. 10, 1, 2; AE: Vlasto a. O. 170 Typ Nr. 18 (Rs.: Stern). – Vs.: H. Rs.: Blitz.
243. AE, Metapont (Lukanien), spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Grose, *McClellan* I 135, 1035 Taf. 35, 29; *SNG Copenhagen* (Italy) 1266; Stazio, A., *XIII ConvMGrecia* (1973) 93, 96. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Drei Gerstenkörner.
244. AU Stater, Makedonien, Philipp II., 359–336 v. Chr. (geprägt in Amphipolis). – Babelon, *Traité* IV (1932) 510 Taf. 308; Le Rider, G., *Le monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe II* (1977) 227, 248–250 Taf. 82. – Vs.: Kopf des Apollon. Rs.: Biga nach r., Beizeichen H.
245. AR Tetradrachmon und Didrachmon, Makedonien, Philipp II. (geprägt in Pella), 354/3–349/8 v. Chr. – Le Rider, a. O. 244, 15–21 (Pella Group I b) Nr. 79–137 Taf. 4–6. – Vs.: Kopf des Zeus. Rs.: Reiter nach l. (Philipp II.), bisweilen Beizeichen H.
246. AR Tetradrachmon, Makedonien, Philipp II. (geprägt in Pella), 348/7–343/2 v. Chr. – Le Rider, a. O. 244, 21–23, 140–152 (Pella Group II A 1) Taf. 6–7. – Vs.: Kopf des Zeus. Rs.: Reiter nach l., Beizeichen H.
247. \* AR Äginäisches Hemidrachmon, Achaiische Liga, Kleitor, 350–300 v. Chr. – Babelon, *Traité* III 613–614, 9201 Taf. 225, 27, 28; *BMC Peloponnesus* 179, 3–6 Taf. 33, 10, 11; *SNG Copenhagen* (Argolis) 223–225. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Stier.
248. AE, Achaiische Liga, Kleitor, spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Babelon, *Traité* III 613–614, 922–924 Taf. 225, 29–31; *BMC Peloponnesus* 180, 12–14 Taf. 33, 15; *SNG Copenhagen* (Argolis) 228, 229. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Monogramm.
249. AR Stater, Korinth, 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Babelon, *Traité* II 3, 427 Taf. 213, 3; *BMC Corinth* 31, 289 Taf. 10g; *SNG Copenhagen* (Corinth) 83. – Vs.: Pegasos. Rs.: Kopf der Athena, Beizeichen H.
250. AE, Korinth, 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Babelon, *Traité* II 3, 441; *BMC Corinth* 56, 465; *SNG Copenhagen* (Corinth) 175, 176 Taf. 4. – Vs.: Pegasos. Rs.: Dreizack, Beizeichen H.
251. AE Uncia, Atella (Campanien), spätes 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Sambon, A., *Les monnaies antiques d'Italie* (1906) 409, 1056; *SNG München* 2, 136. – Vs.: Büste des H. Rs.: Elephant.
252. AR Didrachmon, Neapolis (Campanien), frühes 3. Jh. v. Chr. – *SNG Copenhagen* (Italy) 461. – Kopf der Parthenope, Beizeichen H. Rs.: Androkephaler Stier, von Nike bekränzt.
253. AE, Neapolis (Campanien), 3. Jh. v. Chr. – *SNG Copenhagen* (Italy) 495. – Vs.: Kopf des Apollon. Rs.: Androkephaler Stier, Beizeichen H.

254. AE Sextans, Velecha (?) (Campanien), spätes 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Sambon, a. O. 251, 414, 1064; *SNG München* 2, 431. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Elephant.
255. AR Obol (Hemibolion?), Rubi (Apulien), 3. Jh. v. Chr. – *SNG München* 2, 507. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Zwei Halbmonde.
256. AE Sescuncia, Venusia (Apulien), 3. Jh. v. Chr. – *SNG München* 2, 550. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Stern und Halbmond.
257. AE, Tarent (Kalabrien), 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Ravel, a. O. 242, Nr. 1795. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Stern.
258. AE, Istros (Thrakien), spätes 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Babelon, *Traité* II 4, 1671 Taf. 352, 23; Pick, B., *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands* I 1, *Dacien und Moesien* (1898) 167, 464–467 Taf. II 25 K. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Seeadler und Delphin.
259. AE, Olbia (Thrakien), 3.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – Minns, E. H., *Scythians and Greeks* (1913) 477 Taf. 3, 11; Pick, a. O. 258, Taf. IX 31 K; *SNG Copenhagen* (Thrace) 96. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Zwei Pferdeprotomen.
260. AR Tetradrachmon, Makedonien, Philipp III. Arrhidaios, 323–316 v. Chr. – Forrer, *Weber* II 77, 2157 Taf. 83. – Vs.: Herakles. Rs.: Zeus auf Thron, Beizeichen H.
261. AR Hemidrachmon, Achaiische Liga, Kleitor, nach 280 v. Chr. – Clerk, M. G., *Cat. of the Coins of the Achaean League* (1895) IV Nr. 180 Taf. 1, 2; Thompson, M., *The Agrinion Hoard, NNM* 159 (1968) 59 Taf. 42, 543. – Vs.: Kopf des Zeus nach l. Rs.: Monogramm, unten Beizeichen H.
262. AR Hemidrachmon, Achaiische Liga, Kleitor, 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Clerk, a. O. 261, IV Nr. 180 Taf. 1, 2. – Vs.: Kopf des Zeus nach r. Rs.: Monogramm, oben Beizeichen H.
263. AR Tetrolol, Argos, spätes 4.–frühes 3. Jh. v. Chr. – *BMC Peloponnesus* 145, 117, 118; *SNG Copenhagen* (Argolis) 50, 51. – Vs.: Wolfsprotome. Rs.: A in Quadratum incusum, Beizeichen H.
264. AR Tetradrachmon, Drachme, Hemidrachmon, Athen, 170–169 v. Chr. – Thompson, a. O. 38, 98–102, 287–314 Taf. 30, 31. – Vs.: Kopf der Athena. Rs.: Eule auf Amphora, Beizeichen H.
265. \* AR Tetradrachmon und Didrachmon, Sinope (Paphlagonien), spätes 3. Jh. v. Chr. – *SNG v. Aulock* 220, 6859; *RecGén* I 198, 46, 47 Taf. 25, 32, 33. – Vs.: Stadtgöttin Sinope. Gegenstempel H. Rs.: Sitzender Poseidon, Gegenstempel Kopf des Poseidon oder des Zeus bzw. archaisches Standbild des Apollon, Gegenstempel Kopf der Athena.
266. AE, Apameia Myrleia (Bithynien), 3. Jh. v. Chr. – *RecGén* I 2, 249, 27 Taf. 37, 20. – Vs.: H. Rs.: *MYPAEA*.
267. AR Tetradrachmon (Cistophor), Ephesos (Ionien), 166–160 v. Chr. – Kleiner/Noe, a. O. 218, 41 Series 2 Taf. 11, 3–5. – Vs.: Cista mystica. Rs.: Zwei Schlangen um Köcher und Bogen, Beizeichen Büste des H.
268. \* AE, Erythrai (Ionien), 3. Jh. v. Chr. – *BMC Ionia* 132, 135, 136, 137 (Taf. 15, 20). 138–140; *SNG Copenhagen* (Ionia) 667–671. – Vs.: H. Rs.: *EPY* und Beamtentenne.
269. \* AE, Telmessos (Lykien), 2. Jh. v. Chr. –

- SNG v. Aulock* 4451; *SNG Copenhagen* (Lycia) 134. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Apollon auf dem Omphalos.
270. AR Drachme und AE, Side (Pamphylien), 3. Jh. v. Chr. – AR: *BMC Lycia* 150, 56 Taf. 28, 2; AE: *BMC Lycia* 151, 69–70 Taf. 28, 7. – Vs.: Kopf der Athena, Gegenstempel Biene bzw. H. Rs.: Nike.
271. AR Stater, Tetradrachmon, Drachme, Hemidrachmon, Syrien, Seleukos I. Nikator (geprägt in Susa), 305–281 v. Chr. – Houghton, A., *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Coll. of A. H.* (1983) 102, 1026, 1027 Taf. 61; Newell, *ESM* 110, 298–299; 113, 301; 114, 304, 305, 307, 308 Taf. 23, 1–5, 7, 11–12, 14–17; *SNG Copenhagen* (Syria) 20, 21. – Büste des H. als Beizeichen auf verschiedenen Münzen.
272. AE, Syrien, Antiochos I. (geprägt in Tigris-Euphrat-Region), 280–261 v. Chr. – Newell, *WSM* 83, 888 Taf. 13, 16, 17. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Umgekehrter Anker.
273. AE, Syrien, Demetrios I., 162–150 v. Chr. – McDowell, R. H., *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris* (1935) 21, 47; 22, 52; 39–41 Taf. 3. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Stehende Artemis bzw. Füllhorn.
274. \* AR Tetradrachmon (Cistophor), Tralleis (Lydien), 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – *SNG v. Aulock* 3255; Kleiner/Noe, a. O. 218, 74, 75 Series 45 Taf. 28, 1–4. – Vs.: Cista mystica. Rs.: Zwei Schlangen um Köcher und Bogen, Beizeichen Büste des H.
275. AE, Parthien, Phraates IV., 38/37–3/2 v. Chr. – *BMC Parthia* 116, 111 Taf. 21, 9, 10; *SNG Copenhagen* (Parthia) 128. – Rs.: H.
276. \* AE, Kibyra (Phrygien), 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. – Imhoof-Blumer, *MGr* 396–397; *SNG v. Aulock* 3720. – Vs.: H. Rs.: Protome eines Zebustieres oder Pferdes.

## 4. Der Kopf des Helios auf der Sonnenscheibe

### a) Auf der Sonnenscheibe ohne Strahlen

277. EL Stater und Hekte, Kyzikos (Mysien), 460–450 v. Chr. – Kraay/Hirmer, *GrCoins* Nr. 72 Taf. 198; Schauenburg, *Helios* Anm. 22. – Vs.: H. nach l., unten Thunfisch. Rs.: Quadratum incusum.

### b) Auf der Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlen

278. AU Stater, Lampsakos (Mysien), Mitte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Babelon, *Traité* II 1374, 2551 Taf. 171, 18; Baldwin, A., *The Gold Staters of Lampsakos, AJNum* 53, 1924, Typus 23, S. 26, 48 Taf. 2, 20, 21; Auktion Bank Leu AG 45, 26.5.88, 46 Nr. 202, Titelbild; Schauenburg, *Helios* 12 Anm. 21. – Vs.: H. nach l. Rs.: Pegasos-Protome.
279. \* AR Drachme und AE, Megiste (?) (Karien), 4. Jh. v. Chr. – AR: *BMC Caria* 221, 1–3 Taf. 34, 1–3; *SNG v. Aulock* 2769; *SNG Copenhagen* (Caria) 913; AE: Babelon, *Traité* II 1029, 1733 Taf. 148, 6; *BMC Caria* 221, 4; *SNG Copenhagen* (Caria) 914. – Vs.: H. nach l. oder r. Rs.: Rose.
280. \* AR Didrachmon, Drachme, Nisyros (Karien), 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Didrachmon (Vs.: H. nach r.): *SNG v. Aulock* 2770; Drachme (Vs.: H. nach

1.): Babelon, *Traité II* 1029, 1735 Taf. 148, 8. – Rs.: Rose.

### 5. Büste des Helios mit Köcher und Bogen

281. AE, Syrakus, 2. Jh. v. Chr. – SNG Copenhagen (Sicily) 915; Gábrici, *Bronzo* 188, 603. – Vs.: H. nach r. Rs.: Nackte männliche Gestalt (Heros?).

282.\* AE, Magnesia am Maeander (Ionien), nach 190 v. Chr. – BMC Ionia 164, 48 Taf. 19, 6; SNG Copenhagen (Ionia) 854. – Vs.: H. nach r. Rs.: Kultbild der Artemis Leukophryene.

### 6. Deutung unsicher

283. AR Drachme, Halikarnassos (Karien), 400–377 v. Chr. – Babelon, *Traité II* 2 Nr. 1668–1670 Taf. 146, 19–20; BMC Caria 102, 3–4 Taf. 18, 3. – Vs.: Männlicher Kopf mit Lorbeerkrantz von vorn; H. oder Apollon. Rs.: Adler.

284. AR Hemidrachmon, Gortys (Kreta), 2. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Crete 44, 58 Taf. 11, 10; Grose, *McClean* 497, 7116 Taf. 240, 14. – Vs.: Kopf des H. (?) ohne Attribut von vorn. Rs.: Adler mit Schlange.

285. AE, Kos (Karien), 2. Jh. v. Chr. – BMC Caria 204, 111–114 Taf. 31, 19; SNG Copenhagen (Caria) 657, 658; SNG v. Aulock 8174. – Vs.: Kopf des H. (?) ohne Attribut von vorn. Rs.: Bogen in Kasten und Keule.

### C. Heliosbüste von vier Pferdeprotomen flankiert

286.\* Heliosbüste in Hochrelief, Marmor. Brooklyn, Brooklyn Mus. 62.148. Aus Behnesa (Oxyrrhynchos). – Hoffmann 117–124 Taf. 20, 1. 2; 21, 3; 22, 6. – 2. oder 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Der Gott trägt einen Nimbus mit Strahlen; es scheint, daß das Relief die Bekrönung eines Giebels darstellte, der wiederum ein Teil eines größeren Monuments gewesen ist. Die Büste des Lichtgottes wurde vielleicht wie auf der Igeler Säule (→ Herakles 2938) von zwei Pferdeprotomen flankiert (Hoffmann).

287. Vergoldete Silberphalerae. a)\* London BM 2108; b) ehem. Slg. Nelidow. Aus Elis. – Marshall, *BM Jewellery* Nr. 2108 Taf. 40; Pollak, L., *Klassisch-antike Goldschmiedearbeiten im Besitz A. von Nelidow* (1903) 187 Nr. 533 Taf. 20; Schauenburg, *Helios* 23 Anm. 166. 167. – Um 300 v. Chr. – H.büste in Vorderansicht mit Strahlen, in getriebenem Hochrelief. Vom Viergespann sind nur die Pferdeprotomen dargestellt. Im Segment unter den Pferdeprotomen springen zwei Delphine, das Meer (oder den Okeanos) andeutend, aufeinander zu.

288. Goldplättchen eines Kranzes. Aus Südrussland. – Stephani, L., *CRPetersb* 1875, 21 Nr. 10 Abb. Taf. 2; Schauenburg, *Helios* 57 Anm. 160. – Eine Heliosbüste mit Strahlen in Vorderansicht und die Vorderseite der vier Pferde füllen das scheibenförmige Plättchen.

### D. Kopf oder Büste des Helios mit Selene oder anderen Göttern

289.\* Oinochoe, apul. rf. Birmingham, Mus. and Art Gall. 1617.85. – *RVAp II* 979, 212 Taf. 383, 7; Stuttgart-Gruppe. – Ende 4. Jh. v. Chr. – H.kopf in Vorderansicht, aus einem Blütenornament wachsend und von zwei Erosen umgeben; vgl. 369. Um den H.kopf die Sonnenscheibe aus zwei konzentrischen Kreisen mit Strahlen.

290. Mosaik. Sparta, Odos Triakosion. – Steinhauer, G., *ArchDelt* 30, 1975 (1983), 74–76 Abb. 1 Taf. 44; *ArchRepts* 1983/84, 27 Abb. auf Titelseite. – 4. Jh. n. Chr. – Im zentralen Medaillon Büsten des H. und der Selene, umschlossen von einer kreisförmigen Zone mit den zwölf Tierkreiszeichen.

S. auch 134.

### Stein- und Tonreliefs

291. (= Aphrodite [Aphrodisias] 11\* mit Lit.) Statue der Aphrodite, fr., Marmor. Athen, Nat. Mus. 1795. Aus Athen. – *A Voyage into Time and Legend Aboard the Keryneia Ship*, Nat. Mus. Athens (1987) 110 Abb. 140. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. – Das Gewand der Statue ist in übereinander liegenden Zonen mit Götterfiguren verziert (Zeus, Hera, Chariten u. a.). In der zweiten Zone von oben Büste des Helios r. und Büste der Selene l., eine Säule flankierend (die kosmische Säule, Symbol der Grenze zwischen Tag und Nacht). Der Kopf des Helios in der Sonnenscheibe, der Selene in ihrer Scheibe.

292. (= Artemis Eleuthera 2\* mit Lit.) Relief. Myra, Theater. – Auf dem Relief in halber Höhe die Büste des H. mit Strahlenkranz über einer Mondsichel. Das Relief beweist, daß das Kultbild von Myra Büsten als Schmuck trug, was auch anhand der Münzbilder zu vermuten war.

293. (= Aphrodite [Aphrodisias] 15\* mit Lit.) Statuette der Aphrodite von Aphrodisias. Erlangen, Univ. I 505. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf dem Gewand der Göttin, das in Streifen verziert ist, sind auch die Büsten des Helios und der Selene dargestellt.

294. Tischfuß (?), Marmor. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. 356. Aus Pergamon. – Mendel, *Sculpt I* 573 Nr. 251 (356) Abb. S. 574. – 200–150 v. Chr. – Auf der Hauptseite reiches Rankenwerk; darunter l. Kybele auf dem Löwen und r. Dionysos auf einem Tiger. Auf den Nebenseiten je eine Fackel in Rankenornament; auf der einen Fackel die Büste des Helios mit Strahlen, auf der anderen Selene (?).

295. Kugel mit Reliefverzierung, Stein. Cheronia, Mus. Aus Livadia (Böotien). – *ArchDelt* 20, 1965, Chron. 242 Taf. 287β–γ; v. Hesberg, a. O. 296, 228. – Spätrepublikanische oder augusteische Zeit (v. Hesberg). – Auf zwei entgegengesetzten Seiten der Kugel je eine Büste, die der Sonne mit der Scheibe und Strahlen in Vorderansicht und die der Selene.

296.\* Kassettenplatte aus der Gefangenenfassade in Korinth. Korinth, Mus. S. 195. – Stillwell, R., *Korinth I* 2 (1941) 71 Nr. 18 Abb. 48; v. Hesberg, H., „Zur Datierung der Gefangenenfassade in Korinth“, *AM* 98, 1983, 228 Taf. 46, 1. – Augusteische Zeit (v. Hes-

berg). – H. protome in Vorderansicht und Seleneprotome, die Kassetten der Gefangenenfassade verzierend. Strahlen am Haar des Helios und Mondsichel hinter den Schultern der Selene.

297. Giebel des Tempels I (Isieion) des Serapeions auf Delos, Marmor. Delos, *in situ* wiederaufgestellt. – Roussel, P., *Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du III<sup>e</sup> au I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.C.* (1915/16) Abb. 10; Marcadé, a. O. 133, 358 Anm. 54; Bruneau/Ducat, a. O. 139, 228. – 130 v. Chr. (Bruneau). – H.büste (?), sehr zerstört, so daß ihre Benennung schwierig und umstritten ist.

298. (= Asklepios [in Thracia] 22 mit Lit.) Relief, Marmor. – Plovdiv, Arch. Mus. 1021. Aus Plovdiv. – Tsontchev, D., *Monuments de la sculpture romaine en Bulgarie méridionale*, Coll. Latomus 39 (1959). – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Götter der Asklepiosfamilie von den Büsten des H. und der Selene, jeweils auf einer hohen Basis stehend, umgeben.

299. (= Dioskouroi 237\*, = Dioskouroi/Castores 136 mit Lit.) Tonscheibe. Brindisi, Mus. Prov. 656. Aus Apulien. – Brendel, O., *RM* 51, 1936, 64 Abb. 10; Wüilleumier, P., *Tarente* (1939) 544 ff. Taf. 45, 2; Boyance, P., *REA* 44, 1942, 191 ff. Taf. 4, 2. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Im Zentrum in Relief ein Viergespann, darüber zwei Figuren (Semele?, Dionysos?). Das Paar ist l. von einer Heliosprotome mit Strahlen und r. von einer Seleneprotome mit Mondsichel flankiert. Andere Götter und Dämonen, wie auch Götterattribute und Kultsymbole umgeben das zentrale Thema. In der Außenzone der Zodiacus.

300. (Deutung unsicher) Reliefplatten, Marmor, Korinth Mus. Aus Korinth, Odeion. – Broneer, O., *Korinth X* (1932) Nr. 95–105 S. 114 ff. Abb. 106–110; Schauenburg, *Helios* Anm. 201. – Ende 1. Jh. n. Chr. – Sonnengesichter (Broneer), oder eher Masken, in einem geometrischen, rein dekorativen Muster (Schauenburg).

### Weihreliefs

301. Reliefplatte, Gips. Kairo, Ägypt. Mus. 26.6.20 Nr. 5. – Schauenburg, *Helios* 21–22 Anm. 144 Abb. 8; Vermaseren, M. J., *Cybele and Attis* (1977) L 27 Taf. 71. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. – In enger Anlehnung an ein Vorbild, das zwischen 340 und 320 v. Chr. gearbeitet sein dürfte (Schauenburg). – In einem Naikos thront Kybele, von Löwen umgeben und flankiert von Hermes und einer Göttin mit Fackeln. Auf dem Giebelfirst das H.gesicht mit Strahlen; auf beiden Giebelschragen bewegen sich je drei Korybanten mit Rundschilden.

302. Motivrelief, Marmor. Tenos Mus. A 340. Aus Tenos. – *AAA* 15, 1982, 255–260 Abb. 1. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. – Gelagerte Figur mit Füllhorn (Asklepios?); l. von ihm Hermes, r. Herme und eine weibliche Figur, alle drei auf Basen stehend. Über der weiblichen Figur H. protome im Profil nach l. mit Strahlen. L. oberhalb von Hermes die Mondsichel.

303. Motivstele, Marmor. Bursa, Mus. 1679. Aus Prusa (Bithynien). – Dörner, F. K., *Inchriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien* (1941) 108 Nr. 124 Taf. 41; Hommel, P., *IstMitt* 7, 1957, 19 Nr. d 2. – Kaiserzeit (?). – Im Giebelfeld kleine Büste des H. mit Strahlen-

kranz und symmetrisch gebildeten Ranken auf den Seiten. Im vertieft eingelassenen Relief die Büsten von Isis und Sarapis.

304. (= Artemis 237) Motivstele, Marmor. Veria, Mus. 249. Aus Stenimachos. – 2.–3. Jh. n. Chr. – Im Feld der Stele Artemis; im Giebelfeld l. Kopf des H. mit Strahlen, r. Kopf der Selene mit Mondsichel.

### Grabreliefs

305.\* Grabstele, Marmor. Wien, Kunsthist. Mus. I 1082 (früher im Schloß Catajo). – Pfuhl, E./Möbius, H., *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* (329) Nr. 1372 Taf. 199. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. – Reitender Jüngling l. von Selenebüste mit Mondsichel und r. von H.büste mit Strahlen umrahmt.

306. Grabrelief, Marmor. Aus Eiveili (Türkei). – Pfuhl/Möbius, a. O. 305, 123 Nr. 339. – Späthellenistisch (?). – H.kopf und Mann, in der Hand eine gesenkte Fackel haltend.

307. Grabrelief, Marmor. Ankara, Arch. Mus. Aus Kotiaion. – Pfuhl/Möbius, a. O. 305, 173 Nr. 580. – Späthellenistisch (?). – Kleine H.büste in Nimbus mit Strahlenkranz (?) oberhalb der Protomen des Grabreliefs.

308. Grabrelief, Marmor. Ehem. Slg. Calvert. Aus der Troas. – Pfuhl/Möbius, a. O. 305, 338 Nr. 1424. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Zwei Reiterpaare, darüber H.büste mit Strahlen.

309. Grabrelief, Marmor. Bursa, Mus. 100. – Pfuhl/Möbius, a. O. 305, 339 Nr. 1180b Taf. 207. – 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Die Dioskuren oder ihnen ähnliche Jünglinge und zwischen ihnen H.büste.

310. Grabrelief, Marmor. München, Glypt. Aus Kleinasien. – Pfuhl/Möbius, a. O. 305, 503 Nr. 2090 Taf. 300. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Im unteren Feld die Büsten eines Mannes und einer Frau. Im oberen Feld die dreileibige Hekate, von Göttinnen umrahmt; über Hekate, unmittelbar unter der Giebelspitze, der Kopf des H. im Strahlenkranz.

311. Grabrelief, Marmor. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. Aus Kotiaion. – Pfuhl/Möbius, a. O. 305, 502–503 Nr. 2089; Rodenwaldt, G., *JdI* 34, 1919, 78 Abb. 2; Bossert, H., *Altanatolien* (1942) Abb. 1110. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – In der Mitte die dreileibige Hekate; über ihrem Polos die Mondsichel, in der sich eine Büste des Helios mit ovalem Nimbus mit Dreieckstrahlen befindet. L. von Hekate Men, zu seiner R. nackter Jüngling mit Doppelbeil. In der unteren Zone die Armbüsten des Ehepaares.

312. Grabrelief, Marmor. Usak, Mus. Aus Kotiaion. – Pfuhl/Möbius, a. O. 306, 503 Nr. 2091 Taf. 301. – Späte Kaiserzeit. – Unter dem Giebel die dreileibige Hekate, über ihr die Heliosbüste mit Strahlen. Unter der Zone der Hekate die Brustbüsten eines Mannes und einer Frau.

313. Bruchstück einer giebelförmigen Grabstele, Marmor. Hasanköy (Phrygien), Mus. Aus Akmonia. – Pfuhl/Möbius, a. O. 306, 507 Nr. 2107 Taf. 302. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Im Giebelfeld Büste des Men; über dem l. Seitenakroter Büste des H. mit Strahlenkranz; über dem r. Büste der Selene mit Mondsichel hinter den Schultern.

## Gemmen

314. Karneol. München, Münzslg. A 1855. – AGDI 3, Nr. 2177 Taf. 188. – 1. Jh. v. Chr. – Nackte Aphrodite berührt mit einer Hand den Kopf einer bärtigen Panherme, während sie mit der anderen Hand eine Sandale löst oder befestigt. Zu beiden Seiten ein achtstrahliger Stern. Oben die Köpfe des H. mit Strahlenkranz und der Selene mit Mondsichel.

315. Brauner Sard. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 3366. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 3366 Taf. 27. – Späte Arbeit. – L. vor einer Säule ein tischartiges Gestell mit Phallos; darauf ein bärtiger Kopf. R. brennender Altar, dann drei Köpfe nebeneinander nach l. Darüber H.kopf mit Strahlenkranz, Füllhorn, zwei Phalloi, Sonne und Mondsichel.

316. Karneol. New York, MMA 1881.6.175. – Richter, *MetMusGems* 70 Nr. 283 Taf. 39. – Kaiserzeit. – Im Zentrum Artemis, flankiert von zwei Hirschen. Oben H. protome mit Strahlen auf seinem Haar und Seleneprotome (?).

## Bronzerelief

317. Bronzetafel. Athen, Nat. Mus. Kar. 608. – Römische Zeit (?). – Auf dem l. Teil zwei übereinanderliegende Zonen mit H. protomen (auf jedem Kopf Strahlenkranz) und Kybeleprotomen. Daneben vier Paare von Kybeleprotomen.

## Goldschmuck

318.\* Ohrgehänge, Gold. London, BM Jew. 1847, 1848. Aus Kephallonia. – Schauenburg, *Helios* 20; Higgins, R., *Greek and Roman Jewellery* (1980<sup>2</sup>) 163–164, e Taf. 47A. – Frühhellenistisch (Schauenburg). – Auf beiden Ohrgehängen hält eine Nike mit beiden Händen eine runde Scheibe über sich, in welcher der von Strahlen umgebene Kopf des H. erscheint.

## Münzen

## Helios und Selene

319.\* AE, Smyrna (Ionien), Alexander Severus (222–235 n. Chr.). – BMC Ionia 293, 432–433; Klose, D. O., *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1987) 19 R 4 Taf. 50; MacDonald, *Hunter* II 385, 247 Taf. 52, IS; SNG v. Aulock 2225. – Rs.: Einander gegenüberstehende Büsten, r. Selene, l. Helios mit Strahlenkranz.

320.\* AE, Pergamon (Mysien), Commodus (177–192 n. Chr.). – BMC Mysia 151, 308 Taf. 30, 4; v. Fritze, H., *Die Münzen von Pergamon* (1910) 56 Taf. 4, 7; SNG v. Aulock 1408. – Stehender Zeus mit Blitz und Lanze, r. Gaia, l. Thalassa. Im Feld l. Kopf der Selene, r. Kopf des H. mit Strahlenkranz nach l.

321. AE, Sagalassos (Pisidien), Trebonianus Gallus (251–253 n. Chr.). – BMC Pisidia 247, 38 Taf. 38, 9; SNG v. Aulock 5195; SNG Copenhagen (Pisidia) 212. – Rs.: Büsten von H. und Selene, hintereinander gestaffelt, nach l., H. im Vordergrund mit Strahlenkranz. L. Mondsichel.

322. AE, Alexandria (Ägypten), Antoninus Pius bis Diocletian, 138–305 n. Chr. – BMC Alexandria 1032, 1287, 1541, 1557, 1727, 1776, 1811, 2042

(Taf. 3). 2480 (Taf. 3); Geißen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 390, 1879 (Antoninus Pius); MacDonald, *Hunter* III Nr. 443 (Taf. 88, 3). 612 (Taf. 39, 15). 705, 805, 854. – Rs.: Büsten von H. und Selene, hintereinander gestaffelt, nach r., H. im Vordergrund mit Strahlenkranz, dahinter Selene mit Mondsichel auf dem Kopf bzw. vor ihrem Gesicht.

## Helios und Sarapis

323. AE, Alexandria (Ägypten), Maximian (286–305 n. Chr.). – Geißen/Weiser, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 106, 3304. – Rs.: Brustbild des Sarapis nach l., gegenüber Brustbild des Helios mit Strahlenkranz und Chlamys nach r. H. legt Sarapis die Rechte auf die Schulter.

## E. Heliosbüste und Zodiacus

S. auch 290, 299, 335.

324.\* Granat. London, BM 1168. – Walters, *BMGems* Nr. 1168; Schauenburg, *Helios* 62 Anm. 219. – Hellenistisch. – H. protome in Vorderansicht; Strahlen um das Haar; am Rand umlaufend die Tierkreiszeichen.

325. Tonlampe. Patras, Mus. Aus Patras. – *ArchDelt* 29, 1973/74 Chron. 2, 351 Taf. 218, 6. – Römische Zeit. – Gestaffelte Büsten des H. und der Selene, vom Tierkreis eingefasst.

326. Goldmedaillon. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. (?). Aus Abukir. – Dressel, H., *AbhBerlin* 1906, 9–10 Nr. C Taf. 2; Brendel, O., *Antike* 12, 1936, 272–274, Abb. 1; Fittschen, K., *Der Schild des Achilleus*, *ArchHom* N 1 (1973) 3. – Zeit Gordians III. (238–244 n. Chr.) (Fittschen); nach einem Original hellenistischer Zeit (Brendel). – Auf dem Medaillon Alexanderprotome mit Schild, dessen Verzierung vom Schild des Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 18, 478–607) inspiriert ist: H. kopf mit Strahlendiadem, Selenekopf, Nyx (?), Sterne und dem Rand entlang die Tierkreiszeichen.

## F. Helios als Sternbild

## Münzen

327.\* AE, Alexandria (Ägypten), Antoninus Pius, 144/45 n. Chr. – BMC Alexandria 127, 1083, 1084 Taf. 12; Geißen, *AlexKaisermünzen* II 260, 1495–1497, vgl. 1498, 1582, 1583. – Rs.: Büste des H. mit Strahlenkranz nach r., r. daneben Stern, darunter Löwe nach r.

## XIII. Helios in voller Gestalt

## A. Stehend (außer auf Münzen)

## Relief

328. Reliefplatte, Kalkstein. Rhodos, Mus. 13612. Aus Kamari. – Jacopi, G., *ClRhodos* V 2, 1932, 24 ff. Taf. II Abb. 15; Merker, a. O. 339, 30 Nr. 65; Maryon, a. O. 334, 72 Abb. 1. – 2. Jh. v. Chr. (Maryon). –

Relief einer jugendlichen Figur, nach Maryon Kopie des Kolosses von Rhodos (334), was von anderen abgelehnt wird.

## Gemmen

329. Karneol. München, Staatl. Münzslg. 2647. – AGDI 3, Nr. 2647 Taf. 246. – 3. Jh. n. Chr. – H. nackt von vorn mit dem Kopf nach r., den Strahlenkranz tragend. Seine l. Hand erhoben, seine Rechte die Peitsche haltend.

330. Jaspis. München, Staatl. Münzslg. 2646. – AGDI 3, Nr. 2646 Taf. 246. – Spätes 3. Jh. n. Chr. – Wie 329.

331. Heliotrop. New York, MMA 1881.6.172. – Richter, *MetMusGems* Nr. 280 Taf. 40. – 1.–2. Jh. n. Chr. – H. mit Strahlenkranz von vorn mit dem Kopf nach r. Er hält in der Linken das lange Zepter vertikal, in der Rechten die Peitsche.

332. Chalzedon. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 2545. – Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* Nr. 2545 Taf. 23. – Zeus thronend, vor ihm eine Göttin (Hera?) sowie H. stehend. Hinter Zeus Hermes.

## Amphorenstempel

333. Rhodos, Mus. – Langlotz, a. O. 336, 149 Abb. 3. – 100 v. Chr. – H. stehend, mit Strahlen auf dem Kopf.

## Freiplastik

334. Kolossale Statue des H. in Rhodos, Werk des Chares von Lindos, nicht erhalten. – Plin. *nat.* 34, 41; Strabon 14, 2, 5, p. 652 (= Overbeck, *SQ* 1539–1554); Polyb. 5, 88; Hyg. *fab.* 223; Suda s. v. *Κολασσαίς*; Gabriel, A., *BCH* 56, 1932, 331–359; Maryon, H., *JHS* 76, 1956, 68–86; Roux, G., *REA* 62, 1960, 5–40; Laurenzi, L., *EAA* II (1959) 773–774; Marcadé, *MusDélös* 479–480; Langlotz, E., *RendPontAcc* 48, 1975/76 142. – Anfang 3. Jh. v. Chr.

335.\* (= Helios/Sol 301) Heliosorso, Marmor. Vatikan, Mus. Chiaramonti 592. Aus Rom, Campus Martius. – Amelung, *SkulptVatMus* I 710 Nr. 592 Taf. 76; Finn, D. J., *JHS* 32, 1912, 44–45; *ML* I 2, 2002 Abb.; Schauenburg, *Helios* 27. – Römische Kopie nach einem Original der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Der Torso des H. trägt von der r. Schulter zur l. Hüfte ein breites Band, den Balteus, das vorne mit den zwölf Bildern des Tierkreises in Flachrelief verziert ist.

336. (= Apollon/Apollo 59\* mit Lit.) «Apollo-Statue», Marmor. Civitavecchia, Mus. Civ. – Mingazzini, P., *MemLinc* 71, 1974, 49; Langlotz, E., «Eine Nachbildung des Helios von Rhodos», *RendPontAcc* 48, 1975/76, 141–150. – Römische Kopie nach einem Original um 300 v. Chr. (Langlotz). – Nach Langlotz Nachklang des Kolosses von Rhodos.

337. Kopf einer Bronzestatue. Boston, MFA 64.310. «Aus dem Orient.» – Hoffmann 121 Taf. 27, 15; Vermeule, C., *ClJ* 61, 1965, 304–305 fig. 20. – 2.–3. Jh. n. Chr. – Kopf des H. mit stilisiertem Strahlenkranz, an dessen Scheitel «Uraeus». Die Anordnung des Haars nach der Tradition der Alexanderporträts.

338. Kultbild im H. tempel am Isthmos, nicht erhalten. – IG IV 203, 13–14. – Römische Zeit.

## DEUTUNG UNSICHER

339. Kopf einer Statue oder eines Reliefs. Rhodos, Mus. 13630. Aus Kos. – Laurenzi, L., *MemRodi* 3, 1938, 22; Thimme, D., *AJA* 50, 1946, 355 Taf. 21 Abb. 18; Merker, G. S., *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes* (1973) 30 Nr. 66 Abb. 45–47 Taf. 19. – Hellenistisch (Merker); 1. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. (Thimme). – Kopf des H. (Laurenzi); weiblicher Kopf (Merker).

340. Marmorkopf. Kopenhagen, Glypt. 457. Aus Trianta auf Rhodos. – Arndt, P., *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (1912) 166 Taf. 118; Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* Nr. 262; Kleiner, G., in *Charites, Festschr. E. Langlotz* (1957) 102; Merker, a. O. 339, 30 (mit Lit.). – 4. Jh. v. Chr. (frühhellenistisch). – Auf dem Kopf sieben Löcher für die Befestigung der metallenen Strahlen des Lichtgottes. Poulsen bezweifelt, daß die Löcher antik sind; er glaubt, daß es sich eher um ein alexandrinisches Porträt handelt, in dem lysippische und skopasische Züge kontaminiert sind.

341. Kopf, Marmor. Princeton, Slg. Shear. Aus Rhodos. – *AJA* 20, 1916, 283 ff. Taf. 7, 8 Abb. 1, 2; Laurenzi, a. O. 339, 22. – Frühhellenistisch. – Nicht H., sondern eher ein Athlet.

342. Statue, Marmor. Kopenhagen, Glypt. 623. – Squarciapino, M., *La scuola di Afrodizia* (1943) 39–40 Taf. 10; Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* 366 Nr. 525; Richter, G. M. A., *Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture* (1951) 47–76 Abb. 96. – Zeit der Antonine. – Die Benennung der Statue als H. (Richter) wird von Squarciapino abgelehnt.

343. Bronzestatue. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 8141. In Venedig erworben. – Furtwängler, A., *AA* 1881, 123–124 Nr. 8 Abb. S. 123; Picard, *Manuel* III 1, 53; IV 2, 779 Anm. 1. – Eher Alexander als H.

## B. Stehend bzw. ausschreitend auf Münzen

## 1. Ohne Attribut

344. AE, Nikaia (Bithynien), Lucius Verus (161–169 n. Chr.). – SNG v. Aulock 569. – Rs.

## 2. Mit einem Attribut

## a) Mit Peitsche

345. AE, Hadrianopolis (Thrakien), Gordian III. (238–244 n. Chr.). – Mouchmoff, a. O. 202, 2743 Taf. 19, 19; SNG Copenhagen (Thrace) 574. – Rs.

346. AE, Pautalia (Thrakien), Commodus (176–192 n. Chr.). – Ruzicka, L., *Die Münzen von Pautalia* (1933) Nr. 236 Taf. 3, 24. – Rs.

347. AE, Serdica (Thrakien), Caracalla, Geta, Gallienus (198–217, 209–212, 253–268 n. Chr.). – Ruzicka, L., «Die Münzen von Serdica», *NumZ* 48, 1915, Nr. 153–155, 430, 475, 476 Taf. 3 (Nr. 154). – Rs.



348.\* AE, Tarsos (Kilikien), Gordian III. bzw. Salonina (238–244, 253–268 n. Chr.). – Gordian III: SNG v. Aulock 6044; Salonina: BMC Cilicia 230, 331 Taf. 38, 6; SNG v. Aulock 6081. – Rs.

349. AE, Apameia (Phrygien), Philippus II. (244–249 n. Chr.). – BMC Phrygia 103, 188–189; SNG Copenhagen (Phrygia) 221. – Rs.

#### b) Mit Globus

350. AE, Deultum (Thrakien), Gordian III. (238–244 n. Chr.). – Jurukova, J., *Die Münzprägung von Deultum* (1973) 38. 90, 239 Taf. 15. – Rs.

351. AE, Epiphaneia (Kilikien), Gordian III. (238–244 n. Chr.). – *InvWadd* 237, 4276 Taf. 10, 12; BMC Cilicia CXXXV. – Rs.

352.\* AE, Aizanoi (Phrygien), um 260 n. Chr. – SNG v. Aulock 3337; SNG Copenhagen (Phrygia) 68. – Rs.

#### c) Mit Fackel

353. AE, Prusias am Hypios (Bithynien), Lucius Verus (161–169 n. Chr.). – *RecGén* I 4, 608, 39 Taf. 104, 23; SNG v. Aulock 898. – Rs.

354. AE, Soloi-Pompeïopolis (Kilikien), Philippus I. (244–249 n. Chr.). – BMC Cilicia 156, 66 Taf. 27, 7. – Rs.

#### 3. Mit zwei der unter B 2 aufgeführten Attribute

355.\* AE, Pessinus (Galatien), Markus Aurelius (161–180 n. Chr.). – BMC Galatia 20, 13 Taf. 4, 6; SNG v. Aulock 6212; SNG Copenhagen (Cyprus) 123. – Rs.: H. mit Fackel und Globus.

356. AE, Hieropolis-Kastabala (Kilikien), Faustina minor (138–161 n. Chr.). – *InvWadd* 240, 4316; BMC Cilicia 83, 8. 9 Taf. 14, 5. – Rs.: H. mit Fackel und Peitsche, am Boden Fackel.

357.\* AE, Tralleis (Lydien), Valerian I. (253–260 n. Chr.). – SNG v. Aulock 3296. – Rs.: H. mit Fackel und Peitsche.

358.\* AE, Tripolis (Lydien), Philippus II. (244–248 n. Chr.). – SNG v. Aulock 3325. – Rs.: H. mit Fackel und Globus.

359. AE, Kaisareia (Palaestina), Herennius Etruscus (249–251 n. Chr.). – BMC Palestine 35, 178. 179 Taf. 4, 12; Kadman, L., *The Coins of Caesarea Maritima, Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium* II (1957) 57. 58. 59. 76. 132 (Nr. 177) 158. 179 Taf. 15; Rosenberger, M., *City Coins of Palestine* (1975) 22, 145. – Rs.: H. mit Globus und Peitsche.

#### 4. Helios mit verschiedenen anderen Attributen

360. AE, Korinth, Lucius Verus (161–169 n. Chr.). – SNG Copenhagen (Corinth) 337. – Rs.: H. mit Keule (?) und Kopf mit Mauerkrone.

361.\* AE, Philadelpheia (Lydien), Decius (249–251 n. Chr.). – SNG v. Aulock 3085. – Rs.: H. mit Blitz und Thyrsos.

362. AE, Kotiaion (Phrygien), Alexander Severus (222–235 n. Chr.). – BMC Phrygia 171, 64 Taf. 22, 2. – Rs.: H. mit Fackel (?) und Statuette der Kybele.

363. AE, Nomos Heliopolis (Ägypten), Hadrian (117–138 n. Chr.). – Geißen/Weiser, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 136, 3392. – Rs.: H. mit Peitsche und Mnevis-Stier.

364. (Deutung unsicher) AR Didrachmon, Drachme und Hemidrachmon, Kaisareia (Kappadokien), Kaiserzeit. – Sydenham, E. A., *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia* (1933) 18. 20, *passim*; BMC Cappadocia *passim* Taf. 8–12. – Rs.: Berg Argaios. Auf dem Gipfel stehender H. (?) mit Strahlenkrone von vorn, in der Rechten Globus, in der Linken Szepter.

365. (Deutung unsicher) AE, Chalkis (Syrien), Trajan und Hadrian (98–117, 117–138 n. Chr.). – MacDonald, *Hunter* III 140–141, 3. 7 Taf. 71, 26. 27. – H. (?) mit Strahlenkrone von vorn, auf einem Podest stehend, in der Rechten Palmzweig, in der Linken Speer und kleiner Rundschild.

#### 5. Helios mit dem Fuß auf dem Globus

366. AE, Prusa am Olympos (Bithynien), Julia Domna, 214–217 n. Chr. – *RecGén* I 4, 587, 86 Taf. 100, 32. – Rs.: H. mit Strahlenkrone nach l., hält in beiden Händen die Fackel; sein r. Fuß ist auf den Globus gestellt.

#### 6. Heliosstatue in tempelartigen Gebäuden

367. AE, Philadelpheia (Lydien), Mark Aurel (161–180 n. Chr.). – BMC Lydia 199, 73 Taf. 22, 10. – In einem Schrein mit zwei Säulen Statue des H. mit Strahlenkrone, nach r. ausschreitend, in der ausgestreckten Rechten Fackel, in der Linken geschultertes Szepter.

368.\* AE, Philadelpheia (Lydien), Caracalla und Alexander Severus (198–217, 222–235 n. Chr.). – BMC Lydia 202, 86 (Caracalla); 204, 93. 94 Taf. 22, 15 (Alexander Severus); SNG v. Aulock 3081 (Caracalla); 3083 (Alexander Severus). – Rs.: Viersäulige Tempelfront. Darin Statue des H. mit Strahlenkrone nach r., die Rechte ausgestreckt, in der Linken geschultertes Szepter.

#### C. Aus Blütenornament wachsend

369. Volutenkrater, apul. New York, Privatslg. – *RVAp Suppl.* 1, 174, 86b Taf. 33, 2; 34, 2: Virginia Exhibition P. (Nachfolger des Patera- und des Baltimore-Malers). – Ende 4. Jh. v. Chr. – A, Hals: H. mit Strahlen auf dem Kopf, aus einem Blütenornament wachsend.

#### D. Kniend

370.\* EL Stater und Hekte, Kyzikos (Mysien), spätes 5. Jh. v. Chr. – EL Stater: v. Fritze, H., *Die Elektronprägung von Kyzikos, Nomisma* 7 (1912) 11, 148 Taf. 4,

35; Kraay/Hirmer, *GrCoins* Nr. 715 Taf. 199; Lacroix, L., *Etudes d'archéologie numismatique* (1974) 95 Taf. 10, 15. – Vs.: Nackter H. mit Strahlenkrone nach r. über einem Thunfisch kniend, beiderseits je ein Pferd am Zügel haltend. Rs.: Quadratum incusum.

#### E. Sitzend

371. Kugelstein (*sphaera magica*), Marmor. Athen, Epigr. Mus. 2526. Aus dem Dionysostheater, Athen. – IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 2787; Svoronos III 673 Nr. 2526. – 1. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr. – Auf der Kugel Relieffdarstellungen und unverständliche (kabbalistische) Zeichen: Auf der einen Seite H. sitzend auf einem Thron, bis zur Hüfte nackt und mit Strahlenkrone auf dem Haupte. Er hält in der Linken ein langes Zepter, das in einem Dreizack endet (Blitz?), und in der Rechten eine Peitsche (?). Neben seinen Füßen r. ein Löwe (?) und l. ein Hund (?). Auf der Rückseite ein Löwe, Inschriften und eine Schlange (Drache).

372.\* AE, Kaisareia (Kappadokien), Commodus (198–217 n. Chr.). – Sydenham, a. O. 364, 95, 384 (auch S. 18); SNG v. Aulock 6450. – Rs.: H. mit Strahlenkrone nach l. auf einem Felsen sitzend, in der Rechten Zweig, die Linke ruht auf dem Globus, der auf dem Felsen liegt.

S. auch 386.

#### F. Reitend

373.\* AE, Alexandria (Ägypten), Trajan, 110/11 n. Chr. – BMC Alexandria 50, 413 Taf. 3; Christiansen, E., *The Roman Coins of Alexandria* (1987) 168; Geißen, *AlexKaisermünzen* I 162, 549. – Vs.: Kopf mit Lorbeerkrone. Rs.: H. mit Strahlenkrone auf einem Pferd nach l. reitend, die Rechte erhoben, in der Linken Szepter.

#### XIV. Helios in voller Gestalt mit andern Göttern

##### A. Mit Selene

374. AE, Tralleis (Lydien), 180–192 n. Chr. – Imhoof-Blumer, a. O. 40, 178, 36 Taf. 7, 13. – Rs.: H. und Selene einander gegenüberstehend: l. Selene mit Mondsicheln auf den Schultern, in beiden Händen eine Fackel haltend; r. H., mit Strahlenkrone, in der gesenkten Rechten Fackel (?), in der erhobenen Linken Szepter.

375. Steinernen Statuen des H. und der Selene in der Agora von Elis, nicht erhalten. – Paus. 6, 24, 6. – Der Kopf des H. war mit Strahlen versehen, während Selene «Hörner» auf dem Kopf hatte (Papachatzis, *Paus. Messeniaka, Eliaka* 404).

##### B. Mit Pasiphae

376. Bronzestatuen des H. und der Pasiphae (für Paus. Beiname der Selene, cf. RE XVIII 4, 2071 s. v.

«Pasiphae») im Heiligtum und Traumorakel der Ino-Pasiphae bei Thalamai (Lakonien), nicht erhalten. – Paus. 3, 26, 1.

#### C. Mit Aphrodite und Eros

377. Statuen des H. sowie der bewaffneten Aphrodite (= Aphrodite 642) und des Eros mit Bogen im Aphroditeheiligtum auf Akrokorinth, nicht erhalten. – Paus. 2, 5, 1.

#### D. Mit einer Göttin

378.\* AE, Rhodos (Karien), Nerva (96–98 n. Chr.). – BMC Caria 269, 416. 417 Taf. 43, 7; SNG v. Aulock 2860. – Rs.: Stehender H. reicht einer ihm gegenüberstehenden Göttin die Hand.

#### E. Im Gigantenkampf

379. (= Gigantes 481\*, XVIII) Reliefplatte Nr. 18 von der Skene des Theaters in Korinth. Korinth, Mus. 572. – Sturgeon, M. C., *Corinth IX* 2 (1977) 14–16 Taf. 29 Nr. 635. – 1. Viertel 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Nackte männliche Figur (H.?) nach r. gegen einen Giganten kämpfend.

#### XV. Verschmelzung mit anderen Gottheiten

##### A. Helios-Apollon

S. auch 234 und → Apollon 473–484. 491.

##### Reliefs

380.\* Marmormetope aus dem Athenatempel von Ilion (Troja). Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. SK 71–72. – Jucker, H., «Zur Heliosmetope aus Ilion», *AA* 1969, 248 ff. Abb. 1–4; Rohde, E., *Griechische und römische Kunst in den Staatl. Mus. zu Berlin* (1968) 92 Taf. 70; Fuchs, *Skulptur* 3 423; Hoffmann 120; Thompson, a. O. 156, 143. – Um 300 v. Chr. – H. auf Viergespann nach r., seinen Kopf, von einem mächtigen Strahlenkranz bekrönt, dem Betrachter zuwendend. Jucker (249) hat auf dem Relief Spuren eines der gemalten Räder des Gespanns erkannt. Nach Hoffmann soll die Ilionmetope eine treue Reproduktion des Lyssippischen H. sein. Nach Thompson hat H. eine Kithara gehalten, wie aus dem Vergleich mit 381 hervorgeht.

381. (= Apollon 475\* mit Lit.) Weihrelief, Marmor, fr. Delphi, Mus. 9449. Aus der Hermeion-Terrasse. – Frühhellenistisch. – Erhalten sind der Kopf des Apollo-H. mit Lorbeer und Strahlenkranz sowie Spuren einer Kithara, die er wohl sitzend mit der l. Hand hielt.

382.\* (= Artemis 911 mit Lit.) Relief, Marmor. Boston, MFA 1977.171. Aus Attika. – 323 v. Chr. – L. von einem Altar vier Sterbliche, r. H. oder Apollo und

Artemis-Selene oder Selene (Mondsichel auf ihrem Kopf). Apollo-H. ist mit keinem seiner bekannten charakteristischen Attribute versehen; er hält nur einen Stock in der r. Hand.

**383.** (= Apollon 480) Altar, Terrakotta. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. Aus Troja, Inv. 36552. – Thompson, a. O. 156, 143 Nr. 297 Taf. 57. – Spätes 2. oder 1. Jh. v. Chr. – H.-Apollon in Relief auf Viergespann nach l., sein Kopf dem Betrachter zugewandt. Er trägt eine vom Wind nach hinten gewehrte Chlamys und spielt auf der Kithara, die er an seiner r. Seite hält. Die Darstellung erinnert stark an die Ilionmetope (380) und scheint ihr sowie dem «lysippischen» H. nahestehen (Thompson).

#### Rundplastik

**384.** Bronzestatue des Apollon Parnopios, der das Land vor Heuschrecken rettete, auf der Akropolis von Athen, nach Paus. 1, 24, 8 angeblich von Pheidias. Vgl. dazu Tzetz. *chil.* 8, 333, der einen *ἀνθῆλιος Ἀπόλλων* des Pheidias nennt (s. auch die Inschrift einer Statue Konstantins bei Kedrenos *hist. comp.* p. 296a [Migne G 121, 564 B]: «Κωνσταντῖνος, ἔλαμψεν ἥλιος δίχην, ὃς ἦν ἔργον μὲν Φειδίου, ἤχθη δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν»).

#### B. Helios-Mithras?

**385.** Heliosbüste. Relief, Basalt. Damaskus, Mus. Nat. C 7939. – Zouhdi, B., *Cat. du Mus. Nat. de Damas* (1976) 88 Abb. 25. – Helios-Mithras?

#### C. Helios-Apollon-Mithras-Hermes

**386.** (= Apollon 509 mit Lit.) Statue des H.-Apollon-Mithras-Hermes im Hierotheseion des Antiochos I., des Königs von Kommagene, auf dem Nemrud Dağ. – 69–31 v. Chr. – Vierte Figur in einer Reihe kolossaler Sitzstatuen, alle inschriftlich benannt (s. dazu → Apollon 509).

#### D. Helios-Hermanubis

**387.** AE Drachme, Alexandria (Ägypten), Antoninus Pius, 138/39 n. Chr. – SNG Copenhagen (Alexandria) 429. – Rs.: Büste des H.-Hermanubis mit der Strahlenkrone nach r., bekrönt mit Modius und Lotos. Rechts Palmzweig. S. auch → Hermanubis 8g. 10a.

#### E. Helios-Sarapis

Vgl. 323.

#### GRIECHISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

**388.** AE, Katane (Sizilien), 3.–2. Jh. v. Chr. – Gabrieli, *Bronzo* 124, 22; SNG Copenhagen (Sicily) 205. – Vs.: Kopf des H.-Sarapis mit Strahlenkrone und Lorbeerkranz nach r. Globus, Hörner und Federn als Kopfschmuck. Rs.: Stehende Isis.

#### RÖMISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN

**389.** AE, Magnesia am Maeander (Ionien), Alexander Severus (222–235 n. Chr.). – BMC Ionia 167, 67 Taf. 20, 2; Schultz, a. O. 49, 44 Taf. 19, 255 (R 18). – Rs.: Stehender H.-Sarapis mit Strahlenkrone und Modius von vorn, die Rechte erhoben, in der Linken Szepter.

**390.** Bi, Alexandria (Ägypten), Domitian, 86/87 n. Chr. – BMC Alexandria 35, 284 Taf. 15; Vogt, *AlexMünzen* I 55–57; II 18. – Rs.: H.-Sarapis mit Strahlenkrone und Modius, nach l. stehend. Die Rechte ist ausgestreckt, in der Linken Szepter. L. zu seinen Füßen Kerberos. *ΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΣ*.

**391.** Blei, Alexandria (Ägypten), anonym. – Geiblen/Weiser, *AlexKaisermünzen* IV 200, 3579. – Vs.: Brustbild des Antinoos (?). Rs.: Brustbild des Sarapis-H. mit Kalathos und Strahlenkrone.

S. auch → Sarapis Pantheos.

#### KOMMENTAR

Im späten 7. und 6. Jh. v. Chr., als das Griechentum reif genug war, sich mit den Rätseln des Kosmos zu befassen, begannen die griechischen Philosophen mit großem Eifer eine neue Erforschung des Weltalls und besonders des H. und der anderen Gestirne, die in engerer Beziehung zum Menschenleben stehen. Das Interesse verbreitet sich sofort auch unter den Künstlern und ebenso unter den einfachen Vasenmalern und anderen Handwerkern. Die Faszination des ganzen 6. Jh. v. Chr. durch den Kosmos widerspiegelt sich in dem dominierenden Platz, den die Darstellung der Gestirne bzw. des H. in der Kunst einnimmt, am anschaulichsten in den unzähligen erhaltenen Werken der Kleinkunst. Deshalb kann man mit Recht sagen, daß das plötzliche Auftreten der astralen Themen in der archaischen und frühklassischen Kunst der Philosophie verdankt wird, welche demnach der Kanal gewesen ist, durch den das Interesse für die Gestirne und besonders für H. in der griechischen Kunst geflossen ist, und die so die Kunst neu belebt und zu neuen Darstellungsarten geführt hat, was auch zu einer neuen Auffassung des H.kultes führte. Dafür haben auch manche Parallelen mit ägyptischen Vorstellungen beigetragen, die unter den griechischen vorsookratischen Denkern geläufig waren, nämlich zwischen Horos und Helios-Apollon (Hdt. 2, 156, 5; s. allgemein auch Hekataios, Diels *Vorsokr.* 5 73 B 7; Deichgräber, *NachGöttingen* NF 3, 8, 1939, 284).

Während aber die anthropomorphe Darstellung des H. in der geometrischen Zeit fehlt und in der früharchaischen Zeit selten oder unsicher ist, dominieren stattdessen in diesen beiden Perioden seine Attribute und Symbole: Scheibe (Diskus), Rosette, Kreis, Rad oder Stern, wobei nicht immer zu entscheiden ist, welche unter diesen zu H. oder anderen Lichtgottheiten gehören (Yalouris 313–318). In dieser Beziehung stehen offenbar auch die Scheibenakrotere und die Handspiegel mit Lichtgottheits- bzw. Helios-Vorstellungen in Verbindung (Yalouris a. O.). Die einzige uns erhaltene Darstellung des H. auf dem Wagen aus

der früharchaischen Zeit befindet sich auf der theräischen Halsamphora (1), wenn die vorgeschlagene Interpretation das Richtige trifft. S. auch 10.

Gegen Ende des 6. Jh. v. Chr. nimmt plötzlich die anthropomorphe Vorstellung des H. einen dominierenden Platz ein. Seit er in Menschengestalt aufgefaßt wurde, wurde er nicht mehr unpersönlich angerufen (wie *αἴγλη, ἀνὰ, λαμπρὸν φάος Ἥελιου*); stattdessen wird jetzt der Glanz seiner ganzen Gestalt betont: *Φαέθων, Ἠλέκτωρ, πασιφανής* usw. In dieser ersten Phase ist er bärtig und wird in Vorderansicht auf dem Gespann, mit der Sonnenscheibe über seinem Kopf dargestellt (2–10. 96–99. 105). Auf diesen Werken ist H. stets bei seinem Aufgang dargestellt; deshalb ist nur der obere Teil von ihm und seinen Pferden sichtbar. Eine Ausnahme bildet 10, wo H., unbärtig, mit dem Gespann in voller Gestalt wiedergegeben wird. Die Rosse sind gewöhnlich geflügelt (2–4. 6–9. 11). Diese frontale Auffassung erscheint auch auf späteren Werken immer wieder (32–34). Unterhalb des Gespannes wird oft die Zone des Okeanos in Wellen- oder geraden Linien, mit oder ohne Fische, wiedergegeben. Die anthropomorphe Vorstellung des H. lebt seitdem ununterbrochen weiter und wird in die monumentale wie auch in die Kleinkunst aufgenommen. Dichter und Gelehrte sind unter dem Zeichen des Lichtgottes, wobei das Bild der Erde nicht mehr flach, sondern als eine Kugel im Universum, von H. und Selene flankiert, den Ergebnissen der Philosophen über den Kosmos folgend, gedacht wird. Die Verbindung des H. mit dem Weltall sowie mit den bedeutendsten kosmogonischen Mythen wird verherrlicht, indem die betreffenden Bilder von H. und Selene umrahmt werden:

Gigantenkampf: 68–71. 100; Geburt der Aphrodite: 117; Erschaffung der Pandora: 118; Parisurteil: 93. 94; Geburt der Athena: 122; Ilioupersis: 30?; Götterversammlung: 116. 119; andere mit Göttern und Heroen verbundene Szenen: 77. 83. 90. 111. 113. 121. 298. 302; H.' Aufgang und Selenes Untergang im allgemeinen: 105–108. 113. 114.

Außerdem wird H. seit dem Beginn des 5. Jh. v. Chr. meistens unbärtig und nach links oder nach rechts bewegt dargestellt. Diese wechselnde Bewegung des H. ist nicht immer mit Sicherheit zu erklären. Wenn seine Bewegung nach rechts wohl den Sonnenaufgang bedeutet (12. 14. 15. 21. 23–25. 27. 30. 36. 70. 72–76. 80. 84. 85. 106–108. 113. 116–120. 122), dann fragt es sich, was die umgekehrte Bewegung, nach links, meinen könnte (16–18. 20. 22. 26. 28. 29. 35. 68–71. 77–79. 81. 89. 93. 94. 100. 106. 109–112. 115. 121). Eine Deutung dafür bieten folgende Werke: Auf 102, wo H. im Becher, allein, oder auf 100, wo er mit Demeter nach links fahrend dargestellt wird, könnte sich diese Bewegung auf die nächtliche Fahrt des H. bzw. auf die winterliche Phase des Jahres beziehen, während welcher Dionysos in Delphi verweilt und die Wiederbelebung der Natur und die Befruchtung der Erde vollbringt. 100 sowie 69–71 (H. im Gigantenkampf) erklären sich dann wohl durch den Befehl des Zeus an H., nicht aufzugehen, solange die Schlacht dauere

(Apollod. *bibl.* 1 [35] 6, 1). In seinem nächtlichen Aufenthalt aufgefaßt, ist also H. deshalb nach links fahrend dargestellt, um den Osten zu erreichen, und dann nach rechts fahrend, um der Erde das Tageslicht zu bringen.

Andererseits entspricht der seit dem frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr. feststellbare Wechsel von der frontalen, strengen, statischen, epiphaniartigen Haltung zu der seitlichen, bewegteren, weltlicheren Auffassung seinem Übergang vom altherwürdigen bzw. bärtigen, ja zeitlosen, unwandelbaren Gott zum jugendlichen, unbärtigen, jährlichen, ja zum täglichen, aktiveren, vom Vater des Chronos und der Horai zum Träger und Verursacher des Tageslichtes.

Diese Änderungen in der Vorstellung des H., die im frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr. stattfinden, fallen auch zusammen mit seiner Identifizierung mit Apollon, die schon in archaischer Zeit spürbar ist und im frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr. oder kurz darauf vollzogen wurde (s. lit. Quellen und unten).

Schließlich sind noch weitere Attribute und Bezeichnungen des H. zu erwähnen: H. wird als das Auge des Tages bezeichnet, während Selene das Auge der Nacht ist: Soph. *Ant.* 104; Aristoph. *Nubes* 285; s. auch Eur. *Iph. T.* 194–195; Orph. *h.* 8, 14. Im Hinblick auf diese Textstellen müssen vielleicht auch manchmal das Auge als Schildzeichen und eventuell weitere Augendarstellungen auf Vasen als Sonnensymbole verstanden werden (att. sf. Amphora München 1385, *ABV* 310: nahe dem Schaukelmaler; *CVA* 3 Taf. 18, 3; um 530 v. Chr.): ein riesengroßes Auge füllt als Zeichen den ganzen Schild, während der Schild eines anderen Kriegers mit einem Pentagramm verziert ist, vielleicht auch ein Sonnensymbol.

Seit der frühhellenistischen Zeit wird H. auch mit der Fackel dargestellt (Münzen 56–61. 353–359. 366), vielleicht unter dem Einfluß des Kleantes, der den H. als «Dadouchos der Mysterien» bezeichnet (*SVF* I 123 *frag.* 538); s. auch Simon, *Pergamon* 53. 57 Anm. 258: «die Fackel stoischer Einfluß».

Nach den obigen Ausführungen scheint es, daß der Kult der Sonne, wie auch der des Mondes, den Griechen nicht als «barbarisch» galt, wie, unter anderen, auch Nilsson (*GrRel* I<sup>4</sup> 840) behauptete, und daß einzelne diesbezügliche Texte (Aristoph. *Pax* 406–413) nicht wörtlich, sondern eher als poetisch-literarische Wendungen des Dialogs verstanden werden müssen.

Die ältesten uns bekannten Werke, die H.-Apollon darstellen, stammen aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. (380–382); auf allen drei Werken ist er mit den charakteristischen Attributen beider versehen (Strahlenkranz, Kithara, Lorbeer). S. auch 139. 383; Münzen 208. 211. 218. 267. 274. 281–282 und → Apollon S. 244–245. In der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit dominiert die Identifizierung beider Götter weit und breit.

Manche H.protomen wurden früher als Alexanderprotomen erklärt (169 [Stuart Jones, Hoffmann]. 170 [Bieber, Hoffmann]. 147), zumal Alexander in seiner divinisierenden Tendenz und als Verkörperung des Sonnengottes, wie später manche Kaiser, die Züge des lysippischen Helios erhielt (337. 340); aber auch

umgekehrt hat die Darstellung des H. (135 [Dörig]. 170 [Hoffmann]. 176. 343) die Züge Alexanders übernommen: cf. Kleiner, G., in *Charites, Festschr. E. Langlotz* (1957) 101-102; Langlotz, E., *RendPontAcc* 48, 1975/76, 141; s. auch Berve, H., *Alexanders Reich* I 86.

Vorbilder für Alexanders Deifizierung sind in Mausolos von Halikarnass zu finden, der seine heroische Abstammung auf seinen göttlichen Vorfahren Mausolos-Helios zurückführte: cf. Buschor, E., *Mausolos und Alexander* (1950) 55-56; Hornblower, S., *Mausolos* (1982) 260-261. 268-271. 334-337.

NIKOLAOS YALOURIS;  
für den Katalog der Münzen:  
NIKOLAOS YALOURIS  
und TAMARA VISSER-CHOITZ

## HELIOS (IN PERIPHERIA ORIENTALI)

(Accadien *Šamaš*, araméen *Šmeš*, arabe *Šams*) Le Soleil jouait dans les religions anciennes du Proche-Orient asiatique un rôle de second plan; à l'ép. pré-hellénistique, il est surtout invoqué comme garant des serments et comme justicier, et cette dernière fonction est encore attestée à l'ép. romaine.

I. Dans la religion astrale qui se dégage au I<sup>er</sup> millénaire, pour trouver sa forme accomplie au I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C., il est subordonné, comme d'autres planètes, à un dieu cosmique (Ba'alšamîn [→ Baalshamin], → Bel, → Zeus), comme l'expression principale de la toute-puissance du dieu suprême.

II. Il subsiste cependant plusieurs divinités solaires de caractère local, indépendantes des systèmes inspirés par l'astrologie: Yarhibôl (→ Iarhibol) à Palmyre et surtout les dieux recouverts par le nom d'Hélios ou de *Šmeš* / *Sams* (écrits l'un et l'autre *šmš*), qu'il n'est pas toujours possible de différencier. Les cultes arabes, répandus depuis l'ép. hellénistique, contribuent à la propagation de celui du Soleil.

III. Un troisième aspect est celui des cultes solaires. Un tel syncrétisme, considéré jadis comme quasi général à l'ép. romaine, était en réalité limité à des cas précis: → Malakbel à Palmyre, Mercure héliopolitain (→ Héliopolitani dei), Élagabal d'Émèse (→ Elagabalos), Notre Seigneur (*Marân*) de Hatra, peut-être un dieu mineur d'Arados. Ces dieux sont devenus l'émanation du dieu suprême, distincte ou identifiée avec lui.

Un cas très particulier est celui du culte de Mithras (→ Mithras).

Les dieux solaires se reconnaissent à leur nimbe radié, qui n'est pas cependant leur attribut exclusif. Parfois, ils sont figurés dans un char tiré par des Griffons (→ Gryps). Le symbolisme de l'aigle concerne surtout les dieux cosmiques et l'oiseau n'accompagne le Soleil que dans ce contexte.

SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES: Aristob. *FGrH* 139 F 56, 11 (cultes arabes); Strabon 16, 4, 26 p. 784 (cultes nabatéens); Philo Byblius, *FGrH* 790 F 2, 10, 7; Iul. or. 11 (4) (syncrétisme solaire); Macr. *Sat.* 1, 17, 3.

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## CATALOGUE

### I. Hélios comme symbole astral

Accompagnant une autre divinité, souvent avec la Lune (→ Selene) et parfois avec d'autres planètes, il apporte au culte donné une référence cosmique; il est représenté en buste.

1.\* Il accompagne l'aigle céleste sur le couronnement des niches votives à Palmyre. a)\* (= Aglibol 10\* avec bibl.) Linteau en calcaire. Palmyre, Mus. 6850 (B 1906). Du temple de Ba'alšamîn. - Collart, P./Vicari, J., *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre* (1969) I 162-164; II pl. 97, 1-3; Drijvers 16. 28 (bibl.) pl. 32. - 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Bustes d'Aglibôl à g. et de H. (ou Malakbel ?) à dr. - b) Niche aux Griffons. Palmyre, Mus. Du temple de Ba'alshamin. - Collart/Vicari, o. c. I 157; II pl. 95, 1.3; Drijvers 13. 27 (bibl.) pl. 23, 2. - 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Représentation comparable. - c-d) Deux niches analogues: cf. Collart/Vicari, o. c. I 157-158; II pl. 95, 2.4.

2. (= Aglibol 18\* avec bibl. = Baalshamin 22 avec bibl.) Autel de calcaire. Strasbourg, Bibl. Nat. - Seyrig, *Syria* 14, 1933, 281-282 = *AntSyr* I (1934) 130-131 pl. 26; Collart/Vicari, o. c. I, pl. 106, 3; Drijvers 15. 28 (bibl.) pl. 31. - 240 ap. J.-C. - Buste solaire (souvent interprété comme Malakbel) accompagnant, avec celui du dieu Lune, le buste du «dieu anonyme» auquel est dédié l'autel (inscr.).

3.\* Bas-relief en calcaire. New Haven, Yale Univ. Y 235. De Doura-Europos, porte de Palmyre. - Perkins, A., *The Art of Dura-Europos* (1973) 89 pl. 36; Drijvers pl. 12. - 228/29 ap. J.-C. - Buste radié, cuirassé, en haut dans le champ, entre Némésis et le dédicant, le Palmyrénien Julius Aurelius Malochas (→ Némésis [in per. or.]).

4. Bas-relief. Damas, Mus. Nat. De Duweir, près de Sidon. - Bossert, H., *Altsyrien* (1951) fig. 533. -

295 ap. J.-C. - Bustes du Soleil et de la Lune au-dessus de deux taureaux; un dattier au milieu.

5. Cipe quadrangulaire en basalte. Soueida, Mus. De Aïn Zeman (prov. de Atil ?), Hauran. - Dunand, M., *Le Musée de Soueida* (1934) 22-23 n° 19 pl. 6. - Buste radié au-dessus d'une tête de femme. Face opposée: l'aigle au foudre.

6.\* Autel. Beyrouth, Mus. Nat. Des environs de Tyr. - Cumont, F., *Syria* 8, 1927, 163 pl. 38. - Côtés: bustes d'H. nimbé, radié, et de Séléné. Face princ.: l'aigle au foudre et deux taureaux (→ Hadad).

7.\* Autel. Beyrouth, Mus. Nat. De 'Aqura, près d'Afqa (Liban). - Cumont, o. c. 6, 167 pl. 39. - Répartis sur les quatre côtés: buste d'H., buste mutilé au croissant, foudre, taureau.

8. Autel. Paris, Louvre. De Mašnaka. - Renan, E., *Mission de Phénicie* (1864) 290 pl. 32, 2. - Buste d'H. flanqué, sur les côtés, des foudres.

9. Statue d'Apollon hiérapolitain (dite d'Aššurbel). Baghdad, Iraq Mus. De Hatra. - Lenzen, H., *AA* 1955, 339 fig. 2-3; Seyrig, H., *Syria* 47, 1970, 92-93 fig. 12; Safar/Mustafa fig. 227. - Buste drapé du Soleil sur la poitrine cuirassée du dieu.

10. Base. Du sanctuaire «syrien» du Janicule. - Gauckler, P., *Le sanctuaire syrien du Janicule* (1912) 160. - Bustes d'H. et de Séléné flanquant un taureau.

11. a) Médaillons de terre cuite, avec bustes solaires de Mercure Héliopolitain. Paris, Louvre, et Beyrouth, Mus. Nat. Trouvés dans les villages de la Bêqa'. - Seyrig (1971) 367-369 fig. 6. - Buste solaire seul, ou avec ceux de Jupiter et Vénus héliopolitains. - b) (= Héliopolitani dei 87\*-88\* avec bibl.) Disques en plomb. Berlin, Staatl. Mus., et Beyrouth, Mus. Nat. Loc. inconnue pour certains ex. De la fontaine Aïn Djoudj à Baalbek. - Seyrig (1929) 325. 335 pl. 86. - Disques dans un croissant, surmontés d'une tête radiée.

12. Bustes d'H. et de la Lune flanquant les images de Zeus/Iuppiter Dolichenus. - P. ex. Kan, A. H., *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu* (1901) 43 n° 28a; 103 n° 145a.

13.\* Médaillon de terre cuite. Londres, BM 102803. De Palmyre. - Rostovtzeff, M., *AJA* 37, 1933, 59 n° 1 pl. 9, 1; idem, *Caravan Cities* (1932) 151 pl. 21, 1. - Autour d'une déesse trônant entre deux lions (→ Atargatis ou → Allath), buste solaire, buste de femme voilée, astre et croissant.

14. Médaillon de terre cuite. Paris, Louvre. - Du Mesnil du Buisson, R., *Les tessères et les monnaies de Palmyre* (1962) 568 pl. 124; pour le texte, Gawlikowski, M., *Semitica* 23, 1973, 121-123. - Buste radié et nimbé, au croissant, dédié à Ba'alšamîn.

15. (= Ares [in per. or.] 7 avec bibl.) Relief ornant le plafond du *thalamos* nord du temple de Bel à Palmyre, *in situ*. - Drijvers pl. 2; Seyrig, H./Amy, R./Will, E., *Le temple de Bel à Palmyre* (1975) 83. 182 pl. 7 et *Album* 58-59. - 32 ap. J.-C. - Buste solaire, avec ceux des autres planètes (→ Planetæ).

16. Relief architectural en calcaire, ornant le propylée de la *cella* du temple de Bel à Palmyre, *in situ*. - Seyrig/Amy/Will, o. c. 15, pl. 113-114. - 32 ap. J.-C. - Buste solaire, avec celui du dieu Lune.

17.\* Bas-relief, fr. de niche culturelle en calcaire.

Palmyre, Mus. 6534 (B 1734). Du sanctuaire de Nabû. - Colledge 42 fig. 23; Drijvers 19. 32 (bibl.) pl. 50, 3. - 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Buste radié, cuirassé, flanqué de deux aigles: → Malakbel.

18. Relief en calcaire. Loc. inconnue. De Khirbet Tannur (ancien pays d'Édom). - Glueck, N., *Deities and Dolphins* (1965) 454-455 fig. 136. - 1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Buste solaire ayant décoré, avec d'autres bustes, la façade du temple; radié et nu (sauf un manteau agrafé), deux torches derrière les épaules.

19. Relief. Loc. inconnue. Anc. à Mahay (ancien pays de Moab). Trouvé à l'entrée d'un temple. - Brünnow, R./v. Domszowski, A., *Die Provincia Arabia* I (1905) 70-75 fig. 71; Musil, A., *Arabia Petraea* I (1907) 81-82. 367; Glueck, o. c. 18, 59.

20. Deux blocs en relief (fr. de linteau ?) réemployés dans une maison du Djebel Druze. - Glueck, o. c. 18, 472 pl. 138. - Bustes d'H. (radié) et de Séléné (croissant), drapés, avec torches. Celui d'H. était primitivement à g. Autres blocs: une guirlande à masques (à l'origine entre les deux bustes ?), un aigle.

21. Relief en calcaire sur un chapiteau de pilastre quadrangulaire. Qasr Rabbah (anc. pays de Moab, Jordanie), réemployé dans une maison. Du temple de Qasr Rabbah. - Glueck, o. c. 18, 58. 454-455 fig. 137a. - Buste solaire drapé et radié, nimbe en fort relief.

22.\* Bas-relief en basalte. Soueida, Mus. 46. De Si'â. - Dunand, o. c. 5, 39 n° 46 pl. 15. - Buste drapé, radié.

23. Relief en basalte. Loc. inconnue. Du fronton du temple de Ba'alšamîn à Si'â. - Butler, H. C., *Syria Princeton Expedition II A* (1919) 380 fig. 331. 333 G. - 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Tête radiée. Cf. 22. 31.

24. Relief sur linteau. Loc. inconnue. De Mašhara (Gaulan). - Ben-Dov, M., *IEJ* 24, 1974, 185-186 pl. 38. - Buste solaire avec croissant, accompagnant ceux d'un dieu barbu et d'une déesse lunaire.

25. Reliefs de frontons. Aïn Hersha (Hermon, Syrie), temple, *in situ*. - Krencker, D./Zschischmann, W., *Römische Tempel in Syrien* (1938) 245; Mousterde, R., *MélBeyrouth* 29, 1952, pl. 4-5. - Bustes du Soleil sur le fronton de la façade, de la Lune sur le fronton arrière.

26. Relief de tympan. Qasr Naus (Liban), temple. - Krencker/Zschischmann, o. c. 25, 12 fig. 20-21. - Buste d'H. provenant du décor du tympan.

27. Bas-relief. Merjiyat (Chouf, Liban), façade du temple, *in situ*, sur le mur. - Tallon, M., *MélBeyrouth* 43, 1968, 236 pl. 3. - Buste d'H., autel et orant.

28. Relief de tympan, en calcaire. Dmeir (près de Damas), temple. - Inédit. - Bustes du Soleil et de la Lune sur le tympan.

29. Naos monolithe, en basalte. Soueida, Mus. De Si'â. - Dunand, o. c. 5, 28 n° 30 pl. 11. - Au fronton, flanquant un aigle, à dr. masque entouré d'un nimbe radié, à g. buste drapé de Séléné inscrit dans un croissant.

30. Graffito sur un quartier de roc irrégulier. Loc. inconnue (Damas, Mus. Nat. ?). De Khirbet Abû Dûhûr (Palmyrène). - Schlumberger, D., *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest* (1951) 79-80 fig. 36 et pl. 38, 1. - Daté d'août 147 ap. J.-C. - Dessin à la pointe représentant



un temple de Ba'alšamîn (à Palmyre ?) avec le dieu assis, un dédicant, un cavalier. Au fronton, tête radiée entre deux aigles.

31. Relief fr. en calcaire représentant un naos. Damas, Mus. Nat. De Palmyre. - Chabot, J.-B., *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre* (1922) pl. 23, 2; Seyrig, H., *Syria* 13, 1932, 191 fig. 2 = *AntSyr* I (1934) 28; Schlumberger, *o. c.* 30, 91 pl. 41, 3. - 119 ap. J.-C. - Buste du Soleil au centre du fronton (vêtement orné, nimbe radié) entre des rinceaux, au-dessus d'un groupe comprenant une déesse et trois dieux, dont Bel.

32.\* AE, monnaies impériales de Tripolis (Phénicie), Élagabal, 219-221 ap. J.-C. - *BMC Phoenicia* CXXII et 222-223 n<sup>os</sup> 110-117 pl. 28, 3-4; 43, 12. - *Rv.* Buste d'H. drapé et radié sur le fronton du sanctuaire de Zeus Hagios à Tripolis. Entre les colonnes, de part et d'autre d'un autel, à g. H. debout, radié, main dr. levée (chlamyde), à dr. Séléné debout (vêtement long, croissant, torche oblique). Mêmes figures, mais buste moins net, sur des monnaies de Caracalla et Julia Domna: *BMC* 215-216 n<sup>os</sup> 73-75. 79-82 pl. 27, 14, 17.

33. Disques avec bustes solaires sur les enseignes (*semeia*) de Hatra. - Safar/Mustafa fig. 139-140. 171. 293 (avec un aigle). 183 (avec Nergôl [- Nergal]). 303 (avec → Herakles). - Le disque solaire surmonte d'autres disques lisses et des anneaux.

34. Coupe en albâtre. Palmyre, Mus. D'un tombeau de Palmyre. - Fellmann, R., *Le sanctuaire de Ba'alšamîn à Palmyre V. Die Grabanlage* (1970) 96-99 pl. 13, 10; Colledge 96. 222 fig. 51c. - I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Buste drapé et radié dans un croissant; derrière les épaules, têtes de chevaux empanachées.

35.\* Médaille en calcaire dur. Palmyre, Mus. 7955 (2226 B). De Palmyre, temple de Nabû. - Bounni, A., *Archéologia* (Paris) mai-juin 1967, 44; Drijvers 13. 27 (bibl.) pl. 23, 1. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Buste drapé, cuirassé, nimbe et radié.

36. Petite dalle fr. Copenhague, Glypt. - Ingholt, H., *Berytus* 3, 1936, 116 pl. 23, 3. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Buste radié dans un cadre.

37. Relief en basalte. Soueida, Mus. De Si'â. - Dunaan, *o. c.* 5, 36-37 n<sup>o</sup> 41 pl. 15. - Tête radiée (?).

38. Bas-relief en calcaire. Loc. inconnue. De Galilée. - Seyrig (1929) 336 pl. 82, 1, corrigé pour la provenance: *MélBeyrouth* 46, 1970, 203-205 pl. 1. - Buste du Soleil de face, sur un char tiré par deux aigles.

39. Relief sur une plaque rectangulaire. - Perdrietz, P., *RA* 1903/1, 398. - Tête radiée.

40. Relief rupestre. Ma'ûla (Syrie), *in situ*. - Nasrallah, J., *AnnArchSyr* 9, 1959, 67 pl. 3-4, 1. - Buste d'H. dans une niche; à côté, le buste d'→ Athena dans une autre niche.

## II. Le dieu Soleil à Palmyre

(Šams, Ḥaliôs πατρώος) Dieu arabe, associé souvent à Allat, représenté en pied, le plus souvent en habit militaire, et en buste. En militaire, il ne se distingue de rien de Yarhibôl ou Malakbel dans l'une de leurs

formes; c'est la compagnie d'Allat qui permet de l'identifier.

41. a)\* Bas-relief en calcaire. Damas, Mus. Nat. 5216. De Khirbet Wadi Suwân (Palmyrène). - Schlumberger, *o. c.* 30, 70-71 n<sup>o</sup> 1 pl. 31, 1; Drijvers pl. 56, 1. - Allat guerrière et le dédicant entourent le Soleil nimbe et radié, en longue robe ceinturée, bénissant de la main dr., une torche allumée dans la g. - b) Fr. de relief en calcaire. Paris, coll. Sauve. De Palmyre. - Seyrig, H., *Syria* 21, 1940, 327-328 = *AntSyr* III (1946) 114-115 fig. 35. - Le Soleil n'est pas conservé, sauf la main dr. levée.

42.\* Bas-relief fr. en calcaire. Damas, Mus. Nat. De Khirbet Wadi Suwân. - Schlumberger, *o. c.* 30, 73 n<sup>o</sup> 17 pl. 31, 2; Drijvers 20. 33 (bibl.) pl. 56, 2; Colledge 49 pl. 39. - Le Soleil en cuirasse romaine, nimbe et radié, la lance dans la main dr., accompagné par une déesse casquée au long sceptre, vraisemblablement Allat.

43.\* Bas-relief votif en calcaire. Damas, Mus. Nat. 10 417. De Palmyre. - Drijvers pl. 59. - A g. dieu radié et nimbe, en militaire romain, avec lance et palme, accompagnant un dieu nimbe vêtu de même et une déesse armée.

44.\* Autel octogonal en calcaire. Palmyre, Mus. De Palmyre. - Michalowski, K., *Palmyre II* (1962) 134 fig. 150; Drijvers 20. 33 (bibl.) pl. 60, 2. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Trois faces de l'autel étaient ornées des images des dieux debout; le seul conservé est un dieu en cuirasse romaine, radié, lance en main.

### IDENTIFICATION INCERTAINE

45. Fr. de relief. Loc. inconnue. De Palmyre. - Michalowski, *o. c.* 44, 136 fig. 152. - Fr. de buste cuirassé, radié.

46. Fr. de stèle en marbre. Palmyre, Mus. 7971 (2232 B). De Palmyre, sanctuaire de Nabû. - Bounni, A./Saliby, N., *AnnArchSyr* 15, 1965, 135 pl. 4; Drijvers pl. 50, 1. - Dieu cuirassé, nimbe, radié, avec lance.

47. Autel votif en calcaire. Palmyre, Mus. De Palmyre. - *CIS* II 3979; Seyrig, H., *Syria* 18, 1937, 203 fig. 1 = *AntSyr* II (1938) 100 fig. 38; Drijvers 20. 33 (bibl.) pl. 60, 1. - I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Le relief représente Malakbel (inscrit) et le dédicant, mais la dédicace s'adresse à Šams «le dieu bon», Ḥaliôs πατρώος καὶ ἐπιχώσιος Θεῶ.

48. Autel en calcaire. Oxford, Ashmolean Library. De Palmyre. - *CIS* II 3978. - 85 ap. J.-C. - Offert à Šams, «dieu des pères».

49. H. Šams sur les tessères en terre cuite de Palmyre. Loc. diverses. a) *RTP* n<sup>os</sup> 139. 335. 338. 340. - Buste radié, drapé ou cuirassé, nommé šmš. - b) *RTP* n<sup>o</sup> 141. - Deux bustes radiés, opposés, inscrits comme Bel et Šams. - c) *RTP* n<sup>os</sup> 260. 346-388. - Bustes radiés sans inscr. (les autres dieux radiés à Palmyre sont Aglibôl, Malakbel, Yarhibôl, → Arsû). - d) Bustes radiés de profil sur des empreintes de sceaux (types occidentaux): *RTP* n<sup>os</sup> 13. 202. 586 (avec Séléné); 700-776. 832. 835. 1026. 1031 (surmontant un aigle); 1042. 1044. 1053. 1085 (Soleil monté sur un char).

### Dieux solaires de la Béqa'

50. Relief rupestre. Ferzol, près de Baalbek. - Ronzevalle, S., *MélBeyrouth* 21, 1937, 29 s; Seyrig (1971) 348 fig. 4. - Dieu cavalier radié, près d'un dattier, avec un Génie nu.

51. Petite statue fr. en calcaire. Beyrouth, Mus. Nat. D'Aithenit (Beqa' sud). - Seyrig, H., *Syria* 28, 1951, 121 fig. 12 = *AntSyr* IV (1953) 168 fig. 29. - Dieu debout, cuirassé, radié.

52. (= Helioseiros 1\*-2\*) Hélioseiros sur les monnaies de Chalcis (AE), de Trajan à Commode. - Ronzevalle (1930) 1-12 pl. 2, 1-4 = (1932) 3-14; Seyrig, H., *Syria* 47, 1970, 94-95 fig. 14; Price, M./Trell, B. L., *Coins and their Cities* (1977) 166 fig. 294. L'attribution des pièces à Chalcis du Liban (Ronzevalle) ou Chalcis du Bélu (Seyrig) reste en suspens. - *Rv.* Dieu debout, drapé, radié, tenant une lance et un bouclier dans la main g., une grande palme dans la dr. Ronzevalle rapproche son nom de Σελπιός et d'un théonyme arabe attesté littérairement, pour en faire un «H. caniculaire». Sauf pour la couronne radiée, il s'apparente à la longue série des dieux armés (Seyrig, *o. c.*).

53. Cultes du Soleil attestés épigraphiquement. Culte arabe à Délos: Bruneau, *Cultes* 449 n<sup>os</sup> 4-6; *ID* 1444 Aa, 51 (141/0 av. J.-C.); 2321; Eissfeldt, O., *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 44, 1941, 433; Milik, J. T., *ap.* Seyrig, *Syria* 42, 1965, 26 n. 2 = *AntSyr* VI (1966) 142 n. 3. - Gêrasa, avec → Sarapis: Jones, A. H. M., *JRS* 18, 1928, 172 n<sup>o</sup> 41. - Sôf près de Gêrasa, avec Zeus Beelbôsôros (Baal de Bosra), I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C.: Sourdel, D., *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque romaine* (1952) 58. - Deir el-Leben et Damit el-Alya (Hauran), Zeus Anikêtos Hélios, dieu d'Aumos, IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.: Sourdel, *o. c.* 54-56. - Bêrytos, H. assimilé à → Kronos, *IGRom* III 1076. - Qassaba près de Byblos: Ronzevalle, S., *RBibl* 12, 1903, 409. - Temples d'H. à Smeid et Buraq (Hauran), II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.: Sourdel, *o. c.* 53; à Brad (Djebel Zawiyé): Tchalenko, G., *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord* III (1958) 6 n<sup>o</sup> 7.

## III. Dieux solarisés

### A. Malakbel

Dieu palmyrénien de la végétation; comme dieu solaire, il est presque toujours représenté en cuirasse romaine, nimbe et radié, et ne se distingue de Yarhibôl et de Šams (*supra* 41-49) que par ses associations à d'autres dieux.

54.\* Autel à reliefs, en marbre. Rome, Mus. Cap. Du Jardin Mattei. - Cumont, F., *Syria* 9, 1928, 101-110 pl. 38-39; Seyrig (1971) 350 n. 3; Drijvers 17. 30 (bibl.) pl. 40-43. - II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. - Représentations des quatre étapes de la course du Soleil (diurne selon Cumont, plutôt annuelle d'après Seyrig), dont l'une figure un buste solaire, inscrit *Soli Sanctissimo*.

### B. Mercure héliopolitain (→ Heliopolitani dei)

Jeune dieu du renouveau et de la végétation, solarisé vers le début du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C., comme Malakbel,

par l'association du cycle annuel du Soleil et de la nature. - Cf. Seyrig, H., (1929) 353 s, corrigé (1971) 347. Cf. *supra* 11. Identifié à Malakbel: Waddington, W. H., *Inscr. gr. et lat. de la Syrie* (1870) 1875 A (Abila, 201 ap. J.-C.).

55. Autel de la triade héliopolitaine, à Antioche. - Seyrig (1929) 328 pl. 83. - Terme de Mercure portant l'image d'un dieu radié, figuré sur un char tiré par des Griffons.

### C. Arados et sa pérée

Seyrig suppose dubitativement un syncrétisme solaire concernant un dieu de la végétation, parallèlement à A et B.

56. AE, monnaies d'Arados, Carné, Gabala, Marathos, Zimyra (villes de la pérée d'Arados), Laodicée, I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. - Seyrig, H., *RNum* 1964, 9-28 pl. 3, 13.22.c-d-e = *Scripta numismatica* (1986) 79-98 p. 140; *idem* (1971) 359-360; Rey-Coquais, J.-P., *Arados et sa pérée* (1974) 240 n. 4. - *Av.* Buste juvénile, radié et drapé, de profil à dr. *Rv.* Divers types: proue de navire (Gabala), épis (Arados), corne d'abondance (Carné), etc.

57. AE, monnaies de Balanée, Élagabal (218-222). - Seyrig, H., *Syria* 26, 1949, 24; 47, 1970, 97 fig. 20; *idem* (1971) 359-360 fig. 5. - *Rv.* Dieu en char, radié, vu de face (quadriga «éclatée»). Avant et après, ce dieu, qui porte une coiffure conique, n'a pas d'attributs solaires: cf. Seyrig, *o. c.* 56, 40-41 (110-111).

### D. Élagabal d'Émèse (→ Elagabalos, *in fine*)

Le bétyle d'Émèse n'avait pas d'attributs solaires. La solarisation semble un fait secondaire, attesté par l'épigraphie.

58.\* AE, monnaies d'Émèse, Antonin (138-161). - *BMC Galatia*... 238 n<sup>o</sup> 8 pl. 27, 10. - *Rv.* Buste d'H. à dr., drapé et radié.

59.\* AR et Bi, tétradrachmes provinciaux syriens frappés à Émèse sous Julia Domna, Caracalla et Macrin, 215-218. - Bellinger, A. R., *The Syrian Tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus* (1940) 62-65 n<sup>os</sup> 178-210 pl. 14-15, 7. - *Rv.* Sous l'aigle qui occupe le champ, petit buste radié et drapé, à g. (n<sup>os</sup> 178-197. 199-210) ou de face sur un piédestal (n<sup>o</sup> 198).

60.\* Stèle en calcaire. Damas, Mus. Nat. C 7939. Provenance incertaine (environs de Homs ?). - Seyrig, H., *Syria* 36, 1959, 58-60 pl. 11, 5 = *AntSyr* VI (1966) 31-33 pl. 11, 5; du Mesnil du Buisson, *o. c.* 14, 212-213 fig. 142; Colledge 42 pl. 28; Zouhdi, B., dans *Cat. du Mus. Nat.* (1976) 88 fig. 25; Drijvers 12. 25 (bibl.) pl. 16. - Daté (inscr.) 30/1 ap. J.-C. - Buste radié de face au croissant, cuirassé et drapé d'un manteau, inscrit Ḥaliôs θεῶς μεγίστων. Dans le champ, serpent; sur la plinthe, sept bustes (planétaires?)

## E. Notre Seigneur (Maran) de Hatra

Le culte principal de cette ville était celui de Notre Seigneur (*Marân*) identifié au Soleil. Les monnaies portent la légende «Hatra de Šams», avec un buste radié: cf. Slocum, J., *ANS MN* 22, 1977, 37-47. L'identification de *Marân* au Soleil remonte au II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. (Aggoula, B., *Berytus* 18, 1969, 101-102). L'iconographie locale, encore mal étudiée, présente des bustes radiés (Safar/Mustafa fig. 88. 122), des bustes radiés avec croissant (fig. 90), des statuettes debout radiées (fig. 75-76. 268), deux dieux radiés dans une assemblée (fig. 279). Cf. *supra* 9. 33. Il paraît que la couronne radiée n'est pas l'attribut exclusif de Šams.

## COMMENTAIRE

Il y a lieu de distinguer nettement entre les vrais cultes solaires et leur expression imagée d'une part, et le symbolisme astral exprimé en l'occurrence par les bustes radiés de l'autre.

Les bustes solaires (I-14), souvent accompagnés par ceux d'autres planètes, traduisent les doctrines astrologiques dans leur application au culte, et sont de ce fait attribués à des dieux différents (mais surtout aux dieux suprêmes, d'où la fréquence de l'aigle, du taureau, de la foudre comme symboles associés, → Hadad), pour souligner leur caractère cosmique. Ces bustes sont un emblème courant dans l'architecture des temples, en particulier au fronton (15-32). Certains nous sont parvenus dissociés de leur contexte (33-40). Il s'agit d'une représentation symbolique, et non de personnages mythiques.

Les divers cultes particuliers du dieu Soleil proprement dit sont difficiles à distinguer sur le plan iconographique, le même type étant appliqué aux représentations de plusieurs divinités solaires locales. Le type du Soleil cuirassé et armé, le plus courant, relève d'une tendance générale de l'iconographie des dieux de la steppe; il est utilisé indifféremment pour Yarhibôl, Malakbel et Šams à Palmyre. Les images de ces dieux, lorsqu'elles sont anépigraphes, ne sont identifiables que par l'association à d'autres dieux, le cas échéant (Šams avec Allat: 41-49). On ne connaît qu'un seul cas de Šams palmyrénien non armé (41). Sur les tessères, le dieu radié est représenté en buste, comme le sont le plus souvent les autres divinités (49).

Les monuments 50-51 relèvent d'un culte non identifié de la Beqa', peut-être ituréen; la localisation de celui d'Hélioseiros (52) demeure incertaine.

Vers le début du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C., plusieurs dieux prédisant au cycle végétal prennent secondairement les traits solaires, par analogie avec le cycle annuel du Soleil, en devenant en même temps l'émanation d'un dieu suprême; ce syncrétisme est démontré pour Malakbel («Messager de Bel») et Mercure de Baalbek, il est possible pour le dieu solaire d'Arados (III A-C).

Deux autres syncrétismes accusent un caractère différent, par lequel Šams arabe s'identifie aux dieux poiliades d'Émèse et de Hatra. Ils apparaissent vers le milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., avec la solarisation d'Élagabal et

de Marân (l'attribution du relief 60 à Émèse n'a rien de certain). Après la destruction de Hatra en 240, le culte d'Émèse continue tout au long du III<sup>e</sup> s. au moins. Un cas parallèle, mais cantonné dans une partie du Hauran et attesté seulement par l'épigraphie, est le culte du dieu Aumos, Διὸς ἀννιήτου Ἡλίου θεοῦ Αὐμοῦ, au IV<sup>e</sup> s. (53). Il est abusif de généraliser cette tendance à la solarisation, bien qu'elle soit très prononcée dans les spéculations savantes de l'époque.

MICHEL GAWLIKOWSKI

## USIL

(*Usil, Usil*) Etruskischer Name des Sonnengottes. Der Name U. ist aus drei Inschriften bekannt: Er ist dem Sonnengott beigeschrieben auf den Spiegeln 19 und 20 und erscheint auf der Leber von Piacenza in der Form «usils» auf der durch einen Querstrich in zwei Hälften unterteilten, konvexen Unterseite. Dort steht im anderen Teil «tivs»; er wird also der Mondgottheit *Tiv*, *Tiur* zugewiesen. Beide Namen dürfen hier wohl appellativ verstanden werden; sie bezeichnen dann Sonne und Mond oder Tag und Nacht (zur Bedeutung der Unterteilung zuletzt Maggiani, A., *StEtr* 50, 1982, 77. 81). Von Opfern an Thesan (→ Eos/Thesan) und *uslan* ist wahrscheinlich die Rede im V. Abschnitt (Zeile 21) der Agramer Mumienbinden (*TLE*<sup>2</sup> 1, S. 17 V. «thesane. uslane»). Als zweiter Name des etruskischen Sonnengottes wird meist Catha/Cavtha/Cautha angenommen. Ausgangspunkt der Gleichsetzung von Catha und Sonne ist die Dioskurides-Glosse (3, 138; *TLE*<sup>2</sup> 823), nach der die Römer ἀμάρων, eine Pflanze mit weißen Blütenblättern um eine gelbe Mitte (zu ἀμάρων = σάμψουρον: Dioskurides 3, 39), *solis oculum* oder *millefolium*, die Etrusker aber *kavthā* nannten. Daß *kauta* gerade mit «*solis oculum*» zu übersetzen ist, wird allgemein angenommen, ist aber nicht zwingend. Außerdem können *cautha* (arch. *cavutha*, *kavutha*, *kavtha*, *kavthā*) und *cath(a)* nicht ohne weiteres gleichgesetzt werden; aus sprachlicher Sicht ist die Identität der beiden Namen unwahrscheinlich, s. Rix, H., *StEtr* 55, 1987, «Rivista di epigrafia etrusca» zu der etrusk. Inschrift auf dem att. rf. Skyphos Kopenhagen, Glypt. V 35 = Inv. 2718 (im Druck).

Daß Cautha/Kavtha eine Kultgottheit ist, geht aus Weihinschriften aus San Feliciano del Lago (*TLE*<sup>2</sup> 622; Cristofani, M., *StEtr* 43, 1975, 212-213 Nr. 16; hier ist *kautha* eindeutig weiblich) und Populonia (Cristofani Martelli, M., *StEtr* 43, 1975, 213-215 Nr. 17) sowie aus ihrer Nennung auf dem Blei von Magliano (*TLE*<sup>2</sup> 359: *cavithas*) hervor. Besonders interessant sind drei erst kürzlich bekannt gewordene Inschriften: In Pyrgi ist Kavatha/Kavutha möglicherweise Kultgenossin von Suri (Apollon in einem chthonischen Aspekt?; s. Cristofani, M., *Gnomon* 60, 1988, 562); die oben erwähnte Inschrift auf dem Sky-

phos aus Kopenhagen (*cavuthas sechis*, aus Orvieto) nennt die Tochter der Cavutha. Entscheidende Hinweise auf den Charakter der Göttin Cautha ergeben sich freilich auch daraus nicht.

«Cath» ist auf der Leber von Piacenza zweimal genannt, beide Male in einer ähnlichen Sequenz, zwischen *neth(uns)* bzw. *tinsthneht* und *fufluns* (s. Maggiani, A., *StEtr* 50, 1982, 56 Nr. 7-9 und 57 Nr. 22-24; 55 Abb. 1; dort auch ausführliche Bibl.; zu *neth* a. O. 56 Nr. 7; 61). Catha und \*Pacha/Fufluns sind auch miteinander verbunden in Kulturen in Toscana und Tarquinia (*TLE*<sup>2</sup> 190. 131; Cristofani, M./Martelli, M., *StEtr* 46, 1978, 128-130). Mit Nethuns (→ Poseidon/Nethuns) zusammen sind der Sonnengott Usil und die Göttin der Morgenröte (Eos/Thesan) auf dem Spiegel 19 dargestellt; beide steigen am Morgen aus dem Meer empor. In diesen Zusammenhang paßt Dionysos/Fufluns, der mit Catha ja offensichtlich besonders eng verbunden ist, nicht hinein. Allerdings wird Usil auf dem Spiegel durch das Attribut des Bogens an Apollon/Aplu angeglichen; und deshalb könnte möglicherweise die Verbindung von Apollon und Dionysos auf Catha und \*Pacha übertragen worden sein (so Simon 155; zu Dionysos und Helios vgl. auch Koch, C., *Gestirnverehrung im alten Italien* [1933] 60; schließlich wäre noch die Stelle bei Serv. *georg.* 1, 5 anzuführen, nach der die Stoiker «eundem Solem, eundem Liberum, eundemque Apollinem vocant», vgl. Maggiani a. O. 81).

Schließlich ist «cath» auf der Leber von Piacenza mit der rätselhaften «*Celeritas Solis filia*» gleichgesetzt worden, die Martianus Capella 1, 50-51 allerdings an etwas anderer Stelle, in seiner Himmelsregion VI, zwischen «*Iovis filii Pales et Favors*» und «*Mars Quirinus et Genius*» nennt; Liber folgt dort im nächsten Abschnitt, VII (cf. Thulin, C., *Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza* [1906] 5). Die Feststellung, daß Catha und Fufluns einerseits und Celeritas Solis filia und Liber andererseits jeweils in benachbarten Feldern bzw. Regionen liegen, ist zweifellos richtig; eine Gleichsetzung gerade von *catha* und *celeritas* ist aber nicht zwingend, da ja bei Martianus mehr Götter genannt sind, als auf der Leber in diesem Bereich zu finden sind; genauso gut könnte *cath* etwa mit Pales identifiziert werden (vgl. dazu auch Thulin a. O. 51, der Pales dann allerdings mit dem Sonnengott gleichsetzt).

Ein Hinweis darauf, daß die Wurzel *kath-* mit der Sonne gleichzusetzen ist, wurde auch in der Weihinschrift auf einem großen Halbmond aus Bronze gesehen, der der Mondgottheit Tiur geweiht ist: «*mi tiuirs kathuniasul*» (*TLE*<sup>2</sup> 748; Colonna, G., *Santuari d'Etruria*, cat. mostra Arezzo 1985, 29 Nr. 1.4; Roncalli, F., in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano*, Cat. mostra Vaticano 1988, 78 Nr. 4.5; nach mündlicher Mitteilung von A. Rastrelli auf dem XVII *Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici* «*La civiltà di Chiusi e del suo territorio*», Chianciano Terme 1989 nicht in Chianciano, sondern zwischen Chiusi und dem Monte Cetona gefunden); doch ist auch dies äußerst unsicher, solange die Wortbildung mit dem Suffixkonglomerat *-unias-* nicht wenigstens annähernd verständlich ist. Die Abtrennung

der Buchstaben *ati cath* (= Mutter «Sonne») in den Agramer Mumienbinden (VI 18; s. Roncalli, F., in *Scrivere etrusco*. Cat. mostra Perugia 1985, 37. 51) ist ebenfalls wenig wahrscheinlich, da dann vor *ati* der Buchstabe *c* isoliert bleibt (das vorhergehende Wort lautet mit großer Sicherheit *acil*) und bei dem Stamm *cath* zumindest ein Buchstabe, etwa *a* oder *s*, fehlt (auf den Agramer Mumienbinden wird nicht abgekürzt).

Ein letzter, entscheidend scheinender Nachweis für die Identifizierung von Catha mit dem Sonnengott ist m. E. hinfällig: die Inschrift *cathesan* auf dem Spiegel 30 (= Catha 1) wurde nach der ansprechenden Vermutung von C. Koch (a. O. 61; ihm folgend z. B. Pfiffig, *RelEtr* 243-244; Bloch, R., → Eos/Thesan, Kommentar) als *cath thesan*, d. h. *sol matutinus*, Morgensonne erklärt. Die sprachliche Problematik zweier unreflektiert aneinandergereihter und verschmolzener Namen wurde freilich auch schon gesehen (G. Camporeale, → Catha). Die Schwierigkeit läßt sich wohl lösen, wenn man *thesan* hier appellativ als «Morgen» auffaßt (s. hierzu auch Pfiffig, *RelEtr* 260) und «*ca thesan*» übersetzt: «Dies ist der Morgen» (s. auch unten im Kommentar).

Aus all den genannten Quellen ergibt sich nur ein konkreter Hinweis auf den Charakter von Catha: ihre mehrfach bezeugte Verbindung mit Fufluns, die an eine Vegetationsgottheit denken läßt. Auch bei Cautha läßt die Verbindung mit Suri auf einen eher chthonischen Charakter schließen. Dagegen müßte, wenn man bei der Übersetzung *kauta* = *solis oculum* bleibt, die ja aber keineswegs gesichert ist, für Cautha ein solarer Charakter angenommen werden.

Darstellungen von Catha oder Cautha sind bisher nicht bekannt geworden. Der gesicherte Name des Sonnengottes, Usil, ist von einem anderen Wortstamm abgeleitet; zur Verbindung mit \**ausel-aurelii* s. de Simone, C., *StEtr* 33, 1965, 537-543; Pfiffig, *RelEtr* 244; zuletzt Rix, H., «*Teonimi italici e teonimi etruschi*», in *I culti stranieri in Etruria. Convegno internazionale di studi sulla storia e archeologia del territorio orvietano*, Orvieto 1989, *AnnFaina* 5 (im Druck).

Für zahlreiche Hinweise und die Diskussion der oben vorgetragenen Überlegungen danke ich H. Rix.

Von der im Artikel → Erus erwähnten Bronzepatera mit der Inschrift «*erus*» «*iuxta imaginem solis*» wurde inzwischen eine Zeichnung veröffentlicht (*CIE* III 2 [1987] 10734). Daraus ergibt sich, daß die Verbindung der Inschrift zum «Bild der Sonne» nicht eng genug ist, um «*erus*» auf die Sonne beziehen zu können.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Arias, P. E., «Una nuova «fiasca da Pellegrino»», *StEtr* 37, 1969, 27-37; Enking, R., *RE IX A 1* (1961) 1084-1085 s. v. «Usil, Usil»; Mansuelli, G. A., *StEtr* 20, 1948/49, 75; Pfiffig, *RelEtr* 241-246; Pfister-Roesgen, G., *Die etruskischen Spiegel des 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (1975) 108-109. 138-140; Schauenburg, K., *Helios. Archäologisch-mythologische Studien über den antiken Sonnengott* (1955) (= Schauenburg 1); *idem*, «Zu etruskischen Darstellungen des Sonnengottes», *Revista de la Universidad Complutense* 25 no. 104, 1976 (= *Homenaje a A. García y Bellido II*) 175-184 (= Schauenburg 2); Simon, E., «Cavtha/Cautha/Cath» in *Gli Etruschi. Una nuova immagine*, a cura di M. Cristofani (1985) 155-156; Tirelli, M., «La rappresentazione del sole nell'arte etrusca», *StEtr* 49, 1981, 41-50.

## KATALOG

## I. Usil ohne Pferde

## A. Kopf oder Büste im Strahlenkranz

## a) Als einziges Motiv

1.\* Bronzegriffspiegel. Boston, MFA 95.72. Aus der Nähe von Orvieto? – Schauenburg 1, 12–13 Taf. 1; Mayer-Prokop, I., *Die gravierten etruskischen Griffspiegel archaischen Stils*, RM Erg.-H. 13 (1967) 13 S. 3; 46 Taf. 3, 1; Arias 31 Taf. 13b; Comstock/Vermeule, *Bronzes Boston* 271 Nr. 391 Abb.; Pfister-Roesgen 32 S. 12; 107–109 Taf. 13; Tirelli 41 Nr. 2 Taf. 15b. – 480/60 v. Chr. – Kopf mit Hals nach l., Binde im Haar. Der Strahlenkranz wird außen begrenzt von einem Flechtband; ihm folgt ein Wellenband mit springenden Delphinen, als äußerstes Ornament ein Efeuzweig.

2.\* Bronzephiale. Ehem. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. (ex Bomford Coll.). – Haynes, S., *BurlMag* 108, 1966, 599 Abb. 2–4; Catling, H. W./Moorey, P. R. S., *Ashmolean Mus. Exhibition of Ancient Persian Bronzes and Other Items of Ancient Art from the Collection of Mrs. Brenda Bomford* (1966) Nr. 354 Taf. 35; Pfister-Roesgen 108 Anm. 186; 109 Anm. 198. – 2. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Kopf mit Hals nach r., der Strahlenkranz von einem Wirbel von drei Flügeln umgeben. Auf der Außenseite der Schale ein Wellenband.

3.\* Bronzegriffspiegel. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. RC 295. – Mayer-Prokop, a. O. 1, 47. – 1. Drittel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Kopf mit Hals im Profil, Krobylos-Frisur. Über dem Scheitel eine geflügelte Scheibe mit einem sternförmigen Ornament; unterhalb des Halses ein zweites Flügelpaar. Das Ganze umgeben von einem Dreiviertelkreis aus Strahlen, der unten durch ein Wellenband abgeschlossen wird. Im unteren Segment zwei Fische. Die in der Photographie recht unbeholfen wirkende Strichführung mit manchmal nicht ganz verstandenen Ornamenten (rahmendes Flechtband) könnte möglicherweise bedingt sein durch das Nachziehen der Linien auch an Stellen, an denen die antike Zeichnung kaum noch zu sehen war.

4. «Pilgerflasche» aus Ton. Privatslg. Aus Etrurien. – Arias 27–37 Taf. 9–11; Tirelli 46 Nr. 22 Taf. 17d. – 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Auf Seite A Kopf mit Hals nach l. innerhalb eines großen Strahlenornaments; auf Seite B Kopf in Vorderansicht, leicht geneigt, von schrägen Linien (= Strahlen) umgeben, Mondgesicht? (Beschreibung und Interpretation von B nach Arias, auf Foto nicht erkennbar).

5.\* Bronzegriffspiegel. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 624. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* I Taf. 71, 3; Fischer-Graf, U., *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci* (1980) 109 V 107; Tirelli 46 Nr. 20 Taf. 17c. – 2. Hälfte 4.–3. Jh. v. Chr. – Kopf mit Hals nach l., vor ihm Akanthus- und Efeuzweig; tropfenförmige Strahlen umgeben Kopf und Zweige.

Ähnlich, Rom, Villa Giulia 12955, Tirelli 45 Nr. 18; vgl. auch Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV 1 Taf. 287, 1.

6. Bronzegriffspiegel. Paris, ehem. Cabinet Durand 1979. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* I Taf. 71, 1; Fischer-Graf, a. O. 5, 109 V 105; Tirelli 46 Nr. 19. – 2. Hälfte 4.–3.

Jh. v. Chr. – Ähnlich 5, Angabe eines Gewandes am Halsansatz; Akanthusblatt hinter dem Kopf.

## SEHR UNSICHER

7. Giebfeld im «Tablinum» des Volumniergrabes, Perugia, *in situ*. – von Gerkan, A./Messerschmidt, F., RM 57, 1942, 133 Abb. 3; 166; Schauenburg 1, 33; Tirelli 47 Nr. 24. – 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr. – In der Mitte ein Schild, flankiert von zwei Delphinen. Auf dem Schild sind noch Strahlen zu erkennen, deshalb wird meist ein Helios-Kopf im Schildzentrum vermutet. Gorgoneia können aber ebenfalls von Strahlen umgeben sein (→ Gorgones [in Etruria] 66. 66a, s. dort auch S. 344, Kommentar zu 78) und sind als Schildzeichen weitaus häufiger. Auf dem Schild des gegenüberliegenden Giebfeldes ist ein Gorgoneion auf einer Ägis dargestellt (→ Gorgones [in Etruria] 78).

## b) Innerhalb mehrfiguriger Szenen

8.\* (= Apollon/Aplu 29\* mit Lit., = Artemis/Artumes 32) Bronzegriffspiegel. Paris, Cab. Méd. 1300. Aus Etrurien. – Arias 32 Abb. 1; Tirelli 41 Nr. 1 Taf. 15a; Pairault-Massa, F.-H., *MEFRA* 93, 1981, 139–154 Abb. 4–5. 8e (Heroenkult); Emmanuel-Rebuffat, D., *StEtr* 53, 1985, 105–113 Abb. 1 Taf. 21 (Aplu-Artumes). – 4. Viertel 6. Jh. v. Chr. – Zwischen den beiden auf altarähnlichen Basen stehenden Gestalten (zur Deutung → Apollon/Aplu 29) ein Kopf (Krobylos-Frisur) mit Hals nach r. in Strahlenkranz.

9. Kelchkrater, rf. Parma, Mus. Naz. C 100. Aus Sommarvilla Sabina. – *EVP* 37–38: Sommarvilla-Maler; *CVA* 2 IV B Taf. 1 (2044); Tirelli 47 Nr. 23 Taf. 18b; Gilotta, F., *Prospettiva* 45, 1986, 3 Nr. 2 (zum Maler). – 380/60 v. Chr. – Im Mittelpunkt des Bildes die Büste des U. in Vorderansicht mit nach l. gewandtem Kopf, umgeben von einem riesigen Strahlenkranz. Fünf Satyrn, unterhalb und zu Seiten der Sonne, reagieren mit Gesten des Erschreckens und Erstaunens auf die Erscheinung. U. ist in apollinischem Typus, mit einem Lorbeerkranz im langen Haar dargestellt; er trägt auf einem reich gemusterten Gewand die Kreuzbandgürtung, die Wagenlenker kennzeichnet.

10. (= Aias II 98\*, = Athena/Menerva 148, = Helene/Elina 19) Bronzegriffspiegel. Paris, Louvre Br. 1744. – Tirelli 44 Nr. 10. – Spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Über der Szene in einem nur halb dargestellten, von kleinen, dreieckigen Strahlen umgebenen Reif Kopf mit Hals in Dreiviertelansicht.

11. Bronzegriffspiegel. Orvieto, Mus. Faina. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* V Taf. 101; Tirelli 45 Nr. 15. – 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Im Hauptbild Parisurteil, im Abschnitt darüber, gewissermaßen im Giebel eines im Hintergrund sichtbaren Säulenbaus, ein von einem auf einer Scheibe aufliegenden Strahlenkranz umgebenes Gesicht in Dreiviertelansicht. Zu beiden Seiten blattartige Gebilde.

## B. Usil als Halbfigur

## a) Aus Wellen emporstachend

12.\* Bronzegriffspiegel. Minneapolis, Institute of Arts 57.14 (früher 57.198). Aus der Umgebung von Orvieto. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* V Taf. 158; Mayer-Prokop, a. O. 1, 12–13 S. 2; 46–47 Taf. 3, 2; Arias 32 Abb. 2; Tirelli 42 Nr. 3 Taf. 15c; de Puma R. D., *CSE USA* 1 (1987) 45–46 Nr. 26; 168–169 Abb. 26. – 1. Drittel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – U., frontal, bis zur Brust über den Wellen sichtbar, hält in den ausgebreiteten Armen je einen Ball, von dem Wellenlinien (= Licht?) ausgehen. Hinter seinem nach l. gewendeten Kopf die von einem Strahlenkranz umgebene Sonnenscheibe.

## b) Mit dämonischen Zügen

## DEUTUNG NICHT GESICHERT

13. Fünf Brönereliefs, a-jour, Beschläge von Wagenkörben? a) Leningrad, Ermitage B 561 (ex Campana). b)–c) Rom, Villa Giulia 51850. 51851. Aus Vulci. d) Vatikan, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12369. e) Sotheby. – Helbig III\* Nr. 2672 (b–c); Moretti, M./v. Matt, L., *Kunst und Land der Etrusker* (1969) 94 Abb. S. 104 (b); Sotheby Cat. Nr. 97, 13.7.1970, Nr. 166 (e); Tirelli 46 Nr. 21 Taf. 18a (a); Haynes, S., *Etruscan Bronzes* (1985) 275–276 Nr. 81–82 Taf. 173 (a. d.). – 1. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Geflügelte, männliche Figur (mit langen Haaren, nackt bis auf eine über Schulter und Oberarme hängende Chlamys) sichtbar bis zum Beinansatz, dort begrenzt von einer bogenförmigen Doppellinie, die Dohrn (in Helbig) als Ansatz von Schlangenbeinen, S. Haynes dagegen als Wellen interpretiert. Auffällig die sehr großen Hände mit gespreizten Fingern. Hinter dem Kopf ein Strahlenkranz.

## C. Usil in ganzer Figur

## a) allein

14.\* Terrakotta-Antefixe vom Dach eines Gebäudes neben Tempel B in Pyrgi. Rom, Villa Giulia. – Colonna, G., *NotSc* 1970 Suppl. 2, 323–328 Abb. 255–260; Verzár, M., *MEFRA* 92, 1980, 62–78 (mit abweichender Deutung); v. Vacano, O. W., in: *Forschungen und Funde. Festschr. B. Neusch* (1980) 463–464 Abb. 1 Taf. 90, 1; Colonna, G., in: *Santuari d'Etruria*, Cat. mostra Arezzo 1985, 133, 7. 1 D 3; *idem*, *RendPontAcc* 57, 1984/85 (1986) 63 Abb. 4. – 510–500 v. Chr. – U. geflügelt, in kurzem Chiton, über Wellen (dargestellt durch zwei volutenförmige Scheiben) nach r. laufend (Kopf in Frontalansicht). Sein Körper ist umgeben von einem Kranz roter, weiß umrandeter Strahlen; zwischen den roten erscheinen die Spitzen schwarzer Strahlen mit weißem Rand.

## DEUTUNG NICHT GESICHERT, ABER WAHRSCHENLICH

15.\* (= Herakles 2732 mit Lit.) Goldring. Aléria, Mus. Carcopino 62/186. Aus Aléria. – Jehasse, J. et L., *La nécropole préromaine d'Aléria. Gallia* Suppl. 25 (1973) 195 Nr. 365 Taf. II; Simon 156 Abb. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – U., frontal stehend, nackt, hält in beiden

Händen je eine Kugel, von der Wellenlinien ausgehen (vgl. 12). Ungefähr in Höhe der Hände beginnt eine mit kleinen Kügelchen verzierte Wellenlinie, die bogenförmig Oberkörper und Kopf des U. umgibt (= Licht). Neben und zwischen seinen Beinen Akanthusblätter und andere Pflanzen.

## DEUTUNG MÖGLICH

16.\* Kyathos, «pontisch», sf. Rom, Ente Maremma. Aus Vulci, Osteria. – Rizzo, M. A., *Xenia* 2, 1981, 35 Abb. – 530/10 v. Chr. – Flügeldämon in kurzem Chiton, mit Fußflügeln oder Flügelschuhen, nach l. laufend. Auf seinem Kopf sitzt wie eine Kopfbedeckung, das Haar zum Teil verdeckend, eine geflügelte Scheibe.

17.\* Halsamphora, sf., La-Tolfa-Gruppe. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 84819. – Lombardo, A. M., *StEtr* 29, 1961, 311–316 Taf. 39; Zilverberg, M., in *Enthousiasmos. Essays... J. M. Hemelrijk* (1986) 60 Nr. 39. – Um 530 v. Chr. – Auf beiden Seiten eine mit ausgebreiteten Armen nach l. laufende Gestalt in kurzem Chiton. Möglicherweise soll der Verlauf der Chitonfalten eine weibliche Brust andeuten, doch ist dies nicht sicher. Zu den vier am Körper angewachsenen Flügeln trägt die Gestalt noch Flügelschuhe und oben auf dem Kopf ein weiteres Flügelpaar, über dessen Mitte drei Zacken zu sehen sind (Lotosblüte?). Vor oder auf dem Körper erscheint in Höhe des Brustkorbs die Sonnenscheibe mit einem Kranz kleiner, dreieckiger Strahlen.

## DEUTUNG UNSICHER

18. Bronzegriffspiegel. Berlin (West), Staatl. Mus. Fr. 33. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* I Taf. 36, 2; Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele* II 246–247 Abb. 53 (Iris). – 1. Viertel 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Eine nach r. laufende Gestalt in wadenlangem Chiton trägt mit beiden Händen eine riesige Scheibe, in deren Mitte ein sechseckiger Stern zu erkennen ist. Ihre von der Taille ausgehenden Flügel biegen sich sichelförmig nach oben, auf dem zurückgewandten Kopf scheint die Figur einen Tutulus zu tragen. Vor ihr eine Blüte, auf der ein Vogel sitzt.

## b) mit anderen Figuren

19. (= Eos/Thesan 6\* mit Lit.) Bronzegriffspiegel. Vatikan, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12645. Aus Tuscania. – Helbig I\* Nr. 735; Colonna, G., *StEtr* 46, 1978, 110 Nr. 1 (zur Herkunft); Tirelli 42 Nr. 4 Taf. 15d. – Mitte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Zwischen Nethuns (→ Poseidon/Nethuns) und Thesan steht U. (Usil), frontal, mit leicht nach l. gewendetem Kopf. Er trägt Stiefel und einen Mantel, der, von der r. Schulter zur l. Hüfte geführt, mit der l. Hand gehalten wird. In der erhobenen Rechten hält U. einen kleinen Bogen, hinter seinem Kopf erscheint die Sonnenscheibe ohne Strahlenkranz. Im unteren Segment des Spiegels repräsentiert ein schlangenbeiniger Flügeldämon mit zwei Delphinen in den Händen das Meer.

20.\* (= Hyperion 2) Bronzegriffspiegel. London, BM Br. 707. Aus Vulci. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV 1 Taf. 364; Enking, R., *REIX A* 1, 930 s. v. «Uprium»; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 122; Tirelli 43 Nr. 7 Taf. 16c. –



Spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – U. (Usil), frontal stehend, in langem, faltigem, durchscheinendem Chiton, mit Flügeln und einem Strahlenkranz hinter dem Kopf, hält in beiden Händen Kränze, mit kleinen dreieckigen Strahlen. Er wendet sich nach r. zu einem nackten Mann, der einen kleinen Zweig in der Rechten hält. Neben dem Kopf des Mannes die Beischrift *Uprum* (= Hyperion).

## II. Usil mit Pferdegespann

### A. Kopf oder Büste des Usil zwischen den Pferdeköpfen seiner Quadriga

#### Bronzegriffspiegel

21. • Berlin (DDR), Staatl. Mus. Fr. 31. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* II Taf. 237; Pfister-Roesgen 49–50 S. 29; 108–109 Taf. 31. 32; Heres, G., *CSE DDR* I (1986) 21–23 Nr. 4 Taf. 78–79. – Spätes 5. Jh. v. Chr. – Im unteren Abschnitt: Büste des geflügelten U. über den vier Pferdeköpfen. Hinter U.'s Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit Strahlenkranz. Hauptbild: Orest und Klytimestra.



Usil 21

22. (= Alpan 2\* mit Lit., = Apollon/Aplu II2 mit Lit.) London, BM Br. 700. Aus Castelgiorgio. – *EVP* 131 Nr. 10; Tirelli 44 Nr. 12; Cristofani, M., *Prospettiva* 41, 1985, 5 Abb. 2. – Spätes 4./frühes 3. Jh. v. Chr. – U. im oberen Abschnitt. Hinter seinem Kopf die Sonnenscheibe mit kleinen Zacken.

23. (= Briseis 54\* mit Lit., = Chryseis I 3\* mit Lit.) Rom, Villa Giulia 12990. Aus Praeneste. – *EVP* 131 Nr. 7; Tirelli 45 Nr. 13; Cristofani, a. O. 22, 11 Nr. 5. – Frühes 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Im oberen Abschnitt Oberkörper des U. (nackt bis auf Chlamys im Rücken, ohne Strahlenkranz) zwischen den Pferdeköpfen.

#### UNSICHER, OB EOS/THESAN ODER USIL

24. (= Apollon/Aplu 62 mit Lit., = Artemis/Artemis 44\*) Ehem. Florenz, Privatslg. – *EVP* 131 Nr.

8; Tirelli 45 Nr. 16. – 3. Jh. v. Chr. – Im oberen Abschnitt Büste einer bekleideten Gestalt mit Zackenkranz oder Diadem zwischen den Pferdeköpfen, darunter eine Wellenlinie: Meeresoberfläche.

Nur Kopf ohne charakterisierende Einzelheiten: z. B. → Adonis 7 (= CSE Bundesrepublik Deutschland I [1987] Nr. 39).

#### DEUTUNG AUF USIL ABZULEHNEN

→ Auri 1\* = Tirelli 45 Nr. 17 Taf. 17b; Hauptbild: → Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 58\*.

Tirelli 45 Nr. 14; Hauptbild: → Aphrodite/Turan 26\* = Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 74: Wagenlenkerin trägt Diadem, also Thesan.

25. Kolonettenkrater, rf. Asciano, Mus. Etrusco 189. Aus Asciano. – Herbig, R., *RM* 42, 1927, 120 Abb. 1 (Helios?); Schauenburg 2, 177 Anm. 12; Cristofani, M., in *CerEtr* 330 Nr. 179, 4 Taf. 234–235. – 310–300 v. Chr. – Weiblicher Kopf (Halskette) mit einem aus einzelnen Blättern bestehenden Diadem, zwischen zwei Pferdeköpfen. Die Zügel der Pferde sind an Säulen festgebunden.

### B. Viergespann in Vorderansicht, Pferdekörper sichtbar

(Deutung von 29 nicht ganz sicher.)

26. (= Areion 5\* mit Lit.) Bronzegriffspiegel, praenestisch. London, BM Br. 695. Aus Praeneste. – Adam, R., *Recherches sur les miroirs prénestins* (1980) 21 Nr. 3 Abb.; Tirelli 44 Nr. 11. – 3. Viertel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Im Zwickel der Vorderseite das emporsteigende Gespann, Rumpf der Pferde sichtbar. Der Sonnengott im Chiton ohne Strahlenkranz. Vier Sterne umgeben die Gruppe.

27. Oinochoe, faliskisch rf. Kiel, Univ. – Schauenburg 2, 178–184 Abb. 5–8. – 3. Drittel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Über dem durch eine weiße, Ω-artig gewellte Linie bezeichneten Meer steigt das Gespann des U. empor. Von den Pferden sind bereits Rumpf und Vorderbeine zu sehen, zwischen ihnen der mit einem großen Stern verzierte Wagenkorb, der den Unterkörper des U. (im Chiton, um sein Haupt ein Strahlenkranz) verdeckt. Zwischen den Hälsen der Pferde Sterne, oben l. eine Mondsichel. Unterhalb der Meereslinie zwei Sterne und eine von Punkten umgebene Scheibe (Spiegelung von Sternen und Sonne?).

28.\* Oinochoe, faliskisch rf. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H. 5367. – Schauenburg 2, 178–184; Simon, *FührerWüzb* 274 Taf. 49. – 3. Drittel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Wie 27, ohne Sterne, Mond und deren Spiegelungen. Chiton des U. mit Kreuzbandgürtung.

29.\* Volutenkrater, rf., Vanth-Gruppe. Chiusi, Mus. Naz. 1853. – Erwähnt Levi, D., *Il Museo Civico di Chiusi* (1935) 124; *EVP* 171. – 3. Drittel 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Ähnlich 27. 28, aber Wagenkorb nicht zu sehen, sichtbar nur die Deichsel. U.(?) nackt, mit langen, am Kopf strahlenförmig wegwehenden Haaren, ohne Strahlenkranz.

## C. Gespann in Seitenansicht

#### Bronzegriffspiegel

30.\* (= Catha 1) Florenz, Mus. Arch. 73798. Aus Orbetello. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* V Taf. 159; Pfiffig, *RelEtr* 243–244 Abb. 106; Tirelli 43 Nr. 8 Taf. 16d; Fischer-Graf, a. O. 5, 102–103 V 77 Taf. 28, 3. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – U. (ohne Strahlenkranz), mit einem nur den Unterkörper verhüllenden Gewand, lenkt ein Dreigespann von Flügelpferden nach r. Über dem Gespann ein nach l. gerichtetes Boot, in dem drei männliche Gestalten sitzen: der größte, in der Mitte, wohl U., die beiden anderen etwas kleiner; der rechte bedient das Ruder. Zwischen Pferdeköpfen und Bootsheck am Bildrand ein Löwenkopfwasserspeier, aus dem ein breiter Wasserstrahl fließt. Zwischen dem Boot und den Flügeln der Pferde die Inschrift *cathesan*.

#### DEUTUNG AUF USIL ABZULEHNEN

31. Vatikan, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12681. Aus Vulci. – Gerhard, *EtrSp* IV 1 Taf. 288, 1; *TLE* 2 Nr. 329; Helbig I<sup>4</sup> Nr. 732; de Simone, *Entlehnungen* I 35 (25); Tirelli 42 Nr. 5 Taf. 16a; Fischer-Graf, a. O. 5, 93 V 59 Taf. 25, 3; Rea, R., *Mon. Mus. e Gall. Pont. Boll.* 4, 1983, 49–50 Abb. 13; *idem*, *CSE Vaticano* 1 (in Vorbereitung). – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Ein Jüngling mit Chlamys lenkt eine Quadriga von Flügelpferden nach l. empor. Daß die Pferde von der Erde emporsteigen, zeigen verschiedene Pflanzen unter ihren Hufen und ein Baum ganz r. Vom Kopf des Wagenlenkers geht eine Inschrift in einer Kartusche aus: *achlei truesi thesthu farce*. Die Inschrift muß auf die Szene bezogen werden; dargestellt ist die Apotheose des Achill.

32. Florenz, Mus. Arch. 614. Aus Chiusi? – Gerhard, *EtrSp* V Taf. 50; Tirelli 44 Nr. 9 Taf. 17a; Fischer-Graf, a. O. 5, 103 V 78 Taf. 29, 1. – 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Ein Jüngling mit Schmetterlingsflügeln über einem Pferd, das von einem Flügelpferd im Vordergrund fast verdeckt wird: er reitet auf dem hinteren Pferd oder steht in einem nicht dargestellten Wagenkorb. Neben dem Pferdepaar, ebenfalls nach r., ein Kentaur. Zur Interpretation s. Fischer-Graf a. O.

33. Rom. ehem. Mus. Pigorini (?). – Gerhard, *EtrSp* I Taf. 72; Tirelli 42 Nr. 6 Taf. 16b. – Spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr. – Jugendlicher Reiter mit Beipferd, über dem eine winzige Nike fliegt. L. ein bärtiger, schlangenförmiger Dämon; am Boden vor den Pferden ein Hund, hinter ihnen eine Eule.

#### KOMMENTAR

Im letzten Drittel des 6. Jh. wird in Etrurien die von Strahlen umgebene Sonnenscheibe zum erstenmal fest mit menschlichen Figuren verbunden (16. 17). Schon vorher war die geflügelte Sonnenscheibe dargestellt worden: sie wird – sehr klein, vom Umfang eines Armreifs – in den Händen gehalten von einer Frau oder Göttin, die Teil eines Alabastrons ist

(London, BM D 4, aus Vulci, «Isis-Grab», Pryce, *BMSculpture* I 2, 159–161 Abb. 3. 4. 5; Riis, P. J., *ActaArch* 27, 1956, 25 A 3; frühes 6. Jh. v. Chr.). Die Gruppe der Alabaster-Alabastra ist entweder östlichen Ursprungs oder unter starkem orientalischem Einfluß bereits in Etrurien hergestellt (Diskussion mit den verschiedenen Lokalisierungsvorschlägen bei Riis a. O. 23–33). Ebenfalls von östlichen Vorbildern angeregt ist eine Gruppe von Goldringen aus dem mittleren 6. Jh. v. Chr., auf denen im oberen Feld die geflügelte Sonnenscheibe – allein oder kombiniert mit dem Halbmond – erscheint (1. Rom, Villa Giulia 40876: Becatti, G., *Oreficerie antiche* [1955] Taf. 72, 277; Boardman, J., *AntK* 10, 1967, 12 B I 21. – 2. Ducati Taf. 58, 175; Boardman, a. O. 12 B I 20 Taf. 2. – 3. London, Victoria and Albert Mus.: Boardman a. O. 12 B I 9 Taf. 1). Auf dem Exemplar in Rom ist im untersten Feld ein Skarabäus mit vier Flügeln, d. h. in der phönizischen Version des ägyptischen Motivs, dargestellt; möglicherweise ist auch die geflügelte Scheibe durch phönizische Vermittlung nach Etrurien gekommen. Sie wird dort weder, wie in Ägypten, mit Uräus-Schlangen kombiniert, noch hat sie den Vogelschwanz, der in orientalischen Versionen oft zu den Vogelflügeln hinzukommt (zur geflügelten Scheibe im Orient: Moortgat, A., *Die Bildende Kunst des alten Orients und die Bergvölker* [1932] 49–50; Frankfort, H., *Cylinder Seals* [1939] 275–278). Die Strahlen, die die Scheibe umgeben, finden sich weder in Ägypten noch im Orient; sie erinnern an ostgriechische Bilder (s. unten).

Auf dem «pontischen» Kythos 16 trägt ein Flügeldämon die geflügelte, mit Strahlen versehene Sonnenscheibe wie einen Hut auf dem Kopf; diese enge Verbindung von Sonnenscheibe und Menschengestalt wird wohl eine Erfindung des etruskischen Vasenmalers sein. Dagegen hat ein Maler der La-Tolfa-Gruppe (17), der die von Strahlen umgebene, flügellose Scheibe mitten auf dem Leib einer Flügelfigur angebracht hat, wohl an ostgriechische Vorlagen angeknüpft, die ihrerseits orientalische Bilder widerspiegeln: auf Skarabäen (Boardman, *AGGems* 31 Nr. 42–43 Taf. 2. 3; *idem*, *GGFR* Nr. 287) erscheint über einer geflügelten, mit Strahlen versehenen Scheibe eine Halbfigur mit Flügeln und einem Kranz kurzer Strahlen über dem Haar. Auf einem Exemplar ist über der Brust deutlich eine Kreuzbandgürtung zu erkennen; dies ist das einzige wirklich griechische Element, das Bildern des Wagenlenkers Helios entlehnt ist; unklar ist – wie bei der Amphora 17 –, ob weibliche Brüste gemeint sind. Eine ähnliche Figur erscheint auch auf phönizischen Gemmen derselben Zeit: Auf einem Siegel der Sammlung Pierides in Larnaka kniet eine bärtige, mit vier Flügeln ausgestattete Gestalt, die mit beiden Händen eine Scheibe hält, über einer Gruppe zweier, von einem zentralen korbartigen Gebilde nach außen galoppierender Flügelpferde. W. Culican, der dieses Siegel und die ostgriechischen Skarabäen besprochen hat (*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 1, 1968, 98–100 Abb. 13 Taf. 5c = Culican, W., *Opera selecta. From Tyre to Tartessos* [1986] 259–261) vermutet m. E. zu Recht, daß hier – in etwas mißver-

standener Form der Wagen des griechischen Sonnengottes wiedergegeben werden sollte.

Der etruskische Vasenmaler hat wohl solche östlichen Vorlagen mit dem in der La-Tolfa-Gruppe beliebten Typus eines laufenden Flügeldämons kombiniert. Die Flügel gehören nicht mehr unmittelbar zur Scheibe; diese nimmt aber das Zentrum der Gestalt ein. Die Bewegungsachsen von Flügeln, Beinen und Oberkörper mit Kopf treffen sich in der Scheibe, die ganze Figur ist sozusagen um das Sonnenrund herumkomponiert. Die drei Spitzen, die aus dem kleinen Flügelpaar auf dem Kopf der Figur hervorragen, erinnern an die Blütenblätter einer sich gerade öffnenden Lotosblüte; wenn dies wirklich gemeint ist, müßte der Maler eine Vorstellung von der Verbindung von Sonne und Lotos in der ägyptischen Religion gehabt haben (s. unten). Möglicherweise hat er aber auch ein Motiv orientalischer Sonnenscheiben übernommen; dort wächst manchmal – als Gegenpol zum nach unten gerichteten Vogelschwanz – ein blütenähnliches Gebilde über der Scheibe empor (am deutlichsten auf der Stele aus Sendschirli in Berlin: Moortgat a. O. Taf. 56; Pritchard, J. B., *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* [1954] Abb. 630).

Die Maler der Vasen 16 und 17 haben die Sonnenscheibe so eng mit der Menschengestalt verbunden, daß sie wesentlich zu ihr gehören muß, d. h. es muß ein Sonnendämon gemeint sein. Unsicher ist dies dagegen bei der Flügelfrau des Spiegels 18; sie trägt schwer an der großen, mit einem Stern verzierten Scheibe und könnte sie jederzeit ablegen. Auch diese Figur hat Vorbilder auf ostgriechischen Skarabäen (→ Iris I 5) und ähnlicher noch in einer Metope von Foce del Sele (→ Iris I 3). Ob allerdings die Etrusker diese griechische Interpretation der Sonnenscheibenträger als Götterbotin und Göttin des Regenbogens nachvollziehen konnten, bleibt fraglich, da erstens Iris sonst in Etrurien kaum bekannt war und zweitens längst nicht alle östlichen Scheibenträger als Iris gedeutet werden können, z. T. sind sie sogar männlich (→ Iris I 11 und Zancani/Zanotti, *Sele* II 247–248, bes. Anm. 4). Schließlich wäre auch zu überlegen, warum auf dem Spiegel 18 die Scheibe keinen Strahlenkranz hat, wie er für etruskische Sonnenscheiben üblich ist, sondern im Innern mit einem Sternmotiv verziert ist – ganz auszuschließen scheint es mir nicht, daß hier ein Stern und nicht die Sonne gemeint ist (zu Sternen als Scheiben vgl. die als Nyx gedeutete laufende Frau, → Eos/Thesan 12b, aus der Antefix-Serie mit Gestirngottheiten aus Pyrgi, zu der auch 14 gehört).

Dieses Antefix (14) stellt einen weiteren Versuch dar, Sonne und menschliche Gestalt zu verschmelzen: die Figur erscheint vor einem riesigen, doppelten Strahlenkranz. O. W. v. Vacano (a. O. 14) hat bei den schwarzen Strahlen, die den Hintergrund der vorderen, roten Strahlen bilden, an die blaue (caerulea) ägyptische Lotosblüte gedacht, aus der Horus geboren wird. In Ägypten wird dies freilich nie in dieser Form dargestellt. Man kennt nur den auf der Blüte sitzenden Horusknaaben (s. Morenz, S./Schubert, J., *Der Gott auf der Blume* [1954] *passim*; Morenz, S., *Ägyptische Religion* [1960] 188–189; auch Jucker, H., *Das Bildnis im*

*Blätterkelch* [1961] 178–179). Die farblich variierten Blütenblätter können freilich eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit den Strahlen des Antefixes haben (z. B. Pritchard, J. B., *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* [1954] Abb. 566; Erman, A., *Die Religion der Ägypter* [1934] 62 Abb. 41); doch sind letztere, die nur Oberkörper und Rumpf der sich schnell bewegenden Gestalt umgeben, kaum als Blütenblätter interpretierbar. Daß der Gott aus der Blüte hervorgeht, hätte wohl anders dargestellt werden müssen, wenn es verständlich sein sollte. Ikonographische Parallelen zu 14 finden sich eher im Orient; neben den schon von Schauenburg (1, 50 Anm. 37) in anderem Zusammenhang erwähnten Sternkreisen, die hinter dem Oberkörper von Göttern zu sehen sind (Ward, H. W., *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* [1910] 199 Abb. 567, 569; 229 Abb. 705; 248–251 Abb. 752–754, 756, 759, 765) ist vor allem der Gott zu nennen, der in der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe erscheint (Rollsiegel: Ward a. O. 224–226 Abb. 676, 679, 682, 684, 685, 687; Relief aus dem Palast Assurnasirpals II. in Nimrud: Ward a. O. 222 Abb. 673; Moortgat, A., *Die Kunst des alten Mesopotamien* [1967] Abb. 257; Amiet, P., *L'art antique du Proche-Orient* [1977] Taf. 121) und die Weiterentwicklung dieses Motivs auf einem glasierten Ziegel aus Assur (London, BM 115706: Andrae, W., *Farbige Keramik aus Assur* [1923] Taf. 8; Pritchard a. O. 314 Nr. 536 Taf. 180). Daß der Gott auf dem Antefix 14 über Scheiben (= Wellen) läuft, dürfte dagegen ein erster Hinweis auf griechische Vorstellungen sein, nach denen der Sonnengott über dem Meer auf- und untergeht.

Die originellen und überzeugenden Bildschöpfungen der Antefix-Serie von Pyrgi, zu der neben Usil und der Frau mit den Scheiben (→ Eos/Thesan 12b) u. a. auch ein hahnenköpfiger Dämon (nach v. Vacano, a. O. 14, 465–467 Abb. 3 Taf. 90, 2 Phosphoros, der Morgenstern) und eine Göttin mit zwei Pferden (→ Eos/Thesan 12a) gehören, haben sich in der etruskischen Kunst nicht durchgesetzt, so wenig wie die anderen, oben genannten Versuche, Sonne und Menschengestalt zu verbinden (16, 17). Durchgesetzt hat sich eine Variante der Gestalt vor der Sonnenscheibe, die im von Strahlen umgebenen Kreis nur Hals und Kopf des Sonnengottes im Profil zeigt. Das seit dem späteren 6. Jh. (8) bezeugte Motiv hat wohl verschiedene Wurzeln: In Griechenland wird Selene manchmal so dargestellt (Schauenburg 1, 14; → Astra 41? 42? 43); die freilich wesentlich jüngere attische Lekythos → Astra 43\* erinnert in der Anordnung der Figuren – dargestellt ist die Verehrung der Mondscheibe – sogar an den Spiegel 8. Zu nennen wäre auch ein männlicher Kopf auf einer Scheibe auf einer Elektron-Münze von Kyzikos (→ Helios 277), der manchmal als Helios gedeutet wird. Andererseits ist der Kopf vor der Scheibe einfach die Abkürzung der vollständigen Gestalt; gerade in Etrurien findet man die Darstellung von Kopf oder Büste anstelle des ganzen Menschen ja wesentlich häufiger als etwa im griechischen Bereich. So läßt sich im Kopf vor der Sonnenscheibe schließlich auch ein Nachklang der orientalischen Bilder des Gottes in der geflügelten Scheibe se-

hen (ähnlich Schauenburg 1, 13), der oft zwischen zwei Adoranten erscheint (wiederum eine formale Ähnlichkeit mit dem Spiegel, vgl. auch Ward a. O. 249 Abb. 756).

Jedenfalls hat das Motiv des Kopfes in der Sonnenscheibe in Etrurien Anklang gefunden. Die meisten Darstellungen stammen aus der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jh. (1–4), wobei es mit dem Motiv der geflügelten Scheibe kombiniert werden kann (2, 3) und ein Wellenband mit Delphinen (1, 3) auf die griechische Vorstellung der aus dem Meer auftauchenden Sonne anspielt. Bild geworden ist dieser Gedanke in der wohl schönsten Darstellung des etruskischen Sonnengottes auf dem Spiegel 12, auf dem sowohl der Gott wie die Sonnenscheibe nur halb über den Meereswagen zu sehen sind. Die Feuerbälle, die der Gott in den Händen hält, meinen wohl die Sterne, die seinen Auf- und Untergang begleiten. Menschliche Figur und Sonnenscheibe sind hier nur ganz locker miteinander verknüpft und wirken doch untrennbar verbunden durch den kompositionellen Rahmen, in den sie eingefügt sind. In einen größeren Zusammenhang hätte sich diese Gestalt schwer übertragen lassen; wenn U. nur Nebenfigur ist, wird deswegen auch später noch oft seine Büste (9) oder sein Kopf (10) in der Sonnenscheibe dargestellt (vgl. auch 5–6, 11, dazu s. unten).

Eine über Wellen (?) auftauchende Halbfigur ist in einer Reihe von Beschlagblechen von Wagenkörben (13) dargestellt, die etwa gleichzeitig mit dem Spiegel 12 entstanden sind. Die übergroßen Hände mit den gespreizten Fingern verleihen diesen Figuren etwas Bedrohliches, das sonst U. nicht eignet. Möglicherweise ist doch nicht der Sonnengott gemeint, sondern ein Dämon, der unter großer Lichtentfaltung erscheint; ein Strahlenkranz erscheint, allerdings sehr viel später, auch hinter der Sphinx auf der anderen Seite des Kraters 9 und sogar hinter Bellerophon auf der Parallelvase (→ Chimaira [in Etruria] 67\*). Ein Schrecken erregender Dämon wäre für einen Streitwagen ein durchaus passendes Sujet, selbst wenn dieser nur zu Repräsentationszwecken diente. Allerdings müßte bei dieser Interpretation die den Körper begrenzende Wellenlinie anders erklärt werden. Helios als Wagenlenker würde gut an einen Rennwagen passen, doch ist die Vorstellung des ein Gespann lenkenden Sonnengottes zur Entstehungszeit der Wagenbeschläge noch nicht in Etrurien nachweisbar.

Der griechische Bildtypus des frontal gesehenen Viergespanns ist zum erstenmal belegt auf einem Spiegel des späten 5. Jh. (21), wobei die Flügel des Gottes und die hinter seinem ins Profil gewendeten Kopf erscheinende Sonnenscheibe an ältere etruskische Bildtypen anknüpfen (geflügelt erscheinen in gleichzeitigen griechischen Bildern nur weibliche Gestirngottheiten, → Astra 7–10, und manchmal die Pferde des Helios). Erstaunlicherweise wird hier ein Bildschema aufgegriffen, das in Griechenland vor allem im ersten Viertel des 5. Jh. verbreitet war → Helios 2–11, 95–99, 105; später wird Helios dort nicht mehr in Vorder-, sondern in Seitenansicht dargestellt. Bilder des Gespanns in Vorderansicht sind erst wieder

seit der Mitte des 4. Jh. bekannt, vor allem von unteritalischen Vasen (→ Helios 19, 82, 102 sowie → Eos 12 [Helios? oder Eos?], vgl. auch 17, rhodisch, und den Goldschmuck 86–87, 87 wurde in Etrurien, in Bolsena, gefunden; s. auch → Helios/Sol 130, 131). Von Unteritalien her könnte dieser Bildtypus nach Etrurien gelangt sein; allerdings erscheint es auch nicht ausgeschlossen, daß sich im 4. Jh. auf etruskischen Spiegeln, ausgehend von Bildern wie 21, eine eigene Bildtradition entwickelt hatte. Statt wie auf 21 und noch auf 26 erscheint auf jüngeren Spiegeln (22–24) das Gespann – U. angemessener – meist im oberen Abschnitt. Häufiger ist auf diesen Spiegeln im selben Schema eine weibliche Figur dargestellt (→ Eos/Thesan 13–18), die meist als Thesan gedeutet werden kann – am deutlichsten ist dies auf dem Spiegel aus Tuscania (→ Eos/Thesan 13\* = Apollon/Aplu 113), wo im Hauptbild die hinter Bergen aufgehende Sonnenscheibe zu sehen ist (problematisch dagegen auf → Eos/Thesan 17 die Deutung der Göttin mit Mondichel und Stern). Da meist nur Kopf und Hals der Figur zu sehen sind, ist oft schwer zu entscheiden, ob eine weibliche oder eine männliche Figur gemeint ist. Für die Göttin sind Diadem und Halskette charakteristisch; U. ist, wenn nicht am nackten Oberkörper (23), nur durch die Sonnenscheibe hinter seinem Kopf (22) zu erkennen (Thesan kann einen Strahlenkranz, aber keine deutlich abgesetzte Scheibe haben; vgl. → Eos/Thesan 22\*, 30\*, 43, auch CSE Bundesrep. Deutschland 1 Nr. 13). Andere Fälle bleiben unklar (24: Scheibe oder Diadem?, vgl. auch Tirelli 45 Nr. 14; die ganze Gruppe zusammengestellt in EVP 130–131; van der Meer, L. B., *BullAntBesch* 54, 1979, 58; zur Spiegelgruppe auch Cristofani, M., *Prospettiva* 41, 1985, 4–14). Da das Motiv des Kopfes in Vorderansicht zwischen Pferdeköpfen aber auch für andere Gestalten verwendet werden kann (25; → Auri 1\*), ist in jedem Fall Vorsicht bei der Deutung geboten.

Selbst im größeren Format der Vasen, auf denen mehr vom Körper des Lenkers und von den Pferden zu sehen ist (wie schon auf dem Spiegel 26), ist die Unterscheidung nicht ganz leicht (zur Problematik Schauenburg 2, 183–184). Thesan ist vor allem an ihrer weißen Hautfarbe, an der Frisur und am Schmuck erkennbar (→ Eos/Thesan 2, 3: Ohringe); eine Figur mit kurzen Haaren und Strahlenkranz dürfte U. sein (27, 28). Ein langes Gewand tragen beide, U. den Chiton des Wagenlenkers, Thesan einen Peplos. Auch U. kann allerdings mit langen offenen, wehenden Haaren dargestellt sein (29, wo aber der nackte Oberkörper die Deutung möglich macht). Die langen Haare finden sich vereinzelt auch auf unteritalischen Bildern (→ Helios 131); die nach allen Seiten vom Kopf wegwehenden Strähnen erinnern vor allem an Münzbilder (→ Helios 178, 179, 194). Auf den Kanonen 27, 28 taucht der mit einem Stern geschmückte Wagenkorb gerade aus den Meereswellen empor. Auf 28 begleiten zwei Sterne den Aufgang des Gottes (ähnlich auf 26; derselbe Gedanke in anderer Form auf 12, 15); Sterne und Sonnenscheibe spiegeln sich im Wasser (anders Schauenburg 2, 184: nur Ornamente).

In Seitenansicht, wie sehr häufig auf unteritalischen Vasen (→ Helios 18. 20–29. 77–81. 112–116), ist das Gespann des Sonnengottes bisher nur einmal bekannt (28; häufiger Thesan: → Eos/Thesan 1. 4. 57). Hier ist zwar auch der Aufgang der Sonne dargestellt, jedoch in ganz origineller Weise. Aus griechischen Bildelementen (Sonnengespann, bezeichnenderweise aber keine Quadriga wie in Griechenland, sondern das etruskische Dreigespann) und griechischen (Nachtfahrt über den Okeanos, das fließende Wasser angegeben durch einen Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier) und ägyptischen (Sonnenbarke, besetzt mit dem Sonnengott und Begleitern, nicht mit dem Sonnengespann) Vorstellungen über den nächtlichen Weg der Sonne wird ein Bild eigener Art, das nirgends Parallelen hat: U., begleitet von den uns bereits bekannten Sternen, die hier als junge Männer personifiziert sind, kommt am Ende der Nacht im Osten, am Ursprung (Wasserspeier) des Okeanos an. Er steigt aus dem Boot aus und beginnt mit seinem Gespann den Weg über den Himmel. Die Inschrift bezieht sich nicht auf eine der Figuren; sie steht im Bildzentrum und erläutert die Szene: «dies ist der Morgen.» (zu die Szene erläuternden Beischriften auf Spiegeln vgl. etwa 31 und → Herakles/Hercle 404. In Griechenland treten solche Beischriften schon seit dem 6. Jh. auf, vgl. → Achilleus 491 oder die Inschriften auf der Kypseloslade, Paus. 5, 18, 2–19, 5). Im Bild der Sonnenbarke wird inmitten zahlreicher griechischer Elemente noch einmal nichtgriechisches Gedankengut sichtbar.

Nichtgriechisch, vielleicht originär etruskisch, ist auch die enge Verbindung des Sonnengottes mit vegetabilischen Elementen, die am deutlichsten wird im Bild des Goldrings 15: die Kugeln, von denen Wellenlinien ausgehen, sind uns bekannt von dem Spiegel 12; es sind die Sterne, die U. beim Auf- und Untergang begleiten. Damit liegt die Deutung des Bärtigen auf 15 nahe; die große Wellenlinie, die ihn umgibt, stellt das flimmernde Licht dar, in dem er erscheint (vgl. etwa die Wellenlinie, die hinter dem Kopf des Tinia auf dem Spiegel → Apollon/Aplu 119\* erscheint). Auffällig sind die vielen Pflanzen zu seinen Füßen. Ganz ähnliche pflanzliche Elemente sind in das Bild der Spiegelscheiben 5–6 zwischen den Kopf des Gottes und die Strahlen eingefügt; sie erscheinen also sogar im Rund der Sonnenscheibe, die hier durch das Spiegelrund repräsentiert wird. Eine ähnliche Vorstellung wird auch der zwischen Blättern erscheinenden Sonnenscheibe auf 11 zugrunde liegen: Der Sonnengott regt das Wachstum der Vegetation an. Florale Elemente zu Seiten des Sonnengespanns findet man ab und zu auch im griechischen Bereich (z. B. → Helios 25. 164. 166); doch ist die Verbindung nie so eng, daß hieraus auch eine inhaltliche Aussage abgeleitet werden könnte.

Dagegen geht die durch den kleinen Bogen dezent angedeutete Angleichung von Apollon und Helios/Usil auf dem Spiegel 19 sicher auf griechischen Einfluß zurück, und der Graveur des Spiegels 20 hat eine Szene darstellen wollen, in der ihm der griechische Name Hyperion – in seiner etruskisierten Form

Uprium – für den Partner des U. passend erschien. Hyperion ist im griechischen Mythos der Vater des Helios; häufig wird Hyperion auch als Beinamen des Sonnengottes selbst benutzt. Uprium wirkt, beschattet von den großen Flügeln des U., gegenüber diesem kleiner und reagiert zögernd, fast bescheiden auf die lebhafteste Gestik des auf ihn zuschreitenden U. Man hat nicht den Eindruck, daß hier zwei gleichrangige Personen einander gegenüberstehen; eher könnte ein unbefangener Betrachter an die Begegnung eines Gottes und eines Sterblichen denken. Wenn der etruskische Graveur wirklich Vater und Sohn gemeint haben sollte, ist schwer verständlich, warum er, als er – mangels griechischer Vorlagen – für Hyperion einen Figurentypus suchen mußte, gerade dieses für eine Darstellung von Vater und Sohn wenig geeignete Schema gewählt hat. Diese Überlegungen haben C. Koch (*Gestirnverehrung im alten Italien* [1933] 48) zu einer anderen, ihrerseits nicht unproblematischen Deutung geführt: U., im langen Gewand des Wagenlenkers, trete als Gott der Athleten und Zirkusspiele auf und bekränze einen siegreichen Athleten. Der Name Uprium, der den «Athleten» in die Nähe U.s rückt, und die beiden Strahlenkränze in U.s Händen, die demjenigen, der um den Kopf des Gottes schwebt, sehr ähneln, werden aber durch diese Hypothese nicht erklärt: Auch ein siegreicher Athlet konnte wohl kaum durch das Tragen eines Strahlenkranzes U. angeglichen werden; daß U. zwei Kränze trägt, erinnert eher an die zwei Feuerbälle, die er sonst manchmal in den Händen hält (12. 15). Wenn nicht die griechische Genealogie dadurch auf den Kopf gestellt würde, könnte man sich Uprium in dieser Szene eher als Sohn des U. wie Phaethon vorstellen.

U. ist eine der wenigen etruskischen Gottheiten, deren Ikonographie nicht von Anfang an der entsprechenden griechischen Gottheit nachgebildet wurde. Die ersten Versuche, U. darzustellen, lehnen sich eher an orientalische, eventuell auch an durch die Phönikier vermittelte ägyptische Vorbilder an; sehr vieles entstammt auch der bildnerischen Phantasie der etruskischen Künstler, die ohne konkrete Vorlagen Bilder wie das des Spiegels 12 schufen. Der Bildtypus, in dem nur der Kopf des Gottes in der Sonnenscheibe erscheint, wurde für einige Zeit zu einem der beliebtesten U.-Bilder in Etrurien, bis er seit dem späteren 5. Jh. mehr und mehr durch das in seinen Ursprüngen griechische Motiv des mit der Quadriga auftauchenden Wagenlenkers ersetzt wird. Anders als die Griechen bevorzugten die Etrusker dabei die Frontalan-sicht. Fast immer ist der Gott an der hinter seinem Kopf oder seiner Büste erscheinenden, meist mit Strahlen versehenen Scheibe zu erkennen (1–6. 8–13. 20–22. 27. 28; ohne Strahlen: 19); zuweilen ist er auch geflügelt (13? 14. 16. 17. 20. 21; Flügel am Kopf: 2. 3). Immer wieder wird – nach griechischem Vorbild – seine Verbindung zum Meer betont (1–3. 12. 13? 14. 19. 27. 28. 30); doch wird gerade in einem dieser Bilder noch einmal nichtgriechisches Gedankengut sichtbar (Sonnenbarke auf 30). Generell bleibt auch in der späteren Zeit, in der die etruskischen Künstler meist griechische Vorbilder benutzten, die

Ikonographie des U. unabhängiger von der des entsprechenden griechischen Gottes als in den meisten anderen Fällen.

Wir wissen zwar nicht, wie sich der Graveur des Spiegels 30 den Weg der Sonnenbarke durch die Nacht vorstellte; für die Annahme, daß seine Kenntnisse ägyptischer Religion so weit gingen, daß er mit dem Bild der Sonnenbarke auch deren Fahrt durch die Unterwelt assoziierte, ergeben sich aus dem Bild keine Hinweise. Auch sonst haben wir keine Belege für eine in der Unterwelt erscheinende Sonne, wie sie F.-H. Pairault-Massa aus der Darstellung des Spiegels 8 ableiten wollte (a. O. 8, 142–146). Ihre Interpretation geht von der Ähnlichkeit der Basen aus, auf denen die Figuren von 8 und eine heroisierte Verstorbene auf einer Stele aus Marzabotto stehen. Wenn aber gerade durch diese Basis gezeigt werden soll, daß die verstorbene Frau nach ihrem Tode heroisiert, d. h. den Göttern ähnlich, wurde, müssen auch die Götter selbst auf derartigen Basen (zum Typus der Basen s.

Gualandi, G., *StEtr* 42, 1974, 44–50) dargestellt worden sein; es kann dann die Basisform nicht als Argument gegen die Deutung der Figuren auf 8 als Götter angeführt werden. Andere Anhaltspunkte dafür, daß die Szene auf dem Spiegel 8 in der Unterwelt spielt, gibt es nicht – alle anderen Details (Efeu, Delphine usw.) lassen sich auch ohne diese Annahme interpretieren (s. dazu auch Rebuffat-Emmanuel, a. O. 8, 105–110). Daß der Schild im Giebel des «tablinum» des Volumniergrabs (7) wirklich ein Bild des Sonnengottes trug, ist m. E. eher unwahrscheinlich; selbst wenn das zuträfe, ließe sich U. hier auch «als Symbol des Lebenslichts und Hinweis auf das Weiterleben der Verstorbenen» (Schauenburg 1, 33), vielleicht auf der Insel der Seligen (?), auffassen. Eine Unterweltsfahrt des Sonnengottes oder gar eine «Unterwelts-sonne» neben der himmlischen ist in Etrurien nicht belegt.

INGRID KRAUSKOPF